

SCEATTAS AND EARLY BROAD PENNIES FOUND IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT

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Introduction

WITHIN living memory, the Isle of Wight was virtually a blank on the distribution-maps of sceatta finds. There was just one coin, found at Newport in 1759, and described in the minute-books of the Society of Antiquaries.¹ Meanwhile, controlled excavations across the Solent at Hamwic, the modern Southampton, have revealed the sceatta² currency of perhaps the best documented and the best published of the English coastal *emporia* of the late seventh to the ninth centuries. A catalogue was published in 1988, including some 129 sceattas, originating at many different mint-places, plus some 36 re-used late Roman coins from the same eighth-century pits, and fifteen or twenty early pennies, etc., of the later eighth and the ninth centuries. Since then the archaeological investigation of the *wic* has continued, and a further 20 or so sceattas have been found, and published, plus a couple more early pennies, bringing the total to some 150 sceattas (including just one Merovingian denier).³ The contrast with the Isle of Wight seemed extreme. Regionally, Hamwic existed in monetary ‘isolation’, as an urban or proto-urban site with its own locally-minted sceattas, Series H.⁴ It had extensive trading contacts with the Netherlands and with south-eastern England, and it seems to have enjoyed a positive balance of trade, as coins of Series H are scarce elsewhere (at Domburg, for example, there are just two specimens among the best part of a thousand finds).⁵

The seeming contrast in monetary terms between Hamwic and the nearby Isle of Wight now has to be fundamentally rethought. Over the last three decades, two ‘productive’ sites have come to light in the island, one in Shalfleet parish, and the other near Carisbrooke, which, together with other stray finds, bring the total of early finds to more than 130 coins. It is now possible to present the sceattas and early pennies from these sites, located surprisingly close to each other, and a mere 15 miles or so from Hamwic, as the crow flies. Comparisons of the range of sceatta types found at Carisbrooke and Shalfleet and as stray finds elsewhere in the island allow us to explore the idea that the ‘productive’ sites, especially Shalfleet, were to a significant extent integrated with the currency of Hamwic, but that coins were also entering the island partly from elsewhere, and reaching those two sites. Also, there are differences in the chronological spread of the stray finds as compared with the ‘productive’ sites which suggest that before the sites were functioning, and also during the reign of Offa, monetary exchanges were taking place in a more scattered way across the island.

As well as all the monetary implications of the new material, there are social and political aspects which deserve to be considered, arising out of the possibly ‘Jutish’ character of the island’s population. Bede, in a much-discussed observation, says that ‘The people of Kent and

Acknowledgements. We are deeply indebted to Frank Basford for allowing us to use material painstakingly collected and expertly recorded by him over many years on the Isle of Wight. Without his encouragement and indefatigable help in providing the latest information on finds, and his excellent rapport with the metal-detecting community, encouraging the use of GPS and prompt recording of finds, this detailed study would not have been possible. We also gratefully acknowledge the help of Vicky Basford, David Motkin, David Tomalin, and Ruth Waller, as well as the other members of the Isle of Wight Archaeology Centre, for providing important background information, and for their warm welcome on the island. Finally, we would like to dedicate this article to the memory of Mark Blackburn, whose friendship and kindness is much missed.

¹ Metcalf 1957, 205.

² The adjective sceatta is a modern usage, from the Old English noun *sceat* (pl. *sceattas*). It is used as a term of art, and as such is now entrenched in the literature.

³ Metcalf 1988; Metcalf 2005b; Garner 2003, 125.

⁴ This should not be taken too literally – other sceatta types reached Hamwic.

⁵ Op den Velde and Claassen 2004, nos 66 and 67.

the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes'.⁶ Barbara Yorke has traced the history of the conquest of the Isle of Wight in 686, as well as that of the Jutes of south Hampshire, the *Meonware*, by King Caedwalla.⁷ Bede was writing, with the benefit of local information,⁸ in the hey-day of the sceatta coinages, and one practical question for the monetary historian is whether the *Wihthware* developed trading contacts with their fellow-Jutes still living in Jutland – as reflected in a higher-than-average proportion of Danish coins in the local currency, compared with other regions of England. We can also ask whether the proportion of sceattas of Series H (minted at Hamwic) was significantly lower in the Isle of Wight. The large new samples of stray losses of sceattas give us the opportunity, for the first time, to begin to ask questions such as these.

The evidence from the two 'productive' sites

The exact locations of the two 'productive' sites have been withheld, at the wish of those involved, but the parish name of Shalfleet was put in the public domain in 2007, when various sceattas were included in the *Coin Register*, and 'near Carisbrooke' has been mentioned freely.

'Near Carisbrooke', located in the centre of the island, was searched by three or four detectorists mainly during the period c.1989–2001. In all, it yielded 41 sceattas, one Merovingian denier, and two early pennies, as well as other Early and Middle Saxon stray finds, all mainly located in two neighbouring fields. The site was not available for fieldwork then, and the exact findspots within the fields remain unknown to this day. However, broader historical and geographical analysis suggests that the site would have functioned as some sort of market, and is likely to have been associated with the development of a central place at Carisbrooke.⁹

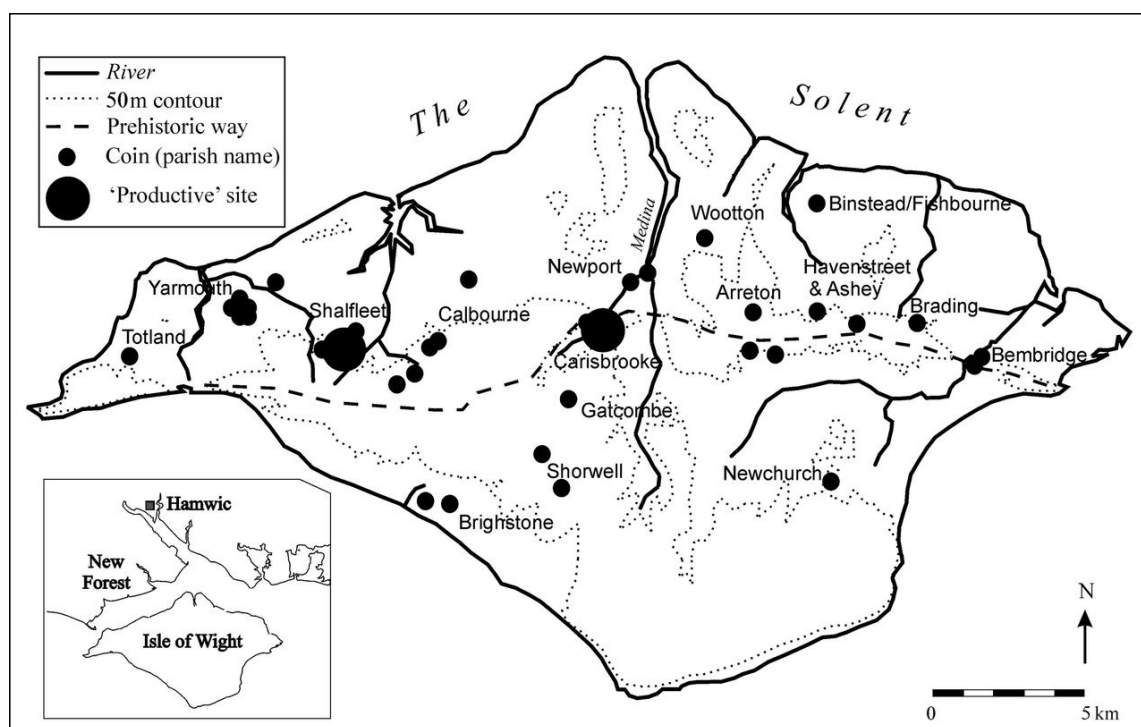


Fig. 1. Map of Middle Saxon coins on the Isle of Wight, and the two 'productive' sites (data up to 1 Oct. 2012).

⁶ Bede, *HE*, i.15 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 50–1).

⁷ Yorke 1989. This article is not the place for an extended discussion of the complex relationship between material culture and ethnicity.

⁸ He mentions that he received help from Daniel, bishop of Winchester (who also exercised the episcopate in Wight): Bede, *HE*, Preface (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 4–5).

⁹ For a central place at Carisbrooke, see Margham 1992. For the 'productive' site, see Ulmschneider 1999 and 2003.

The second ‘productive’ site, located in Shalfleet parish, has not been published previously, and needs some introduction.¹⁰ Like ‘near Carisbrooke’, this site first became known through metal-detecting, in 2005. It has been exploited by about 30 different detectorists, who have been meticulously reporting their finds, most of which were made at organized rallies. To date the site has yielded 42 sceattas (including again one Merovingian denier) and five early pennies. In a significant and crucial new development, Mr Frank Basford, the Finds Liaison Officer of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, has been able to persuade finders to take GPS readings of the exact location of their finds. As a result the artefacts, and among them almost all the coins, are recorded with ten-figure National Grid Reference numbers, allowing individual findspots to be located to within one metre. The finds from the area of the site have been plotted below (Fig. 2). This unprecedented precision allows us for the first time to look more closely at distribution patterns of coinage within a purely metal-detected ‘productive’ site.

The site is located in an elevated position on gently sloping ground inland from the Solent coast and the navigable parts of the Newtown River and its tributaries. Situated on agricultural land, at least one spring can be found in its vicinity. The wider area has revealed finds of the Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman periods.

Early Saxon finds, in the main comprising brooches, such as button, bow, square-headed, disc, and equal-arm and small-long types, but also the very occasional mount and strap-fitting are widely scattered over an area of about 600 by 600 metres. They do not show any clear focus at present, though they are noticeably absent from the northern area of the later, Middle Saxon, ‘productive’ site (see Fig. 3 below). About 200 metres southwest of the ‘productive’ site an important early to mid sixth-century bracteate has been found. It may have been produced locally and seems to link in with finds made in east Kent.¹¹ Another high-status find, a silver-gilt sword ring, was found about 200 metres southeast of the site.¹² Important cemeteries, at least one of them with high-status finds and Kentish, Merovingian and Mediterranean imports, are also known from the wider area. It is unclear at present whether the single finds represent stray losses, as yet undiscovered graves, or whether they may stem from small scattered settlement sites. However, they do suggest already an early importance of the area as a centre of population with some form of an elite presence.

In comparison, the bulk of the Middle Saxon material from the site appears to cluster in a core area of roughly 250 by 450 metres (Fig. 3).

The vast majority of the metal-detected artefacts are coins, including two tremisses, 41 sceattas, one Merovingian denier, and five early pennies. The remaining eight Middle Saxon finds include four copper-alloy pins, two strap-ends, and an unidentified object. The lack, so far, of domestic and functional finds paired with the outstanding number of coins, second in the region only to Hamwic, strongly suggests some form of economic/market function for the site. Outstanding in this context is a seventh- to eighth-century skilket possibly for use in baptism ceremonies (Fig. 3).¹³ A small-scale excavation on the site of the find revealed that the skilket did not, as expected, come from a grave, but a possible boundary ditch, though this did not show up on aerial photographs.¹⁴ Ditches have been noted in connection with a few other ‘productive’ sites. Unfortunately no other finds or features were observed which might reveal more information about the nature and possible occupation of the site.¹⁵

Thanks to the precision achieved by the GPS readings, we have some sort of guarantee that the finds are stray losses, rather than a ploughed-out hoard or mini-hoards, and we can therefore examine possible variations in distribution patterns within the site. The finds plotted on Fig. 3 would seem to indicate that there may have been three foci of coin finds on the site: a northern, southern, and western one. Of these, the northern and southern foci seem to be at

¹⁰ The following finds are recorded on the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database. See <http://finds.org.uk/>.

¹¹ PAS IOW-125794. For a brief summary of the historical and archaeological evidence for this link, see Ulmschneider 1999, esp. 24–6.

¹² PAS IOW-74F105.

¹³ PAS IOW-0D5540.

¹⁴ Basford 2006, 567.

¹⁵ A study of local place-names may provide further evidence in the future, however.

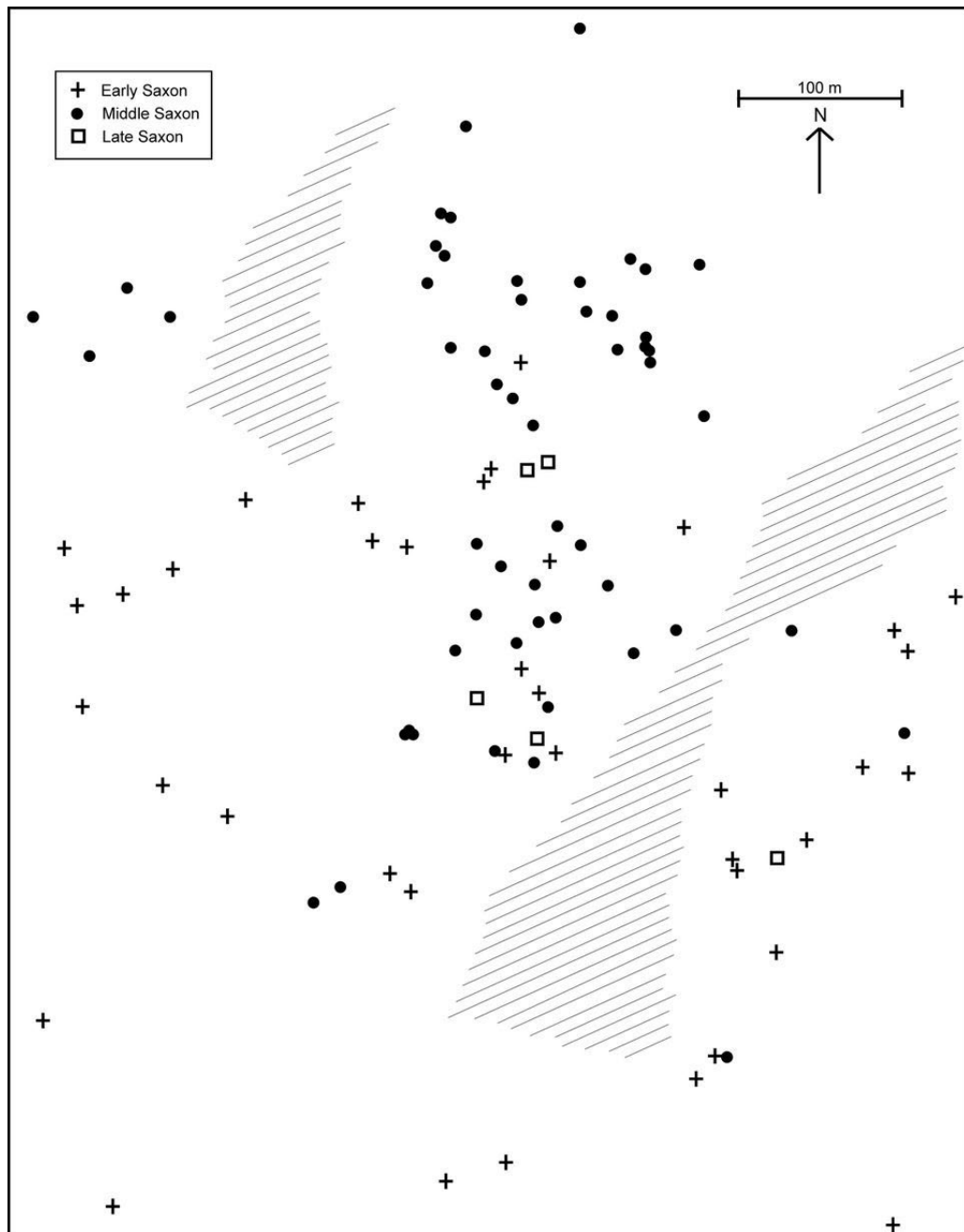


Fig. 2. Map of Anglo-Saxon finds from the 'Shalfleet parish' 'productive' site.

least 50 metres apart. This pattern may be real, as Early and Late Saxon finds were made in the 50 metres in between (see Fig. 2), showing that the area was metal-detected.

What would have been the extent of these foci? The stippled areas indicate parts of the site, which are not available for metal-detecting. The northern focus seems to trail off naturally towards the east, and no finds are made for at least 50 metres before the area becomes unsearchable. Similarly, the coins from the western site again seem to be some distance away from the unsearchable area (30–40 metres) to the east.

The full extent of the southern focus is less clear: it could potentially extend further to the east to include the C2 and perhaps even the secondary E sceat (Fig. 4, below) – though the latter is some way off. Equally uncertain is the exact extent to the south. The three sceattas

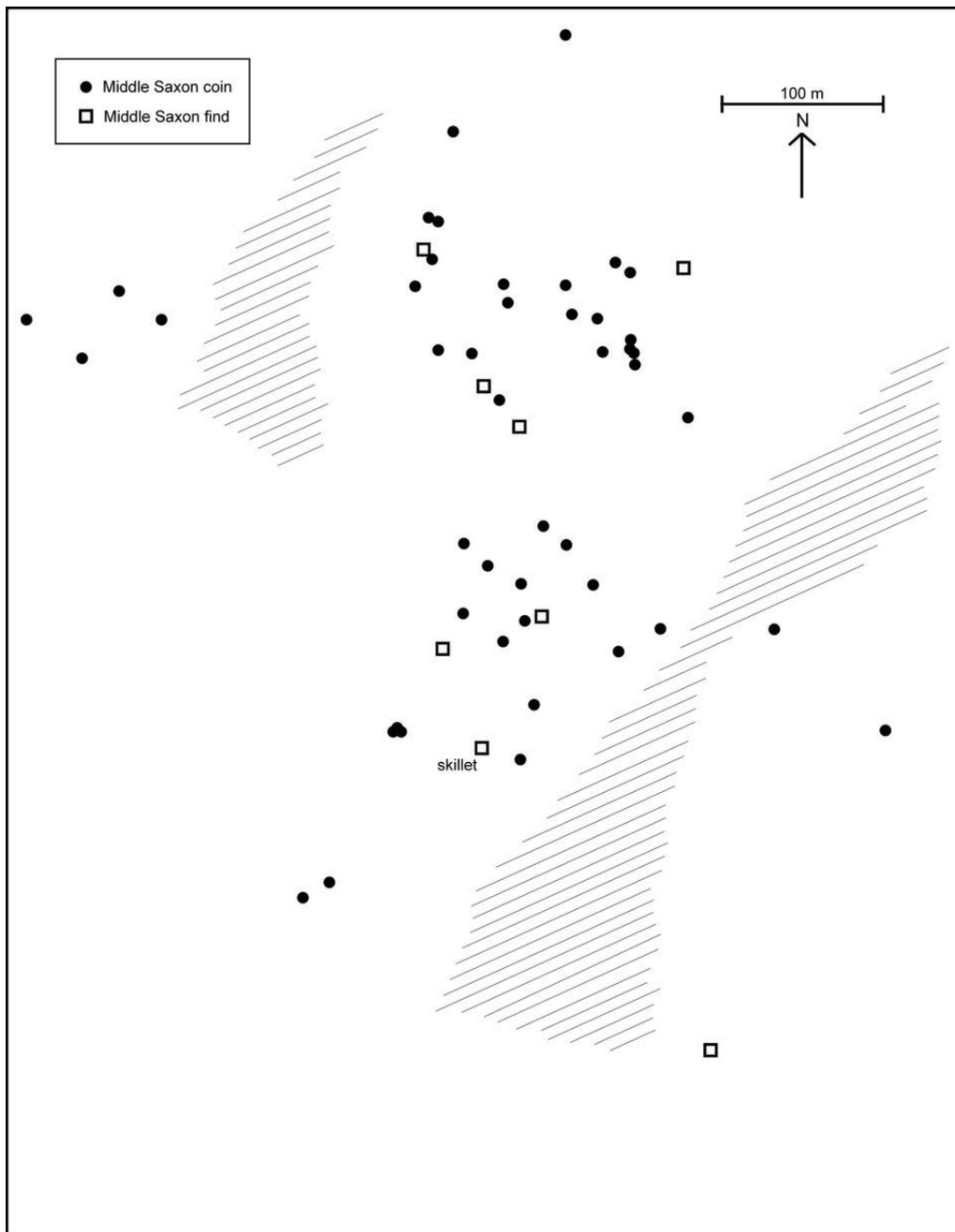


Fig. 3. Map of Middle Saxon finds from the 'Shalfleet parish' 'productive' site.

mapped in the same place are the only ones to be located merely to within 100 metres, though they seem to belong to the southern site, unless there was an (unlikely?) fourth focus even further southwest, to include also the Series Z and C1 coins. The few non-coin artefacts identified as Middle Saxon fall into the southern and northern foci. Thus there may have been three clusters of activity within the site. Could these have differed in date, use, or function in some way, as has been mooted for the 'productive' site at Bidford-on-Avon?¹⁶

Before trying to answer such questions, we should look at the later development of the site. The Late Saxon finds, mainly strap-ends/fittings and a pin (Fig. 2), are few and far between

¹⁶ Laight and Metcalf 2012.

and would appear at present to be stray finds rather than indicating any sustained use or occupation. Interestingly, the Late Saxon finds (similar to the Early Saxon ones) so far are absent from the northern focus of the 'productive' site. The finds are too few and chronologically indistinct to allow a clear pattern to be proposed, but they could point to the southern part of the site still being in use or re-emerging in the ninth century, when a few early pennies are found. There is, however, little evidence for activity thereafter, and no tenth-century coins have been found on the core site.

Thus we have two 'productive' sites on the Isle of Wight now, one in the centre, the other in the western part of the island, and a mere five miles or so apart. That is very surprising: one thinks of 'productive' sites as being places to which people would travel from ten or fifteen miles around. What was the monetary context of these sites, and how much – if at all – did they differ?

Although our record is possibly incomplete, we are reasonably confident that the recorded sceattas and pennies are an unbiased sample as regards the various types represented. That means that we can treat the finds as approximating for statistical purposes to a random sample. We are in a position to compare the proportions (but not the absolute numbers) of different sceatta types at the two 'productive' sites, and likewise to make comparisons with Hamwic and with other anchor-points in our understanding of the monetary circulation of the period, such as Domburg.

The proportions of coin types would be liable to be somewhat distorted and misleading, if the finds included unrecognized small hoards. It is one great merit of the recording of ten-figure Grid references that it allows us to examine that possible source of error (Fig. 4).

The primary-phase coins (solid circles) are scattered throughout the site, with no obvious tendency to be clustered in any particular part of it. Their dates of loss may, of course, have extended into the early secondary phase. Among the secondary-phase coins (open circles), Series H tends to occur more in the northern half of the site, and Series X in the southern half, but we would hesitate to claim that that might reflect any segregation of traders coming from different places. Further, the idea that a cluster of coins of Series H could derive from a small, ploughed-out hoard is purely speculative: our best evidence of how far the plough could scatter a hoard comes from Middle Harling, Norfolk, where the interpretation of the site was uncontroversial, because of the heavy cluster of finds at the centre of the distribution, and because the hoard, of a substantial size, was made up predominantly of coins of a single type, namely of Beonna.¹⁷

The tremisses (marked AV) were found well clear of the 'productive' site, and doubtless antedate its existence. The early pennies (marked by crosslets), with the exception of one penny of Coenwulf (796–821) and one of Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), are peripheral (with a western focus). It seems that the 'productive' site had ceased to function before the reform that introduced the pennies. Its use probably came to an end during the recession in the third quarter of the eighth century.¹⁸ That chronology is borne out by the absence of pennies of Offa, which occur as stray finds elsewhere in the island, and also at Hamwic, where coins of Offa are among the early pennies recorded from the *wic*.

Stray finds from the Isle of Wight

In addition to coins from the two 'productive' sites, 22 sceattas and nine early pennies have been found and recorded from 18 localities scattered widely through the island. There is also a small hoard of sceattas. Comparing these with the range of varieties from the 'productive' sites turns out to be a fruitful exercise (Fig. 5).

Whereas Hamwic, with its locally-minted sceattas of Series H, formerly seemed to dominate the monetary affairs of southern Wessex in the secondary phase of sceattas, all this new material from the Isle of Wight changes the balance of the evidence substantially. Moreover,

¹⁷ Here mostly around 10 metres: see Archibald 1985, 12, for site plan; Rogerson 1995.

¹⁸ Metcalf 2009.

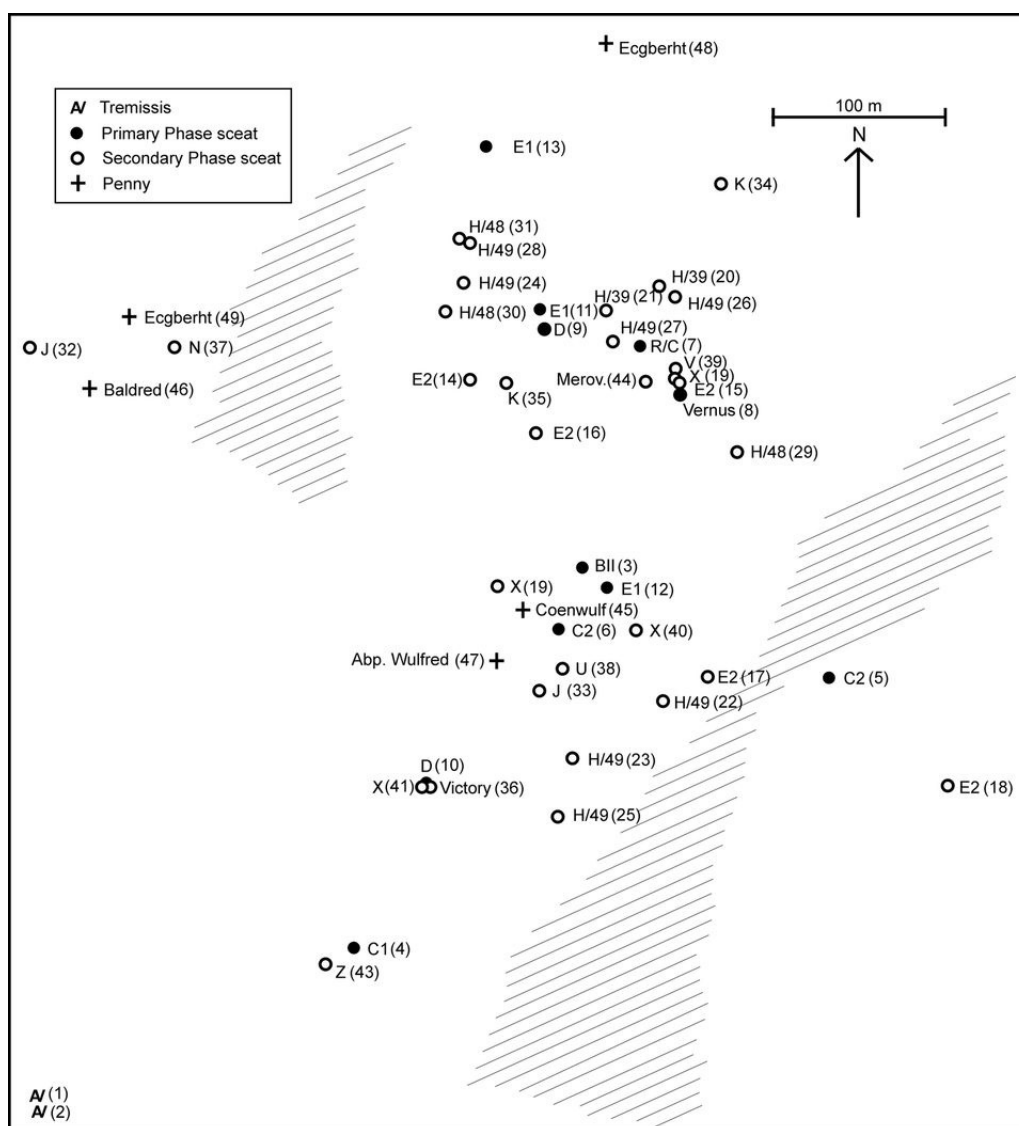


Fig. 4. Map of coin types from the 'Shalfleet parish' 'productive' site.

it offers new opportunities to compare (again) the range of types represented at the two 'productive' sites with the range at Hamwic, and thus to gain a better perspective not just on the trading connections of the two 'productive' sites, but also on the regional functions of Hamwic itself. To take a simple illustration, we shall ask what percentage of the finds from the Isle of Wight are of Series H and how that compares with Hamwic. At the *wic*, where they were minted, the two successive issues, Series H, Types 39 and 49, make up some 48 per cent of the finds, whereas at the two 'productive' sites the corresponding figure is 27 per cent. We also considered the possibility that certain sub-varieties of Series H might have been imitations, minted on the Isle of Wight. But there is absolutely no reason to think that any particular sub-varieties are over-represented at Carisbrooke and/or Shalfleet. It seems safe to assume that all the finds of Series H, Types 39 and 49, were minted at Hamwic and reached the Isle of Wight through trade. In so far as Type 39 was replaced by Type 49 in the currency of Hamwic, the balance between the two types at our 'productive' sites, compared with what we see at Hamwic, will perhaps give an idea when Series H began to arrive on the Isle of Wight. Likewise the range of varieties of Type 49 may be informative.

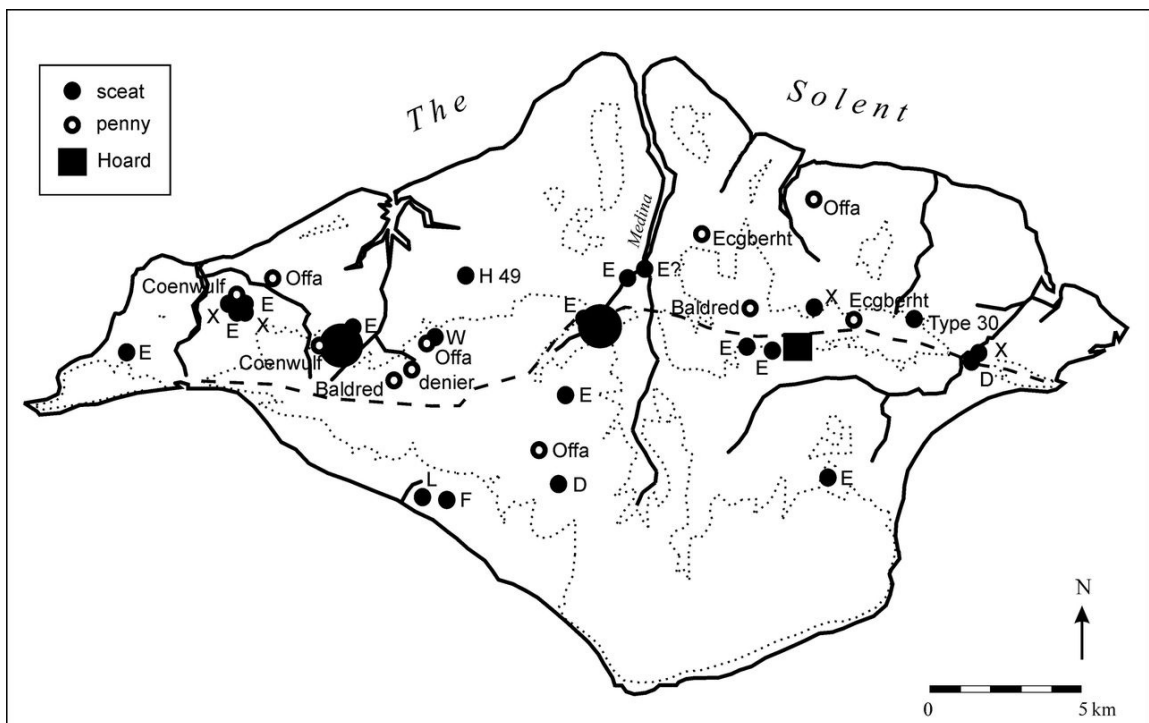


Fig. 5. Map of coin types from the rest of the Isle of Wight.

Again, it will be a simple and obvious question whether any other sceatta type is over-represented on the Isle of Wight, relative to Hamwic, to such an extent that it might be attributed to a mint on the island. When only one find of a sceat was known from the island, it would have been preposterous to imagine that any were minted there. That has changed. We do not know of a *wic* on the Isle of Wight, and one had always imagined that sceattas were minted within the relative security of *emporia*. But there are a great many different types which must have been minted somewhere; perhaps we need to question the accepted orthodoxy, and ask whether minting could have taken place at a 'productive' site? The candidate which comes to mind is Series H, Type 48, which shares the obverse design of Type 39, but which has its own distinctive reverse. The correct attribution of Type 48 has always been puzzling;¹⁹ its distribution within England is more widespread than that of Types 39 and 49. At Hamwic there are 5 specimens of Type 48 against 47 of Types 39 and 49, or 11 per cent. On the Isle of Wight there are 4 specimens against 17, or 25 per cent. These percentages do not amount to a conclusive case for locating the mint-place of Type 48 on the island, but they justify a fuller examination of the evidence (below).

Among the 22 sceattas mentioned as having been found at other localities on the Isle of Wight, Series H, Types 39 and 49 are absent, except two, one of them from Calbourne (not far from Shalfleet). If the total were somewhat larger, one would not hesitate to say that the absence of H, measured against the 22 per cent at the 'productive' sites, was statistically significant, and that it was telling us something about the source and character of the inflows of money to the 'productive' sites. It may be that when the 'productive' sites came into use, they gathered up much of what had previously been geographically dispersed trading in the island. Again, the full picture may be more complicated, not least because the proportion of primary- and early secondary-phase sceattas is distinctly higher among the 22 stray finds.

The date-range of the sceattas from Hamwic and the two 'productive' sites looks much the same. Which came first? Could the 'productive' sites have functioned before Hamwic was a

¹⁹ Metcalf 1993–94, 339–40; 2005a, at p. 5 and n.11.

wic, or were they dependent on it and on cross-Channel trade? At most, one would guess that there were only four or five years between the respective start-dates. We know from hoards such as the Kingsland hoard from Hamwic, and also generally, that primary-phase coins were still in circulation in the early years of the secondary phase, and we should therefore not hastily assume that trading activity had already begun in the late primary phase, just because there are some primary-phase coins from our 'productive' sites. Lafaurie has published evidence which indicates that the Nice-Cimiez hoard is ten or more years later than the previous consensus; and following on from that the end-date for Series D and the start-date for secondary-phase porcupines have been set in connection with the death of the Frisian ruler Radbod in 719.²⁰ The start-date for our sites could, consequently, perhaps be as late as *c.* 725. But the presence among the 'productive' site-finds of several specimens of Series C and, among the primary-phase porcupines, of an unexpectedly high proportion of the 'plumed bird' variety, should make us hesitate, and examine the case for a late-primary beginning, say *c.* 715. There is also the big and difficult 'grey area' of imitations of sceatta types, which may or may not be significantly later in date than their prototypes. This is discussed below with reference to Series W (see postscript) and Series U, Type 23c.

From the area and close surroundings of the 'Shalfleet parish' site, finds include two pennies of King Ecgbeorht of Wessex (802–39), and singletons of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), Archbishop Wulfred, and Baldred (823–25). That matches well enough what has been found at Hamwic. The Coenwulf and the Wulfred pennies are from the core area of the 'productive' site, and one at least of the Coenwulfs is from just on its edge. Tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon pennies also have been found in the wider area, but they tend to be from a few hundred metres away from where the sceattas were concentrated. There are also tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon pennies from other localities on the Isle of Wight, but they are not part of our present brief.

The numbers of single finds of sceattas, around 150 at Hamwic, against 42 (Shalfleet) plus 41 (Carisbrooke), must not be assumed to reflect the relative amounts of money changing hands at the three places, not even vaguely so. The totals will reflect various modern factors, in particular the intensity of excavating or of searching. At Hamwic, for example, a vertical division was made, and only a half of each pit was excavated. In any case, Hamwic was an inhabited place, whereas the Carisbrooke and Shalfleet sites may just have been seasonal. Even the recovery-rates from the two 'productive' sites will not necessarily have been closely similar, although the scope for uncertainty will be much less than with the *wic*.

The monetary history of the Isle of Wight in its wider context: discussion

In considering the find-material in more detail, we shall divide it for convenience into five categories according to the region of origin of the sceattas, namely (i) local, i.e. from south Wessex or (possibly) the Isle of Wight itself; (ii) English regions, including the South-East and East Anglia; (iii) Low Countries, where it is now generally possible to distinguish between coins minted in the lower Rhineland, and those from Frisian political territory, chiefly the northerly province of Friesland; (iv) Jutland (Ribe) – of interest because of the possible seventh-century 'Jutish' background of southern Wessex and the Isle of Wight, before their conquest; and (v) Merovingian coins. Continuing links between Hamwic and Ribe have been mooted.

Coins found in the Isle of Wight will not necessarily have been carried direct from any of these five regions of origin. Friesland sceattas, for example, may well have arrived via the currency of Domburg, where they were very plentiful. So, indeed, may the Jutish Wodan/monster sceattas of Series X. Coins from east Kent and other English regions may have come to the Isle of Wight from the currency of Hamwic. There is, unfortunately, no hard and fast way of handling the material. One will look to see whether a similar mix of types was to be found elsewhere – an exercise at present severely limited by the sample size. Any perceived tendencies will be, in varying degrees, tentative.

²⁰ Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 279–84.

Sixth-century gold coins

There are several gold coins which have nothing to do with our ‘productive’ sites, but which are recorded here for the sake of completeness. A solidus in the name of Anastasius (491–518) was found at Shorwell,²¹ with associated early medieval finds from a ploughed cemetery site. It shows no obvious sign of having been looped or mounted. From the vicinity of the ‘Shalfleet parish’ site there are two tremisses, one of them of Visigothic type, which appears, however, to be derivative. The reverse lacks, for example, any lettering in the exergue. A third gold-plated tremissis on a base silver core was found not far from the ‘productive’ site.²² There is also another gold-plated piece on a base metal core, a grave-find placed in the mouth of the deceased, excavated at Carisbrooke Castle.²³ Thus there are now five or six separate specimens of sixth-century gold coins, and one Byzantine copper of Justinian.²⁴ There is another copper coin of Justinian from Hamwic, excavated in an eighth-century pit: it had almost certainly reached England much earlier than that, and the same is probably true for the coin found in the Isle of Wight. The gold coins, separated by a good hundred years from the sceattas, lie well outside the subject under discussion – except that two of them were found on the Shalfleet ‘productive’ site. Was there some memory of its use which persisted locally; or was the site used during the seventh century for other social purposes which did not involve monetary exchanges?²⁵

The primary phase

There are eleven primary-phase sceattas from the ‘Shalfleet parish’ site and ten from ‘near Carisbrooke’ – in each case, about a quarter of the sceattas from the site. Although the samples are too small for us to assert that there is no significant statistical difference, that is how it looks. Whether the date-range is comparable at the two sites is to an even greater extent a subjective judgement, because the individual coins cannot be dated exactly. At Hamwic the proportion of primary-phase sceattas is only ten per cent or less; that could be because the ‘productive’ sites began sooner or (more probably) because the *wic* was prospering in the 720s and 730s and overtook the ‘productive’ sites. There are also nine primary-phase sceattas from scattered locations elsewhere on the island, and they may hold the key, in that they are almost all from the Low Countries. The idea that Frankish and Frisian traders may have kick-started a monetary economy on the Isle of Wight deserves consideration; a similar argument has been offered *apropos* a ‘productive’ site on the Yorkshire Wolds,²⁶ and similar patterns are emerging elsewhere in England, e.g. at Bidford-on-Avon,²⁷ Warwickshire, and at Tilbury, Essex.

TABLE 1. Primary-phase coin finds from the ‘productive’ sites of ‘Shalfleet parish’, and ‘near Carisbrooke’, and stray finds from the Isle of Wight

	<i>‘Shalfleet parish’</i>	<i>‘near Carisbrooke’</i>	<i>Stray finds</i> ²⁸
(i) <i>Local</i>	–	W	W
(ii) <i>English</i>	BII Cl; C2; C2 imit. R1-2; Vernus	C2; C2	
		F; Saroaldo	F
(iii) <i>Low Countries</i>	D8Z; D/2c E plumed bird var. K; var. L; var. L	D/2c; D/2c; D/2c E, var. Gl; E VICO	D/8; D/8; D/2c E plumed bird; var. G; var. G (imit.); var. G; var. D

²¹ PAS IOW-D7CB55.

²² See catalogue no. 95, below.

²³ For the Carisbrooke Castle grave find, 0.53 g, see Morris and Dickinson 2000, 94.

²⁴ PAS IOW-07D7D6.

²⁵ See, amongst others, Pantos 2004 and Hutcheson 2006.

²⁶ Bonser 2011, 165.

²⁷ At Bidford-on-Avon the suggestion has been made that the ‘productive’ site may have functioned in connection with a monastic house: Laight and Metcalf, 2012, 32–3.

²⁸ See Postscript below, p. 41, for four new stray finds.

The present evidence indicates that the two ‘productive’ sites became active at very much the same date as each other, towards the end of the primary phase, and the ratio of primary to secondary sceattas is almost exactly the same at both (10 or 11 to 30). English primary coins of Series A and B are essentially absent, and the earliest series to be represented in quantity are Series D and E, from the Netherlands, and the English Series C. Hamwic has a similar start-date, with some preliminary activity in Series B which may not be purely trade-based.²⁹

The emphasis at the ‘productive’ sites on Series C (with almost none of the preceding Series A and B) and even on C2, the later part of C, attracts attention. It is not matched at Hamwic. From Domburg there are half a dozen specimens, but they are outnumbered there by Series A and B. Might there have been some political event which created this monetary horizon – the setting up of the ‘productive’ sites? With so few finds overall to support that idea, this is of course at best speculative.

Series W is a scarce type with a south Wessex distribution, which is very unlikely to be from Hamwic. Only one specimen has been found there; and the type was resumed in, and also copied during the secondary phase, when Hamwic had its own distinctive design. Imitations from the Nice-Cimiez hoard, which are no doubt local, i.e. Provençal, have prompted the suggestion that the mint-place of W was accessible from the Solent, and that it was carried across the Channel from there. Winchester is one possibility, and the Isle of Wight has also been suggested. Two finds from the Isle of Wight are intriguing, but they are not enough to give any encouragement to the hypothesis of local minting, given the number of mainland provenances now on record.³⁰ There is, from Carisbrooke, a specimen of secondary-phase date, probably derivative.³¹ The second is from Calbourne, not very far from Shalfleet parish. Series W will have reached the Isle of Wight directly from the southern coastlands, but not from Hamwic.

The Low Countries coins, of Series D and E, are thought to have been minted (imitations apart) in Friesland and the Rhine mouths area respectively. They could all have been carried to the Isle of Wight, however, either direct from Domburg, or partly via Hamwic. Both the coins listed as of Type D/8 are from Shorwell. One is a respectable piece, while the other is a rough copy, at best reminiscent of the type. Porcupine sceattas (Series E) exist in four distinct varieties, namely plumed bird, VICO, Variety G, and Variety D. Shalfleet has three, all of the plumed bird variety, which is also unexpectedly plentiful at Hamwic, and in Wessex generally,³² although it makes up, at most, a quarter of the known primary-phase porcupines. The three specimens may well have arrived from Hamwic. But at Carisbrooke, the plumed bird variety is, to date, unrepresented. Among the stray finds, it contributes one among five. Was Shalfleet in some sense a higher-status site than other places on the island, with closer links to Hamwic?

Because the starting-date of *c.* 715x25³³ is much the same as at other, widely separated English ‘productive’ sites, it would seem *prima facie* that the impetus came from the Netherlands, rather than from any local political developments in the island, e.g. its conquest by Caedwalla in 686. Frisian traders kick-started the monetary economy.³⁴ The flowering of trade and monetary circulation on the Isle of Wight, as in other peripheral regions, was without any preliminary build-up, so far as one can see. We suspect that the stray finds may even have begun a year or two earlier than the ‘productive’ sites.³⁵

The secondary phase

Secondary-phase sceattas are somewhat fewer among the stray finds from the island than at the two ‘productive’ sites (13, compared with 31 from Shalfleet and 30 from Carisbrooke). Moreover the local Series H is virtually absent among the stray finds (just two, one from

²⁹ Birbeck 2005, especially the discussion of the beginnings of Hamwic, and of the early cemetery, at p. 192.

³⁰ Metcalf 2005a, with distribution-map at p. 4, showing finds both to the west and to the east of Hamwic. At least nine further mainland provenances can now be added predominantly to the east of Hamwic.

³¹ Discussed and illustrated, Metcalf 2005a, 11.

³² Metcalf and Op den Velde, 2009–10, 191 and Table 7.3b.

³³ *Ibid.*, 279–84, argue for a date about a decade later than previously supposed.

³⁴ Laight and Metcalf 2012, drawing attention to the Aston Rowant hoard.

³⁵ Series D, Type 8 is earlier than Type 2c; and the primary-phase porcupines among the stray finds are of interest.

Calbourne), and other English types are scarce. The stray finds are mostly porcupines or Wodan/monsters.

TABLE 2. Secondary-phase coin finds from the 'productive' sites of 'Shalfleet parish', and 'near Carisbrooke', and stray finds from the Isle of Wight. Where there is more than one coin of any type, the number is given in parentheses.

	<i>'Shalfleet parish'</i> ³⁶	<i>'near Carisbrooke'</i>	<i>Stray finds</i> ³⁷
(i) <i>Local</i>	H/39 (2); H/49 (7) H/48 (3)	H/39 (2); H/49 (5) H/48 (1) W-related	H/49 (2)
(ii) <i>English</i>	J/85; J/36; Z/66; 'Victory' N/41; K/33; K/42; U/23; V; Z/66	J/37 (2); V; O/38 (2); AESE 30/51 (2)	L; 30/51
(iii) <i>Low Countries</i>	Insular X (3) Porcupines (5)	Insular X (2) Porcupines (10)	Insular X Porcupines (5)
(iv) <i>Jutland</i>	Series X	Series X	Series X (3)
(v) <i>Merovingian</i>	Denier	Denier	Denier?

The occurrence of Series H, Types 39 and 49, looks very much the same at the two 'productive' sites, making up about a third of all secondary-phase sceattas. Contacts with Hamwic evidently grew close. Some, perhaps even many, of the other English sceattas could also have been carried to the island from Hamwic. The two 'productive' sites seem to have more or less monopolized monetary exchanges on the island in the secondary phase, at least as regards English coins. Type 49 comprises many minor varieties with distinctive 'secret marks'. Style is variable, and the current classification has, alas, little claim to correspond with the chronological ordering of the varieties, other than the first. For what it is worth, the varieties represented at Shalfleet (1a, 1c, 1b/c, 2a, 2a, 2a, 4d) and at Carisbrooke (1b, 1b, 1c, 2b, 4a) do not differ from the range at Hamwic in such a way as to suggest that the same design was minted on the Isle of Wight – which would have been politically possible.³⁸

It is virtually certain that Series H sceattas will have been carried direct from Hamwic to the Isle of Wight, and it is probable that they represent net monetary transfers. Both Shalfleet and Carisbrooke have a good showing of Series H and, like Hamwic, they have produced a wide range of other types. Does that imply that, like Hamwic, the 'productive' sites had wide-ranging commercial connections with other regions? Or might the other types have reached their place of loss largely from the currency of Hamwic, like Series H? There are no types well represented in the Isle of Wight that positively could not have come from the currency of Hamwic. Unless we can demonstrate otherwise, it seems that we should not exclude the possibility that the 'productive' sites were less cosmopolitan in character than Hamwic, deriving most of their wide range of sceatta types at second hand. But perhaps we can get some idea – a rough idea – of the scale of the transfers. At Hamwic, Series H, Types 39 and 49 contribute 72 out of a total of 150 sceattas, or 48 per cent. At Shalfleet, the same two types contribute nine out of 42, or 21 per cent, and at Carisbrooke seven out of 41, or 17 per cent. We may accept as virtually certain that in both cases they reached the island direct from Hamwic, if only because Series H is scarce elsewhere. Next: from what we know of the indiscriminate composition of sceatta hoards, in which different types are mingled, presumably at par, Series H is unlikely to have been carried to our two 'productive' sites selectively. It seems probable, therefore, that rather than 17–21 per cent, roughly twice as many sceattas (100 over 48), say 38 per cent of the finds from Shalfleet and Carisbrooke, will have come direct from Hamwic. The corollary of that is that the other 62 per cent arrived in the Isle of Wight from elsewhere, e.g. the Netherlands, and south-eastern England. (These percentage figures are cited just to allow the reader to keep

³⁶ See Postscript below, p. 41, for two new finds from 'Shalfleet parish'.

³⁷ See Postscript below, p. 41, for two new stray finds.

³⁸ In East Anglia, for example, Series R was demonstrably struck at more than one mint-place: Metcalf 2000, 7–8.

track of the argument; they are not to be understood as exact or conclusively proven). The Isle of Wight was engaging in inter-regional trade on its own account, which is something that one would not have ventured to claim without the numismatic evidence.

The correct attribution of Series H, Type 48 is challenging. It has been classified as part of Series H, because of its typology, but there are grave reasons to doubt whether it was minted at Hamwic. It was dispersed through England more widely than Types 39 and 49. The list of provenances includes St. Nicholas-at-Wade, Thanet; Alford, Lincs.; and Roxton, Beds., as well as the specimen from polished, early dies from Ostia (Rome). At Hamwic, it accounts for only five of the sceatta finds (roughly three per cent).³⁹ On the other hand, it would seem to make sense for it to originate in the south Wessex region, where its wolf-whorl design, corresponding with that of Type 39, would probably have helped to make it acceptable locally. At Shalfleet there are three specimens, making seven per cent, and at Carisbrooke one (2.4 per cent). For it to be more plentiful in the island than at Hamwic is against the trend observed for Types 39 and 49. The modest proportions at the 'productive' sites, however, seem to indicate that it was not minted in the Isle of Wight either. As regards the date-range, the silver contents of Type 48 as measured by electron probe micro-analysis (EPMA) are close to 50 per cent. Could there be some other locality, at present unknown or unexplored, where the ratio was even higher? Possibly somewhere in the Portsmouth area? Short of such a dramatic discovery, it is hard to see how progress could be made, although a die-corpus of Type 48, to establish how large an issue it was, might help. (There is in fact no reason to think, from a general inspection of the corpus, that the survival-rate of Type 48 was significantly higher.)

The samples of non-local English coins from the two 'productive' sites (13 at Shalfleet and 10 at Carisbrooke) contain a somewhat different range of types, but given the very wide choice of possible varieties, the lack of much overlap is probably not significant. As mentioned, any of these could have arrived via Hamwic, except possibly the two specimens of Type O/38, found at Carisbrooke. These could perhaps have arrived at the site together, or on the same occasion, but they were certainly not found together. Both specimens were found by the same finder, the first in a field near Carisbrooke in December 1991, and the second in an adjacent or nearby field in May 1992. The record is emphatic that finds from different fields are in question. Similarly, there are two specimens of Type J/37 from Carisbrooke, both found by another finder, about 50 metres apart. At Arreton, two die-duplicate porcupines of early secondary date have been found.⁴⁰ If a single consignment of coinage, the contents of one merchant's purse, could colour an assemblage of just 41 site-finds, the overall scale of the currency in use at the site must have been small. Besides, merchants would normally carry a mixture of types indiscriminately.⁴¹ There are a few other pairs of coins of the same type from find-spots elsewhere in England, and it is something to keep an eye on.

Finds of sceattas of Series X, minted at Ribe on the North-Sea coast of Jutland, are relatively more plentiful at Hamwic and in the Isle of Wight than they are in south-eastern England, which Danish seafarers would have reached first – and it would seem, sailed past. May this be a reflection of the apparent 'Jutish' origin of the area? For commerce to be worthwhile there had to be advantages for both buyer and seller. Series X was extensively copied in a variety of styles. These so-called 'insular' copies of the Wodan/monster sceattas remain mysterious as regards their social context and mint-place(s).⁴² They are certainly not from Ribe. A few have been found at Domburg, but the proportion seems to be higher in England, hence the designation 'insular'.⁴³ Were they struck by expatriate Jutes?

The six insular specimens from the Isle of Wight (three from Shalfleet, two from Carisbrooke, and one stray find) add useful new facts. Two from Shalfleet have grained borders, an unusual stylistic detail otherwise restricted, so far, to Hamwic, and not to be seen at Domburg. The

³⁹ Metcalf 1993–94, 335 (distribution-map) and 337–40; Metcalf 1988, 40–1.

⁴⁰ See Arreton Hoard in the catalogue.

⁴¹ As shown in hoards.

⁴² Metcalf 2000–02.

⁴³ Many of the imitations are undoubtedly English in origin and some seem to have originated in the south Wessex area. From Hamwic there are seven Jutish originals (which may have reached there directly), and six imitations.

first Shalfleet specimen is highly unusual in that the monster has a curly tail. The die-cutter was perhaps aware of other English types with this detail, e.g. Series N/41. The second is very similar to, if not die-identical with a grave-find from Wells cathedral.⁴⁴ A Carisbrooke specimen is certainly by the same die-cutter as a find from Eynsham, Oxon.⁴⁵ A degree of localization to Wessex seems to be emerging, but it would imply that 'insular' coins were struck elsewhere in England too.

There are significant differences between what has been discovered at the 'productive' sites, and what has turned up elsewhere in the island. At Shalfleet there is one of the Danish originals among 42; at Carisbrooke one among 41; and among the stray finds, three among 22. Is the higher proportion among the stray finds statistically significant? As soon as we try to speak about such small totals, the margins of statistical variation become relatively much wider, indeed unacceptably wide. The only practical solution, short of abandoning the discussion, is to work with the available sample, while keeping firmly in mind that the answers are inevitably provisional and at risk of being overturned. This applies to much of what follows. From Shalfleet there are three of the insular coins, against one of the Danish Series X. Given the minimally small numbers, the ratio leaves open the possibility that both the original and the copies may well have been carried to the 'productive' site from Hamwic. From Carisbrooke there are two insular coins against one from Denmark. It is intriguing, therefore, that among the stray finds there should be three of the original, Danish coins (which is 18 per cent of the sceattas), plus one of the imitations. The best argument here is not based on the ratio of Danish coins to copies, but on the percentage of both among the sceattas as a whole. From Hamwic, as mentioned above, there are seven of the Danish coins, and six imitations, out of 150 sceattas (five and four per cent respectively) – a good showing, but money coming into the Isle of Wight from the mainland can hardly have generated the 18 per cent share among the stray finds. Likewise, the Danish coins are found at Domburg, but not in anything like the same quantities as secondary-phase porcupines found there. As there are only four of the secondary-phase porcupines among the stray finds from the island, and even allowing for margins of statistical uncertainty, it seems that money from Jutland was arriving directly to the Isle of Wight – and not just to the 'productive' sites. The contrast between Shalfleet (in particular) and the stray finds may be significant: the Shalfleet specimens may well have arrived from Hamwic.

The Jutish Wodan/monster sceattas from the island are unremarkable as to their varieties. As well as two from Shalfleet and one from Carisbrooke, there are two stray finds, from Bembridge and Yarmouth, of which the last is in noticeably poor (worn) condition. The loss of this specimen, at least, will surely post-date the setting up of the 'productive' sites.

Type 30

The 'Wodan' facing head with flaming hair, familiar to us from the Jutish Series X and its insular copies, also occurs on Type 30, paired with a two standing figures reverse. It is known in two main styles, the delicately engraved 30A, and the coarser 30B. Both obverse styles are linked into a variety of other types, in particular Type 51, and also a voided cross design.⁴⁶ There is a presumption that these are from the same workshop (and indeed there are die-links) but their style needs to be scrutinized very carefully, as there are certainly imitations. Type 30A, which has been found in the Isle of Wight, is scarce generally; Type 51 and the voided cross version, rather less so. Type 30 seems to have an essentially south-of-Thames distribution, including west Kent and Sussex (but relatively less in east Kent).⁴⁷

A comparison of the style of the 'Wodan'-heads on nos 118 and 119 (**Pl. 4, 118–19**) suggests such a close affiliation, that we are tempted to ask whether the two dies are by the same

⁴⁴ Line-drawing in Metcalf 1993–94, 289.

⁴⁵ From R.A. Chambers' excavations of the Abbey site: see Gaimster *et al.* 1990, 207.

⁴⁶ Blackburn and Bonser 1986, cat. nos 44 and 44A first recognized this important linkage. A full die-corpus of Types 30/51, which remains to be undertaken, may well yield some more links.

⁴⁷ The distribution seems to reach northwards via the Medway, and across the Thames estuary to East Tilbury and the Woodham Walter hoard.

die-cutter. Even the crosses flanking the heads, and composed here of dots, are similar. Among the insular coins of Series X found in England, this design (with a Series N reverse) is after all relatively very scarce and unusual.⁴⁸ If some specimens of insular X were indeed from the same stable as Type 30A, the implications would be thought-provoking.

Where these coins were minted is a delicate and difficult problem, for which there is still too little evidence from single finds. Thus, Type 30 is known from only about a dozen single finds from southern England, i.e. well under one per cent of single finds of sceattas.⁴⁹ It is absent at Hamwic (and at Domburg), and there are just a couple of finds from east Kent. But from the Isle of Wight we have one from Brading, one from the Carisbrooke 'productive' site, and a 30/41 coin certainly in the same distinctive style, from Yarmouth. From Carisbrooke there is also a voided cross coin. The numbers are, obviously, tiny. If they were matched in a larger sample, one would have to consider an attribution to the Isle of Wight, or perhaps to some undiscovered *wic* further east along the south coast. Could there have been another small province, which retained a 'Jutish' ethnic flavour? We do not know. The contrasting distribution-pattern of Series W, with numerous specimens from mainland Wessex, is part of the evidence. The need to find a home for Type 30 is also part of a much bigger question, concerning the number of places where sceattas were struck.

Another approach, much more speculative, would be to ask whether the obverse design of Type 30 indicates that it was minted in a 'Jutish' province. The alloy of Type 30, from just one or two analyses, is good, suggesting an early secondary (or even a late primary?) date. The absence of Type 30 at Shalfleet might be interpreted in support; but note the three specimens in the Woodham Walter hoard.⁵⁰ Could Type 30 even begin earlier than Series X?

At present, the Jutish connection, as reflected by sceattas of Series X, therefore is stronger, but not conspicuously stronger on the Isle of Wight than elsewhere in southern England. Jutish settlement in the island in the sixth century, and the existence of a Jutish province also in Hampshire, are sufficiently well attested by Bede, but the persistence of a Jutish sense of identity in all or part of the Isle of Wight as late as the second quarter of the eighth century, well after its conquest by Caedwalla of Wessex in 686, is only hinted at obliquely by Bede.⁵¹

The secondary porcupines include specimens from both main groups, namely varieties b–d (Rhine mouths) and e–h (Friesland). The Rhine-mouths varieties (with TOT/II) are somewhat more plentiful at Carisbrooke, and the Friesland ('mixed grill') varieties, on a diamond-shaped alignment, are more plentiful at Shalfleet. That could (just about) be by chance, but the probability of e.g. Frieslanders visiting one 'productive' site in preference to another is intriguing. An obvious point to check is whether there are any imitative porcupines that look like any of those excavated at Ribe. Only one specimen attracts attention.

The foreign sceattas found in the island, therefore, are almost all from the Netherlands or Jutland. This balance-of-payments surplus must have been matched by exports. What they were, we can only guess – but we note that in the eighteenth century, the Downs supported flocks amounting to some 40,000 head of sheep.⁵² From Merovingian Gaul (where the currency was very extensive) there is almost nothing. Nor are English sceattas, e.g. of Series H, any more plentiful in northern France. Trade across the Channel seems hardly to have existed. A Merovingian denier from Carisbrooke, which is of a variety found also at Sotteville-sous-le-Val (near Rouen) illustrates the obvious cross-Channel route. Its context may be pilgrimage or travel to Rome, rather than trade.

As regards other types of sceattas from the island, several of them, which are not generally plentiful and which are represented by just one or two specimens found in the Isle of Wight, cannot be securely attributed to a region of origin. It may be worth saying, therefore, that the

⁴⁸ Cf., for example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum CM.1759–2007 (De Wit 2008, S 408).

⁴⁹ D.M.M. work in progress, based on the current database of finds. The text specifies southern England because there is an isolated group of what seem to be local imitations of Types 30/51 on Humberside and in Yorkshire.

⁵⁰ A hoard of 108 sceattas found 'near Maldon', Essex, and now in the British Museum. Information courtesy of M.M. Archibald. See now *SCBI* 63 *British Museum*, 715–17.

⁵¹ See *HE* iv.16 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 384–5) and pp. 15–16 above.

⁵² Worsley 1781; Warner 1795.

major series known from distribution-maps to belong north of the Thames are absent or virtually absent. Like Hamwic, or possibly even more so, the island's currency comes either from the Netherlands, or from south of the Thames. Series L, M, N, O, Q, R, S, T, and U are lacking. A subsidiary theme is that a couple of varieties may be southern versions of northern types. That is almost certainly true of Series U, Type 23c. Series N, Type 41a may be a version of 41b, perhaps from east Kent. The very scarce variety reading AESE or SEDE seems also to be southern.

Series U, Type 23c: a Wessex origin?

Whereas there are dozens of single finds of Series U, Types 23b and 23d, and imitations of the same, throughout England, Type 23c is recorded from only five localities, with a focus in Wessex. They are: Shalbourne (Wilts.),⁵³ Walbury Camp (Berks.), a mini-hoard from Stourpaine (Dorset),⁵⁴ the 'productive' site near Royston – and now, Shalfleet. The statistically pronounced contrast in regional occurrence suggests that Type 23c is a local variant copying Type 23b/d, although not so closely as to be deceptive. It would seem to originate in north Wessex: in any case, not Hamwic, and not the Isle of Wight. If that conclusion is correct, Type 23c provides good evidence of the existence of minor mint-places. That is something that one may suspect quite widely throughout the sceatta series, but which is generally very difficult to prove.

A specimen excavated at Jarrow was published as a Type 23c. If it were, one would have to think of a (monastic?) traveller returning to Tyneside from the Continent, via the Solent. But the coin was misidentified. The head is indistinct, and the boat-shaped curve is much too shallow. On the reverse, the bird's body has a central whorl in the style of 23d; and the vine, which is drawn consistently on 23c, originating at 10–11 o'clock (1–2 o'clock if laterally reversed) is differently arranged. The coin is imitative, copying 23b/d.

Finally, attention must be drawn to several pairs of coins among the finds, which are either die-linked, or closely similar in style. That raises the question whether they might have arrived in the Isle of Wight together (as part of a larger batch, no doubt, of similar specimens), especially if they are of types rarely seen in the island. We may mention two primary porcupines of Variety D which seem to share a die; two of Series O, Type 38; and two of Series J, Type 37 (which may be imitative, rather than of Northumbrian origin). The association of these pairs is in each case conjectural, but if it was so, it tends to suggest that the total volume of currency in the Isle of Wight was not enormous, and/or that it did not move about with much velocity.

Early pennies

The early broad pennies again show a contrast between the Shalfleet 'productive' site and the stray finds. Among the latter there are four coins of King Offa (against five of later rulers), but there is only one Offa from the 'productive' site at Carisbrooke. At Shalfleet there are six pennies of later rulers, but none of Offa. And yet from the whole of Wessex there are 40 other single finds of pennies of Offa. Of the four stray finds of Offa, two are from fairly close to Shalfleet (Calbourne and Yarmouth), which tends to make their absence at Shalfleet seem a little more conspicuous.

If this difference is statistically significant (as to which, opinions will differ), and in light of what has been said above about other contrasts between the 'productive' sites and the stray finds, it seems probable that the sites closed down during the monetary recession which severely affected England during the third quarter of the eighth century. In the 790s, meanwhile, commercial activity returned to the island. Other 'productive' sites elsewhere in England, e.g. the site near Royston, have been suspected of showing a similar gap during the recession.⁵⁵ There

⁵³ This specimen, found only a few miles west of Walbury Camp, shows the distinctive swept-back crest and, on the obverse, two small quadrupeds with beak-like jaws, facing each other, to either side of the standing figure's head.

⁵⁴ Keen 1979, 138 and Figs 61.2. and 61.4 (very dark), and Keen 1983, 151, giving the corrected find-spot, near Lazerton or Ash Farm, ST86631030, and stating that the 23c and the Saroaldo were found together.

⁵⁵ Metcalf 2009, 30.

are even some small hints that the latest losses of sceattas, and similarly of pennies of King Offa, tend to be dispersed through the island, i.e. it would seem that monetary activity during the recession reverted to the geographical pattern of the earlier period.

The 'Shalfleet parish' site seems to have resumed its commercial function, after an abeyance of several decades, at some date later than 796: the qualification seems to be necessary, because only two of the early pennies were found fair and square within the area of the 'productive' site. The coin of Baldred, and one of Ecgbeorht, came from about 200 metres further west, and the Coenwulf from substantially further west. There is one other Ecgbeorht, for which the exact find-spot is not available. The pennies were mainly from the Canterbury mint, with singletons from East Anglia, and later from the Wessex mint (Winchester?), but in any case all English. This phase petered out in the 830s.

Conclusions

In or close to the decade of the 710s, the Isle of Wight was drawn into inter-regional trade, and became an exporting region, accumulating a stock of currency in return. The impetus came from the Netherlands, either directly or via Hamwic, and it seems that the change occurred rapidly. A local response was the setting-up of at least two well-located trading places ('productive' sites), where a considerable volume of money changed hands. But coinage was in use also throughout the island, from very much the same date as the emergence of the 'productive' sites (or possibly even a year or two earlier). This new monetary economy flourished greatly for just three or four decades, but then succumbed in the middle of the eighth century to a widespread monetary recession in southern England. There was a recovery, in which the whole story (including the same 'productive' sites) was repeated, at a lower level of intensity, from a date around 800, again for just three or four decades. This ninth-century trade seems to have been mediated through Kent, rather than coming directly by the Netherlands. Whether the impetus was still from the Netherlands is not clear from the numismatic evidence. The monetary affairs of the Isle of Wight in the eighth and early ninth centuries follow closely the same general pattern of 'productive' sites, etc., seen elsewhere in England, in particular the chronology. That tends to show that the commercial initiative from the Netherlands was the controlling factor. When we attempt to analyse the evidence of the coins more closely, the first question is whether the differences between the three components are such that it would be a mistake to amalgamate them. There are certainly a number of distinct differences but, based as they are on small samples, we have to judge whether they are statistically significant. Relatively large margins of statistical uncertainty attach to small samples. The best procedure is perhaps to take the evidence at face value while remaining conscious that conclusions may be modified or overturned as further coin finds are added to the corpus.

Who or what exactly facilitated the economic concentration on the two 'productive' sites has to remain open at present. Historical and topographical studies of the wider Carisbrooke area, as well as excavations, have suggested that the 'productive' site would have been connected with the evolution of a central place at nearby Carisbrooke, with elite and religious elements, as well as a market function. The site appears to have been chosen strategically to maximize access to resources from different economic zones, not too far from navigable water and next to important local transport routes.⁵⁶

Could similar circumstances and considerations have influenced the choice of location of the Shalfleet site? High-status finds from the site and foreign imports from nearby cemeteries suggest the presence of an early elite in the area. The find of the skillet, though not by itself conclusive, could point to a – at the moment admittedly rather tenuous – religious element. The site was located in an elevated position on Bembridge limestone, which is very fertile, and near at least one if not more springs, though not close to navigable water. But even more important would have been access to major local transport and crossroads: the prehistoric track on top of the chalk-ridge, traversing the island from east to west, and the route through

⁵⁶ See, amongst others, Margham 1992; Young 2000; Ulmschneider 1999, with references; Ulmschneider 2003.

the Chessell Gap – one of the few natural thoroughfares, which connects the northern harbours and wooded areas of the island with the southern crop-growing ones (see Fig. 1). Again, premium access to resources and transport routes/channels seems to have played a vital role.

The economic and historic interest of the Carisbrooke and Shalfleet sites has much more to yield in the future, for example through matching the recorded coins against specimens from the same or similar dies found elsewhere in England or in the Netherlands.

CATALOGUE

The catalogue consists of three sections, namely the finds from the Shalfleet parish ‘productive’ site, those from the Carisbrooke ‘productive’ site, and stray finds from elsewhere in the island. A few of the coins from Shalfleet and likewise from Carisbrooke have been previously published in the *Coin Register*, mentioning their provenance. The three sections create opportunities for statistical comparisons between them. In each section the coins are arranged in the following order: Earlier, gold coins; English primary-phase sceattas; Continental sceattas of the primary and secondary phases; English secondary-phase sceattas; early broad pennies.

Abbreviations: Hamwic = Metcalf 1988 and 2005b. Ashmolean = Metcalf 1993–94. wnr = weight not recorded. References to Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, and Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10 are to the catalogue unless otherwise stated.

Most of the coins are illustrated on **Pls. 1–4** (enlarged x1.5):

Pl. 1. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site

Pl. 2. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site (25–44), Shalfleet parish (50), Arreton hoard (A1–3)

Pl. 3. Carisbrooke ‘productive’ site

Pl. 4. Isle of Wight, stray finds (97 and 123 are shown actual size).

The Shalfleet ‘productive’ site

The coins are listed in two sections: 1, those from the ‘productive’ site, and 2, from its vicinity. A couple of sceattas from elsewhere within Shalfleet parish are included in the section recording stray finds, below.

1. The ‘productive’ site (1–49).

The coins were found by ten or more detectorists during rallies at the site organized by Mr Frank Basford, who photographed and weighed the finds, and recorded their exact location by GPS. The coins were then returned to the finders.

Gold coins

1. Merovingian tremissis, imitating the Visigothic ‘Victory advancing right’ type.

1.47 g. 20 February 2008.

Sixth century.

2. Merovingian tremissis, probably minted at Nantes.

1.43 g. 18 December 2011.

Obv. Bust left. Legend to left, (?) NAM. *Rev.* Victory advancing left. Legend, IVIO N. Belfort 1892–95, 3094.

Cf. *MEC* 460. Depeyrot 1998–2001, type 3–2E. Later sixth century.

English primary-phase sceattas.

3. Series BII.

1.16 g. 5 March 2008.

Same dies as Ashmolean 114 (from Mucking).

4. Series C1.

1.13 g. 16 February 2005.

Small head, pyramidal neck (more like C2). Otherwise, cf. Ashmolean 118. Somewhat weathered.

5. Series C2.

1.16 g. 18 September 2005.

Cf. Ashmolean 121.

6. Series C2 imitative (related to R/C2 mule?).

0.97 g. 17 September 2006.

Cf. Metcalf 2007, 64a. The runes on this specimen are indistinct, making it difficult to be certain whether they are those belonging to Series C, or R. The style of the reverse is certainly reminiscent of the R/C2 mules, and unexpected for straightforward C2 imitations. The R/C2 coins are usually debased. It might be that there is a little series of imitations which begins with Type C2 copies, as here, and later moves over to R/C2 copies. The known specimens include two from Bidford (Laight and Metcalf 2012, nos 41–2), and two from Kingston Deverill, Wilts. Against a regional origin, however, there are also finds from Essex.

7. Series R1–2, variety 1.
1.09 g. 22 October 2006.
Cf. Metcalf 2007, 1a.
8. ‘Vernus’ type. Group 1. (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3437–44 and pp. 205–14; see Fig. 7.7, coin a, at p. 207.)
1.04 g. 24 April 2011.
Possibly the same *rev.* as Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3439. Group 1 is a small group, relatively early within the ‘Vernus’ type. It is recorded in the Aston Rowant hoard and at the Royston ‘productive’ site. As Group 2 is also present at Aston Rowant, our specimen would seem to be among the earliest finds from the ‘productive’ site – at least as regards its date of minting.

Continental sceattas, of primary-phase and secondary-phase dates.

(Including imitations of uncertain geographical origin.)

9. Series D, Type 8Z.
1.11 g. 7 May 2006.
This specimen is clearly imitating Type D, 8. For the large central annulet with pellet on the obverse, cf. Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 145 (pictured on p. 42), which was found at East Knoyle in Wiltshire. The box-shaped pseudo-letter on the reverse is seen on regular coins of Type 8, e.g. corpus no. 4, the so-called ‘catapult’ variety, which is doubtless continental in origin. Another coin of Type D, 8 is at no. 50 below.
10. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 4b/c.
0.99 g. 4 March 2007.
The runes in front of the face are replaced on Variety 4 by parallel lines, and the pseudo-legend on the reverse is a mirror-image IIVI/IVII. Variety 4b is plentiful at Domburg and at Wijnaldum, etc. Variety 4c seems to be very late in the sequence, and is recorded mainly from the Aston Rowant hoard (17 out of 28 known specimens), with just three or four specimens from the Netherlands. Die-linkage is conspicuous. The metrology of Variety 4c is clearly different from 4a and 4b (see Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, pp. 53–4). Whether this all points to English imitation, or merely to a weight-reduction in the Netherlands, there is not enough evidence to say.
11. Series E (primary phase), plumed bird. Variety K.
1.11 g. 7 May 2006.
Coin Register 2007, 99, and Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0076. See no. 12 below.
12. Series E (primary phase), plumed bird. Variety L (annulets on reverse).
1.14 g. 7 May 2006.
Obv. Plump-bodied bird. *Rev.* Groups of three pellets between the annulets. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0140–2. Found on the same day as no. 11 above, but not close enough to be associated.
13. Series E (primary phase), plumed bird. Variety L.
1.15 g. 17 September 2006.
Obv. ‘Tubular’-bodied bird. *Rev.* Less tidy groups of three pellets.
14. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety b–d.
[wnr] 7 May 2006.
Sub-varieties b–d are associated with minting at Domburg or in the Rhine mouths area, while e–h (often with reverses diagonally aligned) are associated with minting in Friesland, e.g. at Wijnaldum.
15. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety d.
[wnr] 17 September 2006.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1553–6.
16. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety g.
1.14 g. 9 November 2008.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1901–40.
17. Series E, secondary phase, Sub-variety h?
1.07 g. 6 April 2008.
This coin uses the diamond-shaped alignment of the reverse design.
18. Series E, secondary phase, Sub-variety g or h.
1.06 g. 7 December 2008.
19. Series X, Variety b/B (Metcalf 1993–94, 279).
1.08 g. 17 February 2008.
Coins of Series X in this style were minted at Ribe, in Jutland.

English secondary-phase sceattas.

20. Series H, Type 39.
1.05 g. 13 April 2008.
The four annulets of the reverse design are composed of an inner wire circle and an outer circle of 18 to 20 pellets. This is contrary to all the rest of Type 39, which has an outer wire circle and an inner circle of pellets. Is this specimen early and experimental, or imitative? The bird’s head, which is not bent downwards as much as usual, perhaps suggests the former.

21. Series H, Type 39.
0.97 g. 18 January 2009.
Same dies as Hamwic 31.1 – *SCBI 20 Mack*, 355.
22. Series H, Type 49. Variety 1a.
[wnr] 31 March 2011.
Eight annulets. Cf. Hamwic 36–7, but with dots between the annulets.
23. Series H, Variety 1c.
[wnr] 14 March 2011.
Eight annulets. Rosette (indistinct) between bird's legs.
24. Series H, Variety 1b or 1c.
0.78 g. 17 September 2006.
Cf. Hamwic 40. Coin Register 2007, 143.
25. Series H, Variety 2a.
0.73 g. 24 December 2006.
Ten annulets, with pellets between. Above and below the bird's neck, a wire annulet with central pellet. Cf. Hamwic 63.3.
26. Series H, Variety 2a.
0.92 g. 18 January 2009.
Seven annulets. Cf. Hamwic 64?
27. Series H, Variety 2a.
0.99 g. 17 September 2006.
Eight annulets. Cf. Hamwic 66.7.
28. Series H, new variety 4d, with an additional annulet and pellet between the bird's legs.
1.05 g. 1 May 2006.
Nine annulets, otherwise cf. Hamwic 76, 77. Coin Register 2007, 145.
29. Series H, Type 48.
0.88 g. 17 September 2006.
Four annulets with complete outer wire circles, inner circles of 17–19 pellets. Bold central pellet partially surrounded by circle of small dots. Cf. Hamwic 31.9, 32.
30. Series H, Type 48.
0.77 g. 16 December 2008.
Cf. Hamwic 32, 33.
31. Series H, Type 48.
0.85 g. 1 May 2006.
Incomplete wire circles, joined to form outline of 'Celtic cross'. The heads in the wolf-whorl have long snouts. Untidy workmanship. Coin Register 2007, 142.
32. Series J, Type 85.
1.02 g. 16 December 2007.
On the reverse, the treatment of the bird, with a flat, horizontal back, is irregular. Hamwic 92 is not dissimilar, with bird with flat, horizontal back.
33. Series J, Type 36 (imitative?).
1.05 g. 12 March 2006.
Obv. Bust right, cross before face. London-style wreath-ties. *Rev.* Bird right, with smaller bird above. This specimen was described in Coin Register 2007, 157 as a plated Series K, Type 33. The *obv.* is irregular for Type 36.
34. Series K, Type 33.
[wnr] 18 March 2012.
Cf. Ashmolean, p. 389, top illustration. *Obv.* Bust in style C–D. *Rev.* Very similar to *SCBI 2 Hunterian*, 101. Three known provenances are from Reculver/north coast of the Isle of Thanet. See Metcalf and Walker 1967, nos 6, 7a, 7b, and 8.
35. Series K, Type 42b.
0.98 g. 14 October 2006.
Obv. Hawk in front of face. *Rev.* Foliage of var. iii behind the animal. There is a specimen of Type 42 from Hamwic.
36. 'Victory' type, var. 4 (Metcalf 1993–94, p. 442).
0.95 g. 5 May 2007.
Closely similar to the Hinton Parva, Wilts. find (= Ashmolean 350), but different dies. Abramson 2006, Vi 20 (p. 81) seems to be from the same *obv.* die.
37. Series N, Type 41a.
0.92 g. 20 January 2008.
From the same dies as the British Museum (type-) specimen. Type 41a seems to be a variant of the substantive Type 41b, and may possibly be from the Wessex area, but provenances are still needed.

38. Series U, Type 23c.
[wnr] 16 March 2011.
Rev. Bird right, i.e. not laterally reversed. Finds from Hamwic, Hanford, Dorset, and Walbury Camp, plus this one suggest a regional variant of Type 23 b/d, with its origin in the Wessex area.
39. Series V.
0.79 g. 17 September 2006.
Obv. Above the wolf, a letter C and two small groups of dots. Worn and otherwise indistinct.
40. Series X (insular).
0.68 g. 5 March 2008.
Obv. Variety H. In place of crosslets flanking the head there are semi-circles (resembling large ears). *Rev.* Grained border between inner and outer wire borders. Below the monster's chin, a group of three pellets. This and the following specimen, which in terms of their die-cutting are quite unlike most of the insular coins of Series X, would seem to be from the Wessex region. Cf. a coin with *obv.* Variety H from excavations at Wells Cathedral (Rodwell 1980, 43). It is illustrated in Ashmolean, p. 289.
41. Series X, (insular).
0.71 g. 2 March 2007.
Rev. The monster has a curly tail, a detail borrowed from an English type, e.g. Type 16/41. Grain borders. The style of engraving is very closely related to that of no. 40.
42. Series X, (insular?).
0.64 g. 18 January 2009.
Indistinct.
43. Series Z, Type 66, with beast right.
1.2 g. 11 October 2009.
Seven or more specimens are listed and discussed in Metcalf 1986, at pp. 12–13 (nos 5–11 with right-facing beast). Their distribution is concentrated in East Anglia, with none south of the Thames. Ashmolean 141 was said to be from Billingsgate (London) spoil.
(See Postscript, p. 41 below, for two new finds of secondary-phase sceattas from the Shalfleet 'productive' site.)

Merovingian denier

44. Cf. Belfort 1892–97, 5658–63.
1.22 g. 17 September 2006.
Coin Register 2007, 67.

Early broad pennies

45. Coenwulf, king of Mercia. East Anglian mint, moneyer Lul. c.800–21.
[wnr] 17 February 2008.
Naismith 2011 E.10.1f. Gilded, but with no sign of mounting. Another coin of Coenwulf at no. 51 below.
46. Baldred, king of Kent. Rochester mint. c.823–25.
0.61 g (frag.). 22 October 2006.
Naismith 2011 R.8 (p. 268).
47. Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury. c.823–25?
0.52 g (large fragment, lacking the outer circle). 25 September 2005.
Obv. Large facing head. *Rev.* DRVR/CITS. The moneyer's name is missing. (Swefherd, Wilnoth?). Naismith 2011 C.68, 69. Cf. R.C. Lockett sale Part I (Glendining, 6 June 1955), lot 335, and cf. Baldred, Naismith 2011 C.61–2 for the suggested date.
48. Ecgberht, king of Wessex. Canterbury mint (DOROB C phase). Moneyer Diormod. c.828–39.
1.01 g (chipped). 9 November 2008.
Naismith 2011 C.82 (pp. 154–7).
49. Ecgberht, king of Wessex. Winchester mint. Moneyer Weochthun. c.828–39.
1.23 g. 16 December 2007.
Naismith 2011 W.11b. See also a stray find from Wootton, below.

2. From the vicinity of the Shalfleet 'productive' site

(Note that further finds from elsewhere within Shalfleet parish (see stray finds) include the tremissis, no. 95 below.)

50. Series D, Type 8.
[wnr] 18 March 2012.
Cf. Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 38–40.
51. Coenwulf, king of Mercia. Canterbury mint, moneyer Duda.
1.22 g. 7 December 2008.
Naismith 2011 C.13.1o.

The Carisbrooke 'productive' site

The discovery and early history of the 'productive' site were somewhat opportunist, but from an early stage information was rescued by the archaeological authorities for the island, namely Mr David Motkin and his colleagues. It seems that detectorists began to find sceattas and early broad pennies in the Isle of Wight in about 1989. The authorities were able to make confidential records of finds by five detectorists, amounting to 15 sceattas and two pennies, mostly from between 1989 and 1993. Nothing can now be said about the exact varieties of some of the early finds, which have presumably been dispersed. It seems that some of them were found in the vicinity of Carisbrooke Castle, but that rests on hearsay. Seven further sceattas have been published in the Society's *Coin Register*, having been shown in the British Museum by Mr B. White. Two of these coins were the property of his friend Mr J.W. Heath. In June 1998 Mr White and Mr Heath visited D.M.M. in the Ashmolean Museum, and spoke about their experiences. Their recollection was that, over a period of eight or nine years, Mr Heath had found 18 sceattas (which are catalogued below), Mr White had found about 12, and a third detectorist known to them had found three. Mr Heath kindly allowed copies to be made of enlarged colour photographs of his 18 finds (of which the first nine had been sold), and Mr White, with equal kindness, allowed four of his recent finds to be photographed. Two of the 18 (only) had appeared in the *Coin Register*. Photographs of five other coins, found by Mr White, and submitted by him to the Archaeological Unit, had been photocopied for reference. One other coin was reported to D.M.M. quite independently in 1993, with a photo, by Mr T. Winch. Thus it was possible to examine and compare photographs of 32 out of 36 coins. As regards the other four coins, it is not impossible that they are duplicate records. In most cases the exact find-spot of each coin is known, but the localities are withheld at the express wish of the finders, to preserve the sites from unauthorized or aggravating exploitation. Many if not all of them are also confidentially recorded by Mr Motkin and his colleagues. Some of the finds are specifically stated to have come from Froglands Farm. It seems that that is where the 'productive' site lay. The nearby Little Whitcombe Farm, and Plaish Farm have also been mentioned. For the arrangement of the sceatta types, see p. 32 above.

English primary-phase sceattas.

52. Series C2.

1.06 g. Spring, 1995.

Coin Register 1995, 77.

53. Series C2 (imitative).

[wnr]

A close copy, but with runes *apa* inwards and retrograde.

54. Series F. Variety b.

1.14 g.

55. Saroaldo.

[wnr]

Cf. Ashmolean 151–3. Reported in the summer of 2001, found 'near Plaish Farm (44750870)', i.e. a quarter of a mile west of Froglands Farm.

56. Series W.

1.12 g. Found 1991–92. Metcalf 2005a, 5a.

Coin Register 1992, 246.

Continental primary and secondary-phase sceattas.

57. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 3c, with bust facing right.

[wnr] Found 1990–8.

Runes resemble KHK. Op de Velde and Metcalf 2003, 666.

58. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 3d.

1.15 g. Reported 2003.

Op de Velde and Metcalf 2003, 778.

59. Series D, Type 2c, Variety 4b.

0.86 g. Found summer 1993.

Coin Register 1993, 148.

60. Series E, primary phase. VICO variety (imitative).

1.11 g. Reported June 1998.

Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0319.

61. Series E, primary phase. Variety G1.

[wnr] Found 1990–98.

Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0355. Same *obv.* as BMC 340 (Aston Rowant hoard).

62. Series E, secondary phase. Variety b.

[wnr] Found 1990–98.

Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0866.

63. Series E, secondary phase. Variety b.

[wnr] Found 1990–98.

Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0960.

64. Series E, secondary phase. Variety b or c.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
65. Series E, secondary phase. Variety d.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1353.
66. Series E, secondary phase. Variety d?
[wnr]
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, –.
67. Series E, secondary phase. Variety g.
[wnr] Found 28 November 2007.
68. Series E, secondary phase. Variety h.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1973.
69. Series E, secondary phase. Variety h.
[wnr] Found October 1989.
Similar to Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 2010–17.
70. Series E, secondary phase.
No details available.
71. Series E, secondary phase.
No details available.
72. Series X, Variety b/A.
0.90 g. Found 1991/2.
Coin Register 1992, 247.

English secondary-phase sceattas.

73. Series H, Type 39.
[wnr] Found at Froglands Farm, c.1989–92.
74. Series H, Type 39.
[wnr]
There is a row of small pellets following the curve of the bird's neck. The vine is indicated by bold pellets.
Possibly from early dies?
75. Series H, Type 49, Variety 1b.
0.83 g. Found before April 1992.
Cf. Hamwic 38. Coin Register 1992, 232.
76. Series H, Type 49, Variety 1b.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
Ten roundels. Cf. Hamwic 38–40.
77. Series H, Type 49, Variety 1c.
[wnr]
Eight roundels, interspersed with pellets. Cf. Hamwic 51.7.
78. Series H, Type 49, Variety 2b.
[wnr]
Hamwic 70 is from the same *obv.* die and a very similar reverse.
79. Series H, Type 49, Variety 4a.
0.78 g.
Cf. Hamwic 75–6. Coin Register 1993, 170.
80. Series H, Type 48.
0.89 g.
Cf. Hamwic 31.4, 31.6. Coin Register 1992, 231 (as Type 49).
81. Series J, Type 37.
[wnr] Found 1990–98.
See no. 82.
82. Series J, Type 37.
[wnr]
Found about 50 yards from the preceding coin. This and the preceding specimen are very close to each other in style. The diadems are grained, and the individual hairs spring from pellets. There is no suggestion, however, that these coins are of local origin, as similar pieces have been found e.g. in the south midlands.
83. Series O, Type 38.
[wnr] Found at Froglands Farm, December 1991.
See no. 84.
84. Series O, Type 38.
[wnr] Found May 1992, in an adjacent or nearby field to the preceding coin.
85. Type 30A.
0.99 g.
Cf. Ashmolean 431.

86. Cf. Type 51.
1.10 g.
Same variety as Ashmolean 434, which it closely resembles. Coin Register 1993, 177.
87. Series V. Type V2b.
0.96 g.
88. Series W-related.
0.79 g. Found September 1998.
Obv. Monster left with head turned back. *Rev.* Ornamented saltire, with triple ends. See Metcalf 2005a, p. 11, Fig. 3 (line-drawing), and MacKay 2004, publishing and discussing the type. There is another specimen from Rushall, Wilts., almost certainly from the same dies, and a third, from south-west Wiltshire.
89. Series X (insular).
0.92 g.
Very similar to a find from Eynsham, Oxon., = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1766-2007; ex De Wit 2008, S 406; ex Patrick Finn, list 16 (1999), 64.
90. Series X (insular).
[wnr] Found 2007.
Obv. with three annulets in place of crosslets. Cf. Hamwic 123, and also a find from Alford, Lincs. Coin Register 2009, 225. This specimen said to be from Little Whitcombe Farm, which is next to Froglands Farm: it could be near the 'productive' site rather than actually on it, but the finder's information may be slightly misleading. The coin was initially condemned as a modern forgery.
91. Type reading AESE (Metcalf 1993–94, p. 682, from different dies).
[wnr]
Crosslets between letters, vvv in margin.

Merovingian denier.

92. *Obv.* Head left, S+VI. *Rev.* Monogram.
0.93 g.
Cf. Prou 1892, 2845, ex Nice-Cimiez. There is another similar specimen found at Sotteville-sous-le-Val (Seine-Maritime), near Rouen, in 2000: Lafaurie and Pilet Lemièrre 2003, 76.682,1.

Early broad penny.

When D.M.M. was in contact with the finders, early pennies were not discussed. One cannot rule out, therefore, that some were found, and probably sold.

93. Offa, king of Mercia. Heavy coinage, Canterbury mint, Ethelnoth.
1.22 g. Found 9 December 2007, and recorded by Mr Basford. Froglands Farm.
Cf. Chick 2010, 235 (same *rev.* as 235a and b). A find-date of 14 November 2004 is erroneous.

Stray finds

Find-spots refer to the parish within which the coin was found.

Sixth-century gold and copper coins.

94. Solidus, in the name of Anastasius I (491–518).
[wnr] 25 April 2007, found Shorwell.
Contemporary copy, with blundered symbol in the reverse left field. Probably Merovingian, sixth century. Cf. MEC 347–8.
95. Tremissis, of Visigothic type (Victory advancing right), in the name of Anastasius I.
1.21 g. 1 May 2011. Shalfleet parish.
Gold plated on copper core. Cf. Tomasini 1964, 47, Group A2.
96. Solidus, Tiberius II, 578–82. Constantinople mint.
4.48 g. 5 March 2008. Isle of Wight.
Coin Register 2009, 45.
97. Justinian (528–65), Thessalonica mint, copper 16-nummum.
4.86 g. 23 April 2008, found Newport parish.
The sigla on the reverse were described as a letter C flanked by dots. See Hahn 2000, N169f (p. 153 and pl. 29), which is, however, quite different in style. It is possible that the sigla, which are indistinct, have been misread. For a 10-nummum of Justinian excavated at Hamwic (and probably a late seventh- or eighth-century loss), see Hamwic 187.

English primary-phase sceattas.

98. Series F, Variety b.i.
1.11 g. 12 August 2012, found Brighstone.
99. Series W.
0.96 g. 4 October 2009, found Calbourne.
Apparently not the same *obv.* as Metcalf 2005a, 1a–e.

Continental primary- and secondary-phase sceattas.

100. Series D, Type 8.
1.19 g. 15 July 2007, found Shorwell.
Cf. Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 81–6.
101. Series D, Type 2c.
1.16 g. 18 September 2003, found in controlled archaeological investigation, unstratified, at Yaverland (Bembridge parish).
Coin Register 2003, 73.
102. Series E, primary phase, plumed bird.
1.12 g. 30 May, 2010, found Arreton.
Plump-bodied bird. Crosslet and pellet below bird's neck. Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0069–70, but on the reverse the pyramids of three dots point outwards.
103. Series E, primary phase, Variety G.
1.22 g. 13 February 2005, found Totland.
Cf. G1/G2, but with groups of three pellets added on the reverse. This variant, hitherto unique (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0561) is discussed and illustrated in Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, at p. 31. The question arises whether this could be a G1/plumed bird mule. The engraving is of 'official' quality.
104. Series E, primary phase, Variety G1 or G2.
1.22 g. 16 October 2005, found Yarmouth.
105. Series E, primary phase, Variety G, probably G2.
1.24 g. 10 October 2009, found Newchurch.
Badly weathered.
106. Series E, primary phase, Variety D.
[wnr] 11 March 2009, found Arreton.
This specimen is from the same dies as a coin in the Arreton hoard (below). Could it be a stray from the hoard, or could it have arrived in the Isle of Wight at the same time?
107. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety b.
0.98 g. 30 May 2008, found Yarmouth.
Added pellets on the reverse, cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 866–8. Note that 866, which is from the Carisbrooke 'productive' site, is extremely similar in style. As with the preceding coin and its pair, one will strongly suspect that this and the Carisbrooke specimen arrived in the Isle of Wight together.
108. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety b or c.
1.05 g. 1 February 2006, found Gatcombe.
109. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety e.
0.98 g. 9 November 2008, found in Shalfleet parish (not the 'productive' site).
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1682–4. In Sub-variety e, the spine on the *obv.* is normally outlined with small dots. A few are visible on this specimen, above the spine, and (faintly) below.
110. Series E, secondary phase. Sub-variety h.
1.19 g. 3 September 2011, found Newport.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1968–79.
111. Series E?
A coin found in 1759 is conjectured, from a verbal description only, to have been a porcupine. Found Newport.
Metcalf 1957, 205.
112. Series X, Variety d.
1.05 g. 19 October 2002, found Bembridge.
Coin Register 2005, 96.
113. Series X, Variety e?
1.07 g. 30 May 2012, found Havenstreet and Ashey parish.
114. Series X, Variety j (*obv.* laterally reversed).
0.57 g. 27 May 2009, found Yarmouth.

English secondary-phase sceattas.

115. Series H, Type 49, variety 1b.
1.07 g. Found 2007/9?, Calbourne (F3C507).
116. Series H, Type 49, Variety 4b.
0.86 g. 5 April 2005, found SZ 4487.
117. Series L, 'Hwiccan' style. Type 18.
1.02 g. 11 November 2009, found Brighstone.
Closely similar to the Chedworth find, Metcalf 1976, pl. 12, 8.
118. Type 30.
0.94 g. 16 March 2008, found Brading.
For another very similar specimen, with two facing figures, see Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum CM.1953–2007; ex De Wit 2008, S 410.

119. Series X (insular). Variety with W-shaped beard. Domed head, long moustaches.
1.16 g. 31 January 2010, found Yarmouth.
Ashmolean, p. 292. The W-shaped beard is seen on other types than Series X, where it is scarce. Possibly to be compared with a find from Hanford, Dorset, which has been published only with a rather dark photograph. If the Hanford find were of the same variety, one would begin to think of a local mint or origin.
(See Postscript, p. 41 below, for six new stray finds of primary- and secondary-phase sceattas.)

Merovingian denier?

120. E/D imitation?
0.83 g. Isle of Wight, by 2010.
Coin Register 2011, 80. A most unusual piece, which seems unlikely to have been English. The resemblance of the *obv.* to the well-known 'porcupine' design is far-fetched: if the die-engraver had wished to imitate that design, he could hardly have failed to do better than this. Possibly Merovingian?

Early broad pennies.

121. Offa, king of Mercia. Canterbury, light coinage, Babba.
1.09 g. 4 October 2009, found Calbourne.
Cf. Chick 2010, 89. Another specimen of this variety is Hamwic 130.
122. Offa of Mercia. Canterbury, light coinage, Tirwald.
1.21 g. 1 April 2004, found Shorwell.
Chick 2010, 132b (this coin). Coin Register 2005, 143.
123. Offa of Mercia. Canterbury, light coinage, Tirwald.
1.09 g. 9 January 2011, found Yarmouth parish.
New type, cf. Chick 2010, 133, but with large R at centre of *obv.*
124. Offa of Mercia. Canterbury, heavy coinage, Ethelmod.
1.01 g (chipped). 14 November 2004, found Fishbourne.
Cf. Chick 2010, 229–30.
125. Coenwulf, king of Mercia, 796–821. Canterbury mint, moneyer Duda.
[wnr] 21 September 2005, found Yarmouth.
Naismith 2011 C40.
126. Baldred, king of Kent, c.823–25. Canterbury mint, moneyer Sigestef.
1.2 g. 22 June 2004, found near Arreton.
Naismith 2011 C63.2f (this coin).
127. Baldred of Kent, c.823–25. Canterbury, moneyer Werheard.
1.16 g. 27 November 2011, found Calbourne.
Naismith 2011 66.
128. Ecgbert, king of Wessex, 828–39. Canterbury mint, moneyer Diormod.
1.01 g (chipped). 9 November 2008, found Newport.
Naismith 2011 C821 (this coin).
129. Ecgbert of Wessex, 828–39. Canterbury mint, Diormod.
0.85 g (chipped). 2 March 2012, found Havenstreet and Ashey parish.
Naismith 2011 C82. Similar to the preceding specimen.
130. Ecgbert of Wessex, 828–39. Wessex mint, moneyer Pechtun.
1.23 g. 1 September 2007, found Wootton.
Naismith 2011 W11. (Another, from Shalfleet, above.)

Carolingian denier.

131. Charles the Bald, 840–77? Mint of Melle.
1.35 g. 21 August 2006, found Calbourne.
Deniers such as this in the name of Charles appear to have become an immobilized type at Melle, i.e. they cannot easily be closely dated. This specimen may be contemporary with the broad pennies listed above, or it may be somewhat later.

The Arreton hoard

Three coins, found by different detectorists, but in close proximity and on the same day (18 May 2011). It was deemed likely that they had been concealed together. A fourth coin may have been associated, but further finds from Arreton (see Postscript) make this less likely.

1. Series E, primary phase. Variety VICO.
[wnr]
2. Series E, primary phase. Variety D.
[wnr]
Cf. 105 above, from the same dies, and also found at Arreton. Could it be a stray from the hoard?

3. Series C (imitative).

1.07 g.

The distinctive reverse, with the letters T aligned diagonally, is very scarce. It is seen, for example in the Vernus type, Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3484–6 (incorrectly numbered on pl. 93). The hoard suggests, *prima facie*, that it is of primary-phase or very early secondary-phase date.

POSTSCRIPT

In the interval between submitting this paper and its return to the authors for final corrections, no fewer than eight more sceattas have been recorded from the Isle of Wight. Two are from the Shalfleet ‘productive’ site, from the northern and southern sectors respectively. They are of Series H/49 and Series X, i.e. more of the same. The remainder are welcome single finds from around the island. Four of these are primary-phase issues, of which three are from the Netherlands. Two of them are of type D/8, reinforcing what was suggested about the D/8 to D/2c ratio and about the gathering in of monetary exchanges to the ‘productive’ sites. A specimen of Type C2 from Freshwater parish is extremely close in style to cat. no. 5. Another Series X, from Newport parish, is in insular style. The most intriguing of the new finds is a Series W, from Arreton parish (three among the eight are from Arreton, from where a small hoard was reported). It is of the variety where the profile of the head is reminiscent of Series U. If that detail is derivative, the Arreton find will necessarily be of (early) secondary date. Whether it marks a resumption of minting at the original mint-place of Series W, or is an imitation from elsewhere (? locally), is an open question.

1. Secondary phase. Series X, Variety A/c.

0.81 g. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site, 29 May 2013.

2. Secondary phase. Series H, Type 49.

0.76 g. Shalfleet ‘productive’ site, 29 May 2013.

3. Primary phase. Series C, Type 2c.

1.06 g. Freshwater parish, 20 March 2013.

4. Primary phase. Series D, Type 8.

0.98 g. Arreton parish, 16 June 2013. (See no. 6)

5. Primary phase. Series D, Type 8.

1.01 g. Havenstreet and Ashley parish, 27 February 2013.

6. Primary phase. Series E, primary Variety D.

1.03 g. Found Arreton parish on the same day as no. 4, but not in proximity – GPS record of find-spot to nearest metre, 16 June 2013.

7. Secondary phase. Series W, cf. Metcalf 2005a, no. 9.

1.27 g. Arreton parish, 21 October 2012.

8. Secondary phase. Series X, *obv.* Type C, rev. laterally reversed. (Insular).

1.06 g. Newport parish, 3 April 2013.

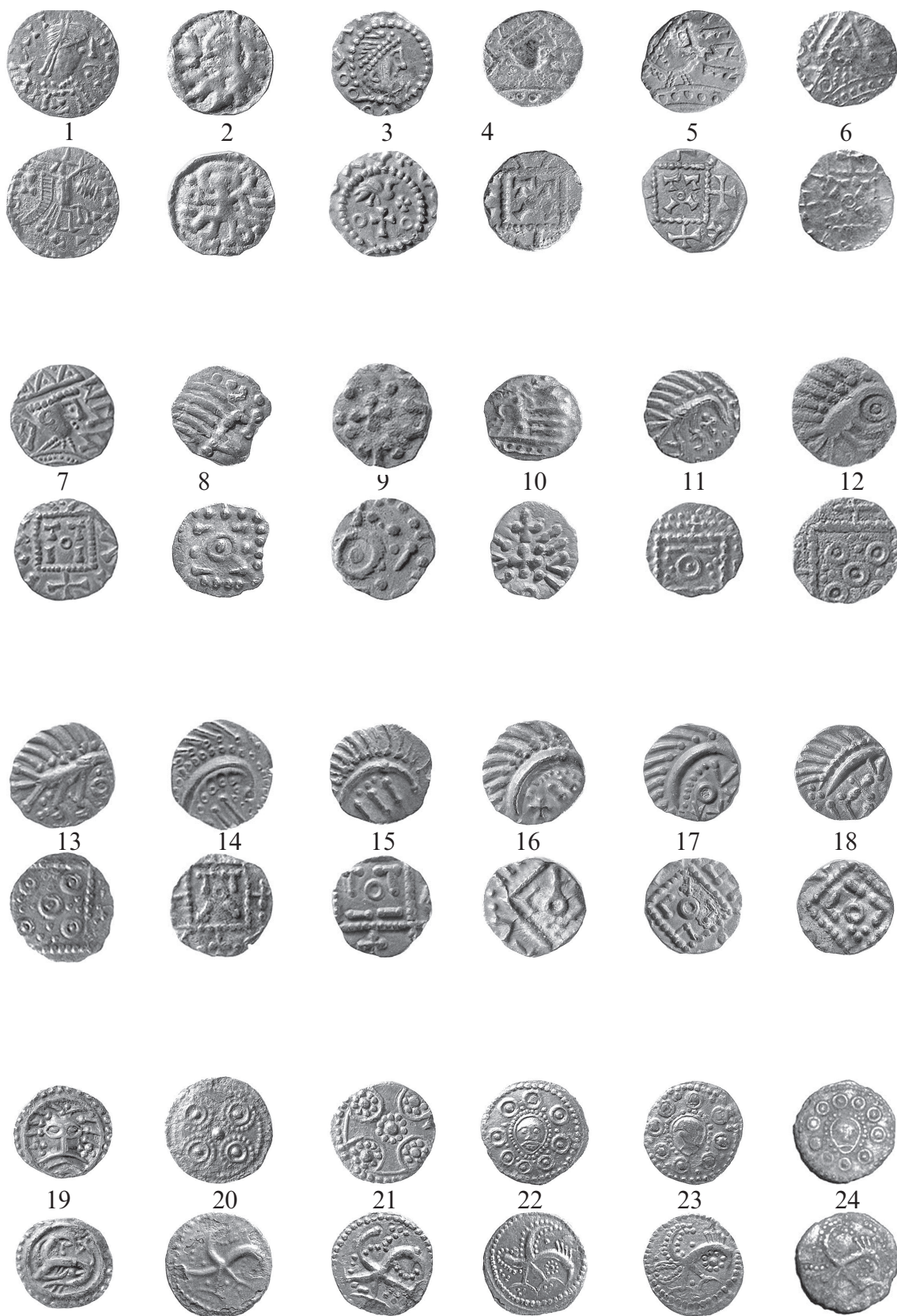
In general, the new finds are such as to confirm the conclusions sketched above. We hope to publish a full account of the addenda in two or three years’ time. As ever, our grateful thanks go to Frank Basford for all his skill and diplomacy.

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ULMSCHNEIDER AND METCALF: SCEATTAS AND PENNIES (1)

PLATE 2



25



26



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A1



A2



A3





PLATE 4

