

TREMISSES AND SCEATTAS FROM THE SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE PRODUCTIVE SITE

D.M. METCALF

Introduction: the monetary character of the finds

THE South Lincolnshire site has yielded more early medieval coins by far than any other of the thirty recorded productive sites in England.¹ That is due partly to the persistence with which the site has been searched, over some thirty-five years; but also to the fact that so many coins were, and still are, there to be found. The total is currently 269, of which some 240 are sceattas. Early broad pennies, a few of which occur at many productive sites, are completely absent. Close contact over the years and friendship with the finders, for whom the writer has a high regard, afford a guarantee that the 269 coins are as complete a record of the finds as could be offered, and a record that is certainly free from systematic bias. To draw attention to the exceptionally large numbers is not mere swaggering: the finds are, in effect, a random sample of the currency that was in use on the site, and a large sample involving many different varieties of coin, some of which are scarce, is statistically more secure. That is what gives the site its wider historical value.

The coins are from the mid-sixth to the mid-eighth century. Whether the site had an earlier and a later history, when it was occupied or visited, but without any significant level of monetary exchanges, could only be judged from the chronology of finds of non-coin metalwork and, potentially, from the evidence of pottery. Neither of these classes of material can offer precise dating. The metalwork has been studied by Dr Adam Daubney,² but the pottery awaits expert examination. We are concerned to record here and to analyse and interpret only the coinage found on the site. As there is no evidence of permanent settlement, the great majority of the coin finds are presumably accidental losses. When one considers that money normally changed hands securely enough at productive sites, without any accidental loss, one can begin to appreciate the great volume, indeed one could say the massive volume, of the transactions at the South Lincolnshire site.

The character of the site almost certainly did not shift gradually from non-monetary to monetary. The change was more like a sudden accession of money, much of it foreign money. It seems that the inflows kick-started and supported two distinct and successive monetary phases at the site, each being radically different from the other. The original phase, beginning in the second half of the sixth century and continuing until the third quarter of the seventh, was represented (necessarily) by gold coinage – mainly Merovingian tremisses with just a few of the English equivalent, namely thrymsas (or shillings). The second phase, mainly from *c.*715 to *c.*750, when silver had become the sole currency metal, saw a radical change of direction,

Acknowledgements To an unusual extent, this article is a collective achievement, with the writer in the role of amanuensis and interpreter. Over a period of thirty-five years, half-a-dozen individuals successively have rescued information from the productive site, with a strong sense of responsibility. Mike Bonser catalogued and published the early finds, in 1997. Subsequently 'Old Yellowbelly' turned for help to the writer, who for years kept a running record of what was found by a small group of friends. Subsequently, David Panton, who reported his finds initially to the writer, but thereafter faithfully to Dr Adam Daubney, the local Finds Liaison Officer. Mr Panton continued to do so until, sadly, his early death in 2011. Dr Daubney made a special case-study of the site as part of his PhD thesis. His name should have appeared as co-author of this article, but in spite of the writer's persuasions he modestly declined to be named. He supplied the writer with (excellent) photographs of just over a hundred coins from the site, many of them new to him, taking the record up to the end of 2014. Finally, Tony Blissett, a veteran of the site, kindly placed at the writer's disposal in 2015 an album of photographs which 'Old Yellowbelly' had entrusted to Tony shortly before his death. To all these colleagues, including those now esteemed in memory, my grateful thanks, to have been allowed to share their endeavours.

¹ Blackburn 2003; Bonser 1997.

² I am grateful to Dr Daubney, who allowed me to consult the relevant sections of his thesis.

with great inflows of sceattas from the Low Countries, in particular from Dorestad. In the 750s, commercial activity on the site dwindled and ceased.

Gold

At the South Lincolnshire site there are many more gold coins than at any other recorded site, outshining even Coddenham for instance, and this is all the more remarkable given its location towards the northerly limits of monetization in England. There is, moreover, a significant contrast locally with other northerly productive sites, which have yielded no gold coins at all: for example, Bawsey, in north-western Norfolk; Flixborough, Lincs.; North Ferriby; Sledmere;³ Whitby. As a comment on English single finds generally, the accidental loss-rate of gold coins seems to have been a good deal lower than that for sceattas: people took better care of the more valuable coins (as is demonstrable from continental sites where more than one denomination was in use). Thus it is in principle possible that the absence of gold at a productive site that has yielded, in total, 50 or 60 finds could be merely by statistical chance. But when the pattern is repeated at a good number of sites, as it is with these sites towards the north-east, the picture becomes more secure. Thus in comparison, the South Lincolnshire site stands out even more, within its region. More importantly, the minting-places of the tremisses found here are not typical of what has been found in England generally, nor specifically of what has been found in the local region. Thus, nine single finds of gold from the east midlands are such as might have turned up anywhere in England: they include an early solidus of Marseilles, and a tremissis of Viviers; a tremissis of Dorestad, two from Quentovic, and others from Bourges, Rheims, north-eastern France, and Köln, a generally easterly distribution.⁴ The mints represented among the Merovingian gold coins found in southern England are analysed in a short essay (Metcalf 2006, 390–3, already ripe for up-dating) which draws attention to the widespread occurrence in England of tremisses of the Quentovic mint, and also from that of Lieusaint, neither of which has been found at the South Lincolnshire site.

Lafaurie left a manuscript list of 59 tremisses from Domburg, plus seven unidentified pieces,⁵ and of the 59, 26 were minted at Dorestad, i.e. 44 per cent. The Dorestad mint is completely unrepresented among the finds reported from the South Lincolnshire site. Even in a smaller sample of 20 tremisses, as many as eight or nine might have been expected, in order to match the figure of 44 per cent (although at Domburg several of the Dorestad-minted tremisses belong to the pale gold phase). Coins of Maastricht (nos 16–17) and Mainz (no. 18), as well as the Dronrijp type from Friesland, are comparable at the two sites, and all of these could well have come via Dorestad or Domburg.⁶

Some places of origin recorded at the South Lincolnshire site, in contrast, are small, unimportant or even unknown mints, two of them in the distant south of Merovingian Gaul (départements of Aveyron and Haute-Garonne), while a third is from the Vendée, on the Atlantic coast, and Bayeux is a fourth. These coins could, of course, have entered the currency of some other region in France,⁷ and may have been carried to Lincolnshire from that intermediate region; or they may have been carried direct to our site. But it is still true that they are from small, unimportant mint-places, and in any case it seems improbable that they came (as the sceattas did) via the Dorestad or Domburg, because of the absence of the very plentiful tremisses minted at Dorestad.

In default of archaeological evidence, the political and economic context of the South Lincolnshire site in the gold phase can only be guessed. If merchants came from all over Gaul, and gave the site a very favourable balance of payments, it was for something costly. The coastlands of the Wash, where the site lies, had nothing much of high value to offer. In the period before Mercia exercised control in London, south Lincolnshire may have been Mercia's

³ Bonser 2011.

⁴ Metcalf, 2011, 42–3.

⁵ The list is tabulated in Metcalf 2014a, 62.

⁶ Metcalf 2011, 19.

⁷ Metcalf 2006, 339–46.

access to the North Sea, lying at the eastern end of an east-west corridor of land south of Mercia's rival kingdom, Deira.⁸ That prompts the thought that the sale of slaves to foreign merchants may have been a key component of the site's early trade. One recalls the fair-haired youths whom the future pope Gregory noticed in Rome's slave-market, in 574/578, and the punning remarks attributed to him on that occasion: *non Angli sed angeli* ('not Angles but messengers'), and (playing on the double meaning of the verb) *de Deira et de ira Dei perfugiunt* ('they have come a long way from Deira [Yorkshire], and they are fleeing from the wrath of God').⁹ Warfare between Mercia and Northumbria is a plausible context for the enslavement of these youths, and others like them, fifty to a hundred years later. Welsh slaves are another possibility. In the seventh and eighth centuries and for much longer, throughout Merovingian Gaul, household slaves were an unremarkable aspect of society.

The accidental losses of gold tremisses at the South Lincolnshire site dwindle well before the end of the minting of gold and the transition to silver in south-eastern England (roughly 675). The late phase, represented by pale gold coins, is well represented at Domburg,¹⁰ for example, but not in Lincolnshire, where there are just three or four, notably English. At our site, we have a thrymsa of a type present in the Crondall hoard of c.640, a Two Emperors thrymsa, one other post-Crondall thrymsa, and also one coin minted at Quentovic late in the series there (Lafaurie Variety XIc). These few coins could have reached south Lincolnshire either by east-coast shipping, or overland through England. If they were all the gold that the site had yielded, there would be no evidence to connect the money, even tentatively, with a trade in slaves. The date at which losses dwindle seems to be around 660: a long time before the intensive inflows of sceattas begin.

Silver

Some decades after the change-over to silver in south-eastern England, and the minting of sceattas of Pada and Vanimundus, and Series A, B, and F, the South Lincolnshire site's continental trading links also changed radically, from Gaul to the Netherlands. But this did not happen promptly as soon as English sceattas were introduced. It becomes more demonstrable, especially in the secondary phase, that the site enjoyed a favourable balance of payments with the Continent (no doubt true also up to the middle of the seventh century, before English thrymsas began to be minted). From the primary phase, however, the finds, totalling 88 sceattas, are quite evenly balanced in numbers between English and foreign coins.

It seems that the Frisian merchants made and accepted payments in a mixture of types of sceattas, indiscriminately, provided that their alloy was good. Hoards, such as the Aston Rowant (Oxfordshire) hoard, show just such a mixture, of English and foreign coins. We have no comparable hoard from south Lincolnshire, but the attitude was doubtless the same there. The question arises when the single finds of English primary-phase coins from our site, of which we have 37, compared with 37 of Series D, Type 2c plus primary-phase porcupines, were lost. Many of them were minted before the date of c.715 that has been proposed, when the major inflows from the Big Rivers region began. Were the English sceattas, minted in the south-east, carried north after that date, as old coins, or as a separate stream, rather earlier? From a consideration of other English productive sites,¹¹ there is a general expectation that they were carried on the back, so to speak, of the Netherlands money: as we see, for example, at Aston Rowant. If that were so, then we should have to recognize that there was a prolonged lull at the South Lincolnshire site, lasting from around 660 until c.715: half a century. Even if a few English primary-phase coins were being lost on the site in the first fifteen years of the century, there was still a preceding lull lasting some decades. The main series minted in the south-east (Series A, B, C, and F) are not much use from a diagnostic point of view. Series F

⁸ For a map of eastern England as it was in the eighth and ninth centuries, and showing the political boundaries of Middle Anglia so far as they can be established, see Hart 1977, 50–1.

⁹ Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 132–5; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II.1.

¹⁰ See the tabulation in Metcalf 2014a, 62.

¹¹ Metcalf 2011, 36–7.

is plentiful in two recent Norfolk hoards,¹² and may have reached south Lincolnshire via the currency of that county. For what it is worth, the coins of Series C are mostly of Type C2, i.e. from later in the series. Did the continental coins begin to arrive at our site first, and stimulate inflows of English coins, or was there a preliminary period when English coins led the way? Without any local hoard evidence pre-dating the continental inflows, it is very difficult to say.

The truth seems in any case to be rather more complicated (as happens when we study monetary circulation), in so far as a few of the English finds are of scarce types which seem to be northerly, and which, like Series F, may have been drawn onto the site from the surrounding east midlands region or from north-western Norfolk. This is demonstrable for only a few of the finds (Saroaldo and BIIIA, to be discussed in a moment), but the same could apply for more of them.

Three Saroaldo sceattas, which were almost certainly minted not too far from the Wash (see the discussion in the Catalogue, pp. 107–8 below). The Saroaldo type was struck on only a small scale, and even just three among thirty-seven English finds of primary date at the South Lincolnshire site makes it conspicuous. There is in fact also a Saroaldo/porcupine imitation (of poor quality) from the site, and there are a couple of Aldfrith/Saroaldo ‘mules’ from around the Wash, which imply a north-easterly connection. The series begins with coins with a prominent R or FIT RV on the reverse.¹³ The best guess as to their mint-place is Rudham, in the north-west of Norfolk.¹⁴ Perhaps merchant shipping sailing up the east coast of England paused at Brancaster (at the northern end of the Peddars Way) or Bawsey, en route to the South Lincolnshire site. The Saroaldo type is of mid- to late primary date, and is an early example of the proliferation of mint-places associated with the secondary phase.

A special explanation is definitely called for to account for finds of Series W so far north. It is a quite scarce series, the finds of which generate a distribution-pattern restricted mainly to southern Wessex and the Isle of Wight. A find from the South Lincolnshire site (cat. no. 58 below) is most unlikely to have passed from hand to hand gradually working its way northwards. If that were the case, the general distribution-pattern would look quite different. It may have been carried from the Solent by a pilgrim or by a traveller returning from Rome. This understanding is borne out by another find from a site on the Lincolnshire Wolds, a few miles west of Grimsby. Series U, type 23c is another type with a restricted circulation-area focussed in north Wessex; cat. no. 255 may likewise have been carried north from Wessex by a traveller.

The foreign money reaching the site was dominated by Series D, Type 2c (the ‘continental runic’ type, essentially from Friesland), and primary-phase E (‘porcupines’, from the ‘Big Rivers’ region of the lower Rhine and Meuse basin). In the secondary phase there was a smaller contribution of Series X (from Jutland). Few if any of the sceattas of Series D and X were shipped direct from Friesland or Jutland (with the possible exception of Series D, Type 8). All three series very probably left the Continent, rather, by shipping setting out from the major port of Dorestad, or possibly from Domburg, on the island of Walcheren. The evidence for that is that the three series are mingled plentifully in the finds from Domburg. More than a thousand sceattas have been published, in a fine monograph, from which the following statistics are extracted.¹⁵ (There is, alas, nothing comparable from Dorestad.) The percentages are the helpful way to make comparisons, and the question is whether the South Lincolnshire site differs significantly from what we see at Domburg.

The main points to observe from the Table are: first, Series D, Type 8 is relatively much more plentiful compared with Series D, Type 2c at South Lincolnshire than at Domburg. This is, however, usual throughout eastern England, and is a special case. Type 8 was minted at Wijaldum in Friesland, and seems to be earlier in date than Type 2c, or at least as early in its

¹² Alington and Aldborough. Metcalf 2014b, 59–61. The writer is indebted to Dr Adrian Marsden for details of these two hoards.

¹³ Metcalf 1993–4, 148.

¹⁴ Rudham was an early estate centre, to which 69 sokemen were attached, in half-a-dozen surrounding parishes (Pestell 2003, map at 125 and text at 128–9). Metal detecting has yielded profuse finds of metalwork (Rogerson 2003, 116–18).

¹⁵ Op den Velde and Klaassen 2004.

TABLE 1. A comparison of the numbers and proportions of the main continental types at the South Lincolnshire site and at Domburg

Type	South Lincs		Domburg	
		%		%
Series D, Type 8	1		16	
	2			
Series D, Type 2c	1		19	
	7		8	
	29	19	21	29
			4	
Series E (primary phase)				
Plumed bird	4		9	
VICO	5		16	
G	8		25	
D	2		10	
	19	12	60	8
Series E (secondary phase)	78	51	30	41
			2	
Series E (tertiary phase)	6	4	62	8

origin. Since it does not copy the obverse of Series C, it could antedate the introduction of that type, and could reflect an episode towards the end of the 'lull' when sceattas were carried directly from Friesland to eastern England. Only a Lincolnshire hoard of suitable composition could place this hypothesis beyond doubt. Secondly, in so far as Series G is continental in origin, it did not reach South Lincolnshire via Domburg. Thirdly, the tertiary-phase porcupines are much under-represented at South Lincolnshire, although all four types are present, including the late variety F. That suggests that the numbers of losses dwindled rather than ceasing abruptly. Fourthly, as Series D, Type 2c is under-represented at South Lincolnshire, it is unlikely to have been carried there other than from the Big Rivers region, i.e. not direct from Friesland. (The ratio of primary-phase Series E to Series D, Type 2c is distinctly higher at the productive site than at Domburg. It may be that the Lincolnshire material reflects mainly the currency at Dorestad, and that fewer coins of Series D reached Dorestad than Domburg.)

The same or a very similar mixture of continental sceattas is seen at many English productive sites. That seems to imply that the drive was coming from the Netherlands, whose merchants were buying wherever they could throughout England, and that they had a lot of money to spend. The major component of the exports will presumably now have derived from husbandry, for example, wool and hides, although there will doubtless have been a list of other commodities.

Several English productive sites seem only to have become active at a date quite late in the primary phase of the silver sceattas, namely around 715.¹⁶ This same moment of change, in the late primary phase, is visible at the South Lincolnshire site, most clearly in the detailed varieties of Series D, Type 2c found at the site. The type has been classified into the chronologically successive Varieties 1, 2, 3, and 4. Varieties 1 and 2 are virtually unrepresented among the 17 finds catalogued below. The benefits of a large sample become apparent. (It is a little surprising that Varieties 1 and 2 did not remain available in the currency of the Big Rivers region, and make up a share of what was later exported.) If the influx began during (or after?) the issue of Variety 3, and if we assume that Variety 4 post-dates Variety 3, as seems to be the case, a start-date for losses in south Lincolnshire only a few years before the end of Type 2c (ending soon after the death of King Radbod in Frisia) is indicated. This conclusion is to some extent reinforced by the numbers of the 'plumed bird' primary-phase porcupines, of the late Variety L (with annulets on the reverse).

¹⁶ See the discussion following Cat. no. 26 (p. 106, below), and also Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013.

The social and political realities which lay behind this intensive commercial activity are wide-ranging. Most of the sceatta finds from the South Lincolnshire site, especially in the secondary phase, are foreign coins (about 110 to 40 English), and it is very clear that from the later sixth century and again in the mid-eighth the site was running a very substantial balance-of-payments surplus, through exports to the Continent. There seem to have been very few counter-flows of English money to the Netherlands, for example, among the many finds from Domburg (and those few not necessarily from south Lincolnshire).

Just one caveat: that basic perspective on the monetary character of our productive site relies also on our being sure that a big majority of the sceattas are indeed what at first glance they appear to be, namely continental coins, and not imitations made locally, or indeed elsewhere in England. The catalogue therefore devotes much effort to establishing the official character of each coin through a scrutiny of its style, by comparing it with a corpus of each type – where such a corpus exists – and putting them into their exact place in the corpus, with regard to consistency of style. If two or three closely similar specimens have been recorded as continental finds, or in continental hoards, that is normally enough to answer the question. The difficulty is at its greatest precisely in Series D, Type 2c and secondary-phase Series E, where there is a seemingly endless variation, including many roughly-made and imitative-looking dies. The problem is compounded by porcupines of low weight. The study of die-linked specimens (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2014, plates 23–76) quite often reveals that an imitative-looking reverse shares an obverse die with a very different and more normal reverse: usually in the De Meern or in the Kloster Barte hoard, i.e. the oddities are continental, and part of the regular mint-output. One certainly should not be in a hurry to suspect that individual coins are English imitations; and it is difficult to prove. In fact English imitations are, we believe, very few: nos 191 and 192 (below) are a well-evidenced pair.

Merovingian deniers

Between 40 and 50 of these have been found in England, and a list of them has been published.¹⁷ They have a wide date-range. Against this total, the six or seven recorded from our site (one of the seven may belong to the gold phase) are in excess of expectation, and – more significantly – again they are not from the usual mint-places. Of the six, three or four will have come via south-eastern England, but two late specimens minted at Chalon-sur-Saône may have come via Domburg (unlike the Merovingian gold mentioned above).

Note the denier of Rennes (Brittany) which was the prototype of the Saroaldo series.¹⁸ A specimen will have reached the region of the Wash and – if our conjecture about Rudham is correct – will have been retained and copied at Rudham because of the large letter R or the inscription FIT RV on the reverse: possible evidence that some people, at least, examined the coins that came into their hands.

Abandonment of trade at the South Lincolnshire site

The boom in the trade passing through the South Lincolnshire site came to an end quite dramatically, as may be judged by the very few finds of tertiary-phase (i.e. Franeker-phase) porcupines. Note also the absence of the regal coins of Eadberht of Northumbria (Series Y), or of any coins of Beonna. Finds of Type R8 may be among the latest English losses. There was a severe monetary recession in southern England in the third quarter of the eighth century, followed by a gradual recovery supplied by Offa's broad pennies from *c.*785 onwards. This pattern of decline and recovery is seen quite widely through England.¹⁹ Our site, however, had no share in the recovery.

¹⁷ Metcalf 2009, 30–1.

¹⁸ Metcalf 1993–94, 148.

¹⁹ Metcalf 2009.

In the more northerly parts of the east coast, Eadberht's coinage flourished. In East Anglia, Beonna's coinage flourished. But the South Lincolnshire site faded out. In the context of what has been said about the gold phase, that tends to suggest that commercial activity at the productive site was still to a significant extent driven by Mercia's need for access to the North Sea, via the Wash. When Æthelbald controlled trade through London, as implied by the Ismere Diploma (736),²⁰ our site gradually lost its *raison d'être*. It ceased activity when the recession took hold, and never resumed.

Summary of the monetary context

To sum up the monetary character of the finds: there were two separate phases of intensive commercial activity on the South Lincolnshire site, with an interval between them of at least a couple of decades, and possibly as much as half a century. In each case the impetus came from abroad. In the first phase, represented by gold tremisses, it was from Merovingian Gaul. The mints of origin are unlike those seen generally among English finds, and for various reasons the sale of slaves has been suggested, as the main context for the inflows of substantial amounts of foreign money. The second phase, represented mainly by sceattas, was driven from the Low Countries, and chiefly from the Big Rivers region of the lower Rhine and Meuse, no doubt via Dorestad. Whereas the gold phase was quite unlike what happened in the rest of England, the start-date (c.715–720) and the mixture of types involved are closely matched at several other productive sites, widely distributed through England. The impetus clearly, therefore, came from the Low Countries, where the accumulation of great wealth enabled the Frisian merchants to buy English goods (including, probably, wool) in major quantities, giving productive sites such as South Lincolnshire a very favourable net balance of trade. Nevertheless, our site's continued importance suggests that it still functioned because it gave Mercia access to the trade of the North Sea. When Mercia gained control of London, the site ceased to enjoy its advantage.

In the lull between the two main phases, there may have been minor initiatives involving direct contact between Friesland and our site, reflected by finds of Series D, Type 8. The finds of Series X also show some unexpected details, which unfortunately cannot be properly documented.

The significance of the productive site

The exact whereabouts of the site, referred to here simply as the 'South Lincolnshire' site, is known to the writer, and to one or two others. At the request of those involved in the searching, and with regret, it has been withheld, because of the real risk of 'nighthawking' and looting of the site by unauthorized and wholly irresponsible detectorists. Suffice to say that it does not lie in the province of Lindsey, nor in the kingdom of East Anglia. Rather, it is in the east-west corridor of land which (as we may judge) originally gave Mercia its access to the North Sea. Not too far away is the Car Dyke (which is of Roman date), a liquid motorway running north, navigable in the early middle ages by vessels of shallow draught.²¹ It gave access eventually to the Wash, which would have been of value to Mercia before it gained political control in London.²²

²⁰ Campbell, John, and Wormald 1982, 73, 95–7. See also Sawyer 86, 88 and 98 (Birch 149, 152 and 171); Kelly 1992.

²¹ The dyke had become silted up and was therefore dredged, in the time of Henry II.

²² For a map of eastern England as it was in the eighth and ninth centuries, and showing the political boundaries of Middle Anglia so far as they can be established, see Hart 1977, 50–1.

Distribution of finds within the productive site

The site extends over a distance of at least 500 metres (the searched area).²³ Sceattas have been found over this full distance, and there is very specific evidence that gold coins, both continental and English, have come to light throughout exactly the same area. The question occurred to the writer whether some areas within the site, such as particular fields, might show different age-ranges: for example, whether primary-phase sceattas might predominate in one area, and secondary-phase sceattas in another. There is some evidence to this effect, among the finds from the year 2000 (described below). It is clear enough as far as it goes, but it rests, of course, on only a limited sample. A more intriguing anomaly: one of the detectorists noted that the finds of Series X, the Wodan/monster sceattas, lie mostly on the edge of, or just beyond, the areas where sceatta finds of other types are concentrated. Three specimens in particular were so close together that the question arises whether they might reflect a ploughed-out mini-hoard. Bonser recorded that seven specimens were found in the early days, a rate of finding that has not been maintained (see the catalogue below) and it is a pity that more precise detail is not available – surprising though it would be that coins of Series X should be found on their own, rather than in association with Series E. For the present, it is just something to keep in mind, in case similar evidence should be noticed.

The distribution-patterns of finds within the site may suggest some thoughts on how commercial activity was conducted. A compact cluster of finds, if it is significantly more dense than the scatter of finds over the site as a whole, certainly calls for some sort of explanation in terms of the behaviour of merchants visiting the site. As with the three sceattas of Series X mentioned above, a cluster might reflect a ploughed-out hoard, such as was certainly the case with the Middle Harling hoard.²⁴ The coins in and around that hoard were meticulously mapped, to the nearest metre. At the South Lincolnshire site there are clusters, but in general they spread over a much larger distance than the Middle Harling hoard, and they lack any obvious core area.

The sequence of exploitation of the site

A list of 58 coins from the site (identified here as G I to G LVIII) was published by Bonser in 1997,²⁵ and he added one more in the Coin Register for 1997. These finds had been reported to him in dribs and drabs by one of the detectorists, who subsequently continued to notify me, very faithfully, of all that came to light. This gentleman, who strongly preferred to remain anonymous, later wrote occasional pieces for detectorists' magazines, under the pseudonym 'Old Yellowbelly' – a reference to an early Lincolnshire militia whose members wore yellow waistcoats. In early days I asked him whether any further detail was available about the 58 coins, and was told that unfortunately they were no longer available. I took that to mean that they had been sold. Five sceattas that were reported by someone else in 1994, as coming from the Spalding area, could perhaps be among the early components of the 58. They are listed here as an appendix to the catalogue. To this phase of the exploitation of the site belong four more pieces not listed by Bonser, which were found in 1996 in an outlying field by the daughter of one of the partners in the enterprise. They were stored away unwittingly by her, and only came to light again when she was clearing her room to go off to college. They were reported to me in 2001, and in order not to disturb the numbering, are inserted here as G LIX, a–d.

During the next phase, coins found by the partners were sent to the writer by 'Old Yellowbelly', for identification and comment, in small groups of three or four or half a dozen as they came to light (G LX onwards). The fields from which they came were itemized, but the general lay-out was never made clear. I weighed the coins and made photographs and kept detailed records. The clearing of crops from the fields meant that the late summer and autumn

²³ The writer is much indebted to Tony Blissett for a detailed and interesting plan of the site, showing where various categories of finds were concentrated.

²⁴ Archibald 1985, 12.

²⁵ Bonser 1997.

were the busy time for the detectorists. Thus, for example, twelve sceattas were found in four days, and were reported in mid-August 1999 (G LXV–LXXVI).²⁶ Six more were reported in mid-September (G LXXVIII–LXXXIII).²⁷ The year 2000 was another good year for the partnership, with 31 coins recovered (XC–CVII = 18;²⁸ CVIII–CXIII = 6;²⁹ CXIV–CXVII = 4;³⁰ CXVIII–CXX = 3³¹). The finders themselves gave numbers to the coins, corresponding with the order in which they were found, and prefixed by 0, for the year (0.4–19, 0.22–3, etc.). Their ordering, which sometimes shows two coins of the same variety found successively, for example, two specimens of Type R2, is retained in the G numbers used in this report. Whether the loss of those two specimens was connected cannot, unfortunately, be judged: I asked, but the finder could not remember whether these two were found close together.

Eighteen of the finds of 2000 came from ‘the field on the other side of the road’. They include a tremissis, and a much higher proportion of primary-phase sceattas than the finds from 1999 (10 out of 18). Conversely, secondary-phase porcupines, so plentiful in 1999, were relatively scarce ‘on the other side of the road’. In light of the evidence from the productive site at Bidford-on-Avon, where different fields showed a different age-range from each other,³² it seems that the same may be true at the South Lincolnshire site also. In an ideal world, of course, the exact location where each coin was found would have been recorded by GPS to the nearest metre, and the contrast might (or might not) have been clearer. The road is likely to be much later in date than the eighth century, and may cut through the topography of the site.

A further eight coins were reported in 2000, from unspecified locations within the site and, of these, no fewer than three were gold. One of these was of Alamannic design, probably from the late sixth century, pointing to a remarkably early origin for the site. The others were a ‘Dronrijp’ tremissis from Friesland, and a ‘London-derived’ thrymsa. Three others out of the eight belonged to the primary phase, including the last coin to be found in 2000, a Series D, Type 2c.

Because of an enforced absence on the part of Old Yellowbelly, only one coin was reported to me in 2001, in November. In April 2002, eight sceattas were recovered from a field not previously searched; and two more were shown in the autumn of 2002. The last find of 2002 was a Franeker- or tertiary-phase porcupine, of Variety F (G CLI). From 2003, there was a primary porcupine bearing a clear swastika (G CLIII). Old Yellowbelly was most anxious and scrupulous to create a complete record of what he and his colleagues found on the site.

In late 2002 or 2003, the farmer withdrew the permission he had granted to Old Yellowbelly and his partners – as he was, of course, entitled to do – and granted permission instead to Mr David Panton. In *The Searcher* for September 2003 there appeared an article describing the successes of an unnamed detectorist (‘the finder wishes to be known as Leo and all that [the Editor] can say about the find-spots is that they are somewhere in England. In total 35 coins are featured’). A Merovingian tremissis and 14 sceattas are well illustrated in the article. The finder was in fact Mr Panton, and the finds were from the South Lincolnshire productive site. He and the writer corresponded in a constructive fashion. Soon, however, it fell to Dr Daubney as Finds Liaison Officer to help Mr Panton in the task of recording his finds.

Mr Panton was extremely successful in recovering sceattas from the site, as will be clear from the catalogue below. He did not own a GPS, but instead printed out colour maps of his sites from GoogleEarth, and meticulously plotted his finds after each session of metal detecting. Each find was then photographed, numbered and cross-referenced to his maps, which he then presented to Dr Daubney, who recorded numerous finds on the online PAS database (<https://finds.org.uk/database>). Recording usually took place twice a year, latterly with 8- or even 10-figure OS references. Sadly, Mr Panton died unexpectedly and at a relatively young age, in February 2011. We can be very confident that he created a complete record of what he found.

²⁶ Cat. nos 39, 53, 116, 121, 123, 130, 149, 152, 204, 212, 241, 246.

²⁷ Cat. nos 122, 131, 230, 235, 242, 245 (mostly English secondary-phase coins).

²⁸ Cat. nos 4, 27, 46, 48, 64, 66, 69, 79, 85, 87, 103, 136, 155, 202, 206, 236, 239, 268.

²⁹ Cat. nos 62, 84, 91, 99, 147, 228.

³⁰ Cat. nos 1, 45, 109, 118.

³¹ Cat. nos 19, 23, 58.

³² Laight and Metcalf 2012.

CATALOGUE

The finds are presented in the same general order as those from other productive sites published by the writer. The following order is used: first, Merovingian and other continental gold. The Merovingian coins are listed in the order used by Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière, namely by modern départements alphabetically; next, English gold. Then silver, beginning with the English primary series, then continental sceattas, first the primary and then secondary (and tertiary) phases; then the English secondary series; and finally Merovingian deniers, again alphabetically by départements. Coins illustrated on **Plates 3–7** are indicated by numbers with an asterisk and those on **Plates 8–9** by a dagger or obelisk (†).

Following Rigold's practice, each catalogue entry includes a number (in Roman numerals), preceded by the letter G, showing the order in which the coin was found. This numbering has been given in the catalogue, up until soon after David Panton was given permission to search the site, because it has been quoted in other publications.

◀ *Abbreviations*

The abbreviations employed in the catalogue are as listed in the bibliography, below, plus the following:

A & W	Abdy and Williams 2006
Ashmolean	Metcalf 1993–94 (catalogue numbers)
Cothen	Metcalf and Op den Velde 2014
DP	David Panton
EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coinslemc)
<i>MEC</i>	Grierson and Blackburn 1986
M & OdV	Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10
OdV & M	Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003
SG	Steven Gandy
<i>T & S</i>	Metcalf 1993–94 (text)
TA	Abramson 2006
TB	Tony Blissett
wnr	weight not recorded

Gold coins

So far as possible, the Merovingian coins are arranged by départements alphabetically, as in Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière (2003). Note that no. 263 below, in silver, may be a contemporary counterfeit of a gold coin.

- *1. Alamannic type, cf. *MEC* 377–80. Late VI century? 1.36 g. G CXV. Late August 2000.
- *2. Les Canacs (Aveyron). Obv. CANA. Head right. Rev. R [] NO. Cross on globus. Exergual pseudo inscription. Chris Rudd list 34 (1998), 16. 1.28 g. Prou, 1901–05. A & W 168. G II, up to 1997. EMC 1998.0040. There is just one find from France of this mint, found at Sierck-les-bains (Moselle), Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière 57.650.2, and none from Domburg.
3. Bayeux (Calvados). Obv. Bare head right, with legend in large, well-spaced letters, BAIOCAS, the S large and recumbent. (Rev. Photograph not available.). Cf Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière 85.221.2. There are just two somewhat similar tremisses from France.
- *4. Argenton-sur-Creuze (Indre). Obv. ARGENTON around cross on globus. Rev. EMERIO M around small eight-rayed star. 1.24 g. A & W 236. G XCVII. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0069. There is just one find from France, from Blagnac (Haute-Garonne), Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière 31.69.1, and none from Domburg.
- *5. Saint-Paulien (Haute Loire). Obv. Helmeted head right. Rev. OH ... Cross on steps, pellets to lower left and right. G LXXXIV, Early October 1999. There are four finds from France, but none from Domburg.
- *6. Sully-sur-Loire (Loiret). Obv. SVLIACO. Bust right. Rev. ALE ODVS. Croix ancrée on steps, small letters E, G to left and right. wnr. G CXXXIV. By 2004. *The Searcher*, 2004, 67, Fig. 13. PAS: LIN-B70DC6. There is one find from the Vendée, but none from Domburg.
7. Blangy-sur-Ternoise (Pas-de-Calais). Obv. BLANGVICO. Rev. ANSOALDVS MON. wnr. Cf Belfort 5579. G I. Up to 1997. A & W 158. EMC 1998.0022. There are no finds from France, nor from Domburg.
8. Quentovic (Pas-de-Calais). Obv. VVICCO FIT. Rev. ANGLO MONET. 1.3 g. Lafaurie, 1996, Variety XIc, no. 103. G III. EMC 1970.1131.
- †9. Uncertain mint (Oise?). Obv. Diademed bust right. OTAREGCA. Rev. Seriffed cross over half-circle. Inner border. +DEAIREPASEA. c.580–650. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-95FD73. Not in Prou or Belfort. The moneyer, however, is Deairenasia, who is known from the mint of Plailly (Oise).
- †10. Uncertain mint. Obv. Bare-headed bust right. oTIV[.]. Rev. Cross potent on globus, the globus flanked by two pelletted letters I on each side. [.]ITVI[.] O[.]JV[.]. c.580–650. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DDE216.
- †11. Uncertain mint. Diademed bust right, VI AACO. Rev. Croix ancrée. +FOVI[...]. Finder: DP. G CLXVII. CR 2005, 51. PAS: LIN-B72977.
12. Unidentified Merovingian tremissis. Obv. no legend, Bare head right. Rev. SV.NV[V.WA]. 1.31g. A & W 283. G VI, up to 1997.
- †13. Unidentified Merovingian tremissis. Obv. Bust right. BERIVA retrograde. Rev. Seriffed cross and 4 pellets. CAN[...]. 1.24 g. Finder: SG (2014). PAS: LIN-158C42.
- *14. Unidentified Merovingian tremissis, of rather pale gold. Obv. Neat diademed bust right, with clear, well-spaced legend, VILLAVS, the A unbarred and the S recumbent. Outer linear border. Rev. Equal-armed cross with pelletted ends, over a pellet. Inner dotted border, and outer linear border. +MONORATVS, the A small and unbarred, the S large and recumbent. Photo, entrusted by 'Old Yellowbelly' to TB.
15. Contemporary counterfeit of Merovingian tremissis, plated on copper core. Finder: Ron Spindler. PAS: LIN-5F14B0.
- *16. Maastricht (Low Countries). Obv. TRIECTO FIT. Helmeted and cuirassed bust left. Rev.

- THRASEMVNDVS M. Cross on globus, pellets to lower left and right. wnr. A & W 212. G CLXIII. Tony Blissett, August, 2003. CR 2003.50. EMC 2003.0161, reported to D.M.M. by Dr D. Faltin.
17. Maastricht. Moneyer Domaricus. Plated imitation of Prou 1182–3. G IV, up to 1997.
18. Mainz (Germany). Obv. []ITAR. Rev. [] MARTINVZ. A & W 191. G V? ('recorded by Mr Bonser'). EMC 2001.0095.
- *19. Friesland? Dronrijp type, *c.*630 × 640. Obv. Cuirassed bust with head right. Rev. Cross on step and globus, flanked by M A upside down. 1.18 g. Prou 1240. Cf. Sutherland, 1948, 12, no. 20. G CXVIII. September 2000. EMC 2000.0536. Coin presented to Ashmolean Museum.
20. Friesland. Biface Nietap type. Obv. Bust, with large triangular neck. Rev. 'Patriarchal' cross composed of thin lines, with linear serifs. 1.20 g. Reported in CR 2013, no. 67 as having been found by 2012. One suspects that this coin is in fact from the productive site.
- †21. Friesland? Uniface 'Nietap' type. 'Patriarchal' cross and detached globule below, cf the Nettleton find, also with detached globule. Traces of the usual pelletted border. The reverse has a grainy or sandy appearance, which is technically puzzling. 1.30 g. Finder: SG. G CLXXVIII. CR 2013, 68. D3. PAS: LIN-58A436.
- †22. Another specimen, from a different die. Finder: SG (2014). 1.32 g. PAS: LIN-0B3EEB. There are now two of these small, very thick uniface pieces from our site, as well as the biface find (no. 20). The latter is doubtless from Friesland, but the others are problematic. There is a third specimen from Nettleton (near Caistor, Lincs.) A fourth, from different dies again, was found at the rich site of Coddendam, Suffolk. It was auctioned locally (Lockdales, 25 Sept. 2005, lot 790), with mention of a further specimen found in Suffolk, apparently at Shrubland Hall just north of Ipswich (not illustrated). Another specimen was found at Sudbourne, Suffolk (CR 2005, 49, where it is listed as a Frisian coin). These half-dozen tiny pieces are vastly more skilled and elegant in the workmanship of their dies than, for example, no. 20, or the three biface specimens of Nietap fabric in the Crondall hoard. They show the sort of stylistic relationship between individual dies that one expects to see in the oeuvre of a master die-cutter. Could they be English copies? If that were the case, they presumably originated in Suffolk or thereabouts, and reached our site (and Nettleton) by east-coast shipping.
- English thrymsas (or shillings)**
- These could have reached the site overland or, more probably, via east-coast shipping. Sutherland (1948) has been supplemented by Stewart (1978).
- *23. 'London-derived' type. Obv. Bare head right. Rev. Cross. Same obv. (O.1) and possibly also same rev. (R.2) as Ashmolean 23. Sutherland, p.86, 48–9. 1.31 g. G CXIX. September 2000. EMC 2000.0537. This type, which has gold contents in the 60–70% range, is represented in the Crondall hoard.
- †24. 'Wunetton' variety. From the same obverse die (O.2) as Sutherland 73 (= plate 4, 16) and also as T & S 77. Rev. with double inner border, WVNO[...]EEN, the letters N laterally reversed. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D82D76.
25. 'Two Emperors' type. Not in A & W. G VII. The first early medieval coin from the site, found in 1981.
26. Blank flan, *c.*37% gold. G VIII, up to 1997.
- The date at which primary-phase sceattas ended**
- Lafaurie has demonstrated beyond peradventure that the Cimiez hoard is later in date than previously thought.³³ He would suggest 741,³⁴ rather than Grierson and Blackburn's date of *c.*715/720.³⁵ The historical evidence concerning Cimiez (near Nice) probably does not support 741 specifically, but the deniers of the bishops of Paris in the hoard certainly point to *c.*735/740, i.e. some twenty years later. Consequently, there is no need for the *t.p.q.* of the Aston Rowant hoard to be much earlier than 720,³⁶ and the presence of a sceatta type in Aston Rowant is sufficient to establish it as belonging to the primary phase. In England, the transition from primary to secondary phase was a sea-change, with the introduction of completely different types. There may have been a gap of a few years between the phases. In the Netherlands, the surest date is 719, marking the death of the Frisian King Radbod and the Merovingian political domination of Friesland.³⁷ With the demise of Radbod – and arguably promptly – his distinctive coinage, Series D, Type 2c, was brought to an end, and Series E (porcupines), already the currency of the lower Rhinelands, were minted in Friesland. These secondary-phase porcupines are clearly different, in every respect, from the four primary types seen in the south.
- There need not have been an exact coincidence of date between the changeover from primary to secondary in England, and in the Netherlands. The hoards make it clear that the changes were, however, at approximately the same date.
- English primary-phase sceattas**
- Thirty-seven coins, the series arranged as in Metcalf 1993–94 (where Type R2 is described in vol. 3, but is shown by hoard evidence to be of primary date).
- Series A**
- Dies are listed according to the numbering in Rigold 1960.
- *27. Cf. Type A3, 6, 1.22 g. G XCVIII. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road.
- *28. Type A3. wnr. G CLXIX, found 30 August 2004. CR 2005, 59, reported by D. Willson.
- ³³ Lafaurie 1998.
³⁴ Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 134–5.
³⁵ Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 142–3.
³⁶ Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 283.
³⁷ Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 281–2.

29. Imitation. The obverse is a rather fat-faced copy of Type A3, but TIC is replaced by letters including an M (runic *r*, outwards), borrowed probably from Type R1–2. The reverse has the tufa at the bottom of the standard, not at the top. *c.* 705–15. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B6B8D5. Cf. T & S 131 (imitation of Type C) for the style of the obverse. That may suggest a date of striking after the end of Series A.

Series B

Dies are listed according to Rigold 1960. Whether BI and BII are successive issues from the same mint-place is not yet completely clear.

- †30. Type BIB. Cf. BI, B2. 1.22 g. *c.* 695–705. Finder: SG (2014).
- *31. Type BIB, BI, B9 (same obv.). Same rev. as B9, iv. 1.18 g. Finder: DP. G CXXXV. *The Searcher*, 2003, 67, Fig. 14. PAS: LIN-B1A1A6
- †32. Type BID. Cf. BI, D3. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DE6F30.
- *33. Type BII. 1.30 g. *c.* 700–15. G LXXXIX, mid-November 1999.
- †34. Type BII. Cf. BII, 9. On the reverse, the annulets flanking the cross are quite large and have central pellets. 1.18 g. *c.* 700–15. Finder: SG. PAS: LIN-580DA5. Also recorded as PAS: LIN-0BC6E5 (found 2014). See also no. 62 below, which should possibly be classified as BII.
- *35. Plated imitation. 1.10 g. G CLXXV. CR 2009, 79. By 2008.
- 36–7. Two specimens, no detailed description. G IX, X, up to 1997.

Series C

Types C1 and C2 may be straightforwardly successive, or future research may reveal that their relationship is more complex.

- †38. Type C1. Obv. with double dotted outline of neck, cf. T & S 121 (which is however of Type C2). Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D89AB1. Although formally of Type C1, the style is more that of C2.
39. Type C2. Same rev. die as T & S 122? G LXIX, mid-August 1999.
- †40. Type C2. Obv. as *SCBI British Museum* 128, and similar rev. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BC2691.
41. Type C2. Cut or more probably broken fragment, 0.46 g. Finder: SG. PAS: LIN-586D76.
- †42. Imitation of Type C. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-81A255. Possibly by the same hand as *Ashmolean* 213?
- 43–4. Type C2 (1), C (1). No detailed description. G XI, XII, listed by Bonser, up to 1997.

Series R

The occurrence of Types R1–2 in the Aston Rowant hoard shows that they are of primary date. Types R1–2 are classified into 12 varieties (a quite extensive progression) in Metcalf 2007. Their mint-place is presumably

to be sought in East Anglia, but the distribution-pattern is so widespread that it does not limit the regional possibilities. At our site, the ratio of R1–2 to Series A and B is on the high side. That suggests that they may have arrived via the currency of Norfolk. Nos 46 and 48 may reflect a mini-hoard. The rest of Series R, namely Types 3–12, is of secondary date; finds are catalogued among the secondary-phase sceattas, nos 247–52 below.

- *45. Type R1–2, Variety 2. 1.19 g. Metcalf, 2007, 49–70. G CXVI. Late August 2000.
- *46. –. Variety 9. 1.13 g. Corpus 29. Metcalf, 2007, 49–70. G XCV. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. Cf. no. 48 below.
- *47. –. Variety 10. wnr (broken piece). Corpus 33. Metcalf, 2007, 49–70. G CXXX. April 2002.
- *48. –. Variety 11. 1.12 g. Corpus 34. Metcalf, 2007, 49–70. G CXVI. July 2000. From the field on the other side of the road, Cf. no. 46 above.
49. –. Variety 12. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DEC34F.

Series F

A detailed classification, with a distribution-map and a corpus of 145 specimens, appears in Metcalf 2014. The mint-place was most probably south of Thames, and it is a little unexpected that there should be five specimens from our site. They may, however, have arrived after circulating in Norfolk.

- *50. Variety b. 1.04 g. Corpus 20. Metcalf, 2014. G CXXXVII. September 2003. *c.* 705–715. Finder: DP. *The Searcher*, 68, Fig. 15. CR 2007, 133. TA, F220. PAS: LIN-B20C13.
- *51. Variety b. 1.05 g. Corpus -. G CLIX September 2004.
52. Variety b. 1.17 g. Corpus 29. Metcalf 2014. G XIII, up to 1997. EMC 1999.0014.
- *53. Variety c. 1.31 g. Corpus 91. For a discussion of the relative dates of Varieties b and c, see Metcalf 2014. G LXVI. Mid-August 1999.
- †54. Variety? Same dies as *SCBI British Museum* 155 (ex Aston Rowant). 1.12 g. *c.* 705–715. Finder: SG (2014).

Saroaldo

There were two (early) coins of the Saroaldo series in the Aston Rowant hoard. They indicate an origin in the primary phase. The type may have been short-lived; or more probably the two Aston Rowant coins could have been a few years old when hoarded. The region of minting was uncertain, as between East Anglia or the east midlands – or even the south coast.³⁸ The Coin Register has in recent years added four further provenances: Carlton Grange, Lincs (CR 2011, A66) and Wansford (between Stamford and Peterborough; CR 2011, A67), Cambridgeshire (FIT RV, CR 2012, 70), and near Lincoln (CR 2012, 71). Taking into account the over-all scarcity of the series, three finds from the South Lincolnshire site, and a Saroaldo/secondary porcupine imitative piece (no. 167 below), plus two Aldfrith/Saroaldo imitations from Boston and Wisbech respec-

³⁸ Metcalf 1993, 147–8, 150–1, with map at p. 149.

tively now point to a locality not far from the Wash. That being so, the inscription FIT RV probably indicates their mint-place – for which Rudham, in north-west Norfolk, may be suggested.

- *55. Cf. the corpus in *BNJ* 1986, 86, nos 5–9. Different dies from those? 1.13 g. CR 2007, 197 ('found by 2003'). TA E955.
- *56. – . Another. Finder: DP. *The Searcher*, March 2004, Fig 18. wnr. G CLIV. PAS: LIN-B3D8D0.
- †57. Another, with oblong standard. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B67451.

Series W

A detailed classification, with a distribution-map and a corpus of 33 specimens (including Provençal copies and other imitations), appears in Metcalf 2005. Series W was minted in the Solent area. Note that Type 23b (see the comment on no. 59) was probably minted in the upper Thames valley, not too far away. Distant northerly finds such as the two from our site, and another from a (small productive?) site in the Lincolnshire Wolds a few miles inland from Grimsby, point to long-distance journeys (e.g., by pilgrims?).

- *58. Same obv. as Ashmolean 155 (Metcalf 1993–94) and possibly also the same reverse. Corpus 1d. Metcalf, 2005, 1ff. G CXX. September 2000. TA W200.
- *59. 0.9 g. Corpus 9b. A copy, showing the stylistic influence of Series U, Type 23b, thus early secondary in date. Metcalf, 2005, pp. 1ff. G CLXVI. Early 2002. CR 2003, 117.

Type BIIIA

Represented by two specimens in the Aston Rowant hoard, this scarce type will be of late primary date. There is a find from Church Laneham, Notts (CR 2000, 40), which hints at a more northerly origin than for the rest of Series B. Rigold's BIIIA falls into two or even three stylistic groups, by different die-cutters (defined in *T & S*, 161–3). The type looks distinctly over-represented at our site.

- *60. 0.54 g (chipped). G CXXXVI. Shown to DMM in October 2002 on behalf of Mr David Panton.
- *61. With pseudo-legend visible on the reverse. G CLXIV. Found by Mr David Willson in 2003. CR 2003, 67.
- *62. Type BIIIA? (or cf. BII, 1–2?). Both obverse and reverse have small crosslets, as seen in BII. For the obverse, cf. BIIIA,5; for the reverse, BIIIA,2. G CXI. August 2000. From the previously unproductive field.
- †63. From the same hand as BIIIA,1. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D86371

Continental primary series

Series D

These are essentially primary-phase coins minted under Frisian political control, in Friesland and (for Type 2c)

possibly also further south, e.g. in Holland. OdV & M, 2003 provides a corpus of 1,272 specimens, with some important further discussion in M & OdV, 2009–10. The South Lincolnshire finds are listed here in the same order as in OdV & M. They comprise Type 8 (12 specimens at our site) and Type 2c (17 specimens). Type 8 is arguably the earlier of the two (see M & OdV, p. 179, where it is argued that Type 8 was minted at Wijnaldum). The possibility of a chronological overlap between Types 8 and 2c is nevertheless still problematic. Type 2c, of which the obverse was initially copied closely from the English Series C, will necessarily post-date the beginning of C. It might even have been introduced jointly at the same moment as Series C. Type 8 could be earlier, in so far as its designs are independent of Series C; and in general it can hardly be concurrent with the early varieties of 2c, because of a dramatic distributional contrast between Friesland and England: Type 8 has generated just seven single finds in Friesland, but 78 in England, whereas Type 2c, Variety 1 has generated 14 single finds in Friesland and just 12 in England (OdV & M, p. 93). The idea that Type 8, or a large part of it, could be English, has been considered but firmly rejected: plenty of English finds are die-linked with finds from the Netherlands. It seems that Type 8 was essentially an export coinage. Note, however, that the scarce variety with four large annulets (no. 66 below), suggested by OdV & M to be early (i.e. experimental) may in fact be imitative; it has a low average weight. Type 8Z may also be an English imitation: there are ten specimens from England and only two from the Netherlands.

Was Type 8 carried direct to the South Lincolnshire site, or did it come via Dorestad and Domburg? – and was it the sole type during an early stage of Series D, or did it reach our site mingled with Type 2c when the latter was already in production? The ratio of Types 8 to 2c, compared with the corresponding ratio at Domburg (and in the Dutch hoards) should give an idea. At the South Lincolnshire site it is 12 to 17, at Domburg it is 16 to 198. So it looks very much as if Type 8 was carried to England separately.

At our site, there is just one find of the early Variety 1 of Type 2c. All the rest of the finds are of Varieties 3 and 4 – thus apparently a gap, or at the least a lull, between the arrival of Types 8 and 2c at the site. Much the same pattern is seen in the Isle of Wight, but with fewer specimens.³⁹ The single specimen of Variety 1 may, of course, be a later arrival. It should be noted that whereas the relative dating of Varieties 1 and 4 is clear enough, the correct internal chronology of Varieties 2 and 3 is still highly conjectural. OdV & M wrote (p. 35), 'At some date in the future, perhaps a new hoard will come to light, with a *terminus post quem* during the issue of Variety 2 or early in Variety 3. That might offer a good opportunity to reconsider the chronology of the varieties'.

Type 8

- *64. Catapult variety. 1.21 g. OdV & M 1. G XCI. July 2000, from the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0505.

³⁹ Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, cat. nos 9–10, 57–9.

65. – . Another (the handle of the ‘catapult’ is off-flan). 1.18 g. Finder: DP. G.CXLII. *The Searcher*, 2003, 68, Fig. 25. PAS: LIN-B33EC3. A second specimen of this scarce variety, and there is another from Skegness.
- *66. Variety with four large annulets. 1.00 g. OdV & M 13. From the same obv. die as a find from Wijnaldum, and also as one from North Ferriby. G XCII. July 2000, from the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0506.
- †67. Standard variety. wnr. OdV & M 39. G CLXX. 30 August 2004. EMC 2004.0155.
- *68. Standard with wheel. wnr. OdV & M 154. G CLII. October 2003. Shown by Mr Tony Blissert.
69. Type 8Z. 1.20 g. OdV & M - (147?). With small scratches (graffiti). G XCIII. July 2000, from the other side of the road. Note the consecutive find-numbering with 64 and 66 above.
70. Type 8, imitation? On the reverse, pellets are added between the L-shaped symbols. On the obverse, the large letter A is adjacent to the initial cross. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-63C6E2. The added pellets are an extremely unusual feature.
- †71. Type D, 8/Series E ‘mule’ (i.e. imitative). The standard, interpreted here as the obverse, is boldly and substantially engraved. In the margins, rows of bold pellets. The reverse is of the porcupine design, without distinctive features, except that it has an outer border of widely-spaced pellets. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6CD853. An alternative explanation would be that this coin copied a secondary porcupine, perhaps of sub-variety d. But the central annulet in the standard is very large and has a central pellet. An early date seems preferable.
- 72–5. Four specimens of Type 8, not described. G XIV–XVII, up to 1997.

Type 2c

Type 2c begins with very careful copies of the obverses of Series C (Type 2c, Variety 1, Corpus 158–259). They use the same runes (*apa*). They are not, however, from borrowed or donated English dies. One wonders about some sort of monetary convention between Friesland and England. Very soon, the two series begin to diverge stylistically, and to go their own way. Already in Type 2c, Variety 2 (Corpus 260–400) the dies are less careful. Two of the sub-varieties (2c, 2d) stand outside the main run of specimens. Among a dozen specimens of Type 2c from the South Lincolnshire site, there is just one specimen assigned to Variety 1, and none to 2 – although Varieties 1 and 2 are present in the Aston Rowant hoard, and elsewhere in England as single finds. That suggests a gap or a lull before the arrival of Type 2c in any quantity at our site.

Variety 3 (Corpus 401–923) declines into very degenerate and blundered die-cutting. In detail, it presents the numismatist with extremely difficult challenges of interpretation. The relationship of sub-varieties a–h to each other is completely unclear, and some of the sub-varieties are less than coherent. In other words,

they are not necessarily all from the same workshop. Some groups of specimens could be imitative or from another Netherlands mint.

Some of the imitations could possibly be English in origin, but one should take into account not only their provenances, but weight-standards, and obverse-reverse die-ratios. Type 2c generally uses one and a half or two reverse dies, on average, to one obverse die (OdV and M, p. 45). This casts a small degree of uncertainty, obviously, on the commercial history of the South Lincolnshire site, although only on a small proportion of the finds.

Variety 4 (Corpus 924–1070) is late in date within Type 2c. (It is absent from the Remmerden hoard, but present in Aston Rowant – as is variety 3h.) It comprises styles not represented in the large Remmerden hoard. Often the coins have distinctive pseudo-runes. The post-Remmerden phase is in some sense a new beginning, or perhaps from a more southerly mint-place.

Although at first sight imitation appears to be rife, especially in Variety 3, most coins of Type 2c, of whatever sub-variety, are of a good quality silver alloy (90–95 per cent ‘silver’) and a reasonable weight. That should give pause to the inclination automatically to dismiss blundered specimens as unofficial. More hoard-evidence is needed, especially from one or more new hoards terminating part-way through Varieties 2 and/or 3.

- †76. Variety 1? The style suggests that the obverse is by the same hand as Corpus 176 (photo, OdV & M, p. 35), which is catalogued as Variety 1 in the Corpus. Note the treatment of the brow, eye, and nose. The runes are large but seem to be correct. 1.2 g. Finder: SG (2014). PAS: LIN-0BDEA5.
- *77. Variety 3a. 0.49 g. OdV & M 514. G CXXI. The last sceatta find of 2000.
- †78. Variety 3a? 1.33 g. Finder: SG (2014). PAS: LIN-0B9957.
- *79. Variety 3c. Obverse laterally reversed. 1.20 g. OdV & M 646. G CIV. July 2000. From the field on the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0518. From the same obverse die as three other single finds from England, and one specimen in the Aston Rowant hoard. The obverse die is used with six different reverses (Corpus 641–6). An English imitation?
- *80. Variety 3d. 1.16 g. OdV & M 744. Finder: DP. G CXL. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 23. PAS: LIN-B30606.
- *81. Variety 3d. wnr. OdV & M 772. Finder: DP. G CXXXVIII. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig 21. PAS: LIN-B2CEC4.
- *82. Variety 3e. Obverse laterally reversed and in poor style. 0.80 g. OdV & M 806. Finder: DP. G CXLI. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 24. CR 2007, 91. TA D420. PAS: LIN-B316E2.
- *83. Variety 3f. 1.16 g. OdV & M 843. G CXXIII. April 2002. CR 2003, 75.
- *84. Variety 3f. Obverse laterally reversed and degraded. 1.04 g. OdV & M 848. G CXII. August 2000. From the previously unproductive field. EMC 2000.0528. From the same obverse die as OdV & M 847 (Aston Rowant).

- *85. Variety 3h. 'Late' style and low weight. 0.97 g. OdV & M 918. G CIII. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. (The coin illustrated in OdV & M, p. 40, no. 903 is in fact no. 918.)
- *86. Variety 4b. wnr. OdV & M 980. Finder: DP. G CXXXIX. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 22 (NB not 23). PAS: LIN-B2F1A1. From the same obverse die as Corpus 981 (Birchington, Kent).
- *87. Variety 4b. 1.05 g. OdV & M 982. G XCIV. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0508.
- *88. Variety 4b. wnr. OdV & M -. G CLX. September 2004.
- †89. Variety 4b/4c. The obverse truncation consists of a single row of quite large pellets. The two pellets of the lips are more or less vertically aligned. Careful pseudo-runes. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B63C55. The quality of workmanship suggests an early position within Varieties 4b–c.
- †90. Variety 4b or 4c. 0.61 g. Finder: SG (2014). PAS: LIN-0BA6E8.
- *91. Variety 4c. 0.64 g. OdV & M 1056. G CXIII. August 2000. From the previously unproductive field. EMC 2000.0529. From the same obverse as two Aston Rowant coins (OdV & M 1053, 1054).
- †92. Variety? Late, and possibly imitative (treatment of nose and eye). 0.91 g. Finder: SG (2014). PAS: LIN-0BB61A.
97. VICO variety. Cf M & OdV 179, but the first two lines within the curve are joined, as on Corpus 189 etc. Very neat (early?) workmanship. Finder: SG. PAS: LIN-584A55.
- *98. VICO variety 1. wnr. M & OdV 231. G CXXXI. Autumn 2002.
- *99. VICO variety 1b. 1.25g. M & OdV 253. G CX. August 2000. From the previously unproductive field. EMC 2000.0526.
- *100. VICO variety 1var. 1.08g. M & OdV 286. G LXXXVI. Late October 1999.
- *101. VICO variety imitation. With a swastika below the porcupine. M & OdV 321. From the same dies as a coin in the Kloster Barthe hoard. G CLIII. 2003.
102. Cf. Variety G1. On the obverse, the box-shaped symbol at the lower margin is untidy. On the reverse, the standard is oblong in shape, and the four I symbols are elongated and thin. The crosslet in one side of the margin is clumsy, and the various symbols in the next section of margin are irregular. The surface of both dies is rusty. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-818035.
- *103. Variety G2. 1.22 g. Fresh condition. M & OdV 383 = 403. G C. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0513.
- *104. Variety G2. wnr. M & OdV 426. Finder: DP. G CLV. *The Searcher* 2004, Fig. 16. PAS: LIN-B3A7B7.
105. Variety G2. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6D5FE5.
106. Variety G2. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-E9D3D0.
107. Variety G2? Corroded and obscure, but almost certainly G2. Finder: Steven Gandy. PAS: LIN-5834581.
- *108. Variety G4. 1.14 g. M & OdV -. G CLXXVI. CR 2009, 116.
- *109. Variety G imitation. Secondary-phase obverse, primary-phase reverse. wnr. M & OdV 0587. G CXVII. Late August 2000.
- *110. Variety G reverse/D, Type 8 reverse mule. 1.2 g. M & OdV -. G CLXXI. D. Willson, August 2005. CR 2006, 74.
- †111. Variety D. The obverse is extremely similar to M & OdV Corpus 0648 (which is from the Aston Rowant hoard). Corpus 0638–50 form a small, stylistically homogenous group, with characteristic oblong rather than square standard. The new specimen has six pellets rather than four in the standard, but it is from the same obverse die as the more typical no. 112 (below). Its association, and its primary-phase date, are not to be doubted. Finder: Ron Spindler. PAS: LIN-EEFB05.
112. Variety D. Cf. Corpus 638–48. From the same obverse die as 111. On the reverse the distinctive marginal square C is on the long side of the standard. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-816D46.

Series E

The four well-defined varieties of primary-series E originate in the Big Rivers region of the lower Rhine and Meuse. They are represented at the South Lincolnshire site by 20 specimens, cf. 716 in the corpus published in M & OdV.

Questions which will occur to the student are whether all four varieties are from the same mint-place within the Big Rivers regions; whether they began at exactly the same time and were in issue concurrently; and whether they began at the same time as Series D, or preceded it. Towards the first question, any evidence is most likely to come from distribution patterns within England. For the second and third questions, one can only hope for a new hoard with a helpful *t.p.q.* The South Lincolnshire site by itself contributes nothing in particular, but note that three of the four 'plumed bird' specimens are late within that variety.

- *93. Plumed bird, reverse variety K. 1.18 g. M & OdV 0065. G CXXIV. April 2002.
94. Plumed bird, reverse variety L. 0.9 g. M & OdV 0115. G CLXXII. By 2005. CR 2006, 82. EMC 2005.0172.
95. Plumed bird, reverse variety L. Obv. cf. M & OdV 103–36. Bold crosslet in reverse margin. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6DAFD5.
96. Plumed bird, reverse variety L. Cf. M & OdV 100–1, 115–17. The groups of 3 dots on the reverse are faint in the photograph, but are present. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BBF1F3.

Porcupinestepped cross (BMC Type 53)

Although it is not recorded as occurring in hoards of the primary phase, the high silver contents of Type 53 suggest a (late) primary or perhaps a very early secondary date; a mint-place in the upper Meuse basin or in

northern France is suggested in M & OdV, pp. 226ff., and this is discussed further in OdV & M, pp. 9–10. There is just one find from the South Lincolnshire site, plus an imitation for which there are no comparanda. See also no. 262 below, a coin of Chartres which copies the distinctive porcupine of Type 53.

- †113. Obv. with no pellets. Traces of zig-zag outer border. Closely similar to M & OdV Corpus 3525–6, where they are listed as imitations. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D91E27.
- *114. Imitation of Type 53, the reverse within a square frame. Corpus 3531 (illustrated in M & OdV, p. 231). No comparanda are known.

Continental secondary series

The main regions of minting were, again, former Frisian territory and the Big Rivers region (see the map in M & OdV, p. 175, and the text at pp. 148–56). Both now produced porcupine sceattas. As well as porcupines, the continental issues now included Series X, from Ribe on the west coast of Jutland, and Series G, possibly from northern France. Series E and X, but not G, occur at Domburg, in roughly similar proportions to what we see at the South Lincolnshire site (see the discussion in the text, p. 99 above). It is very possible, therefore, that most of the South Lincolnshire finds other than Series G may have reached their destination via Domburg (or Dorestad).

Series E, secondary phase

It has recently been demonstrated that the secondary-phase porcupines can, broadly speaking, be divided into two groupings, one of which was minted in the Big Rivers region, and the other in Friesland or Frisian territory. The two groupings are on different weight-standards (1.13 g in the south, 1.23 g in the north), and single finds generate different distribution patterns in the Netherlands, confirming the north-south split in their regions of origin. The qualification ‘broadly speaking’ is very necessary, as the stylistic diversity is great, and the scheme of classification which has been devised (ten sub-varieties, a–k) is provisional at many points. The validity of the contrast between the two groupings is certain, but it can in principle be no better than the assigning of specimens to the two categories on which it rests; and there are a great many loose ends. Some of the sub-varieties are far from being stylistically coherent. And then there is the alarming possibility of deceptive imitation. That is liable to have created some blurring and lessening of the north-south contrast. We are not facing the possibility of merely small-scale counterfeiting.

The recent Cothen hoard has revealed the existence of deceptive imitations on a third, still lower weight standard (c.0.9 g), minted in volume – but where?⁴⁰ Their region of origin is a mystery, but there are single finds in the same deceptive style from Cambrai, Namur (2), and Rouen. These are prominent among such a small total of single finds of porcupines recorded from

Belgium and northern France that an origin there or thereabouts seems very possible. Direct export from the north French coast is (as with the tremisses) the other possibility: note the Merovingian deniers from Chartres, Angers, and the Paris region found at the South Lincolnshire site (nos 262, 265–6 below). All told, there is still an enormous amount of numismatic detail that needs to be brought into focus.

What does this baffling situation mean for the South Lincolnshire site? It has yielded a rich harvest of some 75 secondary-phase porcupines. Ideally, they should all be given photographic illustration if they are to contribute to future research. And a record of individual weights is obviously desirable – all the more so because it adds to the confusion. Some of the finds are of unexpectedly low weight, even though they show no signs of wear. We can at least say that the light-weight coins are not a phenomenon local to our site. Among the single finds from the Netherlands, approximately half (again) are below 0.95 g in weight.⁴¹ Thus metrology offers no reason why these coins did not reach Lincolnshire from Domburg or Dorestad in the normal course of trade. With such a large sample, we can (at least approximately) assess the proportion of the finds contributed by the three main streams of imports (northern, southern, and Cothen varieties) and compare it with, for example, the corresponding picture at Domburg. We should be on the look-out for any specimens – or better still, small stylistic groups – which are unrepresented on the Continent and which could be English imitations. Confirmation from other English localities would strengthen the case, but absence on the Continent is crucial, given the balance of trade in England’s favour.

The listing of the finds follows as far as possible the order adopted in the Corpus (M & OdV, 2009–10), namely sub-varieties a to k. Thus it is not chronological. As a rough guide, sub-varieties b–d are southern, while e–g are northern. Sub-varieties h, i, and k, comprising numerous specimens, are indeterminate, but bear little resemblance to b–d.

- *115. Sub-variety a. Reverse design influenced by primary Variety D. M & OdV 0737. 1.20 g. G CLXV. CR 2003, 80. EMC 2003.0177.
- *116. Sub-variety b. Note the annulet on the obverse, touching the front of the spine. 1.06 g. M & OdV 0855. G LXV. mid-August 1999. P. Finn list 18, 43. EMC 1999.0201. For the annulet on the obverse, cf. Corpus 0919 (Kloster Barthe).
- *117. Sub-variety b. Inferior style. 1.17 g. M & OdV 0935. G CXXVI. April 2002. For the general style of the reverse, cf. Corpus 0937–8 (Kloster Barthe).
- *118. Sub-variety b. Rev. has T or crosslet in left margin. Low weight is appropriate to the Cothen category, but no die-link has been found. 0.78 g. M & OdV 0959. G CXIV. Late August 2000. EMC 2000.0531. A similar specimen is recorded from York (Fisherwick) 7426.
- *119. Sub-variety c. 1.01 g. M & OdV 1165. G CLXXIII. August 2005. Found by Mr D. Willson. CR 2006, 91.

⁴⁰ Metcalf and Op den Velde 2014.

⁴¹ W. Op den Velde, personal files.

120. Sub-variety c. Cf. Corpus 1166. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B60A86.
- *121. Sub-variety c. 1.07 g. M & OdV 1185. G LXXI. Mid-August 1999. EMC 1999.0207.
- *122. Sub-variety c. 1.22 g. M & OdV 1186. G LXXXI. Mid-September, 1999.
- *123. Sub-variety c. Obv. with V V below the porcupine. Rev. with two small annulets added in the lower margin, and bold X A A to the right. 1.27 g. M & OdV 1254. G LXXXV. Mid-August 1999. EMC 1999.0211. The style of the reverse margins is distinctive, but the obverse die is the same as specimens from Kloster Barthe and Lutje Saaksum.
124. Sub-variety c. The crosslets and corner-piece in the reverse margin show that this is a regular member of sub-variety c. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-E9F447.
125. Sub-variety c. Probably an official member of c, although not of the neatest workmanship. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DE4C55.
126. Sub-variety c (or d?). The corners of the reverse margins are off the flan. Note the slightly lopsided letters T. Finder DP. PAS: LIN-6CF8A8.
127. Sub-variety c? (or d). Obv. with large crosslet beneath porcupine. Reverse with marginal crosslets centrally and also at the corners. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B493B6.
- *128. Sub-variety d. On the reverse, note the upper left corner of the square. 1.24 g. M & OdV 1300 (? = M & OdV 1388). G CXXII. November 2001. There are four specimens from this same obverse die (but with an unremarkable reverse) in the De Meern hoard (Corpus 1296-9). They are light in weight (0.89, 0.88, 0.87, and 1.00 g).
129. Sub-variety d. 1.18g. M & OdV 1388. (See 128 above).
- *130. Sub-variety d. Same dies as York (Fishergate), 4292. Cf. the obverse of Cothen 46 and the reverse of Cothen 40. 0.98 g. M & OdV 1421. G LXXII. Mid-August 1999. EMC 1999.0208. The step-like motif in the lower right of the square is distinctive. These two coins are intruders in sub-variety d – but where to put them?
- *131. Sub-variety d. Cf. the obverse of Cothen 46. 0.72 g. M & OdV 1423. G LXXVIII. Mid-September 1999. P. Finn list 18, 42. Not a regular coin of sub-variety d.
132. Sub-variety d. Closely similar to Corpus 1431 (and not part of the main run of d). Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DE8C67.
- *133. Sub-variety d. 1.23 g. M & OdV 1439. G CXXV. April 2002.
- †134. Sub-variety d. Four symmetrically arranged outward facing letters T. Close to Corpus 1447, and cf. also 1449, but note two pellets within the standard. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D90315.
- *135. Sub-variety d. Cf. Cothen 33. 1.00 g. M & OdV 1442? G CXLVI.
- *136. Sub-variety d. On the reverse, the square is narrower, with erratically arranged symbols. The outline of the square is linear, with (unusually) very few superimposed dots. 0.60 g. M & OdV 1467. G CVI. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. EMC 2000.0522
- *137. Sub-variety d. On the reverse, a ‘mixed grill’ of symbols, and irregular border ornaments. Cf. Ashmolean 241 (1.10 g, only 67% silver). 0.75 g. M & OdV 1568. G LXXXVII. Late October 1999.
138. Sub-variety d. Reverse as Corpus 1609, but the obverse is formally more like sub-variety f. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6D4973.
- †139. Sub-variety d (copy). Cf. Cothen 29 (0.85 g). Finder: SG. PAS: LIN-581EA2.
140. Sub-variety e. Cf. Corpus 1633–5. Note the fine lines running from the pseudo-letters III towards the curve of the porcupine. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6C9753.
- *141. Sub-variety e. 1.33 g. M & OdV 1783. Finder: DP. G CLVII. *The Searcher* 2004, Fig. 15. TA E680. PAS: LIN-B45594. Note that this and the following coin, although classed as sub-variety e, do not show the diamond-shaped alignment which characterizes that variety. Cf. Corpus 1789–1792 (Kloster Barthe).
- *142. Sub-variety e. 1.11 g. M & OdV 1784. Finder: DP. G CLVI. *The Searcher* 2004, Fig. 14. TA E675. PAS: LIN-B47D53.
- *143. Sub-variety e. On the obverse, the spine is outlined with pellets, on both sides, cf. Corpus 1699–1700 and 1709–18. The snout is, however, more typical of sub-variety f, Corpus 1855. The reverse margin is distinctive. 1.17g. Finder: DP. G CXLIV. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 19. PAS: LIN-B2A266. (Not as shown on M & OdV, plate 53, but clearly associated with Corpus 1854.)
- †144. Sub-variety e (copy). Instead of XII within the curve of the porcupine, IIX. Finder: SG. PAS: LIN-57EDB2. Cf. 159 below.
- †145. Sub-variety f (copy). Crosslet within the curve. Rev. As sub-varieties c and d. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BC3258.
- †146. Sub-variety g. Cf. Corpus 1960–5 (all die-linked). Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BC3B44.
- *147. Sub-variety h. 1.18 g. M & OdV 2117. G CIX. August 2000. From the previously unproductive field.
- *148. Sub-variety h. 1.21 g. M & OdV 2141. G LIX. Spring 1997. CR 1997, 66. TA E800. From the same obverse die as a Kloster Barthe coin, Corpus 2140.
- *149. Sub-variety h. 1.09 g. M & OdV 2229. G LXX. Mid-August 1999. P. Finn list 18, 45. EMC 1999.0206.
- †150. Sub-variety h. The obverse is laterally reversed. For the reverse, cf. Corpus 2625–30, but here with an added annulet. Note Cothen 67 (0.60 g). Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DE1A06. Corpus 2215 (Kloster Barthe) is similar.
- *151. Sub-variety i. ‘Cothen’ variety, with sprawling M under the porcupine’s spine. 0.88. M & OdV 2261. Finder: DP. G CXLV. *The Searcher* 2003, 67, Fig. 20. CR 2007, 116. EMC 2006.0257. TA E137. PAS: LIN-B2B660. Corpus 2260 and 2262 (Kloster Barthe) are from the same obverse die.
- *152. Sub-variety k. 1.07 g. M & OdV 2315. G LXXIV. Mid-August 1999. P. Finn list 18, 40. EMC

- 1999.0210. A group of specimens with this reverse design, M & OdV 2309–2320, are all light in weight, and perhaps on the ‘Cothen’ standard. Their provenances are widely scattered. Cf. Cothen 30 and 31, where there is much less contrast in weight between the inner and outer dotted squares.
153. Sub-variety k. 0.87 g. M & OdV 2325. EMC 2000.0535. A specimen on the ‘Cothen’ weight-standard?
154. Sub-variety k. Crude style. 0.7 g. M & OdV 2438. TA E120.
- *155. Sub-variety k. 1.09 g. M & OdV 2510. G XC. July 2000. EMC 2000.0504.
- *156. Sub-variety k. wnr. M & OdV 2524. Finder: DP. G CXLIII. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 18. PAS: LIN-B28F62. Cf. York (Fishergate) 7165.
- *157. Sub-variety k. Large crosslet under the spine of the porcupine. 0.88 g. M & OdV 2531. G CXXVIII. April 2002. TA E173. Three die-linked specimens, 2529–2531, weigh 1.17 g, 0.70 g, and 0.88 g. Of these, 2530 = Domburg 635.
- *158. Sub-variety k. 1.24 g. M & OdV 2543. G CXXVII. April 2002. On this specimen the reverse design ‘rotates’ in the opposite sense from most others, e.g. M & OdV 2544–5 and 2556–7. But it is probably by the same die-cutter as 2544–5, which are from Katwijk and Kloster Barthe respectively.
159. Sub-variety k. IIX instead of XII. Reverse as sub-variety c or d. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6D22E7. Cf. no. 144 above.
160. Sub-variety k. Obv. Corroded and obscure. Rev. Derivative from sub-variety e. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-E9B2F3.
- *161. Sub-variety -. Imitative coin. wnr. M & OdV -. G CXXXII Autumn 2002.
- *162. Double-reverse ‘mule’, with small scratches (graffiti). 1.20 g. G XCIII. July 2000. From the field on the other side of the road.
- *163. Imitative coin. The obverse seems to copy primary variety D, while the reverse is based on primary variety G. 0.80g (chipped). M & OdV -. G LIX, D.
- †164. Sub-variety k (unrecorded reverse design?). 0.86 g (worn). Finder: SG (2014). PAS: LIN-0B7B2B. It is unusual to see a find from our site showing clear signs of wear. See also no. 165.
- †165. Sub-variety k. The reverse has an irregular arrangement of symbols, with a strong resemblance to no. 164. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BBFDD0.
- *166. Coppery porcupine, probably a contemporary counterfeit. 0.46 g (chipped). G LIX, A.
- *167. Saroaldo/secondary-phase imitation. 1.21 g. G CLXXVII. CR 2009, 140.
- 168–190. Twenty-three porcupines, with no further description. One can only guess that they were divided between the phases in roughly the same proportions as the identified coins. G XVIII–XL. Up to 1997.
- †191. A coin from dies of very poor quality, possibly intended to be a secondary-phase porcupine. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DEE7D1.
- †192. Another coin, evidently closely related to 191. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-7EFF45. It is welcome information that this and the preceding coin were found well apart from each other.

Series E, tertiary phase

The tertiary phase resumes where the primary phase left off, with four regular types (Varieties E, Af, B, and F) and none of the disorganised variability of the secondary phase. It resumes, however, after a gap: it cannot be concurrent with the secondary phase, because there are plenty of Dutch hoards with a full range of secondary varieties, but no tertiary-phase porcupines. At the South Lincolnshire site, likewise, the abundance of secondary phase coins is succeeded by very few specimens of the tertiary phase.

Three of the six specimens catalogued below are of Variety E, which is closely copied from the dominant primary-phase Variety G. It is possible that there were one or two more tertiary-phase specimens among the 23 undescribed coins, 168–90.

- †193. Variety E. Close to Corpus 2951. Finder: Steven Gandy. PAS: LIN-192F70.
- *194. Variety E. Obv. Pellet within snout. Small crosslet near tip of snout. Cf. Corpus 3029–31? The symbols in the reverse standard (a pellet in the opposite corner from the L) are not exactly matched in the Corpus illustrations. Crosslets in the reverse border. wnr. Finder: DP. G CXLVII. *The Searcher* 2003, 67, Fig. 17. PAS: LIN-B27804.
195. Variety E. The details are indistinct except that in the reverse margin there is a (complete) crosslet flanked by pellets. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-63A683. The reverse ornament is unusual.
196. Variety Af. 1.12 g. M & OdV 3139. G LXXXV. Early October 1999.
197. Variety B. wnr. M & OdV 3219. EMC 2001.1246.
- *198. Variety F, 4. wnr. M & OdV 3410. G CLI. ‘The last find from 2002’.

The Interlace type

For a thorough discussion of the type, see Op den Velde and Metcalf 2014. A Belgian origin for the type is most probable. The one specimen from our site is in good style but irregular.

- †199. Obv. Bust left. Rev. Interlace. Finder: DP. TF PAS: LIN-6E3A50. The general style, which is in bold relief with thick lines and large pellets, was named by Zedelius as his Style A. This specimen, however, has swept-forward hair, no clear truncation at the neck, no clear nose, and a pelletted crosslet in front of the mouth. On the reverse are groups of two large pellets in place of the usual three (although two of the four groups have a third lightly indicated pellet).

Series G

The region of origin of Series G remains debateable. In its widespread distribution it resembles Series J. The

specimens in the best style have a distinctive treatment of the lips (*a moue*), shown as a C-shaped curve, rather than by two pellets, and will be of early secondary date. As with Series J, there are more copies than prototypes, and their interpretation is problematic. Ten finds from the South Lincolnshire site seems unexpectedly many.

200. Type 3a. A closely similar specimen to that in the Garton-on-the-Wolds grave-find,⁴² with the distinctive treatment of the lips. The reverse margin has crosslets, with five or six pellets going round the corner. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DED9E4.
- †201. –. The diadem is replaced by a curving line of pellets. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BC0EC6.
- *202. The mouth is shown by two dots. The nose is almost vertical. Reverse with crosslets in the margins. Cf Leeuwarden 268 and Domburg 56. 0.94 g. G CV. July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road.
- *203. Bust with thin, spiky hair, with ?pellets at outer ends. Diadem ties terminate with three pellets in line. Rev. with four crosslets, two pellets. Cf. Domburg 56. 1.07 g. G LXII. Mid-June 1999.
- *204. The obverse has an animal-head truncation which corresponds closely with Ashmolean 273. Rev. with crosslet in margin. 1.12 g. G LXXIII. Mid-August 1999.
- *205. Lacks diadem. 0.73 g. G LXIII. Mid-June 1999.
- *206. Subsidiary series (G/J, doubtless English) with V-shaped ear, and triangular space within which the eye is enclosed. A hand holds the cross in front of the face. Similar in style to the Visemaretz specimen (Metcalf 1993–94, 273, bottom illustration) and BMC 164. 0.97 g. G CII. July, 2000. From the field on the other side of the road.
- †207. Subsidiary series (G/J, doubtless English). The brushed-forward hair is represented by only four strands. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B6EC52. See the discussion of the type in *BNJ* 56 (1986), 19–23 and *T & S*, 272–4, where this variety is listed as G2c.
- 208–9. Two specimens, not described or illustrated. G XLII–XLIII. Up to 1997.

Series X

The ‘Wodan/monster’ sceattas were minted at Ribe, on the west coast of Jutland. They were copied in England (the ‘insular’ style). As well as *T & S*, 275–93, see Metcalf 2000–02. There were seven specimens among the early finds recorded by Bonser. Abramson’s X200 could be one of these, or a subsequent find. Only five more have been reported, of which one is of the insular category. The ratio seven to five is unexpected, and offers some encouragement for the idea of a ploughed-out mini-hoard, discussed in the text above.

- †210. Variety c (with the diagnostic tuft sticking up from the monster’s head. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DE2845.

- *211. Variety h. wnr. Finder: DP. G CIL. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 26. PAS: LIN-B36416.
- *212. Variety q. 1.12 g. G LXVII. Mid-August 1999. A scarce variety.
213. Imitation. The obverse is a fair copy of the Jutland original except that the face is rather small. The hair is pelleted at both ends, cf. obverse type D. The reverse is laterally reversed. wnr. Abramson X200, and p. 140 for the provenance.
- *214. Insular variety. Reverse laterally reversed. Obverse Type F (with annulets to left and right and above head). 1.09 g. Finder: DP. G CL. *The Searcher* 2003, 68, Fig. 27. CR 2007, 189. TA X825. PAS: LIN-B392F1.
- 215–221. Seven specimens not illustrated. G XLIV–L.

The secondary phase: English series

The series are arranged here in the same order as in *T & S*: J, K, L, etc. There are not enough specimens for patterns to emerge clearly, but the finds may be compared with what has been found in the east midlands generally.⁴³

Series J

The two original types in Series J, namely Types 85 (= BIIIB) and 37, were both introduced very early in the secondary phase, thus *c.*720–30. They seem to have originated in Northumbria, but they were widely copied south of the Humber. All but one or two of the South Lincolnshire site finds could have been minted south of the Humber, so far as one can judge.

There are now two specimens from our site of a variant of Type 85 lacking the groups of three pellets flanking the cross. The quality of the dies is good, and consistent, and the question arises whether they are (a later?) part of the official series seen, for example, in the Garton-on-the-Wolds grave-find, or whether they are derivative and minted elsewhere. The Repton find, of the variant in question (illustrated in *SiEMC* 2, 22) is debased, and one of the South Lincolnshire specimens shows flaking in the face – possibly a plated coin. There are two more specimens in the Föhr hoard (nos 32 and 33, 1.04 g and 0.84 g) which seem to belong to this variant sequence, although they have an extra row of dots in the diadem.

Type 37 (two facing heads) is always difficult to assess stylistically, and that is true of the six specimens from the South Lincolnshire site. (Any which matched the obverse of Type 72 closely in style could be continental in origin.) Type 36 is fully discussed as regards its distribution pattern (south of Humber) and possible minting place, in *SiEMC* 2, 26–9. Type 72 is probably continental in origin.

- *222. Type 85. The style is good in all respects, except that the reverse lacks the groups of three dots to left and right of the cross. wnr. Finder: DP. G CLVIII. *The Searcher* 2004, Fig. 17. PAS: LIN-B3C172.

⁴² Rigold 1960, 49 and Pl. 4 (bottom row).

⁴³ Metcalf 2011.

- †223. Type 85, the same variant as the preceding coin. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6DDD06.
224. Type 85. Illustration not available. wnr. G L. Up to 1997.
- *225. Type 37. Cf. the second specimen in the Garton-on-the-Wolds grave-find (T & S, 351), but the noses are almost vertical. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DDFFD5.
226. Type 37. Similar to the preceding coin, but the diadems are omitted, and the noses are more rounded. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D93056.
- *227. Type 37. The angle of the lips, etc., corresponds fairly well with the specimens from Garton-on-the-Wolds and York (Fishergate), but the noses are more nearly vertical. T & S, p. 351. 1.04 g. G LXXXVIII. Late October 1999.
- *228. Type 37. Similar to the preceding specimen, but the diadems are shown by a double row of pellets. 0.92 g. G CVIII. August 2000. From the previously unproductive field.
229. Type 37. Lips vertical, noses vertical. wnr. G CXXIX. April 2002.
- *230. Type 37. Lips horizontal, noses vertical. Originally silvered. 1.01 g. G LXXXIII. Mid-September 1999.
- 231–2. Type 37. Two specimens. Illustrations not available. wnr. G LI, LII. Up to 1997.
233. Type 36. The obverse is too weakly struck to show all the details, but there is a long cross in front of the face. On the reverse, both birds are stick-like, and the border is single, not double. It comprises a linear circle on which pellets, rather widely spaced, are superimposed. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-DE3C84.
234. Type 72. Obv. Two facing heads, as on Type 37. Rev. Walking bird right, with head turned left. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BBD2E2. There are four finds from Domburg and one from Richborough, Kent.

Series K

The series is Kentish, but whether the types were also struck north of the Thames, from obverse dies in a distinctive 'northern' style, is a question calling for plentiful find-evidence.

- *235. Type 42, variety b, iii (see Metcalf 1993–94, 393). Drapery in style 2. 1.06 g. Mid-secondary date, c.735–45. Finder: DP. G LXXXII. Mid-September 1999. PAS: LIN-B24FE4.
- *236. Type 33, in the 'northern' style. Obv. Elongated hand holds the cross. 0.78 g. c.735–45. G XCIX, July 2000, from the field on the other side of the road. For the style of the bust, cf. the Grimsby and Bradwell-on-Sea finds of Type 32a (Metcalf 1993–94, 400).
- *237. Type 32a. Style 'A–B' (Metcalf 1993–94, 399, left-hand drawing). 1.04 g. G CXLVIII. *The Searcher*, 2003, 67, Fig. 16. TA K431. CR 2007, 153.
238. Type 32a. No illustration. G LIII. Up to 1997.

Series L

- *239. Type 12. Very close in style to (but finer than) *SCBI Hunterian* 83. 0.90 g. G CI. July, 2000, from the field on the other side of the road.
- *240. C ARIP eclectic group. Apparently from the same reverse die as Ashmolean 340. 0.80 g. G LIX, c. From an outlying field.

Series N

The possibility that Series N (Type 41b) was struck at more than one mint-place is at present speculative. Proof would require stylistic sub-groups to be defined, and for them to show clear differences in their distribution-patterns.

- *241. Type 41b, in good style, cf. the corpus in *BNJ* 1974, pl. 1, 10, but the obverse lacks the inner wire border. The arms are a single curve, and the central cross is linear and delicate. The monster has an elongated tongue, ending with a pellet. Patina with golden tinge. 0.97 g. G LXVIII. Mid-August, 1999.
- *242. Type 41b. Both figures wear smocks with vertical folds, cf. *BNJ* 1974, pl. 2, 14–16? 1.07 g. G LXXIX. Mid-September 1999.
243. Type 41, no detail available. G LIV. Up to 1997.

Series O

Minted in the south-east?

- †244. Type 38. Mid-secondary date. 1.2 g. Found 2014. PAS: LIN-0BC0C6.

Series Q

This series belongs, almost certainly, to the kingdom of East Anglia, and Type QI, with its varieties, seems to be from western Norfolk, i.e. not very far from our site. That there should be only one specimen of QI suggests a lack of commercial contacts.

- *245. Type QIE. Same reverse die as Ashmolean 383? 0.83 g. G LXXX. Mid-September 1999.
- *246. Type QIVD, 0.90 g. G LXXVI. Mid-August 1999.

Series R

For the classification into Types R1–12, see *T & S*, 503–23. This series certainly belongs to the kingdom of East Anglia. Type R8, which is well represented at the South Lincolnshire site, is of mid- to late secondary date. As Series R8 was a plentiful issue (other than the variety described below, no. 251), the remarks about Series Q, above, will also apply. The apparent progression Q, Q/R, R at a single mint-place may reflect the extension of the political power of East Anglia.

- †247. Type R8. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-6E02C4.
- †248. Type R8. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D8E534.
- †249. Type R8. Finder: John Cooper. PAS: LIN-BB9977.

- †250. Type R8R (i.e. laterally reversed). Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-7ED286.
- *251. Type R8, variety with runes *er* retrograde. 0.89 g. G CLXXIV. By 2005. CR 2006, 139. This variety, like the associated Q/R mules, belongs to north-west Norfolk. See Ashmolean cat. 389 and 390.
252. Type R, imitative (so described by Bonser). G LV. Up to 1997.

Types 30, 51, etc.

253. Obv. Open cross with rounded ends to the arms ('croix ancrée'. Rev. As Type 51. Cf Ashmolean 434. wnr. G LXI. Found 1999. A very scarce type, the only other recorded provenances being Cotgrave, Notts (EMC 1999.0038) and East Tilbury, Essex.
254. Type 70, imitative (so described by Bonser). wnr. G LVI. Up to 1997.

Series U

Type 23b is perhaps from the upper Thames region. Type 23c is most probably from north Wessex.⁴⁴

- *255. Type 23b. The obverse copies the style of 23b quite closely, but with shallower die-cutting. The reverse, which is laterally reversed, is reminiscent of Type 23c. 0.87 g. G LXIV. Mid-June 1999.
- *256. Type 23c, imitation. The style is thin and empty, and in no way deceptive. It shows an awareness of the prototype, however. Probably from the same dies as Domburg 62, ex Boogaert, but the condition of the Domburg specimen is too corroded to be sure. Another (same dies?) from Zoelen (Utrecht). The provenance was reported as Spalding, but perhaps from the productive site.
257. Series U, no details. G LVII. Up to 1997.

Series V

From a mint-place in the south-east, probably east Kent. For the classification, see T & S, pp. 570–5.

258. Type V2a. Early secondary, c.720–30. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-D87A61.

Unidentified sceattas and a blank

259. A copper-alloy coin on a squareish flan, possibly a sceatta. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-95A5A3.
260. An unidentified type of sceatta, with a cross on the reverse. Possibly an unlisted eclectic type from the time of Series L?
261. A silver blank, with rough surfaces on obverse and reverse. Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-7F0C15.

Merovingian deniers

The deniers are listed in alphabetical order of modern départements, as in Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière, 2003.

- *262. Chartres (Eure-et-Loir). Obv. Porcupine, laterally reversed, copies the 'stepped cross' porcupine, with its distinctive large annulet. Rev. ECARNOTI. Bold central annulet and pellet. wnr. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 234. G CLXII. 16 September 2004. CR 2005.132. EMC 2004.0140. Ashmolean Museum. The reverse legend no doubt refers to Chartres. Early Carolingian deniers similarly read CARNOTIS. This coin is, so far as is known, unique.
- *263. Souesmes (Loir-et-Cher). Obv. SESEMOI. Facing bust. Rev. DOSOLENAS (or BOSOLENAS?), Croix ancrée. 1.14 g. G CLXVIII. August 2004. CR 2005, 52, with a long note drawing attention to the possibility that this is a contemporary forgery of a tremissis of Bosolenus (cf. Prou 1708; Belfort 4067). Fitzwilliam Museum.
- †264. Unidentified denier. ? Brioude (Haute-Loire). Finder: DP. PAS: LIN-B6B8D5.
- *265. Angers (Maine-et-Loire). Obv. Pseudo-monogram with titulus. Rev. AND in monogram with titulus. 0.84 g. G LX. Found 1995 or 1996. From early in the reign of Pepin (751–755)?
266. Paris region? Undescribed, (croix ancrée?). G LVIII.
- *267. Chalon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire). Obv. Small cross and pellets. Rev. Six-rayed star. 0.95 g, very debased. Cf Domburg 871. G LIX, b. From an outlying field.
- *268. Chalon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire). Obv. Cross and pellets. Rev. Six-rayed star. 1.04g. Cf. Domburg 874; Westenschouwen 1013 (Op den Velde and Claassen 2006). G CVII. July 2000. From the field on the other side of the road.
269. Silver blank. G CLXXIX. Found c.1997 or 1998.

Appendix

Five finds reported in May 1994, from 'the Spalding area, Lincs.', information courtesy of Mr Hayes. It is merely conjecture that these five coins are from our site (among the 58 listed in Bonser, 1997?), but they are of varieties commonly found there.

270. Series D, Type 8. 1.09 g.
271. Series E, secondary phase, reverse with TOT II. 1.32 g.
- *272. —, obv. laterally reversed. 0.81 g.
273. —, obv. with annulet at front of spine, rev. with four letters I clockwise. 1.32 g.
274. Series X, variety c/B. 1.16 g.

⁴⁴ Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, 30.

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