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The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni.

by Simon C. Bean, BA,

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, October, 1994



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ABSTRACT

A detailed study of the Iron Age coinage from the area of the Atrebates and Regni has been made. Coin deposition has been studied and distinctions made between 'hoards' from religious and non-religious sites.

The first coins to circulate in the area, imported Gallo-Belgic gold, have been examined. The traditional Gallic war date for Gallo-Belgic E is questioned, and an earlier, longer chronology is proposed.

During the currency of Gallo-Belgic C the first indigenous local staters, British A2 and C, appeared. Later, around the time of the Gallic War, these were succeeded by British Q. In this period the first local silver types were produced alongside a short-lived bronze issue. These were usually struck on broad thin flans with designs based on Gaulish coins.

British Q was succeeded by several smaller localised stater issues. The contemporary quarter staters and silver were generally struck on thick flans with more insular designs. A picture of fragmented minting is apparent.

The staters inscribed COMMIOS and several related denominations develop from these types. Close examination of the numismatic evidence suggests that these were produced by a Commios who was the 'son' of the Commius of Caesar. The minting of these and later inscribed coins appears to have been centralised.

The succeeding coins of Tincommius bear Roman inspired designs

and the metallurgy of the silver units suggests that they were produced from recycled Roman denarii. Numismatic evidence now suggests two mints, one in the Chichester-Selsey area, controlled by Tincommius, and another, at Calleva, held by Eppillus. A rare series of coins from Kent record these two leaders acting together with a further partner, Verica. Coins in Verica's name later appeared from both the southern and Calleva mints, although Calleva was eventually lost to a north Thames leader, Epaticcus.

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S.C.B.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|---|
| Ant. J. | Antiquaries' Journal |
| Arch. J. | Archaeological Journal |
| BAR | British Archaeological Reports |
| BAR IS | International Series |
| BAR SS | Supplementary Series |
| BG | Julius Caesar, <i>Comentarii de Bello Gallico</i> |
| BIAUL | Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. |
| Blanchet | A. Blanchet, <u>Traite de monnaies gauloises</u> (Paris 1905) |
| BM | British Museum collection (followed by number) |
| BMC | British Museum Catalogue |
| BN | Bibliothèque nationale, Paris |
| BNJ | British Numismatic Journal |
| CA | Current Archaeology |
| CCBM | <u>Celtic Coins in the British Museum</u> |
| Crawford | M.H. Crawford, <u>Roman Republican Coinage</u> (Cambridge, 1974) |
| CBA | Council for British Archaeology |
| DLT | H de la Tour, <u>Atlas de monnaies gauloises</u> (Paris, 1892) |
| JNG | Jarbruch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte |

Mack The Coinage of Ancient Britain (London, 3rd edition 1975)

Mossop The H.R.Mossop Collection - Celtic coins of Britain (Glendining's auction 6th November 1991)

NC Numismatic Chronicle

NCirc Spink's Numismatic circular

NJ Numismatic Journal

NMW National Museum of Wales

OJA Oxford Journal of Archaeology

Oxf. In. Oxford Index (followed by unique index card number)

PPS Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

RBN Revue Belge de Numismatique

RIC Roman Imperial Coinage

RN Review Numismatique

Seaby H.J. and P.J. Seaby Coins of England and the United Kingdom (London, 27th edition 1992)

SAC Sussex Archaeological Collections

SCBI Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles

Scheers S.Scheers Traite de Numismatique Celtique II: La Gaule Belgique (Paris 1977)

SCBM Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin

Sx A.C. Sussex Archaeological Collections

Sy A.C. Surrey Archaeological Collections

VA R.D. Van Arsdell Celtic Coinage of Britain (London

WAM

1989)

Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine

INTRODUCTION

The pre-Roman coinage of Britain has long commanded the interest of antiquarians, archaeologists and historians. The series has, however, never received the kind of attention accorded to Classical or Medieval coinages. As a consequence, the scholarly study of British pre-Roman coinage is, comparatively speaking, still in its infancy. It is hoped that this study, and others like it, will begin to redress this situation.

Before a detailed account of the series studied is given, it is necessary to place the study in context. A detailed history of the study of Celtic coins can be found elsewhere (Haselgrove 1987) and only a summary, paying particular attention to the area of study, is given here.

The recognition of a pre-Roman coinage in Britain is apparent as early as Camden's Britannia (1586), the second edition (1600) associating the staters inscribed 'COM...' with the *Commios* of Caesar. Subsequent works extended knowledge little further. Borlase (1754) observed that as certain Celtic coins lacked inscription they must, in his view, predate the Roman invasion. The paucity of material from the South Thames area prevented progress comparable to Pegge's (1766) classification of the coinage of Cunobelin.

It was the plotting of the distribution of finds of Cunobelin's coins by De Lagoy (1826) (demonstrating that coins of

Cunobelin were only to be found in Britain and were therefore unlikely to be Gaulish) that established the value of distribution plots for the British Celtic series. Akerman (1849, pl. IX) was the first to plot the finds of all the then known British types. This demonstrated that the coins inscribed TINC and VIRI were, at that time, unknown outside Hampshire and Sussex.

A reasoned chronological arrangement of the British coins was still lacking. In 1864 Evans presented the results of his meticulous study in The Coins of the Ancient Britons. Here he published all the types known to him, their inter-relationships and all previously collected data. The accurate engraving of significant types must have had a marked effect, for the 1890 supplement recorded coins from 240 new provenances, compared to a total of 252 in the previous volume (Haselgrove 1987, 2). Evans' Darwinian approach and his appreciation of weight reduction, declining alloy and spatial and temporal ordering ensure that his work remains an essential reference. Indeed no single work of comparable breadth and scholarship has been produced to date on the subject.

The disturbances to the landscape brought about by the industrial revolution such as railway construction, iron-stone quarrying and steam ploughing, led to many new discoveries. Evans enjoyed the advantage that many of the coins he published were in his own personal collection, which allowed him to study them first hand and at length. Many of his observations on style and

appearance remain of the greatest value, as they are drawn directly from the coins themselves. Today his collection remains a primary resource as it forms the back bone of the British Museum and Ashmolean collections.

Evans made much use of classical texts in dating the inscribed coins. His only error was in not recognising Verica as the Berikos mentioned by Dio (Histories, LX, 19, 1). Evans had also mistakenly included a number of Gaulish coins; these were properly attributed later by De La Tour (1892) and Blanchet (1905).

During the 19th century gold coins began to be found along beaches in the Bognor and Selsey Bill area of Sussex. Many were collected together and published by the local antiquarian T.C.Willett, and his published accounts (1879; 1880) and collection, now in the British Museum, formed until recently, the basis of our record of gold coins in this area.

Similarities apparent from the work of Evans, De La Tour and Blanchet now began to appear in the archaeology. The excavation of the Aylesford cemetery (Evans 1890) and that at Swarling (Bushe-Fox 1925) led to the equation of late Iron Age cremation cemeteries with the immigrants ex Belgio mentioned by Caesar (D.B.G. II,14,2). The elements of archaeological similarity with Continental material were drawn together by Hawkes and Dunning (1930), the elements of numismatic similarity were presented in two major papers by Brooke (1933a, 1933b). Brooke's ideas were developed by Allen, who in 1944 presented a complete integration

of the coins with the Classical texts. This correctly identified Verica with the Berikos of Dio, viewing Verica, Eppillus and Epaticcus as contemporaries of Cunobelin. Allen's narrative history still forms the basis of almost all that has appeared subsequently on the subject.

Allen then turned his attention to the origins of coinage in Britain, seen at the time as being inextricably linked with waves of invaders from Gaul (1960). Whilst this mechanism has come to be challenged, his new neutral terminology for imported and indigenous types, and the gazetteer of finds, remain of use and value.

There followed detailed studies of series; the Dobunni (Allen 1961), the Coritani (1963, now Corieltavi (Tomlin 1983)) and British potin (1971b).

More fastidious and meticulous excavation techniques resulted in an increasing number of finds, particularly small denominations. At Owslebury (Collis 1968) 50% of the finds were tiny silver minims. An even greater quantity of data was beginning to appear at this time through the use of metal detectors. When used responsibly these have yielded valuable results (the coins recorded by Tony Gregory in East Anglia and David Holman in Kent for example) but when misused they can cause untold damage and destruction (e.g. Wanborough temple, Surrey).

Using the card index of Celtic coins built up by Frere, Allen embarked on detailed die studies of individual series. These resulted in his study of the coinage of the Iceni (1970a),

the gold of Cunobelin (1975) and the gold of Verica (Allen and Haselgrove 1979). The earlier uninscribed gold stater series, Allen types A, B, C and D were similarly studied (Mackensen 1974).

More recent published studies have tended to move away from the coins and instead examine more theoretical issues. These studies (e.g. Rodwell 1976, Haselgrove 1987) have been broader in scope but less detailed. The value of such studies might be questioned when the data on which they are based is so imperfectly understood.

With the completion of Melinda Mays doctoral thesis, on the coinage and archaeology of the Durotriges, a new phase of more detailed study may be discerned. Research is currently underway on other 'peripheral' series; the Corieltauvi by Jeffrey May, the Iceni by Amanda Chadburn and the Dobunni by John Sills. The large and complex North Thames series is being studied by Geoff Cottam. The present work covers the coins from the area traditionally identified with the Atrebates and Regni. The Cantiaci have also been studied. However due to the great number of coins recently recorded by David Holman, (now close to tripling the number of recorded coins of the Cantiaci known two years ago, at the conclusion of the study) only the study of the Kentish coins of the 'Alliance' is presented here (p. 349-360). The new Kentish coins should be integrated in a year or so (Bean forthcoming²), however so as not to unduly delay the completion of this work this has not yet been embarked upon.

The rationale behind these studies is that only from studying the details of a series, can an understanding of the series as a whole be gained and a firm foundation for interpretive and theoretical advances built. The longevity of Evan's work is undoubtedly due to his concentration on observation and description of the coins themselves.

A number of detailed studies have appeared on specific aspects of Celtic coinage, for example Potin coinage (Haselgrove 1988) and the metallurgy of Celtic coins (Burnett and Cowell 1988; Oddy and Cowell 1992; Northover 1992). The advent of the coin register in the British Numismatic Journal has also meant that new types appear in print quickly.

With the appearance of so many new types in the last twenty years, the revised editions of Mack have become increasing unaccommodating. Despite the admirable completeness of Seaby's annual Standard catalogue of English coins there was an increasing need for a well illustrated catalogue of Celtic coins. This need was to some extent met by R.D. Van Arsdell's Celtic Coinage of Britain (1989) which included the majority of types known at the time of writing. While the scholarly value of this work has been doubted (Kent 1990; Burnett 1991) it does at least allow for the identification of a significant number of new types.

THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY.

This study aims to include all types of coin produced in the

territories traditionally described as those of the Atrebates and Regni. The study also includes a series of coins principally known from Kent, struck in the names of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica. The study includes British C, British D, the Hampshire group of thin silver and coins inscribed CRAB (which some, e.g. Van Arsdell (1989), might claim belong to the Durotriges). It does not include the coinage of Epaticcus (and the succeeding coinage of Cara[actacus])¹ as dynastically this leader claims descent from the house of Tasciovanus, not Commius (see Bean forthcoming 1). This approach may fairly be criticized in the case of Epaticcus, as the exclusion is made upon dynastic and not numismatic discontinuity.

The present work is divided into two principal sections: uninscribed and inscribed coins. This introduces an apparent separation of the two series when in fact they appear to be joined in a number of places. Such a division, however, allows the data to be discussed in manageable units. A number of uninscribed types are discussed in the inscribed section as they would seem to belong with inscribed series. The inscribed coins have been arranged by leader. It will become clear, however, that a number of distinct mints are apparent. It may be argued that in line with more recent catalogues on the later Roman series organisation should be by mint. This has not been attempted as it is felt that the study and understanding of this series is not yet far enough advanced; in the rarer series it is not always possible to determine whether one is dealing with a mint or an

itinerant die engraver.

All coins originating from the study area in the Oxford Index have been included in the study. In addition coins held in the national museums and many local museums have been included². Many coins have been recorded from private collections, metal detectorists, dealers catalogues and their stock. A particular emphasis has been placed on the latter, as it is felt that unlike coins held by museums, these coins may never again be available for study. The type, weight and findspot of all relevant coins has been recorded when known, the die identity of all legible gold and silver coins was also recorded. Such a study would be invaluable for the bronze coins, but so many of these are in such poor condition it has not seemed worthwhile. Die studies of the 'cock' bronzes and certain Kentish types will be forthcoming elsewhere (Cottam forthcoming; Holman forthcoming). No data has been included after 1 st June 1993. An inventory has not been included here due to its excessive length, the index cards will eventually be deposited at the Oxford Index where they can be consulted.

Before the methods by which the data were examined are detailed, it is necessary to ask certain questions regarding the quality of the data.

It has been argued by Rodwell (1976; 1981) that so severe are the biases within the available data, that its use for any analysis or testing of propositions is negligible. The key question to consider is how many coins are required for a sample

to be valid. Essentially the coins we have available to us are a sample of those lost or deliberately deposited, and we assume that this forms a sample of those produced. Problems of misidentification or identification from older less precise schemes of classification add further imprecision. If we look at coin-to-die survival ratios, as an index of coin survival, then it becomes clear just how low the survival rate for these coins is. If we accept, for the sake of argument, that an obverse die was capable of producing c. 10,000 coins, then it is apparent that no type studied here has a survival rate above 0.5% and almost all types have a survival rate lower than 0.1%.

It seems reasonable to assume that gold and silver coins were mass produced to near identical standards due to their intrinsic value. This is borne out by metrological and metallurgical analysis. Although the sample is undeniably flawed, Rodwell is surely wrong, given the size of samples today, to reject statistical calculations for Iron Age coins. Simple descriptive techniques are indeed essential if the data is to be reduced to manageable and comprehensible quantities.

The question of how random and representative our sample is must be addressed. For metrological analysis we ourselves may introduce a bias by removing obviously abraded and chipped coins from the sample. When our sample is largely from hoards we should be aware that such groups may have been composed of generous weight pieces. In the instance of British C we are largely dependant on the coins from one hoard. The one known weight for

this type, beyond the hoard, is very much lighter (although the piece is very probably plated, Mackensen 1974, 57; Bean 1993; Cottam 1993, all contra Van Arsdell 1993a). It is clear that our present sample is only becoming more representative. The great volume of coins from Wanborough has given us many new types and a great many new dies. The same is true of the probable hoard of British D which has appeared from Robinwood, Compton, over the last two years.

The matter of intrinsic value and resultant hoarding certainly has had an effect, historically, on the appearance of types. In the years since Allen's gazetteer (1960) relatively few new gold types have come to light, perhaps as most were known from old hoards. By contrast the number of silver types, and their volume, has increased dramatically.

The reliability of data is most critical for provenance. Haselgrove defines four orders of reliability for data (1987, 42-3) ranging from coins from excavated contexts to those with inferred provenances and of unreliable attribution. With regard to provenance, a liberal view has been adopted here, unless it is clear that a provenance has been falsified or erased. This has been done on the principle that as further data accumulates the influence of rogue elements will become negligible. Inherent data from the coin, such as weight and composition, are relatively reliable as any wear or leaching should be visually apparent.

With regard to the adequacy of size of a sample, for die and metrological work, Roman numismatics can offer a guide. Here it

appears that a relatively small sample is sufficient to characterise a parent population, as the consistency of frequency distribution shows (e.g. Casey 1986, 91-94). With increasing size, however, deviations and erroneous observations become less important.

The processes leading to the formation of the evidence must also be considered. Primarily what Schiffer (1976) terms 'transformational factors' must be considered, the factors affecting the formation of the archaeological record. The fact that Iron Age gold coins are very rare from proto-urban sites in Britain need not necessarily be a reflection of function as Collis argued (1971); simply that precious objects stand a high chance of being retrieved if dropped in areas of relatively high human activity. This would seem to be reflected in the rarity of Roman gold from sites (Cherry et al 1978) for which it is hard to advance a functional explanation.

It is also important to be aware of the circumstances and general environment in which finds are made. Severe biases may be introduced by the presence of active collectors in a given locality. Our record of the 19th century finds from Selsey and Bognor owes much to the presence and diligence of T.C.Willett. Land usage may also affect the density of finds from a given area. The presence of known sites understandably attracts attention, and recently that of metal detectorists. The fact that certain sites (e.g. temples) have become associated with significant finds of coins, has meant that they have become the

focus of attention for certain 'treasure hunters'. Even in the controlled environments of excavations one must be aware that since c.1970 the number of Celtic coins recovered, in particular minims, has been steadily increasing as techniques of excavation improve.

It is clear that the data we have available are far from perfect. It is, however, the only data we have, and we must make the most of it. To do so we must use it critically and with precision. Haselgrove's approach (1987) of grouping types together for analysis, (although explicitly done and for valuable result) may introduce errors. Only groupings taking account of die studies and careful analysis of style are likely to avoid imprecision. This criticism may be applied more specifically to Van Arsdell (1989) where groups are often constructed with little argument or apparent reason, and where a single type is classified separately three different times, under two different rulers (Van Arsdell 423, 485 (retrograde) and 510).

This work does not seek to integrate or synthesise to produce an overall picture. It is one of the detailed studies from which a synthesis might ultimately be produced. By combining the many admittedly weak strands of evidence derived from the coins, it is hoped that a stronger thread of understanding may be produced.

METHODOLOGY

It is necessary to consider and validate the methodology used in this study. It is also necessary to make explicit many of the assumptions that all too frequently appear in the literature as dogma.

The methods of examination employed in this study may broadly be divided into two categories: i) Inherent qualities of the coin, (metrology, composition, form of flan, design, inscription, die identities) and: ii) external qualities (find-spot, archaeological context, sources from which the design may be derived, mint, dating and historical implications).

Since the time of Evans the importance of metrology in the study of Celtic coins has been appreciated. Very often it appears to be applied with little critical appreciation of the population being studied. Perhaps two questions should be asked of a population. Firstly, how well does the sample reflect the metrology of the coins when they left the mint; and secondly, how well do they reflect the metrology of the coins as they occur today? The examination of the metrology of types is done primarily for comparative purposes in this study. Theoretically then, it does not matter if all the available coins fit the first or the second scenario, as long as they are all in a comparable state. However, in certain instances this is clearly not the case. The great majority of the staters of Commios are known from single finds, in very varying states of preservation. By contrast the majority of Verica's staters are known from hoards and many

are in excellent condition. In the latter case, such coins may have been selectively chosen for hoarding due to their high weight; and as a group they may have been less vulnerable to leaching processes.

Circulation wear may not be such a serious problem. When a comparison can be made between actual weights and documentary weight standards (for example late medieval English nobles and groats) a discrepancy of 1-2% is apparent for gold and 4-5% for silver (cf Grierson 1975, 149). These coins have a greater surface area relative to their weight than the majority of coins in this study 3, so the discrepancy might be somewhat reduced. In the case of the gold coins this comparison needs to be used with care. The nobility of medieval gold in Britain, even during the reign of Henry VIII, when it was reduced to 20 carats, was consistently above that of Celtic gold in the study area. Celtic gold is therefore more likely to be subject to leaching processes. This is not merely a theoretical consideration, most gold coins from the coastal sites of Selsey and Bognor have clearly pitted and leached surfaces. A metrological difference is immediately apparent if the weights of such coins are plotted against those of similar type from different sites (figs. 4.7, 5.9).

In certain series one must also be aware of how the sample available for study was formed. It is often the case that the major museum collections of a relatively common series, (Roman Republican silver for example) will, through the acquisition

policy of the museum and of its donors, have formed a collection of the choicest specimens struck on the largest and fullest (i.e. heaviest) flans. This sample will therefore neither represent the metrology of the coins as they left the mint, nor that of the population available for study. At present this not a problem, as coins from the study area are still sufficiently rare for only the more abraded (and metrologically useless coins) to be rejected by museums and major collectors.

Much of our study of the metrology of Celtic coins is based on the assumption that they were produced to a standard. This certainly appears true of the gold coins. Much of the uninscribed silver is however of very variable weight. While individual types appear relatively homogeneous, there is very significant variation between types, suggesting a lack of a universal standard. The same is true, to a lesser degree, for the uninscribed 'quarter staters'. In practice one wonders whether these were actually used by weight rather than unit value. Analogy may be made to copper coins in early Muslim Egypt which were struck to no specific standard, their transaction being against fixed weight glass weights (Grierson 1975, 177).

Traditionally it has been the practice in British Celtic numismatics to use the raw weights of the coins as the sample for computation of means. Recently a 'standard weight' system has been tried, to identify the 'original', or intended weights of the coins (Van Arsdell 1989). This method has much to commend it, however it must be asked if like is being compared with like.

Firstly, as we have seen, the weight distributions of certain types are likely to be affected both by their circumstances of deposition (hoard/ non-hoard) and their environment of deposition. While this method may be used with some security where a very large population is available for examination (e.g. Grierson 1975, 146-149) does it have statistical validity for the relatively tiny populations of types of Celtic coins. Such a standard weight system is a remove from the data itself. When the sample is small and possibly uncritically assembled it's value has to be questioned. As the resultant figure is only for comparative purposes this remove seems unnecessary.

For the purposes of this study frequency tables have been used. For reason of economy of space and ease of comparing distributions, these have been plotted in tables not as histograms. On each of these tables a 'O' represents 5 coins, a 'I', one coin. Damaged and excessively worn coins have been plotted as lower case letters, but are excluded from calculations of the mean weights. This has been done because these only represent the weight of an altered coin, and often the sample is too small to absorb such a discrepancy. Care has been taken to isolate leached coins (largely those from Selsey/Bognor) and plot them distinctly as 'o' and 'i'. In a number of instances the mean weight has been used to estimate how many staters of a given type were produced to the 'Celtic pound' (Allen 1960, 302-304). The often surprisingly round number obtained hints that the methods of metrological examination, here used, give a fair indication of

what might be termed the 'intended weight' of a type.

From the study of the metrology of different types the existence of specific denominations has long been clear. We have, however, no knowledge of what the peoples who used these coins called the denominations. The fact that Celtic coins have long been classed together with Greek coins led to the use of the term 'stater' for the British gold denomination weighing from c.4.5g-6.5g. There has recently been an attempt by Dr J.P.C.Kent to extend the Greek nomenclature to the silver (BNJ vols. 57, 58 coin registers). In the way this was applied it has certain merits, however if rigidly applied, taking metrology into full account, then a nightmarish number of denominations would be apparent. The application of this construct could, in turn, infer a greater fragmentation of the Celtic coinage than truly existed. There might be a case for adopting the names of comparable Roman denominations, but this once again imposes foreign constructs and implies possibly false relationships. For the present study the term 'stater' has been retained as it is now so entrenched it seems perverse to use a different term. Gold coins which weigh approximately a quarter this weight have been termed 'quarter staters', although where this relationship is less apparent the term 'gold fraction' has been employed. The commonly used term 'silver unit' has been retained for silver pieces of between 0.8-1.4g. For silver coins of 0.4g or less the term minim is used. This has the advantage of not defining a fractional relationship to the unit which is often hard to determine. It also conveys, as

anyone who has handled these coins will be aware, their small and fiddlesome size. Several silver types appear to have weight distributions about half that of the prevailing units and accordingly have been termed half units. Where the metrology of lighter silver types is not clear they are simply called 'fractions'. It soon becomes clear that due to variations in weight there must have been certain periods when transaction could only have been carried out by weight [of coin(s)]. The metrology may have been directly related to factors which are today hard to detect. An illustration of which may be the torc in the Tayac hoard which weighed nearly exactly 100 times the weight of the prevailing local stater (Kellner 1970).

It is also clear that within the coinage there is a significant number of plated coins. Their present day ratio to coins of good metal may not reflect the original situation, as there would seem little reason to recycle plated coins. The nature of these pieces, and their producers, will be considered below. Whatever their source they may be viewed as 'false', as they purport to be something which intrinsically they are not. For this reason they will be termed 'counterfeits'. Modern copies made to deceive collectors (and dealers) will here be termed 'forgeries' to make the two groups distinct (following Grierson and others).

In recent years a large number of metallurgical analyses have become available, largely from the British Museum laboratory and Peter Northover at Oxford. While these results clearly open

up a whole new avenue of exploration, they must be used with informed caution. At present it is true to say that for the great majority of types only a couple of results are available. One would be very cautious in the use of a couple of weights for a type and similar caution should be employed here. Even within a single alloy batch there may well be variation in consistency and this may be more marked between batches. It is also important to relate the tests to the type as a group, for example taking into account die sequence, to see if a type becomes debased over time or simply varies in composition. While the small number of available test results mean that caution must be exercised, they do appear to present a largely coherent picture.

A study of the die axis of coins from the study area has not been attempted here. This was partly because many coins in this study are not available for direct examination. It is hoped that such a study will be undertaken in the future as a cursory examination of the coins suggests certain patterns may be evident.

Particular attention has been paid to the form of the flan. From such observations it is clear that broad groups can be defined, groups often confirmed by metrology, metallurgy, typology and distribution. Such observations are important as they help identify differences in minting practice in different workshops or mints. Die usage has also been observed as it appears that at certain mints, and for certain types/series, dies were used to lesser and greater states of exhaustion.

The designs borne on the coins from the study area are many and varied, particularly when compared to those on the coins of the more conservative 'peripheral' tribes. Many of these designs are apparently copied from either Roman or Gaulish models and these are of potential assistance in dating types. In many cases the designs found on the earlier types are much larger than the flans on which they are struck. In these instances I have used all the available specimens to reconstruct the designs. These reconstructions have been illustrated here (fig. 13.1) to complement photographs of specimens on which the design is incomplete. These reconstructions and photographs are shown at 1:1, although selected coins have been illustrated at 2:1 to illustrate specific points made in the text. Seldom are the designs actually 'slavish copies' (contra Allen 1944, 7), and detailed examination often reveals careful alteration and adaptation. The symbolism and meaning of the designs is not explored in depth here.

In a number of instances it has been possible to discern groups of coins struck from dies all engraved in a very similar fashion. It is often apparent, for example, that a group of coins share horses with very similarly constructed and engraved heads and other such features. Occasionally this has been taken to suggest the work of an individual die cutter. In view of the relatively small number of dies identified in this study, this does not seem unreasonable. Indeed given the small number of dies it seems strange that the hands of single engravers are not more

frequently met with. Often allied to similarities of design are peculiar devices, and these have also been used to link separate types into groups. It is however important to remember that these similarities are due to die cutters, they need have little if any political meaning. It will become apparent below that while certain engravers appear to have remained at certain mints, others may well have been itinerant.

The dies appear to have been directly engraved and certain mechanical and physical changes allow us to suggest their composition. The frequency with which certain devices appear on the uninscribed series suggests that there would have been profit to the engraver in using punches. The one apparent confirmation of this is a die used for an uninscribed minim, QSD2-15 (plate XVIII). The central cog device on the obverse having been hammered into the die using a punch, here used at a distinctively crooked angle. The use of a compass for design construction is suggested on the coins of Eppillus by the occurrence, on certain types, of a small central pellet. Whether dies were engraved 'on site' cannot be said. However the crude re-engraving of certain dies (for example TIN4-4 and 4-8) might suggest the die engraver was no longer on site to prepare new dies; and that either the die engraver had visited the mint, or the dies had been prepared elsewhere.

The die study has sought to work from the coins where possible and photographs where this has not been possible. In this instance the 2X photographs held at the Oxford Index are

invaluable. My die study of the Wanborough coins in the British Museum is not wholly in agreement with that done by Clive Cheeseman. This is partly due to my advantage in using many more coins from outside the Wanborough group held by the British Museum. This has permitted, in many cases, the construction of what might be termed 'die life sequences'. Often it is clear that a worn, distorted and flawed die, at the end of its life, bears little or no resemblance to its fresh state. It is however the same die. If such a sequencing is not attempted then there is a real danger that a die will acquire several different identifications; a danger likely to be compounded if circulation worn and damaged coins are being studied.

Historically one of the most valuable tools in the study of Celtic coinage have been distribution plots of findspots. But one must assess the reliability of provenances given, and how representative they are of the true distribution or the area over which the coins circulated during their initial currency.

The problem of the reliability of provenances on coins in the study area has previously been examined both broadly and in detail by Haselgrove (1987). The falsification of provenances has perhaps only reached epidemic proportions recently, although in the past farm workers may have sold coins without, or with vague provenances, to prevent the landowner finding out (e.g. Rodwell 1981, 48-49). Allied to this is the problem that known sites have often been given as a pseudonym, or unintentionally, simply

because the name is the easiest to describe the area. Hence many of the coins from Selsey/Bognor have general, not specific provenances. An allied problem is that a hoard of coins may be dispersed with the coins acquiring a variety of different local provenances. This is certainly true of much of the material dispersed from Wanborough; common sense and critical judgement are required in the scrutiny of such provenances. Groups as large as Wanborough 'saturate the market' and there is a tendency uncritically to attribute unprovenanced coins to the site. It also means that other smaller hoards may appear and never arouse sufficient curiosity for their existence to be recorded.

When considering the distribution of Celtic coins we must remember that our record is formed from the deposition of coins not by their circulation. In this context one should remember that the Claudian conquest introduced a great number of much earlier Republican types to Britain⁴. This extension to their circulation bears no relation to the area under the political control of Republican Rome. Equally the many Greek coins from Coventina (Procolita) deposited in a well, greatly pre-date the Conquest of Britain. Here caution has to be used as obsolete coins are being redeemed as offerings. This should perhaps be borne in mind when examining Iron Age coins from temple sites. It often appears to be assumed that series of Celtic coins circulated in static areas, and that they were all deposited before they were superseded by another type or group. It is also generally assumed that a distribution equates to the extent of a

political territory at the time of issue. This ignores the possibility of subordinate kingdoms with their own currency and also fluctuations in the extent of a kingdom during the currency of a coin. These problems might be overcome if some allowance for wear is made. The true 'hoards' from the study area (appendices 1 and 2, where term 'non-temple deposit' used) suggest, however, that by and large types did have relatively short life-spans.

It is implicit that our study of findspots is a product of modern coin discoveries and these may not necessarily reflect the original deposition of the coins. This influence on our perception of coin distribution has been fully examined elsewhere (Rodwell 1981; Haselgrove 1987). In Sussex the presence of Willett undoubtedly guaranteed the preservation and recording of many coins from Selsey and Bognor. In recent years the great disturbances to the land caused by the construction of the Chichester by-pass have led to disproportionately concentrated metal detector activity in the area. Following the discovery of large numbers of coins at certain temple sites, these have become a target for the less scrupulous metal detectorists. As with so much of the data relating to Celtic coins, we must use what little data we have, critically, for it is all we have.

In this study simple distribution maps have been employed as the number of different findspots in the study area remains low, and the great majority of provenanced coins come from a few sites. The number of different sites is too small for methods of spatial analysis to be applied to show fall-off patterns from

mints (e.g. Hogg 1971) or at boundaries (Hodder 1977a, 1977b, Hodder and Orton 1976 fig. 5.82) for individual groups. They may however be employed for large sets of combined types and series. This, however, will conceal differences inherent in the groups, and denies the variable nature of the coinage and society over time and space. The small number of different find sites, and the small number of coins available, mean that trend surface maps constructed from data in the study area will convey erroneous information. This is illustrated by Van Arsdell 1989, map 21, which gives the impression that coins of Commios (and those attributed to him) are found in equal number in south-east Kent as they are in Hampshire, Sussex and Surrey. When the records are carefully examined it is clear that this is quite illusory, having been created by two coins: a stater from Hastings and another purchased, not found, 'in a back street in Canterbury'.

With the improvements in excavation technique and the increasing number of Celtic coins recovered from archaeological excavation it would be hoped that something can be learnt from their context, ideally the date of the coins. This is perhaps a vain hope. Contexts in this period are generally hard to date with any accuracy, and if not residual, often contain residual material. It is also true that larger coins, particularly gold, are easier to recognise during excavation, while the tiny minims are still very difficult to spot (the same is true of the recovery rate by metal detector). A detailed examination of the archaeological context of the coins from the study area may be

found in Haselgrove (1987) and that record is merely updated here.

The relative ordering of Iron Age coins in the study area has not so far received stratified confirmation. Indeed the inherent value of silver and gold coins and their potential longevity in circulation would seem to work against this. It should be remembered that the ordering and dating of the Roman Republican series was only determined through examination of hoards (Crawford 1972). A thorough examination of hoards from the study area, in terms of their deposition and content, will be found in appendices 1 and 2.

The question of dating and inferred history are inextricably tied to the authorisation and production of the coins. First our attention must be addressed to the minting of the coins. It is important to make a distinction between manufacture (the making of dies, blanks and striking) and issue (who commissioned or authorised a coinage and the mechanism of distribution).

First one might seek mint sites as these are theoretically identifiable. It may be wrong to seek a single site, as the various issues might span a long period of time and be sufficiently diverse to suggest a number of mint sites. Archaeologically the presence of 'slab moulds' on certain sites has been used to argue the presence of a mint. In the study area slab moulds are known from Winchester, Hampshire, Boxgrove, Sussex and Silchester (Prior 1961; Tylecote 1962; Bedwin 1983; Boon 1954a). Despite a passive challenge by Sellwood (1980) it

appears very likely that these moulds were used in the production of coin flans. Traces of gold, silver and copper have been found in the moulds (Tite and Freestone unpub.; Tournaire et al 1982) and bronze and silver pellets are known 'in situ' in moulds from St Albans (Frere 1983a) and Old Sleaford (Jones et al 1976). Unpublished work strongly suggests that solid ingots were reduced to pellets in these moulds⁵ and not powdered alloys as Tournaire (1962) had suggested. Further evidence of a mint site might be sought on the coins of Eppillus inscribed 'CALL[EV]'. While this is supported by the distribution of the coins it may be no more than a title. Many early Roman Republican coins carried the ROMA legend, although they were not minted in Rome. It should be remembered that there may be many other mint sites in the study area awaiting discovery.

The authority to issue, however fragmented or unified, must have lain with those who had access to the bullion to produce coins. In this study metrology, metallurgy, distribution and typology are employed to assess the nature of the issuing of the coins. There is no reason to assume that these issues were on a regular basis. From the number of dies preserved in the extant coins and the bunching of types in hoards, it is hard to view the production as anything other than episodic. Although it is not intended to examine the function of the coinage here, it is known that many other ancient coinages were episodic in nature, responding to particular demands. Allen (1972) suggested that both coins and dies bearing the inscription CRICIRV were stock-

piled. This means that there may be a significant lapse of time between the first and the last issues although there are no perceptible differences between them.

For comparative purposes the volume of an issue is of some interest. Theoretically this may be determined by the number of dies used to produce a given group (e.g. Lyon 1970; 1989; Esty 1978; 1986; but note Brown 1979). This involves two stages of estimation and assumption, the first the total die population, the second the output of die. The statistical calculation of original die populations, by whichever method, assumes that the population is a random sample. This is almost never the case in the study area. The majority of gold coins are from hoards and many of the silver coins are from temples where there would seem to be evidence for episodic deposition (appendix 1). In this work a simple total of dies is given for each type. Only very rarely are there sufficient specimens of a given type for a statistically valid estimate (Esty 1986) of an original population to be formed.

It has become common for a round figure of 10,000 to be given for the output of an obverse die (e.g. Allen 1975; Allen and Haselgrove 1979). This figure is derived from an experiment by David Sellwood who managed to produce 8,000 imitation Greek coins before the dies became unusable (Sellwood 1963). If the die had been replaced before the wear became extreme then a figure of perhaps 7,000 might be more appropriate. Another experiment showed that an obverse die was still usable after 9393 strikes,

while the three reverse dies it was used with lasted 116, 1490 and 7786 strikes (Mate 1969). Application here makes the assumption that both experiments replicate the practices in a Celtic mint. In the case of the latter experiment the die studies below show the reverse dies to have been longer lived. Such experiments cannot take account of the skills and experience of the ancient craftsmen. This may be illustrated by the late C4th BC coinage of the Amphictions at Delphi. In this instance modern study has identified nine obverse dies (Kinns 1983) which were used to strike coins from a quantity of bullion whose size is approximately known from an inscription. From this evidence it has been estimated that each die struck between 23,000 and 47,000 coins. This is of significance as these coins are of similar form and fabric to those discussed here. Comparison of die totals may however not truly compare original output. For certain types the dies continued to be used even when very worn and damaged (British Q1-4 obverses) while in others they are replaced when they became slightly worn (Verica's 'vine-leaf' series). It is apparent in this instance that more coins were produced by the first group of dies than by the second. It will also be observed that the form of the flan may affect die life. The extra stresses to the dies used to strike the paper thin HT group may have caused them to have had a comparatively short life⁶. It is also apparent that not all dies were prepared in the same way. The dies used to produce Tincommius's 'Crude' series appear, in the main, to produce soft, poor and very ill defined images. It would

appear that these dies were not properly annealed after cutting, and so quickly became distorted in the initial striking process before work hardening to their new distorted form. Even in the 19th century when the art of die production had been much improved, the output from different dies varied wildly (Grierson 1975, 157). For such reasons only the total of dies preserved in the coinage are given here.

In the often complex and apparently meaningless designs on Celtic coins one should be alert for possible symbols indicating moneyers, or symbols such as the officinae marks on Roman coins used to identify different shops within large mints. It has been easy to identify such possible marks on the coinage of Cunobelin (Allen 1975). It may however be many years before we reach such an understanding of the more complex and apparently cluttered earlier pieces. In France from AD 1380-1540, for example, mints were identified by an elaborate system of pellets or annulets placed beneath certain letters of the legend (Grierson 1975, 81). It seems unlikely that such marks could be understood without documentary evidence.

Certain light can be thrown on the coins by classical texts. Equally the coins themselves can be used for purposes of loose historical reconstruction. In attempting to do so it is necessary to recall the words of Allen 'Any attempt to read a complete history of any people into the surviving relics of its coinage is bound to mislead: in all probability the coinage tends to reflect

only the moments of prosperity and disaster...' (1976, 203-204). It is necessary to remember that coinage is perhaps only a partial product of the history. The testimony of the coins is necessarily biased, as they may carry an element of propaganda on the part of the issuing authority. It may also be misleading as a type or legend may be immobilised or retained long after its true currency. In this case we might consider patronymics or even perhaps the 'COMMIOS' legend itself. It should be remembered that no English coins were struck bearing the name of Richard I or John as types of Henry II continued to the reign of Henry III.

While the restricted distributions of Celtic coins appear to identify tribal units, without the classical texts we would not know the name of a single tribe (allowing that ECEN might stand for the Iceni (Allen and Nash, 1980, 128)). The legends on the coins may identify an issuing authority; however their later reliance on Roman prototypes makes it unlikely that the legends are of much assistance in identifying what is depicted on the coins. With a few exceptions the legends consist of names, titles and patronymics (perhaps itself mere titulature). The legends may give erroneous information. English sovereigns, for example, continued to call themselves kings of France down to 1803. A further example might be cited in the small and frequently encountered bronze type of Allectus which depicts a galley on the reverse (RIC 55, 124), despite the fact that Allectus is not known ever to have won a naval battle.

We may now address the question of dating. While it appears that coins were minted for at least a century in the study area, this output does not appear continuous. Indeed, at times it appears sporadic and fragmented. Beyond typology and patronymics the coins themselves carry no dating. Metrology, metallurgy, typology, and a study of the sources for the designs, can be combined to form a sequence of sorts. Occasionally the design sources can help to suggest a date for the issue of the type (e.g. Henig 1972; Bean 1990 and below). However this is more the exception than the rule (below) as fairly archaic types often seem to have been selected as models.

It is primarily the date of issue which concerns us here, however it is sensible to be aware that the production span of a type may have lasted some time, and in this context typology may be of some assistance (cf British A1, p.79-82, 100-104, fig. 2.1). The time span of currency might also be considered, and here hoards may furnish an answer. Related to this is the time span of deposition, and theoretically archaeology can supply this answer.

From a combined approach it may be possible to construct a relative sequence of types with perhaps a few approximate dates suggested by prototypes and Classical references. This sequence will be largely relative, seldom absolute, in its chronology. If careful and pragmatic use is made of absolute dates then it may be possible to broadly date certain groups of types. To go beyond

this enters the realms of supposition and fantasy. Caution must be exercised when utilising the 'intuitive' dating that typology and die populations suggest. Production certainly appears to have been sporadic and one must be aware that very large numbers of coins could be produced over a very short period of time (the 'Legionary denarii' of Mark Antony for example).

It must be the coins, the artifacts, that are used to form constructs such as tribes or Kingdoms. Van Arsdell (1984, 1989) evidently believes that the cantonal or tribal pattern suggested by such authors as Ptolemy for the early Roman period or the very latest Iron Age can be used to marshall coinages a century or more earlier. In Kent, however, we have the word of Caesar to cast doubt on this approach. What happened to the kingdoms of the four kings named in 54 BC? The opposite source of nomenclature has been adopted by Haselgrove (1987) in which coins are regionally arranged. Both approaches may submerge sub-groupings or pagi suggested elsewhere (for example May 1984) and changes in distribution patterns. Both approaches may be criticised as they impose a construct on the coins. Beyond my title, tribal names have only been suggested for series where their identification with one recorded in Classical sources appears secure. Otherwise geographical identifiers are adhered to. Dr Andrew Burnett has recently introduced the flexible idea of dynastic houses, defined through use of patronymics (Burnett 1991). This may be criticized as we are uncertain as to the exact meaning of the patronymics on Celtic coinage. It is also of little use for the uninscribed

coins. However this form of arrangement is well established for the Roman Imperial series in which the membership of such houses is based upon a wide variety of relationships. For this study it has been taken as implicit that the inscriptions on the coins may be used to construct such houses.

GALLO-BELGIC GOLD COINAGE

Before the inception of a distinctively native coinage in Britain, five major groups of gold coin may be distinguished that are partly if not wholly of Gallic origin. While noticing common Gallic find spots for some of these types, Evans was inclined to see them as native, as at that time the bulk of provenanced specimens were from Britain (e.g. Evans, 1860, 25). Today it remains true that more finds have been recorded in Britain than France. These coins, notably the broad flan Gallo-Belgic A coins, were firmly identified as Gallo-Belgic through the work of Blanchet, de la Tour and others. The study of these coins was put on a secure footing in this country by Brooke, who argued that the earliest of them, the broad flan staters and their accompanying quarters entered Britain through trade c.75 BC (Brooke, 1933, 100-101).

Brooke's work remained largely unchallenged until Allen's classic paper 'The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Reappraisal' (1960). In direct contrast to Brooke, Allen regarded the distributions of these coins as reflecting the movements of people. Allen saw the imported coinages not as part of a trade but as evidence of invasions and ensuing migration. Noting common tribal names on both sides of the Channel, Allen suggested that these invaders seem to have very quickly assumed political and economic dominance (1960, 98-99).

Of all the various types of coin from the north eastern Gaul of Caesar (cf Hawkes 1968), Allen identified five major groups of

coin found in Britain and Gaul plus a sixth, which although very rare in Britain was to have a significant influence on native coinage. Allen passed swiftly over the earliest Gallo-Belgic stratum of coins, his class XA, then represented by two finds from Kent and a possible find from Sussex (Willet 1879, 79). These Allen saw as isolated and insignificant finds, dating to C2nd BC, with no aftermath in Britain. In Gaul this class was eventually superseded by Gallo-Belgic AA a coinage of the Somme valley, the first of Allen's five major Gallo-Belgic groups.

Allen rejected Brooke's date for introduction. On the basis of the Tayac and Le Catillon hoards and Caesar's reference to Germanic incursion of north-eastern Gaul in the third quarter of the second century (BG II,4,1), Allen suggested that these coins entered Britain with Belgic refugees at this time (1960, 100-102). Despite such upheaval, there is an absence of purely Gallo-Belgic A hoards in this country as Brooke had stressed (1933, 100-101). Allen observed that when these coins did appear, in mixed hoards, in Britain, their wear indicated them to be the earliest and therefore the earliest imported group. Allen identified the main route of entry for these coins and their bearers from the distribution of the coins, centred on Maidstone with a second route centreing on Clacton. The obverses of these coins allow the group to be divided into those with right facing busts (Allen's AA) and those with left facing busts (Allen's AB). Allen observed that those with right facing busts were far more common in France, and along with purely Gallic types with

types with variations in hair designs, made up the majority of French finds. They were therefore earlier than the left facing types which are comparatively more common in Britain. The distribution of the two types in Britain shows few differences although the right facing types do not seem to penetrate so far inland (Allen, 1961,100).

Allen's Gallo-Belgic B had affinities in its design to Gallo-Belgic A, but is characterised by the use of partially or fully defaced dies⁷. Its Continental distribution was farther north than that of Gallo-Belgic A, and following Blanchet Allen noted that the staters appeared only to have been found in Britain, whereas the quarter staters appear on both sides of the Channel⁸. In Britain the finds are concentrated in the Greater London region. Allen saw its bearers as a distinct group of invaders who entered up the Thames, leaving little trace in Kent, to settle geographically and economically separately from the Gallo-Belgic A bearing settlers (1961, 103). As these invaders ignored Kent for the London area Allen saw them as later than the Gallo-Belgic A settlers.

Allen's next wave of invaders were represented by his Gallo-Belgic C series, from which several native types are derived. The find spots are plentiful on both sides of the Channel, and the coins were probably produced by the Gaulish Ambiani tribe. Allen noted that there were few of these coins in the area of Gallo-Belgic A people and virtually none in the areas of the Gallo-Belgic B people. Allen identified this wave of

coins with the incursion of partially Germanised people described by Caesar (BG V,12,1), who initially came to raid then stayed to till, initially settling only in parts of Kent. It appeared to Allen that soon these invaders decided to settle farther a field in areas less packed with Belgae. Here contact with their homeland was less easy and it is here we encounter the first native coinages (Allen 1961, 104-105). On the basis of the Le Chatillon hoard Allen dated this wave to C.100 BC (1961, 102).

While Gallo-Belgic C was represented by staters alone a peculiar group of quarter staters, thought to ultimately derive their design from Gallo-Belgic A, was identified by Allen as Gallo-Belgic D. This ill-recorded and unattractive group seemed to have a distribution similar to Gallo-Belgic E in Britain although not, however, in France. Allen felt it had to be earlier than his Gallo-Belgic E series as it occurred as the latest type in the Snettisham B hoard along side Gallo-Belgic A and C. In Kent these coins gave rise to British P and along the south coast to British O, reflecting the two passages of entry of these coins (Allen 1961, 111-112). Despite the impression given by later writers, Allen does not directly state these coins to be evidence for another wave of invaders.

Allen's next major wave of invaders was represented in the numismatic record by the uniface Gallo-Belgic E staters. These coins had limited effect, although they may have introduced the concept of uniface staters and influenced certain features of the British I and J (Allen 1961, 114). Geographically no coinage

since the Gallo-Belgic A had been less localised. Allen felt that if his general thesis were correct then these coins represented a major surge of invaders. In part Allen associated these coins with Caesar's statement (BG II,14,2) that chiefs of the Bellovaci, who had unsuccessfully urged resistance against him in Gaul, took refuge in Britain.

The extent of the coinage in Britain led Allen to believe that this was at least a three pronged invasion. The second thrust of this invasion being through Kent and up the Thames. The coins show two concentrations in Kent, which Allen felt might well relate to Caesar's mention of four Kings, and by inference kingdoms, of Kent (Allen 1960, 115).

Allen saw the Belgic bronze concentrations at Richborough and Canterbury more in terms of 'contact' than invasion. This high lights a significant problem of Allen's approach as opposed to Brooke's. In essence high value coins such as staters and quarter staters were seen as evidence of invasion, low value bronze coins were not. Allen had prefaced his study, however, with the qualification, undoubtedly prompted by our literary sources for this period, that movement may well have been confined to the wealthier and more dominant elements of society.

A number of problems with Allen's thesis should be examined before we move on to consider later views on the Gallo-Belgic coinages. Chronologically the first is that of the Gallo-Belgic XA. Allen's main thesis of invasion as the agency of introduction implies that initially a native population could only adopt a

coinage if it were at least to a degree subjugated or overwhelmed by a foreign people, if indeed the coins ever circulated beyond the immigrants. It seems odd, therefore, that at such an early stage these coins should appear without at least limited settlement on Allen's thesis. Allen's own approach and its limitations are neatly summed up in his own words '...it is essential when interpreting coin evidence to recall constantly that it is only part, and not always the most important part, of the historical record' (Allen 1960, 98). This historical perspective necessitates 'routes of entry' for Gallo-Belgic A through Kent, rather than simply an area of use or adoption of the coins.

On Allen's neat model of successive waves of invaders we are denied the possibility that certain types may have had either a very long circulation life or a retarded entry into Britain. Similarly on Allen's framework coin distributions cannot be seen as part of a common trading network either side of the Channel. Neither does Allen's thesis allow for tribes who had peacefully negotiated or arranged a presence on both sides of the Channel by such mechanisms as marriage.

The contrast in the British distributions of Gallo-Belgic A and B is also puzzling for coinages which have less than distinct distributions in their apparent area of origin (Scheers 1977, fig 40, 48). It would however be fair to say that the contrast in Britain between the two types is not as marked (figs. 1.4, 1.7) as Allen suggested. The Gallic evidence might suggest that rather

than a political difference we might be dealing with a chronological difference in Britain, possibly between two different regions. Certain hoards suggest the composition of different coins was understood. For why else would the depositors of Snettisham 1 have sandwiched a blank Gallo-Belgic A stater between two with clear designs and done the same for a blank quarter stater in the hoard (Rainbird Clarke 1954, 63). Some Gallic coins are countermarked and in one case double countermarked, which indicate that at least Gallic coins had a long life at a recognised value (Allen and Nash 1980, 72). Gallo-Belgic A has been found with Gallo-Belgic C and E in several hoards (fig. 1.1). It is odd, however, that Gallo-Belgic B is only found in association well away from its homelands in the Carn Brea hoard and possibly in the Selsey group. It is also odd that despite the troubled times implied by Allen's waves of invaders, we have no purely Gallo-Belgic A or B hoards.

Allen's model for the introduction of Gallo-Belgic C also has its problems. The broad distribution of these coins, beyond the realms of the two earlier types, need not be due to settlers taking less Belgicised areas. It is possible that a geographical expansion of the coin using area might have drawn into it the current and most plentiful type of coin, Gallo-Belgic C. Limited supply but growing demand, on an economic model, would lead to local native production.

By 1964 in the Rhind lectures Allen was cautiously speaking of 'importation' of Gallo-Belgic A and B. However, he remained

keen on ideas of invasion and/or common rule, for which there is indeed textual warrant, as an agency of introduction. He was also keen to stress that while geographically separate, Gallo-Belgic A and B were broadly contemporary (Allen and Nash 1980, 25).

Before Allen the cemeteries at Aylesford, Swarling and the Welwyn grave groups had been thought to represent the introduction of North Gaulish (i.e. Belgic) culture starting with an invasion of c.75 BC. At Aylesford it appeared to Evans that the Belgae might be dated to the mid C1st BC (Evans 1890a, 68), possibly appearing in the mid C2nd BC (1890a, 74). A slightly later date was proposed by Bushe-Fox: from the evidence of the Swarling cemetery. The Belgae, he proposed (1925), were to be dated 'mainly' after c.50BC, while the earliest may have arrived c.100-50 BC, but 'probably rather after 75 BC than before it'. In a re-examination of the available evidence Hawkes and Dunning (1930), focussing particularly on pedestal urns, suggested a date of c.75 BC for the main Belgic invasion; a date rather confirmed by Wheeler's work at Wheathampstead and Prae Wood. Allen's work (1960) seemed greatly to refine this chronology. In essence the Belgic invasions were seen to be attested to in the historical record, in the numismatic record, and in the new burial customs and associated ceramics from the above mentioned groups. In the light of Allen's work Ann Birchall reconsidered the ceramic and cremation evidence for Belgic incursion (Birchall 1965). She was compelled to assign the Belgae of the 'Aylesford-Swarling' cultural evidence to the time range of 50/30-10 BC finding barely

any evidence for the pre-Caesar period. Quoting Birchall (Birchall, 285-286) Clark asks whether one should believe that "...waves of imported coinages..." should themselves be "...taken to reflect the pattern of Belgic migration to Britain" (Clark 1966, 187). As Clark concludes 'Invasions and minor intrusions have undoubtedly occurred, even if far less often than other forms of culture contact, but their existence has to be demonstrated, not assumed' (Clark 1966,188). Birchall's dating for the earliest Aylesford burials has since been confirmed, though on rather different grounds, by Stead (1976). In essence the dating of Evans and Bushe-Fox had prevailed and the coins and the ceramic evidence now stood uncomfortably separated.

This view received a limited welcome. In particular, Hawkes, who had sought the Belgae in the ceramic record, now turned to the Gallo-Belgic coins as evidence for invasion (Hawkes 1968, 13), identifying Caesar's earliest invaders with the Gallo-Belgic A and B coinages (1968, 15). Further he argued that Gallo-Belgic C should be identified with Diviciacus' high kingship, an attribution he latter discarded following Scheers' late dating of the type and attribution to the Ambiani (Hawkes 1977, 142). Hawkes still saw the coins as evidence for a seizure of power in the Medway area shortly after 70 BC by forces with impulsion from the Ambiani (Hawkes 1977, 143n). Marrying the numismatic and archaeological data, he argued that invaders and then refugees from Caesar bought the Gallo-Belgic E coins and the 'Aylesford-Swarling' culture (Hawkes 1968, 14-15).

The work of Scheers was instrumental in advancing our understanding of the Gallic context of these coins. Her most enduring conclusion was her dating of Gallo-Belgic E to the years of the Gallic war. She argued that the unanimity displayed by the Gallic tribes from the outbreak of the war was reflected in their coins. This alliance Scheers argued, brought to an end all the earlier and unrelated coinages which disappeared leaving only the Gallo-Belgic E series. The inception of this series she dated to the winter of 58/57 BC, its end to the historical end of the Gallic people and their gold reserves. After 50 BC gold coinage ceased to be produced on the continent (Scheers 1976, 6). Scheers argued that the war of 58-50 BC resulted in the last emigrations to Britain. The only coins to reach Britain of Belgic type were the uniface staters of the Ambiani and the uninscribed staters of the Suessiones. All other coins must have been introduced earlier as they had effectively disappeared on the continent with the outbreak of the Gallic war (Scheers 1976, 6).

Building on Scheers' work, Dr Kent reiterated the gap between the supposedly earliest coins and the earliest Belgic archaeological evidence, which had been brought down to the date of the Gallo-Belgic wars. Kent stressed that neither chronology was absolute and Scheers' work prompts the view that the British evidence might be viewed quite differently in terms of time and function. Gallo-Belgic ABC must predate 58 BC on Scheers' scheme, but Kent asks by how long. Kent observed that most Gallo-Belgic A in Britain are considerably worn, Gallo-Belgic C are generally

somewhat worn and Gallo-Belgic E are often virtually unworn. Apparently partly on the strength of the condition of the Gallo-Belgic E, which can have been little circulated before it reached Britain, Kent argued that Celtic gold rarely seems to have become worn in circulation in Britain. There is therefore the strong possibility that these coins acquired their wear on the Continent. This led Kent (1978, 313) to argue that whatever interval there was between these coins being struck, they arrived in Britain in fairly rapid succession.

The incoherence in the archaeological and numismatic records remains and Dr Kent sought to explain this by viewing the coinage, unlike most archaeological material, as a political rather than a cultural manifestation (Kent 1978, 314). He argued that the power and influence that Caesar ascribed to Diviciacus and indeed Comius on both sides of Channel, favours the case for Gallo-Belgic A, C and E entering Britain to buy the support of the British tribes and their forces. Indeed Caesar notes such activity and its origins may well have lain in pre-Caesarian conflicts, the centre of this contact in Britain being suggested by the distribution of Gallo-Belgic B. Dr Kent went on to suggest that the occurrence of all but one Gallo-Belgic B stater in Britain suggests that a single stater bought a specific commodity (Kent 1981, 41). Dr Kent refined the dates for the entry of Gallo-Belgic E into Britain noting that only Scheers' first four classes were frequently encountered in Britain. This Dr Kent argued was the payment from Gaul for the assistance recorded by

Caesar (BG IV,20), which he argued was curtailed by Caesar's expedition to Britain in 55 BC (1981, 40).

The numerous imported gold coins in Kent were due to the fact that no native recoinage took place here, and that the authority striking British A had no authority here (Kent 1978, 315-316). He proposed that this lack of native currency made the continued currency of Gallo-Belgic coins likely (1978, 316).

Recent hoards, particularly those from Whitchurch and Ironshill, have made Kent's contracted chronology harder to maintain. The Whitchurch hoard contained British B and Gallo-Belgic E, the former derived through British A from Gallo-Belgic C. The wear on the coins from both parcels of the hoard was consistent and suggests that the lighter British B must be earlier than Gallo-Belgic E (Burnett and Cowell 1988, 6-9). The Ironshill hoard contained considerably worn British B staters, which suggests that the type was not short lived nor was there any replacement [Gallo-Belgic E] coinage for some time (Cowell, Oddy, Burnett 1987, 6). This evidence suggests that British B and necessarily British A must predate the introduction of Gallo-Belgic E, but must post date their prototype, Gallo-Belgic C. The Whitchurch and Ironshill hoards therefore suggest a significant period of time between the arrival of Gallo-Belgic C and Gallo-Belgic E. This helps explain why native coinages derive largely from Gallo-Belgic C rather than the more common Gallo-Belgic E. However the chronology must be tighter as Gallo-Belgic C and E are closely linked, and not only is the reverse style very close

there is even a reported die link (Scheers, 1977, 67)9. As Burnett and Cowell concluded, British A and B must be later than the beginning of Gallo-Belgic C and may indeed be broadly contemporary. It remains broadly true that only Scheers' last three classes of Gallo-Belgic C are found in Britain (Kent 1981, 40); this argues for an even longer chronology for Gallo-Belgic C in Gaul.

When Gallo-Belgic A occurs in British hoards they are usually more worn than other coins in the hoard. Very seldom, however, are they ever as worn as the staters of the Baiocasses found in the Ringwood hoard (Burnett and Cowell 1987, 4). While accepting that some coins may become immobilised in treasuries (e.g. Nash, 1987, 123) the little worn Gallo-Belgic A stater from the Harpsden Wood hoard (Burnett and Cowell 1988, 10) suggests there may not have been such a chronological gap between Gallo-Belgic A and E. In this case we do not see the century of wear acquired by the Baiocassian coins in the Ringwood hoard. It also demonstrates that not all Gallo-Belgic A staters came ready worn from the continent as Dr Kent had suggested (1978, 313).

Kent's assertion (1978, 313) that Celtic gold in Britain acquired little or no circulation wear is difficult to accept, although it is to a degree true of the specimens which have entered the major collections and museums. Such poorer specimens stand less chance of being illustrated but are well represented in the Oxford Index. Many of the British B from the Ironhill hoard, Hants show considerable signs of circulation wear (Cowell,

Oddy, Burnett 1988, 6). Worn Whaddon Chase staters are known (Mossop sale lot 272), Womersley staters are characterised by their worn condition (Mossop sale lot 278) and Norfolk 'wolf' and Freckenham staters are frequently encountered in a worn condition (Mossop sale lots 53-77). This is true of earlier inscribed issues (Mack 1973, nos 124,128,141) and of the well published gold of Cunobelin¹⁰ and Verica¹¹. While the durability of gold is dependent on alloy (the purer alloy the more quickly it will wear) it is apparent that there are few classes of Celtic gold which are not encountered in circulation worn.

Discrimination between Allen and Kent's dating for Gallo-Belgic A is problematic. Haselgrove's comparison of Gallic and British hoards leaves no doubt that the coins appear in much later hoards in Britain than in France. In Britain the coins in hoards are more worn than their Continental counterparts, which Haselgrove suggests implies they were imported to Britain significantly earlier than Kent allows (Haselgrove 1987, 79). On the other hand this could simply mean that coins which arrived in a worn condition became more worn through additional and later circulation in Britain. As a group, the British coins are slightly later in emphasis than those on the continent, there being a higher proportion of post-Tayac types (Haselgrove 1987, 79). Haselgrove concludes that the bulk of Gallo-Belgic A were imported into Britain in the later stages of their continental currency, although quite possibly still in the second century BC, and they acquired additional wear in England as they circulated

here beyond the date of their Gallic recall (Haselgrove 1987, 79). As mentioned above, evidence of wear can suit either school of thought. Haselgrove is broadly followed by Nash, who likewise suggests that some post-Tayac classes of Gallo-Belgic A were in fact struck in Britain (Nash 1987, 119; Haselgrove 1987, 79).

Haselgrove's work also allows for a longer chronology for Gallo-Belgic E, and by inference, an earlier start for Gallo-Belgic C. Haselgrove observed that Continental finds of Gallo-Belgic E can be split into two geographical groupings (Haselgrove 1987, 81). This does not necessarily undermine Scheers' view of a unitary monetary policy behind this issue, but it dismisses the notion of a single mint. New discoveries, however, show the evolution of the type to be more complex than Scheers had allowed, and it appears that the massive output demanded by the war came after the first three classes were already being struck (Haselgrove 1987, 81).

Much of the difficulty with the Gallo-Belgic coinages originates in resolving and in some cases matching the numismatic record with the literary evidence of this period. The core to many of these problems were the invaders 'ex Belgio', assumed to be the Belgae. Mulvaney has perceptively charted their rise in archaeological literature over the past century (1962, 327-338). In 1907 Rice-Holmes was able to dismiss the Belgae in what amounted to less than three of his 700 page Ancient Britain, and yet, by 1940, Belgae had obtained a most significant role in

British economic history. The Belgae had emerged as a prime economic and social force to whom most apparent advances were ascribed and against whom negative evidence was often dismissed. The Belgae were finally cemented into British economic prehistory by Hawkes in his 'A.B.C.' terminology for the British Iron Age (Hawkes and Dunning 1930). It was Brooke who clarified the relationship between the Belgic invasion and the coins. He reconciled the numismatic evidence with the archaeological evidence attributing the first British mints to Belgic rulers. Mulvaney observes that it is the constructive role of the Teutonic settler, whether Belgic or Saxon, that ideas of this period focus and rely on (1962, 338). The emergence of the Belgae in 'pre-war archaeology reveals many instances of doubtful interpretation and ready acceptance of new ideas, when they fitted into the anticipated scheme of things' (Mulvaney, 1962, 338). In conclusion Mulvaney urged a conference to resolve some of these issues. Such a conference was to be the vehicle for Allen's classic paper discussed above.

The ultimate source of the 'Belgae' in British prehistory is a reference from Caesar. Caesar tells, BG V,12, that 'maritima pars' of Britain were settled by people out of Belgium. As Black stresses (1990, 10), Caesar does not call them Belgae and the assumption that they were has caused untold problems. Black goes on to demonstrate these settlers were more likely to have been other Gauls driven out of their homelands by Germans from beyond the Rhine. Their arrival possibly dating as early as the C5-C4th

BC. Parts of Britain closer to Gaul may have been colonised at an earlier stage. The case for such migrations based on the evidence of artifacts has been maintained in the face of some skepticism by Harding (1974, 157-176).

On Black's view Caesar records no 'Belgic' invasion of Britain. Caesar does record the 'imperium' of a Suessionic king Diviciacus sometime between c.100 BC and 57 BC, but he gives no details about its nature or extent. Increased Belgicisation of Britain there undoubtedly was, and this is visible in the numismatic record. There are also recorded instances of refugees, the chiefs of the Bellovoci (BG II,14,3) and Comius, who was recorded as having commanded great, but unspecified influence (auctoritas) in Britain (BG IV,21,7). All this obviously represents close contacts between British tribes and the Belgae (as defined by Caesar) but it does not require any British tribe to have been Belgae (as defined by Caesar) nor does it require a Belgic invasion of Britain (Black 1990). It may also be observed that where the name 'Belgae' appears in Britain it is not in the South East, the supposed heartlands of the Belgae, but farther west at Winchester, Venta Belgarum 12.

There are six 'hoards' recorded from the study area which contain Gallo-Belgic gold (summarized in fig. 1.1), and a further four deposits (appendices 1 and 2 for discussion). The Ringwood deposit contained 43 Biocassian staters and one fresh British A2 stater, inferring that it was deposited after the arrival of

arrival of Gallo-Belgic C, the model for British A. The Westerham deposit which contained 12 fresh (though some from worn dies) British A staters and a Gallo-Belgic A and a Gallo-Belgic C stater, may date to the same period.

The Maidenhead and Farnham deposits contain Gallo-Belgic E alone (as do many deposits), while the Whitchurch i and ii (probably parcels of the same deposit) comprised three quarters of British B and a quarter of reasonably fresh Gallo-Belgic E staters. The Birling deposit, which contained a plated Gallo-Belgic E stater with both uninscribed and inscribed plated coins, is considered in appendices 1 and 2, and would appear to have little bearing on the dating of Gallo-Belgic E.

Of the remaining four deposits, Selsey, Bognor, Waltham St Lawrence and Hayling Island, the latter two are certainly from temple sites and a similar circumstance of deposition might be claimed for the two former groups (appendix 1). All four groups contain a range of coins from Gallo-Belgic to late inscribed types and are clearly distinct in this respect. Both Selsey and Waltham St Lawrence contain, in addition to fairly fresh Gallo-Belgic E, coins which are much earlier and more heavily worn. The solder on the Waltham St Lawrence coin (Burnett 1990, coin 1) and the very worn state of the Selsey Gallo-Belgic B stater suggest that these were old, if not simply bullion pieces at the time of deposition. It is unfortunate that the Gallo-Belgic D, Xc1 and F from Selsey and Hayling Island are from deposits of this nature as no inferences about their date can be made.

In general, that when Gallo-Belgic A is present in a hoard, it is as a residual element, usually much worn. The Higham hoard remains the only purely Gallo-Belgic C hoard recorded in Britain, and these coins appear to have been well circulated.

Kent unusually provides three possible deposits where Gallo-Belgic C and E are found together, Ryarsh, Elham and Addington (Bean forthcoming 2). Outside Kent this pairing is only known from the Clacton deposit¹³ and the Selsey deposit (fig.1.1; Selsey is best not viewed as a single deposit (appendix 1)). In all these deposits Gallo-Belgic E staters were in the majority, although the Addington record is too incomplete for true comparison. The longevity of C in Kent may be due to the absence of an indigenous replacement stater series (Bean forthcoming 2).

The evidence for Gallo-Belgic D quarter staters is problematic. The present hoard evidence adds little to the established view that they lie somewhere between Gallo-Belgic C and E.

Something more about the Gallo-Belgic series in Britain may be learnt from the circulation wear to coins from both hoard and single finds. Although visual records are not available of all the coins, those that are available allow us to make the following observations, partly derived from the wear diagrams¹⁴ in fig. 1.2. These were constructed using the photographs of coins with British provenance in the Oxford Index, using the

| | Deposits from the study area | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|---|---|---|----|---|-----|----|---------|---|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|------------|
| | Gallo-Belgic | | | | | | | | British | | | | | | | | | |
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | Xcl | A | B | F | G | I | L | Ly | Q | M | O | Inscribed |
| Birling | . | . | . | . | 1f | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1f | 2f | . | . | . | Present(f) |
| Farnham | . | . | . | . | 6 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Ringwood | 43* | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Westerham | 1 | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | 12 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Whitchurchi | . | . | . | . | 8 | . | . | . | 76 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Whitchurchii | . | . | . | . | 26 | . | . | . | 32 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | Deposits from outside the study area | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|----|-----|----|-----|-----|---|----|---|----|----|---|------|-----|---|----|---|-----------|
| Addington | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Aylesford | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | . | . |
| Bury | . | . | . | . | 6 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Carn Brae | 5+ | 5 | . | 2 | . | . | . | 4 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Clacton I | 72 | . | 3/4 | . | 32 | . | . | 5 | . | 15 | 63 | . | . | . | . | . | . | See text |
| Clacton II | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 | . | . | . | . | 1 present |
| Clapham | . | . | . | . | 2 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Elham | 1 | . | 1 | . | 2 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Folkestone | . | . | . | . | 1 | 8 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Fring | . | . | . | . | 3 | 106 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Grimby | . | . | . | . | 5+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Harpden | 1 | . | . | . | 16 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Haverhill | . | . | . | . | 50? | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Higham | . | . | 11 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Maidenhead | . | . | . | . | 5+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Maidstone | . | . | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Mark's Tey | . | . | . | . | 3+ | . | . | 1+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1+ | . | . |
| Oldbury | 3 | . | . | . | 3 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1? | . | . | . | . | . |
| Ryarsh | . | . | 1 | . | 8+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Scarho | . | . | . | . | 2 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 3 | . | 1 | . | . | . |
| Sevenoaks | . | ?1 | . | . | ?1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Snettisham B | 6 | . | 4 | 10 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Snettisham F | 3.5. | 5 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| South-end- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| -on-Sea | . | . | . | . | 3 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Weybourne | . | . | . | 4 | 59+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Whaddon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chase | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | . | . | 1 | . | . | 2 | 226+ | 72+ | . | . | . | . |

* Biocassian staters.

f = plated coins.

Figure 1.1. Hoards found in Britain containing Gallo-Belgic coins. After Allen 1960; Haselgrove 1978; 1984; 1987; 1990; with additions, for Kentish hoards see Bean forthcoming 2, particularly regarding the uncertainty surrounding the Elham and Sevenoaks hoards. For a discussion of the Bognor, Selsey, Hayling Island temple and Waltham St Lawrence deposits, not here considered true hoards, see appendix 1.

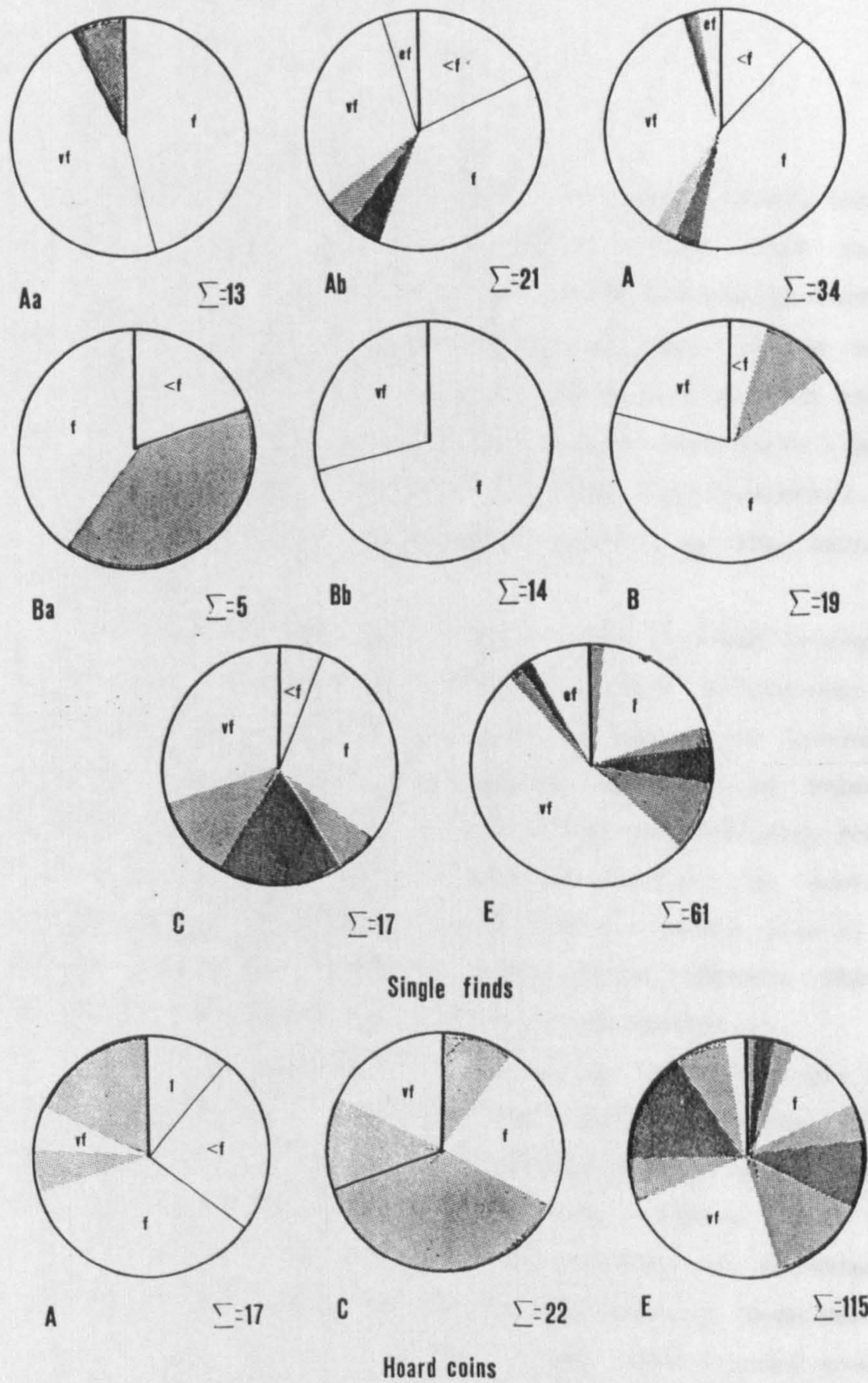


Figure 1.2: Analysis of the circulation wear to Gallo-Belgic coins found in Britain.

coins themselves, where possible, as a check. While this sample probably excludes many lower quality coins which have never entered large collections, one can be reasonably certain that broadly similar formation processes for this record have been active in the different regions. The main purpose of this study was to examine whether Gallo-Belgic gold circulated longer (and consequently became more worn) in Kent than elsewhere, to help explain the rarity of indigenous staters in the county (Bean forthcoming 2).

The Gallo-Belgic Xa finds are not included in figure 1.2. The specimens from Kent are little worn. The Milton coin showing very few signs of wear, the F/VF obverse and VF reverse of the Margate coin appear due to damaged or worn dies, it shows little actual circulation wear. The Philippus copy recently found near Deal was also little worn, despite its test cut. By contrast the stater from Waltham St Lawrence (Burnett, 1990, coin 1) is very heavily worn and the adhering solder might indicate that it was regarded as scrap bullion at the time of deposition.

When one compares the condition of the single finds of Gallo-Belgic A (fig. 1.2), with those from the hoards, it will be observed that the coins in the hoards tend to be far more worn. This surely argues that the coins were hoarded late in their circulation life in Britain. Some precision may be added in the instance of the stater and quarter from Oldbury, both recorded as heavily worn, where the stater had been clipped down to the weight of Gallo-Belgic C stater (Allen 1944b, 154). The wear to

single finds of Aa and Ab is similar, though the larger sample of Ab coins preserves a broader range of wear.

Gallo-Belgic Ba appears to be the most worn type of Gallo-Belgic stater encountered in Britain, while the Bb series is less worn and comparable to coins of the Gallo-Belgic A series. Taken together Ba and Bb are the most worn Gallo-Belgic series encountered in Britain.

When the wear to single finds and hoarded Gallo-Belgic C is compared little difference can be observed, the single finds being only slightly more worn. This is in certain contrast to Gallo-Belgic A. The wear to Gallo-Belgic E staters is much harder to assess due to their uniface nature and concave flans, reliance being placed on the parts of the reverse proud enough to wear. A comparison of the wear to single finds and hoard coins shows the latter to be slightly more heavily worn. In comparison to other Gallo-Belgic stater groups in Britain, Gallo-Belgic E is the least heavily worn.

Gallo-Belgic D quarter staters are particularly hard to grade especially the uniface Db, where the design is so protected in the concave reverse as to prevent it wearing, and thus an analysis of its circulation wear to be made. The problem is further complicated as some Db are evidently Dc, struck from very worn obverse dies, making wear even harder to determine. These difficulties make it at least unsafe to compare the results of the wear analysis for Gallo-Belgic D. Those results obtained were actually closest to Gallo-Belgic A and C.

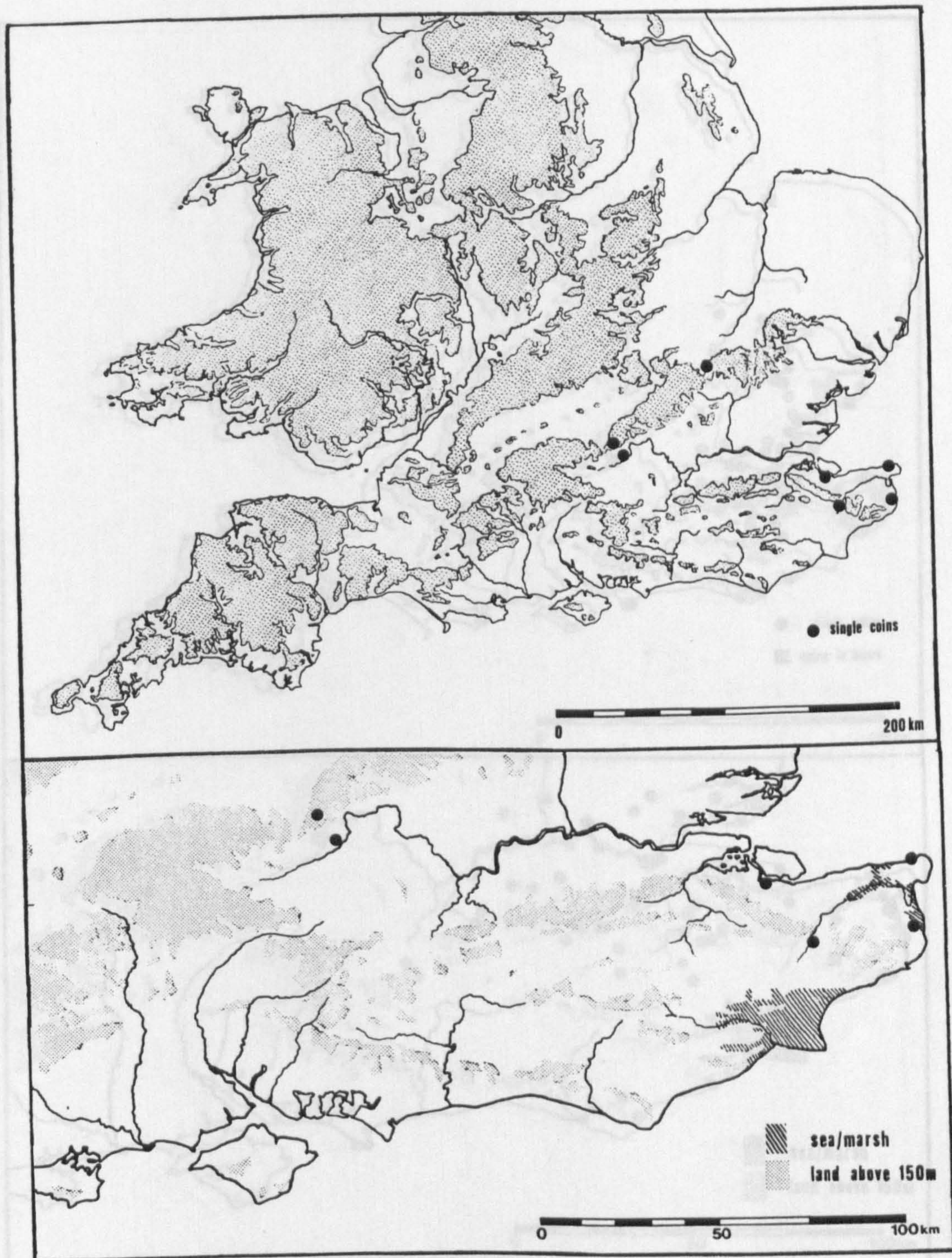


Figure 1.3 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic Xa and related coinages in Britain

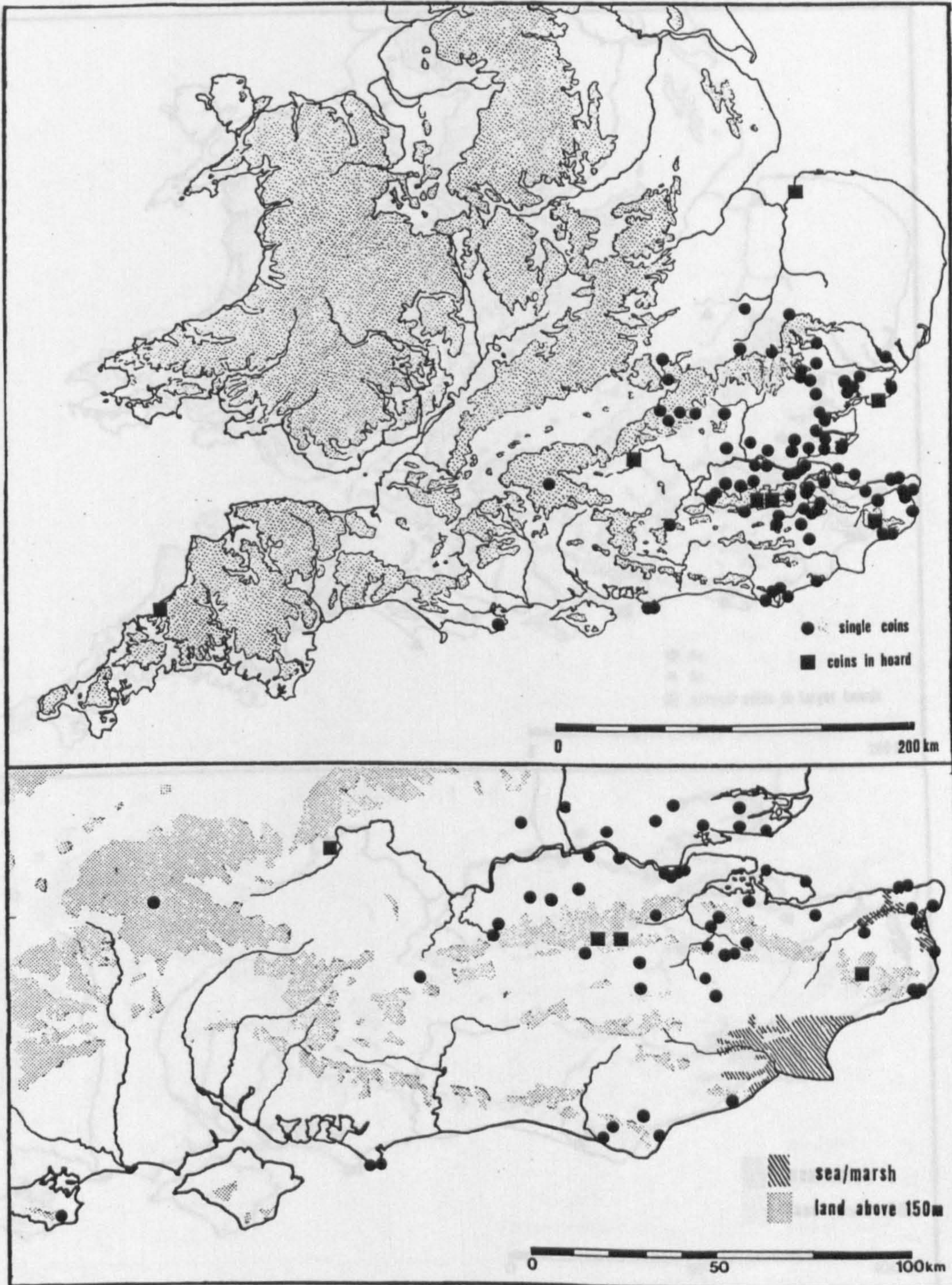


Figure 1.4 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic A in Britain.

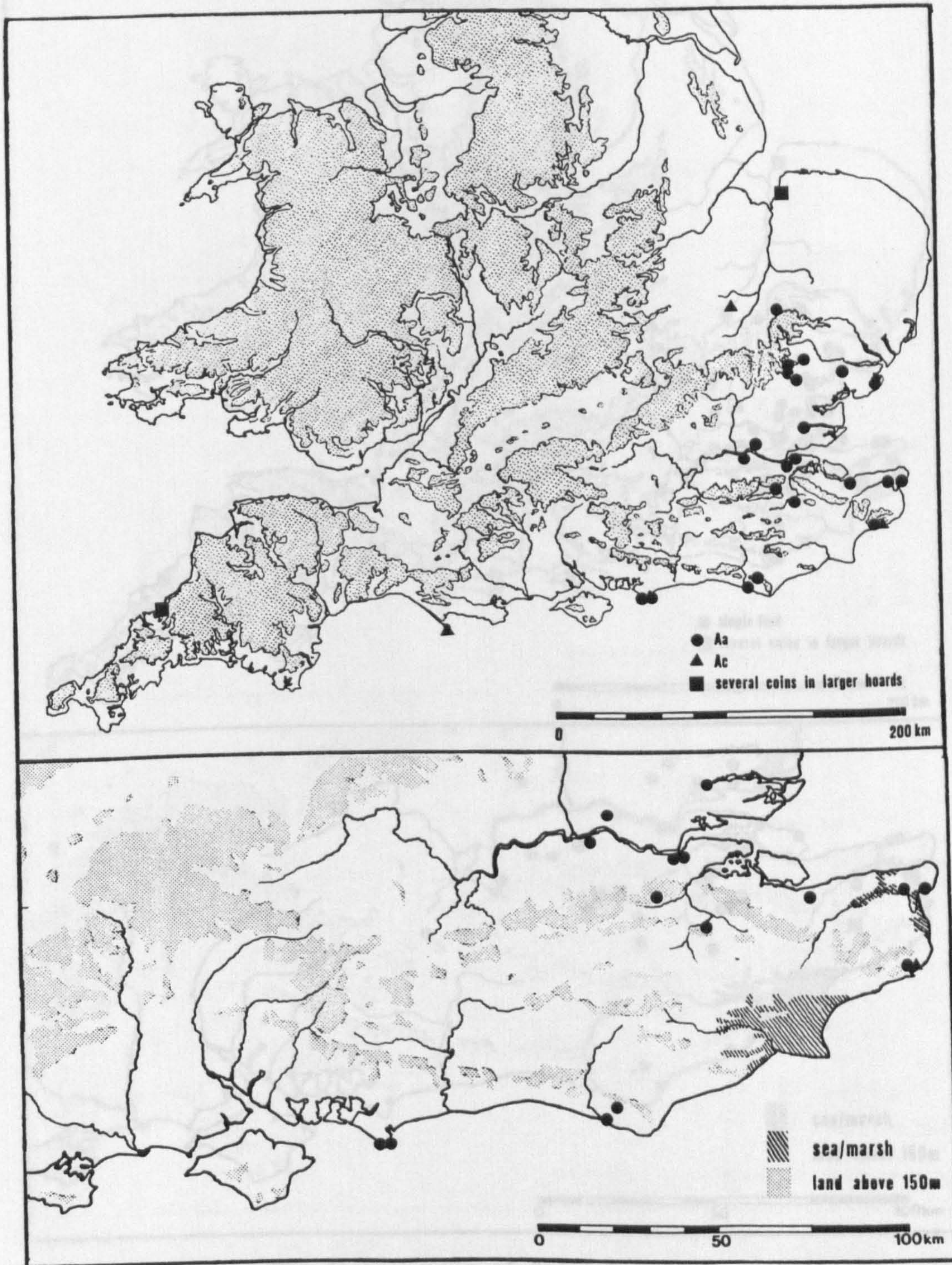


Figure 1.5 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic Aa and Ac in Britain.

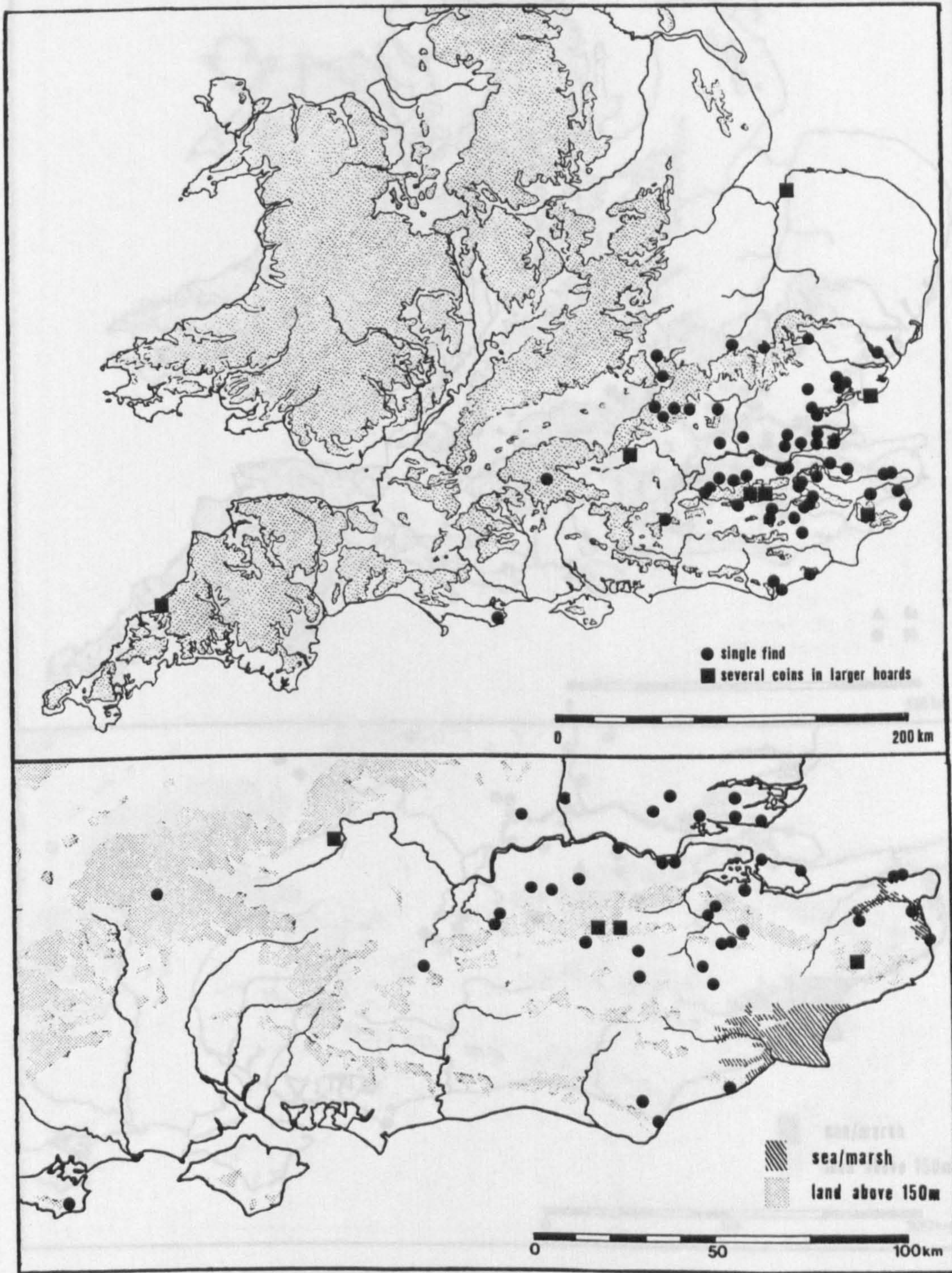


Figure 1.6 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic Ab in Britain

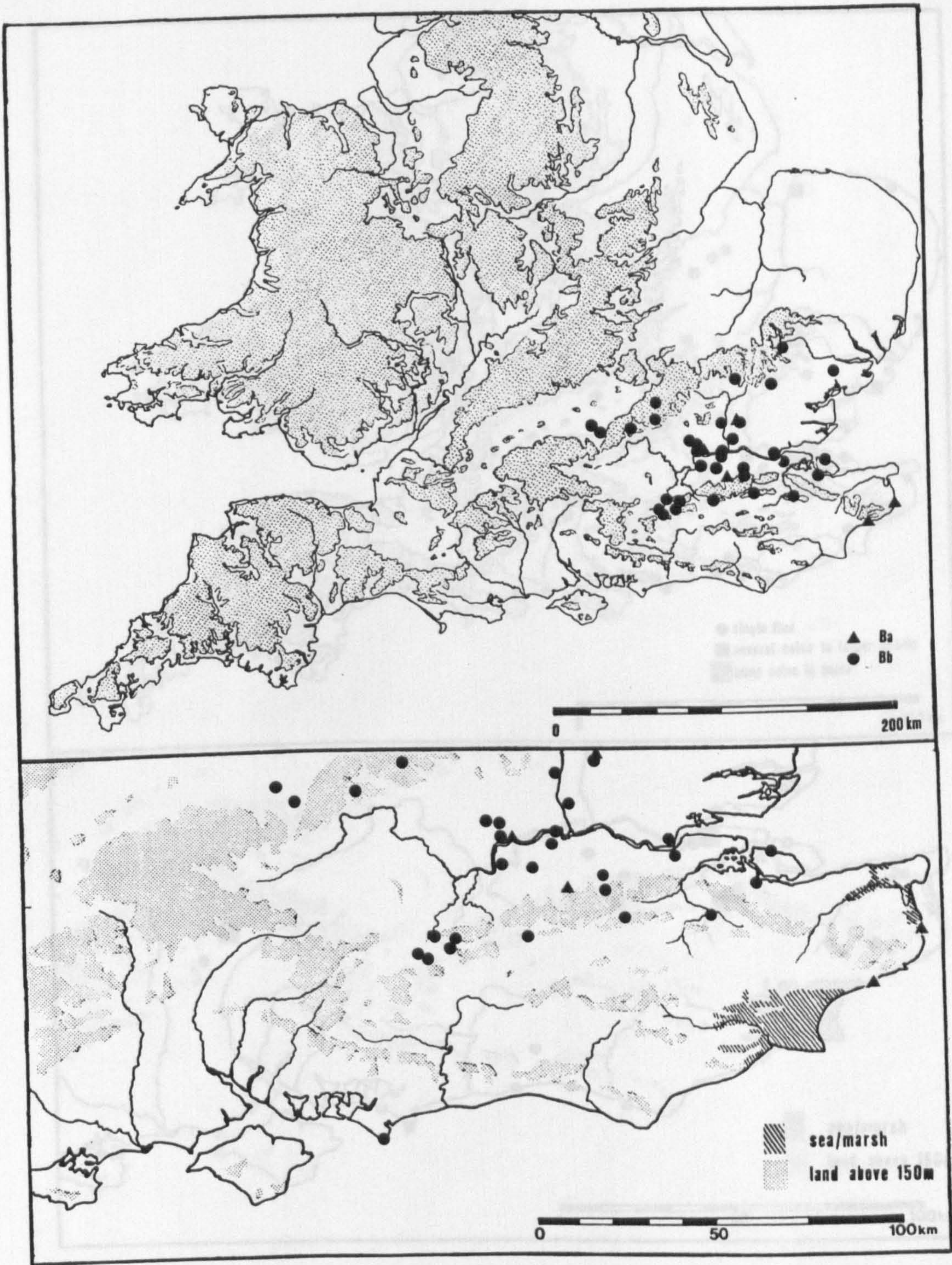


Figure 1.7 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic B in Britain.

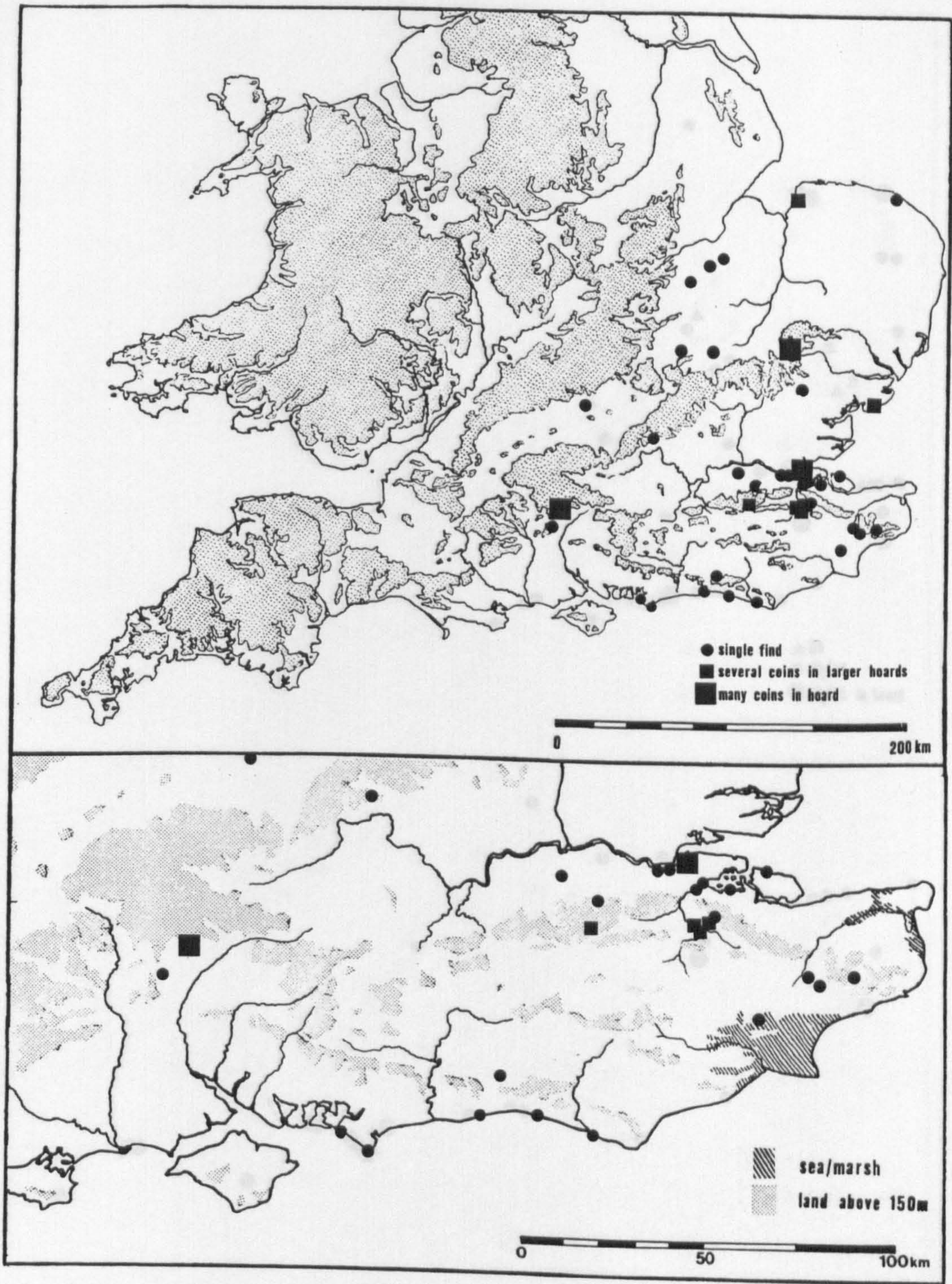


Figure 1.8 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic C in Britain.

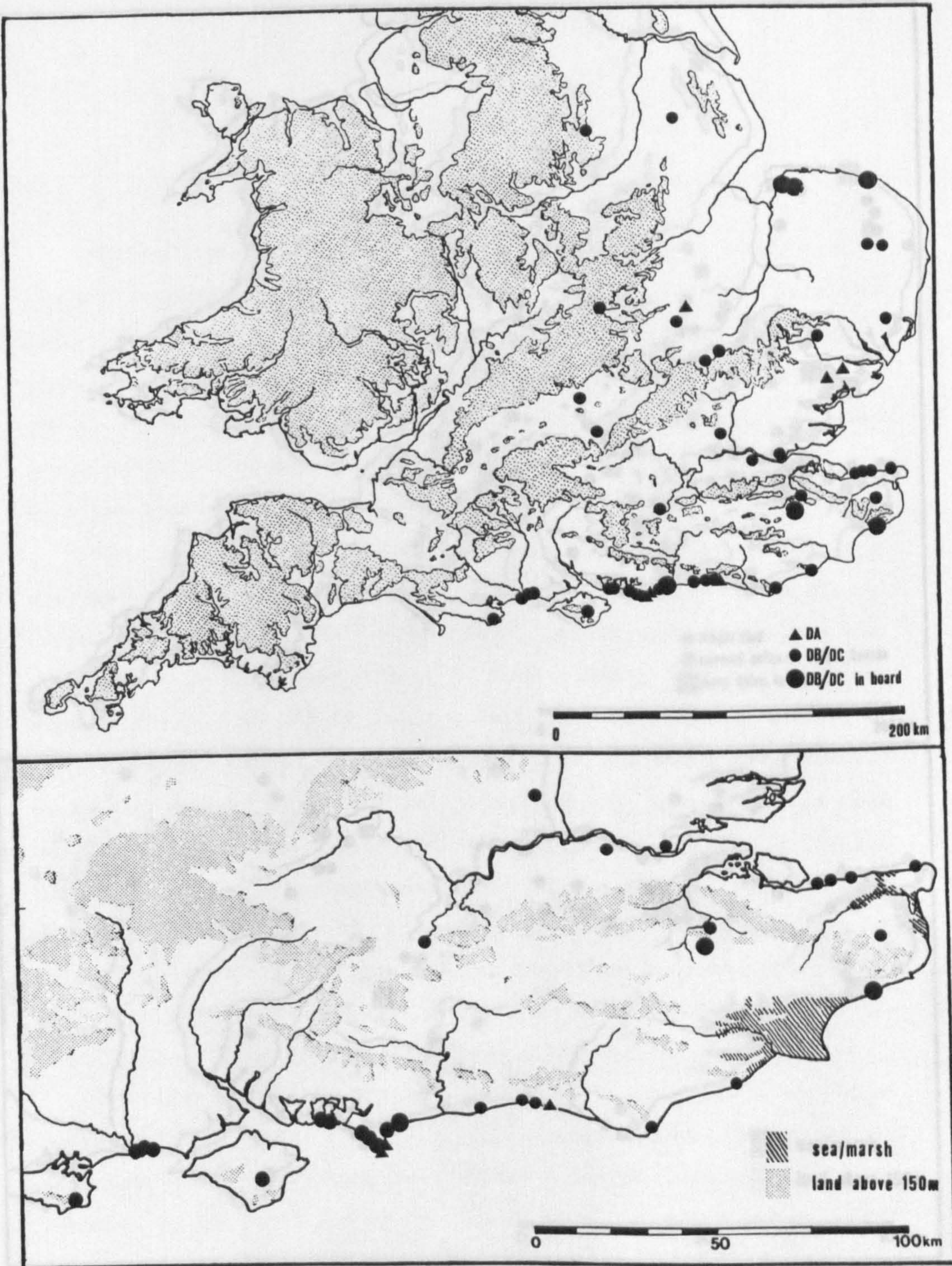


Figure 1.9 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic D in Britain.

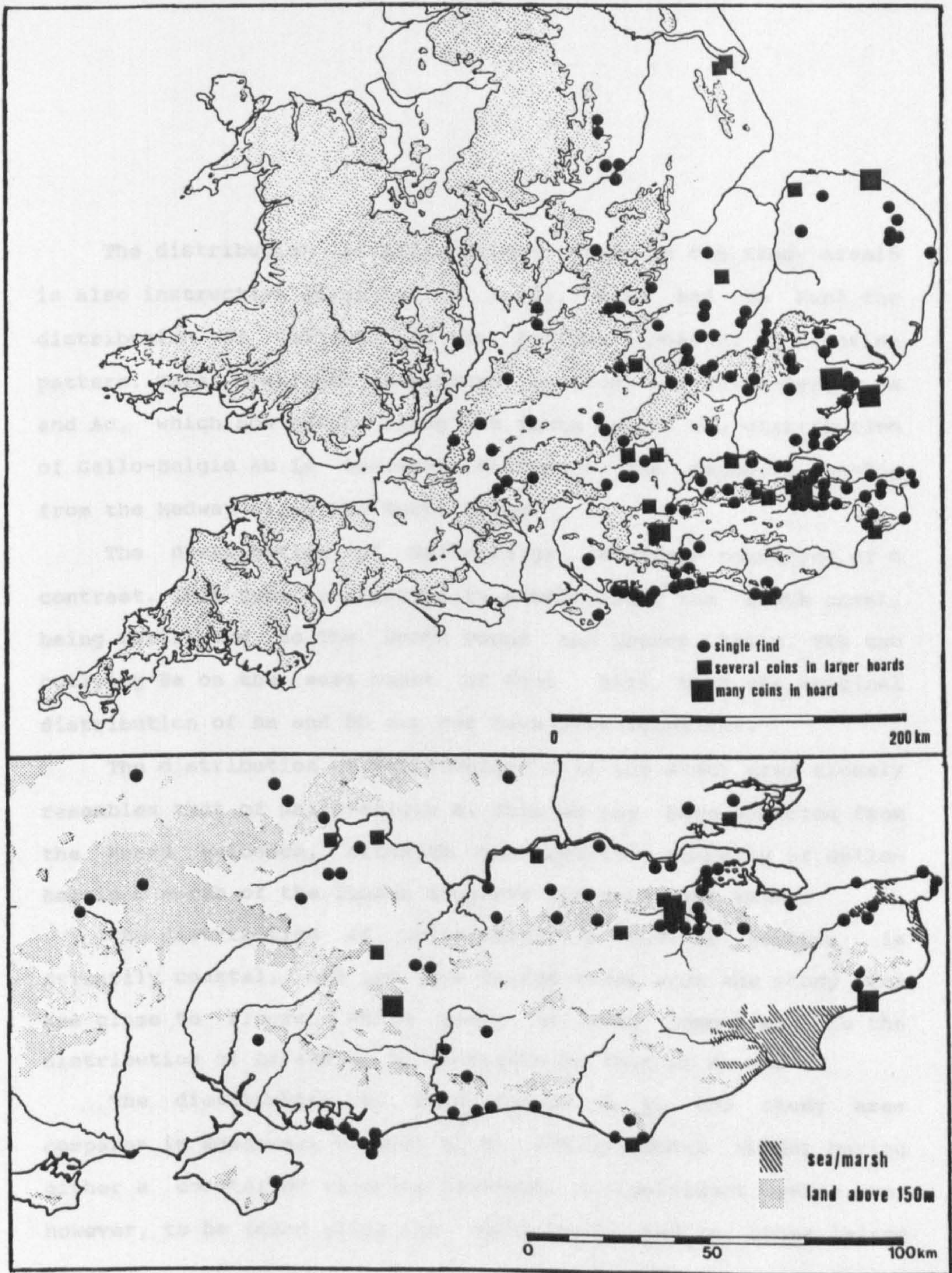


Figure 1.10 : The distribution of Gallo-Belgic E in Britain.

The distribution of Gallo-Belgic coins in the study area¹⁵ is also instructive (figs 1.3 - 1.10). Here and in Kent the distribution of Gallo-Belgic Xa follows a coastal or riverine pattern. This distribution pattern is true for Gallo-Belgic Aa and Ac, which now extend along the south coast. The distribution of Gallo-Belgic Ab is somewhat different the emphasis running from the Medway along the North Downs.

The distribution of Gallo-Belgic B offers something of a contrast. This type is practically absent along the south coast, being restricted to the North Downs and Thames Basin. The two outlying Ba on the east coast of Kent hint that the original distribution of Ba and Bb may not have been identical.

The distribution of Gallo-Belgic C in the study area closely resembles that of Gallo-Belgic A. This we may have expected from the hoard evidence, although the relative scarcity of Gallo-Belgic C north of the Thames suggests discontinuity there.

The distribution of Gallo-Belgic D quarter staters is primarily coastal, and the few inland finds from the study area are close to rivers. While there is some comparison to the distribution of Aa and Ac it contrasts to that of Ab and C.

The distribution of Gallo-Belgic E in the study area compares in some ways to that of D, a significant number having either a coastal or riverine findspot. A significant number are, however, to be found along the North Downs and in other inland areas.

There are five Gallo-Belgic staters from Britain which have certainly been clipped. The Gallo-Belgic A stater from Oldbury (Allen 1944b, 154), reported as being much worn had been clipped down to the weight of a Gallo-Belgic C stater. The other two clipped Gallo-Belgic A coins, from Epsom, Surrey and the 1898 Clacton hoard, Essex, had been reduced to weights equivalent to a British Qa stater and Gallo-Belgic E respectively. These coins imply, as do the hoards, that Gallo-Belgic A was a long lived type in this country. The fact that only a few of the British coins are clipped would seem to indicate that they enjoyed long currency at their own standard and weight in Britain (contra Kent 1978). The clipped coins are all particularly heavily worn and were presumably old at the time of deposition.

The Gallo-Belgic C coin from Westerham does not appear to have been clipped despite its low weight of 5.62g, and one would have to agree with Brooke's (1928, 27) suggestion that it was struck on an unusually small flan. Interestingly, the clipped Gallo-Belgic C stater from the Snettisham 'B' hoard was similarly light at 5.53g. It might however be noted that the combined weight of the two Gallo-Belgic coins from the Westerham hoard is almost the exact equivalent of two British A1 staters. The clipped stater from Dunton, Bedfordshire reduced to 5.94g, would conform to the weight of late Gallo-Belgic E staters and certain British coins such as the Whaddon Chase series.

Once again these clipped coins are heavily worn. This, combined with the other wear and hoard evidence, suggests that

Gallo-Belgic C, like Gallo-Belgic A, also enjoyed a long currency in Britain as the predominant type. That Gallo-Belgic B is neither encountered hoarded nor clipped suggests that it is in large earlier than any other series in Britain.

From the evidence presented above a fairly coherent picture of the Gallo-Belgic coinage in the study area and Britain begins to emerge. The earliest group of coins from the study area is Allen's Xa (here expanded to include other early Philippus copies). The evidence from these coins is contradictory. The three examples from Kent are little worn, while the specimen from Waltham St Lawrence is very heavily worn. Given the possible influences of such coins in the later coinage of Kent (Bean forthcoming 2) it is just possible that they had a long currency despite their rarity, lack of circulation wear and absence in hoards. The Ringwood hoard clearly demonstrates the entry of quantities of early Gaulish gold coins into Britain, although these coins are very worn and appear to have acquired their wear on the continent. By contrast Gallo-Belgic Xa from Kent are little circulated and at least arrived in fairly fresh condition. If Xa enjoyed long currency in Kent it is not reflected in the wear to the coins. The Philippus copy from near Deal had been test cut which might suggest that those handling it (if cut in Britain) were at least suspicious of it, if not completely unfamiliar with the type.

The three little worn Xa from Kent were found close to the

coast which one might expect if trade were to bring such coins from the Continent. As these coins are neither much worn nor found inland, it may be suggested that their currency function was restricted to such traders. The complete opposite is suggested by the Waltham St Lawrence specimen when viewed in isolation. When viewed with the other coins, however, one might ask if its wear had been acquired on the continent and how old it was when it entered Britain.

The first Gallo-Belgic coins to have achieved true currency in Britain appear to have been Gallo-Belgic B. Beyond the rather dubious Selsey group (Appendix 1) and Carn Brae hoard (Haselgrove 1987, 313-314), both outside the core distribution of the type, these coins, in contrast to Gallo-Belgic A are not found in hoards. Logically this would suggest that Gallo-Belgic B is earlier. Stylistically the Gallo-Belgic B reverse is closer to the original Philippus (Allen and Nash 1980, 73) prototype than Gallo-Belgic A. By inference it must be earlier as both types appear to have originated in broadly the same area. As only one stater is provenanced to the continent we can be fairly certain that the staters, at least, gained their considerable wear in Britain¹⁶. They had, however, dropped out of circulation or at least the hoarding pool, by the time of our earliest gold hoards, the period of the currency of Gallo-Belgic C. As the Gallo-Belgic Ba coins are more heavily worn than the Bb, they can quite reasonably be seen as earlier.

The staters are largely peculiar to Britain, unlike the

quarter-staters which are found in fairly equal quantities on both sides of the Channel. This must be the key to the mechanism of their introduction. As observed the difference in wear to the Ba and Bb staters would imply that importation took place over some period of time. Bearing in mind the two coastal finds of Ba, in Kent, trade could have provided the mechanism for their introduction. The wide distribution of Bb, however, centred on modern London, suggests an influx of the coins to this area. That the staters, with one exception, are known only in Britain implies that they were minted to purchase a specific commodity; while slaves or cattle are possibilities, military assistance would seem more likely. It seems unlikely that a band of invaders should have bought almost all their staters with them, while apparently leaving a substantial number of quarter staters behind to circulate in Gaul. The very fact that Gallo-Belgic B acquired their considerable circulation wear in Britain must count against the view that Gallo-Belgic A was necessarily imported in a worn state.

By the time Gallo-Belgic A reached Britain there is less evidence of a London focus. Instead the distribution of Gallo-Belgic Aa is largely coastal, while that of Ab seems focused on northern Kent, the North Downs and Essex. Such a shift in emphasis could be due to political factors, however Gallo-Belgic Ab is found in all but the most central part of the Gallo-Belgic B distribution. Alternatively it may be due to different areas of Britain enjoying contact with different parts of Gaul. There is

however, as mentioned above, some difficulty in geographically separating Gallo-Belgic B and A on the Continent. The more worn state of Gallo-Belgic B and the hoard evidence indicate that the two series are chronologically separated. This may have allowed the apparent London centre (Kent 1978) to have faded, and political or economic emphasis, allegiance or contact to have changed.

Gallo-Belgic Aa has a more coastal distribution than Gallo-Belgic Ab, and here compares to Gallo-Belgic XA and to a lesser extent Gallo-Belgic Ba. It is therefore tempting to see these coins reaching Britain by trade. The wear to these coins, however, would easily allow them to have been deposited away from their point of entry, at a later date.

It had once been supposed that the right facing head and horse of Gallo-Belgic Aa might represent a different stream of coinage to the left facing head and horse of Gallo-Belgic Ab (Allen 1961, 100), and therefore be contemporary. With the appearance of a number of apparent mules, with the head facing right and the horse left, both series did indeed appear to be contemporary. The typological ordering of the two types as part of a single series appeared to be demonstrated. These staters have, however, since been declared modern forgeries although the sequencing of Gallo-Belgic Aa and Ab has perversely been maintained (Van Arsdell 1989, 5). Van Arsdell, however, ignores the two quarter staters from the Snettisham 'B' hoard with left facing head and right facing horse (Rainbird-Clarke 1954, pl.xiv)

which are undoubtedly genuine. These would seem to support the apparent typological sequence of Aa to Ab and argue for a single series. A chronological gap within this single series is suggested by the greater wear to the Gallo-Belgic Aa coins in Britain (fig. 1.2).

The distribution of the later Gallo-Belgic Ab, penetrating further inland, might also argue that they reached Britain a little later than the Aa. The circulation wear to these coins before they arrived in Britain is hard to assess. The wear on the single (i.e. casual) loss coins indicate them to be only slightly more worn than the single loss Gallo-Belgic C coins. That Gallo-Belgic A does not appear hoarded on its own hints that circumstances, or their function, could have been slightly different to Gallo-Belgic C. The little circulated Gallo-Belgic Aa stater from Plumstead, Kent and Ab stater from Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire indicate that at least some coins arrived in Britain in a virtually uncirculated condition. Further, the fact that the Gallo-Belgic A from hoards are more worn than the single finds (and the hoards are relatively late), demonstrates that they gained at least some of their circulation wear in Britain. Some may however have arrived worn as the Ringwood hoard of worn Baiocassian staters hints.

The distribution and entry of these coins to Britain may be explicable in terms of trade, and it does seem likely that the more peripheral Gallo-Belgic A finds reached their point of loss this way. It is possible that these coins represent not only a

common economic sphere but also a political one, and may even belong to Diviciacus' high kingship. It is not impossible that the core distribution of these coins may represent a warrior invasion and imposition of power. There is, however, now minimal archaeological evidence for such an event and no literary support beyond the reference to the 'imperium' of Diviciacus (B.G.,II,4,5) (Black 1990). The links suggested by Diviciacus' 'imperium', by the flight of chiefs of the Bellovoci to Britain (B.G.,II,14,3) and Commius' 'auctoritas' and later flight (B.G.,IV,21,7), rather favour the case for peaceful contacts.

Gallo-Belgic A seems to have been succeeded by Gallo-Belgic C which has broadly the same distribution as Gallo-Belgic A. Specimens are known farther north as one might expect from a gradually expanding idea of a coin use. Certain gaps in the distribution, such as Surrey, may largely be due to the use of Gallo-Belgic C as bullion for the earliest native staters; in this case British A2, as suggested by typology and metallurgical analysis (Cowell, Oddy and Burnett 1987, 7).

It is in the currency of Gallo-Belgic C that the first Gallo-Belgic hoards are deposited in Britain. They sometimes contain Gallo-Belgic A which usually exhibit much greater wear, implying that Gallo-Belgic A had circulated significantly longer (fig. 1.2). It is interesting to notice, however, that the Gallo-Belgic C coins themselves are fairly worn in such hoards. The coins from Snettisham B and F underline this, the Gallo-Belgic A being much more heavily worn than the Gallo-Belgic C. That one

Gallo-Belgic A stater had been hammered flat (hoard B), and another cut in half (hoard F), might indicate that their bullion value, as opposed to their unit value, was now paramount. In the case of the Westerham hoard it is possible that the worn Gallo-Belgic A stater was included with the Gallo-Belgic C stater to make up the weight (p. 67), and may well have been something of a relic in the currency.

It seems likely that once Gallo-Belgic A had firmly established the idea of coinage in Britain, (perhaps building on principles established by Gallo-Belgic B) that Gallo-Belgic C would have entered and been drawn into the country by way of trade. A puzzling gap in its distribution, which otherwise follows Gallo-Belgic A, and which cannot be explained by recoinage, is North East Kent. This may relate to divisions in Kent suggested by Caesar's 4 kings (D.B.G., V, 22), and may hint at political policies and kingdoms which might affect such apparently extra dynastic coinage.

As discussed above, Gallo-Belgic C appears to be significantly earlier than Gallo-Belgic E. This is borne out by the comparative wear to the two series, both in terms of single and hoard finds. That the two series are separated by a significant period is perhaps demonstrated by the rarity of hoards containing both Gallo-Belgic C and E staters. Excluding the problematic Selsey finds (Appendix 1), only the Ryarsh, Addington and Elham deposits, all Kentish (Bean forthcoming 2), contained both C and E. The only hoard outside Kent to securely

relate C and E was the 1898 Clacton hoard from Essex. In all these hoards, Gallo-Belgic C was in the minority, and more worn than the Gallo-Belgic E staters. The Higham hoard which consisted of eleven worn Gallo-Belgic C staters indicates that Gallo-Belgic C enjoyed a long period of currency, virtually alone. On hoard evidence Gallo-Belgic C survived longest in Kent. This should perhaps not be surprising as it was not recalled to produce a derivative type of coinage here (Bean forthcoming 2).

The succeeding Gallo-Belgic E staters are found in almost all areas where later native issues are encountered. From its distribution it appears as nothing short of an influx. The breadth of its distribution may largely be due to the substantial area in which Gallo-Belgic C derivative coinages had spread and established the idea of coinage. Indeed it is notable just how little affect Gallo-Belgic E, compared to Gallo-Belgic C, had on the designs of the British coins. This suggests the Gallo-Belgic C derivative coinages had been current for sufficiently long to be accepted as the norm. This further supports an early date for Gallo-Belgic C. Gallo-Belgic E coins are the most frequent constituent of Gallo-Belgic hoards (fig. 1.1) and the coins from these hoards are very little circulated. This is in contrast to Gallo-Belgic A and C which do not seem to be hoarded until the Gallo-Belgic C element had become quite worn.

It seems likely that the Gallic wars provided the main mechanism for the introduction of Gallo-Belgic E to Britain. As it is only the first four classes of Gallo-Belgic E which are

encountered in Britain in any number (e.g. Kent 1981, 40), it seems unlikely that the bulk of the coins entered Britain with refugees after the Gallic war. While Haselgrove (1987, 91) has demonstrated that Gallo-Belgic E was certainly in production for longer than Scheers allows, it would seem likely that the great number of these coins entered Britain to pay for the help Caesar records (B.G., IV, 20). It is tempting to see the large number of British hoards containing virtually uncirculated Gallo-Belgic E staters as the record of a sudden event shortly after the coin's introduction; in short Caesar's expeditions and their immediate and undoubted repercussions. It is particularly tempting to see the hoards centred around Maidstone and Oldbury (fig. 1.10) as testament to such events.

Gallo-Belgic Da, Db and Dc quarter staters are known from the study area, many Db appear to be Dc struck from worn obverse dies as a design is often faintly visible. Close analogy is made here with Gallo-Belgic C staters, many of which are struck from very worn obverse dies. Their occurrence in the Weybourne and possible Folkestone hoards, with Gallo-Belgic E, suggests they enjoyed a long currency. The distribution of these coins in the study area is predominantly coastal and the few inland specimens are close to rivers. One can only conclude that such a marked distribution reflects function. It certainly contrasts to Gallo-Belgic A and B quarter staters which show no such coastal preference.

Brief comment may also be made regarding two Gallo-Belgic

stater types occasionally encountered in Britain, Allen's Gallo-Belgic F and Xc1. The former was the source for the design on the main type of uninscribed stater south of the Thames after British A2, British Q. The obverse of the latter was copied on the 'Xc2' quarter staters, now attributed to Commios (COM1-5/6). Both types are very rare in Britain, Xc1 only known from Selsey and Gravesend, and F from Portland Bill, Dorset, Hayling Island temple and the Whaddon Chase hoard. The latter occurrence suggests a date for importation similar to that of Gallo-Belgic E. The rarity of F might appear surprising bearing in mind its influence on the south Thames gold. However the prototypes for almost every type of British Celtic coin are either very rare or unknown in Britain. The only exceptions to this being Gallo-Belgic C and D.

BRITISH A,C AND D.

It has traditionally been recognised that the earliest indigenous coinage in the study area took the form of gold staters, Allen's (1960) British A, C and D 17. British A has long been linked with south eastern Britain, although some uncertainty exists as to the origin of British C, which is typologically related to British A (e.g. Allen 1960, 106). British D is typologically linked to British B, a more westerly type, however its distribution lies within the study area (fig. 2.6).

These types have been studied in detail by Mackensen (1974) and British C and D have been briefly examined by Mays (forthcoming). Subsequent finds and metallurgical analyses present fresh data for these types and it is appropriate to make a further detailed examination here. First the typology and relative ordering of the types will be considered, then their relative dating. Their metallurgy is examined in a further section. For the sake of continuity Mackensen's (1974) numbering sequence has been maintained, new coins being added to the end of his lists.

British A

British A has long been recognised to be derived typologically from Gallo-Belgic C (e.g. Allen 1960, 105). The metrology, typology and hoard evidence suggest it is the

earliest struck British coin¹⁸. Since Evans (1864, 60-62) it has been sub-divided into two groups depending on the direction of the wreath on the obverse. The two groups have, however, usually been treated as varieties of a single type (e.g. Allen 1960), Allen added that there was not enough data to assign the varieties to particular localities (1960, 105). More recently Van Arsdell (1989, 112) has followed this approach.

The detailed research of Mackensen (1974), however, indicates that the two varieties should be treated separately. The type with the upwards facing wreath (A1) is not die linked to the variety with the downward facing wreath (A2), and the two are metrologically distinct (Mackensen 1974, tabelle 1; fig. 2.12).

British A1

In his die study of British A1 Mackensen identified 6 obverse and 18 reverse dies from 31 extant coins. Today a further nine coins are known, from which one further obverse die and two further reverse dies may be identified. The dies used for British A1 were significantly larger than the coin flans, and it is thus only really possible to derive a typological die sequence (when linking does not help) if each die is reconstructed from known coins. The obverse designs are apparently longer than they are wide (when all the reconstructions are considered), while edges are to be observed on the reverse designs indicating that these dies were circular. It is clear that among the reverse dies there

are significant typological variations (fig. 2.1).

Mackensen based his ordering of dies on die linkage and typology. This is not such an undertaking as 12 (today 13) of the reverse dies (c to o, and now die d1) are linked to a common obverse die, C. This obverse die became extremely worn and wear clearly proposes the ordering of the reverse dies. A 'die box' for the reverse dies does not appear to have been used, where several specimens are known struck from the same reverse die the obverse die (C) displays the same degree of wear.

Mackensen's ordering is largely supported when the dies are reconstructed (fig. 2.1). The earliest obverse die, of a fine and delicate style, is paired with reverse dies a and b. The fluid form the horse on these dies, although turned to the left, closely resembles that on Gallo-Belgic C. This form of horse gradually became more abstract, the neck and back becoming more linear and rigid (die c to o). The horse's back then shortens as the crescent above lengthens, so that the horse's body appears composed of three short lines one above the other. The quality of the obverse die and design also declines over this sequence. A third group of reverse dies is clear in dies p-r (and probably r1 which is unclear and not illustrated). Unlike the preceding group of reverse dies (with one exception all paired with obverse die C) each reverse die of this group is paired with its own obverse die.

The die reconstructions suggest that obverse die B may be

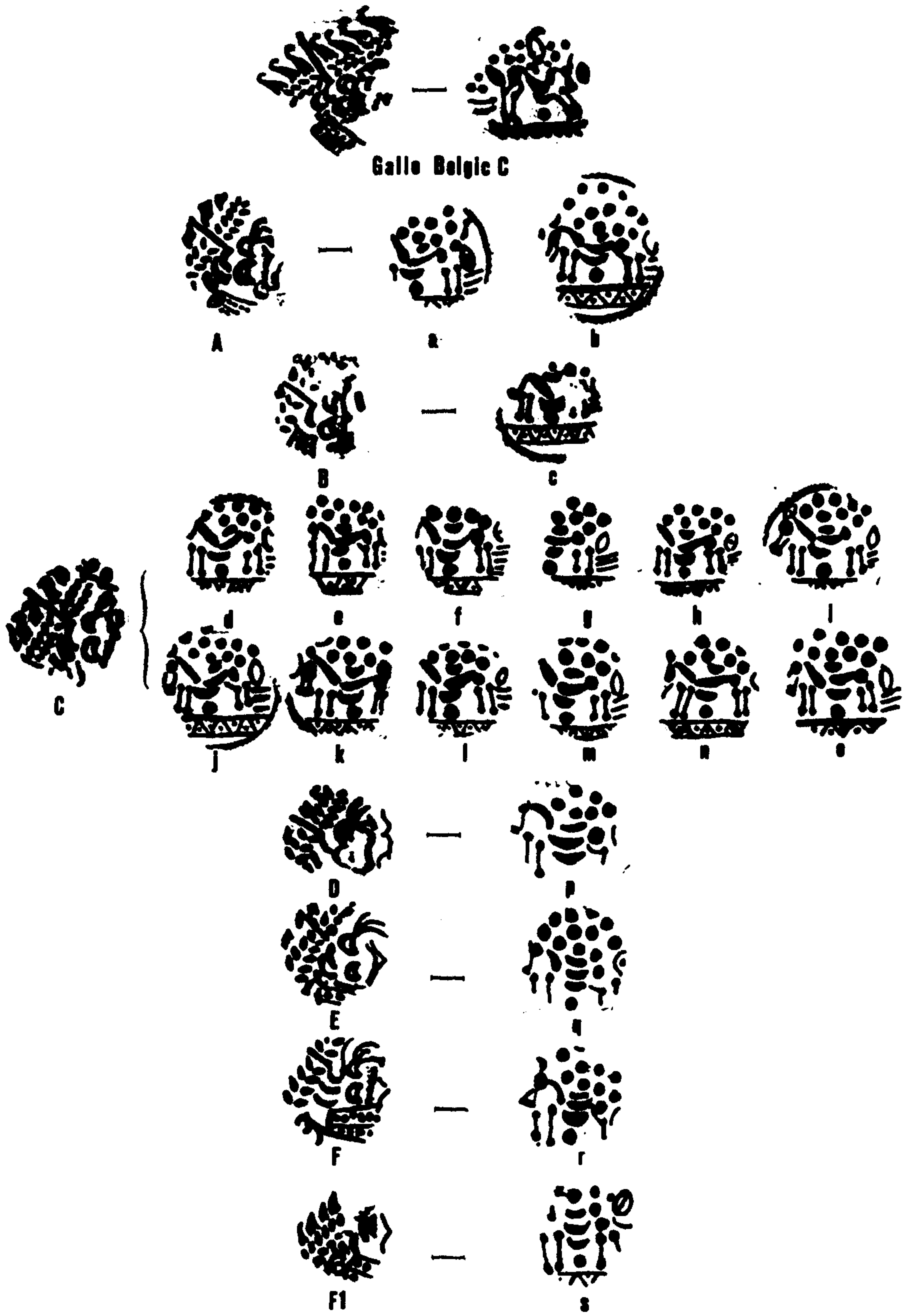


Figure 2.1: Reconstructions of the dies used to strike British A1 based on extant coins (die di not shown as only known from one specimen). Scale 1:1.

mis-placed. While the wreath on B points upwards, the box containing pellets at the base of the 'chin' points downward, not across. This is a feature of A2 (although this box containing pellets is not clear on some other A1 dies). It will however be noticed that this 'box' points both down and diagonally on the prototype Gallo-Belgic C. The strong neck of the horse on the reverse die (c) supports Mackensen's ordering.

Metallurgically the gold content of A1 averages 62%, although it varies significantly from 70.7% to 50.9% (fig. 2.9). The type has a wide distribution centred on the Thames basin and is encountered in at least five hoards¹⁹, the chronological significance of which is discussed below. When the distribution of A1 and A2 are plotted separately (Mackensen, 1974, Abb.2 plots A1 and A2 together) there is (as Haselgrove observes (1987, 85, fig. 5.1 based on Mackensen without addition)) a clear distinction between them. British A1 is focussed around the Thames basin (fig. 2.2) reflecting the distribution of Gallo-Belgic B and C. There is no evidence for regional die groups (Haselgrove 1987, fig. 5.1)²⁰. While this type circulated within the study area, it seems likely that its origins lay north of the Thames; it is included here for the sake of completeness.

British A2

It will be observed that A2 is lighter than A1 (fig. 2.12). It is also more base, containing an average of 47% gold,

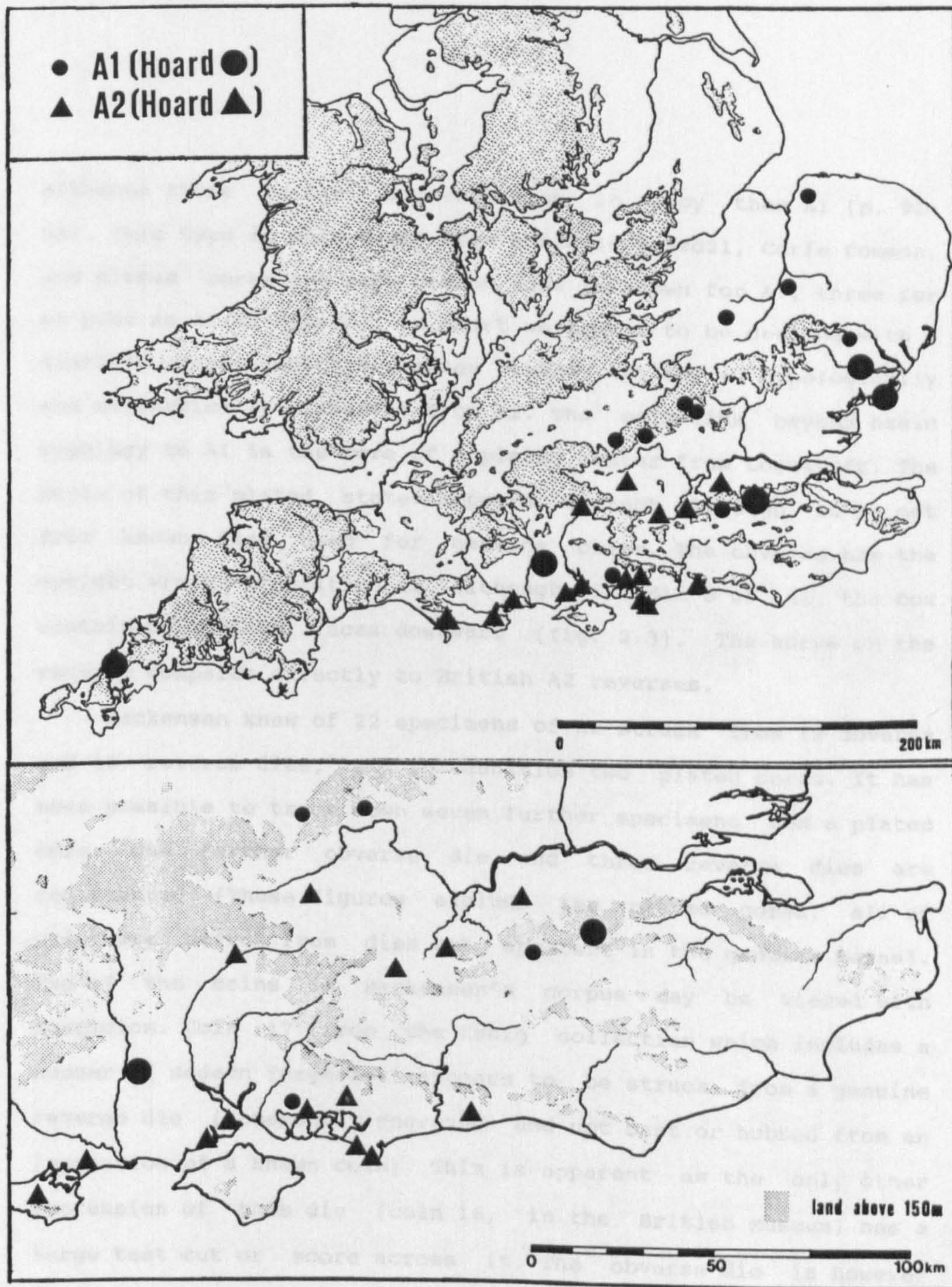


Figure 2.2: The distribution of British A1 and A2.

although there is far less variation in alloy than A1 (p. 92-94). This type is only known from a single hoard²¹, Corfe Common, and plated cores are more common (one is known for A1, three for A2 plus an A1/A2 hybrid). In short we appear to be dealing with a distinct series which Mackensen (1974, 16) saw as typologically and stylistically different from A1. The only link beyond basic typology to A1 is the core of a plated stater from Lowestoft. The style of this plated stater appears correct although it is not from known dies used for genuine coins. The obverse has the upright wreath of British A1, although like die B of A1, the box containing pellets faces downward (fig. 2.3). The horse on the reverse compares directly to British A2 reverses.

Mackensen knew of 22 specimens of A2 struck from 12 obverse and 15 reverse dies, and in addition two plated cores. It has been possible to track down seven further specimens and a plated core. One further obverse die and three reverse dies are represented. (These figures exclude the plated cores, all of which are struck from dies not apparent in the genuine coins). Two of the coins in Mackensen's corpus may be viewed with suspicion. Coin 17 (from the König collection which includes a number of modern forgeries) appears to be struck from a genuine reverse die (apparently engraved and not cast or hubbed from an impression of a known coin). This is apparent as the only other impression of this die (coin 16, in the British Museum) has a large test cut or score across it. The obverse die is however clearly a poor copy of that used for coin 16. An attempt has been

made to replicate the die flaws apparent on the genuine coin; the spacing of the crescents and other design elements is far looser and of irregular style (fig. 2.3). Coin 21 is also somewhat unusual. Stylistically the coin appears correct but does not die link to any other coin and parts of its broad flan have an unusually flat appearance. I have had the opportunity to examine this coin and it has an unusually silvery appearance. I am reluctant to condemn it and would suggest that both in style,



Figure 2.3. British A2, revisions to Mackensen (1974). 1, plated A1/A2 hybrid from Lowestoft; 2 Mackensen coin 16, a forgery ?; 3 Mackensen coin 17, an (?)irregular A2; 4 Durotrigian stater VA 1235.

striking and colour it resembles Mackensen's Hod Hill type A (cf VA 1235-1; fig. 2.3) to which it may in some way be linked.

British A2 lacks the typological variety of A1 and what variations there are in design are minor. The horses' backs vary in thickness and the number of lines behind the rear leg varies. The pellets above the horse become more neatly arranged in

anticipation of British B (fig. 2.4). There seems no reason to question Mackensen's ordering of the dies. It will be observed that the dies used to strike the reverses of British A2 are somewhat smaller than those used for A1. The dies are used until they show significant signs of wear, although not quite to the degree apparent in British A1. Unlike A1 the obverse to reverse die ratio is far more even (as noted by Mackensen 1974, 17) at 13:18 compared to 7:20, and no obverse dies for A2 are used to the exhausted state of die C of A1 (fig. 2.8).

The strong neck of the horse on A2 appears to be copied from the second group of A1 reverses (dies c-o). On this basis it might be argued that the inception of A2 predates the third group of A1 reverses (dies p-r1). This makes the assumption that A2 copied only the latest type of A1, which need not be correct.

The distribution of A2 show its origins to lie in the study area (fig. 2.2). It would be rash to pin-point the origin more precisely. The type appears to have circulated along the South coast into the area in which British B was to circulate, although British B is only known from one coastal location (Hengistbury Head) compared to five for A2 in this area.

British C

Mackensen knew of 11 specimens of British C struck from 2 obverse and 2 reverse dies. No new coins have been discovered. It now seems likely that coin 9 is in fact a plated core (Bean 1993;

Cottam 1993; both contra Van Arsdell 1993). The low weight of coin 11 also hints that in this otherwise very uniform series, that it too may be plated.

It has long been recognised that British C is an off-shoot of British A (e.g. Allen 1960, 106). Mackensen declined to identify either A1 or A2 as the parent (1974, 28). The direction of the wreath and the metrology (figs 2.4; 2.12) however, suggest that this type is probably based on British A2. The design on A2 may not have been fully understood as the horse has changed direction. The obverse and the box-like head of the A2 horse, preserved in the ornament above the tail, represent something of a departure from the original (fig. 2.4). The extraordinary forefeet of the horse, resembling the blades of a combine harvester, are without parallel. Smaller 'whorligig' devices do, however, appear below the heads of horses (also right facing) on varieties of British G and H (VA 1455, 800-7, 800-11). Both the obverse and reverse dies are significantly smaller than British A dies, making them appear a yet more eccentric off-shoot. Both pairs of dies were used until quite worn and flawed.

The metallurgy and metrology of this type may again be compared to British G (p.95). The distribution (fig. 2.5) is ambiguous and as Nash (1987, 123) suggests, it is probably best seen as a small early issue. Given the coin to obverse and reverse die survival ratio of 11:2, it seems unlikely that there will be a significant number of new discoveries to elucidate the question of origin and distribution.

British D

Mackensen knew of only three specimens of British D struck from one obverse and two reverse dies. Today 18 more coins are recorded²², from a total of seven obverse and eight reverse dies. A further two plated staters are known, both from, or derived from, official dies.

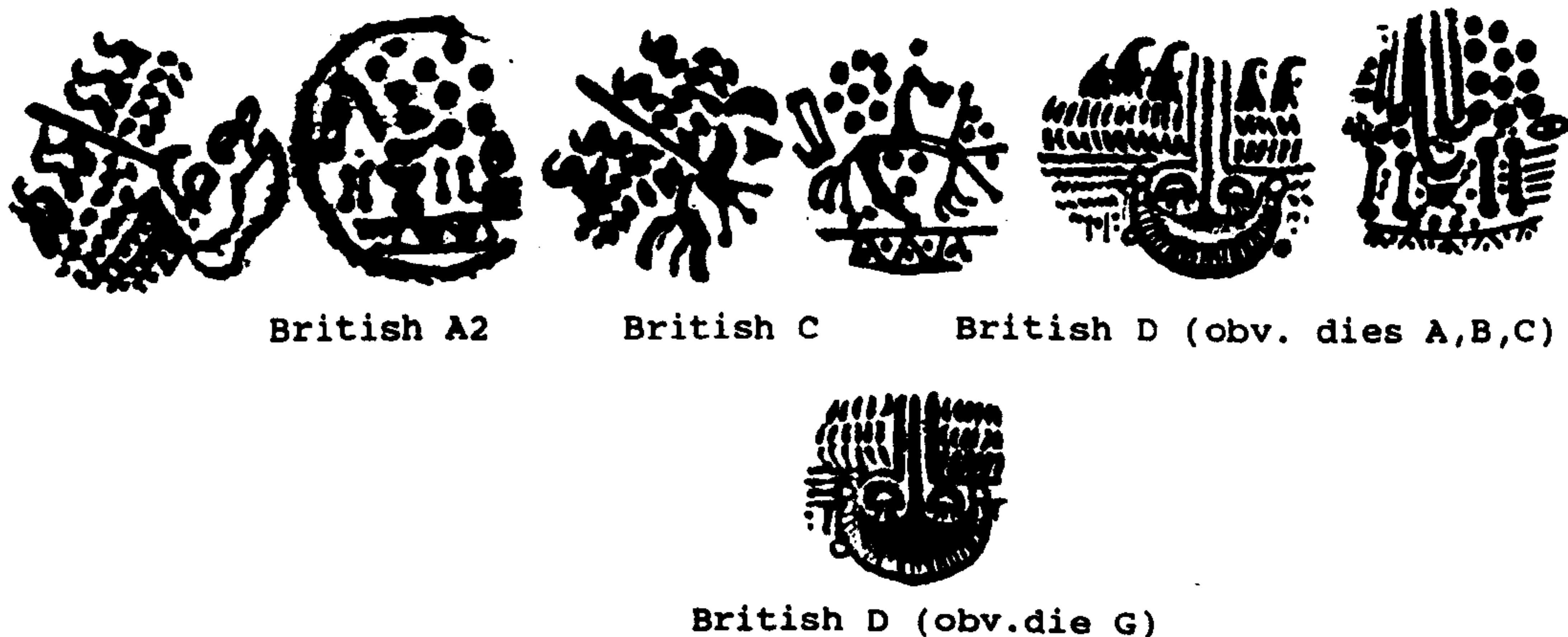


Figure 2.4. Design reconstructions of British A2, C and D. Scale 1:1.

It is apparent that British D is ultimately typologically descended from British B, via a new type called by Van Arsdell (1989, 287) 'Chute-Cheriton transitional type'. The new type provides the precedent for the long sweeping neck and short back of the horse on British D, although the obverse of British D is somewhat of a departure (fig. 2.4). It also appears to be the metallurgical predecessor of British D (Cowell 1992, 220). The dies for British D are very detailed and ornate and most of the

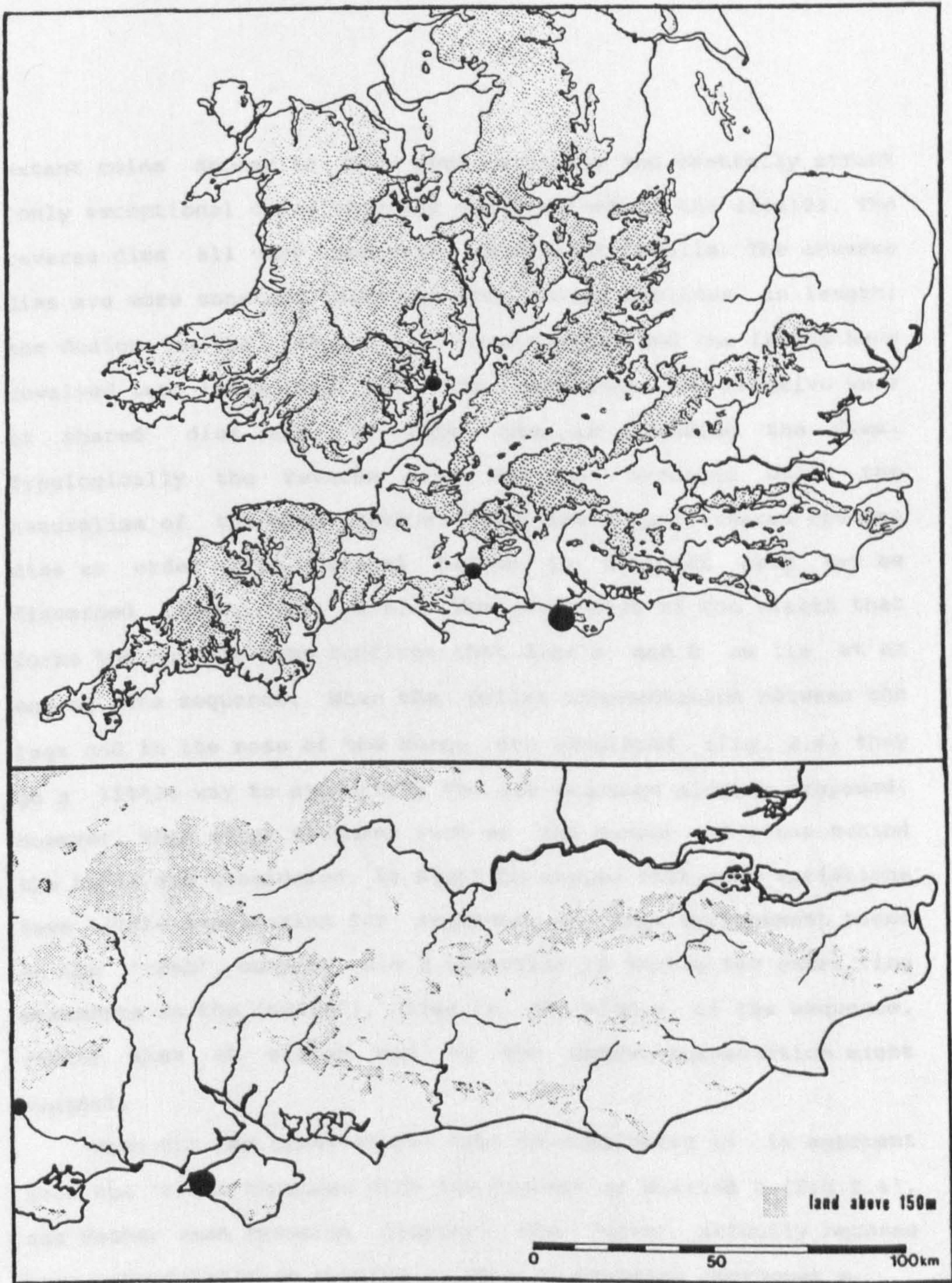


Figure 2.5: The distribution of British C.

extant coins appear to have been carefully and centrally struck (only exceptional coins show the outer extent of the dies)²³. The reverse dies all vary and carry different details. The obverse dies are more constant although the design declines in length; the design on the final die is much smaller and the fronds have devolved into lines (fig. 2.4). The die links and relative wear of shared dies are of some use in ordering the dies. Typologically the reverse dies may be arranged using the naturalism of the crab device. With the help of shared obverse dies an order from natural bodied to abstract crab may be discerned (figs. 2.6; 2.8). The direction of the wreath that forms the horse's mane confirms that dies a and b as lie at an end of the sequence. When the pellet ornamentation between the legs and in the nose of the horse are tabulated (fig. 2.6) they go a little way to supporting the die sequence already proposed. However, when other features such as the number of lines behind the horse are considered, it might be argued that some variations have little implication for sequence. On this arrangement based on the 'crab', obverse die E (peculiar in having two extra ring ornaments in the 'smile'), lies in the middle of the sequence, rather than at either end as the extra ornamentation might suggest.

When the new transitional type is considered it is apparent that the 'crab' compares with the crudest on British D (fig.2.4), and rather than becoming simpler, the 'crab' actually becomes more naturalistic on British D. This observation overcomes a









| Die | Crab | Ornamentation | | | Mane | Lines behind horse |
|-----|--|---------------|-----------|------|------|--------------------|
| | | Front legs | Rear legs | Nose | | |
| a |  | | | | ^ | 3/4 |
| b |  | x | x | x | ^ | 6 |
| c |  | | x | | v | 5 |
| d |  | ? | x | x | v | 7 |
| e |  | | | x | v | >3 |
| f |  | x | x | x | v | ? |
| g |  | x | x | x | v | 3 |
| h |  | x | x | x | v | ? |

Figure. 2.6. Reverse die ordering for British D.

problem presented by obverse die G which pairs with reverse dies g and h which depict the most natural crab. This obverse die carries the smallest design and lacks the fronds above the wreath which are simply depicted as short parallel lines; the most devolved form of this device in the series (fig. 2.4).

With one exception these new coins probably come from a single hoard, giving us six new obverse and reverse dies. This relative explosion of data implies a number of things that might be expected from the unusual metrology and alloy (below) of British D. The type had only limited circulation and does not appear to have endured in circulation. Their weight and alloy certainly make them incompatible with British Q and the silver rich Durotrigian series. In short they appear as an obscure offshoot of British B, via Van Arsdell's 'Chute-Cheriton transitional type', which did not persist stylistically²⁴, metrologically or metallurgically.

The distribution of British D focuses upon southern Hampshire (fig. 2.7), in contrast to the wide distribution of

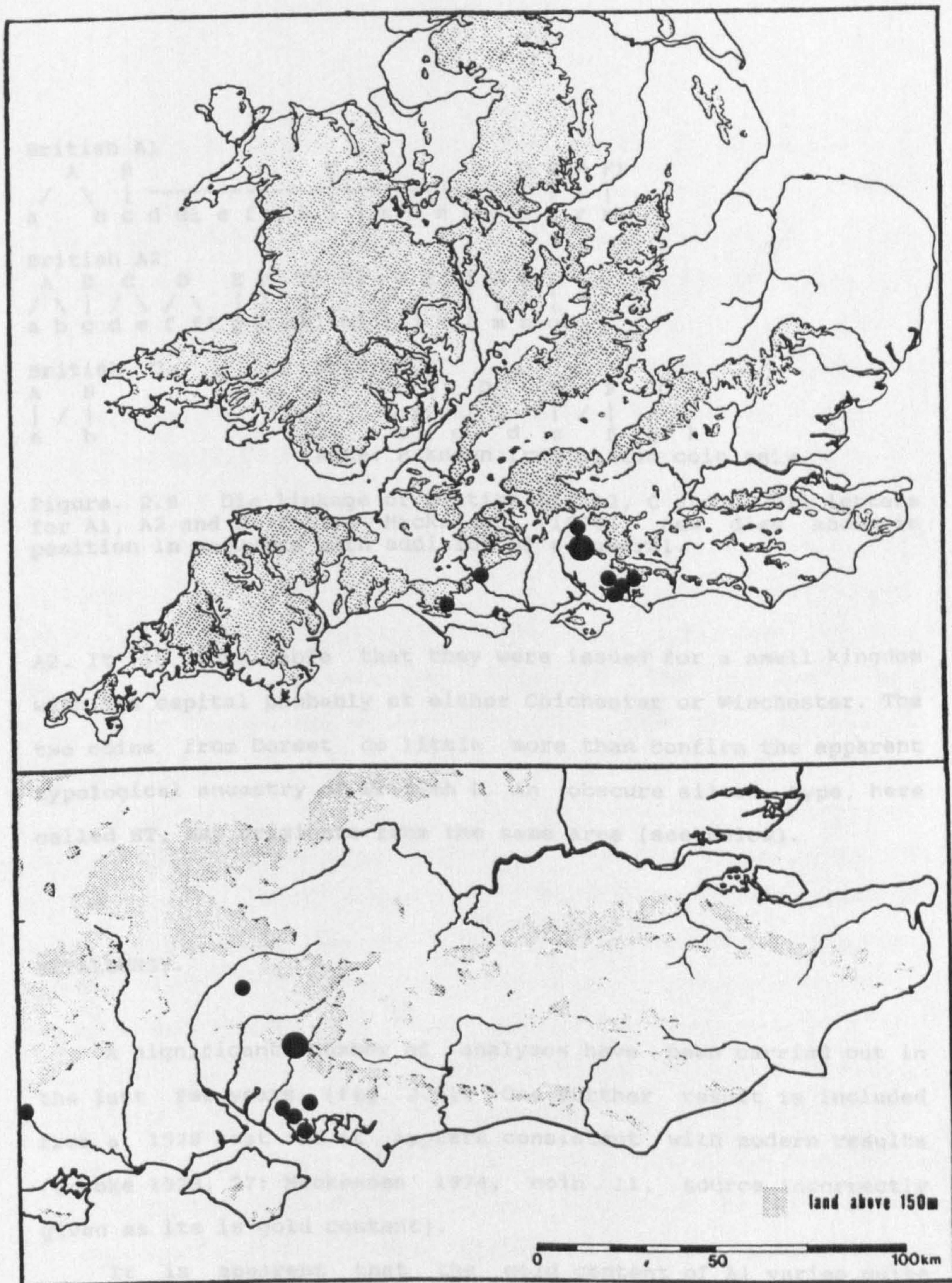
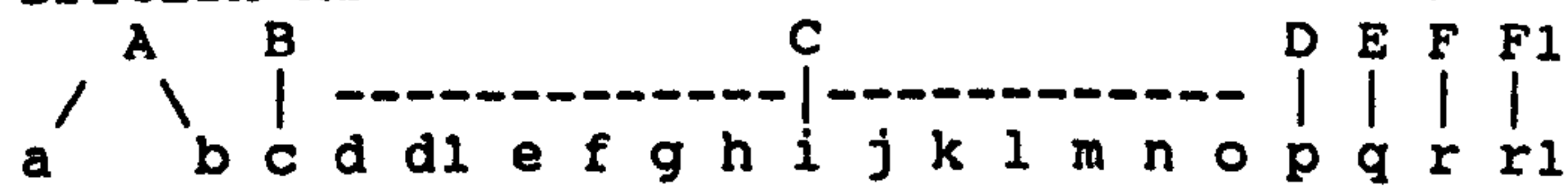
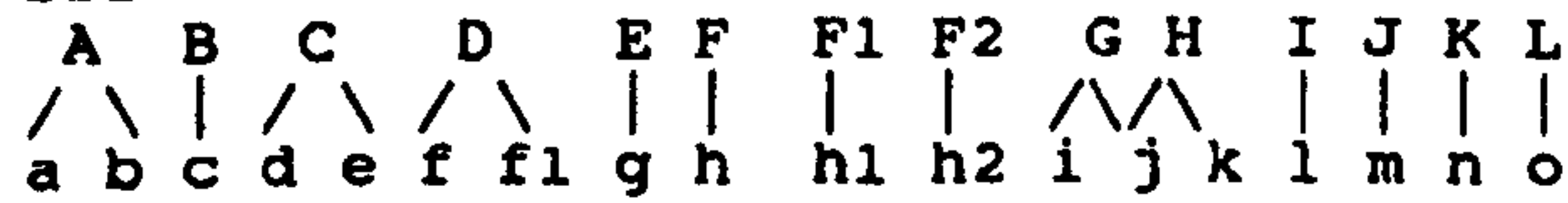


Figure 2.6: The distribution of British D.

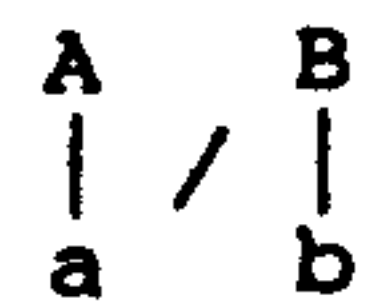
British A1



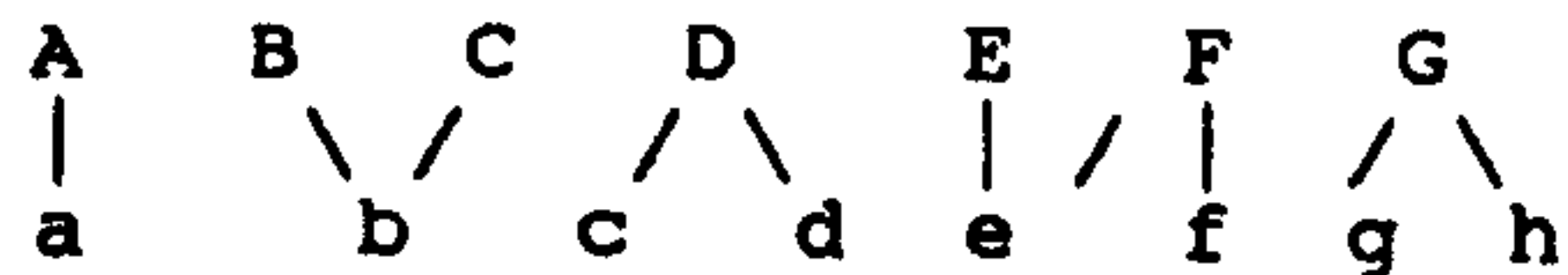
British A2



British C



British D



Note: B known from plated coin only

Figure. 2.8 Die linkage of British A1, A2, C and D. Die letters for A1, A2 and C follow Mackensen (1974), new dies shown in position in sequence with addition of a numeral.

A2. It is conceivable that they were issued for a small kingdom with its capital probably at either Chichester or Winchester. The two coins from Dorset do little more than confirm the apparent typological ancestry of British D. An obscure silver type, here called HT, may originate from the same area (see below).

METALLURGY.

A significant number of analyses have been carried out in the last few years (fig. 2.9). One further result is included from a 1928 test as it appears consistent with modern results (Brooke 1928, 27; Mackensen 1974, coin 11, source incorrectly given as its is gold content).

It is apparent that the gold content of A1 varies quite

significantly from 70.7% to as little as 50.9%. It is interesting to observe that the deficiency is not made up by copper or silver alone, but instead by similar proportions of each. When the coins are arranged in die order there is some suggestion that the earliest coins are more noble; the two least noble coins appear side by side, possibly reflecting a baser issue or alloy batch.

The results for A2 show that the gold content is about 15% lower, the deficiency being proportionally made up by about 8% silver and 7% copper. The four coins tested of this type have a far narrower range than A1, although the coin from the typologically late dies Jm is slightly more base than the earlier coins (it is observed below that these later coins are lighter). As an aside it is interesting to observe that only one plated specimen of A1 is known while three are known for A2 plus a hybrid of A1/A2 (fig. 2.4).

While British A1 and A2 span a comparatively wide range of composition, they all fall within the limits of the Gallo-Belgic series (Cowell, Oddy, Burnett 1987, 7). They are most similar to C and E, from which they are likely to have been made. The most noble British A1 compare with Gallo-Belgic C (Cowell 1992, 219). The typological derivation of British A1 from Gallo-Belgic C and their association in hoards (fig. 1.1) make them the most likely metal source. The more base A2 correspond closely to Gallo-Belgic E, however, as Cowell and Burnett (1988) observe, the Whitchurch hoard suggests that British B and therefore A2 predate the appearance of Gallo-Belgic E in Britain. Cowell proposes that A2

was derived from Gallo-Belgic C, being debased in the same manner as Gallo-Belgic issues, namely by the addition of fixed quantities of silver and copper.

In an attempt to explain the wide range of gold composition of British A, Cowell et al (1987, 8) suggested that they were either minted over a long period of time or that they were the result of indiscriminate re-use of Gallo-Belgic coins with little regard to their fineness. Both explanations may partly be true. British A1 and A2 may be separated by a period of time, since they have not yet been found hoarded together and A2 has not been found with any of the types of coin hoarded with A1. Not only is the alloy of A2 more base than A1, it is also more regular. The only direct link between the two groups, beyond typology, is the hybrid A1/A2 plated core found near Lowestoft.

Hoard evidence goes some way to supporting indiscriminate use of Gallo-Belgic gold in the production of A1. At Westerham A1 were found with Gallo-Belgic A and C, indicating that the nobler earlier coin was still in the circulation pool. The Ringwood hoard (Burnett and Cowell 1988, 2) shows that other far more base gold coins entered Britain during the currency of A1. There is less to suggest that A1 were produced over a long period of time as there little indication of debasement when the analyses are arranged in die order. The 3 major typological groupings of A1 reverse dies could be taken to indicate a relatively long period of issue. The reduction of weight of A2 over time (fig. 2.11) might also suggest a relatively long period of issue. The lack of

apparent rust or corrosion to dies and their small number might suggest production over years rather than decades.

The results for British C indicate that it was produced to a startlingly uniform standard, with the exception of one coin. This coin is struck from genuine dies or dies derived from a genuine coin (although not by modern forgery as detail is depicted that is not seen on other recorded coins). The coin has a long pedigree passing from the Palmer collection to Lockett to Mack and now Van Arsdell (Van Arsell 1993; corrected by Bean 1993). The weight of 4.07g is very low for this type, and Mackensen has suggested (1974, 57) that the coin might be plated. This would explain the odd alloy of the coin if it is plating that is being tested²⁵, although it might be noted that the copper content is correct. The impression from the dies is somewhat soft and in places disturbed, this would accord to a pair of dies hubbed from a real coin then lightly retouched.

British C appears to be produced from A2 (B is too silver rich to have been a source, cf Cowell 1992, fig. 2), debased using fixed quantities of silver (about 11%) and copper (about 11%). The alloy thus follows the Gallo-Belgic trend line (Cowell 1992, 220).

The tests indicate that British D is struck from a copper rich alloy containing little silver. The relatively high level of tin in the alloy is distinctive. The type is typologically related to British B and Cowell (1992, 220) suggests that it is from this type that the alloy is derived by the simple addition

| Type | Dies | Au | Ag | Cu | Sn | Source |
|--------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-----------------|
| A1 | Ab | 66.4 | 25.6 | 8.0 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A1 | Cd | 70.7 | 22.2 | 7.1 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A1 | Ce | 64.9 | 26.3 | 8.8 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A1 | Ce | 58.28 | 30.71 | 10.91 | | Northover 1992 |
| A1 | Ce | 59.51 | 28.22 | 12.27 | | Brooke 1928, 27 |
| A1 | Cf | 62.63 | 25.79 | 10.99 | | Northover 1992 |
| A1 | Cg | 61.7 | 28.8 | 9.5 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A1 | Cg | 66.8 | 24.5 | 8.7 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A1 | Cl | 53.17 | 32.47 | 13.5 | | Northover 1992 |
| A1 | Dp | 50.9 | 38.1 | 11.0 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A1 | Fr | 66.7 | 26.6 | 6.7 | | Cowell 1992 |
| | | | | | | |
| A2 | Aa | 46.39 | 35.35 | 18.13 | | Northover 1992 |
| A2 | Cd | 47.9 | 35.8 | 16.3 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A2 | Df | 50.6 | 33.7 | 15.8 | | Cowell 1992 |
| A2 | Jm | 43.2 | 41.4 | 15.4 | | Cowell 1992 |
| | | | | | | |
| C | Aa | 29.8 | 48.6 | 21.6 | | Cowell 1992 |
| C | Aa | 29.6 | 47.9 | 22.6 | | Cowell 1992 |
| C | Aa | 27.0 | 48.0 | 25.0 | | Cowell 1992 |
| C | Ab | 29.7 | 45.0 | 25.4 | | Cowell 1992 |
| C | Ab | 29.7 | 48.0 | 22.4 | | Cowell 1992 |
| C | Ab | 26.8 | 45.8 | 27.5 | | Cowell 1992 |
| C | Ab | 63.56 | 10.86 | 25.55 | | Northover 1992 |
| C | Bb | 30.0 | 47.6 | 22.1 | | Cowell 1992 |
| | | | | | | |
| D | Aa | 29.6 | 8.5 | 56.9 | 5.0 | Cowell 1992 |
| D | ?? | 26.98 | 14.77 | 54.98 | 2.99 | Northover 1992 |
| D | ?? | 25.71 | 16.19 | 54.35 | 3.53 | Northover 1992 |
| | | | | | | |
| Mean compositions: | | | | | | |
| A1 | | 61.97 | 28.28 | 9.77 | | |
| A2 | | 47.02 | 36.49 | 16.41 | | |
| C | | 28.94 | 47.27 | 23.73 | | |
| D | | 27.43 | 13.15 | 55.41 | 3.84 | |

Figure 2.9: The metallurgy of British A1, A2, C and D.

of copper or bronze (which would account for the tin content). Analyses of the new 'Chute-Cheriton' type (VA 1210) (Cowell 1992, 220) confirm its intermediate position as some are close to British B while other approach the alloy of British D.

British A1 stands at the head of the British series, no other tested series being this noble. British A2 compares to several types, particularly the undoubtedly contemporary British H and Ic (Cowell 1992, 220). British Qa and La both compare to A2 and baser examples of A1, and Cowell (1992, 220) suggests A2 may have been the direct source for La 26. British C lacks direct parallel, although the alloys used for some British G and Jb staters compare (Cowell 1992, 211). This surely underlines the small localised nature of British C.

The alloy employed for British D is almost without parallel, comparing only to the most base examples of British K and the inscribed Corieltauavian series. The base alloy of British D, allied to their light weight, may explain why this type has such a restricted geographical distribution.

METROLOGY

It is clear that A1 is heavier than A2, and that C closely matches the weight distribution of A2 (fig. 2.12). British D is distinctly lighter than A1, A2 and C (fig. 2.12). The weight of A1 staters varies little when arranged in die order (Mackensen, 1974, 51-53). When the weights of A2 are arranged in die order however, the coins appear to become progressively lighter (fig. 2.11).

As an exercise, it was calculated how many staters of the mean weight for each type could be made from a Celtic pound²⁷.

The results are shown below:

| Type | Mean wt | Number of mean wt coins to Celtic pound |
|------|---------|--|
| A1 | 6.36g | 48.57 |
| A2 | 6.123g | 50.48 |
| C | 6.181g | 50.008 |
| D | 5.106g | 60.539 |

This naturally disguises the variance in A2. If we take the earliest A2 as having a crude mean of c6.38g, then 48.43 coins (comparable to A1) were initially produced to the celtic pound, the latest coins with a crude mean of c5.7g would have produced about 54 coins per pound. This reduction in weight while the alloy remained constant suggests that pressure which elsewhere led to debasement led here to a reduction in weight.

Within Britain the weight of A1 compares with that of the more base British F (Cowell 1992). The nearest parallels exist, however, with Gallo-Belgic C (fig. 2.12).

British A2 and C are of similar weight to British G (Cowell 1992), which have a mean weight of 6.186g₂₈. Interestingly the alloy of British C is similar to that of British G (Cowell 1992), and there is a typological similarity (p. 86). British Ic/d is also of broadly similar weight with a mean weight of 6.025g₂₉.

British D compares with a number of issues. Interestingly each is also a small and localised type. British Ma2 and Mb have mean weights of 4.88g and 4.38g, and both are from unusually base alloys (fig. 3.23). The light weight also compares with the uninscribed Kentish stater VA 150-1. There are no metallurgical

analyses available for this type, although visually it does not appear to be as copper rich as British D.

| Weight (g) | Number of coins |
|------------|-----------------|
| 5.49-5.4 | |
| 5.39-5.3 | II |
| 5.29-5.2 | I |
| 5.19-5.1 | III |
| 5.09-5.0 | IIII |
| 4.99-4.9 | III |
| 4.89-4.8 | |

Mean weight: 5.10g

Figure 2.10 : The metrology of British D

DATING

It is easy to agree with Mackensen (1974, 29) that a relative chronology for British A,C and D can be deduced. With recent finds and metallurgical analyses it may be possible to refine the relative positions of these types and propose approximate dates of issue.

It has long been recognised that British A is descended from Gallo-Belgic C (e.g. Allen 1960, 105). The type cannot therefore predate the inception of Gallo-Belgic C. Allen (treating A1 and A2 together) working from the presence of British B in the Le Catillon hoard, suggested a date of c.90-70 BC for British A (1960, 107). More recently the trend has been to revise the dating downwards in acceptance of Scheers' (1972) dating of Gallo-Belgic E to the Gallic war. British A was thus dated by Kent (1978) to c.60 BC, a similar date was proposed by Nash

(1987, 123) while Van Arsdell (1989, 112) dated them to 75-60 BC. These attributions treat A1 and A2 together. However, as we have seen above, these types are in many respects distinct, and in the following examination they will be treated separately.

British A1 is clearly directly copied from Gallo-Belgic C, and the earliest A1 dies (dies A, a, b) are very close to the Gaulish type (fig. 2.1). Metallurgically we have seen that the type is probably derived from Gallo-Belgic C and possibly Gallo-Belgic E. The metrology of A1 helps to pinpoint its probable inception. It is clear from figure 2.12 that A1 is lighter than Gallo-Belgic C classes I and II and slightly lighter than class III, though it is heavier than classes IV and V. It seems unlikely that an imitative series should be heavier than its prototype, so we may suggest that A1 probably post-dates class II. This accords with the fact that only classes III-V are usually found in Britain (Scheers 1977, 278-280; Kent, 1981, 40)30. The slightly lighter weight and variously debased alloys apparent in A1 would suggest that classes III, IV and V (and possibly heavier, earlier classes and other types) were direct sources for A1. The reversal of the direction of the horse and wreath on A1 may have been intended to signal its differences with Gallo-Belgic C.

The dating of Gallo-Belgic C has been examined above and it appears that its inception may be dated to c.100/90 BC. The

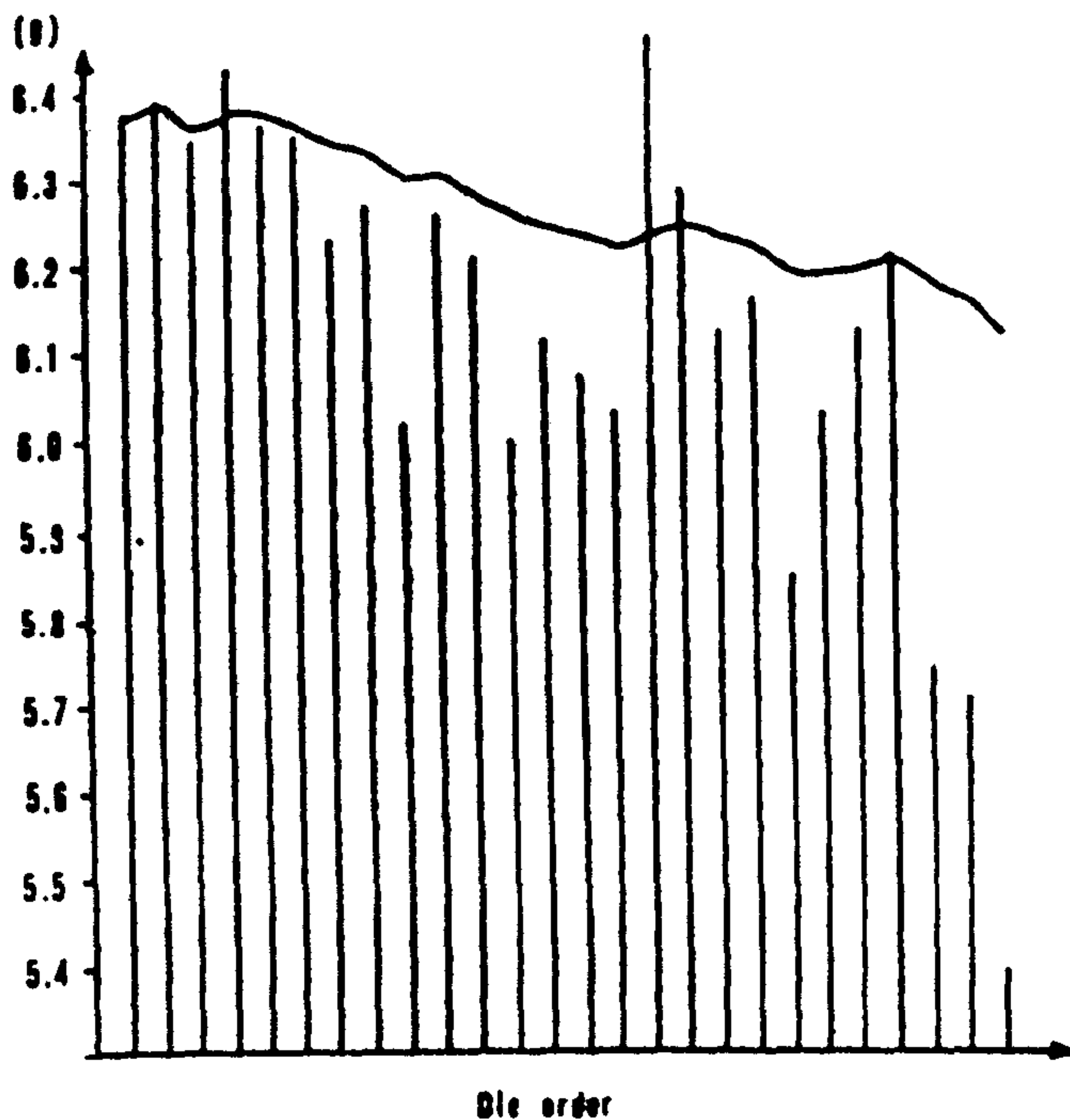


Figure 2.11: The metrology of British A2 plotted by die order.

general scarcity of class I and II staters appears to be matched by their proportionally small die population (Scheers 1977, 272-273). This could suggest a small and brief issue, in which case a date of c.90/80 BC might be put forward for class III. By implication one might therefore date British A1 to c.80/70 BC, although a date deduced thus is little more than a reasoned guess.

| Weight (g) | Gallo-Belgic C | | | | | British | | |
|------------|----------------|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------|------|
| | I | II | III | IV | V | A1 | A2 | C |
| 7.49-7.4 | I | | | | | | | |
| 7.39-7.3 | | | | | | | | |
| 7.29-7.2 | IIII | | | | | | | |
| 7.19-7.1 | II | | | | | | | |
| 7.09-7.0 | | IIII | | | | | | |
| 6.99-6.9 | | II | | | | | | |
| 6.89-6.8 | | OI | I | | | | | |
| 6.79-6.7 | | II | | | | | | |
| 6.69-6.6 | | I | OIIII | | I | IIII | | |
| 6.59-6.5 | | I | OOO | I | | III | | |
| 6.49-6.4 | | | OI | OI | OIII | OIIII | II | |
| 6.39-6.3 | | I | IIII | OOOII | OIIII | OIIII | O | II |
| 6.29-6.2 | | | I | O | O | O | OII | III |
| 6.19-6.1 | | | I | I | | II | IIII | IIII |
| 6.09-6.0 | | I | I | | | | O | I |
| 5.99-5.9 | | | | | | I | | |
| 5.89-5.8 | | | | | | | I | |
| 5.79-5.7 | | | | | | | II | |
| 5.69-5.6 | | | | | | | | |
| 5.59-5.5 | | | | | | I | | |
| 5.49-5.4 | | | | | | | I | |

Figure 2.12 : Weights of Gallo-Belgic C (after Scheers, 1977, fig. 41) and British A1, A2 and C. Figure excludes plated specimens and suspected modern forgeries. British C from Blandford and Weston-under-Penyard are excluded as both are probably plated.

British A2 is typologically descended from A1 and the reverse is closest to A1 dies c-o, but apparently predates dies p-r1. Theoretically there is no reason why A2 should not be at least partly contemporary to A1. It has however been demonstrated above that the two types are different in many ways, and there are several difficulties to overcome if A1 and A2 are to be seen as closely successive or in part contemporary. Foremost amongst these is the fact that A1 and A2 have never been found hoarded together. While A2 is admittedly more base, A1 is hoarded with other types which are more base (for example A1 is found with

British F and G in the Clacton hoard and with Biaocassian staters in the Ringwood hoard). The absence of A2 in the Clacton and Mark's Tey hoards may however be excused, as A2 does not appear to have travelled north of the Thames. British A2 is only known from one hoard, Corfe Common (Dorset)³¹, which contained 30 Durotrigian staters (VA 1235) and 4 British O quarter staters (VA 1242). This A2 stater is little worn (though struck from clashed dies), as are the Durotrigian coins which are descended via British B from this type. British B therefore holds the key to dating A2.

The Ironshill (Hants) hoard (Cowell, Oddy and Cowell 1987) hoard contained 19 worn British B staters, suggesting that this issue had circulated for some time without a replacement coinage. Further accuracy comes from the Whitchurch hoard (Burnett and Cowell 1988) which contained 34 fresh Gallo-Belgic E staters and 108 significantly worn British B staters (Burnett and Cowell 1988, 8). This implies that British B significantly predates Gallo-Belgic E, and by implication so does A2 from which B is copied (although B could be partly contemporary to A2). A broad date range of c.80/70 BC³² thus seems likely for A2. As A2 copies the middle group of A1 reverses (dies c-o), not Gallo-Belgic C, it seems likely that A1 must predate A2 by a period sufficient for A1 to become sufficiently established to be used as a model. It may predate the third group of A1 reverses (dies p-r1) as this type is not used as the model.

British C is, as examined above, a typological off-shoot of

A2, although it is produced from a rather different alloy. Metrologically it lies in the middle of the distribution of A2 (fig. 2.10). As we have seen the weight of A2 declines over time, so on metrological grounds the inception of C appears to date to the middle of A2.

The only direct evidence for the dating of British D comes from the Compton Down deposit which included a QCD1-10 quarter stater. The excavator of this site is reluctant to see this coin and the two British D staters from the excavation as part of a hoard (Alec Down pers. comm.). However the coins allegedly retrieved from the adjoining field were also somewhat dispersed and one is inclined to believe these coins did form a scattered hoard. The staters are very little worn and the quarter stater is only a little worn. The quarter stater can be loosely dated to c.50/30 BC implying the staters might be a little later. British D is not known hoarded with any other types.

Typologically British D is descended from British B via a newly identified transitional type (VA 1210). Metallurgically this type bridges the gap between British B and D as some have similar compositions to British B while others approach that of British D (Cowell 1992, 220). Metrologically however a gap is apparent, the transitional type weigh an average of c.6.2g, similar to British B, while British D weigh an average of 5.1g. Stylistically the type is also somewhat different to British D. The transitional type appears to be from a small series, only 5 obverse dies have been so far been identified (Burnett pers.

comm.). As neither British B, D nor the transitional type have yet been found together, it is hard to say relatively how much later British D is to B. Van Arsdell's (1989a) date of 57-55 BC certainly introduces an erroneous accuracy. The Cheriton hoard which produced the transitional type staters also produced what might be termed proto-British O quarter staters. Publication of research on this series (Mays forthcoming) may further assist in the dating of British D.

The Cheriton hoard also contained a British Q1-9 stater and a date of c.50-30 BC for British D appears maintained. Further confirmation comes indirectly from the Bowerchalke hoard (Wilts) which contained 39 British B and four Qb staters. Both types were very little circulated. As British B provides the proto-type for D the hoard probably pre-dates its inception. British Qb may be dated to c.60-40 BC (below) which suggests that British D dates to the later part of this range. Therefore a loose date of c.50-30 BC may be suggested for British D.

THE LATER UNINSCRIBED COINAGE.

The earliest Gallo-Belgic C inspired gold staters are followed by two major traditions of uninscribed staters in the south Thames region. The largest group, British Q, copy a Continental type, while the British Lz3 and M follow a north Thames tradition. A large group of quarter staters, British Qc, appear to be broadly contemporary with British Q, the derivative classes of the main types exhibiting significant variety. In addition to the gold there is a large and extremely varied group of uninscribed silver coins. Recently a group of bronze coins has been identified in the south Thames area (Burnett 1992b).

The 'British Q' stater group

The major gold series that appeared south of the Thames after British A2 was the group of staters classified by Allen (1960) as British Q. These copy Gallo-Belgic F staters in depicting a horse with triple tail on the reverse. Apart from simple classification, British Q has received limited attention. Allen divided them into two groups, the biface British Qa and the uniface British Qb. While this classification has become established, it disguises an intermediate class and a number of distinct subgroups. The classification system used here retains the 'Q' nomenclature, followed by the major class (of which there is presently only one) followed by type number.

The earliest types of British Q, Q1-1, Q1-1a are closest to the prototype Gallic stater, although they have lost the triangular group of motifs which dominate the upper portion of the obverse design of Gallo-Belgic F. The horses which appear on the reverses of these early coins have a grace and animation that is lost in later, more abstract varieties. The metrology of Q1-1/1a compares to the main types, Q1-2, Q1-3, although there are far fewer extant specimens. The later biface types, Q1-2, Q1-3 and the minor variant type Q1-3a, are slightly further removed from the prototype and of more abstract style.

It appears that at the end of the biface series the obverse die was no longer replaced when worn, but was used until it became blank. This obverse die and the reverse dies it is paired with form the bridge between the biface and uniface British Q staters. This important intermediate type cannot be accommodated in Allen's scheme, but is here referred to as Q1-4 33. Minor changes to the reverse ornamentation occur during this type

There follow the uniface British Q staters of which there are four varieties. The reverse of the main type, Q1-5, is that of the intermediate type Q1-4, but the obverse is now completely without trace of design. These blank obverse dies may well include that used for the intermediate type, however as the obverses are now completely blank, individual dies cannot be discerned. The uniface type Q1-6 introduces a line over the zig-zag line below the horse, possibly a reflection of the exergual line on Gallo-Belgic E. This type may also have influenced the

uniface nature of Q1-4 - 1-8 (p.199). A re-arrangement of the reverse type has occurred on Q1-7, the more sinuous style suggests that it is engraved by a different hand and that it may not belong to the main series. The final type of uniface stater, Q1-8, is of far heavier style and has a distinctive metallurgy and metrology. The distribution shows this to be a type from the area of the Dobunni (fig. 3.1); it is included here for the sake of completeness, and to make its existence clear.

Metallurgically, metrologically and typologically Q1-1 - 1-7 form a fairly coherent group. However there are other biface stater types, Q1-9 - 1-11, which differ on all three counts, and appear to be subsidiary or derivative types. The metallurgy, metrology and hoarding of these types, discussed below, suggest that they were not issues of the mint that produced Q1-1 - Q1-6. They are lighter and more base than Q1-1 - 1-7 although they have a similar geographical distribution (below). The styles of Q1-9 - Q1-11 are closely related to the main series, although they tend to have an increasing number of pellets, rings and other devices in their fields.

The stater Q1-12 is of different style, the obverse is rigid in appearance and the horse on the reverse is not dependant on those which appear on the main Q series. The obverse of Q1-13 clearly follows the model of British Q; the reverse also follows the same scheme although the horse and certain devices in the field appear to show the influence of British L.

It is clear that the main series of British Q (Q1-1 - Q1-6)

develops from a biface into a uniface coinage. It is then surprising that the next major group of staters, inscribed with the name 'COMMIOS', are biface. The obverse has several features that show a departure from British Q (fig. 4.1). Adaptation of the obverse design is a feature of the derivative biface staters Q1-9 - Q1-13, and these may form the typological bridge between the biface British Q staters and the Commios staters.

GOLD COINS NOT RELATED TO BRITISH Q.

There are two stater and one quarter stater type from the south Thames area which copy a north Thames group. These types, Allen's (1960) British Ma, Lz3 and Ly3, are based on British L, the stater group which predominated north of the Thames in the Home Counties. Due to their typological similarity to British L the staters, Ma (here referred to as Ma1) and Lz3, have traditionally been treated as north Thames types (Mack 1976; Haselgrove 1987, 253; Van Arsdell 1989). When their distributions are plotted (fig. 3.3, 3.4) it is clear that both stater types and the quarter stater, Ly3, belong in the study area. British Mb is included in this section to make it clear that it is a separate series from Ma1.

Lz3 is apparently accompanied by the quarter stater Ly3. Both have faint banding on their obverses and the same horse on their reverse; with its peculiar hammer head, proportions, cart

horse legs and tail with two curves. Although few are provenanced they appear to have the same distribution along the Weald (fig. 3.4). There are further metrological reasons for associating the two (p. 164). British Ma1 appears to lack a quarter stater type, Allen (1961, 195) suggested that Lx4 might fill this position, but it is now clear that this is a north Thames type.

Both Ma1 and Lz3 are lighter and more base than British L and Q1-1 - Q1-7, and die study (fig. 3.28) suggests that they were small series. These characteristics compare to other small derivative coinages such as British D. Van Arsdell (1989, 343) suggested that Ma1 was either produced for external trade (by his 'Trinovantes') or by a separate tribe. The first idea seems unlikely, as Ma1 are today found in the area dominated by British Q. Such a light weight series for external trade also appears unlikely as British Q1-1 - 1-7 are practically the same weight as British L (p. 156). Stylistically the hands responsible for Ma and Lz3 are hard to discern in British L. Like Q1-9 - Q1-2 Ma1 also has many rings and pellets in the field. It is also apparent that these derivative types of British Q share a similar metallurgy and metrology with Ma1 and Lz3 (below). It seems likely that Ma1 and Lz3 were produced by 'tribes' or pagi other than those responsible for British L or Q. A further group of Ma, Ma2, is apparent from its metallurgy and metrology; its more abstract style suggesting that it may be a bridge between Ma and Mb. While Ma1 are struck on near flat flans, those of Ma2 are slightly dished; Mb are struck on deeply dished flans.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE 'Qc' QUARTER STATERS

Many types of quarter stater are known from the study area and are conventionally classified as British Qc following Allen (1960); nearly all have a triple-tailed horse on the reverse and some form of the abstract Apollo wreath obverse. When handling the coins it becomes clear that some types are struck on thin, broad, slightly dished flans, while others are on short, thick, dumpy flans. This difference was observed by Evans (1864, 1890) and by Haselgrove (1987, table A2:3). These differences are further underlined by metallurgy and metrology. Coins of similar but peculiar type are encountered with distributions concentrated north of the Thames. Despite the care taken by Allen to make these types explicit (1960, for example Lx4) some have been attributed recently to the Atrebates (Van Arsdell 1989, nos 243, 244). These north Thames types are listed in appendix 5.

The differences between the thin and dumpy flan types are significant. As the quarter staters are quite numerous, a comprehensible system of classification is necessary. As Allen's term Qc is now widely accepted it is retained here. Thin flan quarter staters will be prefixed QcT, and those on dumpy flans QcD.

The most numerous Qc quarter staters are those struck on broad thin flans with the Apollo wreath pattern on the obverse, and a horse, usually right, amid numerous devices in the field on the reverse. They may have been derived from the Gallo-Belgic F

quarter stater (fig. 3.34), and are apparently contemporary with the main British Q stater series. Unlike the horses shown on the staters, those portrayed on the quarter staters are of quite naturalistic style. The triple tail is retained and a peculiar device resembling a pellet-in-ring-ended lance is shown protruding from the horse's chest. The obverse is a similar though simplified version of that on the biface staters. There is one less crescent in front of the upper portion of the wreath, and the wreath above the bisecting line points upwards, that below, downward. Two main typological groups may be seen. On one the horse lacks a mane, has large feet similar to those on the staters and is of rather abstract appearance; on the other, a more elegant horse is shown with naturalistic feet and a mane which curls elegantly upwards at the base of the horse neck. There are no die links known between the two groups. The main types of both groups apparently share the use of certain major devices above and below the horse which might indicate the two series ran in parallel. Within both groups there are a bewildering number of sub-varieties defined by differing combinations of devices in both the obverse and reverse fields. Some of these varieties are at present confined to single dies, others are not. In the group depicting a horse without mane they can be used to establish a typological ordering. However in the group depicting a horse with a mane, these variations reach near epidemic proportions and cannot apparently be arranged in a logical order 34. As these variations do not appear to relate to

distribution, metrology or metallurgy (below), one supposes that if they have meaning, it is either some form of mint control marking or related to something such as calender.

The first group we shall consider are those quarter staters which show the horse without a mane, QcT1. A further diagnostic feature of this group is that the right hand crescent of the line which bisects the wreath on the obverse always contains a pellet-in-ring. The first type, QcT1-1, depicts horse right with wheel below and a pellet in ring surrounded by radiating petals above. On varieties QcT1-1a - 1d, a ring-in-pellet is shown behind the horse's head and at the base of its neck. On varieties QcT1-1a-1c four pairs of pellet-in-ring devices are shown in the field, these are replaced on QcT1-1d by three pellet-ended crescents. The obverses of QcT1-1 - 1-3 depict a pellet-in-ring before the curl linking the two crescents in obvious reflection of the main biface stater type, Q1-3. There are variations in the obverses of QcT1-1, QcT1-1b has pellet-in-ring devices between the upper fronds, QcT1-1c has a line of pellets in front of the box in the lower right hand corner. QcT1-1d (which has the crescents on the reverse) has a zig-zag line between two of the upper fronds. Similar ornamentation appears on the obverse of stater Q1-3a and the two types may be linked. QcT1-1e appears to be from dies of a far heavier style, and the obverse design is confused. As the only known coin from these dies comes from Nr Caistor, Lincolnshire, it is possible that it is a copy or variant produced in different region 35.

There are also five sub-varieties of QcT1-2. This type is similar to the last, although the wheel below the horse has been replaced by a cog with a pellet-in-ring device below. QcT1-2a and 2b both retain the pellet-in-ring behind the head and at the base of the neck from the previous type. There is only one such device behind the head on QcT1-2c and none on QcT1-2d and 2e. On QcT1-2a the outer portion of the reverse field contains pellet-in-ring devices, but in the remaining types this device, in this position, only appears in front of the head and below the cog, small arcs taking their place. The obverse of QcT1-2 apparently lacks the third upper frond, on QcT1-2d and 2e the diagonal lines joining the main lines in the lower right hand box have been abandoned in favour of simple pellets. There is only one obverse variant in QcT1-2, QcT1-2d, on which pellet-in-ring devices are shown in the upper fronds (as they were on QcT1-1b).

There are two further types which belong to this group. The first, QcT1-3, depicts a horse right with a wheel above and below. The horse is similar to those on the preceding types, but the neck is outlined not only on the throat but also down the back, the nose is also shorter and more beak-like. The reverse compares most closely to QcT1-1a - 1c in the pellet below the bottom wheel and use of pairs of ring-in-pellet devices around the edge of the field. The major departure from the two preceding types is found on the obverse, where a wheel is shown in place of the box in the lower right hand corner. The final type, QcT1-4, is clearly from a different hand and depicts a horse of peculiar

style prancing left (this as we shall see is a feature of the QcT2 group).

The second group, QcTM, depict finer horses with manes on the reverse. The main type, QcTM1-1, contains 14 sub-varieties. Their ordering is not assisted by die links as die links appear to be confined within varieties. The large pellet with radiating petals above the horse and the cog wheel below, follow the same scheme as QcT1-2. Certain groupings can be attempted. The first group, QcTM1-1a - QcTM1-1g, all use pellet-in-ring devices around the edge of the reverse field. Some of these types depict a zig-zag line (like that on the staters) between the horses hooves, others a pellet-in-ring or a zig-zag line incorporating a ring. The obverse type also varies, on some a pellet-in-ring is shown above the right hand crescent of the line which bisects the wreath (as on QcT1), on others it is a thin crescent. The device before the pair of crescents also varies, on some (as on QcT1), it is a pellet-in-ring, on others it is a zig-zag line. The variety QcTM1-1h is reverse type linked to the last group, but the obverse dies, while of a fine style, are now somewhat simplified.

QcTM1-1i has crescents in place of the pellet-in-ring motifs around the outer part of the field. On varieties QcTM1-1j and 1k pellet ended arcs are shown in this position, while on QcTM1-1l-QcTM1-1n cog-wheels, pellets-in-rings and pellets are used to fill the outer field. Varieties QcTM1-1j - QcTM1-1n all have a zig-zag line in front of the pair of crescents on the obverse;

the device above the right hand crescent of the bisecting line varies.

QcTM1-2 has only two paired obverse and reverse varieties. The horse depicted on the reverse has a pellet-in-ring surrounded by radiating petals above and a wheel below (which compares to QcT1-1). On the first variety, QcTM1-2a, the horse has a line of sub-rectangular pellets between its feet and the lance like object protruding from its chest. On QcTM1-2b the lance-like device is lost and a ring is shown between the feet; a combination of crescent and pellet-in-ring ornaments appear to fill the outer field. The obverse of both varieties have a crescent and ring above the end of the line that bisects the wreath. On the first variety a pellet is shown before the pair of crescents, on the second a zig-zag line, this device is repeated below the box.

The style of the horse on the reverse of QcTM1-3 is slightly different to that on the two preceding types, the devices above and below the horse are also something of a departure. The device above the horse appears to be a stylised bird of slender form, that below, a serpent above a ring. Only one of the four specimens of this type is provenanced, to Ware in Hertfordshire. The style of the engraving is however far closer to the South Thames types described here (cf Appendix 5) and a number of South Thames types have been encountered in this region. For the present this type is provisionally classified, on stylistic grounds, as a South Thames type.

There are two types of quarter stater in the same general style as the main group described above, but which deviate from the standard design type. The first of these, QCT2-1, depicts two spoked wheels on the obverse between parallel lines of short diagonal lines and pellets, the remains of the wreath pattern; either side of these parallel lines are short fronds. The horse on the reverse is, like the irregular QCT1-4, depicted left. The horse and devices in the field differ from those of the main group and a small perching bird is shown below the horse. The second type, QCT2-2, also depicts the horse left; the pellet-in-ring-ended lance and field devices comparing to the main QCT1 group, and to QCT1-4. The obverse shows four fantastic bird heads with long necks, joined at the centre by a pellet-in-ring. Each bird has a different crest and the one composed of parallel lines containing pellets may be the last trace of the lower right hand box shown on earlier Q obverses.

A further group of quarter staters, apparently centred on Hampshire (fig. 3.6), appear to be derived or based on the QCT1 group. The horses on the reverses are all of broadly the same peculiar natural form. If the coins do form a single series then a sequence of abstraction for the obverse is apparent. The obverse of the first type, QCT3-1, is clearly close to the QCT1 group as is the broad scheme of the reverse. The next type, QCT3-2, has a cruciform device on the obverse with fronds in each quadrant. The reverse of this type is of slightly different

style, the triple tail and the form of the mane compare to the QcTM1 group. The hooves and proportions of the horse, however, have more in common with the other QcT3 coins. The obverse of QcT3-3/a has moved further from QcT1, depicting eight flaming fronds about a central pellet-in-cog. The devices in the field on the reverse of QcT3-3/a compare to those in the QcT1 group, although stylistically the horse clearly belongs to the QcT3 group.

A further coin, QcT3-4, appears to belong to the QcT3 group, although it is engraved in a rather heavier style. The obverse is divided into quadrants by four slender triangles radiating from a central star. The reverse depicts a boldly prancing horse with a ladder mane, triple-tail and ring-and-pellet devices in the field. The only specimen of this type lacks a find spot. A silver type, QsD3-13, appears to be related to this quarter stater, one is provenanced to near Chirton in Wiltshire. This introduces the possibility that this quarter stater and the silver type originate in Wiltshire³⁶.

In addition to the thin flan types there are many quarter staters struck on thick, dumpy flans. The metrology of these coins is unusual (fig. 3.16, 3.17) and the term 'gold fraction' is more appropriate than 'quarter stater'. Unlike the thin flan group typologically early types are rare. Only some of the later types are at all numerous, and throughout there seems little intention to adhere to a single type; each variety departing step

by step from the prototype.

The first group of these dumpy flan fractions, QcD1, appears to be initiated by QcD1-1. The obverse appears a fairly faithful copy of the thin flan types QcT1-2 and QcTM1-1. The reverse of this type, while of a different style, also appears a fairly faithful copy of same types, except that the horse is reversed and like the obverse there have been some minor additions. The next type, QcD1-2, has clearly developed away from the thin flan prototype; the obverse has been simplified and the fronds rearranged to appear more symmetrical. By QcD1-3 the obverse is more symmetrical and a cruciform arrangement is more apparent. On the reverse the cog has been replaced by a pellet-in-ring. This symmetry of obverse is clearly apparent on QcD1-4 - QcD1-7, and the horses on the reverses of these types are now shown without the pellet-in-ring-ended lance device.

QcD1-8 appears copied from QcT1-3 although the obverse is inverted. In common with other dumpy flan gold fractions the horse is shown left, not right as on the thin flan quarter staters. A possible variant³⁷ of this type, QcD1-9, depicts the horse to the right on the reverse.

Two further dumpy flan quarter staters depict the horse right on the reverse. QcD1-10 has an obverse which is similar to QcD1-1, however the reverse depicts a horse of very different style. The style is more natural and the horse has a single tail, a ladder mane and a single large ear. The metrology and metallurgy of this type make it peculiar within the QcD1 group

(below).

QcD1-11 is only known from a single specimen. The horse is of unusual style and the four-spiked device above the head is peculiar to this type. The obverse is clearly based on the thin flan types (excluding QcT1-3). The flan on which the coin is struck is not quite as dumpy as most in this group, and future finds may show it to be a thin flan type.

A further group of dumpy flan gold fractions, QcD2, is stylistically different to those described above. The obverses of this group are clearly derived from the thin flan type or QcD1-1/2/3. The wreath, fronds and bisecting line are retained, but the crescent and box devices have been replaced by pellet-in-ring and cog ornaments. It is only details of the obverse that vary within the three types and one sub-type. In common with the QcD1-1 - 1-9 the horses on the reverses of QcD2 are shown to the left, not the right as on QcT1 group. The horse retains the pellet-in-ring-ended lance and triple tail on QcD2-1 and QcD2-1a, the pellets-in-rings and elaborate cog-wheel ornaments in the field having their precedents in QcT1. The pellet-in-ring ended lance is lost on QcD2-2 and QcD2-3, and on QcD2-3 the horse is shown to the right.

It has been argued that QcD2 constitutes a coinage of the Dobunni (Robinson 1977, 11) and some (Van Arsdell 1989) have rather unquestioningly accepted this. Robinson's argument was based on the typological similarity of the type in question to British Rb. However this observation is flawed, as the figure it

is based on (Robinson 1977, 11, fig. 2) is not an accurate image, the true design reconstruction lying somewhat further from British Rb (fig. 13.1; plates). The style and details such as the pellet-ended lance on the reverse are far closer to the Qc series than the Rb. The weight and colour of the type also appears to be correct for the dumpy flan Qc group. The main argument against a Dobunnic origin however, is the fact that the two provenanced specimens are from Selsey, a site which has produced a large number of the known QcD coins but no coins of the Dobunni. There seems little reason to attribute the type to the Dobunni.

A further group of dumpy flan gold fractions are apparently descended from QcT1, but the obverses in particular are further removed. Unlike QcD1-1 - QcD1-8 and QcD2, which form distinct stylistic groups, QcD3 is more of an umbrella group defined by types rather than style. The horses on the reverses face both left and right.

The first coin in this group, QcD3-1, is usually classified following Allen's (1960, pl. VII) tentative assertion that it was a type of Gallo-Belgic Da. The type is apparently unknown on the Continent, and the only known specimen was found on the shore east of Brighton in 1899. While the designs on the coin appear to be copied from Continental types (p.202), its similarity to a number of British silver coins from the study area suggests that it is British (below).

QcD3-2 and QcD3-3 may be from dies by the same hand, as the horses on the reverse are similar (although not identical) and

the ornament above the horse, possibly derived from QcT1-1, is shared. The obverse of QcD3-2 is similar to that of QcT3-2, while the obverse of QcD3-3 is apparently based on British O (fig. 3.34). The line with close parallel radiating lines at the edge of the flan on QcD3-2 compares to the large crescent of close parallel lines on the obverse of QcD3-3.

QcD3-4 follows a slightly different tradition in that it introduces foliage devices into the design. The obverse is dominated by a large wreath with central stem and various ornaments either side. The reverse depicts a horse right with a fern-like leaf above. QcD3-5 and QcD3-6 both continue the use of foliage motifs. The similarity of their obverses and the style of the horses on their reverse suggest that they are from the same hand. On both types the obverse is divided into quadrants by what appear to be fern leaves stemming from a central circular device. On the first type the quadrants are filled by uncertain slug like devices; on the second, what might crudely be described as large 'U's containing naively rendered Christmas trees. The obverse of a further type, QcD1-7 (known only from plated specimens³⁸) is divided into quadrants by parallel lines containing pellets which radiate from a central flower.

The remaining types of dumpy flan quarter stater all have simpler obverses dominated by a wreath and little else. The obverse of QcD3-9 (Allen 1960, Lz4) depicts a wreath with a central line of pellets and a crescent either side. The same obverse is apparently shared with QcD3-8³⁹, although the details

of the reverse field ornamentation and the horse itself are different. The sub-triangular pellets between the feet of the horse on this type compare to those in this position on QcTM1-2a. The horse is shown with a pellet-in-ring ended lance before its chest, suggesting that this type is closer to QcT1 and perhaps earlier than QcD3-9. On the obverse of QcD3-10 (Allen 1960, Lz5) the wreath has been reduced to two parallel lines of pellets containing three pellet-in-ring devices. The crescents of the two preceding types are replaced by groups of three small rings, a device which is repeated on the reverse. The reverse shows a horse left with a bird on its back; the pellets between the horses feet can be compared with QcD3-8. The final type in this group, QcD3-11, has only the faintest hint of an obverse design in the parallel indentations on the obverse which resemble those on Lz3, Ly3 and the uniface Kentish gold. The reverse shows a horse left apparently copied, though transposed, from QcTM1-2b.

There is a further group of quarter staters struck on dumpy flans which are of very different style. The obverse depicts a finely engraved head wearing an elaborate head-dress, on the reverse a well executed horse over a wheel with a small animal above is shown. Both Evans and Willett (1890, 454, 455; 1879) accepted the six specimens, all from Selsey, as British. Allen (1960, 171) was uncertain as to whether they were British or Gaulish, but as they appeared to stand apart from 'all other British coins' he tentatively classed them as 'Gallo-Belgic Xd'.

A Gaulish origin for the type has now, less cautiously, become accepted with a few noteworthy exceptions (e.g. Haselgrove 1987)⁴⁰. To date no coins of this type have been reported from the Continent. There are now increasing numbers of stylistic and design parallels within the British series (see below) and there seems little reason why the type should still be regarded as Gallo-Belgic. As the term 'Xd' retains the allusion to a continental origin, it is here replaced by QcD4-1.

There is reportedly a further type of gold fraction struck on a dumpy flan with head on obverse and horse on reverse, QcD4-2⁴¹. The type is very similar to a group of silver coins discussed below (QsD3-5). The obverse depicts a head of much cruder style than the last type, facing left, apparently wearing a head dress. The reverse depicts a horse to the right with a sun-in-ring above and a wheel below.

THE SILVER COINS

The large and complex silver coinage of the study area has received relatively little attention, and many of the types are unpublished. A number of recent discoveries from Hayling Island have been included in Haselgrove's (1987) classification. Van Arsdell (1989) publishes only ten types of uninscribed silver coins under the 'Atrebates' tribe⁴², a total of 61 types are classified here⁴³. The discovery of many new types in the last ten years has only served to confirm the complexity of the silver

issues.

Like the gold quarter staters, the silver coins can be classified into two groups, one struck on thin, slightly dished broad flans, the other on thick, dumpy, slightly dished flans. The silver coins are classified with the prefix 'Qs' 44. On the whole the thin flan silver, QsT, exhibit strong Gaulish influences while the dumpy flan coins appear to be more insular. It is the dumpy flan silver, QsD, that continues into the inscribed coinage and it therefore appears to be later. The thin silver types will be considered first.

In the initial stages of the thin flan series two groups, probably contemporary, may be discerned. The first, QsT1, has a head on one side and a horse on the other, the second, QsT2 has a pair of twinned animals on the obverse and a single horse on the reverse. The coins are further arranged by type and style, although as will become clear, fragmentation and discontinuity are persistent themes.

The first type of the QsT1 group, QsT1-1, depicts a head right with flaming hair, and a horse on the reverse with a boar below and head above. The type is of fine style and execution. QsT1-2 portrays the same types but differs in details. The head is of different style, and the powerful nose is akin to those on QcD4-1 quarter staters. The horse on the reverse is also similar to that on the QcD4-1 quarter stater, although the tail, mane and ears differ. The similarities are confirmed by the peculiar four-armed device which appears before the horse on both types.

Two types of a very different style appear to be related to QsT1-1/2. Both carry the same designs. The first, QsT1-3, appears derived from QsT1-2 as a similar device is shown under the boar, although the head above the horse has been replaced by a beast. While the horse is of similar style, the head on the obverse is savage and crude in appearance, with a great mass of hair incorporating zig-zag lines. These zig-zag lines appear on the obverse of QsT1-4, although the helmeted head, apparently derived from the Roma on a denarius (fig. 3.35), is less savage in appearance. The reverse depicts a horse with boar below and a whorl above. The style is different to that of the last type.

The apparent successor type to QsT1-2 is QsT1-5, which has a nearly identical obverse⁴⁵, the reverse, of slightly different style, depicts a horse over a lyre. The horse has a zig-zag line in its tail similar to that in the tail of QsT1-3. There are three further types, QsT1-6 - 1-8, with the same basic designs but of different style. All depict heads with the hair portrayed as thick crescents or solid crescents with outlines. The final type, QsT1-8 ⁴⁶, appears to show a rather crude disarticulated horse which might be compared to that on QsT1-11, described below. QsT1-5 and QsT1-6 are distinct in that they are struck on slightly thicker flans.

The next four types all have the unusual feature of horses with 'fern-leaf' tails⁴⁷. The first two, QsT1-9/10, are of very similar style and both depict a horse with a beast above and cog device below on their reverse. The head on the obverse of QsT1-9

has hair made up from crescents, the eye and use of rings and pellet-in-rings compares to preceding types such as QsT1-7. QsT1-11, 1-12 both have unusual obverses depicting heads with wheels above, these have been interpreted, quite plausibly as depictions of Cernunnos (Boon 1982; Green 1986, 196).

A further coin on a very thin and rather chipped flan may belong to this group, QsT1-13. It is hard to interpret the obverse, although it could show either ornate hair or a head-dress. The devices above and below the horse compare to QsT1-11 and QsT1-12, although the horse is of different style.

All types of QsT2 are of very different styles, and in reality QsT2 is no more than a type grouping, ordered on typological grounds. The first three types of QsT2 all depict a pair of rearing horses with a smaller animal between them⁴⁸. The obverses of the remaining are further removed from QsT2-1 - 2-3. All six types appear to depict an animal below the horse on the reverse although the device above the horse varies, on QsT2-6 a dolphin is depicted above the horse⁴⁹. The overall style of the bearded horse on QsT2-6, in conjunction with its near abstract obverse, compares to the group of thin silver (HT) from Hampshire described below. The metrology of the QsT2-6 and the HT group is also similar (fig. 3.18). The style of the horse on the reverse of QsT2-4 compares closely to that on the QsD1-1/2/3 units, and the style of the horse on the reverse of QsT2-2 compares closely to that on stater Q1-12.

A third group of coins struck on thin flans may be discerned, all of which bear varied and more insular designs. While the flans remain thin, they lack the paper-like fragility of the two preceding groups. The first type, QsT3-1, attributed without argument to the Corieltauvi by Van Arsdell (1989, 871-1) depicts a boar on the obverse and a horse on the reverse. The boar is shown with crescents composed from pellets above it, and a device below similar to that which appears below the small boar on QsT1-2. The general style of the horse on the reverse and the ornamentation of the field recalls quarter stater QcT3-4 50, this and the likely distribution of the type⁵¹ make the Corieltauviian attribution unsustainable. QsT3-2 and QsT3-3 depict horses of very similar style on their reverses which compares directly to that of stater Q1-13. The first type, QsT3-2, depicts two boars on the obverse, the second a rather stylised head within various pellet in ring devices and a large leaf device. This obverse type appears on QcT3-4, although the horse on the reverse is of rather different style. The same obverse type is also found on silver unit QsT3-5, which is thus classed here, although the only extant specimen is struck on a thick flan ⁵². The final thin flan type, QsT3-6, is invariably struck in base silver (fig. 3.25). It depicts a horse on the reverse of rather similar style to that on QsT3-4 and QcD3-2/3. The device under the horse strongly recalls the decoration on the obverses of QcD3-2/3 and the reverse of QcD3-2. These quarter staters and silver units may therefore tentatively be grouped together. A variant of QsT3-6, QsT3-6a

bears the apparent legend 'EX' on the obverse and may constitute the first inscribed silver in the region, the meaning of this legend and its significance is however not clear⁵³. The dies used for this inscribed variety become very worn and damaged.

A picture of equally diverse types and issues is apparent for the silver coins struck on thick dumpy flans. A silver fractional coinage appears in parallel to certain issues and its inception may be broadly contemporary with that of the dumpy flan issues. The first group of coins are struck on fairly broad flans, but those for the later types tend to be narrower and thicker. The first three types, QsD1-1 - 1-3, are linked by their reverses. All depict horses of near identical style which have the same details on the head and neck. The mane on QsD1-1 is not repeated and the pellet on the shoulder and rear quarters becomes less apparent. QsD1-2 and 1-3 are linked by common devices above and below the horse (the diagonally arranged rings below the horse are prefaced by the pellets below the horse on QsD1-1). QsD1-1 depicts a horse⁵⁴ looking over its shoulder on obverse, the surrounding crescents recalling QsT3-1. QsD1-2 depicts a boar on the obverse amid many devices, and QsD1-3 a head right with a procession of very finely executed animals around it. This group apparently contains a silver fraction, QsD1-4, the obverse of this fraction connects quarter stater QcD3-5 to this group⁵⁵. This quarter stater is linked to quarter stater QcD3-6 (above) which shares its general style and certain reverse devices with the silver fraction QsD1-5.

A further grouping of coins may be discerned in QsD1-6-QsD1-9. These must post-date the preceding group, as specimens are known overstruck on little circulated specimens of QsD1-1 (plate XVIII). The unit and fraction, QsD1-6 and 1-7, depict a backwards facing horse amid ring devices with wheel above on the obverse, and a horse on the reverse. These types are used on the silver fractions QsD1-8 and 1-9.

A further group is here created to accommodate types which do not readily fit into the last group, but which can be related to parts of it or to gold fractions. The first type considered here, QsD2-1, compares in complexity to QsT2-2/3-3 though it is clearly of very different style. The types compare to QsD1-2, and the generous use of floral motifs is paralleled on QcD3-4, though in both instances the style is different. The generous use of floral motifs is paralleled on QcD3-4, though again the style is different. QsD2-2 appears to have a highly stylised face on the reverse, apparently derived from QsT3-5 and QsT3-4, which both depict the essential elements. This observation is confirmed by the horse which is of the same style as that on the reverse of QsT3-5.

The remaining units have obverses which reflect those of certain QcD gold fractions. QsD2-3 has an obverse similar to QcD3-7. The quadrants, however, contain fronds, and the horse shown on the reverse is of a style not encountered on other coins from the area. QsD2-4 has a more fluid obverse with crescents in each quadrant and it is type-linked to the silver fraction QsD2-

5. Two further silver fractions have apparently simple patterns on them, QsD2-6 and QsD2-7. The latter has an obverse which bears at least a superficial resemblance to the obverses of QcD3-1 and QsD2-5.

The silver unit and fraction, QsD2-8 56 and QsD2-9, share similar obverse types. Both appear to have four deep crescent or 'U' devices around the centre of the obverse. On each a horse of rather primitive style is depicted on reverse. A further fraction appears to come from the study area, QsD2-10. The obverse appears to be from a very worn die, perhaps depicting a backwards facing animal; the reverse clearly depicts a horse.

This group is concluded by five fractions, four of which are linked. Typologically the earliest is QsD2-11, which retains the Apollo wreath design obverse. The boar on the reverse, and more particularly the device below, reflects that on QsT1-2 and more particularly QsT3-1. This fraction is reverse type-linked to QsD2-12, which has a more floral reverse. This reverse form links QsD2-13 and QsD2-14 to this group. The use of leaf devices compares to that on QsD2-1 and gold fractions QcD3-4, QcD3-5 and QcD3-6. The final type, QsD2-15, is today relatively numerous, although it is very difficult to pair it with any other gold or silver types. The hoard associations of the type suggests that it belongs in the period of the QsT3 and QsD1 groups (Appendix 2).

The QsD3 group contains coins which by virtue of their typology and hoard associations are considered the later types of dumpy flan silver. The first type, QsD3-1, and its attendant

fraction, QsD3-2, are typologically linked to quarter stater QcD3-9. This grouping is confirmed by the Ashdown hoard (appendix 2). QsD3-3 and QsD3-4 both have very similar obverses depicting a face with wavy hair and a possible torc or chain around the neck (the devices used to construct the hair compare with those on QsD1-6, 1-7). The reverses of QsD3-3 and QsD3-4 are however clearly by different hands. A separate group of issues may be discerned in QsD3-5 - 3-8 57. The first three types all depict a crude head right, a band of crescents follows the hair line from which issues a head dress or platted hair. The final type, QsD3-8, is of the same type but executed in a far finer style. The same broad types are encountered on QsD3-9, the style of the horse on the reverse of this piece, in particular the tail, suggesting that it might tentatively be placed with gold fraction QcD3-10.

The remaining coins closely anticipate the coins attributed to Commios in their style and design. The obverse of unit QsD3-10 anticipates the obverse of the silver coins of Commios, as does the fraction QsD3-12. The horses on the reverse of QsD3-10 and QsD3-11/11a also closely anticipate those on the coinage attributed to Commios, and the same hand may be responsible. The unusual unit QsD3-13 apparently foreshadows those inscribed 'TINCOMMRVS' (TIN1-5). The bust on the reverse is similar in style, although a serpent appears in place of part of the legend. The horse on the reverse is, however, of different style, resembling that on quarter stater QcT3-4. The only provenanced

example of this type is from Wiltshire, so this type and the apparently associated quarter stater QcT3-4 may belong to the tribal area of the Dobunni.

A further group of coins, struck on flat paper thin flans (QsT are struck on slightly dished flans) have a discrete metrology and a distribution centred on Hampshire. These types were considered by Allen (1965) and Mays (1987 and forthcoming). They occupy a similar area to British D58, and are included here for the sake of completeness. The derivation suggested by Allen still appears secure (1965, fig. 1; fig. 3.37), though his classification omits certain types and amalgamates others.

Classification is difficult, as practically every die includes a significant new feature. Here four major types are distinguished, HT1-1 - 1-4 (HT = Hampshire Thin flan type). HT1-1 is fairly faithful to the Continental prototype, but HT1-1a, HT1-1b and HT1-2 display a movement away from this. Simplification and change continue on the obverses of HT1-3 and HT1-4, and the reverses are reworked to depict more naturalistic horses.

Until recently the Iron Age coinage of the south Thames area was considered (disregarding cores) to be bimetallic. However an increasing number of coins of a bronze type, found mainly around Chichester, have forced a revision of this view (Burnett 1992b)59. These bronze coins are struck on moderately thick flans, which are slightly larger than those of the QsT1 group. They may be divided into two main groups, the first and most numerous, SB1 (Southern Bronze), depicting a diademed head on

the obverse. On the reverse is what appears to be a bearded head wearing a helmet or head-dress in the form of a cockerel, with the wings and feet shown behind the head. Burnett (1992b, fn4) suggested that this is actually a fantastic combination of the two, a 'gryllos'. A helmet such as this is depicted on the Gundestrup cauldron and the detail on the coin in question would support the former interpretation. The second type has a similar obverse, but the reverse depicts a flowing and sinuous horse looking back over its shoulder. The ornamentation and style of the last type, SB1-2b, closely recalls the first two types of the HT group (as suggested by Haselgrove in Burnett 1992b, 341). HT silver have not been found at the Chichester site that has produced numerous SB bronze, this however need not preclude the same engraver being responsible for the dies. Indeed one might note that the bronze types are absent from nearby Hayling Island temple which has produced a number of the HT types. It may also be observed that while SB1-1 are struck on slightly dished flans, SB1-2 are struck on apparently flat flans, like the HT silver.

Four additional types have some claim to belong to the study area, but are for certain reasons difficult to accommodate in Britain. All are given the prefix UNC[ertain]. UNC1-1 has obverse and reverse types and ornamentation that fall within the scope of the south Thames series. The single extant specimen is on a fairly thick flan. The overall style, particularly the obverse

with a pellet on the chin, is, however, unparalleled. The style is more akin to Gaulish coins, particularly De La Tour pl. XXXII, 8178 and 8291. The single specimen of this type was allegedly found at Petersfield, Hants.

UNC1-2 has greater claim to be British and is struck on a thick flan. The type is regarded by most as 'British/Gaulish uncertain' (e.g. cf Allen 1965, fig. 30; Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, coin 20). The designs and style of the obverse find parallel in QsD2-11 and QsD2-12. The horse on the reverse is however quite unlike anything encountered in the British series. The only known specimen is from Hayling Island.

UNC1-3 is known from a plated specimen from Silchester and a specimen from near Colchester, Essex. It resembles QsT2, but is struck on a thick flan; the present specimens suggest that it is a half denomination. It may be a north Thames type60.

UNC1-4 is a fraction, known from two specimens found at the probable temple at Danebury. The reverse depicts a stag of rather child-like style. The obverse depicts an equally crude boar with what appears to be a legend around it. The legend would appear to read ...NARTOS although only the first crest of the N is visible. The style is very different to other types known from the area., and the legend is more expanded and literate than the other 'EX' and perhaps 'NVMRVR' legends on the early silver. The only known recorded instance of a name similar to this is CASSISVRATOS (DLT XXV, 10384). One of these coins is recorded by De La Tour from Jersey, although the style of the piece is very

different.

DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of British Q and Qc was plotted by Cunliffe (1978, 71), but the different classes of staters and quarter staters were not distinguished⁶¹. When Q1-1 - Q1-4 are plotted (fig. 3.1), it is clear that they are concentrated in the Surrey/Berkshire area, historically the area of the Atrebates. Some coins have been found in Wiltshire, and others come from more distant hoards. Several coins are known from the Continent suggesting contact, which might document links that permitted the Comius of Caesar to flee to this area, or continued contact after his arrival.

The distribution of the uniface staters Q1-5 - Q1-8 (fig. 3.1) is centred on the same area as that of the biface staters. The same centre of production, perhaps Calleva, seems likely. There is a thin line of these coins along the South Coast, and some spread up into the Midlands. This spread is further attested to by the appearance of Q1-9, the Dobunnic off-shoot of the uniface type. The wider distribution of Q1-5 - 1-8 may reflect an expansion of the stater-using area established by Q1-1 - Q1-4.

The distribution of Q1-10, Q1-11 and Q1-13 (fig. 3.2) suggests that these types circulated in a similar area to types Q1-1 - Q1-8. The three specimens of Q1-13 hint that it has a slightly more westerly distribution. There is very little in the distribution of these types to suggest a centre of production.

The distributions of British Ma and Mb clearly illustrates

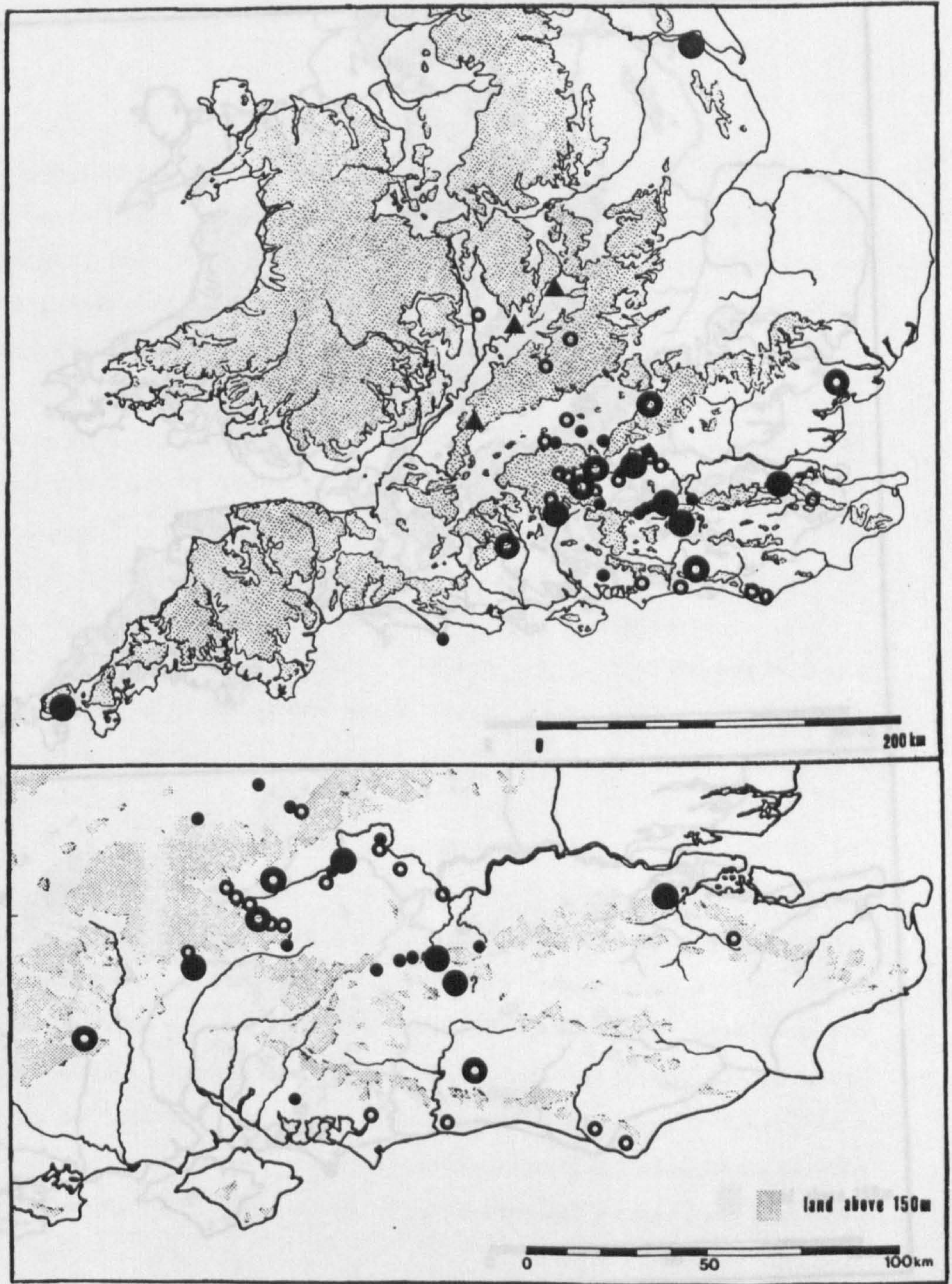


Figure 3.1: The distribution of Q1-1 - Q1-4 (●), Q1-5 - 1-7 (○) and Q1-8 (▲). Large symbol denotes find from multiple deposit.

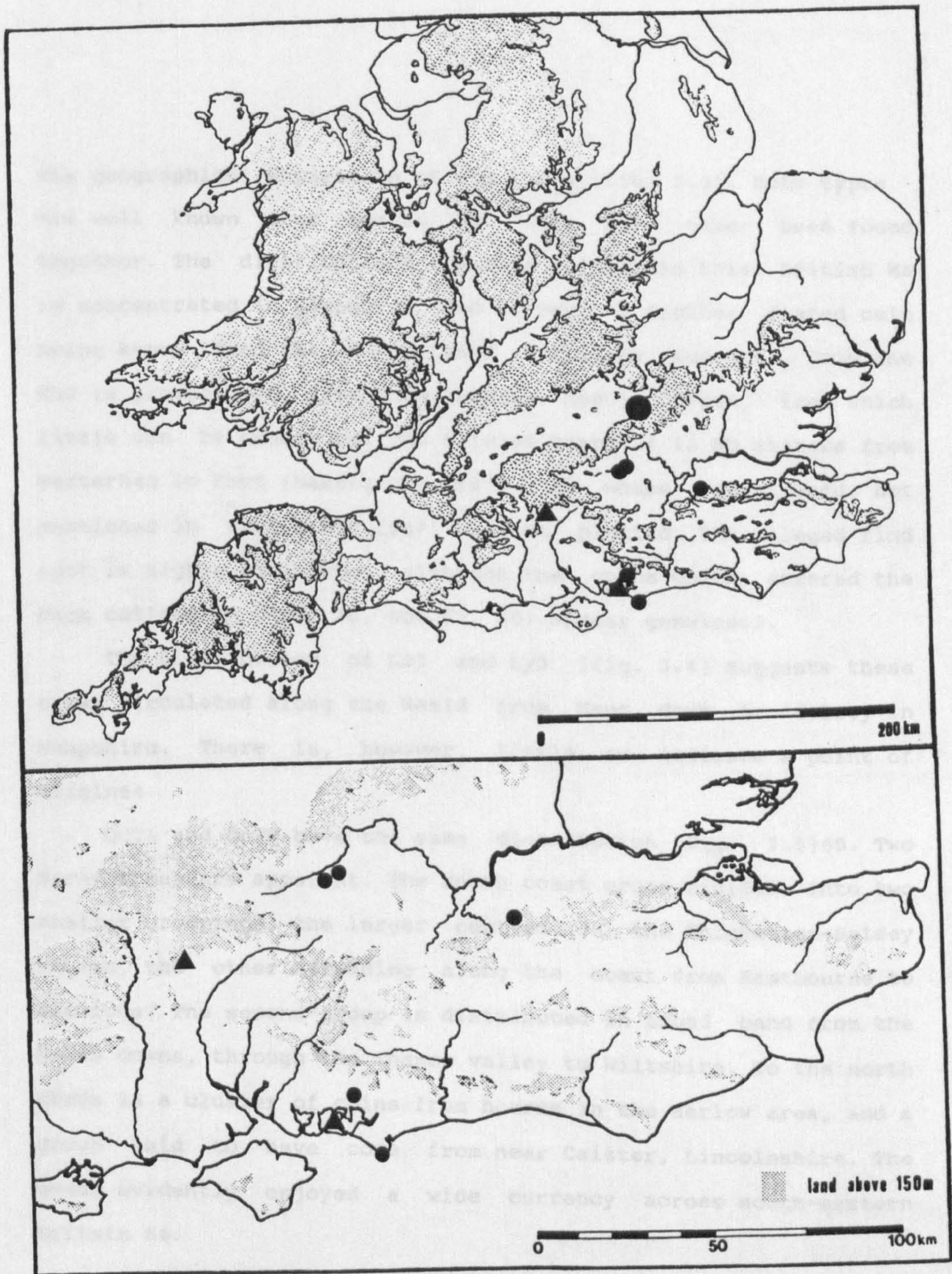


Figure 3.2: The distribution of Q1-10/11/12 (●) and Q1-13 (▲). Large symbol denotes find from multiple deposit.

the geographical separation of the types (fig. 3.3). Both types are well known from hoards but they have never been found together. The distributions may help to explain this. British Ma is concentrated in Hampshire and Surrey, a further plated coin being known from the hoard found at Birling, Sussex⁶². Only one Ma² is provenanced, from Hengistbury Head, Dorset, from which little can be concluded. The alleged hoard of 12 Mb staters from Westerham in Kent (Haselgrove 1978, 40 where questioned; not mentioned in Haselgrove 1987) is not plotted. The alleged find spot is highly eccentric, although the coins which entered the Mack collection (SCBI 20, nos 59, 60) appear genuine⁶³.

The distribution of Lz3 and Ly3 (fig. 3.4) suggests these types circulated along the Weald from Kent down to Selsey in Hampshire. There is, however, little to indicate a point of origin⁶⁴.

QcT1 and QcTM have the same distribution (fig. 3.5)⁶⁵. Two broad areas are apparent. The south coast group divides into two smaller groupings, the larger centred on the Chichester-Selsey region, the other spreading along the coast from Eastbourne to Hastings. The second group is distributed in broad band from the North Downs, through the Thames valley to Wiltshire. To the north there is a cluster of coins from hoards in the Harlow area, and a group said to have come from near Caister, Lincolnshire. The group evidently enjoyed a wide currency across south-eastern Britain ⁶⁶.

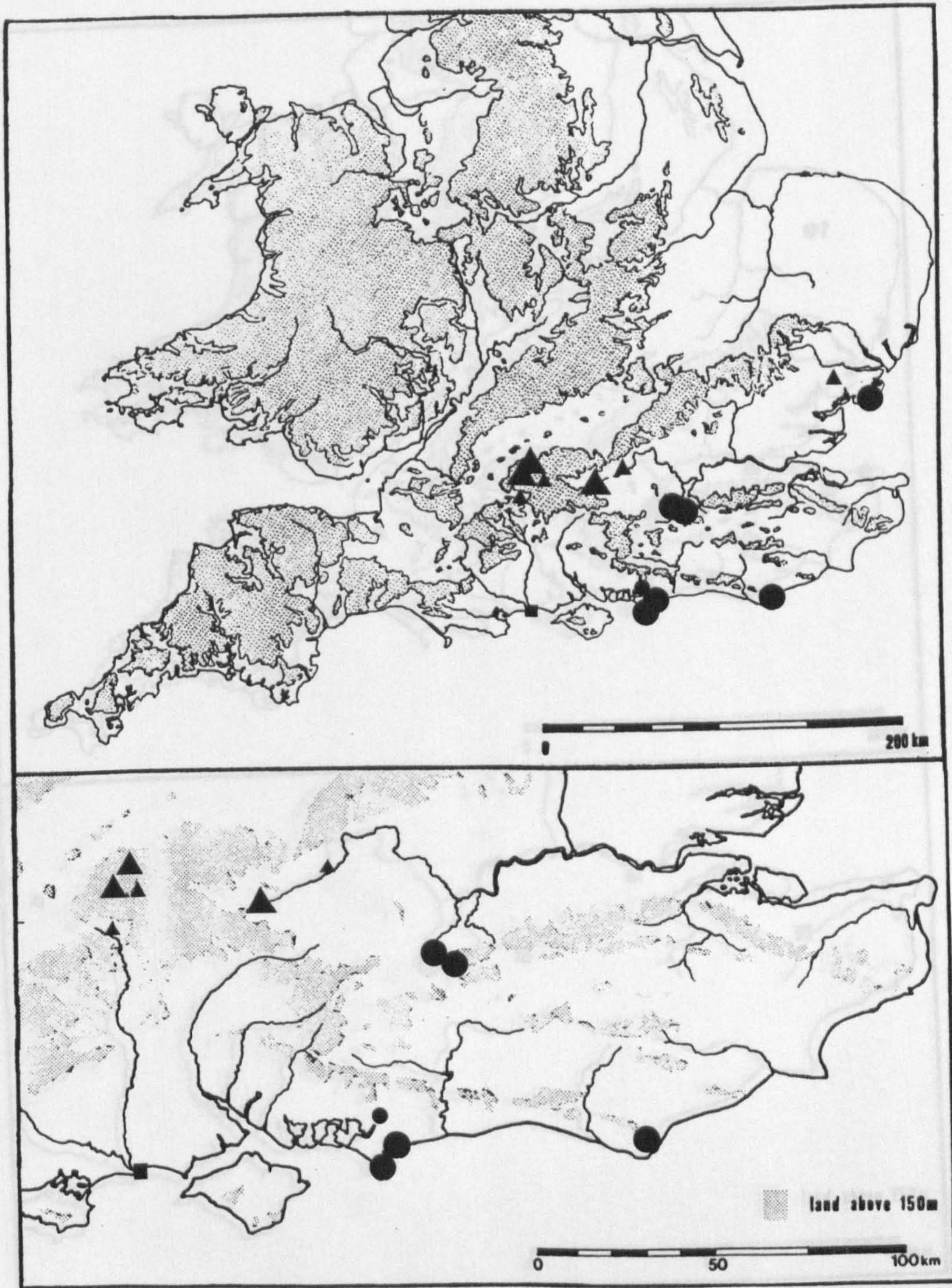


Figure 3.3: The distribution of British Ma (●), Mb (▲) and Ma2 (■). Large symbol denotes find from multiple deposit.

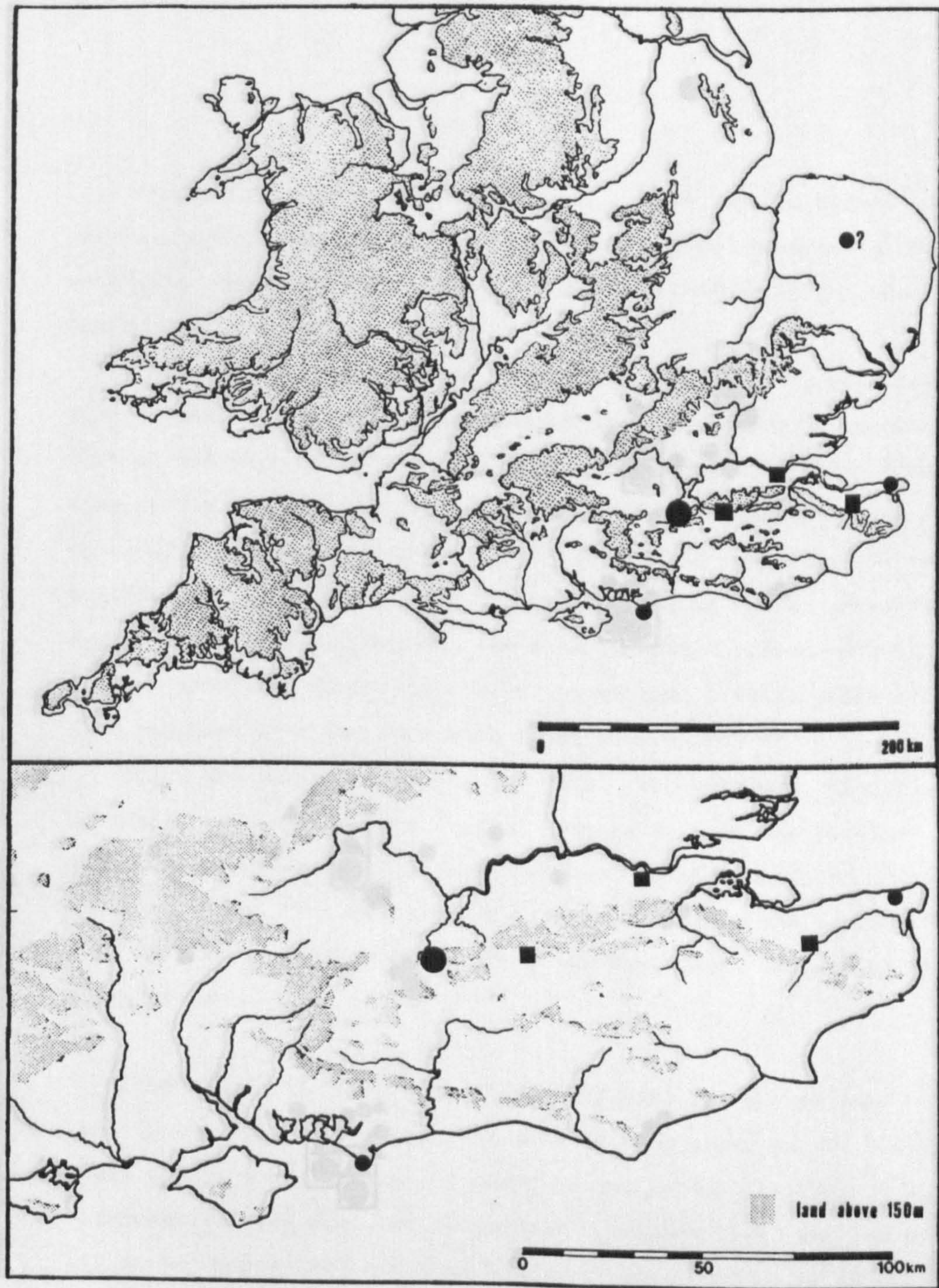


Figure 3.4: The distribution of Lz3 (■) and Ly3 (●).

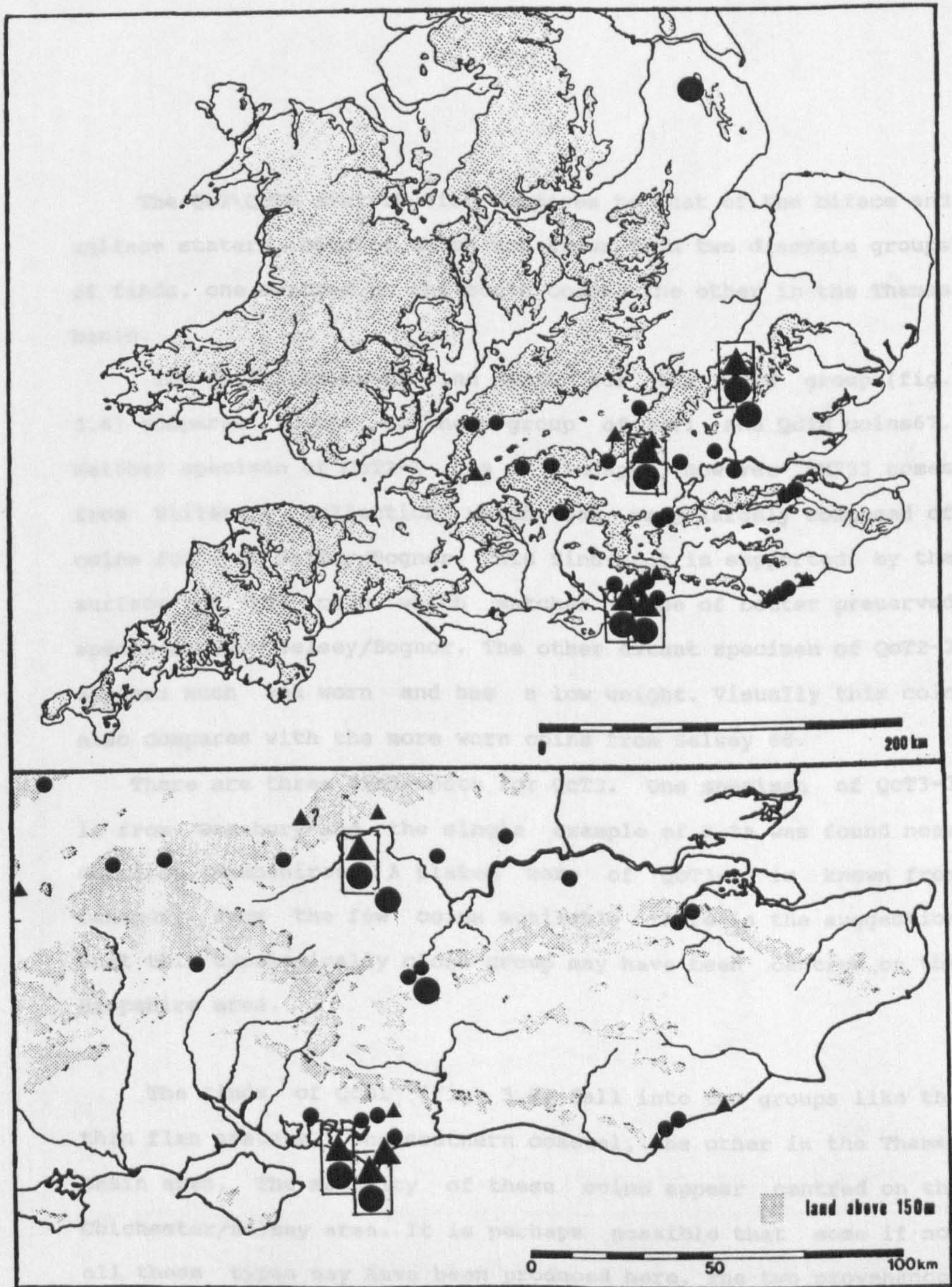


Figure 3.5: The distribution of QcT1 (●) and QcTM1 (▲).
 Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

The QcT\QcTM distribution compares to that of the biface and uniface staters, both of which are known from two discrete groups of finds, one centred on the south coast, the other in the Thames basin.

The distribution of find spots for the QcT2 group (fig. 3.6) compares to the southern group of QcT1 and QcTM coins⁶⁷. Neither specimen of QcT2-1 has a findspot, however BM733 comes from Willett's collection which was very largely composed of coins found at Selsey/Bognor. This find-spot is supported by the surface of the coin which matches those of better preserved specimens from Selsey/Bognor. The other extant specimen of QcT2-2 appears much sea worn and has a low weight. Visually this coin also compares with the more worn coins from Selsey⁶⁸.

There are three find-spots for QcT3. One specimen of QcT3-3 is from Danebury and the single example of 3-3a was found near Cheriton, Hampshire⁶⁹. A plated core of QcT3-2 is known from Danebury. From the few coins available there is the suggestion that this typologically close group may have been centred on the Hampshire area.

The finds of QcD1 (fig. 3.7) fall into two groups like the thin flan staters, one southern coastal, the other in the Thames basin area. The majority of these coins appear centred on the Chichester/Selsey area. It is perhaps possible that some if not all these types may have been produced here. The two provenanced specimens of QcD2 are from the Selsey area⁷⁰, rather undermining

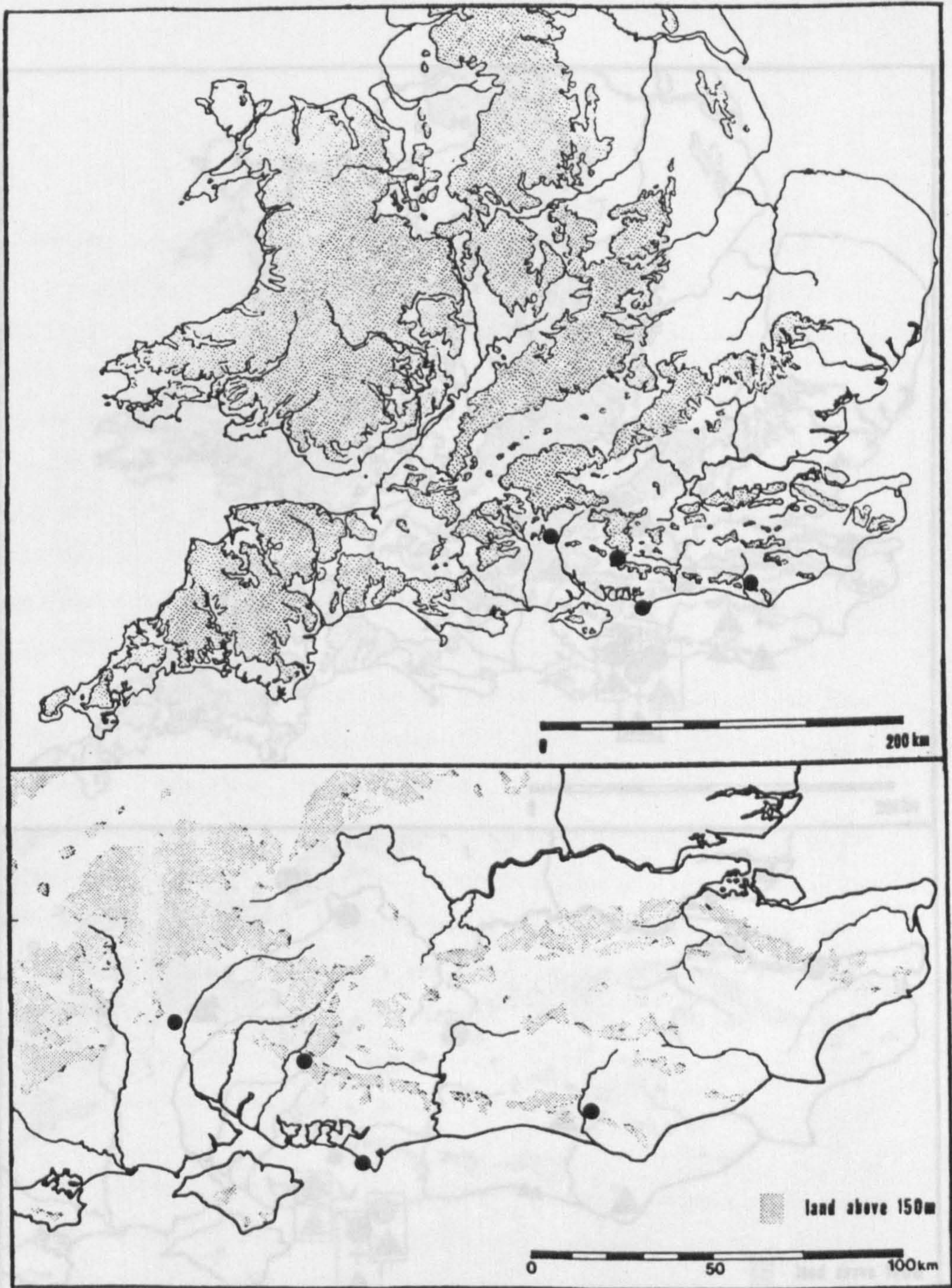


Figure 3.6: The distribution of QcT2 (●), no QcT3 provenanced. Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

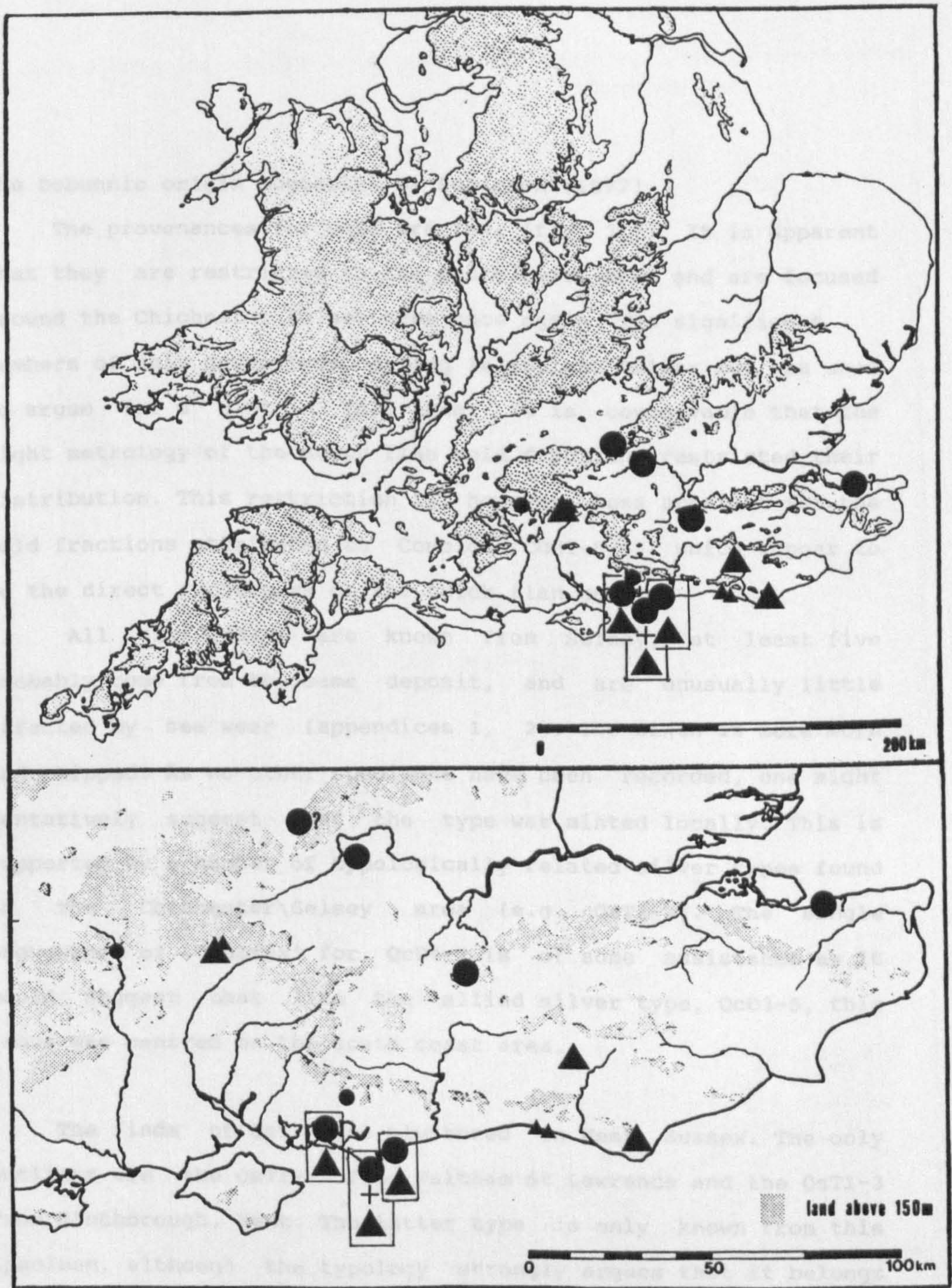


Figure 3.7: The distribution of QcD1 (●), QcD2 (+) and QcD3 (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

the Dobunnic origin suggested by Robinson (1977).

The provenances for QcD3 are few, (fig. 3.7). It is apparent that they are restricted to the south coast area and are focused around the Chichester\Selsey area once again. The significant numbers of this group from Hayling Island and Selsey may be used to argue for a mint in this area. It is conceivable that the light metrology of the dumpy flan gold fractions restricted their distribution. This restriction is, however, less apparent for the gold fractions attributed to Commios (COM1-5/6) which appear to be the direct successors of the thick flan gold.

All six QcD4-1 are known from Selsey, at least five probably come from the same deposit, and are unusually little affected by sea wear (appendices 1, 2). The sixth is more worn and chipped. As no other specimens have been recorded, one might tentatively suggest that the type was minted locally. This is supported by a number of typologically related silver types found in the Chichester\Selsey area (e.g. QsT1-2). The single provenance of 'Sussex' for QcD4-2 is of some assistance as it would suggest that like the allied silver type, QcD3-5, this issue was centred on the south coast area.

The finds of QsT1 are clustered in West Sussex. The only outliers are the QsT1-2 from Waltham St Lawrence and the QsT1-3 from Richborough, Kent. The latter type is only known from this specimen, although the typology strongly argues that it belongs to QsT and not the Kentish series.

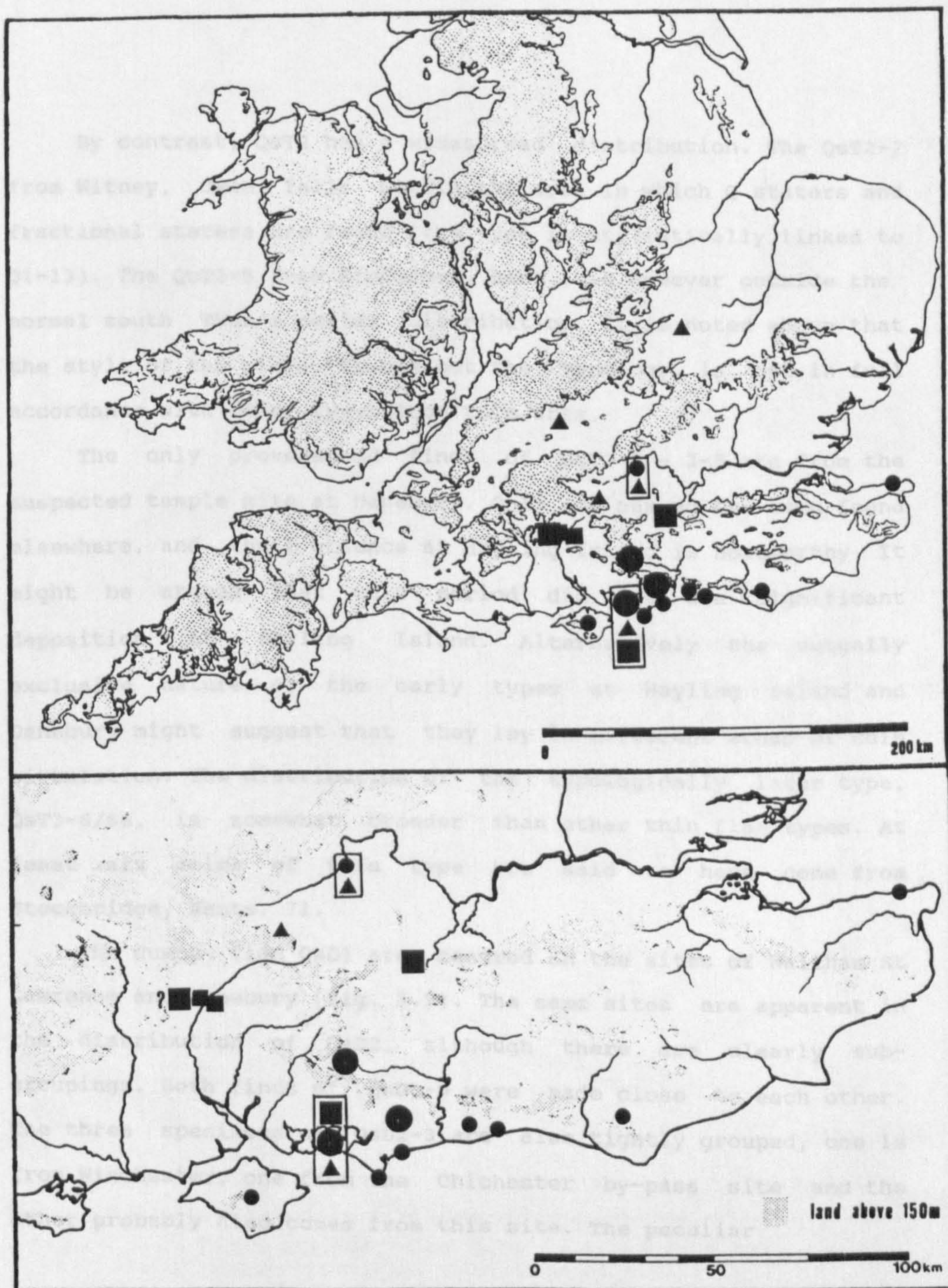


Figure 3.8: The distribution of QsT1 (●), QsT2 (▲) and QsT3 (■). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

By contrast, QsT2 has a widespread distribution. The QsT2-2 from Witney, Oxon, falls within the area in which Q staters and fractional staters are found (the type is stylistically linked to Q1-13). The QsT2-5 from Biddenham, Beds., is however outside the normal south Thames series distribution. It is noted above that the style of the piece, though not the typology, is not in full accordance with other types from this area.

The only provenanced finds of QsT3-1 - 3-5 are from the suspected temple site at Danebury. Only one has so far been found elsewhere, and their absence at Hayling Island is noteworthy. It might be argued that this period did not see significant deposition at Hayling Island. Alternatively the mutually exclusive nature of the early types at Hayling Island and Danebury might suggest that they lay in different areas of coin circulation. The distribution of the typologically later type, QsT3-6/6a, is somewhat broader than other thin flan types. At least six coins of this type are said to have come from Stockbridge, Hants. 71.

The dumpy flan QsD1 are centred on the sites of Waltham St Lawrence and Danebury (fig. 3.9). The same sites are apparent in the distribution of QsD2, although there are clearly sub-groupings. Both finds of QsD2-9 were made close to each other. The three specimens of QsD2-3 are also tightly grouped, one is from Winchester, one from the Chichester by-pass site and the other probably also comes from this site. The peculiar

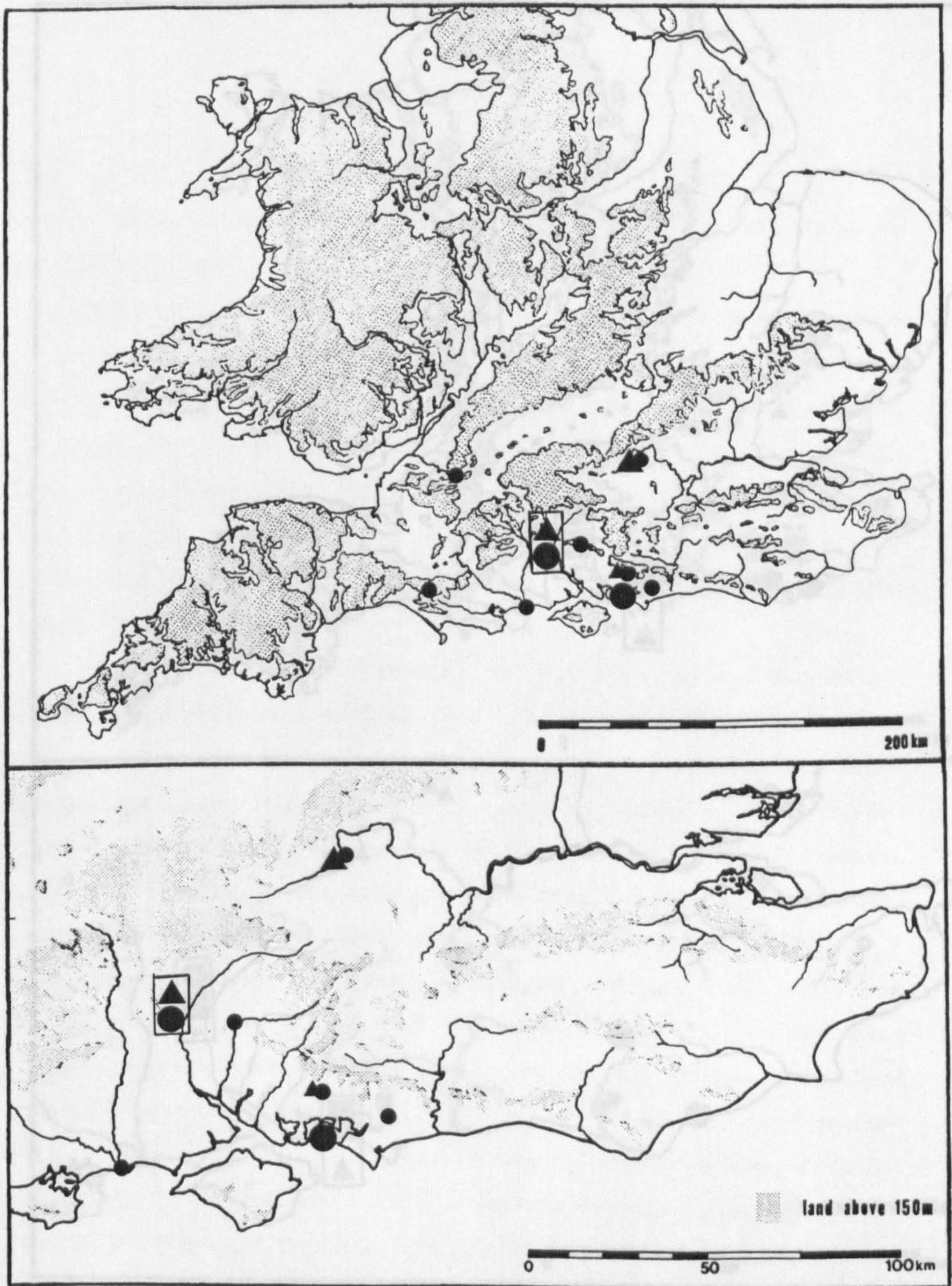


Figure 3.9: The distribution of QsD1 (▲) and QsD2 (●).
 Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

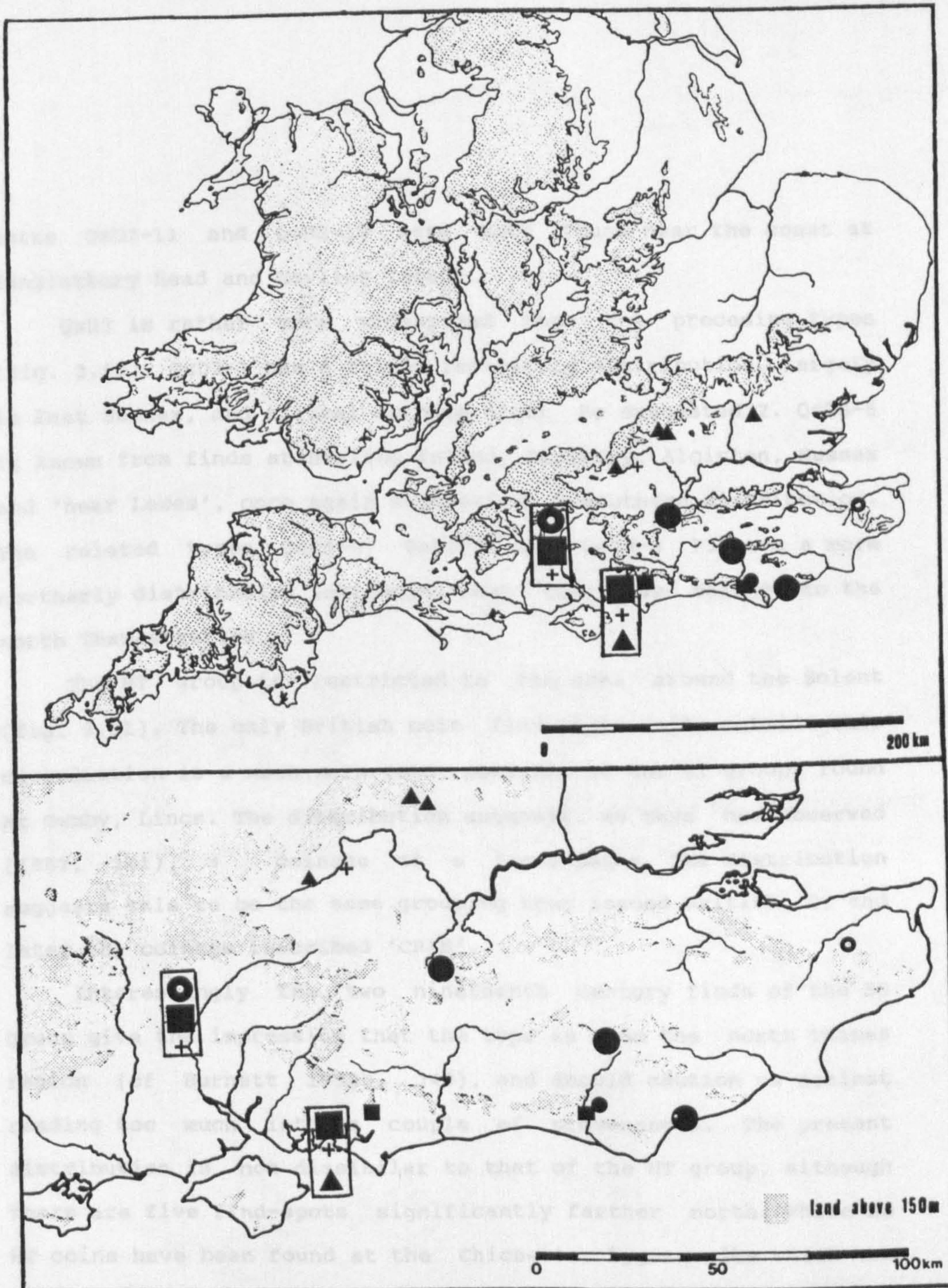


Figure 3.10: The distribution of QsD3: QsD3-1/2 (●); QsD3-3/4 (◐); QsD3-5 (■); QsD3-6/7/8 (▲); QsD3-9/10/11/12 (+). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

units QsD2-11 and QcD2-12 were both found near the coast at Hengistbury Head and Hayling Island.

QsD3 is rather more widespread than the preceding types (fig. 3.10). QsD3-1 has a fairly restricted distribution, largely in East Sussex, and a local coinage might be suggested⁷². QsD3-5 is known from finds at Hayling Island, Danebury, Alciston, Sussex and 'near Lewes', once again suggesting a southern distribution. The related types QsD3-6, QsD3-7 and QsD3-8⁷³ have a more northerly distribution indicating that they may belong to the north Thames series.

The HT group is restricted to the area around the Solent (fig. 3.11). The only British coin find that falls outside this distribution is a much worn coin, possibly of the HT group, found at Owmbly, Lincs. The distribution suggests, as Mays has observed (1987, 141), a coinage of a local pagus. The distribution suggests this to be the same grouping that issued British D, and later the coinage inscribed 'CRAB'.

Interestingly the two nineteenth century finds of the SB group give the impression that the type is from the north Thames region (cf Burnett 1992b, 340), and should caution us against reading too much into a couple of provenances. The present distribution is not dissimilar to that of the HT group, although there are five find-spots significantly farther north. While no HT coins have been found at the Chichester bypass site which has produced the bulk of the bronzes, the overall distribution of the SB and HT coins suggests they might have a common origin.

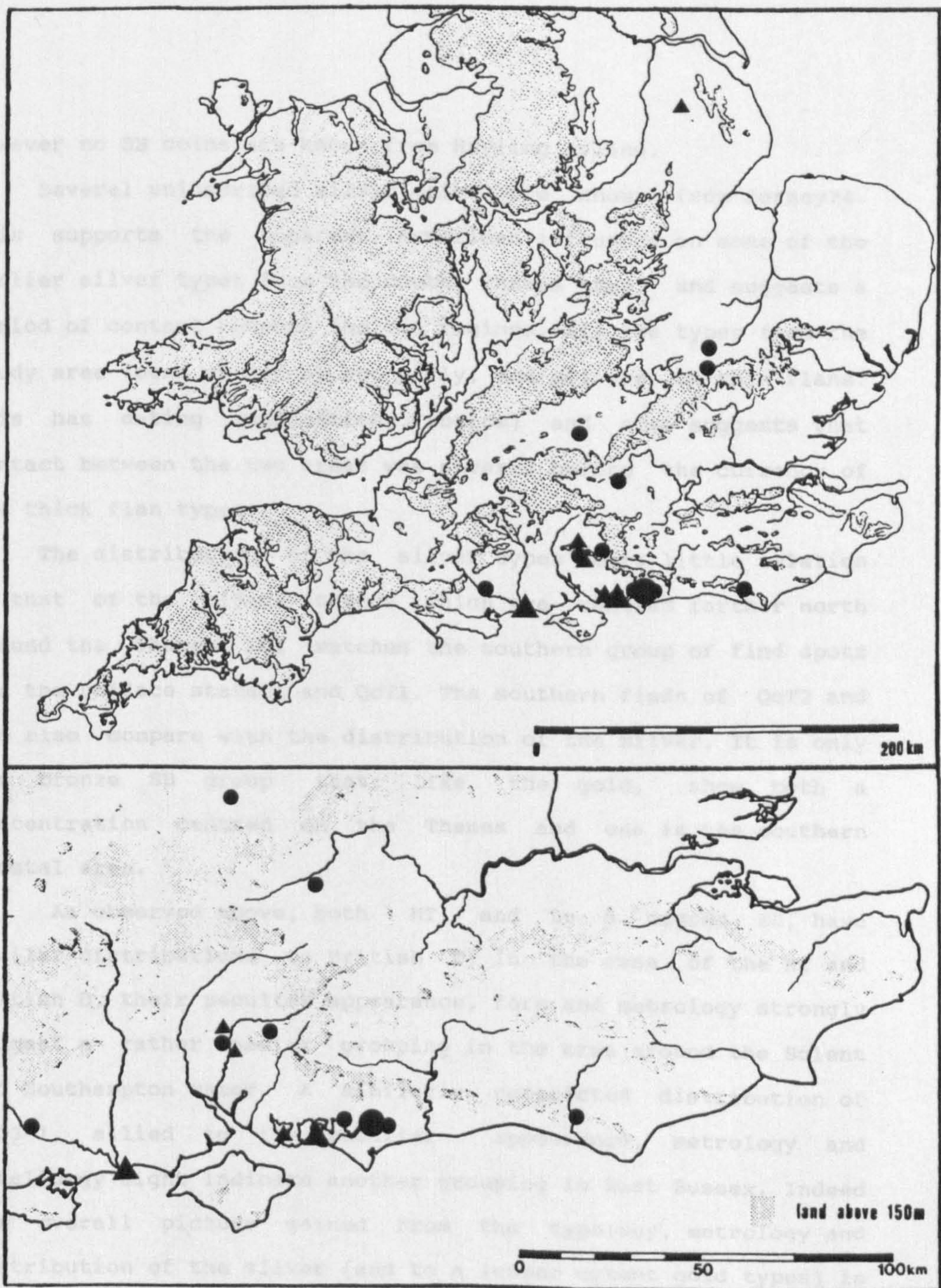


Figure 3.11: The distribution of HT (●) and SB (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

however no SB coins are known from Hayling Island.

Several uninscribed silver coins are known from Jersey⁷⁴. This supports the apparent Armorican influence on some of the earlier silver types from the south Thames area, and suggests a period of contact between the two regions. All the types from the study area found on Jersey are early, and all are on thin flans. This has dating implications (below) and also suggests that contact between the two areas was severed before the currency of the thick flan types.

The distribution of the silver types bears little relation to that of the biface staters which are centred farther north around the Thames, but matches the southern group of find spots for the uniface staters and QcT1. The southern finds of QcT2 and QcD also compare with the distribution of the silver. It is only the bronze SB group that, like the gold, show both a concentration centred on the Thames and one in the southern coastal area.

As observed above, both HT, and to a degree SB, have similar distributions to British D. In the case of the HT and British D, their peculiar appearance, form and metrology strongly suggest a rather insular grouping in the area around the Solent and Southampton water. A similarly restricted distribution of QsD3-1, allied to its peculiar appearance, metrology and metallurgy might indicate another grouping in East Sussex. Indeed the overall picture gained from the typology, metrology and distribution of the silver (and to a lesser extent gold types) is

one of fragmentation, of many groupings rather than a single coining entity. There is however some suggestion of hierarchy. The fractional gold shows fewer varieties in more coherent groups and the production of staters appears even more centralised, as there are still fewer varieties in fewer groups.

METROLOGY

The metrology of the main series of British Q staters is shown below in figure 3.12. It is clear that Q1-1 - Q1-5 were minted to a similar standard to Gallo-Belgic F, Scheers (1977) class III (the type from which the design is derived). From the few specimens available, there is a suggestion that the earliest types, Q1-1 and Q1-2, were produced to a slightly higher weight. The transitional type Q1-4, which bridges the gap between biface and uniface coins, has a weight distribution matching that of the main bi-face type Q1-3. The main uniface type, Q1-5, appears to have a slightly heavier weight distribution, this mirrors the metallurgy of the uniface coins which appear to be slightly finer

| Wt (g) | Gallo-Belgic F | | Q1-1 | Q1-2 | Q1-3 | Q1-4 | Q1-5 | Q1-6 | Q1-7 | Q1-8 |
|-----------|----------------|--------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|
| | ii | iii | | | | | | | | |
| 6.2-6.29 | II | | | | | | I | | | |
| 6.1-6.19 | OII | | | | | | | | | |
| 6.0-6.09 | II | OIII | I | I | III | II | OIII | | | |
| 5.9-5.99 | | OOOIII | II | I | O | III | OOOOII | | | |
| 5.8-5.89 | | O | | | OI | IIII | OI | I | | |
| 5.7-5.79 | | II | | | III | I | | | | |
| 5.6-5.69 | | I | | | IIII | II | | | | II |
| 5.5-5.59 | | | | | | | | | I | |
| 5.4-5.49 | | | | | I | | | I | | |
| 5.3-5.39 | | | | | | | II | | | |
| 5.2-5.29 | | | | | II | I | | | | |
| 5.1-5.19 | | | | | | | I | | | |
| 5.0-5.09 | | | | | | | | | | I |
| Mean wt | 6.14 | 5.93 | 5.99 | 5.97 | 5.72 | 5.86 | 5.86 | 5.65 | 5.58 | 5.41 |
| Coins to | 50.3 | 52.1 | 51.6 | 51.7 | 54.0 | 52.7 | 52.7 | 54.7 | 55.4 | 57.1 |
| Celtic lb | | | | | | | | | | |

Figure 3.12. The metrology of British Q1-1 - Q1-8 (excludes plated and suspected plated specimens). The metrology of Gallo-Belgic F after Scheers 1977, 366-367.

(fig. 3.21). The difference in metrology cannot be explained by differential wear as both types exhibit similar wear.

Neither can the difference be explained by the significant numbers of sea-leached biface types from Selsey/Bognor. While eight+ Q1-5 are from Selsey/Bognor only four+ biface staters are possibly from this area⁷⁵.

The available coins suggest that between 52 and 54 staters were produced to the Celtic pound, if allowances for wear are made the figure is probably closer to 54/55. The weight distribution compares to that of British La/Lb (Haselgrove 1987, 481 fig. A6:1 (E51/2)). The weight distribution of Q1-3, Q-4 and Q1-5 is similar to that of Gallo-Belgic E Scheers no. 24, class IV. It is however slightly lighter than that of class III, the type most frequently encountered in Britain (Scheers 1977, fig. 65). As the alloy of the Q staters is more base than Gallo-Belgic E, it does not seem likely that the latter were simply over-struck.

Both Q1-6 and Q1-7 have weight distributions which are lighter than the main uniface type, Q1-5. It is possible that like Q1-9 - Q1-13, these are lighter varieties deriving their type from the main group Q1-5. Q1-8, from the area of the Dobunni, has a lighter weight distribution which accords with the metallurgy and distribution of this type. The weight distribution of Q1-8 compares closely to that of the main uninscribed Dobunnic stater type, British Ra (Haselgrove 1987, 481 fig. A1:6 (W61))

The stater types Q1-9 - Q1-13, British Ma and Lz3 all appear

lighter than Q1-1 - Q1-8 and British L (fig. 3.13; Haselgrove 1987, 481, fig. A6:1 (E51\2)). Q1-9 appears to be slightly heavier than Q1-10 and Q1-11, while Ma and Lz3 have similar distributions to the former three types. Ma2 appears to lie between Ma1 and Mb, while the bulk of Mb staters are a gram lighter than Ma. The single specimen of Q1-13 compares to Ma1. Metrologically Q1-9, Q1-10, Q1-11, Ma and Lz3 compare to later inscribed staters from the study area and also to the uninscribed

| Weight (g) | Q1-9 | Q1-10 | Q1-11 | Q1-13 | Ma1 | Ma2 | Mb | Lz3 |
|--------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------|------|------|
| 5.7-5.79 | I | | | | | | | |
| 5.6-5.69 | | | | | | | | |
| 5.5-5.59 | | | | | | | | |
| 5.4-5.49 | I | I | | | III | | | II |
| 5.3-5.39 | | III | II | | OII | | | II |
| 5.2-5.29 | | I | III | | I | | | |
| 5.1-5.19 | | | | I | | I | | |
| 5.0-5.09 | | | | | I | I | | |
| 4.9-4.99 | | | | | | | | |
| 4.8-4.89 | | | | | i | | I | |
| 4.7-4.79 | | | | | | | II | |
| 4.6-4.69 | | | | | | | I | |
| 4.5-4.59 | | | | | | | I | |
| 4.4-4.49 | | | | | i | I | II | |
| 4.3-4.39 | | | | | | | II | |
| 4.2-4.29 | | | | | | | III | |
| 4.1-4.19 | | | | | | | I | |
| 4.0-4.09 | | | | | | | III | |
| Mean weight: | 5.59 | 5.36 | 5.28 | 5.16 | 5.33 | 4.88 | 4.38 | 5.42 |
| | | | | | (5.24g) | | | |
| Coins to Celtic lb | 55.3 | 57.6 | 54.4 | 59.8 | 57.9 | 60.8 | 70.6 | 57 |

Figure 3.13 : Metrology of Q1-9 - Q1-13 and of staters not directly related to British Q but from the study area. (i = coins from Selsey/Bognor, second mean for Ma includes the weights of these coins). While Mb is often encountered in plated form this figure excludes plated coins or suspected plated coins. The weight of the only extant specimen of Q1-12 is not known.

stater type from Kent VA 144-1 (Bean forthcoming). Generally speaking these later types can be compared to British D, which is another apparently local series both lighter and more base than the major series of the period.

As an exercise it was calculated how many coins of each type could be produced to the Celtic pound (Allen 1961, 302-304; Allen and Nash 1980, 31-33). The results (fig. 3.12, 3.13) reiterate the declining weight of the later staters.

GOLD QUARTER STATERS AND FRACTIONS

The overall impression given by the metrology of QcT (see fig.3.14) is that all the types have much the same weight distribution, the single light specimen of QcT1-4 has little statistical value. Using the mean weights derived from figures 3.12 and 3.13 this suggests a relationship of about 4.5 'quarter' staters to a stater 76. Accepting an overall mean weight of 1.308g for the group77, this gives a figure of 236.2 coins to the Celtic pound, the original total might have been closer to 230 coins when allowances are made for wear.

An attempt has been made to plot the weights of various sub-varieties of QcT1 and QcTM by such diagnostic features as the device before the paired crescents on the obverse. When samples have been large enough, it seems that these devices do not denote metrology, as the distributions are indistinguishable.

The weights of the coins from the Selsey area are low

| Weight (g) | QcT | 1-1 | 1-2 | 1-3 | 1-4 | M1-1 | M1-2 | M1-3 |
|----------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|------|--------|-------|------|
| 1.45 | | I | | | | | I | |
| 1.4 | | III | | I | | III | I | |
| 1.35 | | IIII | III | II | | OOIIII | | I |
| 1.3 | | OOII | OIII | III | | O | O | |
| 1.25 | | OIII | IIII | | | OOI | I | II |
| 1.2 | | III | IIII | | I | I | | |
| 1.15 | | IIi | | | | II | | I |
| 1.1 | | I | | | | ii | | |
| 1.05 | | Ii | i | | | | | |
| 1.0 | | | | | | | | |
| 0.95 | | | | | | | | |
| 0.9 | | | | | | | | |
| Mean weight(g) | | 1.295 | 1.297 | 1.342 | 1.21 | 1.318 | 1.351 | 1.28 |

Figure 3.14. The metrology of the QcT and QcTM quarter staters. Coins which are damaged and those from Selsey are plotted as 'i', the mean weights given exclude the coins from Selsey.

| Weight (g) | QcT | 2-1 | 2-2 | 3-1 | 3-2 | 3-3 | 3-4 |
|----------------|-----|------|-------|------|------|-------|------|
| 1.4 | | | | | | | |
| 1.35 | | | | | | | |
| 1.3 | | | | | | | I |
| 1.25 | | | | | I | | |
| 1.2 | | | I | | | I | |
| 1.15 | | I | | | | | |
| 1.1 | | | II | | | I | |
| 1.05 | | | | I | | | |
| 1.0 | | I | | | | | |
| 0.95 | | | | | | | |
| 0.9 | | | | | | | |
| Mean weight(g) | | 1.11 | 1.153 | 1.07 | 1.28 | 1.157 | 1.32 |

Figure 3.15. The metrology of the QcT2 and QcT3 quarter staters.

(plotted as 'i'), probably because the large surface area of the coins makes them more susceptible to leaching.

The metrology of the two derivative groups of thin flan quarter stater QcT2 and QcT3, is shown in figure 3.15. With the exception of QcT3-4 the metrology of QcT2 and QcT3 falls at the lower end of the QcT and QcTM weight distribution.

The metrology of the thick flan gold fractions is shown in figures 3.16 and 3.17. It is clear from the weights of QcD1 that these coins are much lighter than the thin flan types, indeed 'quarter stater' is misnomer, as most appear at best to be one

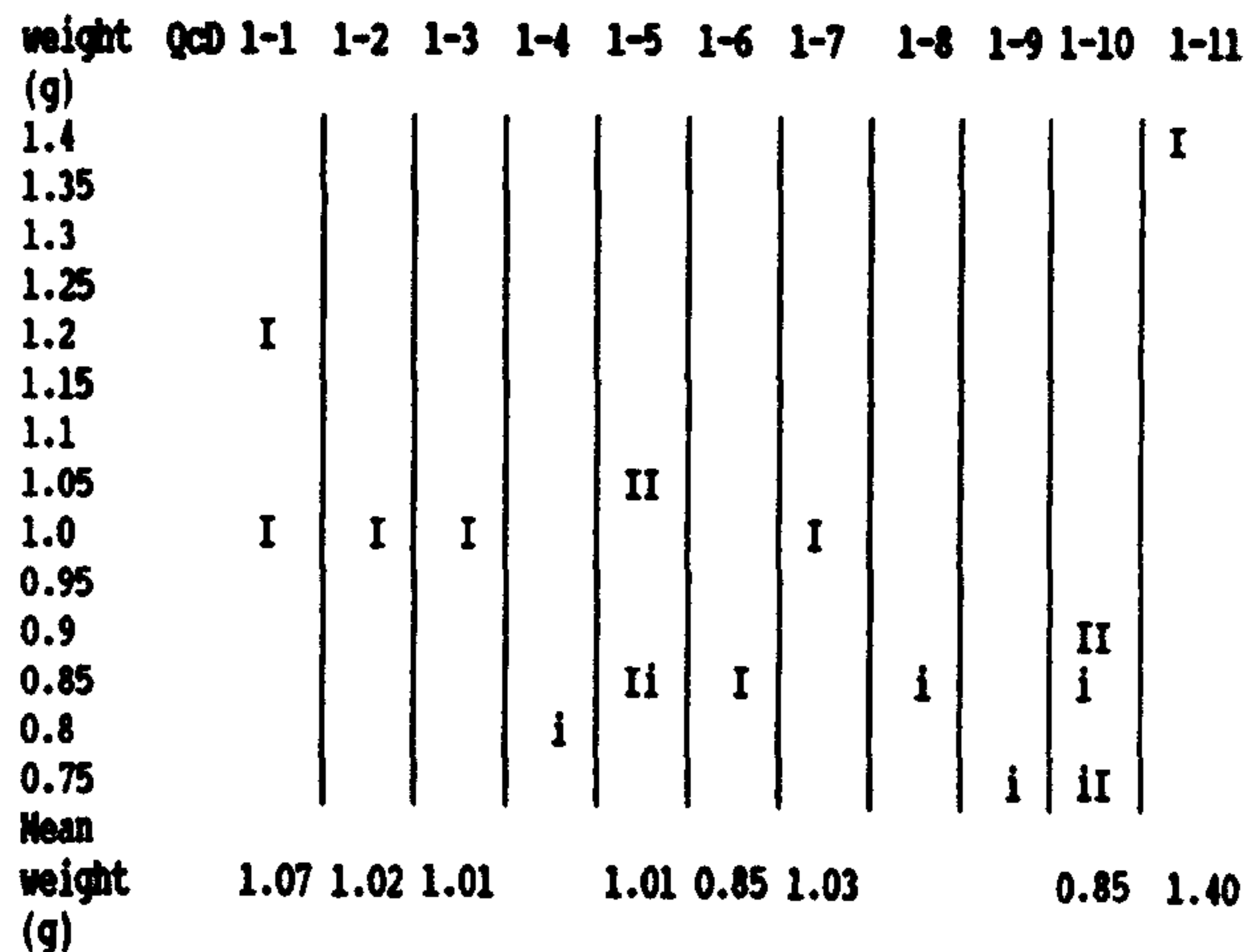


Figure 3.16. The metrology of QcD1. Damaged or sea worn coins are plotted as 'i' and are excluded from calculations of the mean.

| Weight (g) | QcD2 | QcD4-1 | QcD4-2 | Ly3 |
|-----------------|------|--------|--------|-------|
| 1.4 | | | | |
| 1.35 | | | | III |
| 1.3 | | I | | I |
| 1.25 | | III | | |
| 1.2 | | I | | |
| 1.15 | | I | | |
| 1.1 | | | | |
| 1.05 | | | | I |
| 1.0 | | | | |
| 0.95 | | | | |
| 0.9 | | | | |
| 0.85 | | | | |
| 0.8 | | | | |
| 0.75 | i | | i | |
| 0.7 | i | | | |
| Mean weight (g) | | 1.252 | | 1.308 |

| Weight (g) | QcD 3-1 | 3-2 | 3-3 | 3-4 | 3-8 | 3-9 | 3-10 | 3-11 |
|-----------------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| 1.45 | | | | | I | | | |
| 1.4 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.35 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.3 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.25 | | | | | | | | |
| 1.2 | | | | | | I | | |
| 1.15 | | | | | | I | | |
| 1.1 | I | I | | | | I | | |
| 1.05 | | | I | | | I | II | |
| 1.0 | | | | | | i | | |
| 0.95 | | | | I | | i | | |
| 0.9 | | | | | | | o I | |
| 0.85 | | | | | | | oii I | |
| 0.8 | | | | | | | i | |
| 0.75 | | | | | | | ii | i |
| 0.7 | | | | | | | ii | |
| Mean weight (g) | 1.14 | 1.11 | 1.05 | 0.97 | 1.49 | 1.15 | 1.01 | |

Figure 3.17. The metrology of QcD2, QcD3, QcD4 and Ly3. Damaged or sea worn coins are plotted as 'o' or 'i' and are excluded from calculations of the mean. QcD3-5 - QcD3-7 not shown as only plated specimens are currently known.

fifth of stater, or in the case of QcD1-10 and possibly QcD1-6, one sixth of a stater fractions. This group might represent a lower gold denomination to the thin flan quarter staters if both are parts of the same series. This seems unlikely however, as they are of different style, are typologically later, and are struck on very different dumpy flans. They may however have circulated alongside one another, and this may be the reason why the horses are usually shown to the right on the heavier thin flan quarter staters, and to the left on the lighter dumpy flan fractions⁷⁸.

Only two out of the four known specimens of QcD2 are not plated. Both are from Selsey\Bognor and heavily sea worn, however their metrology compares with other heavily sea worn dumpy flan gold fractions.

The metrology of QcD3 compares closely to that of QcD1, the only exception being the unusually heavy weight of the single known specimen of QcD3-8, a type in other ways unexceptional. The very low weight distribution of QcD3-10 is a result of all but five specimens having a Selsey provenance and one of these is broken.

In general the metrology of the dumpy flan fractions (including the many sea worn coins, from Selsey), compares with that of the quarter staters attributed to Commios (fig. 4.7).

The metrology of QcD4-1 is little affected by sea wear, although all six coins come from Selsey ⁷⁹. The mean and weight distribution indicates this type to be just a little lighter than

QcT1 and QcTM, the type is clearly heavier than any other dumpy flan type80.

The metrology of Ly3 (fig. 3.17) shows it to be markedly heavier than all uninscribed and inscribed types except for Verica's heavy series (which may also be similarly base (fig. 8.5, 8.7)). It appears that this type was produced to a standard giving c.240 coins to the Celtic pound, just over 4 times that for the attendant stater Lz3 (c.58 coins to the Celtic pound).

SILVER COINS.

The study of the metrology of the uninscribed silver types is often hampered by the very small number of extant specimens. There are other problems peculiar to certain types. Due to the very thin flans of the HT group, eight of the 14 specimens for which weights are known are badly chipped or otherwise damaged. The same problem affects, to a lesser extent, the QsT group of silver coins. An unusual problem is encountered in the study of QsD3-5, since of the nine known specimens only one is almost certainly not plated, and unfortunately the weight of this piece is not recorded. The coin plotted is that in the Finney collection, and may itself be plated. On first inspection it appears that the majority of QsT3-6 and QsD3-10 are heavily circulation worn. While this is true of certain coins, close examination shows that the majority are in fact struck from very worn dies.

The metrology of the silver types is plotted in figures 3.18 and 3.19. When groups of similar coins are studied together it is possible to make the following observations.

It appears that the heaviest group of coins is QsT1, which on present evidence appear about 0.2g heavier than QsT2. The QsT3 group is lighter than QsT1 and QsT2. The metrology of the QsD1 and QsD2 groups is very similar to that of QsT3. With the exception of QsD3-1 the QsD3 group units would also appear to have a comparable metrology. The metrology of QsD3-1 can only really be compared to that of QsT1. These coins are no less worn or otherwise affected by time than any other type, so it appears that they constitute an unusually heavy issue. This should not however be taken as grounds for believing the type is early, as its typology and associations (above) clearly indicate that it is late. By contrast the very light metrology of QsD3-3, 3-5 and 3-10 is evident.

The peculiar metrology of the HT group mirrors their unusual flans and typology, and might partly account for their restricted distribution. The weights of the undamaged coins range from 0.45g to 0.72g (the latter 1.6 times the weight of the former; the heaviest coin appears quite worn). There is no element in the design to signify this difference, so one can only presume that the coins were used by weight rather than number. QsT2-6 has a reverse stylistically similar to the HT group and its metrology is also comparable.

The silver fractional coinage appears to have a diverse

| QsT | 1-1 | 1-2 | 1-3 | 1-4 | 1-5 | 1-6 | 1-7 | 1-8 | 1-9 | 1-10 | 1-11 | 1-12 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|
| Weight (g) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.38 | | | | | | I | | | | | | |
| 1.32 | | I | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.26 | II | | | | | | | | | I | | |
| 1.20 | | | I | | | | | | | | I | |
| 1.14 | I | I | | | I | | | | | | | I |
| 1.08 | | | | I | | | | | | | i | |
| 1.02 | I | | | | | | II | | | | | |
| 0.96 | I | | | | | | | i | | | | |
| 0.90 | | | | | I | | | | i | | | |
| 0.84 | | | | | i | | | | | | | |
| 0.78 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean | 1.13 | 1.26 | 1.22 | 1.08 | 1.20 | 1.16 | | | | 1.29 | 1.21 | 1.16 |

| QsT | 2-1 | 2-2 | 2-3 | 2-4 | 2-5 | 2-6 |
|------------|------|------|-----|------|-----|------------|
| Weight (g) | | | | | | Weight (g) |
| 1.38 | | | | | | 0.78 |
| 1.32 | | | | | | 0.72 |
| 1.26 | | | | | | 0.66 |
| 1.20 | | | | | | 0.60 |
| 1.14 | I | | | | | 0.54 |
| 1.08 | | | | | | 0.48 I |
| 1.02 | | I | | | | 0.42 |
| 0.96 | | | | | | 0.36 |
| 0.90 | | | | I | i | 0.30 |
| 0.84 | | | | | | 0.24 i |
| 0.78 | | | | | | 0.18 |
| Mean | 1.14 | 1.03 | | 0.93 | | 0.52 |

| QsT | 3-1 | 3-2 | 3-3 | 3-5 | 3-6 | HT | 1-1 | 1-2 | 1-3 | 1-4 |
|------------|-----|------|------|------|------|------------|------|-----|-----|-----|
| Weight (g) | | | | | | Weight (g) | | | | |
| 1.38 | | | | | | 0.78 | | | | |
| 1.32 | | | | | | 0.72 I | | | | |
| 1.26 | | | | | | 0.66 | | | | |
| 1.20 | | | | | II | 0.60 | | | i | |
| 1.14 | | | | | II | 0.54 II | | | | |
| 1.08 | i | | | | IIII | 0.48 II | | | | |
| 1.02 | | | | | | 0.42 Iii | | i | | |
| 0.96 | | | | | I | 0.36 i | | | | i |
| 0.90 | | | | I | | 0.30 | | | | |
| 0.84 | | I | | | OI | 0.24 i | | | | |
| 0.78 | | II | | | IIII | 0.18 i | | | | |
| Mean | | 0.79 | 0.88 | 0.95 | 0.95 | | 0.54 | | | |

Figure 3.18. The metrology of QsT1, QsT2 and HT groups. Heavily worn and damaged coins plotted as 'i', and these are excluded from calculations of mean weights. QsT1-13 not plotted as the only known specimen is a fragment.

| QsD | 1-1 | 1-2 | 1-3 | 1-5 | 1-6 | 2-1 | 2-2 | 2-3 | 2-4 | 2-8 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|-----|
| Weight (g) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.38 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.32 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.26 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.20 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.14 | | | | | | I | | | | |
| 1.08 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.02 | I | | II | | | | | | | |
| 0.96 | II | I | I | | | | | | | |
| 0.90 | II | | | | | | I | | I | |
| 0.84 | | | | | I | | I | | | |
| 0.78 | | | I | I | - | | | | I- | |
| Mean | 0.98 | 1.01 | 0.96 | 0.79 | 0.77 | 1.18 | 0.87 | | 0.78 | |

| QsD | 3-1 | 3-3 | 3-4 | 3-5 | 3-6 | 3-7 | 3-8 | 3-9 | 3-10 | 3-11 | 3-13 |
|------------|------|---------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|--------|------|------|
| Weight (g) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.38 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.32 | II | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.26 | II | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.20 | IIII | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.14 | IIII | | | | | | I | | | | |
| 1.08 | I | | | I | | | | | | | |
| 1.02 | | | I | | I | | | | | | |
| 0.96 | I | | | | | | | | | | I |
| 0.90 | | | | | | | | I | | | |
| 0.84 | i | | | | | | | | III | | I |
| 0.78 | | III---- | | - | | | | | 0----- | | |
| Mean | 1.20 | 0.77 | 1.06 | 0.91 | 1.06 | | 1.15 | 0.92 | 0.79 | | 0.93 |

Silver fractions.

| QsD | 1-4 | 1-7 | 1-8 | 1-9 | 2-5 | 2-6 | 2-7 | 2-10 | 2-11 | 2-13 | 2-15 | 3-2 | 3-12 |
|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Wt (g) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0.66 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0.60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0.54 | | | | | | | I | | | | | | |
| 0.48 | | I | | | | | | | | | I | | |
| 0.42 | | | | | | | | | | | I | | I |
| 0.36 | II | | | | I | I | | | | | I | | |
| 0.30 | | | II | II | | | | | I | II | III | | |
| 0.24 | | | | | | | | I | | | III- | II | |
| Mean | 0.37 | 0.51 | 0.34 | 0.30 | 0.40 | 0.37 | 0.56 | 0.27 | 0.35 | 0.41 | 0.29 | 0.25 | 0.46 |

Figure 3.19. The metrology of QsD1, QsD2 and QsD3 silver units and fractions. Damaged and heavily worn coins are plotted as 'i' and are excluded from calculations of mean weights. '-' Denotes a coin of lower weight than shown on the scale (damaged and heavily worn coins not plotted).

| Wt (g) | Scheers no. 461 | SB1-1 | SB1-2 |
|-----------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| 3.0 | II | | |
| 2.9 | | II | |
| 2.8 | | | |
| 2.7 | | I | |
| 2.6 | | II | |
| 2.5 | | I | |
| 2.4 | | IIII | |
| 2.3 | | IIII | |
| 2.2 | | II | |
| 2.1 | I | i | I |
| 2.0 | | I | I |
| 1.9 | | III | |
| 1.8 | | I | |
| 1.7 | | I | |
| 1.6 | | | |
| 1.5 | | II | |

Figure 3.20. The metrology of the Southern bronze (SB) coins and their prototype. Weight of prototype after Scheers (1977). Heavily worn and damaged coins plotted as 'i'.

metrology. It is clearly wrong to regard all these types as quarter units, as some may be half denominations (given that the mean weight of certain types of 'unit' are as low as 0.77g). Types such as QsD2-15 and QsD3-2 have weight distributions that suggest they are quarter units.

The considerable number of silver types with their varied styles and typology is therefore clearly matched by their equally varied metrology. While all the types may not have circulated alongside one another, it is hard to escape the conclusion that such coins must have been used by weight rather than number. The fractional coinage, which broadly speaking appears to have included two denominations, reflects the quinarius and victoriatus series in the Roman Republican coinage 82.

The metrology of the SB group is shown in figure 3.20. The

weights are plotted beside that of their prototype, Scheers cl. 111, no. 461. From the evidence available the British type covers a wider range than the Gaulish coins. This is interesting as the prototype is apparently a single denomination and has a half unit, Scheers no. 462. There is no stylistically separate half unit in the British series, the SB1-2 weights falling at the lower end of the centre of the SB1-1 weight distribution. This suggests that while the design of the Gaulish type is carefully copied, the denominational structure is not. The lighter weight of SB1-2 is reflected by its deviant style.

METALLURGY.

A total of twenty two analyses are available for the British Q staters (fig. 3.21). While this number is comparatively high, it should be stressed that only single results are available for certain varieties and sub-varieties. Once again it must be stressed that a single test result is little more representative or reliable as a guide than a single weight would be for a type.

The single result for Q1-2 suggests that it was produced to the same standard as Gallo-Belgic F. The main variety of bi-face British Q stater, Q1-3, appears to have been produced from an alloy several percent less rich in gold, the deficit being made up with copper. The two results for Q1-3 with a six spoke wheel below the horse, hint that this number of spokes denotes a more base variety. However, both coins are die linked, the dies

exhibiting similar wear, and both coins are from the Waltham St Lawrence hoard. The two coins may therefore have been produced from the same sub-standard alloy batch.

| Type | No. of spokes | Au | Ar | Cu | Coin tested | Source |
|------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Q1-2 | 8 | 55.89 | 29.54 | 13.83 | RVA | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-3 | 7 | 51.0 | 36.0 | 13.0 | BM644 | Hall & Metcalf 1972, 37,n2. |
| Q1-3 | 7 | 52.1 | 34.8 | 13.1 | BM643 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-3 | 8 | 50.9 | 36.1 | 13.0 | BM646 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-3 | 6 | 42.0 | 38.0 | 20.0 | W-S-L6 | Burnett 1990, 21 |
| Q1-3 | 6 | 41.4 | 38.6 | 20.1 | W-S-L5 | Burnett 1990, 21 |
| Q1-5 | 6 | 66.5 | 22.9 | 11.6 | BM 656 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-5 | 7 | 50.59 | 34.61 | 14.69 | AAU9 | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-5 | 8 | 53.2 | 22.9 | 16.6 | BM 658 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-5 | 8 | 51.2 | 34.1 | 14.7 | BM 650 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-5 | 8 | 49.9 | 35.49 | 14.44 | AAU12 | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-5 | 8 | 51.7 | 34.98 | 13.12 | AAU14 | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-5 | 9 | 51.17 | 26.67 | 22.06 | AAU10 | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-5 | ? | 48.31 | 29.35 | 21.68 | AAU11 | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-6 | 6 | 50.6 | 34.3 | 14.8 | BM 657 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-6 | 6 | 46.2 | 29.7 | 23.8 | BM 661 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-8 | 6 | 44.9 | 19.0 | 35.8 | BM 667 | Cowell 1992, 212 |

Mean compositions:

| Type | Au | Ar | Cu | Number of specimens |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|---------------------|
| Gallo-Belgic F | 54.48 | 33.36 | 12.16 | 5 |
| Q1-2 | 55.89 | 29.54 | 13.83 | 1 |
| Q1-3 | 47.48 | 36.7 | 15.84 | 5 |
| Q1-5 | 52.82 | 30.13 | 16.11 | 8 |
| Q1-6 | 48.4 | 32.0 | 19.3 | 2 |
| Q1-8 | 44.9 | 19.0 | 35.8 | 1 |

Figure 3.21. The metallurgy of British Q1-2 - Q1-8. the mean figure for Gallo-Belgic F is taken from Cowell 1992, 209, and includes BM 649, published by Cowell as British Qa (1992, 212) which is in fact a specimen of Gallo-Belgic F.

The uniface staters, Q1-5, appear to have been struck from broadly the same alloy as Q1-3. The mean alloy is however slightly finer and this, along with the uniface appearance of Q1-6 may attest to the appearance of Gallo-Belgic E staters in the currency pool. From the results available, there is again some suggestion that coins with a six spoke wheel on the reverse may have been produced from an irregular alloy; the same suggestion is made by the specimen tested with the nine spoke wheel. Q1-6 appear to have been produced in broadly the same alloy as Q1-5.

The alloy employed for Q1-2 - Q1-6 compares to that of British La (Cowell 1992, 212), as does their metrology (p.157). The alloy used for the main types of British Q compares to certain analyses of British A2 (fig. 2.9), although hoards and metrology suggest the two types are separate in time. The alloy employed for the main types of Q contains about 8-10% less gold than Gallo-Belgic E, the deficiency being made up by copper alone (Cowell, Oddy & Burnett 1987; Burnett & Cowell 1988), and it appears quite possible that the alloy for Q may have been obtained by debasing Gallo-Belgic E.

The single analysis of Q1-8 shows it to be significantly more copper rich than other British Q staters tested. This accords with the peculiar style, metrology and distribution of the type. The alloy only really compares with Q1-10 (fig. 3.22) and that of British Ra 83 and the latter wholly agrees with the distribution of this type.

The metallurgical analyses of the lighter and 'derivative'

types of British Q is shown in figure 3.22. It appears that all the coins tested were produced from alloys more base than those used for Q1-2 to Q1-6. The analysis of Q1-10 suggests that a similar amount of gold to the main series may have been intended, although the silver and copper are present in different proportions. While the style of the engraving is similar to that of the main types Q1-3 and Q1-5, the peculiar weight and unusual alloy suggest the type is an off-shoot.

The result for Q1-11 suggests that it was produced from a similar alloy to British Ma, an alloy far more copper-rich than that used in the main British Q series. The result for Q1-13 indicate that this type was a small off-shoot from British Q, produced from a peculiar alloy. The very coppery appearance of this type may go some way to explain why two of the three recorded specimens are copper alloy cores. The alloy of this type is not dissimilar to that used for British Ma (fig. 3.23), both types portraying similarly naturalistic horses on their reverses.

The analyses of uninscribed staters from the study area which are not typologically related to British Q are shown in

| Type | Au | Ar | Cu | Source |
|-------|-------|------|-------|---------------------|
| Q1-10 | 44.1 | 22.2 | 34.3 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Q1-11 | 48.52 | 13.0 | 38.06 | Northover 1992, 283 |
| Q1-13 | 31.7 | 28.1 | 38.0 | Cowell 1992, 212 |

Figure 3.22. The metallurgy of lighter British Q types and derivative types.

figure 3.23. To date, three Ma1 staters, two Ma2 staters and two Lz3 staters have been tested.

The results present a coherent picture, and it is clear that none of the analyses directly compare with the main British Q series. It is clear that British Ma1 is more noble than British Mb, confirming the visual impression given by these coins (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989, 345). While British Ma1 and Mb have a similar silver content that of Ma2 is significantly higher. This suggests that Ma2 is not a final part of Ma1 nor the initial stages of Mb as the typology might suggest. Instead it seems to have been a separate series based on Ma1, which in turn was used as the model for the separate Mb series. British Ma1 is more base than British L, and it seems probable finer culled coins (possibly British La or Q1-1 - Q1-6) were alloyed with copper or bronze (contra Cowell 1992, 222 who treats Ma1 and Ma2 together). The alloy for Ma2 does not appear to have been arrived at by simple debasement using copper or bronze. British Mb is significantly more base and like British Ma1 may be derived from finer coin simply debased using copper or bronze (Cowell 1992, 222).

The alloy of Ma1 compares to that of Q1-10 and broadly to uninscribed staters of Kent (Bean forthcoming²) and also to later inscribed issues of Verica (fig. 8.7). The presence of tin sets this issue apart, and may have been introduced in the copper alloy used to debase this issue (we may infer from the virtual absence of tin in British Q that the metal sources for the alloy

were different from those utilised for Lz3 and British M).

British Lz3 appears to have a peculiar alloy, particularly low in silver. No analyses have been published for the attendant quarter stater type (Ly3), although for what it is worth visual inspection suggests that they are struck from a similar alloy. Cowell suggested that copper or bronze may have simply been used to debase culled finer coins for this alloy (1992, 222). The alloy compares with some of the Verica's least noble coins (fig. 8.7) and to certain inscribed staters of the Dobunni (Cowell 1992, 215).

Four thin flan quarter staters have been tested, all belong to the main group, QcT1 (fig. 3.24). The types depicting a horse

| Type | Au | Ag | Cu | Sn | Source. |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|------|------------------|
| Ma1 | 39.4 | 19.5 | 39.3 | 1.8 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Ma1 | 38.7 | 16.3 | 42.5 | 2.6 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Ma1 | 44.2 | 20.8 | 34.5 | 0.5 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Ma2 | 36.2 | 37.3 | 25.2 | 1.4 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Ma2 | 36.4 | 31.8 | 30.5 | 1.3 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Mb | 28 | 15.8 | 54.1 | 2.1 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Mb | 27.7 | 16.8 | 50.5 | 4.9 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Mb | 23.1 | 19.1 | 53.1 | 4.1 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Average Ma1 | 40.77 | 18.87 | 38.77 | 1.63 | |
| Average Ma2 | 36.3 | 34.55 | 27.85 | 1.35 | |
| Average Mb | 26.43 | 17.23 | 52.27 | 3.7 | |
| Lz3 | 40.9 | 9.7 | 48.1 | 1.3 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Lz3 | 41.9 | 7.3 | 50.6 | 0.2 | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| Average Lz3 | 41.4 | 8.5 | 49.35 | 0.75 | |

Figure 3.23. Composition of coins not directly related to British Q originating in the study area.

| Type | Au | Ag | Cu |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|
| QcTM1-1 | 54.78 | 33.47 | 11.29 |
| QcTM1-1 | 51.38 | 29.98 | 17.97 |
| QcT1-3 | 51.75 | 33.82 | 14.52 |
| QcT1-4 | 46.02 | 33.85 | 19.61 |
| Mean alloy | 50.98 | 32.78 | 15.85 |

Figure 3.24. Metallurgical test results for the thin flan quarter staters. After Northover 1992, 283 with corrections.

with a mane and those without, were struck on flans of broadly the same alloy. The typologically late and possibly derivative type, QcT1-4, is suggested by the single result to be a little more base.

The results indicate that these thin flan quarter staters were struck on flans of the same alloy as staters Q1-2 - Q1-5.

There are no results available at present for coins of the QcT2 and QcT3 groups. Visual inspection indicates that both types of QcT2 are struck in an alloy which is marginally redder (and by implication more cupreous) than QcT1 and QcTM. Of the three QcT3 I have been able to inspect, both the specimens of QcT3-3 and QcT3-3a have a similar yellow appearance. The QcT3-2 appears to be toning to a redder colour, however, suggesting that this coin at least may have gained its more noble yellow appearance by a cleaning process⁸⁴.

The 12 tests on silver coins are shown in figure 3.25. Seven contain c.70 - c. 85 % silver, the remainder being made up with copper and tin (bronze). There is significant variation within this group of alloys, once again reflecting the fragmented impression given by the metrology and the stylistic examination.

The silver content compares to a number of Gaulish coins⁸⁵ (Northover 1992, 279; Zwicker 1984, 484-512), although none of these contain more than a trace of tin. This would suggest that Gaulish coins are not the source for these British coins. A direct Roman source also appears unlikely, as the Republican, Imperial and early Imperial denarii are consistently above 95% silver (Walker 1976, 1980). It might be suggested that Roman coins provided a source for the silver, which was then debased in Britain using bronze alloys to reach a silver content comparable to that of the Gaulish coins.

The alloy of the bronze used to debase the coins varies significantly. The high level of tin in the second specimen of QsT3-6a indicates that the alloys for the two coins tested are significantly different⁸⁶. Such a haphazard use of alloys accords with the extreme die wear which is a characteristic of the type and might suggest a hurried or at least careless issue. The unusually low silver content of this type is also in agreement with such scenarios.

The QsT1-12 tested is struck on a flan of comparatively finer alloy, which compares closely to that of certain Gaulish coins (Northover 1992, 279; Zwicker 1984), suggesting a continental origin for the metal. The two QsD3-1 tested show this type to be the most noble amongst the uninscribed silver, the alloy comparing most closely to the Roman denarii of the period (Walker 1976, 24-5; 1980, 55-72); such a source may be suspected⁸⁷.

The high tin content of many of the silver coins has implications for their relationship with the gold types. As it is difficult to identify a direct source for the silver, it appears that it may have arrived in a fairly pure form and then debased using tin-rich bronze. It would also appear that purer gold was

| Type | % Ag | Cu | Au | Zn | Sn | Source |
|---------|-------|--------|------|------|-------|-----------------------|
| QsT1-12 | 94.6 | 4.4 | 0.6 | 0.1 | | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsT3-5 | 80.1 | 11.7* | 0.3 | 0.3 | 6.81* | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsT3-6a | 67.3 | 30.3 | 0.6 | 1.8 | | Cheeseman forthcoming |
| QsT3-6a | 52.9 | 38.4 | | | 8.7 | Cheeseman forthcoming |
| QsD1-3 | 82.1 | 17.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsD1-4 | 71.6* | 20.9* | 0.4 | 0.7 | 3.8* | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsD1-6 | 85.9 | 8.64* | 0.6 | 0.1 | 3.51* | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsD2-13 | 68.1* | 25.7* | 0.7 | 0.3 | 4.16* | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsD2-15 | 74.5* | 16.27* | 0.1* | 0.8* | 6.6* | Northover 1992, 289 |
| QsD3-1 | 97.1 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 0.1 | | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsD3-1 | 96.2 | 2.6 | 0.4 | 0.1 | | Northover 1992, 288 |
| QsD3-10 | 76.0 | 10.8 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 10.8 | Northover 1992, 288 |

Figure 3.25. The metallurgy of the uninscribed silver coins. '*' denotes that corrosion may have effected the alloy. Note Northover 1992, 288, AGA4 is an East Anglian type, Chadburn pers. comm.

debased to produce British Q and QcT/QcTM, however this was debased with a low tin bronze. It might be argued that different bronze alloys were employed to debase the silver and gold series. This however seems unlikely given the variation of the tin content within the silver coins tested. It seems more likely that different mints were responsible for the production of British Q and the tin-rich silver. This would accord with the typological and stylistic separation of British Q, QcT/QcTM and the silver series. Tin is present in British Ma, Ma1 and LZB B9, although

in smaller quantities than the silver; none of these gold types can be directly related to the silver.

These metallurgical results may be complemented by a visual examination assessing the purity of the silver coins⁹⁰. Figure 3.26 shows the results of a visual analysis of the uninscribed silver types, and from the metallurgical tests available those visually designated base may be suspected to contain less than 70% silver. While this is a subjective analysis, the metallurgical results confirm that coins with granular and thus dull surfaces are indeed base, while finer coins have better surfaces.

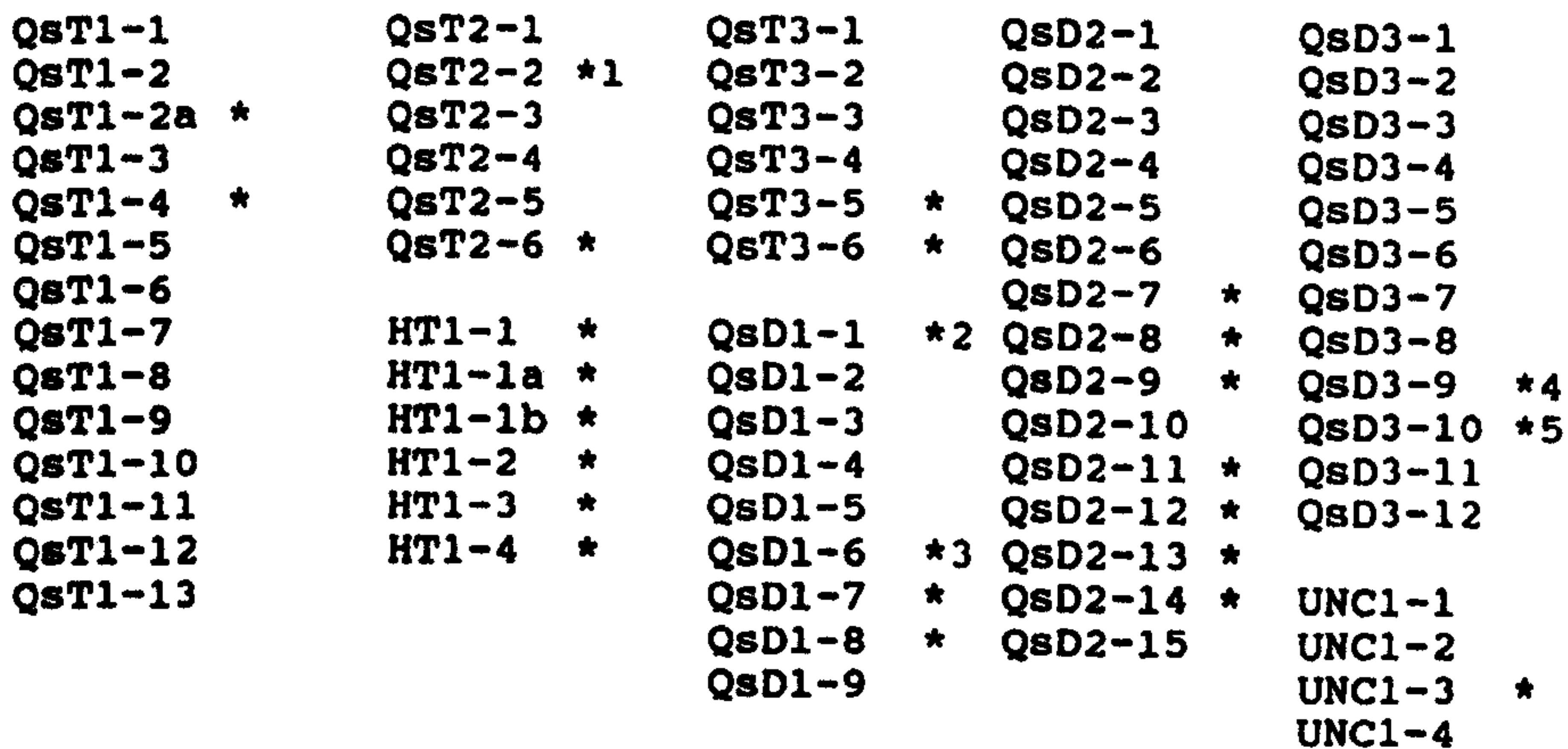
From this examination the HT group is the only group produced exclusively from base silver. It is interesting to note that QsT2-6, which is stylistically and metrologically similar to the HT group, is also encountered in base silver. The QsT1-2a from Hayling Island, which has a somewhat Gaulish appearance, is struck on a very base flan⁹¹. The one known specimen of QsT1-4 has a somewhat base and blistered appearance. The QsT1 group is on the whole not encountered on base flans, and while QsT1-4 appears base this may only underline the typological diversity of the group. Both specimens of QsT3-5 appear to have been struck on base silver flans⁹².

It would appear that the silver fractions are not necessarily more base than the units. Certain fractions do however appear to have been struck on baser flans. The base fraction QcD1-7 is type linked to the unit QsD2-6 which also

appears base. The fraction QsD2-7 appears to be struck on a base flan which may support a Dobunnic origin for the type 93. The fractions QsD2-11 - QsD2-14 were all apparently struck in base silver, reflecting the somewhat Armorican appearance of QcD2-11 and QcD2-12 94. The silver fractions QsD2-8 and QsD2-9 which are of crude style also appear base.

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| QsT1-1 | QsT2-1 | QsT3-1 | QsD2-1 | QsD3-1 |
| QsT1-2 | QsT2-2 *1 | QsT3-2 | QsD2-2 | QsD3-2 |
| QsT1-2a * | QsT2-3 | QsT3-3 | QsD2-3 | QsD3-3 |
| QsT1-3 | QsT2-4 | QsT3-4 | QsD2-4 | QsD3-4 |
| QsT1-4 * | QsT2-5 | QsT3-5 * | QsD2-5 | QsD3-5 |
| QsT1-5 | QsT2-6 * | QsT3-6 * | QsD2-6 | QsD3-6 |
| QsT1-6 | | | QsD2-7 * | QsD3-7 |
| QsT1-7 | HT1-1 * | QsD1-1 *2 | QsD2-8 * | QsD3-8 |
| QsT1-8 | HT1-1a * | QsD1-2 | QsD2-9 * | QsD3-9 *4 |
| QsT1-9 | HT1-1b * | QsD1-3 | QsD2-10 | QsD3-10 *5 |
| QsT1-10 | HT1-2 * | QsD1-4 | QsD2-11 * | QsD3-11 |
| QsT1-11 | HT1-3 * | QsD1-5 | QsD2-12 * | QsD3-12 |
| QsT1-12 | HT1-4 * | QsD1-6 *3 | QsD2-13 * | |
| QsT1-13 | | QsD1-7 * | QsD2-14 * | UNC1-1 |
| | | QsD1-8 * | QsD2-15 | UNC1-2 |
| | | QsD1-9 | | UNC1-3 * |
| | | | | UNC1-4 |

1. The reverse of the one known specimen appears base, this is partly illusory as the surface is blistered.
2. Some, but not all coins have a somewhat base appearance.
3. As note 2, many of this type are overstruck on QsD1-1.
4. Single specimen available.
5. As note 2.

Figure 3.26. A visual analysis of the fineness of the uninscribed silver types, base types marked '*'.


DIE STUDY

The 35 specimens of biface Q, Q1-1 - Q1-3a are struck from 12 obverse and 15 reverse dies (fig. 3.27). A further coin, (Oxf. In. 72.0032) which is of uncertain authenticity (p.181) may preserve a further set of dies. The 24 specimens of the intermediate class, Q1-4, are struck from 2 obverse and 9 reverse dies. In addition there appear to be at least three sets of modern forgers dies for Q1-1 - Q1-4 95. The plated coin from Waltham St Lawrence appears to have been struck either from official dies or dies derived from hubbing off a genuine coin.

The dies generally appear to have been used in pairs for Q1-1 - Q1-3a, and there are few links outside these pairings. There are no die links between different types, with the exception of Q1-3 and Q1-4, which by definition are linked as the obverse die is initially fresh then becomes very heavily worn.

The transition from biface to uniface coins is clearly charted by the dies. The transition may have begun with obverse die M. This was very worn when used to strike coin BM 647a although the bottom pair of fronds, the lower part of the wreath, and the box containing pellets have been re-engraved. The transition process had certainly started by the time of the die pairing N-q, only one coin is known from this pairing, coin NMW C 067, whose obverse die is very worn. The obverse die was then paired with reverse die r. This pair of dies are heavily used, and the reverse die became very worn and clogged. The obverse die

was now nearly smooth with only faint traces of the wreath. The obverse die continued in use and was paired with five further reverse dies, s, t, u, v and w, none of which were as heavily used as r. The obverse die now bore no more than a faint band⁹⁶, and a remnant of the bisecting line is visible to the right of the wreath. Something unusual then occurred. The obverse die, now bearing only the faintest remnant of a band, produced a rough impression from its centre resembling an untidy snail shell (e.g. BM 655)⁹⁷. This must have either been a large and well adhered chunk of rust or metal. The protruding mass itself gradually became worn, so that eventually only the central cavity identifies the die. It is likely that once this was worn away, the die continued in use, although with the last trace of diagnostic design worn away, it cannot be detected. The obverse die N was used to produce 24 (or 41%) of the 59 coins available for die study. Both dies C-d for Q1-1a were worn when used to strike coin Oxf. In. 72.00031. A radical interpretation, rejecting the apparent typological sequence presented above, might argue that Q1-1/Q1-1a formed a parallel series to Q1-3, and also went through a transitional phase. This does however go against the typology and metrology; a single coin from worn dies (which is also circulation worn) is slender evidence.

A further specimen, coin Oxf. In. 73.0032, may preserve an additional set of intermediate dies. From the photograph of this coin in the Oxford Index another very worn obverse die is apparently preserved, but while the die is worn, it does not

appear to link to any other recorded dies. The wear is somewhat uncharacteristic, as none of the major features appears to have clogged in the wearing process. It is difficult to make sense of the reverse (also a previously unrecorded die) which appears to have been double struck from a damaged die. The slightly faltering style of the reverse matches, as does the peculiar pellet behind the hoof, the reverse of a modern forgery (Oxf. In. 72.00027), also in the König collection. This coin, likewise, is probably modern.

The 68 specimens of Q1-5 were struck from 29 reverse dies. This ratio of extant coins to reverse dies compares with that for the biface and intermediate types (35 coins, 15 reverse dies), indicating, as the metallurgy and metrology suggest, that the biface coins were not recalled to produce the uniface staters. The obverse of one coin (Spink Auc. 19/3/81 lot 206) bears the faintest traces of what could be the biface die N. This is paired with the new reverse die, a. Other coins from die a have a completely blank obverses, the coinage is now truly uniface. The obverses sometimes show a wide ring at the edge of the flan, apparently the result of die clashes. The fact that these rings often appear sharp and without design suggest that a collar was now being used around the reverse die. These ring-like traces are absent on the biface staters. There are two modern forgeries, both from the same reverse die (Oxf. In. 72.0033, 72.0034).

The two specimens of Q1-6 are both struck from different dies. Only one specimen of Q1-7 is known. The three specimens of

Q1-8 from the territory of the Dobunni are struck from three different reverse dies. All three dies exhibit noticeable signs of wear. There are two plated cores of Q1-8 are of similar style to the gold staters, but neither is struck from known dies.

The eight specimens of Q1-9 are struck from four obverse dies and five reverse dies. Obverse die D (of type Q1-9a) links to reverse dies d (type Q1-9) and e (Q1-9a), the sequence is confirmed by obverse die wear and shows Q1-9a to be die linked to Q1-9. The impression from die C on coin BM 663 indicates that the die has become rusty or corroded. This suggests that minting spanned some time, and that the type was not a short issue during which all four obverse dies were rapidly used to exhaustion.

The seven genuine specimens of Q1-10 available for study are struck from at least two obverse and three reverse dies. The three plated cores of this type appear to be struck from dies of the correct style, and they may preserve two genuine pairs of otherwise unrecorded dies⁹⁸. The core from Silchester appears of unusually heavy style and is perhaps from false dies.

Both specimens of Q1-11 are struck from the same pair of dies. A single pair of dies are preserved by the one specimen of Q1-12.

Only one genuine specimen of Q1-13 is known. The two other coins recorded, both plated cores, are of the same confident naturalistic style. If they are from genuine dies or dies derived from hubbing genuine coins, as seems likely, a further pair of dies are represented.

The 15 specimens of British Mal available for study struck from seven obverse and five reverse dies. The plated core from Birling is struck from different dies of a style that suggests they are unofficial. Obverse die A appears to be closest to the

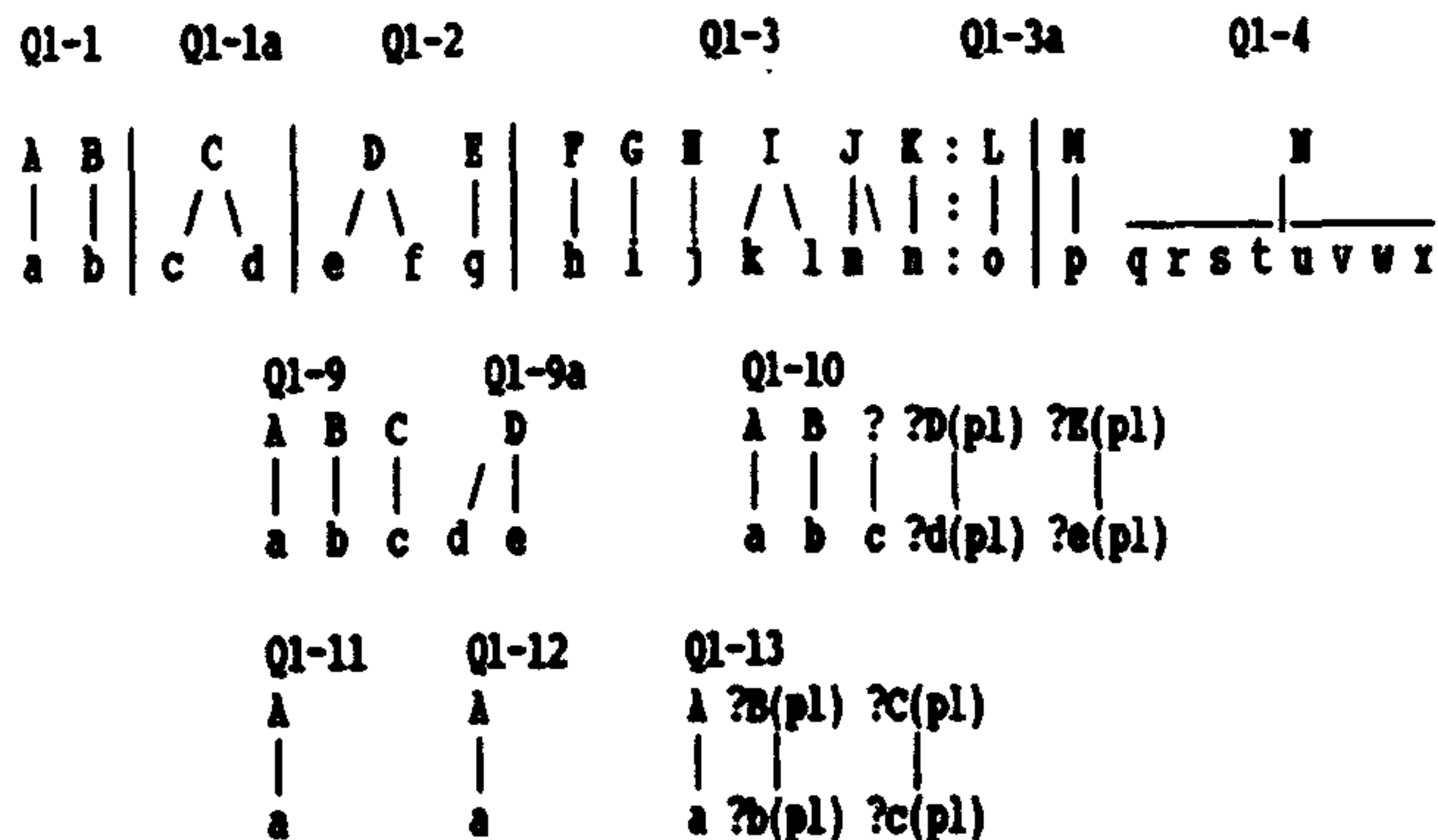


Figure 3.27. To illustrate the die pairings of British Q staters. Q1-4 - Q1-8 are not shown as they are uniface. Those represented for example by '?A(pl)' are dies of apparently good style but only preserved on plated cores.

prototype (British L, fig. 3.33), and die B appears transitional to the main type, dies C-G. Dies C-G become more ornamented, with further pellets between the fronds in the quadrants. The basic reverse design remains constant and engraved to very consistent dimensions⁹⁹. Like the obverse, the reverse dies appear to become more ornate with increasing ornamentation in the field. Two groups may be discerned. Dies a and b depict a six-spoke wheel below the horse, and the decoration in the field is of solid pellets. Dies c-e depict an eight-spoke wheel and use rings as well as pellets in the field. The most ornate reverse die is die

e, which has arms of pellets between the full arms of the whorl above the horse. The variations in ornamentation are summarised in figure 3.28. The dies used to strike the plated stater BM 198 appear to be irregular in style.

The obverse to reverse die ratio for Ma1 is peculiar at 7:5. This is partly explained by reverse die c, which becomes heavily worn; wear which determines the ordering of obverse dies C-E. The ratio, which one might expect to be 5:7, may partly be explained by the unusually flat flans of these coins. This indicates that both dies were also flat, rather than concave and convex, and therefore less likely to have suffered differential stresses and wear.

British Ma2 is struck from at least one obverse and three reverse dies. The obverse die is only clear on one specimen and in its heavily worn state may be paired with die b. Die c is paired with a practically blank obverse die. Reverse die a is without ornamentation in the field; however both reverse dies b and c have ornamentation comparable to the more ornate examples of British Ma1. Ma2 are encountered struck on slightly dished flans.

British Lz3 is struck from two reverse dies. On die a, the thumb of the hand above the horse points right, and there is a nine spoke-wheel below the horse. On die b the thumb is to the left and the wheel has eight spokes. Although obverse die A is devoid of design, it has a flaw across it and appears to have been used with both reverse dies. The five lines seen at the

Ma1 OBVERSE:

| Die | A | B | C | D | E | F | G |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obv. die A | x | | | | | | |
| Obv. die B | | x | | | | | |
| Obv. die C-G | | | x | x | x | x | x |
| Line between opposed crescents | | | x | x | | x | x |
| Pellets between frons | | | | | x | x | x |
| Quadrants hemmed by solid lines | x | x | | | | | |
| Quadrants hemmed by dotted lines | | | x | x | x | x | x |
| Ring at angle of above line | | | x | | | | |

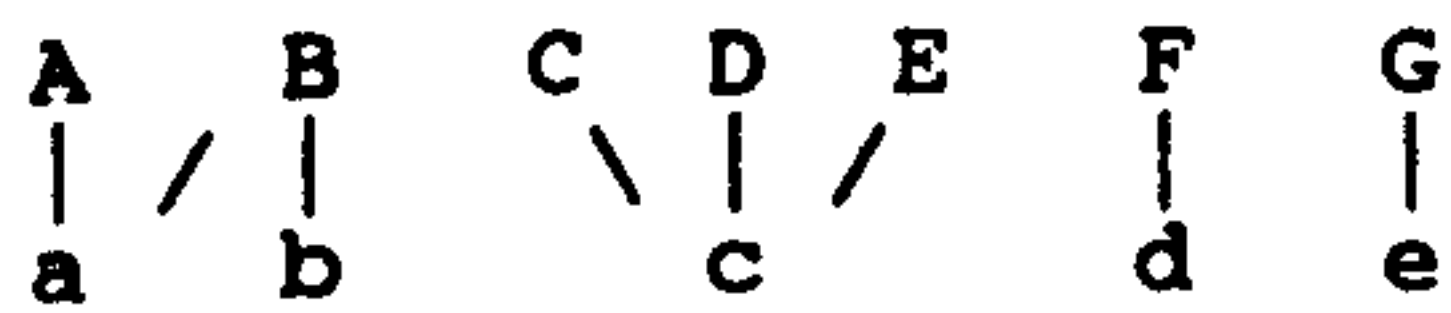
Ma1 REVERSE:



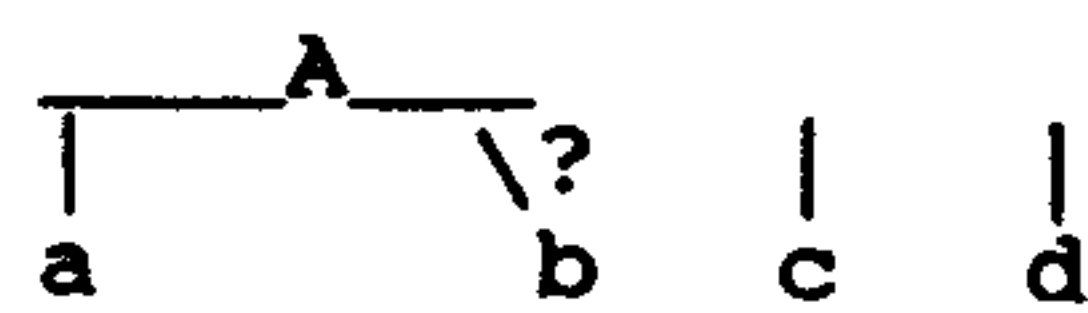
Basic reverse design reconstruction 2:1.

| Position | Die | a | b | c | d | e |
|----------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | • | | | | ☼ |
| 2 | | • | | | | • |
| 3 | | | • | • | • | • |
| 4 | | | | • | • | • |
| 5 | | • | • | • | • | • |
| 6 | | • | | • | • | • |
| 7 | | ☼ | ☼ | ☼ | ☼ | ☼ |
| 8 | | | | • | • | • |
| 9 | | | | • | • | • |
| 10 | | | | • | • | • |

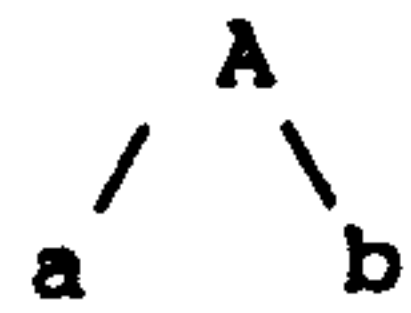
Ma1



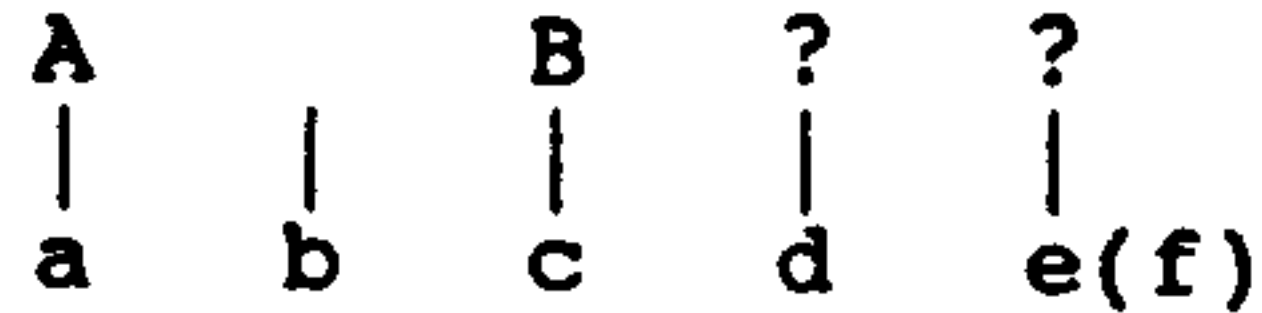
Ma2-1 2-2



Lz3



Ly3



Ma1 :Surviving coin to obverse die ratio: 7:15
 Ma2 : : 1:3?
 Lz3 : : 1:4
 Ly3 : : 2+:6

Figure 3.28: Variations in design on Ma 1 dies. Die pairings and ratios for Ma1, Ma2, Lz3 and Ly3.

edge of the obverse flan by Mack (1976, 74) appear to be the impression of the hind feet from the reverse, impressed on the obverse die by a clashing of the dies. Several coins are known from a pair of modern forgery dies (e.g. Oxf. In. 73.0829).

The attendant quarter stater, Ly3, is struck from four reverse dies, one of which is a variant in having a pellet below the horse's belly (die c). The faint banding and flaws on the obverse enable the identification of at least two obverse dies. A plated coin, BM 224, appears to be from irregular dies and is struck on an unusually thin flan.

The die study of the thin flan quarter staters QcT1/QcTM (fig.3.29) identifies a total of 76 obverse and 77 reverse dies.

A total of 22 obverse and 22 reverse dies are recorded for QcT1-1. The dies are usually used in straight pairs, there are no links between sub-varieties and no obverse links between reverses with different numbers of spokes in the wheel. Several of the die pairs are used until they are heavily worn, and obverse die E in particular is used until nearly blank (e.g. Allen 1964, nos 5, 6). This could possibly parallel the intermediate class of staters, although as no uniface series of thin flan quarter stater develops, it seems more likely to be a result of poor practice at the mint. The extant specimens from dies Fg all have a very cupreous appearance, suggesting that they were produced from sub-standard alloy batch.

19 obverse and 16 reverse dies can be identified for QcT1-2. The surviving sample shows only a few cross die links. Where

cross pairing occurs, it is usually two obverse dies paired to a single reverse die. Usually one obverse die is worn and the other fresh; some reverse dies (e.g. a,b,c) do become extremely worn. This linking may indicate the small size of our sample, which may have originally been far more closely linked.

There are four obverse and six reverse dies recorded for QcT1-3. This appears to be a far smaller series than the preceding types, and the die patterning is rather different. Dies Df are placed last as a number of coins from this combination exhibit significant die wear. Only one specimen of Qc1-4 is recorded.

From the surviving specimens of QcTM1-1 it is possible to identify 23 obverse and 24 reverse dies. Most appear to be used in pairs; there are few cross links between pairs, and none yet identified between sub-varieties. From the surviving sample, the dies appear to be replaced fairly frequently, only die Cc, De and Xw being heavily worn¹⁰¹.

The surviving specimens of QcTM1-2 preserve eight obverse and seven reverse dies. Certain die pairs become particularly worn, for example Dd, Gf and Ee ¹⁰². There are two obverse and three reverse dies recorded for QcTM1-3, and the obverse dies are sometimes heavily worn.

The die study of quarter stater groups QcT2 and QcT3, (fig. 3.29) show these groups to have been far smaller issues than the main QcT1 and QcTM types.

The two extant specimens of QcT2-1 are struck from the same obverse die but from different reverse dies. A further pair of

dies of very inferior style appear to be modern (Van Arsdell 1989, 554, 236-1f). The three extant specimens of QcT2-2 are struck from three separate pairs of dies, reverse die c introduces a minor variant in that a pellet is shown before the fore-knee of the horse. A plated coin is known, apparently from unrecorded dies. The dies are of similar style to the three genuine die pairs and this coin may either have been struck from genuine dies or false dies produced by hubbing103.

All known specimens of the QcT3 group are struck from different pairs of dies; there are no die links connecting the different varieties. The plated specimen of QcT3-2 from Danebury is of good style, and may be from a further set of genuine dies or derived from a genuine coin by hubbing104.

The numerical scarcity of most types QcD is reflected by the small number of recorded dies (fig. 3.30). Both specimens of QcD1-1 are from the same dies, and the single specimens of QcD1-2 and QcD1-3 each preserve a further pair of dies. The obverse dies used to strike QcD1-4 and QcD1-5 are both extremely worn on extant coins, and the reverse dies show similar, though not so extreme wear. The near illegible obverse die used for QcD1-5 was possibly that used for QcD1-4 or QcD1-6, but in a far more worn state. The obverse die preserved on the single extant specimen of QcD1-6 certainly shows heavy wear. By contrast the pair of dies used to strike the one extant specimen of QcD1-7 are fairly fresh. Both QcD1-8 and QcD1-9 are known from single sea-worn specimens.

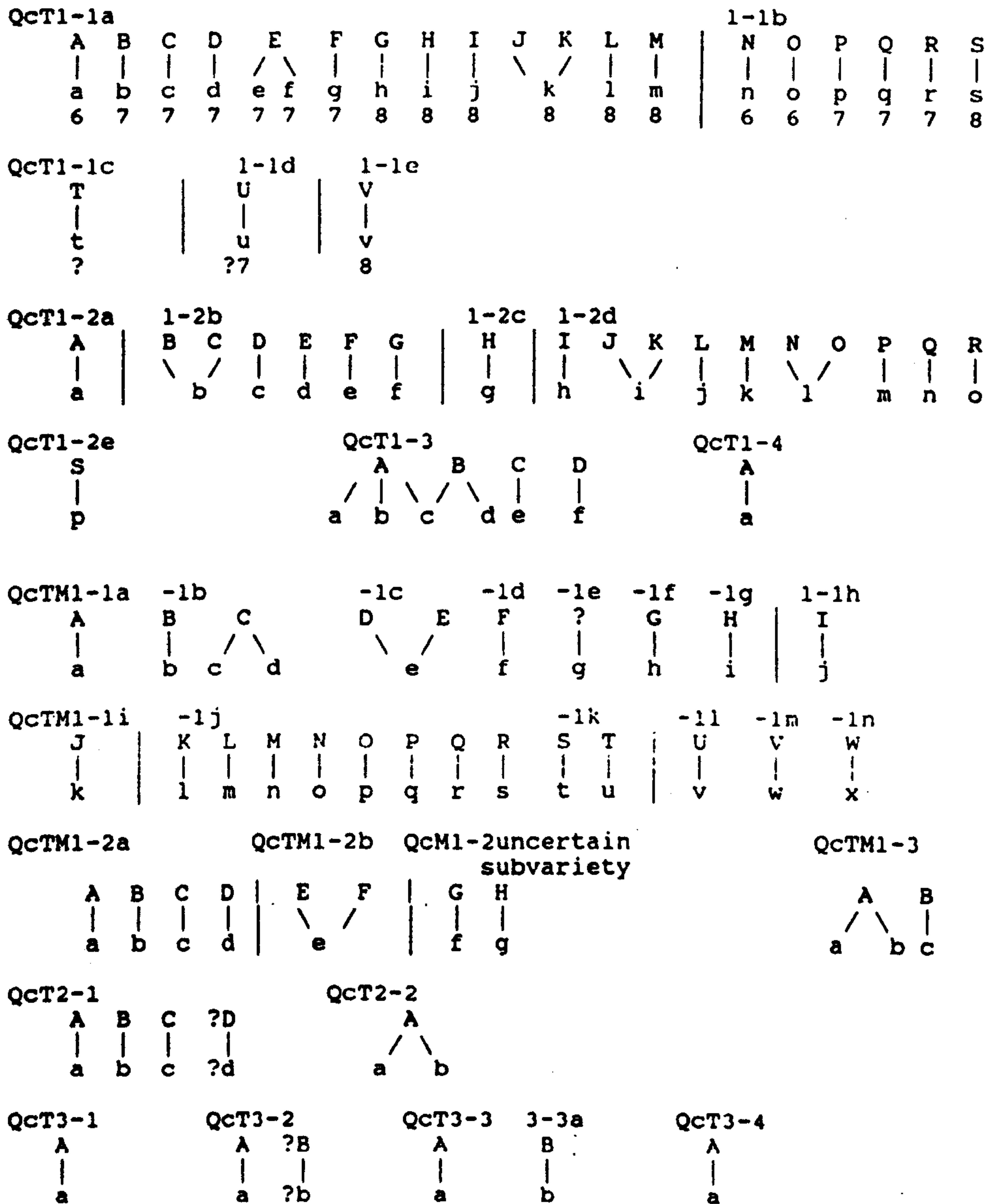


Figure 3.29. A summary of the die study of QcT1, QcTM, QcT2 and QcT3 (numbers shown beneath reverse dies indicate number of spokes shown in wheel).

Beyond the sea wear, it might be suggested that the obverse die used for QcD1-9 is worn. The obverse die used to strike the only extant specimen of QcD1-11 is very worn, and the reverse die appears to be badly damaged above and below the horse. The impression gained is that the dies for QcD1 were used to near exhaustion, particularly for the later types. This is in contrast to the thin flan fractions where only odd pairs (possibly at the end of the sequence) are encountered with significant wear.

The unusually light QcD1-10 is struck from a single obverse die and three reverse dies, the obverse die becomes noticeably worn and is later re-engraved (A1; BM 709). The plated core from Hayling Island is struck from, or derived by hubbing a real coin, dies Ab. A very poor modern forgery, presumably of this type, is known (Oxf. In. 72.0051).

The three genuine specimens of QcD2 are struck from different pairs of dies, the designs of which differ in detail. The two plated specimens are struck from pairs of dies of the same style, the designs of which differ in detail.

The dies for the first four types of QcD3 are not numerous. QcD3-5 - 3-7 are only known from plated specimens. It might be argued that these are forgers inventions, but there are a number of factors which argue against this. Firstly their typology and style can be accommodated in the thick flan gold fraction series. Secondly, several silver coins appear to be linked by elements of design and style to the plated gold fractions. It also seems

perverse that a forger ancient or modern, should create a new type whose validity might be questioned, when there were plenty of available model types whose designs could be quickly copied by hubbing. Finally, other types such as the Icenian ECEN stater were known from plated staters long before genuine coins emerged. It may also be observed that both plated specimens of QcD3-7 are from separate pairs of dies, both of which are of the very similar style.

The group of fractions depicting only a vestige of a wreath on the obverse, QcD3-8 - 3-11, represent a more substantial issue. A total of nine obverse and ten reverse dies are recorded, with a possible further pair preserved in a plated coin (BM 218). This plated coin, of type QcD3-9, is struck from a reverse die closely resembling (but different to) die a. The die study of QcD3-10 is hampered by the sea-worn condition of many of the coins. Even when sea wear is taken into account it is clear that the obverse dies used to produce these coins became very worn.

QcD4-1 were struck from two obverse and three reverse dies. The wear to the obverse die linking QcD4-1 (die b) and QcD4-1a (die c) confirms the ordering, the obverse die being more worn in the latter instance. Both obverse dies and reverse dies b and c are quite heavily used, extant coins exhibiting die wear and clogging.

The die study of the uninscribed silver types (fig. 3.31)105 shows that only one or two pairs of dies survive for the QsT1 and QsT2 groups. In some cases this reflects the fact that only

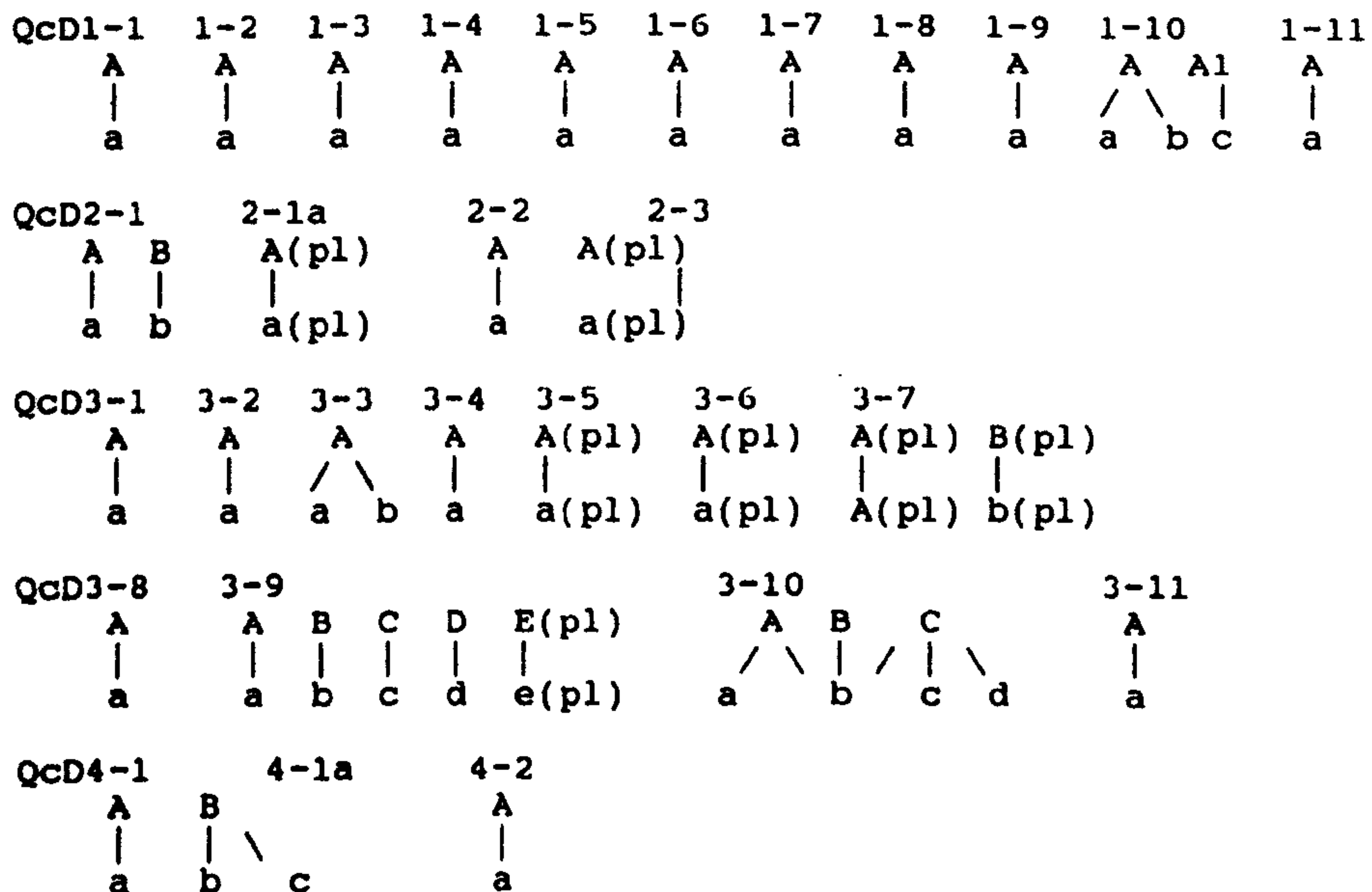


Figure 3.30. A summary of the die study of dumpy flan gold fractions. '(pl)' denotes dies of correct style only recorded in plated specimens.

single specimens are known of a type, but when several specimens are known (for example QsT1-1, 1-4 and 1-5) there is significant duplication of dies in the record. The impression gained is that when one set of dies became exhausted the new set was often prepared bearing new designs. In a way this reflects the fragmentation suggested by the metrology and typology.

More dies survive for the QsT3 group, and in particular for QsT3-6/a. This issue is by far the latest in typological terms, and stands stylistically and metallurgically apart from other silver types. This is confirmed by the large number in the Wanborough temple deposit, where it appears to be the earliest

type of silver, preceding those attributed to Commios. The number of dies used for QsT3-6/a directly compares with the numbers used for certain QsD3 types, which also depict a head on obverse and a horse on the reverse. The QsT3-6/a dies were used until very worn and flawed, the obverse dies became nearly blank and the horse's head on the reverse was crudely recut.

The QsD1 and QsD2 groups follow the pattern of the thin flan groups in that only one or two pairs of dies survive for each type¹⁰⁶. While this is also true for certain types of QsT3, a number of 'face-horse' types have a significantly larger number of surviving dies, notably QsT3-1, 3-3, 3-5 and 3-10. The dies for QsD3-1 and QsD3-10 in particular are used until they become very worn¹⁰⁷. The same is true of the dies used for QsT3-6/a, which also appear to be late in the sequence.

Several dies show signs of re-engraving. It is apparent that die A of QsT1-1 was re-engraved once it had become worn and very clogged. It is also clear that QsT3-6a dies c and d were re-engraved, as the horse's head, once it had worn, was replaced by a crude sub-rectangular shape containing pellets. The QsT3-6a dies were used when more worn than those for QsT3-6, implying that the dies for the later type were pushed further; QsT3-6a obverse die (C) became almost blank.

Several uninscribed silver coins appear to have been struck over other types. This is particularly prevalent in the QcD1-6 group where all the units appear struck over other types. On two coins (e.g. plate XVIII) the under-type is quite clear on the

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|-----------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|
| QsT1-1 | QsT1-2 | QsT1-2a | QsT1-3 | QsT1-4 | QsT1-5 | QsT1-6 | |
| A A1 | A B | A | A | A | A B | A B | |
| | | | | | | | |
| a b | a b | a | a | a | a b | a b | |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsT1-7 | QsT1-8 | QsT1-9 | QsT1-10 | QsT1-11 | QsT1-12 | QsT1-13 | |
| A | A | A | A | A | A | A | |
| | | | | | | | |
| a | a | a | a | a | a | a | |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsT2-1 | QsT2-2 | QsT2-3 | QsT2-4 | QsT2-5 | QsT2-6 | | |
| A | A | A | A | A | A B | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| a | a | a | a | a | a b | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsT3-1 | QsT3-2 | QsT3-3 | QsT3-4 | QsT3-5 | QsT3-6 | QsT3-6a | |
| A | A B | A B C(pl) | A | A B | A B C | | |
| | | | | | | \ | |
| a | a b | a b c(pl) | a | a b | a b c | d | |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsD1-1 | QsD1-2 | 1-2a | QsD1-3 | QsD1-4 | QsD1-5 | QsD1-6\ a | QsD1-7/a,b |
| A B | A | B | A | A | A | A B C D | A B C D E |
| | | | | | | | |
| a b | A | b | a | a | a | a b c d | a b c d e |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsD2-1 | QsD2-2 | QsD2-3 | QsD2-4 | 2-4a | QsD2-5 | QsD2-6 | QsD2-7 |
| A | A B | A | A | B | A | A | A |
| | | | | | | | |
| a | a b | a | a | b | a | a | a |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsD2-8 | QsD2-9 | QsD2-10 | QsD2-11 | QsD2-12 | QsD2-13 | QsD2-14 | |
| A | A | A | A | A | A B C D E | A B | |
| | | | | | | | |
| a | a | a | a | a | a b c d ? | a b | |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsD3-1 | 3-1a | | QsD3-2 | QsD3-3 | 3-3a | QsD3-4 | QsD3-5/a |
| A B C D ? | | | A B | A B C | | A | ABC(pl)D(pl)E(pl) |
| \ \ | | | | / | | | |
| a b c d e f(pl) | | | a b | a b c | | a | abc(pl)d(pl)e(pl) |
| | | | | | | | |
| QsD3-5b | QsD3-6 | QsD3-7 | QsD3-8 | QsD3-9 | QsD3-10 | QsD3-11 | 3-11a |
| A | A | A | A ? \ | A | A B C D E | A | B |
| | | | | | | | |
| a | a | a | a b | a | a b c d e | a | b |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | QsD3-12 | QsD3-13 | | | |
| | | | A | A | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | a | a | | | |

Figure 3.31. Summary of the die of the unscripted silver series.

reverse, and it is QsT1-1. This assists in relative dating, but also provokes several questions. In all instances the under-type is clearly little worn, so it does not appear that old and worn coins are being replaced. One wonders whether the power or message of the under type had suddenly ceased to have the desired meaning. Perhaps the design types were some form of tribal crest or identity. In this case there is little obvious financial reward in over-striking coins, and one wonders whether, as in the early years of Carausius' reign, if the reason for this over striking was political. A specimen of QsT3-2 (private collection) also appears to have been struck over an earlier type, a wheel with open hub being clear in front of the horse. The rim of the wheel is solid, not beaded, which excludes the QsT3, QsD1, QsD2 and QsD3 groups as possible under-types. Such a wheel appears on QsT2-1, but QsT2 is struck on flans which are thinner than QsT3-2. If the under-type is known, then it might be QsT1-5, although it is not from any of the known dies for this type.

There are as yet no plated coins or cores of the thin flan silver types; these are only known for certain dumpy flan types. This directly reflects the quarter staters, and this may reflect the technological problems of producing thin plated coins. Alternatively, it could reflect a changing function or circulation of the later (dumpy flan) types. One issue in particular commands attention, QsD3-5, where at least seven of the nine known specimens are plated. The plated coins appear to be of the same style as the genuine coins, so one assumes that

they are derived from genuine dies, either directly or via an intermediate coin which has been hubbed. The plated core of QsD3-1 (BM 851) is of particular interest. While the obverse is obliterated, the reverse die appears of irregular style and therefore not struck or derived from a genuine die. Unusually the core appears to be of lead or pewter, not copper alloy. Such cores are uncommon in the study area before imitations of the coinage of Epaticcus (cf Burnett 1991, nos 156, 157).

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| HT1-1/1a | HT1-1b | HT1-2 | HT1-3 | HT1-4 |
| A B C D E | F G | H I J | K ? ? | L M |
| | | | | |
| a b c d e | f g | h i j | k l m | n o |

Figure 3.32. Summary of the die study of the HT group.

A relatively large number of dies were used to produce the HT group of coins (fig. 3.32), no cross-linking between die pairs has been identified. The engraver(s) of HT1 and HT2 dies often engraved lines of pellets without lifting their tool right off the die between pellets as the pellets are joined by short scores. For comparative purposes caution is necessary. Thin blanks require heavier coining loads to take up the design and this reduces die life (Challis 1990, 182). This should be remembered when comparing the QsT and QsD die populations.

A die study of the SB series has not been undertaken, this will be the subject of a forthcoming study by G.Cottam. The number of die links recorded (Burnett 1992b, fn 3; Cottam pers

comm.) would indicate that the issue was not particularly large. The dies for the SB1-2 appear to be more heavily used, and the reverse die used to strike Burnett coin HI (1992b) was very worn.

DESIGN SOURCES

The British Q stater clearly derives its design from Gallo-Belgic F (Scheers no. 26). The reverse copied from either Scheers no. 26 class II or III; the obverse of class III (Scheers 1977, fig. 176) is closest to that of the earliest type, Q1-1. The triangular device in the top right hand quarter of the obverse on class III is absent on British Q, and the wreath follows a single direction. The star above the box has increased in size, and the curl at the end of the box is smaller. The reverse is almost a direct copy of Gallo-Belgic F and introduces the triple-tailed horse, so prevalent in the southern uninscribed coins.

As the type develops a number of features hint at the growing influence of Gallo-Belgic E. The long ear of the horse on Q1-1a, while comparable with many other Gaulish coins, compares closely to that on Gallo-Belgic E staters. This influence is most marked in the uniface Q staters, Q1-4 - Q1-8. The intermediate class, Q1-4, where the obverse die is used until blank, suggests that the need for an obverse design was no longer felt. This undoubtedly demonstrates the influence of Gallo-Belgic E. The exergual line on Q1-6 may also be copied, the disarticulated zig-zag line below resembling the torc-like devices shown on Gallo-Belgic E staters. Metallurgical analyses of Q1-5 suggest the presence of Gallo-Belgic E as available bullion.

British Ma and Lz3 draw their inspiration from British L, not British Q. They portray naturalistic horses rather the

abstract horses encountered on British Q. The curious fist that appears on Lz3, above the horse, is probably in the place of the winged device that appears on many classes of British L. (e.g. VA 1476, 1487, 1500); the zig-zag lines that it grasps have a precedent in VA 1491 (Evans 1860, B11 for clearer specimen; fig. 3.33). These devices appear in the same position on a Gallic bronze, DLT XXVIII, 7034. The wheel below the horse is a common feature of the typologically middle British L, VA 1487. While this type may be ancestral, Lz3 is uniface, a feature of later British Lb108. The groups of crescents on the Ly3 quarter stater are without direct parallel.

The reverse of Ma1 is also modelled on British L (variety VA 1487), which also depicts the rosette before the horse. The horses apparent wind-pipe is peculiar to this and a related type of British L (VA 1493). The first obverse type of Ma1, die A, is copied from one of these two types or possibly VA 1491, which would offer a precedent for the device in the third quadrant. The two later obverse forms of Ma1 move away from British L. One feature appears copied from British Q, suggesting the two may be broadly contemporary. On reverse dies c and d a curved line, behind the near fore-leg, connects the hoof to the knee joint; a feature of British Q1-1 - 1-8.

The reverse of Ma2 appears based on Ma1, however the obverse is actually far closer to British L than Ma1. The most obvious parallel is the obverse of VA 1493. This suggests that Ma2 is an

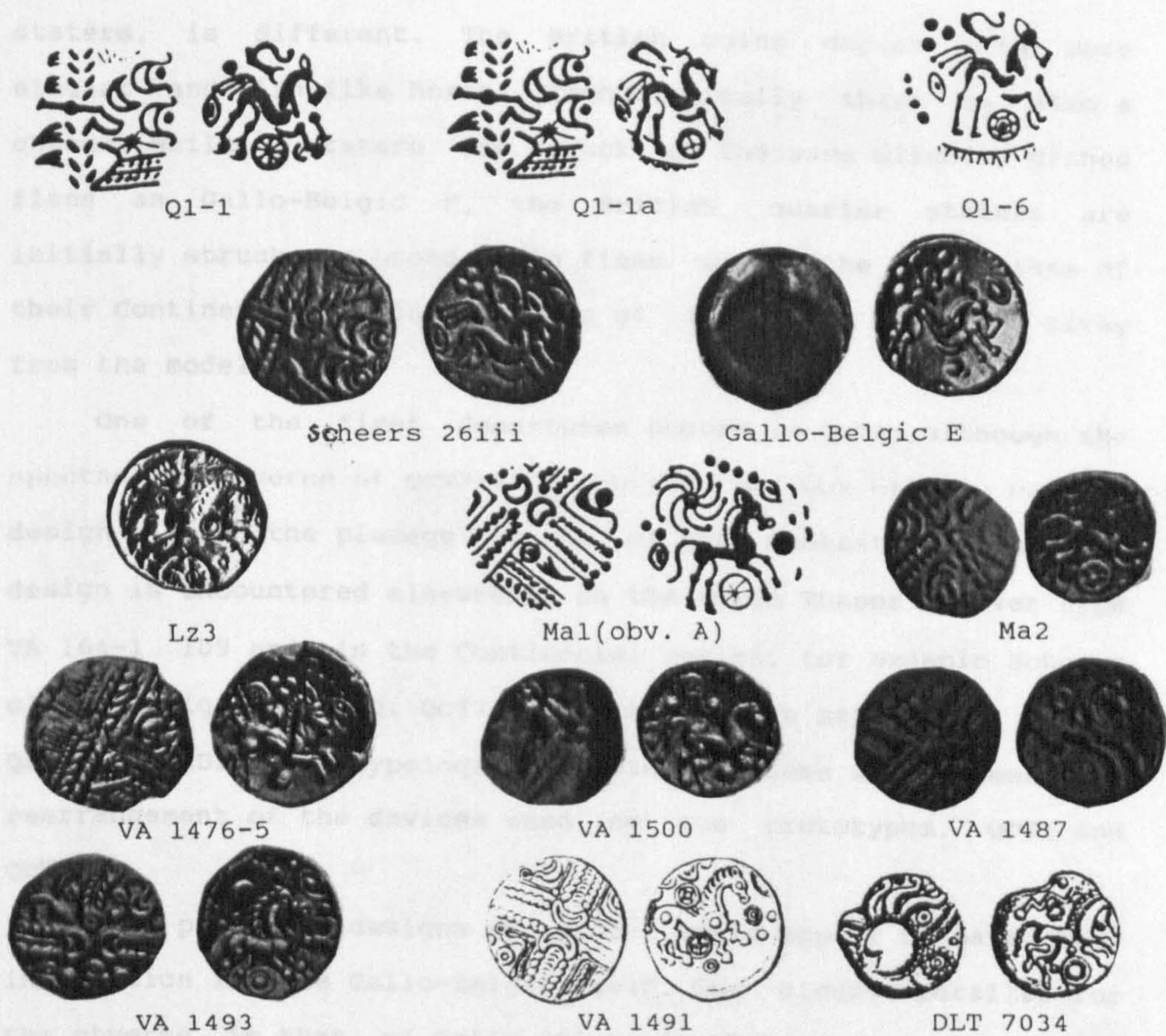


Figure 3.33: The design sources of British Q, Lz3 and Ma. Scale 1:1.

offshoot of British L and Mal, not merely a progression of Mal.

Both QcT1 and QcTM have their origins in Scheers class 26a, a quarter stater classed with Gallo-Belgic F. The obverse appears to have been fairly faithfully copied, however the style of the reverse, which on the Gallic coins is akin to the horse on the

stater, is different. The British coins depict a far more elegant and life-like horse. Technologically there is also a change. While Q stater are struck on the same slightly dished flans as Gallo-Belgic F, the British quarter stater are initially struck on broad thin flans unlike the dumpy flans of their Continental models. Obverses of later QcT issues stray from the model.

One of the first departures occurs in QcT2, although the spectacular obverse of QcT2-2 preserves the box of the earlier design within the plumage of one of the fantastic birds. This design is encountered elsewhere, on the North Thames silver type VA 164-1 109 and in the Continental series, for example Scheers cl. 169, fig. 629 110. QcT3 seems to evolve separately, as do QcD1 and QcD2 whose typological development sees a refinement and rearrangement of the devices used on the prototypes, QcT1 and QcTM.

The peculiar designs of QcD1-1 would appear to have their inspiration in the Gallo-Belgic gold. The closest parallel for the obverse is that of Gallo-Belgic F, while the reverse may be based on the central tree-like device on Gallo-Belgic D. The design on the remainder of the QcD3 group become increasingly simplified. A number of the more elaborate obverses do, however, appear to have inspiration or parallel in other series. The central devices on the obverse of QcD3-3 appear to be copied from British O, while the arc of parallel lines below surely recalls British D. The use of 'fern' leaves by QcD3-5 and QcD3-6 to

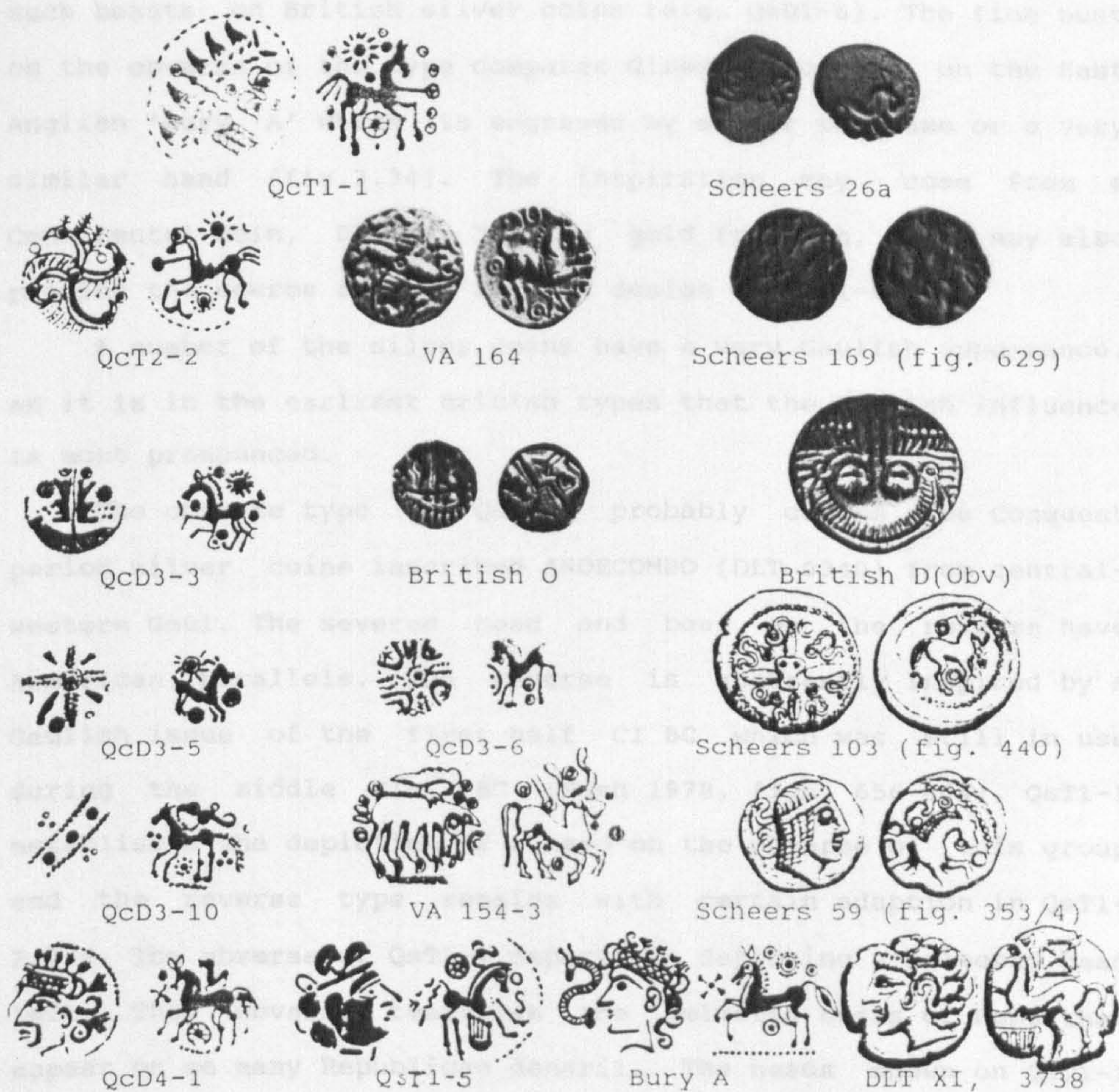


Figure 3.34. The design sources for the gold quarter staters and fractions. British O after Allen 1960, fig. 27; Bury A by kind permission of A. Chadburn.

quarter the obverse is paralleled on the Gallic bronze Scheers cl. 103, no. 440 111. The bird above the horse on QcD3-10 is paralleled on other British coins, for example VA 154-3, and many Gallic coins, such as Scheers cl. 59 figs. 353-4 of the Ambiani. The creature above the horse on QcD4-1 compares to a number of

such beasts on British silver coins (e.g. QsD1-6). The fine bust on the obverse of the type compares directly to that on the East Anglian 'Bury A' which is engraved by either the same or a very similar hand (fig.3.34). The inspiration may come from a Continental coin, DLT XI 3738, a gold fraction, which may also provide the source for the reverse design of QsT1-5.

A number of the silver coins have a very Gaulish appearance, and it is in the earliest British types that the Gaulish influence is most pronounced.

The obverse type of QsT1-1 probably copies the Conquest period silver coins inscribed ANDECOMBO (DLT 6340) from central-western Gaul. The severed head and boar on the reverse have Armorican parallels. The reverse is apparently inspired by a Gaulish issue of the first half C1 BC which was still in use during the middle C1st BC (Nash 1978, figs. 656-664). QsT1-1 establishes the depiction of a head on the obverse of this group and the reverse type remains with certain adaptation in QsT1-2/3/4. The obverse of QsT1-4 departs in depicting a helmeted head left. This obverse resembles the helmeted busts of Roma that appear on so many Republican denarii. The heads shown on QsT1-2 and QsT1-5 resemble those executed in a cruder style on Scheers cl. 63.

The lyre shown below the horse on QsT1-5 - QsT1-8 is a surprisingly common motif on Gaulish coins, particularly those of the Baiocasses. The closest in style, also depicting a similar head to QsT1-5, are DLT pl XV nos 4867, 4858 and 4866. The latter

type also shows an 's' motif which is encountered in a slightly different position on QsT1-5. The remaining members of the QsT1 group seem to develop in a more native mould, although the crescent-form hair on QsT1-7 - QsT1-9 is paralleled in several Continental issues, for example Scheers cl. 48, figs. 321-324.

The QsT2 group seem to derive their main type from a group of thin bronze coins found in the Oise and Aisne area of France, Scheers cl. 93, fig. 429-430 (one has been found at Canterbury (Allen 1960, 276)). QsT2-6 appears based on a type from the Picardy area, Scheers cl. 53, fig. 337. The dolphin depicted on this British type also appears on certain Gaulish coins, for example Scheers fig. 523.

The device below the boar on QsT3-1 is probably influenced by the Armorican coinage, appearing in a more lyre like form on DLT pl. XXV-XXVII. The general scheme of the type may well be inspired by Scheers class 82, figs. 407, 408, from the Pas-de-Calais area. While the obverse of QsT3-2 is of insular style the boars on the reverse may well be copied from a Gaulish type, for example Scheers figs. 415-419, 451 and 672-673. The stylised head with a rosette on the chin depicted on QsT3-3/3-4 is probably copied from a group of Gaulish coins from the area of the Ambiani, Scheers cl. 77, fig. 383, cl. 120, 121 and 133. The final type of the group, QsT3-6, appears to be of insular inspiration.

It is clear that there are many points of similarity between the thin flan silver coinage of the south Thames area and the

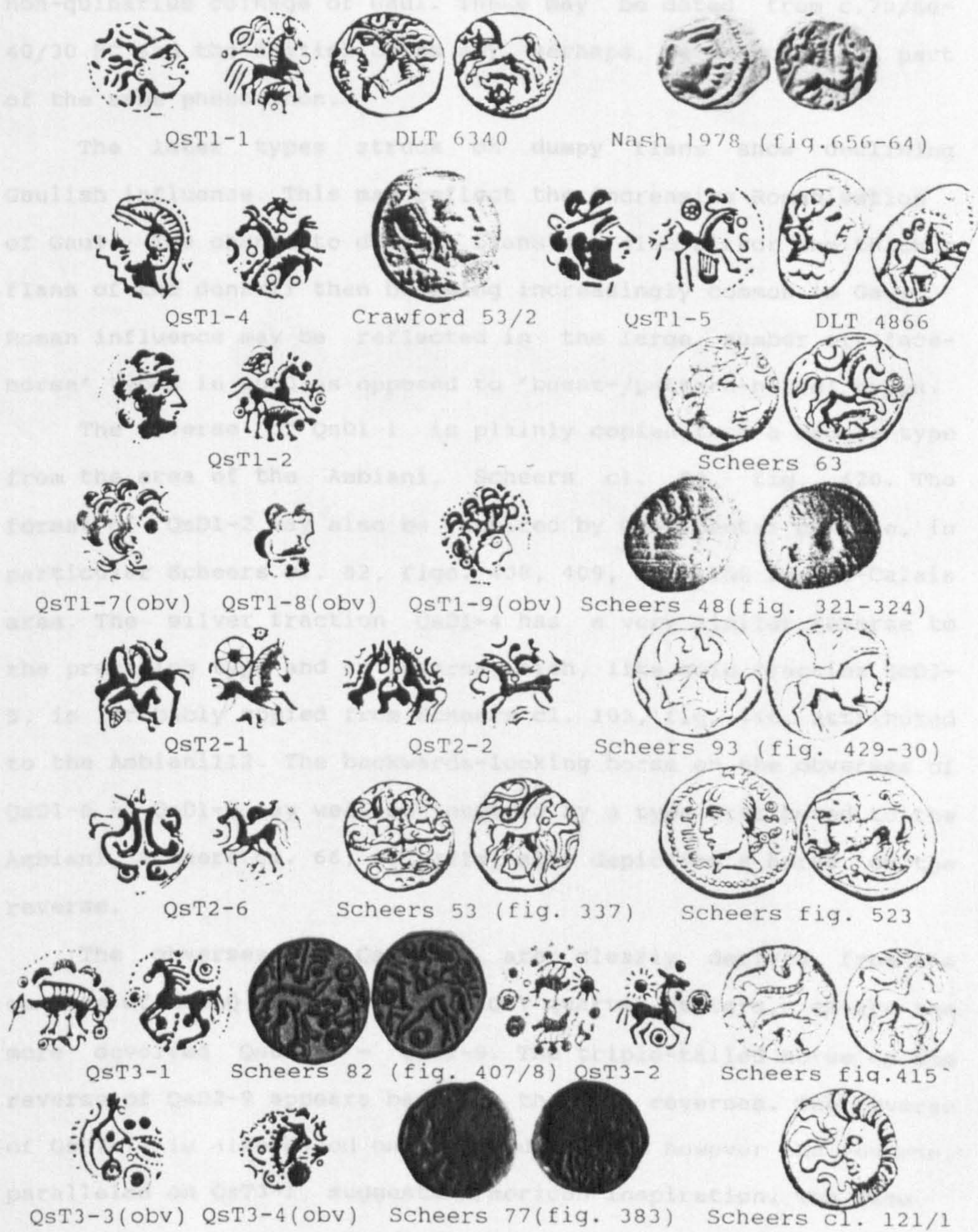


Figure 3.35. The design sources for QsT.

non-quinarius coinage of Gaul. These may be dated from c.70/60-40/30 BC and the British coins may, perhaps, be treated as a part of the same phenomenon.

The later types struck on dumpy flans show declining Gaulish influence. This may reflect the increasing Romanisation of Gaul. The change to dumpier flans may also mirror the thicker flans of the denarii then becoming increasingly common in Gaul. Roman influence may be reflected in the large number of 'face-horse' types in QsD3 as opposed to 'beast-/pattern-horse' types.

The obverse of QsD1-1 is plainly copied from a bronze type from the area of the Ambiani, Scheers cl. 89, fig. 420. The format of QsD1-2 may also be inspired by Continental coinage, in particular Scheers cl. 82, figs. 408, 409, from the Pas-de-Calais area. The silver fraction QsD1-4 has a very similar reverse to the preceding type and an obverse which, like gold fraction QcD3-5, is probably copied from Scheers cl. 103, fig. 440, attributed to the Ambiani¹¹². The backwards-looking horse on the obverses of QsD1-6 - QsD1-9 may well be inspired by a type attributed to the Ambiani, Scheers cl. 66, no. 371a, also depicting a horse on the reverse.

The obverses of QsD2-3/4 are clearly derived from the obverse of the Q gold stater and QcT quarter staters, as are the more devolved QsD2-5 - QsD2-9. The triple-tailed horse on the reverse of QsD2-9 appears based on the QcT reverses. The obverse of QsD2-11 is also based on the gold series, however the reverse, paralleled on QsT3-1, suggests Armorican inspiration. The same

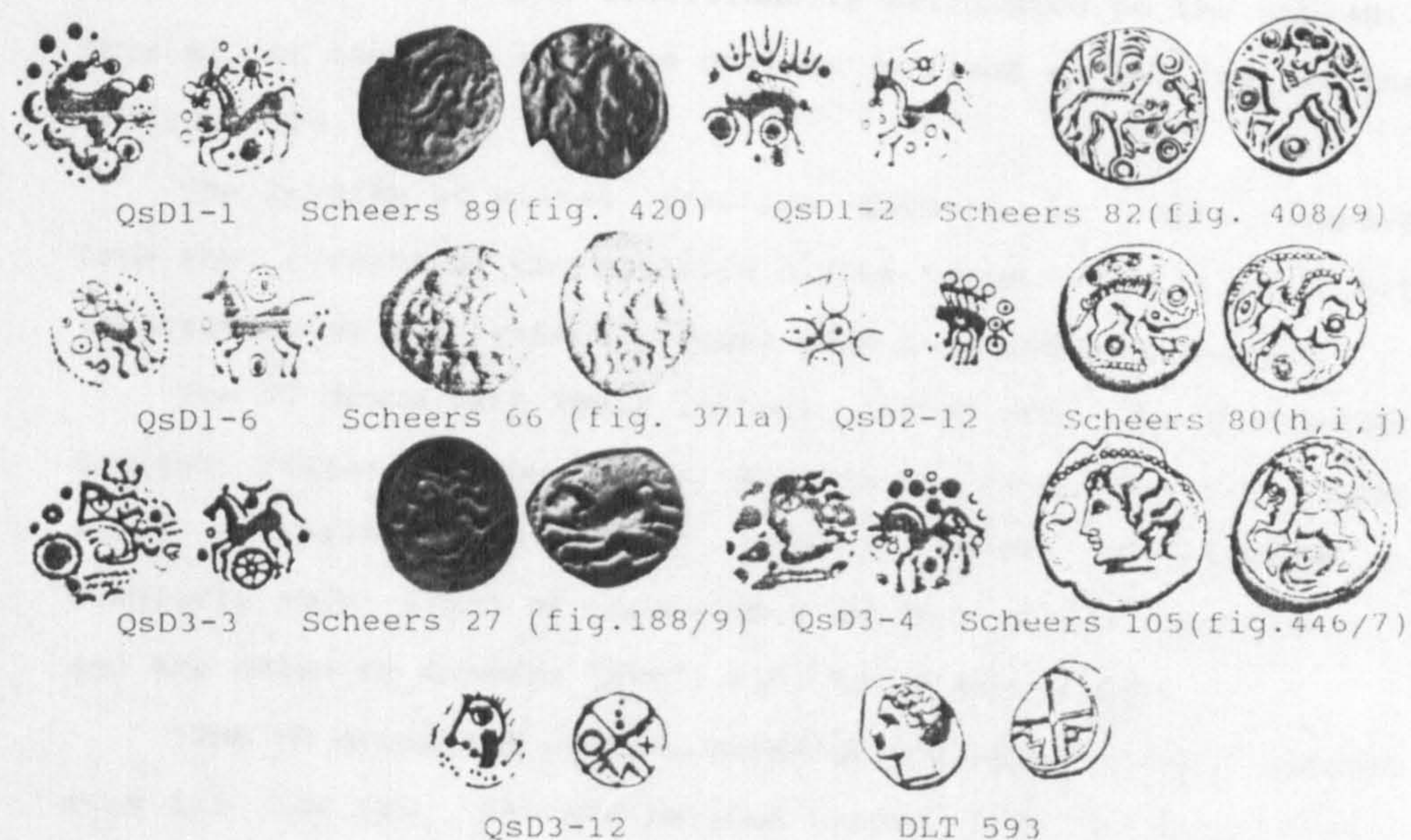


Figure 3.36. The sources for the designs on QSD.

source may have been used for the reverse of QsD2-12, a very similar boar appears over a pellet-in-ring on a bronze type attributed to the Ambiani, Scheers cl. 80 h, i, j, and 81.

Slight Gaulish influence is apparent in QsD3. The unusual obverse of QsD1-1 appears to be of native inspiration, although it bears a superficial resemblance to Republican denarii depicting a helmeted head of Roma on obverse. The obverse of QsD3-3 may be copied from Scheers cl. 27 figs. 188-189, inscribed CRICIRV. These silver coins have the same hair and possible torc motif as on the British piece, and date to, or just after, the Gallic war. The head on QsD3-4 appears to be copied from Scheers

cl. 105, figs. 446, 447, traditionally attributed to the Ambiani. This silver coin has the same devices in front of the face as the British coin.

The reverse of silver fraction QSD3-12 is clearly copied from the reverse of the Massalia silver types. This is in itself interesting as this prototype must have been old when copied.

The HT group take their initial design from two North-East Gaulish Pallas Athene types Scheers 51, figs 329-334, 52 figs 335/6 as Allen demonstrated (1965a). These are struck on similarly thin flans of comparable weight (Allen 1965a, 84-85) and are dated by Scheers (1977, 116) to before Caesar.

The SB group are clearly based on the Gaulish type, Scheers type 111 (cf fig. 461 and related types) from the territory of the Bellovaci (Burnett 1992, 342).

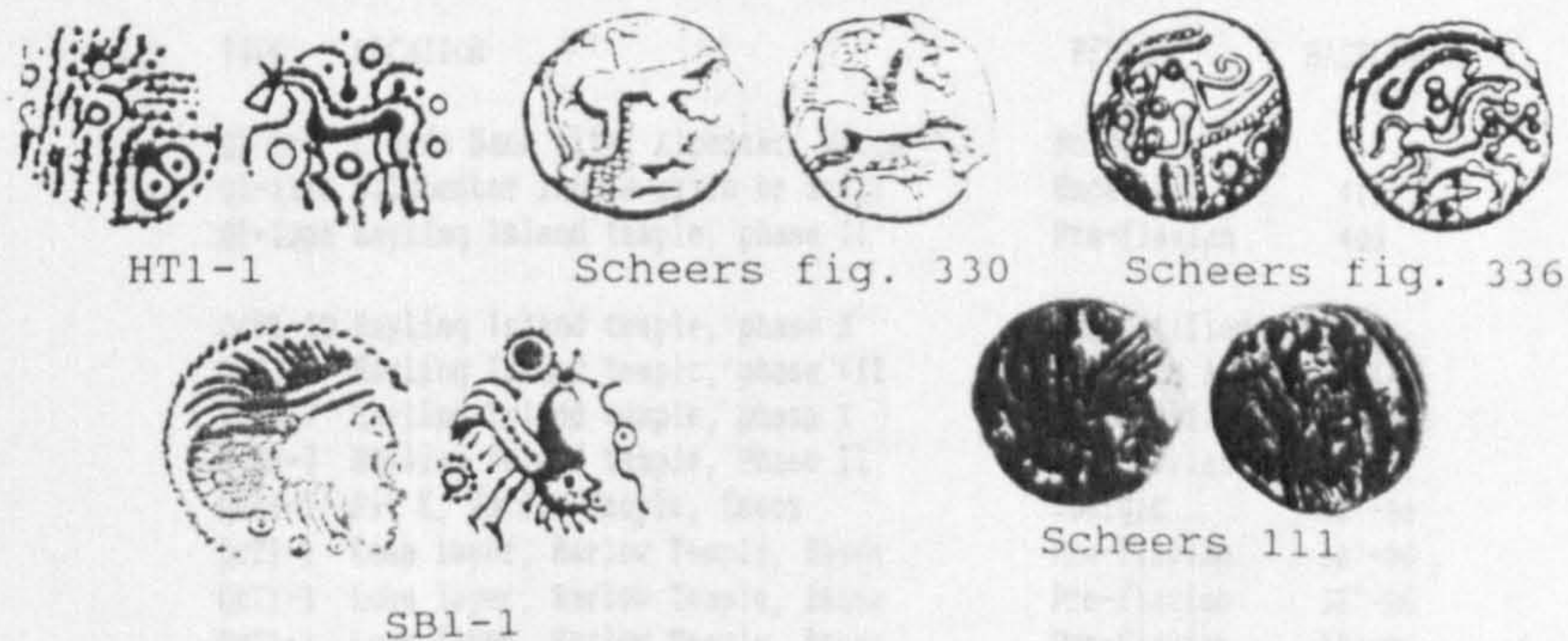


Figure 3.37: The sources of design for HT and SB.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

A total of 57 coins of the uninscribed southern series are known from archaeological contexts. Of these three are stater cores, nine are quarter staters (four of which are plated cores) and 45 are silver (twelve of which are plated cores)113.

Of the 12 uninscribed gold and gold plated coins, only two come from pre-Flavian contexts (fig. 3.38), and this adds very little precision to their dating. The remaining coins are from residual or later contexts. The only Qc quarter staters to reach Harlow temple were QcT1-1, which might reflect the intermittent nature of their issue and/or a restricted or single episode of contact.

| TYPE | LOCATION | PERIOD | HASELCROVE 1987 |
|---------|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Q1-8pl | Lloyds Bank site, Alcester, Worcs | No data | - |
| Q1-11pl | Silchester insula xxiib or xxvii | Uncertain | 411 |
| Q1-13pl | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QcD1-10 | Hayling Island temple, phase X | Unstratified | 405 |
| QcD3-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase VII | C3rd-4th AD | 404 |
| QcD3-7 | Hayling Island temple, phase X | Unstratified | 405 |
| QcD3-? | Hayling Island temple, Phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QcT1-1 | Pit K, Harlow Temple, Essex | ?Belgic | 387-96 |
| QcT1-1 | Loam layer, Harlow Temple, Essex | Pre-Flavian | 387-96 |
| QcT1-1 | Loam layer, Harlow Temple, Essex | Pre-Flavian | 387-96 |
| QcT1-1 | Loam layer, Harlow Temple, Essex | Pre-Flavian | 387-96 |
| QcT1-1 | Harlow Temple, Essex (recent) | No data | - |

Figure 3.38. Uninscribed gold and gold plated coins from archaeological contexts. 'pl' = plated coins.

| TYPE | LOCATION | PERIOD | HASELGROVE |
|---------|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------|
| | | | 1987 |
| HT1-1 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| HT1-1a | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| HT1-1b | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| HT1-1b | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| HT1-2 | Hayling Island temple, phase II/VII | Uncertain | 403 |
| HT1-2 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| HT1-1 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-? | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-? | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-2 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-2 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-3 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-4 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-4 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-1 | Hengistbury Head excavation site 33 | Pre-Flavian? | - |
| HT1-1 | Owslebury, Hampshire, period 2b/c | late C1 BC | |
| | | -Conquest period | 406 |
| QsT1-1 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| HT1-1a | Assize court (S), Winchester | Mid C2 AD | 470 |
| QsT1-1 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QsT1-2a | Hayling Island temple, phase IV | Roman to end C2 | 403 |
| QsT1-5 | Hayling Island temple, phase IV/VII | late C1 - C4 AD | 404 |
| QsT1-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase II/III | Pre-Roman to | |
| | | c.70 AD | 403 |
| QsT1-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase VII/VII | C3 AD - Saxon | 405 |
| QsT1-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QsT1-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase II/IV | Roman to end C2 | 403 |
| QsT2-1 | Hayling Island temple, phase IV/VII | late C1 - C4 AD | 404 |
| QsT2-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QsT2-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase IV | Roman to end C2 | 403 |
| QsD2-11 | Hayling Island temple, phase II/VII | Uncertain | 404 |
| QsD2-12 | Hengistbury Head excavations site 33 | Pre Flavian | - |
| cfQsT2 | Hayling Island temple, phase I | Unstratified | 405 |
| cfQsT2 | Hayling Island temple, phase II/IV | Roman to end C2 | 403 |
| QsD3-5 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QsD3-5 | Hayling Island temple, phase VII | C3 - C4 AD | 403 |
| QsD3-5 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QsD3-5 | Hayling Island temple, phase IV/VII | late C1 - C4 AD | 404 |
| QsD3-5 | Hayling Island temple, surface find | Unstratified | 405 |
| QsT3-6 | Hayling Island temple, phase I | Unstratified | 405 |
| QsD3-11 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| QsD3-11 | Hayling Island temple, phase I | Unstratified | 405 |
| UNC1-2 | Silchester Basilica site find 2461 | No data | - |
| UNC1-3 | Hayling Island temple, phase II | Pre-Flavian | 403 |
| ?unit | Hayling Island temple, surface find | Unstratified | 405 |
| ?minim | Hayling Island temple, phase III/IV | c.70- late C2 AD | 404 |
| ?minim | Hayling Island temple, phase IV | Roman to end C2 | 404 |

Figure 3.39. Uninscribed silver and silver plated coins of the Southern region from archaeological contexts. 'pl' = plated coin.

The latter instance seems more likely, as four of the coins are obverse die linked. The gold coins from Harlow are of particular interest as they were all found concentrated within the area of the later Roman temple (France & Gobel, 1983, fig. 37). The different mechanisms for the formation of this concentration are discussed elsewhere (Fitzpatrick 1983, 56) but whether they were a scattered hoard or moved here at a later date, it hints that this area may have had particular importance in the pre-Flavian period. The fact that four of the coins are obverse die-linked strongly suggests that they arrived at the site in one group. These coins may have survived, as Fitzpatrick (1983, 57) observed, because they were sealed by the Roman temple whilst other coins may have been removed in antiquity. The only QcT1 from a context which was likely to have been Iron Age is that from pit K (France & Gobel 1983, 23). The remaining QcT1 came from the loam layer which contained many artifacts dating to the first half of C1 AD. Among the few Roman coins in this layer was a semis of Nero 64-66 AD (France & Gobel 1983, 23, 68, coin no. 33). The layer was cut by phase 1a of the temple, dated to c. 80 AD (France & Gobel, 1983, 23). As at Hayling Island, apparent later disturbance means these coins can only be dated to the pre-Flavian period.

The HT silver is the stratigraphically earliest type from Hayling Island. This accords with their fabric and to a degree their typology. The remaining types are from rather mixed contexts, but are stratigraphically slightly earlier in emphasis

than the inscribed coins (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993).

The HT silver and QcD2-12 from Hengistbury head apparently came from site 33 of the 1911-12 excavations. The great volume of coins from this site span the period from the HT silver to the Durotrigian cast bronze staters. This, in addition to structural traces, might suggest that the site (33) could be compared to temple sites such as Wanborough. The published account of the finding of the coins is frustratingly unclear and brief, but at least one 'lump' (Bushe-Fox 1915, 25-6) of coins was recovered from the site indicating deposition in groups. A detailed analysis of the finds and dating of site 33 will be found elsewhere (Mays forthcoming). This group of HT from site 33 compares to the group of QsT3-6 from Wanborough and the QsD3-10 group from the Danebury temple deposit. The evidence for metal working at site 33 may be compared the recent finds from Snettisham (cf Stead 1992).

DATING

The dating of the British Q series partly depends on the dating of the Continental prototype, Gallo-Belgic F. Allen (1960, 216-17) believed that British Q was related to the flight of the Commius of Caesar. In noting the small number of Gallo-Belgic F staters found in Britain, Allen suggested that the invaders brought only their traditions, namely the triple tailed horse. Allen saw British Q as contemporary to British L and cautiously suggested for it a date of 40 - 20 BC. While the invasion hypothesis is no longer fashionable, it is noteworthy that the earlier biface staters, Q1-1 - Q1-3 are concentrated in the historical area of the Atrebates, around Calleva (fig. 3.1). Nash (1987, 125) proposed a date of c.50 BC for the inception of the series, on the grounds that British Q is slightly lighter than the Gallic war staters (Gallo-Belgic E), and that its design marks a departure from prevailing traditions [British A2]. Nash further observed that the mechanism of British Q's introduction may have been related to the Suessionic king Diviciacus's power in Britain early in the C1 BC. Observing the derivation of the design and the number of French provenances for Q1-1/1a, Haselgrove suggested that the inception of the series might have overlapped with the Gallic war (1987, 87, 90). A similar date is proposed, without argument, by Van Arsdell (1989, 12, 112).

Traditionally all types of British Q have been treated together, although it has been demonstrated above that some of

the varieties are metrologically and metallurgically distinct. Before considering the dating of British Q, we must investigate the dating of Gallo-Belgic F (Scheers cl. 26). Scheers (1976, fig. 1) demonstrated that the metrology of Gallo-Belgic F compares to the middle range of Gallo-Belgic E. She dated the prototype classes for British Q (classes II and III) to the winter of 58/57 BC (1977, 71) and suggested that they disappeared on the Continent shortly afterwards. If one rejects the invasion hypothesis and instead favours a mechanism of copying, then the proto-types for British Q are likely to have entered Britain before the cessation of their currency on the Continent.

There are however certain objections that may be raised to this dating. Scheers (1977, 365-373) clearly demonstrated significant stylistic, typological and metrological variation between her five classes of Gallo-Belgic F. This might perhaps be excused if different workshops were invoked, but the surprising drop in weight from class I to IV makes this seem unlikely. Despite the short period of time Scheers proposed for the production of what she regards as a single series, it is surprising that she reports no die links between the different classes. We have already seen that Gallo-Belgic E may have enjoyed a much longer period of production than Scheers allowed. If we follow metrology alone, then the fact that Gallo-Belgic F falls in the mid range of the weight distribution of Gallo-Belgic E (Scheers 1976, fig 1), suggests that it is earlier.

A further problem is encountered when one examines the

condition of Gallo-Belgic F coins. Both coins with British provenances show heavy circulation wear, the stater from the Whaddon Chase hoard being far more heavily worn than the surviving Gallo-Belgic E stater. The coin from Portland Bill (JBAA XXVII, 33; in Dorchester museum) is also heavily circulation worn. The four remaining Gallo-Belgic F staters in the British Museum¹¹⁴ are all also quite noticeably worn. While comparison of wear between biface and uniface coins is notoriously difficult, examination of the reverses alone suggests that of the specimens in the British Museum, Gallo-Belgic F are far more circulation worn than Gallo-Belgic E. In short, it appears that Gallo-Belgic F may have been produced rather earlier than Scheers allows. This idea is supported by the main group of uniface British Q staters, Q1-5. It is suggested above that the uniface nature of the type may have been a response to the large quantities of Gallo-Belgic E that apparently entered southern Britain, their sheer number perhaps overwhelming the traditions of the biface staters. The metallurgy of the uniface staters supports this, as the uniface Q are slightly finer and may have been produced from recycled Gallo-Belgic E staters (fig. 3.21).

Turning to the dating of the bi-face Q1-1 - Q1-3, the earliest is probably copied from Gallo-Belgic F Scheers class III, although it is not dissimilar to class II. The obverse of the British type departs from these types, and is closer to class I, and, more probably, British A2. We have already seen that the prototype may date quite some time before the Gallic war, so the

inception of British Q may also be early. An early date is supported by the fact that the later uniface types of British Q appear to date to the main influx of Gallo-Belgic E staters. A very approximate date around C. 65 BC might be offered for the inception of British Q. As Haselgrove observed (1987, 87), five biface British Q staters have been found in France. This would suggest that they had crossed the Channel before the disappearance of gold in Gaul following the Gallic war¹⁵.

The hoard evidence for British Q is sometimes problematic as later classes of British Q (particularly Q1-10, Q1-11) have often been mis-described as early types. Where these coins are still available for inspection, there is no problem beyond amending old records, however when the coins are not available, the records have to be accepted with reservation.

The Scartho hoard included one Q1-4 with two Gallo-Belgic E staters and three British L staters. The hoard proves, as we might have suspected, that all three are broadly contemporary. The Finkley Down hoard contained one Q1-3 stater with two staters of Tincommius and one of Verica. This is obviously of little help in dating, but it does show that early staters remained in the currency pool until well into the first century AD¹⁶. The hoard of between 2 and 6 Q1-3 staters from Penzance (Allen 1960, 199; Haselgrove 1987, 314) are also of little help as they lack association. The 'Qa' stater from the Womersh hoard (now lost) is treated with much reservation as the hoard is otherwise rather later in emphasis (appendix 2). Allen's

'Uncertain' hoard 16b (1960, 289) must be treated with caution. These coins appear to have been extracted from the sale catalogue on the basis of the similarity in their very indifferent descriptions alone.

With the exception of the 'uncertain' hoard, true biface and uniface British Q stater have not been found hoarded together.

The Scartho hoard contained one British Q stater struck from a very worn obverse die, of the class transitional between the biface and uniface staters. The Q1-4 stater is the most circulation worn and presumably oldest coin in the hoard. Three of these transitional types survive from the Whaddon Chase hoard and were struck from the most worn state of the obverse die. The remaining extant south Thames coins from the hoard are eight uniface Q1-5 staters and two light-weight base biface staters (a Q1-10a (De La Tour XLI, 9495) and a Q1-11). The absence of Q1-1-Q1-3 in the surviving sample of this hoard, which is dominated by British L, suggests they rather predate British L. This supports the observation of Cowell (1992, 222) that British Q are slightly heavier and include finer coins than British L. The separation of the uniface and biface series is hinted at by the extant coins from the Marks Tey hoard, which include one Q1-5 with three Gallo-Belgic E and one British A1 stater. This hoard suggests an early date for the uniface coins, the Q1-5, the A1 and the Gallo-Belgic E (one of which was an early type, Scheers class II) being little circulated. The Bowerchalk hoard contained four Q1-5 staters with 39 British B staters. Both types are

similarly little worn¹¹⁷, suggesting broad contemporaneity. The four Q1-5 are slightly less worn than the British B staters (Janet Bell pers. comm.; inspection of photographs)¹¹⁸. This would seem to indicate that Q1-5 may in fact post-date British B and by implication pre-date British D which derived from this type.

Allen's 'Uncertain hoard 16b' (1960, 288), allegedly containing ten uniface British Q staters, is perhaps best ignored. While these may be the remnants of one or more hoards, we have no more than Allen's assertion that '...all or most of which must have come from a single hoard'.

The hoards of exclusively Q1-5 from Hampstead Norreys and Kingsclere suggest that the type was not replaced for some time, and some of the Kingsclere coins are quite circulation worn¹¹⁹.

The separation of the biface and uniface coins in hoards is further stressed by the extant coins from Selsey. This group is not strictly a hoard since the deposition of coins appears to have been episodic (appendices 1 and 2). Of the seven extant British Q staters from the site, three are the biface Q1-3 and the remainder the transitional type Q1-4. The pairing of the biface and transitional types here, and of the transitional and uniface staters in the Whaddon Chase hoard, suggest the three types are successive.

The next major group of staters after the uniface British Q are those inscribed in the name of Commios. These staters are however biface, not uniface. Although there is similarity of

reverse types, this suggests that the uniface coins had ceased to be the dominant type some time before the Commios stater. This is supported by the obverse of the Commios stater, which although similar to Q1-1 - 1-4 obverses is different in a number of important respects (fig. 4.1).

The date of the derivative Q stater (Q1-9 - Q1-13) is assisted by hoard evidence. A specimen of Q1-10 120 and a Q1-11 are among the extant coins from the Whaddon Chase hoard. This implies that they are later than the main biface type (absent among the extant coins) from which they copy their design. A Q1-9 in little circulated condition was found in the Cheriton deposit which has produced the 'Cheriton-Chute transitional' stater (VA 1210). This type is apparently the predecessor to British D, Q1-9 would therefore appear to predate British D. The stater from the Womersley hoard may have belonged to the derivative group. While it is described by Evans as Q1-3 (1864, 66) the low weight of 5.395g and association with later coins makes it seem more probable that it belongs to the derivative group. This might be qualified by the Q1-10 from the Waltham St Lawrence temple group, which appears to be associated with the three Q1-3 121. The device below the horse's head on Q1-12 is perhaps copied from Q1-10 and could be taken to suggest that the two are close in time.

The obverse and general scheme of Q1-13 clearly follows in the tradition of British Q. The naturalism of the horse and the large pellet surrounded by small pellets betrays the influence of British La (fig. 3.33). This would indicate the type is later

than the main biface Q staters, which appear on grounds of metallurgy, metrology and hoards to precede British L. The general style of the reverse also hints at the influence of British Ma, on which the windpipe of the horse is also picked out. The cupreous composition (fig. 3.22) of this type further suggests a late date. This may be confirmed by the plated example which appears to be the earliest coin in the Wanborough group, a group otherwise late in emphasis.

The relative dating of Lz3, Ly3 and Ma can be arrived at deductively. Both copy middle classes of British L (fig. 3.33), so it is clear that they must both post-date the inception of these classes. The Womersh hoard (appendix 2) is of further assistance. This contained three Ly3 quarter staters, 19 Ma staters, three Kentish quarter staters (VA 151-1) and probably a derivative British Q stater (either Q1-9 or Q1-10, p.220). The composition of this hoard appears very selective, as the bulk of the hoard is made up of scarce 'local' issues and three Kentish coins which are unusually far west. The apparent absence of British Q1-1 - 1-7 is peculiar, as this large issue seems to have enjoyed a long currency well into the inscribed coin period (cf Finkley hoard, Hants). However when taken as a group, it is apparent that all the coins in the Womersh hoard have broadly the same alloy, an alloy which is rather more base than that used of Q1-1 - Q1-7. The extant Ly3 and Ma from the hoard are equally little worn, whereas the Kentish quarter staters are heavily

worn122. This indicates that both Ma and Ly3 (and by implication Lz3) were broadly contemporary, but were rather later than the Kentish quarters.

Further deductive dating can be gained from British Mb, a series centred on Wiltshire (fig. 3.33). This type is descended from Ma1 via another separate, but related, series (above) here called Ma2. Both Ma2 and Mb must post-date the inception of Ma1. A variant of Mb discovered c.1985 from Savernake, Wilts (OJA 4, 241-244) with the standard Mb reverse, depicts the branched motif of Dobunnic staters on the obverse. This implies that Mb overlaps the earliest stages of the Dubunnic coinage, itself descended from the British Q tradition.

The absolute date of these series can only be given in the loosest terms. This dating is reliant on that of British L, most dates for the inception of which lie within the decade 60-50 BC. A post Gallic war date is favoured by Nash (1987, 125), while Rodwell (1976, 200, 243, 248) and Van Arsdell (1984) favour an earlier date. Both Ma and Lz3 copy middle types of British L (fig. 3.33), so their sources are later than the earliest forms of La. Dates of around c.40-30 BC might therefore be appropriate, perhaps fitting with the worn Kentish quarter staters in the Womersley hoard. This date is in agreement with the similarities, drawn above, in decoration, metrology and metallurgy to Q1-9-Q1-13.

The common metallurgy and metrology of the QcT1 and QcTM

groups may suggest that both were produced over a relatively short period of time. However, the four coins from Harlow temple are all the same type (and all obverse die linked), as are the six QcT1-1 from near Caistor, Lincs, indicating perhaps that production was either episodic or intermittent. This suggestion is supported by the two die linked QcTM1-2a from the Waltham St Lawrence hoard. It is further supported by the small hoard of four or five QcT1-2 found at Camberley before the War (appendix 2).

The most recent consideration given to the date of this type was made by Allen (1964, 2) in his report on the coins from Harlow temple. As the group on the whole was late in emphasis Allen concluded that QcT1-1 was a late type, and added that it showed a naturalism in its style which further implied a relatively late date. Allen then tentatively dated them to the late third or early fourth quarter of the C1 BC. Allen also dated the two little-circulated Gallo-Belgic E staters after Caesar's raids, a date now hard to sustain. The argument concerning the naturalism of the horse is now of little weight, as types of early silver recently identified (e.g. QcT1-1) are also of naturalistic style. It is demonstrated above that the metrology, metallurgy and distribution of the QcT quarter staters make them hard to divorce from the staters, and by implication of early date.

Dating is complicated, as so far no QcT1 or QcTM have been found in true hoards with other denominations, coming either from

temple deposits or uncertain sites such as Ware and Selsey. A single specimen of QcTM1-1 is reported from the Wallingford 'hoard', but this 'hoard' and its 'composition' are very uncertain (appendix 2). The suggestion from these groups is that most of these types are broadly contemporary. With the exception of QcTM1-1 and QcT1-3, specimens of all thin flan types are known from Selsey, and QcT1-1 and QcT1-3 are also found alongside the QcTM1-2 in the Waltham St Lawrence group. A specimen of QcT1-3 and QcT1-1 are recorded from the so-called 'Ware', Herts hoard or group123 (Mossop notes).

The British Q stators included in these groups are usually biface. The Waltham St Lawrence group included four Q1-3 stators (one of which is plated), and a Q1-10 stator. The same impression emerges from the group of these stators from Selsey, where at least eight biface stators have been discovered compared to four uniface Q1-5. While accepting the episodic nature of the deposition on these sites (appendix 1), it appears that the QcT1 and QcTM quarter stators circulated alongside the biface stators, particularly Q1-3, and are therefore likely to be contemporary.

This dating is supported by the ancestry of the QcT and QcTM quarter stators. Like the biface stator, they copy a Gallic original, and both models are classed together by Scheers (1977). It might therefore be argued that the British Q stators and QcT/QcTM quarters stators started to be produced at broadly the same time. Conversely it is apparent that the style of the quarter stators is a significant further remove from the proto-

type than the staters (fig. 3.33, 3.34). It is therefore possible that the quarter staters might be rather later and date to a period when British Q had established itself beyond the influence of its prototype. If this argument is correct, it does not prevent the quarter staters being contemporary with the main established biface type, Q1-3. It might therefore be argued that both the British Q stater and QcT/M quarter staters started to be produced at broadly the same time. This is generally supported by metallurgy, and the distribution of both stater and quarter stater shows that they belonged to the same entity.

Typologically and metrologically it appears that QcT2 and QcT3 post date QcT1 and QcTM, although it is possible that they may in part be contemporary. In appearance both groups are more base implying that they are later. Neither QcT2 or QcT3 have been found together, nor have they been found hoarded with QcT1 or QcTM.

The dating of the dumpy flan group of gold fractions is also problematic, although later types are of assistance. To date thin and dumpy flan staters have not certainly been found together in true hoards¹²⁴. Typologically QcD1-1 must post date the inception of its model, QcT1-2 or more likely QcTM1-1, as it is lighter than most thin flan quarter staters and also more base (above). The group is complicated one. Stylistically QcD2 is very different from QcD1, but as QcD2 is typologically similar to QcD1-1 - 1-3, there is every chance that these two separate groups were partly contemporary. One of the lightest and most

base types, QcD1-10, was found at Robin Wood, Compton, a site that has produced many British D stater. Despite remarks to the contrary by the excavator (A. Down pers. comm., appendix 2) it is very hard to conclude that these coins are not from a scattered hoard. It then seems perverse to exclude the possibility that the quarter stater belonged to the hoard. This would help to confirm the relatively late date of British D, as all the Robin Wood staters appear less worn than the quarter stater. This type of quarter stater, like British D, appears to be of base alloy. QcD1-10 also appears in temple groups from Farley Heath, Waltham St Lawrence and Hayling Island, although it is difficult to draw conclusions from these groups¹²⁵. The hoard allegedly from Seasalter, Kent¹²⁶ seems to confirm the impression from typology that QcD1-5 and QcD1-6 are closely contemporary. A specimen of QcD1-1 is said to come from the Wallingford 'hoard', but the nature and content of this group is open to debate (appendix 2).

The dating of QcD3 is easier for inferential reasons, and this may be used to infer a date for QcD1 and by implication QcD2. As the QcD3 group developed it became more and more uniface as the obverse design became increasingly simplified. The first quarter stater associated with the inscribed coinage (also struck on a dumpy flan), that of Commios, (COM1-5/6), is similar, in that it would be uniface were it not for the digamma on the obverse. This implies that COM1-5/6 directly continued preceding traditions, and that the last of the uninscribed dumpy flan gold fractions directly preceded or may even have been contemporary

with the coinage of Commios. The fact that there are 21 specimens of QcD3-10 and 28 of COM1-5/6 known from Selsey might indicate a single episode of deposition for both. Dating is then a question of how long one allows for development from QcD1-1 to QcD3-10. It is clear that in emphasis the thick flan quarter staters are later than the thin flan series. Typology suggests that QcD1-1 must post-date the inception of QcT1-2 or more likely QcTM1-1, so at the very least the inception of the dumpy flan group must post-date that of the thin flan group.

The QcD3-9 in the Ashdown hoard help to tie these later quarter staters in with the coinage of Kent. This hoard also contained two VA 151-1 quarter staters both of which are in similar condition to the QcD3-9, that is to say very little circulated. The two types would therefore appear to have been roughly contemporary. Beyond Selsey and Hayling Island, the only place QcD3 have been found associated with other coins is at Hurstbourne Tarant, where a QcD3-4 quarter stater was found close to a Q1-12 stater. Both are little worn, and the fact that both types are typologically late and struck on coppery gold flans suggests that they may have been deposited together and are closely contemporary.

Metrologically the heaviest type of dumpy flan gold fraction is QcD4-1, from exceptional and finely engraved dies. The dating of this type has been complicated, as it has been seen as a Gallo-Belgic type. This attribution appears incorrect. Allen had suggested that the type was contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E and

F (1960, 171). While Mack (1975, 47) suggested the type might in fact be British and comparable to a silver type (Mack 438, Bury 'A'), Van Arsdell retained Allen's suggestion adding a date of 65-50 BC (1989, 73).

The metrology of QcD1-4 is of primary help in placing it in a relative position. It is evidently by far the heaviest clumpy flan gold fraction, and this weight is just lower than QcT1 and QcTM (figs. 3.14, 3.17). A further relative date is presented by silver unit QsT1-2, which shares several of features with this type. We might also note the similarities to the Icenian Bury A (fig. 3.34; Gregory 1992; Chadburn forthcoming). This would suggest that the type dates to the inception of the silver coinage in both the region of study and perhaps East Anglia. Tentatively and somewhat intuitively a date of c. 50-40 BC might be suggested.

The archaeological contexts of the silver coins are of little assistance in their dating (figs 3.38, 3.39). Many copy the designs of Gaulish types, although these models are themselves imprecisely dated. Indeed the presence of a Massalia-derived reverse on QcD3-10, an archaic prototype, should caution against relying on prototypes too heavily for direct dating purposes. In general, however, it is likely that the earliest British types are broadly contemporary with the Gaulish types. The thin flan British types are struck on the same thin flans as their Gaulish prototypes, and it is this series that is most

dependent on Gaulish coins for their designs. Almost all the designs borrowed from Gaulish coins are from the non-quinarius [i.e. earlier] coinages. The later dumpy flan coins appear less dependent on Gaulish types, and the dumpy flans may be a reaction to the Gaulish quinarius coinages or the Roman coinage itself.

Certain groups of coins from sites and hoards are of some assistance in dating. Particular groups of coins are of particular interest due to their closed nature. The Ashdown hoard contained QcD3-8, QsD3-1 and QsD3-2, (all type linked) and two Kentish coins. The three QsD3-1 from Pevensey, and if the provenance is reliable the six or more QsT3-6 reportedly from Stockbridge (possibly from Wanborough, see appendix 2), represent other closed groups. These groups might in part be a result of the disparate metrology of the silver types. However it could equally reflect intermittent, irregular and localised production of silver coin in the period. The large group of QsT3-6 in the Wanborough deposit may also reflect this. The group is typologically late, and the fact that this alone is the only uninscribed silver type in the Wanborough hoard¹²⁷ suggests that it falls at the end of the uninscribed period¹²⁸.

The one certain date for a series comes not from a British hoard but from the Le Catillon hoard from Jersey, which included two HT-1b and an HT1-3. All three are abraded, but there is little in their circulation wear to suggest that one type is much earlier than the other. The hoard also included a QsT1-5 in little circulated condition. The hoard indicates that both

British types are broadly contemporary, and are contemporary with British O and the Durotrigian silver staters¹²⁹. Conservatively a date in the mid-late first century BC may be offered (summarized in Haselgrove 1987, 319-321). By analogy to the Jersey-7 and Rozel hoards, a date of c.40-30 BC may be suggested (Haselgrove, 1987, 319). The find of a QsT3-1 on Jersey points to further contact between Jersey and the South Thames area. These British coins may form part of the return traffic that bought a significant number of Armorican coins to the central southern coastal area (Cunliffe 1981, fig. 68). This contact may have ceased towards the end of the production of thin flan silver units, as no dumpy flan units are known from Jersey.

The relative dating of certain types is assisted by their apparent pairing with gold types. For reasons discussed above QcD4-1 appears to be related to QsT1-2, although the former is struck on dumpy flans and the latter on a thin flan. This confirms the impression that the type is relatively early. For stylistic reasons outlined above thin flan units QsT2-2 and QsT3-3 appear to be paired with the biface staters Q1-12 and Q1-13 respectively. Both staters are late in their sequence, and a very rough date of c.40-30 BC might be suggested.

The gradual insular evolution of the fractional gold coins also helps to relatively date the silver. The typologically late QcD3-3 and QcD3-4 appear to be related to QsT3-6, which also appears from the Wanborough deposit to be late. The same may be said of the typologically late QcD3-5 and QcD3-6, which appear to

be related to QSD1. The later quarter stater have increasingly simple obverses, anticipating those of the quarter stater attributed to Commios. The quarter stater QCD3-9, stylistically and hoard linked (Ashdown hoard) to QSD3-1/2, confirms the late position of this silver type.

The silver fraction QSD3-11a appears broadly contemporary to the silver attributed to Commios, as the same hand appears responsible for the reverse.

A relative date for the appearance of silver fractions is easily arrived at. Most are type or stylistically linked to silver units, and these units are without exception struck on dumpy flans.

The dating of the SB group has been discussed by Burnett (1992b, 341), who suggested that they might date to the time of Caesar and probably predated the minim coinage. Many of these bronzes come from the Chichester by-pass site that has produced a restricted range of early silver, notably QST1-1, and such an early date appears secure. The similarities in style and distribution of this group to the HT group would seem to confirm a relatively early date for SB1-2.

In summary, it appears that the biface stater series was the first major coinage to appear in the area after British A2. At the same time or a little later, the first thin flan quarter stater appeared. In time the stater became uniface in appearance, although a number of derivative biface types appear to be late. The quarter stater were later struck on thicker

flans with a less distinct metrology, the obverses of these gold fractions also become increasingly uniface in design. Around the time of Caesar's expeditions, thin flan silver coins and a short lived bronze coinage appeared, both showing strong Gallic influences. This coinage was later replaced by types on dumpy flans, broadly contemporary to the dumpy flan gold fractions. It is in this period that the silver fractional coinage appears. The latest gold fractions and silver coins appear to run directly into the coinage attributed to Comios, while other types may be contemporary with the earliest inscribed coins in the area.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

It is impossible to use the uninscribed coinage to construct a history of the period. An overall picture of the political and coin issuing situation may however be discerned.

It would appear that British A1 and A2 were substantial coinages centrally produced. Two smaller issues, possibly of smaller tribes or pagi may be discerned in British C and the later D. All the factors suggest that the main types of British Q, Q1-3 - Q1-5, were also centrally produced by a single authority. This authority may also have been responsible for Q1-1/1-2 and Q1-6/1-7. The remaining types of British Q appear to be later than the main series, and of lower weight and purity. The variation in alloy and typology among these coinages could reflect a variety of different sources. Significantly all these later types appear to have been quite small issues. Like British C they were small issues based on the type prevalent at the time, made, apparently by another tribe or pagus of lesser means.

This picture is strengthened by British Ma and Lz3 which are found in the same area as British Q. These are typologically distinct from Q, and while a common area of circulation has blurred their origin, they too appear to have been produced by separate tribes or pagi.

A similar picture may be discerned in the quarter staters. The QcT1 and QcTM groups are stylistically tight and appear to form a large single entity. The typologically later thin flan

quarter staters exhibit increasing variety in their designs and metrology, and a number of later localised issues may be suggested. With the advent of the dumpy flan gold fractional coinage, yet more traditions become apparent, and a picture of highly fragmented minting becomes evident. If there was any kind of centralised control, the greatly varying metrology of the types suggests that it was weak.

The earliest groups of silver coins, HT, QsT1 and QsT2 exhibit a certain consistency as groups, although a number of different stylistic traditions may be identified in each. These differing styles could be the products of different engravers at the same mint. This does not appear to be the case for QsT1-7, however, which is struck on somewhat thicker flans than the group as a whole. The later silver groups, QsT2, QsT3 and QsD, exhibit a bewildering typological, metrological and metallurgical variety, strongly suggesting a large number of small issues from different mints. This great variety of standards suggests the absence of any central authority in this coining.

The final silver types closely anticipate the coinage attributed to Commios and the style of the designs and form of the flan suggest that some may have come from the same mint. It is possible that some of the later types of silver may even be contemporary with the coinage attributed to Commios. With the coming of inscriptions, a centralised control becomes evident, as the coinages became increasingly uniform in style, metrology and metallurgy.

The ability to coin must in part have been linked to the resources available. This may explain why the majority of the staters belong to the main series, while the production of quarter staters appears more fragmented and that of silver coins very much more so. The question of function may also be relevant, as the authority responsible for initiating coin production must have done so for a reason. One may hypothesise that the smaller the powers the less their spheres of economic interaction. This, in addition to available resources, may account for the greater fragmentation of lower denomination coinage.

Plated coins may also offer an insight into the issuing authorities. No plated Q1-1 - Q1-4 are yet recorded, and only one Q1-5 is recorded plated. By comparison, a large proportion of Q1-8 - Q1-12 are recorded as plated. At the very least this serves to distinguish the two groups. It would either indicate that the powers that issued the latter group were unable to operate the sanctions which seem to have kept the main group free of forgeries, or that some of the smaller mints were not above producing plated coins¹³⁰. The picture is repeated for the quarter staters. Ancient forgeries are not yet known of QcTM or QcT1, although they are for certain derivative QcT and many of the QcD types. Once again it appears that as the production of coinage became more fragmented, the control mechanisms became weaker.

There are no plated coins recorded in the QsT1, QsT2 and HT groups. It might be argued that this was due to the difficulty of

producing thin plated coins. The forgers appear nonetheless to have produced forgeries of certain thin flan gold quarter staters. Generally it is the dumpy flan silver types that are encountered plated. The fact that at least seven of the nine known QsD3-5 are plated suggests that this issue at least may have 'officially' included false coins.

Plated coins are found most frequently in the later derivative types where issues are fragmented. It may be argued that the early coins had only a limited function while later types enjoyed a broader currency and use. It may have been this broader function and currency that tempted the production of forgeries.

This fragmentation suggests a great number of mints. The distribution of Q1-3 - Q1-5 suggests a possible mint at Calleva. The distribution of QcT3 hints at a source in Hampshire, and that of HT suggests a source in the Solent area. The concentration of certain types at Hayling Island, Selsey and Chichester suggests that some may have local origins (above). This apparent fragmentation should be viewed against a time scale of perhaps half a century.

The identification of uninscribed types with historical persons and instances is fraught with dangerous assumptions. The entry of Gallo-Belgic E into Britain may be documented in the metallurgy and uniface nature of Q1-5, implying that Gallo-Belgic E staters were reaching the authority responsible for this type in substantial numbers, either directly or indirectly. There is

no obvious record in the coins of the appearance of Commius, unless his crest or symbol is present amongst the many motifs in the fields of the uninscribed coins.

It is evident that the great episodes of stater production in the south Thames area (A2 and Q) are broadly contemporary with the appearance of Gallo-Belgic C and E. The British types both appear to utilise the Gallic types for their metal. From the analyses available, it appears that the rare QsT1 may have been struck on Gaulish silver. The alloys of the later types however suggests that Roman denarii (often debased) were the source. This may attest to an influx of denarii into Britain following the Romanisation of Gaul.

THE COINAGE INSCRIBED AND ATTRIBUTED TO COMMIUS.

A class of stater of celtic character bearing the inscription COMMIOS on the edge of the design was first associated with the Commius of Caesar in Camden's Britannia (1600, 99). The career of the Commius of Caesar is well documented¹³¹. His history is so frequently repeated that assumptions made in the past have become established; a number of aspects of the original account require critical examination. For clarity the Commius of classical sources will be referred to as Commius and that of the British coins Commios.

Caesar tells us that Commius had great influence in part of Britain (*cujus auctoritas in iis regionibus magni habetatur* (BG IV, 21)). However when Commius arrived as Caesar's envoy to tender the Britons allegiance to Rome he was seized and imprisoned, and only liberated after Caesar's defeat of the Britons. This may underline the tribal differences which existed in Britain at this time. We should also bear in mind that Commius was not a natural leader of the Gaulish Atrebates. It was Caesar who had made him king of the vanquished Atrebates, so at best he may have belonged to a pro-Roman faction of the tribe. Later, however, he appears to have enjoyed certain support in leading the Atrebates against Caesar.

Commius' loyalty to Rome was not to be depended upon, and in 52 BC he appears as a leader of the Gallic league against Caesar (BG VII, 75, 76). Upon the failure of the league he is generally

assumed to have fled to Britain. While not recorded by Caesar, this event may be recorded in a somewhat anecdotal tale related by Frontinus (ii, 13, II). The tale is undated and could conceivably relate to a later flight.

In 51 BC Commius was once again involved in an alliance of the Bellovaci, Atrebates and other tribes against the Romans. However he finally made his subjection, promising never to come within sight of another Roman ('ne in conspectum veriat cujusquam Romani' (BG VIII, 48)). Commius then disappears from history, and it is assumed (largely on numismatic evidence) that he made his exile in Britain.

The main tenet of this evidence are staters inscribed COMMIOS which have a distribution centred on the kingdom of the Atrebates. Evans (1864, 154) cautiously warned that the Commios on the coins may not be the same person, he observed that Caesar recorded a number of names common to certain leaders, citing the example of Divitiacus, one of whom ruled over the Suessiones and another over the Aedui. However as the numismatic Commios appears in the district of the British Atrebates, Evans felt secure in identifying him with the Commius of Caesar (1864, 154-5). The stater itself is based on British Q, itself ultimately based on Gallo-Belgic F. These staters are succeeded by three series of coins in the names of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica. All use various forms of the title COMMI.FILI (appendix 3) on their coins, following Birch's suggestion¹³², this has become accepted as an abbreviation of the COMMII FILIUS patronymic (a

parallel exists in the DIVI.F legend encountered on coins of Augustus, RIC 250-263, for example).

Serious problems arise if we treat this patronymic literally. While Epillus is unknown to history we know that Tincommius was a contemporary of Augustus (below) and that Verica is most probably identified with the Berikos recorded in Rome in AD 43 (Dio Cassius ix, 19). If we treat the patronymic literally, as Allen observed (1944,6), then Commius must have lived to a very considerable age.

The dating of the COMMIOS stater type also raises certain difficulties. Allen dated the immediately ancestral British Q after Caesar (1944, 4). Seeing the COMMIOS stater as immediately preceding those of Tincommius, he was reluctant to date the type earlier than c.30 BC (1944, 6). This dating has remained broadly accepted (cf Mack 1976, 39; Nash 1987, 128) although Van Arsdell dated the staters c.45-30 BC (1989, 128) with little apparent reasoning. The staters inscribed COMMIOS therefore somewhat post-date the arrival of Commius in Britain. The celtic character of the British staters inscribed Commios is in sharp contrast to the heavily Romanised Gaulish coins in the name of Commios, issued between 57 and 51 BC (Scheers 1977, no. 113; contra Allen & Nash 1980, 98). This may however reflect no more than local traditions and die cutters.

There can be little doubt, as Nash suggested (1987, 137), that the heroic exploits and escape won the illustrious Commius honour in his new home. One would however expect the British

Atrebates to have their own leaders, and not necessarily to instantly accept Commius as their leader (although career of Caratacus amongst the Silures, nearly a century later, may be cited against this). It appears odd, if he were held in high esteem, that this house had not come to his assistance when he was captured on his landing in Britain as Caesar's envoy. Caesar does not explicitly tell us what authority Commius had in Britain. It would perhaps be easier to envisage Commius's party to have been initially tolerated, and a leader to emerge for the British tribe only after a period of naturalization. Allen cautiously observed that if this Commius were not that of Caesar, then he may well have been a member of the same family. More recently others have noted that the various chronological difficulties might be overcome by the existence of two Commii or by not treating the patronymic literally (Haselgrove 1984, 54 n25; Burnett 1989, 236; Cunliffe 1991, 75-6).

Before we go further, it is perhaps wise to focus our attention on the coins themselves. There are presently 28 staters available for direct study and at least six more known, although photographs of these are unavailable. From the specimens available it is clear that there are four distinct types bearing the name of Commios. These types have a common obverse design and are defined by their reverses. Design reconstructions make the differences clear (fig. 4.1). COM1-1 is closest to Q1-3 and Q1-9/10/11, with three large pellets above the tail, a the 'brooch' device above the horse and with traces of the legend COMMIOS

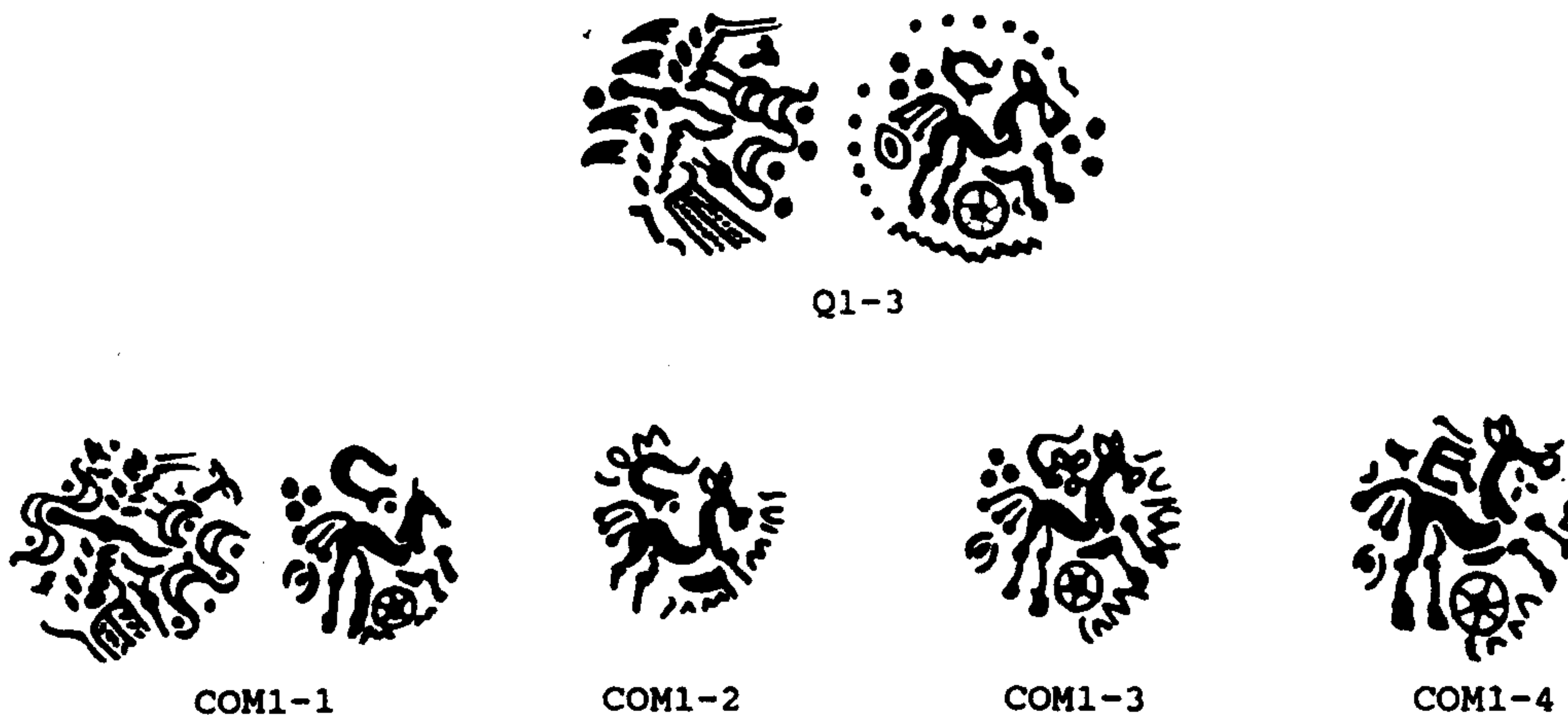


Figure 4.1 Design reconstructions of staters of Commios and Q1-3. Scale 2:1

below. This type is obverse die linked to COM1-2, which is a further remove from British Q. While the horn device above the horse is still clear the pellets above the tail are not apparent on the two known specimens¹³³. The legend COMMIOS is clear under the horse, with the legend COM above. COM1-3 lacks the COM legend and an odd chain-like device has appeared to the right of the brooch-like device. A further type, COM1-4, may be identified, also with the COMMIOS legend below the horse, but with a large E device in the place of the chain device above the horse (Van Arsdell 1986, the legend beneath the horse is not stressed). This may be the final issue as it shares the three petal device under the chin of the horse and certain other features with early coins of Tincommius (TIN1-1/3/5).

This sequence and COM1-2 are of crucial importance in identifying the Commios of the staters. COM1-1 bearing traces of

the COMMIOS legend is the earliest and could conceivably belong to the Commius of Caesar. The second type (COM1-2) bears the legend COMMIOS COM or COM COMMIOS134. Although this is one of the earliest legends on a British coin it seems unlikely that the same name is shown twice. It appears that one of these is a name, the other a title or patronymic based on a name. Types COM1-3 and COM1-4 are typologically later and do not bear the patronymic or title. The typological ordering of the first three types is confirmed by die wear to the common obverse die A.

At the very least the COM1-2 was issued by a Commios who claimed either descent or title from another COM(mios). If correct we may assert that this other COM(mios) is very likely to have been the Commius of Caesar. Unless these two Commii were contemporaries in minting (COM1-1 - Commios I 'of Caesar', COM1-2 - Commios II, 'son of Commios I') we may assume that COM1-3, COM1-4 belong to Commios II who issued the COM1-2. As COM1-1 is obverse die linked to COM1-2 (and by inference in close chronological proximity) we might suggest that COM1-1 was also issued by Commios II. It is only COM1-1 that has any claim to be issued by Commios I (of Caesar).

This resolves certain difficulties examined above. It also helps make sense of the TINC COMMIF legend on Tincommius's stater (TIN1-2). The name TINCOMMIUS alone means 'son of Commius', and on the traditional scheme a further patronymic makes little sense. However with the new scheme, he was son of Commios II (TINCOMMIUS) and claimed descent from an earlier Commios, Commios

I (COMMI.F). If the COMMII FILIUS patronymic is no more than a title of lineage, then its use by Eppillus and Verica presents no serious obstacles (although the traditional relationship of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica as brothers becomes less certain).

Only gold coins are known in Britain bearing the name Commios. There are grounds however, for attributing certain silver units and minims and possibly quarter staters to Commios [II]. The quarter staters and silver units are of rather different style to the staters, but are linked to Commios [II] by their use of an E motif (with a characteristic slanting end to the middle bar) which also appears on COM1-4. Both the silver units and quarter staters are usually encountered struck on small thick flans.

Three types of silver unit have been attributed to Commios (Van Arsdell 1986; 1987) one with an upright E (COM1-8), another with a downward facing or 'lazy' E above the horse (COM1-9/10/11). These two groups are die-linked. The upright E type appears to be earlier as a 'lazy' E reverse is paired with an obverse die (K) which employs the innovation of enclosing the obverse design within a solid line. The die pairing pattern of the 'upright E' and 'lazy E' types contrast with one another (fig. 4.10). Whether this E device is a monogram for Commios (Van Arsdell 1986, 330) is open to question; it may well be no more than an engravers device¹³⁵. A further type exists with a wheel above the horse rather than an E (COM1-7), the device appears to

have more in common with other uninscribed issues, particularly QsD3-11, which appears to be from the same hand. This type appears earlier and is not die linked the 'E' type units. It may well have been struck under the authority of Commios II as the 'E' stater (COM1-4) is the latest type of stater. The silver units have a very similar distribution to that of the COMMIOS staters (fig. 4.3, 4.4).

In addition to the units, minims appears to belong to this group (COM1-12/13). They are broadly obverse and reverse type-linked to the units and of the same peculiar style. The reverse, probably for reasons of space, has a pellet-in-ring above and below the horse.

There are also grounds for attributing a group of quarter staters to this series. It has for some time been observed that Allen's 'Gallo-Belgic' Xc2 quarter stater are in fact peculiar to Britain (e.g. Scheers 1977, 358). They have more recently been seen as early in the British series and firmly attributed to the area of the Atrebates (Kent 1978; 1981, 40). As Allen had observed (1960, 113) and Willett suggested (1877, 330), a rare variety of this type has an upright E above the horse. Whilst assembling the plates for Celtic Coinage of Britain Van Arsdell observed this 'E' device variety and attributed it to Commios (1989a; 1989). The similarity in style is strong, notably the form of the horse, only the form of the nose is different and even this is simply an inverted form of that which appears on the silver (fig 4.2). In addition a ring-within-ring motif is common

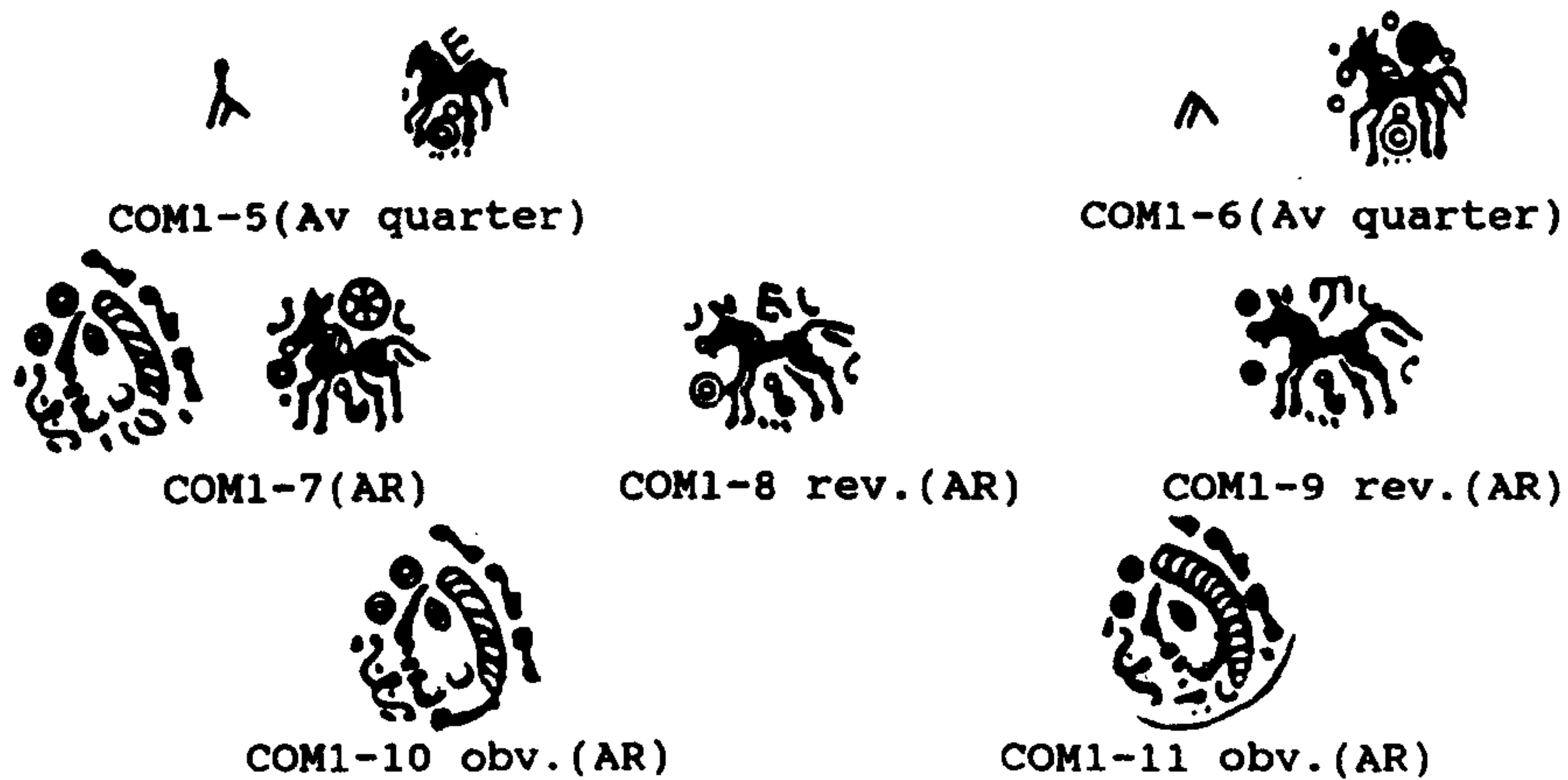


Figure 4.2 Design reconstructions of the quarter staters and silver units attributed to Commios [II]. Scale 1:1.

to both. Van Arsdell's assertion that the crescent and ring in front of the horse are an abbreviated form of the legend CO(mmios) is less secure (1989; 1989a, 128). All other coins which carry this part of the design depict only a ring, including several from the same die, the explanation for the apparent C lies in die flaws around the head of the horse, one of which extends and develops into the apparent C. The rather crude thick style of the digamma on the obverse might also be compared to the general style and hair on the obverse of the silver series. The silver units and gold quarter staters are both struck on small thick flans.

The great majority of these quarter staters (35 of the 41 recorded¹³⁶) have an elaborate pellet-in-ring-in-cog wheel above

the horse, not the E. Whether these can truly be classed with the issues of Commios is hard to determine. Like the silver it should be observed that the E stater (COM1-4) is typologically latest. However the quarter staters without the E appear on typological grounds to be later than the E type or possibly partly contemporary (below). The distribution of the quarter staters is comparable to that of the silver and staters (figs 4.3 and 4.4). The single metallurgical analysis of a quarter stater does not however easily support an attribution to Commios, but suggests the series could be earlier (below).

It has already been observed that the silver and quarter staters are typologically similar. Details confirm that they are contemporary and from the same hand (with the possible exception of quarter stater reverse dies k and l). The use of rings and ring-in-rings in the field and the tear drop pellets at the bottom of the reverse design further link the two groups.

The quarter staters and silver coins of Commios II have only been found in association with other uninscribed silver at probable or actual temple sites. The episodic nature of deposition at such sites (appendix 1) making the associations insecure. Additionally the allowance must be made that other uninscribed coins, possibly of very different style, may have been struck under the authority of Commios II.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE COINS OF COMMIOS

Before the distribution of the coins is examined the provenances of a number of specific coins require examination.

It is more than probable that one or both the staters purchased by the National Museum of Wales (C200, C227) originally came from Wanborough¹³⁷. The quarter stater said to be from Wallingford, from the Davies collection (Allen 1960), is not plotted as this provenance is less than certain and the coin may well be from Bognor (appendix 2). The quarter stater reported by Allen (1966 189-90; Haselgrove 1978) is not plotted as it is a modern 'Haselmere' forgery. The quarter stater from the 'Selsey 1986' 'hoard' is plotted as Wanborough, as this now appears a more probable source for this find (appendix 2). Haselgrove (1978, 40) suggested that a silver coin recorded by Stukeley (1771, 38-9) may belong to the silver series now attributed to Commios. However it is not plotted as Evans (1864, 110) was probably correct in identifying it as Gaulish (DLT 8178).

A COM1-3 stater, a COM1-6 quarter stater and a QcD3-10 quarter stater are recorded as coming from 'a tumulus at Cakeham Farm, West Wittering, Sussex'. The COM1-6 quarter stater was found in 1840 and the stater 1873 or later. Haselgrove (1987, 297) is probably correct in viewing the 'tumulus' as either a sand dune or clearance heap. There is actually no reason to believe that these coins actually came from the same 'tumulus'.

The distribution of the staters is very similar to that of

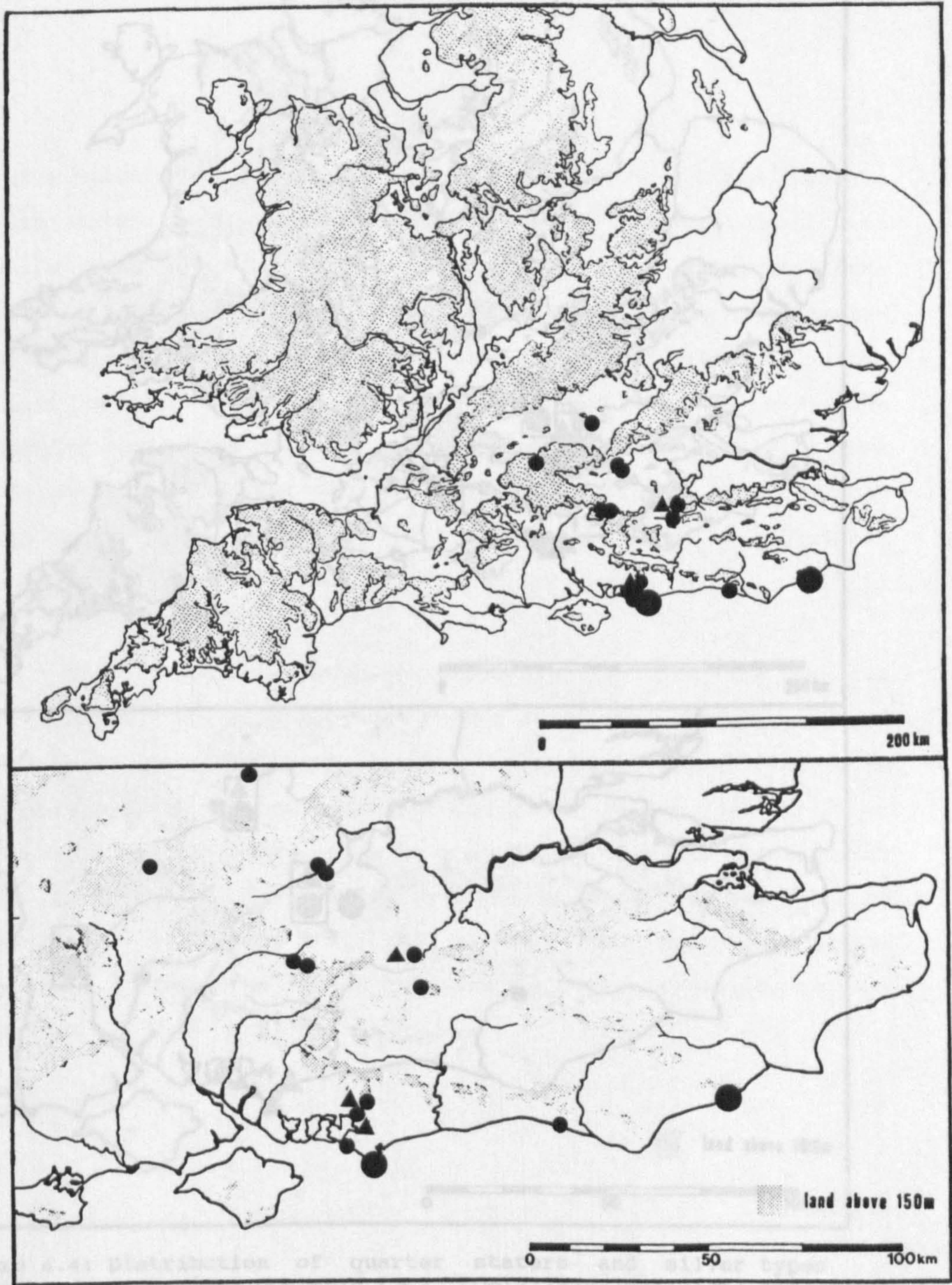


Figure 4.3: The distribution of stater coins of Commios: COM1-1/2/3 (●) and COM1-4 (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

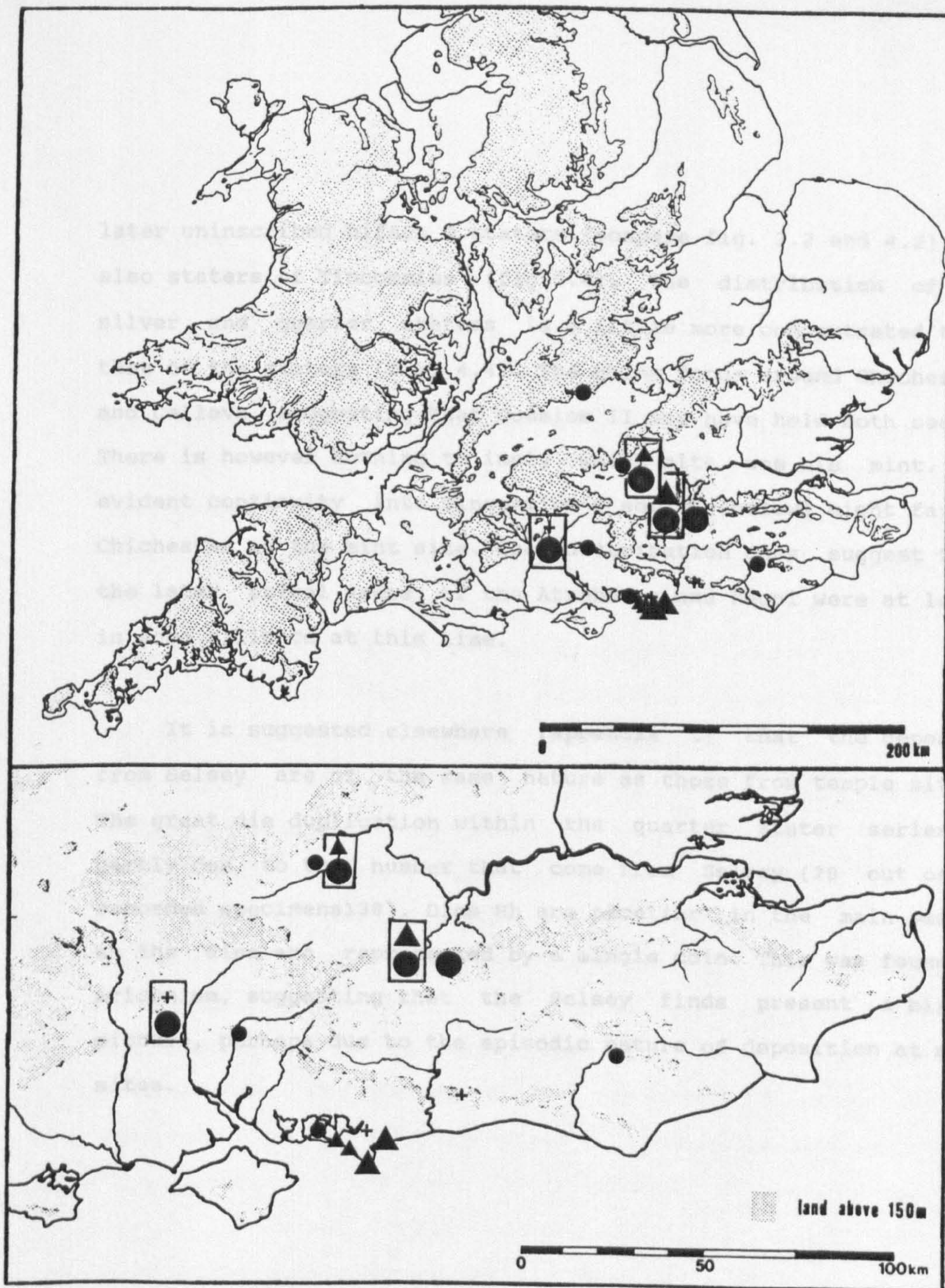


Figure 4.4: Distribution of quarter staters and silver types attributed to Commios: COM1-5/6 (▲), COM1-7/8/9/10/11 (●) and COM1-12/13 (+). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

later uninscribed biface Q staters (compare fig. 3.2 and 4.2) and also staters of Tincommius (fig.5.4). The distribution of the silver and quarter staters is a little more concentrated than that of the staters (fig. 4.4). The coins focus around Chichester and Calleva, suggesting that Commios II may have held both seats. There is however nothing to imply which site was his mint. The evident continuity into Tincommius's series (below) might favour Chichester as the mint site. The distribution does suggest that the later tribal areas of the Atrebates and Regni were at least in some alliance at this time.

It is suggested elsewhere (appendix 1) that the deposits from Selsey are of the same nature as those from temple sites. The great die duplication within the quarter stater series is partly due to the number that come from Selsey (28 out of 40 recorded specimens¹³⁸). Dies Hh are peculiar in the main series as the dies are represented by a single coin. This was found at Ariconium, suggesting that the Selsey finds present a biased picture, perhaps due to the episodic nature of deposition at such sites.

METALLURGY

Four staters, one quarter stater and five silver units have been analyzed (fig. 4.5). The composition of the staters is remarkably regular and there appears to be no difference between that used for the COM1-1 and COM1-2. The alloy compares to the single result for the typologically and metrologically similar late uninscribed biface stater Q1-10, and that of Q1-8 from the area of the Dobunni (fig. 3.13). It is also similar to that of the more noble specimens of Tincommius's stater TIN1-2 (fig. 5.11), a type which shares the three petal device below the chin of the horse with the COM1-4. The remaining TIN1-2 contain c.5% less silver, the deficit made up by copper. This debasement supports Tincommius as the successor to Commios II.

The one quarter stater analysis is ambiguous and the source of the test is not available. It is immediately clear that it contains c.10% more gold than the staters of Commios, indeed it is nobler than most British Q quarter staters. It also of a different alloy to the Xc1 staters (fig. 4.5). If the test was accurate, then the quarter stater may prove to have a rogue composition. A significant number of these coins have been found at Selsey/Bognor and are visibly leached. If such a coin were tested the result would be misleading. It is also not known whether the coin analyzed was a COM1-5 or a COM1-6. The result should not be dismissed however, as certain quarter staters of Tincommius are more noble than their companion staters (fig.

5.11).

The silver coin analyses show alloys c.7% more base than those used for the silver units of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica. The results compare to the alloys used for other uninscribed issues from the area (fig. 3.25). If Roman denarii were the source of this silver then it was debased using copper. It would not be surprising if the early Celtic silver types of Tincommius were produced using a similar alloy, but none has yet been analyzed. The two Wanborough coins with the same silver content (Cheeseman forthcoming nos 20, 28) are from the same dies and probably the same alloy batch.

| Type | Au | Ar | Cu | Source |
|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| COM1-1 | 46.8% | 22.3% | 29.9% | Cowell 1992 |
| COM1-3 | 46.78% | 21.97% | 33.76% | Northover 1992 |
| COM1-3 | 48.6% | 20.0% | 30.2% | Cowell 1992 |
| COM1-3 | 46.9% | 17.5% | 32.6% | Cowell 1992 |
| COM1-5/6 | 57.3% | 16.4% | 22.9% | Kent 1978 table 4 |
| Xc1 | 51.75% | 34.6% | 13.65% | Scheers 1977, 342 |
| COM1-7 | 0.37% | 86.13% | 12.9% | Northover 1992 |
| COM1-9 | 0.4% | 87.78% | 11.18% | Northover 1992 |
| COM1-9 | 1.9% | 94.5% | 3.5% | Cheeseman forthcoming |
| COM1-9 | 0.8% | 94.5% | 4.0% | Cheeseman forthcoming |
| COM1-9 | 0.8% | 89.6% | 8.0% | Cheeseman forthcoming |
| Mean compositions. | | | | |
| Staters | 47.27% | 20.44% | 31.61% | |
| Ar units | 0.85% | 90.50% | 7.92% | |

Figure 4.5 The metallurgy of the coins of Commios. The Xc1 composition is shown for comparative purposes.

METROLOGY

From the specimens available it appears that the stater types were all struck to a similar standard. This standard compares to that of later unscripted biface staters, particularly Q1-10 and Ma1 (fig. 3.13) and is a little heavier than that of Tincommius's early staters TIN1-1/2 (figs. 4.6 and 5.8). The two main varieties of quarter stater appear to have been struck to the same standard (fig. 4.7). The metrology of both has been significantly affected by the large number of sea-leached specimens from Selsey/Bognor. This is clear when the weights are plotted and the Selsey/Bognor specimens distinguished. The weight distribution broadly compares to certain QCD types, although no type is sufficiently numerous for secure comparisons to be made. The overall distribution compares to the first quarter staters of Tincommius, TIN1-3 (compare figs. 4.7 and 5.9).

| Type: | All | COM1-1 | COM1-2 | COM1-3 | COM1-4 |
|----------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Wt. | | | | | |
| 5.9-5.99 | | | | | |
| 5.8-5.89 | | | | | |
| 5.7-5.79 | | | | | |
| 5.6-5.69 | | | | | |
| 5.5-5.59 | I | | | | |
| 5.4-5.49 | OIII | | | OI | III |
| 5.3-5.39 | OIIII | I | I | OII | |
| 5.2-5.29 | | | | | |
| 5.1-5.19 | | | | | |
| 5.0-5.09 | I | | | I | |
| 4.9-4.99 | | | | | |
| Mean wt. | 5.33g | 5.39g | 5.39g | 5.303g | 5.47g |

Figure. 4.6 Metrology of the staters of Commius.

| Type: | All | COM1-5 | COM1-6 |
|-----------|-------|--------|--------|
| Wt. | | | |
| 1.3-1.349 | | | |
| 1.25- | | | |
| 1.20- | II | I | I |
| 1.15- | IIII | I | III |
| 1.10- | ii | i | i |
| 1.05- | iiii | | iiii |
| 1.00- | Iiiii | | Iiiii |
| 0.95- | IIoi | Ii | Io |
| 0.90- | Io | | Io |
| 0.85- | i | | i |

Mean weight of all COM1-5 and COM1-6: 1.0238g (32 coins).
Mean weight of those known not to have come from Selsey/Bognor: 1.0914g (9 coins).

Figure 4.7 The metrology of quarter staters attributed to Commios II. Coins plotted as 'i' and 'o' are coins from Selsey/Bognor which appear sea-worn.

The silver units have a wide weight distribution (fig. 4.8), due partly to the number of damaged and abraded coins in the sample (although some of the well preserved specimens are light). The distribution compares to that of the late QsT3-6 (fig. 3.18)

| Type: | All | COM1-7 | COM1-8 | COM1-9 |
|---------------|------|--------|--------|--------|
| Wt. | | | | |
| 1.32-1.379 | I | | I | |
| 1.26- | | | | |
| 1.20- | I | I | | |
| 1.14- | II | I | | I |
| 1.08- | IIII | | III | I |
| 1.02- | IIII | | III | I |
| 0.96- | O | | IIII | I |
| 0.90- | OII | | O | II |
| 0.84- | OII | | OI | I |
| 0.78- | O | | III | II |
| Mean weights: | | 1.17g | 0.96g | 0.95g |

Figure 4.8 The metrology of silver units attributed to Commius. Note damaged coins and weights < 0.78g have not been plotted or included in the mean calculations as these are invariably from abraded coins.

and to many QsD units (fig. 3.19), although none of the similar QsD types have enough extant specimens for secure comparison to be made. The minims broadly compare to certain uninscribed QsD fractions and are slightly heavier than latter inscribed types.

DESIGN SOURCES

The obverse and reverse of the stater clearly develop from British Q1-3, Q1-9/10/11 (fig. 4.1). The pellets and rings in the obverse pattern suggest Q1-10/11 may have been the model. The fronds on the obverse have been abandoned for a crescent pattern. The horse's head is better defined and more complex than the simple pellet with two lines terminating in a thick bar of Q1-1-1-11; the head on Q1-12 is not dissimilar. The 'chain' device above the horse (COM1-3) and the E (COM1-4) are innovations. The 'chain' device is similar to that under the horse on the North Thames stater VA 142 (Bean forthcoming 2 and Cottam forthcoming for re-attribution of type)¹³⁹. A simpler form of this device may appear below the horse on QSD1-3 and above the horse on QCD3-8. The E device appears to lack native or continental precedent, although it appears above the horse on the reverse of the LAT ISO silver series of the Corieltauvi (VA 998-1). It will be observed that while the number of spokes in the wheel on the reverse on Q staters varies, all known dies of COM1-1/2/3 have five spokes while the reverse die for COM1-4 has six.

The digamma on the obverse of the quarter staters is clearly copied from the obverse of the Xc1 stater. However the large pellet connected by a line from the top of the digamma on the British quarter stater (dies A, B, C and D lack the connecting line) do appear on the stater. The crude obverse of the silver unit and minim is harder to trace as it is so simple. Scheers

(1986) suggested that it derived from a Suessionic type (Scheers cl. 27, 188-9). However other Gallic types have the similar crude busts, for example Scheers cl.28 no. 207. In particular a bronze type attributed to the Ambiani (Scheers cl. 63, 361) not only has a similar bust but also two pellet in rings before the face (fig. 4.9), one of these coins has been found at Braughing (Allen 1961). However the simple design of the bust may simply place it at the end of a declining face-horse tradition. The 'nose and eyebrows' device in front of the face appears to be derived from the 'hidden face' (Van Arsdell 1989b) on the obverse of Q and derivative staters.

The device below the horse on the reverse of the silver unit also appears several times on the obverse, behind the bust. This device appears on the succeeding coinage of Tincommius in a more serpentine form. It may also be found on earlier South Thames silver such as QsD1-6. It occurs in other British series, being apparent beneath the boar on the Corieltauavian unit VA 855-3.



Figure. 4.9: The possible source of the obverse design of the silver type attributed to Commius (1), 2, 3, 4 Scheers 188, 207, 361.

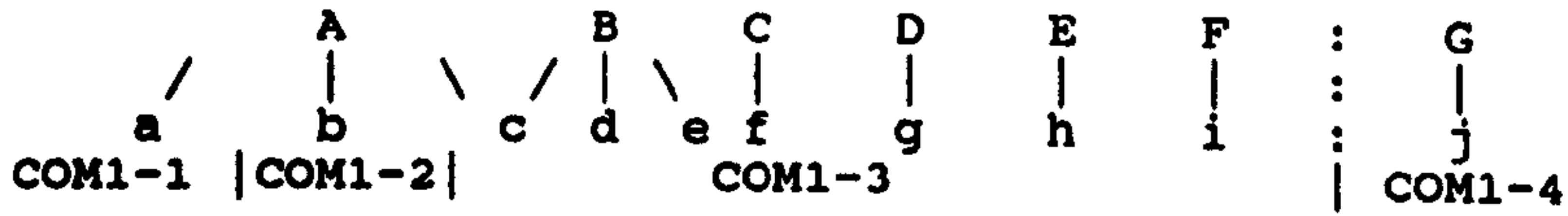
DIE STUDY

The ordering of the stater dies has been discussed above. The obverse dies are fairly heavily used and often appear to have been used when in a worn state, flaws also developed on certain reverse dies. The obverse dies for COM1-1 - 1-3 have pellets filling the fields around the crescents and dies A, D and E additionally use a ring device. The obverse of COM1-4 is devoid of such decoration.

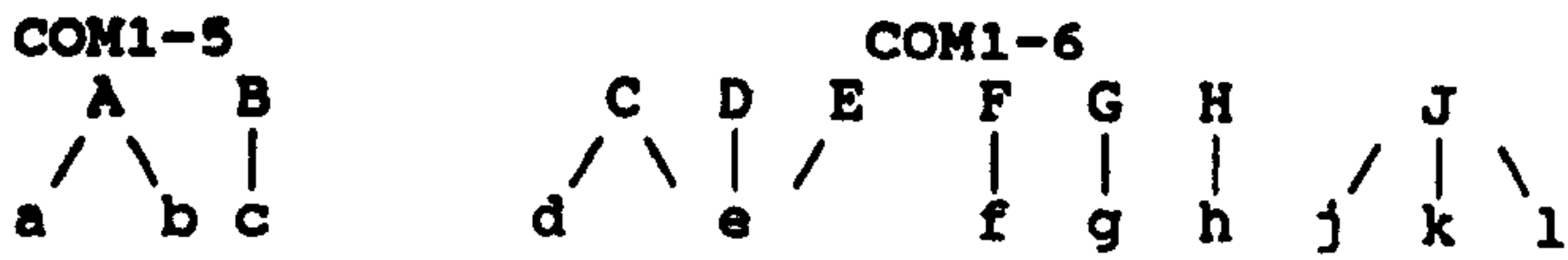
The dies used for the COM1-5/6 quarter stater series attributed require comment. The main series, with a pellet-in-ring-in-cog wheel above the horse, display a clear typological sequence. Die d may be said to be superior and is peculiar in depicting a band around the horse's body at the base of the mane (e.g. BM 833). Later dies are less competently engraved, the ring above the ring-in-ring below the horse drifts higher, and the dip in the horses back becomes more exaggerated. Dies j and l depict a beast which is crude in form and more canine than equine; it appears to lie at the end of the sequence. The obverse dies are heavily used, die J is used until nearly blank, the wear appearing to confirm the ordering of reverse dies j,k and l. Obverse die J clearly bears the traces of another digamma opposite the clear digamma on coin (Mossop lot 19), strongly suggesting that this is a re-cut die. The underlying die appears to be H, although the impression is too faint to be certain.

The position of the quarter stater with the E above the

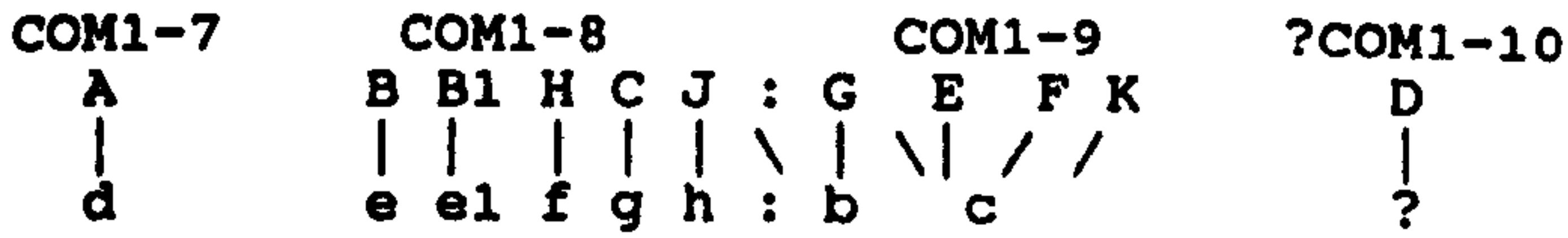
Staters



Quarter staters



Units



Note: Gc pairing only known on plated coin

Minims



| | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------------------------|-------|
| COM1-1 | : | Surviving coin to obverse die ratio | 1:1* |
| COM1-2 | : | " " " " | 1:1* |
| COM1-3 | : | " " " " | 31:7* |
| COM1-4 | : | " " " " | 4:1 |
| COM1-5 | : | " " " " | 5:2 |
| COM1-6 | : | " " " " | 34:7 |
| COM1-7 | : | " " " " | |
| COM1-8 | : | " " " " | |
| COM1-9 | : | " " " " | |
| COM1-10 | : | " " " " | |

* shared obverse die

Figure 4.10: Summary of die study and ratios for the coins of, and attributed to Commios.

horse cannot be determined with absolute certainty as the two varieties are not die linked. The style is however comparable to dies e and f of the main series, although not d as the band below the mane is absent. A further feature suggests that the 'E' type belongs at this end of the series. The obverse dies for the 'E' type have a digamma linked to a large pellet by a line, the pellet although not the line appears on die C and less clearly on die D of the main series.

There is certainly one modern forgery of this type extant (Oxf. In. 72.0441) that appears to be derived via a cast or electrotype from BM 821. Doubt has been raised as to the authenticity of Oxf. In. 72.0440 (De Jersey, pers. comm.). It is struck from recorded dies however, and does not appear to be derived from any other known coin. The coin illustrated by Van Arsdell as a forgery (1989, 554) is struck from known dies (D and e) and there appear to be no grounds for its condemnation; it is not derived from a known coin.

The dies for the three varieties of silver unit show little typological variety. The only obvious feature to vary is the 'snake' below the horse on the reverse which becomes more abstract. with a more pointed head, and begins to list to the left. It will be observed that the 'upright E' and 'lazy E' types have a different die pairing pattern although the types are die linked (fig. 4.10).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Only one coin attributed to Commius is known from an excavated context, a COM1-8 from Hayling Island, which was unstratified (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, no. 40).

ORGANIZATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE COINAGE OF TINCOMMIUS140

The arrangement presented below is made possible by the new types that have appeared recently, principally from the Wanborough deposit. This factor should be borne in mind when examining earlier arrangements of the coinage.

The stater series was examined in detail by Evans (1864, 158-170; 1890, 499-507; summarized in fig. 5.1). The first stater he identified, I 10 (TIN1-1) was closest to the staters inscribed COMMIOS, and was succeeded by I 11 (TIN-2) with its differing legend; II 2,3 (TIN1-3) being the attendant quarter stater. This series was superseded by a stater of Classical character, I 13 (TIN3-1), and its attendant quarter stater II 4, XVIII 6,7 (TIN3-3/4); I 8 (TIN4-1, TIN3-2) being a derivative variety of this stater. He discerned a further stater I 14 and II 7 (TIN4-7), copying the previous type but of inferior execution, with attendant quarter staters II, 6, XVIII, 12, 13, 14 (TIN 2-1/2/3/4). In his 1890 supplement Evans was able to add the silver types XIX, 1 and XIX, 2 (TIN 2-6, TIN 3-5). He also suggested that minims TIN4-5 and 4-6 (cf 1864, 185) from the Lancing deposit, might also belong to Tincommius (1890, 499), a correct attribution not repeated until recently (Van Arsdell 1989, 383-1 for TIN4-5; Kent 1990, 267 for TIN4-6). Evans also recognised the important reverse die variants of TIN4-2 which have since been ignored (see below).

Allen (1944) had no new types at his disposal and few new

specimens. He refined the sequence proposed by Evans, however, by adding TIN4-2 to TIN2-1/2/3/4 as attendant quarter staters to TIN4-7, although he ignored the reverse die variations of TIN4-2. The position of the two silver unit types was not clearly fixed, although it was inferred (1944,7) that they belonged to the derivative series headed by stater TIN4-7. This arrangement was followed by Mack (1953; 1975), although following Evans' (1864) initial conclusion (later revised 1890, 499) he attributed TIN4-5 and TIN4-6 to Verica.

Haselgrove (1987) refined the sequence and inserted two new silver unit types (TIN4-4a, TIN2-5) that had appeared since Allen (1944). On the basis of legend TIN4-2 is presumably paired with TIN3-3/4. The minims TIN4-6 and TIN4-4a were assigned to the early series. TIN2-6 and TIN1-4 were assigned to the later series with TIN4-5 and TIN3-8 (figure 5.1).

Van Arsdell (1989) follows Allen's arrangement of the gold series into three groups. The new silver types from the Wanborough deposit are allegedly arranged 'according to their inscriptions and on typological grounds. The more Romanised designs on the silver coins are assigned to later periods'. His arrangement is summarized in figure 5.1, VA 383-7 and 384 are excluded as they are in fact coins of Verica. Van Arsdell does correctly include TIN4-5 and Allen's Lz6 quarter stater (TIN4-3) as coins of Tincommius.

Clive Cheeseman's (forthcoming) examination of the Wanborough deposit reaffirms Van Arsdell's (1989) basic ordering of the

This approach also misses certain telling clues to the arrangement in the non-stater denominations. The limitation of Cheeseman's arrangement, by the nature of his data, is that it excludes certain types not present or only weakly represented in the Wanborough deposit.

Cheeseman is undoubtedly correct in grouping the similar silver units TIN2-6, 2-8, 2-5 and TIN2-9 together. He places the TIN2-5 and TIN2-9 last, as they are in his opinion, furthest from the Roman prototype. It should however be noted that TIN2-5, depicting a facing head, rather than one in profile, is a far more difficult piece of die engraving. The treatment of the eyes and hair, identical to those on the units depicting a head in profile, indicates the more difficult subject alone is the root of the crude appearance of this obverse. It would also be wrong to say that the bust on TIN2-9 is significantly more Celtic than its fellows. The crude appearance of this head is largely due to incorrect preparation of the dies prior to striking (p. 302-4).

Before proposing a new organization of this coinage a number of further criticisms are offered. The elegance and classical appearance of the reverse die for TIN3-2 indicates that it is by the same hand that engraved both the obverse and reverse dies for TIN3-1. The obverse and reverse dies for TIN4-1 are apparently from a less accomplished hand. The true ordering must therefore be TIN3-1, 3-2, 4-1. Both Van Arsdell and Cheeseman ignore the important and revealing die varieties of TIN4-2 and TIN4-7. This is significant as the commonly illustrated reverse for TIN4-7 is

struck from an incorrectly prepared die (p. 303-4) producing and unclear and clogged impression. This gives a poor indication of the type visible from clearer dies. Van Arsdell may also be criticised for splitting TIN4-4 (VA 372) and TIN4-4a (VA 382) into two separate 'coinages'. In fact TIN4-4 and TIN4-4a share a common reverse die and the TIN4-4a obverse die is simply a crudely re-engraved TIN4-4 die, in short they are no more than variants of the same type.

Before a new arrangement of the coinage of Tincommius is attempted, the coins will be arranged into typological groups. The reader is referred to the plates and figure 5.13 for the types discussed below. The clearest group of coins are those that derive directly from the coinage of Commios. TIN1-1 is directly based on COM1-4. It is obverse type-linked (though not die-linked), of the same style, and employs both the triple-petal motif below the horse's chin and the six spoke hubbed wheel on the reverse. The DV legend may well be a title akin to the COMMI.F patronymic on TIN1-2 and RICON on staters of Tasciovanus141. TIN1-2 is obverse type-linked to COM1-3 (obverse dies A, D, E). The reverse shows a number of departures although the three rings above the horse appear based on the chain-like device on COM1-3. The legend compares to COM1-3 and particularly to COM1-2. As TIN1-1 and TIN1-2 are based on different types [and traditions] they may have been issued in parallel. Both types introduce the innovation of beading on the reverse, the apparent

saw-tooth line¹⁴² below the horse on TIN1-1 recalls British Q. To this group an additional stater TIN1-1b might cautiously be added, which also has traces of the saw-toothed line below the horse. The dies for this type are clearly by a different hand, and if the dies are ancient, not modern, then they may be later as a number of design features are omitted or crudely approximated¹⁴³. It is clear that quarter stater TIN1-3 belongs in this group as its antecedents clearly lie in the uninscribed coinage (below). This type shares its hubbed wheel and triple-petal device (though here outlined) with stater TIN1-1. The group appears to include two silver units, TIN1-4 and TIN1-5¹⁴⁴. TIN1-4 is directly-type linked to the silver units of Commios, and by virtue of the common up-right 'E' device, to COM1-4 and the type linked TIN1-1. While the horses are of different style TIN1-4 are encountered on the same small thick flans as TIN1-3 quarter staters. TIN1-5 are struck on thinner broader flans and are clearly of different style. While this might suggest a different mint the device below the horse and long obverse legend, often apparently blundered towards the end, are shared with quarter stater TIN1-3. The TINCOMMDVR on TIN1-5 compares to the legend on TIN1-1.

The remaining three groups of Tincommius's coinage betray varying degrees of Roman influence. The first group we shall examine betrays the most obvious debt to Rome, the agency of which is discussed below.

This group is headed by stater TIN3-1, with a neat obverse

legend of serified letters reading TINC in an incuse tablet. The reverse is similarly well executed, depicting a horseman with spear derived from a Republican denarius of P.Crepusius (fig. 5.18). The star above the rider and lettering below the horse are however more Celtic in style and execution. The obverse legend is shared by quarter stater TIN3-3/4. The obverse legend is now in a cartouche, with the letter C above and either A or B below. The meaning of these letters is obscure, although as Evan's observed (1890, 502) the B rather rules out a reading of Calleva (Contra Mack 1975, 50). The reverse of this type appears to be something of a classical hybrid (p. 313) and lacks a legend. The silver units TIN3-5/6 also have reverses which hybridise classical types, with no surrounding legend. The obverse features a most classical bust with a neat legend of similar style to that on quarter stater TIN3-3/4. This similarity is confirmed by the letter behind the bust, either an A or B. A pair of reverse linked minims would also appear to belong to this group, TIN3-8/9. The reverse lacks a legend and depicts a bird below a branch, and might also be said to be a classical hybrid. The obverse has a neatly engraved A or B within two inter-linked squares. It is interesting to observe that the extant number of coins of this group bearing the letter A far outnumber those bearing the letter B (a further reverse linked minim, TIN3-10, with a crudely cut letter C on the obverse is discussed below). Silver unit TIN3-7 also belongs to this group. The reverse depicts what could be described as a classical hybrid type, a

strange cross between Salus and Victory. The general style of the piece and the lettering, particularly that on the reverse (compare to TIN3-1 reverse) compare to other coins in this classical group. It does not however appear to belong to the series with the A or B legend.

A further group of coins bear designs which are at least influenced by the Roman coinage. In their execution they are less accomplished, and they might be described as 'Proto-Classical'. The group contains four quarter stater types which are all variations on the same theme, three of which are die-linked. The legend COMF is shown in an incuse tablet on the obverse (the reverse of TIN2-4 reads COMF, not COM, the F has become clogged on the die). The reverse depicts a horse to the left or right with surrounding legend. As Allen observed (1944, 6 fn 9) TIN2-1 and TIN2-2 share the same obverse die which is also used for several specimens of TIN2-3. Die wear suggests a 'die box' was used as impressions of both fresh and worn states of the obverse die are common to all three types. As TIN2-3 introduces a fresh reverse die, not used with the other types, it is apparently the latest. The known specimens of TIN2-4 are all struck from the same worn and clogged obverse die which lacks a circuit of beading around the obverse, as does obverse die B, which is peculiar to TIN2-3. The reverse of TIN2-4 also lacks the triangular beading used on TIN2-1/2/3 to enclose the design. The style of the horse is also different, although the thick style of the horse's head resembles that from the TIN2-2 reverse die when

it displays signs of clogging. The reverse legend, T, is significantly simpler.

Six types of silver unit would appear to belong to this group. All depict a bull on the reverse surrounded by legend. The obverses depicting a bust derived from a classical source. Unlike the quarter stater, die links are not yet known between the types. However TIN2-5 and TIN2-6 share a common reverse type and TIN2-7 and TIN2-8 have similar, though not identical reverse types. TIN2-9 has a similar reverse type to the latter, though the legend is shorter. One might tentatively note the fact that TIN2-5 and TIN2-6 have the same legend as quarter stater TIN2-2, and TIN2-9 the same legend as quarter stater TIN2-4. More persuasively it may be observed that TIN2-9 also shares the same heavy and rather crude engraving of the reverse with TIN2-4. Tentatively one might propose the ordering TIN2-5, 2-6, 2-7, 2-8, 2-9. TIN2-10 is apparently broadly contemporary to TIN2-9 though the single extant specimen is too worn to say more.

This group may also contain a stater type, TIN4-7a/b. This type has the legend COMF in tablet in common with the quarter stater. This is a typologically long series and only reverse dies a and h are stylistically close to the quarter stater. Die h depicts the same style of horse that appears of quarter stater TIN2-1 and TIN2-3, the style and size of the reverse legend directly reflect that above the bull on silver units TIN2-5 and TIN2-6. The only extant impression of die a is from the die in worn state. This appears to depict a horse of the same style,

however in common with the quarter stater and silver units the legend is now split, TI above the horse and NC below (other varieties suggest the o behind the horse is more likely an engravers device). This legend form reflects the 'Crude' minim TIN4-5(below). The reverse of TIN4-7 is copied from Classical stater TIN3-1, whereas the quarter staters TIN2-1/2/3/4 do not copy the Classical quarter stater TIN3-3/4. This would suggest that TIN4-7 is actually later than the quarter stater group, though from the same hand.

Certain reverse dies (c, d, e) of stater TIN4-7, all with have the legend TIN crudely engraved below the horse, appear to stand at the head of a group of coins. These are characterised by poorly engraved and prepared dies (p. 302-3) and might be referred to as the 'Crude' series. The silver unit TIN4-8 has a similarly placed legend to that on the stater and the style and striking is as poor. Of similarly poor quality is silver unit TIN4-4 and its two variants, TIN4-4a/b. The minim TIN4-6 follows the same obverse scheme as this unit, the relationship is confirmed by the weakly engraved ox-head on the reverse of the minim which also appears below the lion on the unit.

A number of so far unallotted types help further order these coins. The quarter stater TIN4-2/a/b treated as a single type since Allen (1944, 6, fn 9) has in fact two significant reverse types, and a further interesting re-cut die represented in the Wanborough hoard. The three are linked by a common obverse die, with the crudely engraved legend TIN in an incuse tablet. Reverse

die a (on which the obverse die appears freshest) depicts a rather crude boar, however die b depicts a lion or dog leaping over a star or ox-head. It is instantly clear that the latter is extremely close to the reverse of TIN4-4. The much re-cut form of die b, die c, takes a form more similar to the dolphin on silver unit TIN4-8, although it is so crude that this may be coincidental. This quarter stater type must therefore lie at a transitional point between the Proto-Classical and Crude groups as dies b and c compare to Crude series dies, whereas die a is closer in style to the Proto-Classical series.

The thick unsymmetrical lettering on the obverse of TIN4-2 is shared with the stater TIN4-1; the obverse dies at least appear to be from the same hand. The reverse crudely copies the Classical stater, TIN3-1, and the thick head of the horse is similar to that on TIN2-4. The reverse is linked to the Crude series by the irregular star or poorly engraved ox-head shown behind the horseman, similar to that which appears on TIN4-4 and TIN4-2a (die b). The irregular lettering on the stater, particularly the letter C on the reverse, is shared with quarter stater TIN4-3 which is of poorer engraving style. In content and execution the obverse of this piece compares closely to that of the obverse of silver unit TIN4-8.

It is therefore apparent that the Proto-Classical group develops, or degenerates into the Crude group. One can only guess the reasons why the Crude group should be characterised by such poor quality. However it is clear that the hand responsible for

the Proto-Classical series is also visible in a number of Verica's earliest Southern mint types (VERS1) (the obverse and reverse dies for Verica's stater VA 460-1 are clearly from the hand responsible for TIN4-7, as are other types). This reappearance of the Proto-Classical style in Verica's coinage might indicate a period of inactivity during the Crude series for this engraver. Alternatively, and bearing in mind the die-links that join the Proto-Classical and Crude series, one might suggest that some emergency or sudden need for new coin caused the standard of the die cutting, die preparation and striking to decline so.

The apparent continuity between the two groups calls into question the position of the Classical group. First we shall examine the quarter stater, unit and minims TIN3-3/4, 3-5/6, 3-7, 3-8/9 and TIN3-10. It has already been observed that these coins, unlike the stater of this group, TIN3-1, depict what might be termed hybrid classical types which are not directly dependant on a particular Roman coin type for inspiration. Metrology, metallurgy and distribution are of only little help in placing this group as Tincommius's coinage shows remarkable homogeneity (below). However a minim type, the use of dies and Verica's coinage assist us in placing this series. As the Proto-Classical hand is apparent, little changed in Verica's early Southern mint coinage (VERS1), we can safely suggest that the hand responsible for the Tincommius' Classical group is a new one. This Classical hand is also seen in Verica's Southern mint coinage. This is most eloquently illustrated by silver unit VERS3-5. The careful

engraving of the obverse and the small neat lettering mirror that on Tincommius's Classical unit TIN3-5/6. The reverse strongly supports this link. Not only does the slightly freer lettering equate to that on TIN3-7, it also depicts a hybrid classical deity. This time it is further removed in definition, although not style, from the classical pantheon of gods, depicting a draped figure with a branch or giant corn-ear in one hand and a head impaled on an ornate staff in the other.

This suggests that the coins from the Classical dies may be contemporary with those from other series in Tincommius's coinage. This is confirmed by the minim type TIN4-5. The obverse is copied from the Classical minims, which is confirmed by the letters C.F within the interlaced squares, letters which are nearly identical in form to those that appear below the horse on the Classical stater TIN3-1 reverse die (which as observed below may have been added to the dies by another engraver). The reverse of this minim depicts an animal identical to that on reverse die b of quarter stater TIN4-2a. The arrangement of the reverse legend is the same as that on TIN4-7. This minim suggests that the Classical minims (and by implication other Classical types) precede this type, which the reverse indicates belongs to the Crude series. This is perhaps confirmed by another minim, TIN3-11, which appears to lie between the two. The obverse is very similar in style, though it reads CO not CF. The reverse has the letters TI in the same place as TIN4-5 but depicts a very classically engraved bull. The obverse links it to TIN4-5

although the reverse places it stylistically in the Classical series. Minim TIN3-10 may suggest a further link. This places a crudely engraved letter C where a neat A or B appears on TIN3-8/9. The letter C falls outside the A/B duality of TIN3-3/4, 3-5/6 and TIN3-8/9. It could be argued that it relates to the letter C behind the bust on TIN2-8, however unlike the minim this coin displays a C with sharply cut serifs and more open form. It is just conceivable that it might relate to the letter C above the tablet on TIN3-3/4. However the form and ill-centred position of the C are most clearly paralleled on the obverse of Crude minim TIN4-5 which is obverse type-linked to the Classical series. It seems likely that TIN3-10 represents a bridge between the Classical and Crude series and that the C is an abbreviated patronymic.

The striking of coins in the Classical series also help to place it. Many of the coins, including some of the staters, are struck from dies that are very worn; those for the quarter staters TIN3-3/4 and silver units TIN3-5/6 being used to near exhaustion. This mirrors the heavy die wear apparent in the Crude series. Metrology supports this observation as both Classical and Crude series silver units have very similar weight distributions (fig. 5.10; the quarter staters all have very similar weight distributions). Further facts point to the Crude and Classical series emanating from the same mint and perhaps being partially contemporary. Both quarter staters and staters of the Crude and Classical series share common alloys. This is noteworthy as the

different denominations appear to be struck on flans of different alloy (fig. 5.11). The composition of the Finkley and Tangmere hoards (appendix 2) further suggest that the two series may have been contemporary. However the lighter weight distribution of staters of the Crude series (fig. 5.8) suggest that they may be somewhat later than those of the Classical series on which they

Celtic series

| | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| AV TIN1-1/a | AV1/4 TIN1-3 | AR TIN1-4 |
| AV TIN1-2 | | AR TIN1-5 |
| AV TIN1-1b (doubtful authenticity) | | |

Proto-classical series

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| AV1/4 TIN2-1 | AR TIN2-5 |
| AV1/4 TIN2-2 | AR TIN2-6 |
| AV1/4 TIN2-3 | AR TIN2-7 |
| | AR TIN2-8 |
| AV1/4 TIN2-4 | AR TIN2-9 |
| | AR TIN2-10 |

Classical series

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| AV TIN3-1 | AV1/4 TIN3-3/4 | AR TIN3-5/6 | AR1/4 TIN3-8/9 |
| | | AR TIN3-7 | |
| AV TIN3-2 | ----- | AR1/4 TIN3-10/11 | |

Crude series

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| AV TIN4-1 | AV1/4 TIN4-2 | | |
| | AV1/4 TIN4-2a | AR TIN4-4 | AR1/4 TIN4-5 |
| | AV1/4 TIN4-2b | AR TIN4-4a | AR1/4 TIN4-6 |
| | AV1/4 TIN4-3 | | |
| AV TIN4-7 | | | |
| AV TIN4-7a | | | |
| AV TIN4-7b | | AR TIN4-8/8a | |

Figure 5.3 A new arrangement for the coins of Tincommius. are based.

The Classical stater and minim types are perhaps imitated as they are the first types of their denomination to break away from Celtic traditions. By contrast the Classical quarter stater and silver units are not imitated. This is probably because types of a classical nature had already been formulated for these denominations, in the Proto-Classical series.

The Classical stater clearly spawns a number of imitators. Stater TIN3-2 is clearly reverse linked to the Classical stater TIN3-1. TIN4-1 is type linked to the Classical stater, and is, as observed above, transitional between the Proto-Classical and Crude groups. On this type the patronymic has been reduced to C. This reduction may have given rise to TIN4-7/a/b which has the more explicit legend COMF on the obverse, a type used on earlier quarter staters. It is this obverse type which is used on Verica's early Southern mint stater (VERS1-1). TIN4-1 and TIN4-7b (dies a and b) might possibly be contemporary as both depict two pellets below the tail of the horse. The Classical stater TIN3-1 poses a problem. While all known obverse dies show neatly serified letters of thoroughly classical character the reverse, by contrast, shows irregular letters lacking serifs. The star on the reverse also contrasts to the delicacy with which the horseman is engraved and with the obverse lettering. The reverse lettering is identical in style to that on the Crude minim TIN4-5. An explanation may be provided by the reverse of TIN3-2. The reverse die is apparently from the hand responsible for the horseman on TIN3-1, however the star and letters C.F are absent. This would

indicate that the incongruous star and lettering on TIN3-1 were added by another hand. The similarity in the C.F letters to TIN4-5 suggests that it was the hand responsible for the Crude series.

The question of mints now arises. It has been demonstrated that the Proto-Classical series develops into the Crude series which is at least partly contemporary with the Classical series. Striking quality, metallurgy and distribution indicate that the Crude and Classical series were probably from the same mint. As there are no mules between the series known, two 'work-shops' (at least for die-cutting and preparation) may be proposed. It is only in the Celtic series that other mints can be suggested. As it has been demonstrated above TIN1-1, 1-3 and TIN1-4 appear to come from the mint that produced COM1-4 - COM1-11. TIN1-5 are struck on thinner, broader flans and are of very different style. While a different place of striking may be suggested, the device below the horse and obverse legend tie this type to quarter stater TIN1-3. Distribution of these Celtic types (fig. 5.4) suggests a mint on the southern coast, possibly in the Chichester region.

TIN1-2 appears to follow the obverse tradition of COM1-1/2/3, however the reverse is of rather different style and design. The form of the horse is strikingly similar to that of the dog on the Eppillus quarter stater EPP1-1 from Calleva. The ring ornaments, particularly the group of three above the horse, also appear on Eppillus's coinage from Calleva. The known specimens of TIN1-2 are all, unfortunately, unprovenanced.

The distribution of the Proto-Classical coins (fig. 5.5) is unclear, and while a focus in the Chichester region is evident, there is also an apparent cluster around Calleva. This need not however indicate a northern mint as these types are proportionally scarce in the Wanborough and Waltham St Lawrence deposits (fig. 10.1). The Classical series shows something of a focus around the Chichester region (fig. 5.6). This is also true for the widely distributed Crude series (fig. 5.7), although the four coins from Winchester draw attention to this site. The stylistic continuity and interwoven nature of Tincommius's post-Celtic coins, in addition to their metrological and metallurgical consistency, suggest a single mint possibly with two 'work shops'. This would imply a fixed mint, probably in the Chichester region, although it is just possible that a work-shop might have been moved, at the time of the Crude series, to Winchester.

The sudden appearance of the Classical dies requires some discussion. It was Evans (1864, 162-3) who first suggested that the dies for TIN3-1 were either the work of a Roman or Roman trained engraver. This view has been maintained by successive authors, Nash (1987, 129) suggesting that these stater dies were a diplomatic gift from Rome, originating from the mint on the Teteberg. While a possible candidate, exact similarities are hard to identify (cf Kent 1988, 300) and engravers from Lugdunum might equally have been responsible. A 'foreign' hand is certainly likely as these dies do not continue and the neatly serifed letters are not seen again until Verica's VERS3-1

(obverse die A). Such a 'foreign' hand would explain the crude lettering and star added to the reverse of TIN3-1. It would also explain why an unaltered reverse die is paired with a 'native' obverse die for TIN3-2. The remainder of the Classical series are different, not slavishly copying Roman types but presenting unusual hybrids of classical themes. The hand responsible for these is evident in Verica's Southern mint coinage (below), so the dies are more likely to be the product of a resident engraver than gifts. This hand serves no visible apprenticeship in the series, and appears, fully developed. It is possible that he was Roman trained. It may be argued that he is unlikely to have been from a Roman mint (e.g. Lugdunum) as the dies for the quarter staters and units are markedly convex and concave producing dished coins. This is in certain contrast to Roman coins of the period and earlier, in which even the comparably sized quinarii are struck on more or less flat flans.

A further type of silver unit apparently belongs to Tincommius, TINUNC[ertain mint]1-1. The obverse depicts a diademed bust left, which is quite different in style to anything considered above. The reverse depicts a plump boar right with a crescent above and a pentangle below the head of the boar. The style of the boar and these devices are not encountered elsewhere in Tincommius' coinage. Unusually for Tincommius' coinage the reverse legend, TINCO, is in exergue. This coin seems to lie outside the groups of Tincommius' coinage discussed above. It lacks exact parallels in Eppillus' coinage so it would not appear

to be from the Calleva mint. It does however directly compare to a group of Verica's coins (VERUNC) and a common source is suspected. Only two specimens of TINUNC1-1 are known and one of these was 'found in Sussex, uncertain date'.

The dating of Tincommius's coinage will be considered elsewhere (p. 411-414).

DISTRIBUTION

The majority of Tincommius's coins are from hoards and temple deposits, not individual finds. The distribution maps are therefore dominated by the sites of Selsey, Wanborough and to a lesser extent Waltham St Lawrence. For a detailed discussion of the range of Tincommius's coins within these hoards and groups the reader is referred to appendices 1 and 2.

Little distinction can be made between the distribution of the different denominations. However the coins found furthest from the apparent focus of the distributions are staters.

Some distinction can be made between the distributions of the different groups of coins. The majority of the Celtic types of Tincommius are distributed in the vicinity, or to the south of the South Downs, with a concentration in the Chichester region (fig 5.4). Coins from this group have been recovered further north at Waltham St Lawrence and more plentifully from the Wanborough deposit. A single coin has been found at Silchester.

The Proto-Classical group is represented in the Wanborough and Waltham St Lawrence deposits, a quarter stater is known from Kingston and two from the 'Wallingford' deposit. There remains, however a notable cluster in the Chichester region, chiefly due to the occurrence of coins of this group in the Selsey/Bognor deposits. In contrast to the Celtic group only one coin has been found to the east of Bognor (fig 5.5). One might qualify this by observing that only gold staters and silver units of the Celtic

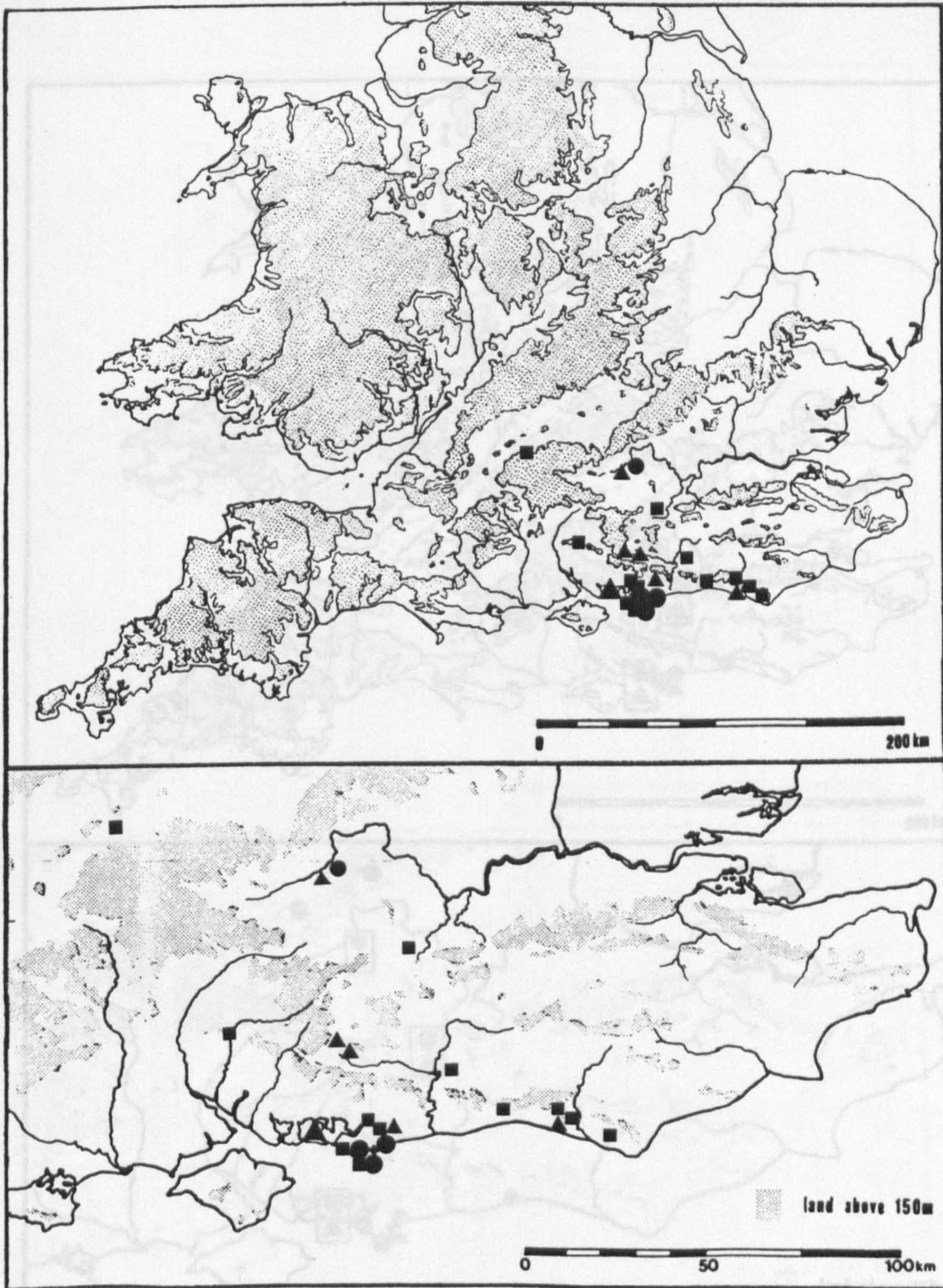


Figure 5.4: The distribution of 'Celtic' (TIN1) coins of Tincommius: Stater (■), quarter stater (●), silver unit (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

Figure 5.5: The distribution of 'Celtic' (TIN2) coins of Tincommius: Quarter stater (●), silver unit (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

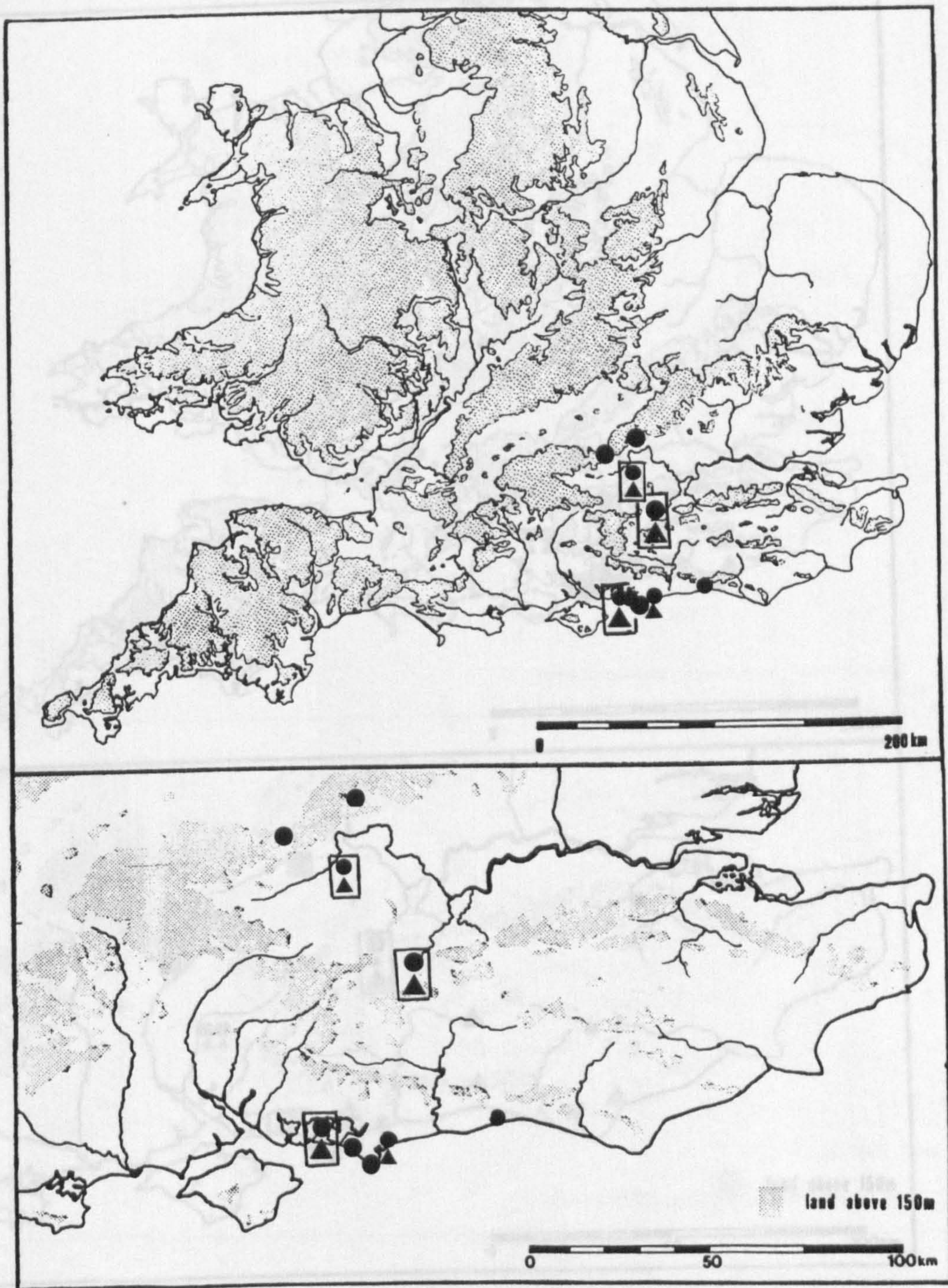


Figure 5.5: The distribution of 'Proto-Classical' (TIN2) coins of Tincommius: Quarter staters (●), silver units (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

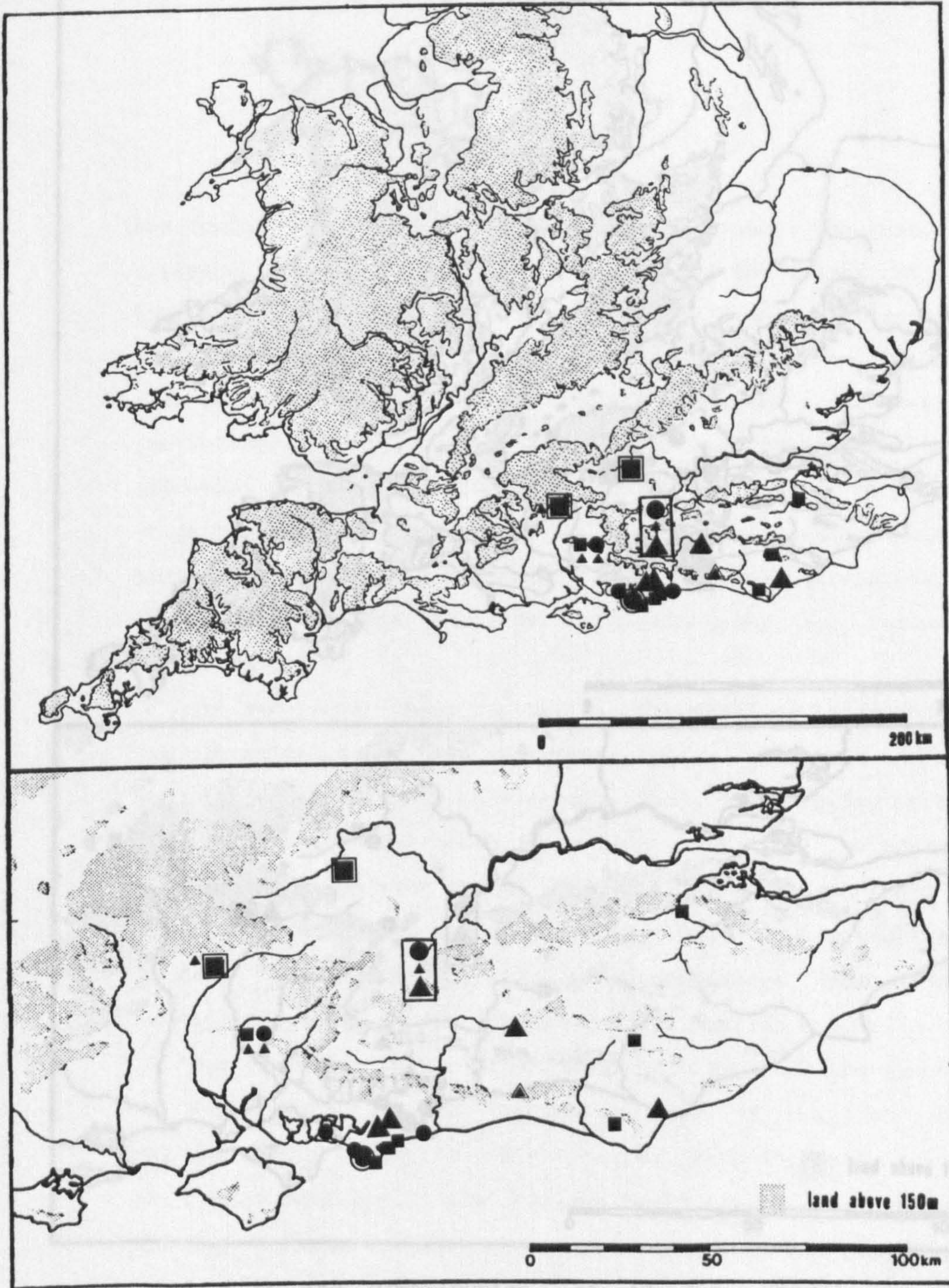


Figure 5.6: The distribution of 'Classical' (TIN3) coins of Tincommius: Stater (■), quarter stater (●), unit (▲), minim (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

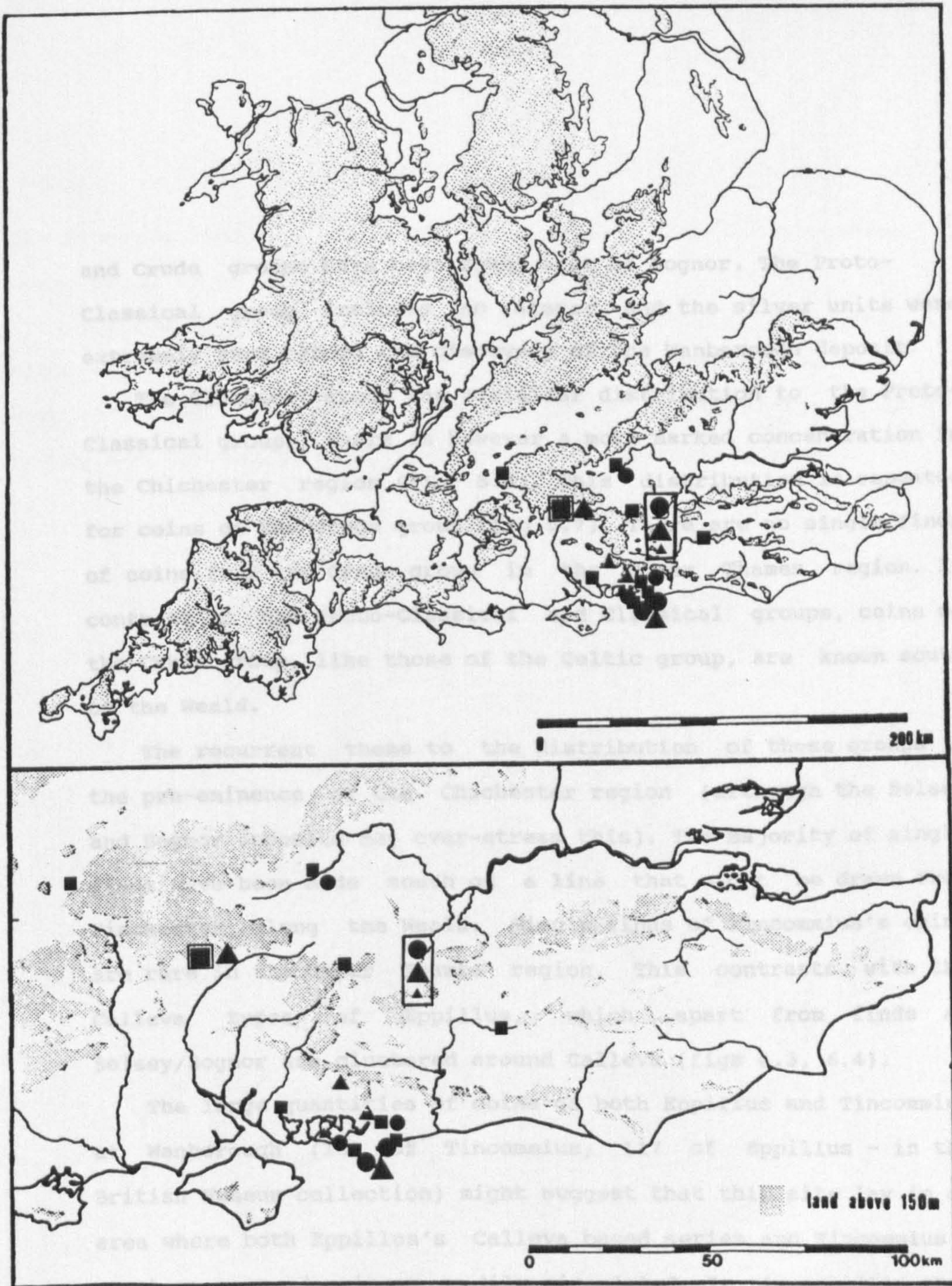


Figure 5.7: The distribution of 'Crude' (TIN4) coins of Tincommius: Stater (■), quarter stater (●), unit (▲), minim (▲). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find.

and Crude groups have been found east of Bognor. The Proto-Classical group includes no stater and the silver units were extremely rare before the discovery of the Wanborough deposit.

The Classical group has a similar distribution to the Proto-Classical group, there is however a more marked concentration in the Chichester region (fig 5.6). This distribution is repeated for coins of the Crude group (fig 5.7). There are no single finds of coins from the Crude group in the Upper Thames region. In contrast to the Proto-Classical and Classical groups, coins of the Crude group, like those of the Celtic group, are known south of the Weald.

The recurrent theme to the distribution of these groups is the pre-eminence of the Chichester region (although the Selsey and Bognor deposits may over-stress this). The majority of single finds have been made south of a line that might be drawn from Winchester, along the Weald. Single finds of Tincommius's coins are rare in the Upper Thames region. This contrasts with the Calleva types of Eppillus, which apart from finds at Selsey/Bognor are clustered around Calleva (figs 6.3, 6.4).

The large quantities of coins of both Eppillus and Tincommius at Wanborough (107 of Tincommius, 117 of Eppillus - in the British Museum collection) might suggest that this site lay in an area where both Eppillus's Calleva based series and Tincommius's southern centred coinage readily circulated. It is possible that the temple even lay on the boundary between the two territories (cf Millet 1991). By certain contrast the more northerly Waltham

St Lawrence deposit contained only six coins of Tincommius compared to 19 of Epillus (from Burnett 1992).

The one provenanced specimen of TINUNC1-1 is from 'Sunnax' hinting at a southern site for its mint. In common with other very rare types (e.g. TIN3-7, VERC3-4, VERUNC1-2) this type does not appear to have been represented in the Wanborough deposit

METROLOGY

Particular care has been taken when investigating the weights of Tincommius's coins. It is visually apparent when examining coins from Selsey and Bognor that they are particularly sea worn and have a leached appearance. These coins have been plotted as 'i' and 'o' in figures 5.8/9. In general this demonstrates that coins from Selsey and Bognor are lighter than coins found elsewhere, confirming the visual impression that they have lost weight.

Despite the typological transition from Celtic to Classical style, the staters from the three groups (the Proto-Classical group lacks a stater) have very similar mean weights (fig 5.8). The mean weights for Celtic staters TIN1-1, TIN1-2 of 5.33g and 5.34g¹⁴⁵, compare closely to that of the Classical stater TIN3-1 of 5.34g. It is only the Crude stater, TIN4-7, which deviates from this norm with a mean weight of 5.22g (5.27g if the lightest coin is excluded). Generally the metallurgy reflects this consistency (fig. 5.11), but here is no reflection of the light weight of TIN4-7.

When all the types of stater within various groups are plotted together the picture remains (fig 5.8). Both the Classical and Celtic group staters neatly cluster around 5.3 - 5.4g, although the Celtic group contains three coins over this weight. While eight of the 14 Crude staters fall between 5.3 - 5.4g, the remaining six coins are below this weight, further suggesting

that this group is lighter.

The metrology of the different types of quarter stater is also consistent (fig 5.9). The mean weights of types for which four or more specimens are known fall between 1.02 - 1.04g. The mean weight of 1.01g for TIN3-3/4 is clearly affected by the number of sea-worn coins from Selsey/Bognor in the sample. Indeed it is clear that the coins from Selsey/Bognor of other types may also have similarly reduced the mean weights.

The consistency of the weights is further stressed when all types of quarter stater are plotted together in their groups (fig 5.9). All four groups show a bimodal distribution centred on 1.0 - 1.05g and 1.15 - 1.2g. The Selsey/Bognor coins clearly influence this distribution and it appears that there has been a broad consistency in the weight reduction.

The silver coins of Tincommius also present a fairly coherent picture (fig 5.10). The Celtic types have only a very slightly lighter distribution than other types. This may be illusory as they are generally less well preserved than later types (none were found at Wanborough). The weight distribution of individual types follows a clear pattern. This is borne out by the weights of types collected together by group.

The majority of the Proto-Classical silver units (26 out of 36 coins) weigh between 1.2 - 1.32g. The Classical series displays a similar distribution, although the majority of the coins are now more broadly distributed between 1.14 - 1.32g. The Crude series displays a similarly broad distribution, although it is

Staters

| | TIN1-1 | 1-1b | 1-2 | 3-1 | 3-2 | 4-1 | 4-7 |
|-------------|--------|-------|------------------|-------|---------|------------------|------------------|
| 5.6-5.69 | | | | | | | |
| 5.5-5.59 | | I | | | | | |
| 5.4-5.49 | | | II | | | | |
| 5.3-5.39 | II | | IIIIi | OI | | II | OI |
| 5.2-5.29 | I | | i | | | | I |
| 5.1-5.19 | | | I | | i | | I |
| 5.0-5.09 | | | | | | | i |
| 4.9-4.99 | | | | | | | |
| 4.8-4.89 | | | | | | I | |
| 4.7-4.79 | | | | | | | I |
| Mean weight | 5.33g | 5.56g | 5.34g (5.25g) | 5.34g | (5.16g) | 5.35g (5.20g) | 5.27g (5.22g) |

| | All Celtic staters | All Classical staters | All Crude staters |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 5.6-5.69 | | | |
| 5.5-5.59 | I | | |
| 5.4-5.49 | II | | |
| 5.3-5.39 | OII | OI | OIII |
| 5.2-5.29 | Ii | | I |
| 5.1-5.19 | I | | Ii |
| 5.0-5.09 | | | i |
| 4.9-4.99 | | | |
| 4.8-4.89 | | | I |
| 4.7-4.79 | | | I |
| Mean weight | 5.36g (5.29g) | 5.34g (5.31g) | 5.29g (5.21g) |

Figure 5.8. The metrology of the staters of Tincommius. Mean weights in brackets include very light/damaged coins.

tighter in that there are only two coins outside the main group. This distribution is in contrast to the crude lacklustre dies and poor striking that characterise this group.

The minims present a fairly coherent picture, suggesting a mean weight between 0.28 - 0.32g. There are too few specimens to draw any meaningful distinctions, should they exist.

| | TIN1-3 | 2-1 | 2-2 | 2-3 | 2-4 | 3-3/4 | 4-2 | 4-2a | 4-3 |
|-------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------|
| 1.35-1.40 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.30- | | | | | | | | | |
| 1.25- | | | | | | | | | I |
| 1.20- | I | | | I | | III | I | | I |
| 1.15- | III | | i | IIIII | i | IIII | | II | 0 |
| 1.10- | II | | | Iii | | | i | | |
| 1.05- | | Iii | i | IIo | | | | ii | IIII |
| 1.00- | IIIoii | | IIoiii | Ioooli | i | IIIII | Ii | IIii | IIIIiii |
| 0.95- | ii | | Ii | IIoi | | IoI | ii | iii | IIo |
| 0.90- | | i | | iiii | | iii | I | | IIiii |
| 0.85- | i | | i | | | ii | | | |
| Mean weight | 1.04g | 1.04g | 1.02g | 1.03g | 1.08g | 1.012g | 1.03g | 1.034g | 1.03g |

| | Celtic | Proto-Classical | Classical | Crude |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| 1.35-1.40 | | | | |
| 1.30- | | | | |
| 1.25- | | | | I |
| 1.20- | I | I | III | II |
| 1.15- | III | OIIii | IIII | OII |
| 1.10- | II | Iii | | i |
| 1.05- | | Ooi | | IIIII |
| 1.00- | IIIoii | IIIoooli | IIIII | OIoiii |
| 0.95- | ii | OIIii | IoI | IIo |
| 0.90- | | iiii | iii | OII |
| 0.85- | i | i | ii | |
| Mean weight | 1.04g | 1.028g | 1.012g | 1.031g |

Figure 5.9. The metrology of the quarter staters of Tincommius.

The weight distribution of the Classical stater TIN3-1 reflects those of Verica's Southern mint staters, they also broadly reflect the Calleva stater of Eppillus. The metrology of the Celtic staters is slightly lighter than that of the staters of Commios (fig. 4.6). The second modal peak of the quarter staters of Tincommius (generally those coins less affected by sea wear) compares to the metrology of quarter staters of Eppillus from Calleva (fig. 6.1). The metrology of TIN1-3 matches that of

Silver units

| | TIN1-4 | 1-5 | 2-5 | 2-6 | 2-7 | 2-8 | 2-9 | 2-10 |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|--------|-------|-------|
| 1.32-1.38 | | I | | | | I | | |
| 1.26- | | | III | II | I | OI | III | I |
| 1.20- | | I | II | III | | IIIII | I | |
| 1.14- | | III | I | | | | I | |
| 1.08- | ?? | | I | | | I | | |
| 1.02- | | I | III | | i | | | |
| 0.96- | | | | | | I | I | |
| 0.90- | | | | | | | | |
| 0.84- | | | | i | | | | |
| 0.78- | | | | | | | | |
| Mean weight | | 1.182g | 1.179g | 1.184g | 1.25g (1.15g) | 1.237g | 1.21g | 1.26g |

| | TIN3-5/6 | 3-7 | 4-4/a/b | 4-8/a | TINUNC1-1 |
|-------------|----------|-------|---------|--------|-----------|
| 1.32-1.38 | I | | II | II | |
| 1.26- | OII | I | OI | O | |
| 1.20- | IIII | | OI | OI | I |
| 1.14- | OII | | OI | OI | |
| 1.08- | III | | III | IIII | |
| 1.02- | Ii | | | | |
| 0.96- | II | | | II | |
| 0.90- | Ii | | | | |
| 0.84- | | | | | |
| 0.78- | | | | | |
| Mean weight | 1.18g | 1.29g | 1.215g | 1.194g | 1.20g |

| | Celtic | Proto-Classical | Classical | Crude |
|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| 1.32-1.38 | I | I | I | IIII |
| 1.26- | | OOO | OIII | OOI |
| 1.20- | I | OIII | IIII | OIII |
| 1.14- | III | II | OII | OIII |
| 1.08- | | II | III | OII |
| 1.02- | I | III | Ii | |
| 0.96- | | III | II | II |
| 0.90- | | | Ii | |
| 0.84- | | i | | |
| 0.78- | | | | |
| Mean weight | 1.182g | 1.208g | 1.184g | 1.204g |

Figure 5.10. The metrology of the silver units of Tincommius.

the quarter staters of Commios, which is also affected by affected by sea-worn specimens from Bognor/Selsey (fig. 4.7). The metrology of the Proto-Classical silver is similar to the Calleva mint unit of Eppillus, EPP1-2, and the 'Common series' unit EPP4-2 (fig. 6.1). The Classical and Crude series silver units compare most closely to the distribution patterns for Verica's Southern mint silver units (fig. 8.6).

METALLURGY

A total of nine staters, 11 quarter staters, 14 units and one minim¹⁴⁶ of Tincommius have been analyzed (figs 5.11/12). The results present a fairly coherent picture.

The silver units of the last three groups were produced from broadly the same alloy (no Celtic series units have yet been analyzed; fig 5.12). The one minim tested (which may have suffered corrosion (Northover 1992, 289)) suggests that like other minims of the south Thames series, it is struck on a more base flan than the units (Northover 1992, 255-257). The only inconsistent result is for a TIN4-4b. This may well be a rogue result or coin. The result for the TIN4-8, also of the Crude series but from even less accomplished dies, suggests the normal alloy. One may suspect that TIN1-4 is produced from a more base alloy as it is so closely linked to COM1-7 - 1-11 (fig 4.5). Visual examination of specimens of TIN1-5 would suggest that they are also more base than later types.

There appears to be a difference between the alloy of the staters and the quarter staters. This remains even when the 'freak' TIN4-2 quarter stater with its unusually noble alloy is removed from the sample¹⁴⁷. This difference is most apparent in the Classical and Crude groups, whose averages are very similar (fig 5.11). Typically the quarter staters have a higher gold content while the staters contain more silver. It is hard to identify the precedent for this interesting difference. The

Proto-Classical

| Type | Au | Ar | Cu | Source |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| Celtic | | | | |
| 1-1 | 45.31% | 18.72% | 35.31% | Van Arsdell 1989, 509 |
| 1-1 | 47.8% | 16.9% | 34.6% | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| 1-1 | 45.8% | 21.2% | 32.6% | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| 1-1 | 47.00% | 12.03% | 40.79% | Northover 1992, 285 |
| 1-2 | 48.17% | 14.23% | 37.35% | Van Arsdell 1989, 509 |
| 1-3 | 49.44% | 14.17% | 36.14% | Northover 1992, 285 |

Proto-Classical

| | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| 2-3 | 46.6% | 18.7% | 34.0% | Burnett 1992, 23 |
| 2-3 | 50.1% | 13.61% | 36.05% | Van Arsdell 1989, 509 |
| 2-3 | 48.55% | 13.56% | 36.74% | Allen 1960, 308 |

Classical

| | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| 3-1 | 44.9% | 18.6% | 36.4% | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| 3-1 | 47.3% | 20.9% | 31.9% | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| 3-3 | 47.37% | 12.91% | 39.72% | Allen 1960, 308 |
| 3-3 | 51.91% | 9.57% | 38.32% | Northover 1992, 285 |
| 3-3 | 53.41% | 7.06% | 39.21% | Northover 1992, 285 |

Crude

| | | | | |
|------|--------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| 4-7 | 46.0% | 20.4% | 33.6% | Burnett 1992, 22 |
| 4-7a | 46.0% | 18.3% | 35.5% | Cowell 1992, 212 |
| 4-2 | 58.43% | 9.46% | 31.38% | Northover 1992, 285 |
| 4-2a | 46.06% | 15.07% | 38.17% | Van Arsdell 1989, 509 |
| 4-3 | 44.12% | 11.56% | 44.03% | Northover 1992, 285 |
| 4-3 | 48.13% | 12.03% | 38.87% | Northover 1992, 285 |

Averages

| | Au | Ar | Cu |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Celtic series | 47.25% | 16.2% | 31.13% |
| Proto-Classical 1/4 staters | 48.42% | 15.29% | 35.6% |
| Classical staters | 46.1% | 19.75% | 33.25% |
| 1/4 staters | 50.9% | 9.85% | 39.08% |
| Crude staters | 46.0% | 19.35% | 34.55% |
| 1/4 staters | 49.19% | 12.03% | 38.11% |
| Staters | 46.48% | 16.00% | 35.34% |
| 1/4 staters | 49.63% | 12.46% | 37.54% |

(Totals do not all make 100% as minor constituents not shown).

The results of analyses of coins from the Ashmolean, published by Van Arsdell (1989, 509), published again by Northover (1992, 285) are given as references to Van Arsdell.

Figure 5.11. The metallurgy of gold coins of Tincommius.

| | Ar | Cu | Au | Pb | Source |
|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| Proto-Classical | | | | | |
| 2-5 | 97.96% | 0.90% | 0.51% | 0.17% | Northover |
| 2-6 | 97.6% | 1.27% | 0.43% | 0.43% | Northover |
| 2-8 | 96.92% | 2.13% | 0.53% | 0.22% | Northover |
| 2-8 | 98.5% | 1.5% | | | Cheeseman |
| 2-8 | 99.6% | 1.5% | | | Cheeseman 1 |
| 2-8 | 96.7% | 1.9% | 0.5% | 0.9% | Cheeseman |
| 2-9 | 97.4% | 1.21% | 0.15% | 0.34% | Northover |
| 2-9 | 97.6% | 1.4% | | | Cheeseman |
| 2-9 | 95.8% | 3.2% | 1.0% | | Cheeseman |
| 2-9 | 99.4% | 0.6% | | | Cheeseman |
| Classical | | | | | |
| 3-5 | 97.94% | 0.85% | 0.51% | 0.33% | Northover |
| Crude | | | | | |
| 4-4b | 91.92% | 0.44% | 7.26% | 0.28% | Northover |
| 4-8 | 97.94% | 1.07% | 0.51% | 0.17% | Northover |
| 4-5 | 91.71% | 7.73% | 0.02% | 0.15% | Northover, (corroded) |
| Average | | | | | |
| Units | 97.61% | 1.37% | 0.87% | 0.22% | |
| Minim | 91.71% | 7.73% | 0.02% | 0.15% | (corroded) |

(Totals do not all make 100% as minor constituents not shown).

1 This total exceeds 100%, the copper content is accidentally duplicated from the above test, and should be 0.4%.

Figure 5.12. The metallurgy of silver coins of Tincommius. References from Northover (1992, 289) and Cheeseman forthcoming, appendix C.

quarter staters are struck from an alloy which falls mid-way between that of the staters and quarter staters of the Classical and Crude series (fig 5.11). A single Celtic quarter stater, TIN1-3, has been analyzed, the result is inconclusive. There would not appear to be a case for the smaller coins suffering differential leaching to the staters, as earlier related uninscribed staters and quarter staters appear to be struck from

the same alloy.

The Celtic stater TIN1-1 contains less silver than the staters of Commios (on average 3.8% less). Given the small number of coins analyzed, and the size of the difference, it may be insignificant. However, one TIN1-1 does have an alloy which compares to the Commios staters (compare figs 4.5, 5.11). It is possible that with further tests and die-linking from new specimens that a link to COM1-4, and a sequence of debasement, might become clear. The average alloy of Tincommius's later gold is shared with the first Southern mint stater types of Verica, VERS1-1 (fig. 8.7). Verica's main stater series from both the Southern and Calleva mints, are however more base (fig 8.7). The alloy employed in Eppillus's quarter staters compares to Tincommius's staters, though less so to his quarter staters (fig. 6.2).

The alloy used in the silver coinage of Tincommius appears to be the same as that used in the silver coinage of Verica and Eppillus. This leads one to suspect a common source, which given the similarities in composition to Republican and early Imperial denarii (Walker 1976, 24-5; Walker 1980), seems likely to have been recycled Roman coin; the very coins which provide the inspiration for the designs on so many of these types.

DIE STUDY

The typology of the designs on the dies has been discussed above. However a number of further points can be made about the dies used in the coinage of Tincommius.

The dies used in Tincommius's Celtic series are all fairly fresh, and none are used to the point of exhaustion. Both the obverse and reverse dies appear to have been somewhat larger than the coins themselves. This frequently leads to some or all the legend being off the flan (fig 5.13 for reconstructions). It would appear that the legend was therefore not of paramount importance. A die sequence may be discerned for the Celtic quarter stater TIN1-3. Initially the object below the horse is depicted as a ring on an irregular line with a serpent like reverse 's' to the right. On reverse die f this has been simplified to a thick line with a thicker reverse 's' to the right. Additionally the lower line of legend on the obverse

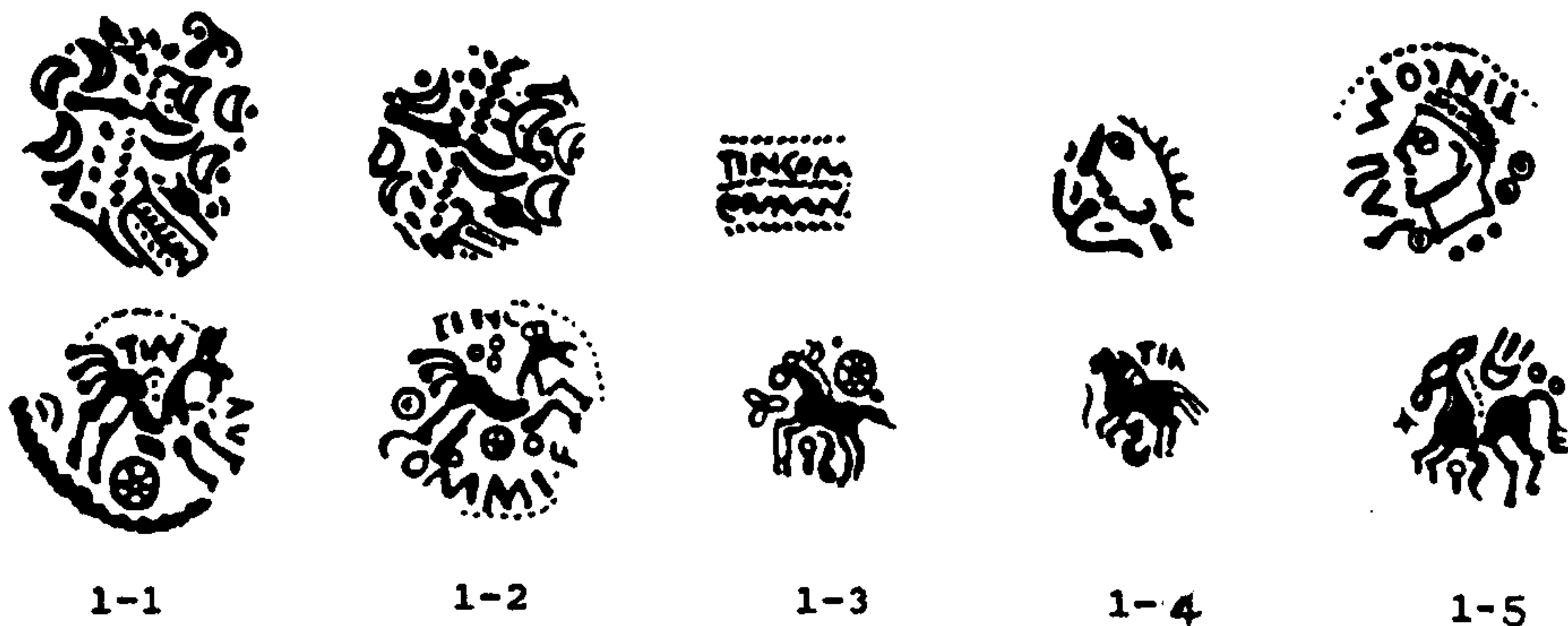


Figure 5.13. Design reconstructions for coins of Tincommius's Celtic series (scale 1:1).

appears simply as a zig-zag line on later dies. The legend on the obverse dies for TIN1-5 also appears to be slightly blundered on some dies.

The 'Proto-Classical' quarter stater dies are not used to exhaustion, although flaws appear on all the dies and one long-lived obverse die (die A common to TIN2-1/2/3) becomes visibly worn. This die develops a clear flaw below the bar of the F of the legend. TIN2-1, 2-2 and 2-3 are struck from this die in both flawed and unflawed state, indicating that the reverse dies must all be contemporary and that a 'die box' was in operation. It is however apparent that TIN2-3 is later as it was paired with a worn obverse die A and the fresh obverse die B which is not used with any of the other quarter stater reverse dies. The dies for the silver units, appear in general, not to have been used to the point of exhaustion. The obverse of TIN2-9 is however struck from a die that appears to have been incorrectly prepared. It appears to have been struck from a die that was not correctly annealed before use, after initial distortion it apparently 'work hardened', preserving the distorted form.

The Crude series stater (TIN4-1, 4-7) dies are fairly sharply, if crudely cut. An exception is the frequently encountered die pairing B and a of TIN4-7b. Like the obverse die for TIN2-9, these dies appear to have been incorrectly prepared before use. The quarter stater TIN4-2 has three known reverse dies, all linked by a common obverse die. The first reverse die, a, often softly struck, depicts a leaping ?lion over a star or

ox-head (a clear reflection of the reverse of the silver unit TIN4-4). The second reverse die, b, however, depicts a crudely engraved boar in high relief. The third die, c, is in fact die b re-engraved. Both the obverse and reverse of TIN4-3 tend to be weakly struck. Obverse die C has a number of 'leaves' in the wreath irregularly placed. While impressions from this die tend to be weak, it is possible that die C is in fact die B partially re-engraved; the two are otherwise inseparable. There is evident recutting of the obverse die for TIN4-4. Die A is clearly recut, to give the double sceptre impression on die 'B'. Another die, D, clearly very worn, has the letters very heavily recut. Van Arsdell places this obverse defined type in a different series to TIN4-4 (VA 372 and VA 382). However close scrutiny of these coins shows the worn remnants of the scepters between the letters. The obverse, and to a lesser extent the reverse dies for this type, are used until their impressions are virtually blank. While the dies for the attendant minim TIN4-6 do not appear to be recut, they are used to a similar state of exhaustion. The obverse dies of TIN4-8 are very heavily used. The 'DIVVS IVLIUS' lettering is initially clear on one die, however it soon becomes invisible and the 'petals' are themselves weak on some specimens. The reverses of this type are invariably weakly struck, and although it can not be proved, traces of design in the reverse fields strongly suggest that dies have been recut. This seems likely as the form of the dolphin is similar to that of the boar on the recut reverse die of TIN4-2 (die c), and recutting appears common-

place in this group.

The Classical series dies are better cut and all appear to have been properly prepared. They were however used as heavily as those of the Crude series. Some coins from the stater dies are clearly struck from worn dies (both TIN3-1 from the Finkely deposit for example). The quarter stater dies were also heavily used, a clear fault developing across the legend on obverse die A. The reverse dies, engraved in quite high relief are particularly prone to wear. This gives rise to a peculiar problem. Initially the irregular lock on the left side of the face on reverse die a is markedly irregular, however as the die wear it appears to straighten, perhaps due to the flattening and sideways movement of the face on the die. This may be observed by comparing BM 1957-4-4-2 struck from a fresh die, and the two coins from Wanborough BM 1988-6-27-43/44, struck from the die when worn. As the sequence of wear is not entirely clear at present the worn state of die a will be described as die c. The dies for the silver unit TIN3-5 are also used until they exhibit an advanced state of wear, particularly the obverse dies. Certain minims of TIN3-8/9/10 appear to have been struck from worn dies.

It is therefore apparent that dies for both the Classical and Crude series were used to near exhaustion. The dies for silver units and gold quarter staters of the Crude series were often recut. By contrast coins of the Celtic and Proto-Classical series are seldom encountered from very worn dies and re-engraving is not apparent.

From the number of obverse dies employed in the coinage of Tincommius it is possible to arrive at a crude index for the quantity of coins produced in each series (fig 5.14). In terms of potential stater and quarter stater production the Celtic and Crude series have the highest number of extant obverse dies. It will be clear from the inventory below that this is in some contrast to the numbers of extant specimens. For example, 51 Proto-Classical quarter staters are known, all struck from two obverse dies. Their comparatively high survival is undoubtedly due to the fact that at least 32 come from the Selsey/Bognor deposit. The same may be said for the large number of Crude and Classical silver units from Wanborough.

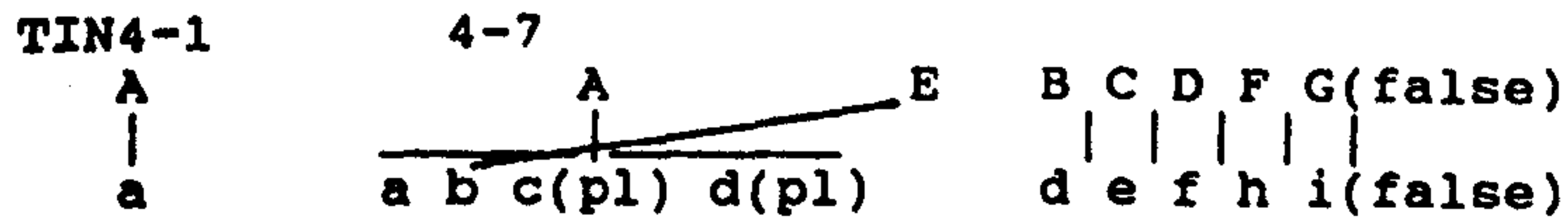
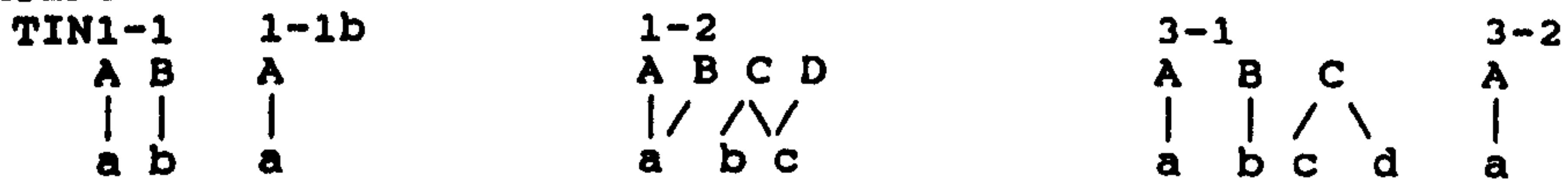
| | Celtic | Proto-Classical | Classical | Crude |
|---------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| Stater | 6(1):15(16) | - | 4:10 | 9:17 |
| Quarter | 8:21 | 2:53 | 3:31 | 4:44 |
| Unit | 6:15 | 9:26 | 7:38 | 4(?):46 |
| Minim | - | - | 5:8 | 6:14 |

Figure 5.14. Surviving obverse dies to extant specimens as an index of the production and survival of Tincommius's coinage. Figures in brackets include the suspect die for TIN1-1b.

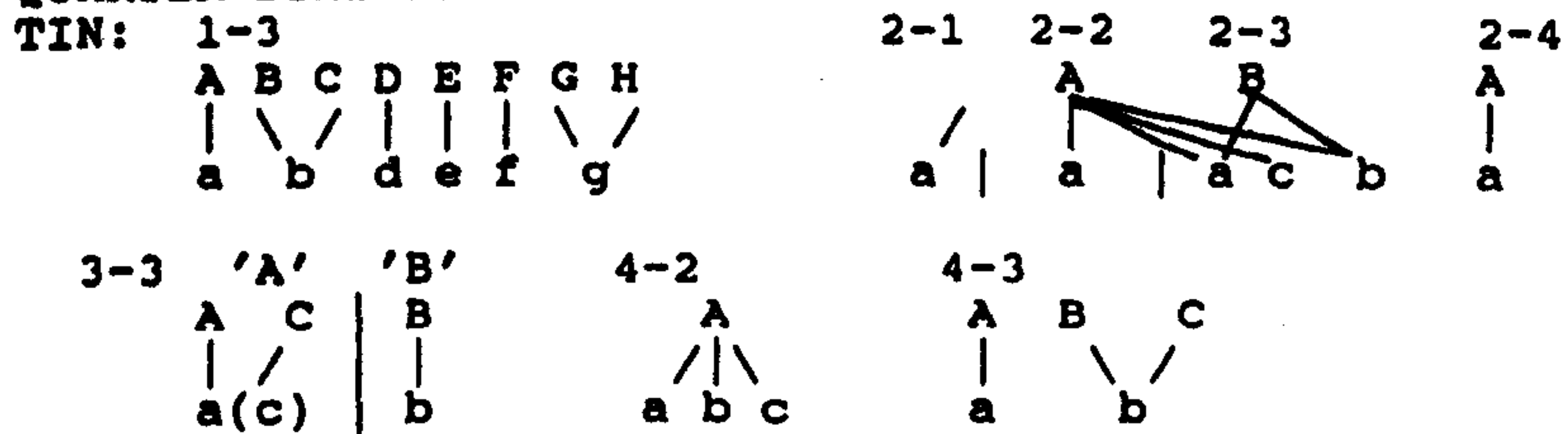
The die patterning and links in Tincommius's coinage (fig. 5.15) are of little help in determining different minting practices for the series. The majority of types are struck from dies used in a partnership/succession basis. This appears to be true for all the stater and minim types 148. However quarter staters TIN2-1/2/3 appear to have been struck from dies mixed in a 'die box' as do the Classical silver unit TIN3-5 and Crude silver unit TIN4-4 dies. This further suggests that the Classical

and Crude groups were broadly contemporary. The die links for the Classical quarter stater and silver unit, TIN3-3 and 3-5, illustrate that coins with the letter A or B on the obverse are die linked, however the linking is via the reverse dies and the

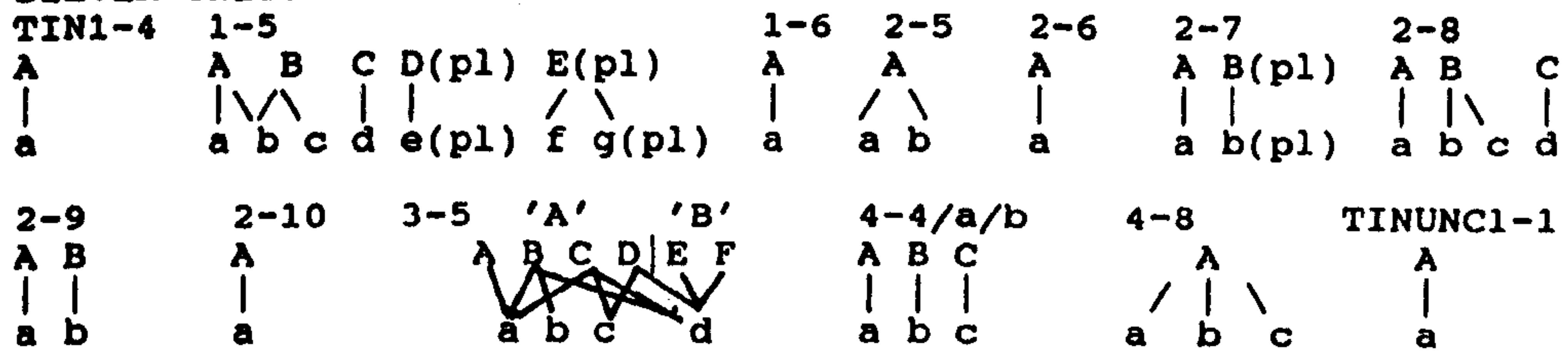
STATERS



QUARTER STATERS



SILVER UNITS



MINIMS

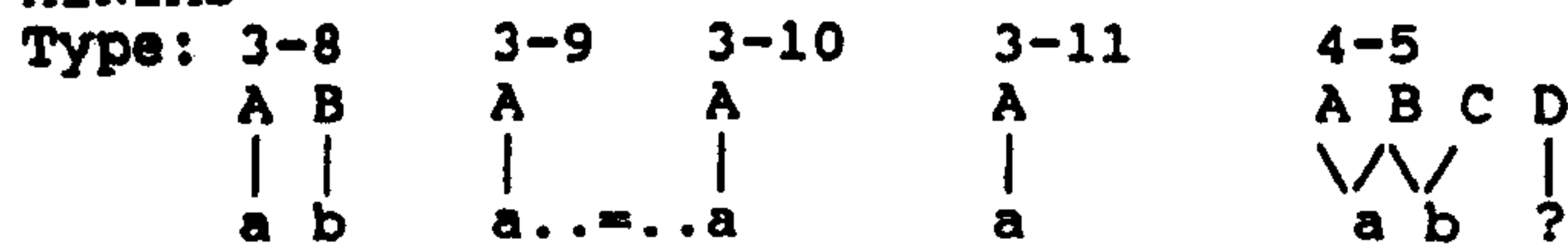


Figure 5.15. Summary of die study for coins of Tincommius.

obverse dies remain separate.

A number of plated staters are known. The plated specimen of TIN3-1 (BM 19781-8-23-28) is struck from a reverse die (e) which is very similar to die c (known from genuine coins), the style is such that we may suggest that if not from a genuine die then the die was probably derived from a genuine coin. A plated core of TIN4-7a (BM 881) is struck from obverse die C (or derived from a coin struck from this die), the reverse die c is otherwise unknown, but the style suggests that it also represents an official die. The same is true for dies e and g, known only from plated specimens, both of which are very similar to die a.

Of the two TIN4-7a from Hayling Island coin 46 (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993) is struck from obverse die A and an otherwise unrecorded reverse die of good style. The poor style of coin 45 suggests that it may be from forger's dies (Gi). The plated TIN2-3 from this site is struck from known dies (Ba).

Of the 15 recorded specimens of TIN1-5 at least seven are plated cores. Many plated specimens die link to good coins and those which do not appear to be of correct style, from or derived from official dies. The exceptional proportion of plated specimens of this type hint that some may have been officially produced.

The remaining plated specimens all die link to good coins. The one exception is Hayling Island coin 50 (TIN2-7), struck from dies of good style but which are otherwise unrecorded.

DESIGN SOURCES

The coinage of Tincommius is of particular interest as it develops from thoroughly Celtic designs through to thoroughly classical designs. The use of inscriptions on the earliest coins, however, which may be traced via Gaul to the Classical world, means that they might not be said to be totally 'Celtic'.

The staters TIN1-1 and TIN1-2 are clearly descended from the staters inscribed COMMIOS. The obverse of TIN1-1 is type linked to COM1-4 and that of TIN1-2 to COM1-1/2/3 (dies A, D, E). The hubbed six spoke wheel and triple-petal device below the horse's chin further links TIN1-1 to COM1-4, the E device now replaced by the legend TIN. The apparent saw-toothed line below the horse¹⁴⁹ recall that in this position on various Q staters. The horse on TIN1-2 is rendered somewhat differently, though the COMMI.F legend is in the place of the COMMIOS legend. The three rings above the horse are possibly remnants of the chain device on COM1-3.

The obverse of TIN1-3 appears based on a number of uninscribed quarter stater obverses depicting wreath patterns, such as QCT2-1, QCD3-8 and QCD3-10 (the horse on the reverse of the latter has the same form of legs). The lower line of the legend, blundered on some dies, which Evans (1890, 500) correctly read as COMMI, resembles the zig-zag line on the reverse of Q staters. The style of the horse's head and legs on the reverse compare to quarter stater COM1-6 of Commios, and the

object below the horse broadly compares with that on silver units COM1-7 - 1-11. The form of the mane is however different. Both the obverse and reverse of silver unit TIN1-4 are clearly based on the silver types attributed to Commios, COM1-7 - 1-11.

The silver unit TIN1-5 draws its inspiration from another strand of the southern coinage. The diademed head recalls that on the QSD4 gold quarter staters, and the broad range of silver types depicts a diademed head, which reach their fullest expression in the East Anglian 'Bury' series. The general scheme of the reverse resembles TIN1-3, though the platform style in which the horse is engraved resembles that on stater TIN1-1. A similar style of engraving is evident on several uninscribed silver units such as QSD1-3 and QSD3-1. The device below the horse, shared with TIN1-3, resembles the small animal below the horse on QCT2-1. The crescent device with three rays is shared with the north Thames Lx14 (VA 474, wrongly attributed to the Atrebates and Regni). The British Q stater offers the origin for the triple tail.

The designs on the Proto-Classical series clearly break away from the Celtic tradition. This series introduces the use of the obverse legend contained in a cartouche. Evan's (1864, 163) noted their similarity to countermarks commonly seen on Roman Imperial Aes. However the Celtic form, as Evans observed, was not struck using a punch, but was part of an impression left by a die. In Evan's day the dating of these countermarks was at an early stage. Today the earliest accepted dating is to c.15 BC (BMC I,

xxix), although the coins from Oberaden suggest that Augustan countermarks were applied after c.10 BC, from 7BC onwards (Kraay 1956,136).

The prancing-bull reverse common to the Proto-Classical silver series, appears to be directly copied from either of two types of denarius, L. Thorius Balbus, BC 105 or Julius Caesar, BC 42 (Crawford 316/1, 494/24; fig 5.17). The head on the obverse of

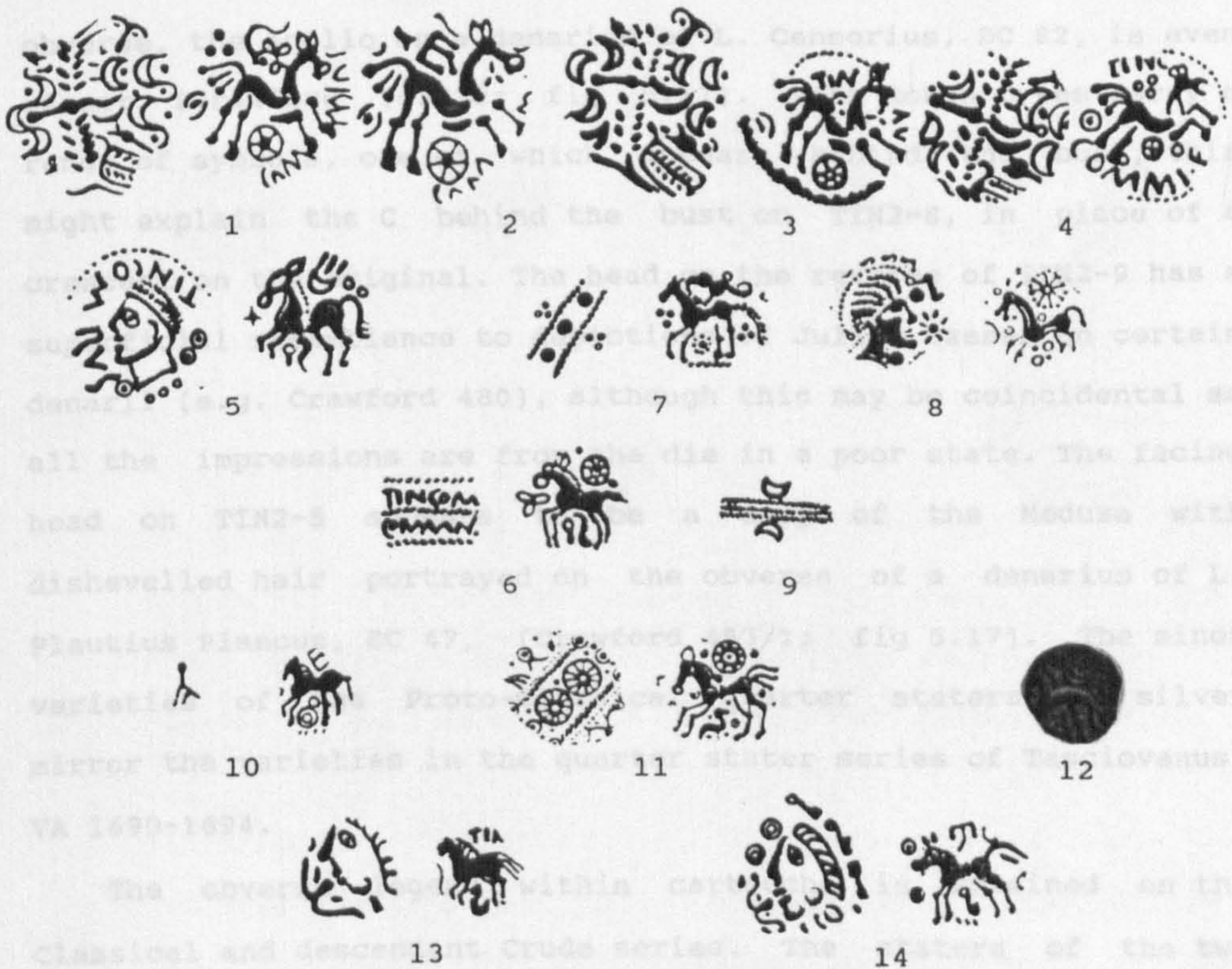


Figure . . Sources for the design for Tincommius's Celtic series. 1 COM1-3, 2 COM1-4, 3 TIN1-1, 4 TIN1-2, 5 TIN1-5, 6 TIN1-3, 7 QcD3-10, 8 QsD1-3.(obv), 9 QcD3-8(obv), 10 COM1-5, 11 QcT2-1, 12 VA 474(rev), 13 TIN1-4. 14 COM1-9.

TIN2-8 and possibly TIN2-6 are probably copied from a depiction of Roma, laureate and diademed, as for example on a denarius of Man. Aemilius Lepidus BC 114/3 (Crawford 291/1; fig 5.17; the head on TIN2-8 appears draped). The head on TIN2-6 is not draped, and may be copied from a depiction of Apollo, this would provide a source for the neck length hair. A possible source is provided by the extensive series of denarii issued by L. Calpurnius Piso, BC 67 (Crawford 408) which depict a laureate Apollo on the obverse, the Apollo on a denarius of L. Censorius, BC 82, is even closer (Crawford 363/1c; fig 5.17). Both Roman types carry a range of symbols, one of which appears behind the bust, this might explain the C behind the bust on TIN2-8, in place of a crescent on the original. The head on the reverse of TIN2-9 has a superficial resemblance to depictions of Julius Caesar on certain denarii (e.g. Crawford 480), although this may be coincidental as all the impressions are from the die in a poor state. The facing head on TIN2-5 appears to be a copy of the Medusa with dishevelled hair portrayed on the obverse of a denarius of L. Plautius Plancus, BC 47, (Crawford 453/1; fig 5.17). The minor varieties of the Proto-Classical quarter staters and silver mirror the varieties in the quarter stater series of Tasciovanus, VA 1690-1694.

The obverse legend within cartouche is retained on the Classical and descendant Crude series. The staters of the two series share a common reverse, which as suggested initially by Evans (1864, 162) is copied from a denarius of Pub. Crepusius BC

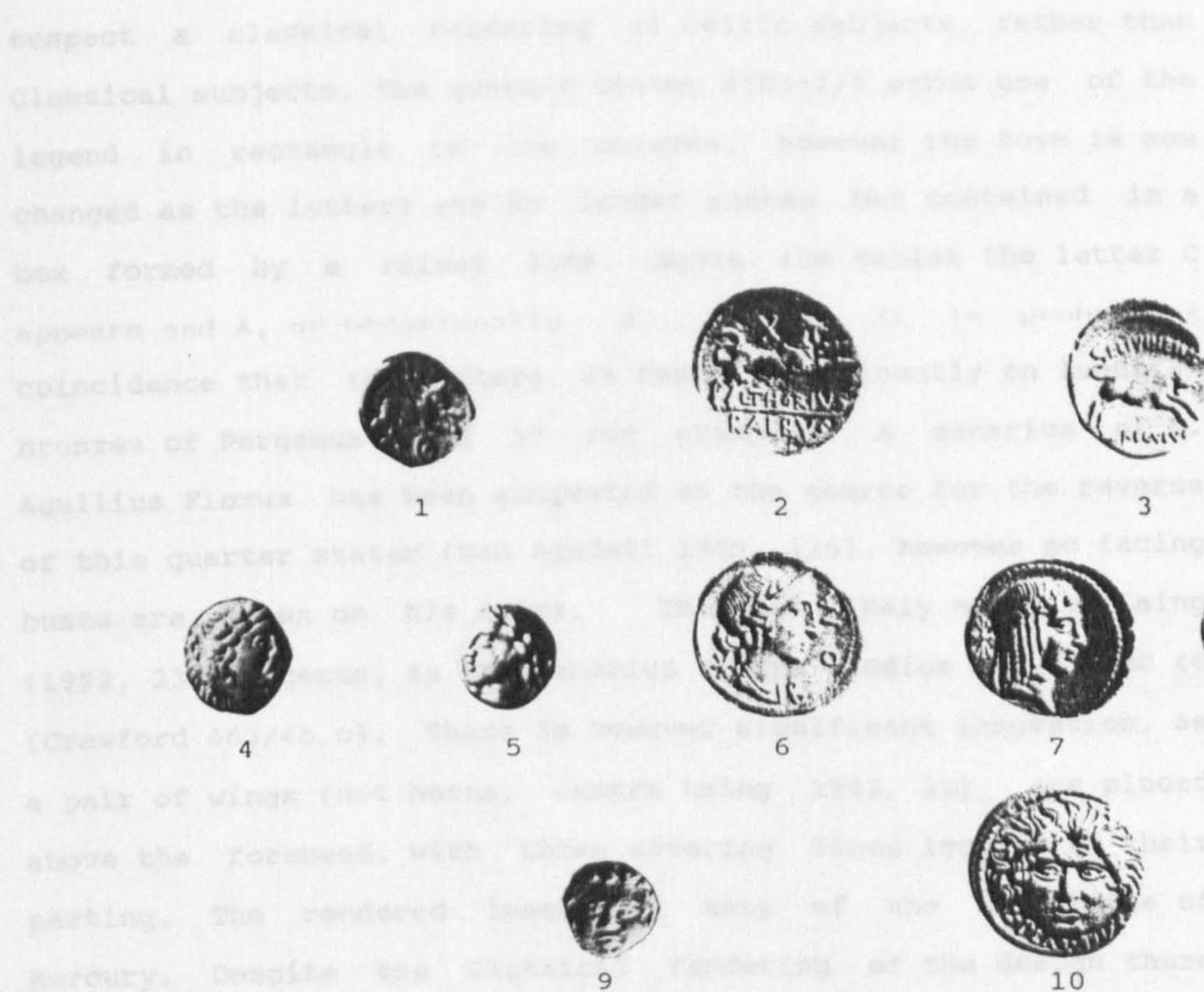


Figure 5.17. The design sources of Tincommius's Proto-Classical series. 1 TIN2-6(rev), 2,3 Denarii of L. Thorius Balbus (Cr 316/1) and Julius Caesar (Cr 494/24), 4,5 TIN2-8 TIN2-6, 6,7,8 M. Aemilius Lepidus (Cr 291/1), L. Calpurnius Piso (Cr 408), L. Censorius (Cr 363/1c), 9 TIN2-5, 10 denarius of L.Plautius Plancus (Cr 453/1).

83 (Crawford 361/c; fig 5.18). The stature of the horse varies on the Roman series and this may account for the rotund form of the horse on certain dies of Tincommius. The star on TIN3-1 appears to be an innovation, while the pellet behind the horseman's raised arm may replace the numerals which appear in this position on the model.

The remaining coins in the Classical series bear designs often only loosely based on Roman models, many of the subjects appearing as hybrids of classical types. For this reason we might

suspect a classical rendering of Celtic subjects, rather than Classical subjects. The quarter stater TIN3-3/4 makes use of the legend in rectangle on the obverse, however the form is now changed as the letters are no longer sunken but contained in a box formed by a raised line. Above the tablet the letter C appears and A, or occasionally B, below. It is probably a coincidence that the letters CA feature prominently on Augustan bronzes of Pergamum (RIC 37 for example). A denarius of L. Aquilius Florus has been suggested as the source for the reverse of this quarter stater (Van Arsdell 1989, 136), however no facing busts are known on his coins. The most likely model as Laing (1992, 23) suggests, is the denarius of Mn Clodius Rufus, BC 46 (Crawford 463/4b,c). There is however significant innovation, as a pair of wings (not horns, contra Laing 1992, 23), are placed above the forehead, with three wavering lines issuing at their parting. The rendered image has many of the attributes of Mercury. Despite the Classical rendering of the design there appears to be no direct Classical model.

The obverse of the Classical silver unit TIN3-5/6 has been seen to be copied from a portrait of Augustus (Mack 1975, 51; Van Arsdell 1989, 142; Laing 1992, 19). While the fineness of the Augustan silver may strengthen the case (Laing 1992, 12), the design is actually far closer to certain depictions of Apollo, which may well have acted as models in the preceding Proto-Classical series. A series of denarii of C. Vibius C. f. Pansa c.90 BC (Crawford 342) bear very close resemblance to the Celtic

piece. The reverse of this piece lacks a precise parallel in the Roman series. Scheers (1992,35) indicates that the design is similar to that on an octobol of Chalcis on Euboea from c.2nd BC. A quadrant of Augustus (RIC 227) depicts an eagle as does a denarius of Pentillius Capitolinus (Crawford 487/1), both portray the eagle in a similar attitude to the Celtic piece, but omit the snake. The closest depiction of an eagle, again without a snake, occurs on an uncertain class of cast Gaulish bronze, Scheers 213, nos 720-21 (fig 5.18). It will be observed that this reverse type is revived by Epaticcus and Cara[ctacus].

The obverse of TIN3-7 is undoubtedly adapted from one of many Roman coins (most probably one of Augustus), which enclose the inscription in a wreath, for example RIC 278. The reverse is however a hybrid classical type. A Victory figure is shown crowning a snake rising from an altar, the latter attribute usually being associated with Salus. The Victory figure may well be adapted from a denarius of Brutus (Crawford 504/1; fig 5.18), which depicts Victory, also carrying a palm, crowning a low trophy. Although the type is reversed on the Celtic piece, the three part legend reflects that on the denarius. There appears to be no precedent for this type from a Roman coin depicting Salus, the earliest such coins date to the reign of Hadrian (RIC 267). A female is depicted feeding a serpent on a quinarius of L.Papius 79BC (Crawford 472/3), however the female is not Victory and the serpent does not rise from an altar.

It has been suggested that the reverses of minims TIN3-8/9

are derived from a gem stone (Henig 1976, 220; Van Arsdell 1989, 178). It is however possible, if not of native invention, that it is copied from a quinarius of Lepidus and Mark Antony (Crawford 489/3). The reverse of minim TIN3-11 is clearly copied from the



Figure 5.18. The design sources for Tincommius's Classical series. 1, TIN3-1, 2 denarius of P. Crepusius (Cr 361/c), 3, TIN3-5, 4, C.Vibius C.f. Pansa (Crawford 342), 5 RIC (Augustus) 227, 6 Petillius Capitolinus (Cr 487/1), 7 Scheers no. 720 (rev), 8 TIN3-7, 9 RIC (Augustus) 278(obv), 10 Brutus (Crawford 504/1), 11 TIN3-8/9(rev), 12 Lepidus and Mark Antony (Cr 489/3 rev), 13 TIN3-11, 14 RIC (Augustus) 164 (rev).

of the source for the aegis TIN4-6, the or-heads in the quadrants are clearly reflections of the aegis legend, globe and joined hands on the Roman piece (Fig 5.19). The or-head on the reverse of this aegis would appear to be copied from a quinarius of reverse of an Augustan denarius (RIC 164 etc; fig 5.18).

The obverse of the Crude series silver unit TIN4-4 may be based on the reverse of a denarius of Julius Caesar (Crawford 480/19), where fine legends separate the field into quarters, each of which is filled by a letter. However, on the Celtic piece the cross is made by pellet-headed rods, apparently sceptres. This indicates the source is more likely to be another denarius of Julius Caesar (Crawford 480/6). This would also appear to

derivatives are unlikely sources. It is possible that the lion was adapted from a Denarius of M.Voltius 78 BC (Crawford 385/4) which depicts a biga drawn by lions. Other possible sources are the series of bronze coins of the Hald (Scheers 23, nos 209a/b) or a Roman type (Scheers 23, nos 209a/b) depicting a biga drawn by pellets. The or-head on the British piece appears to be an adoption. The division of the field into quarters also occurs north of the Alps on certain coins of Tacitevanus (Scheers 1976).

The rays on the obverse of a denarius of Augustus (RIC 253), a rare type, have a base of the aegis legend, a nearly identical design on the reverse of Caesar's coin, is striking.

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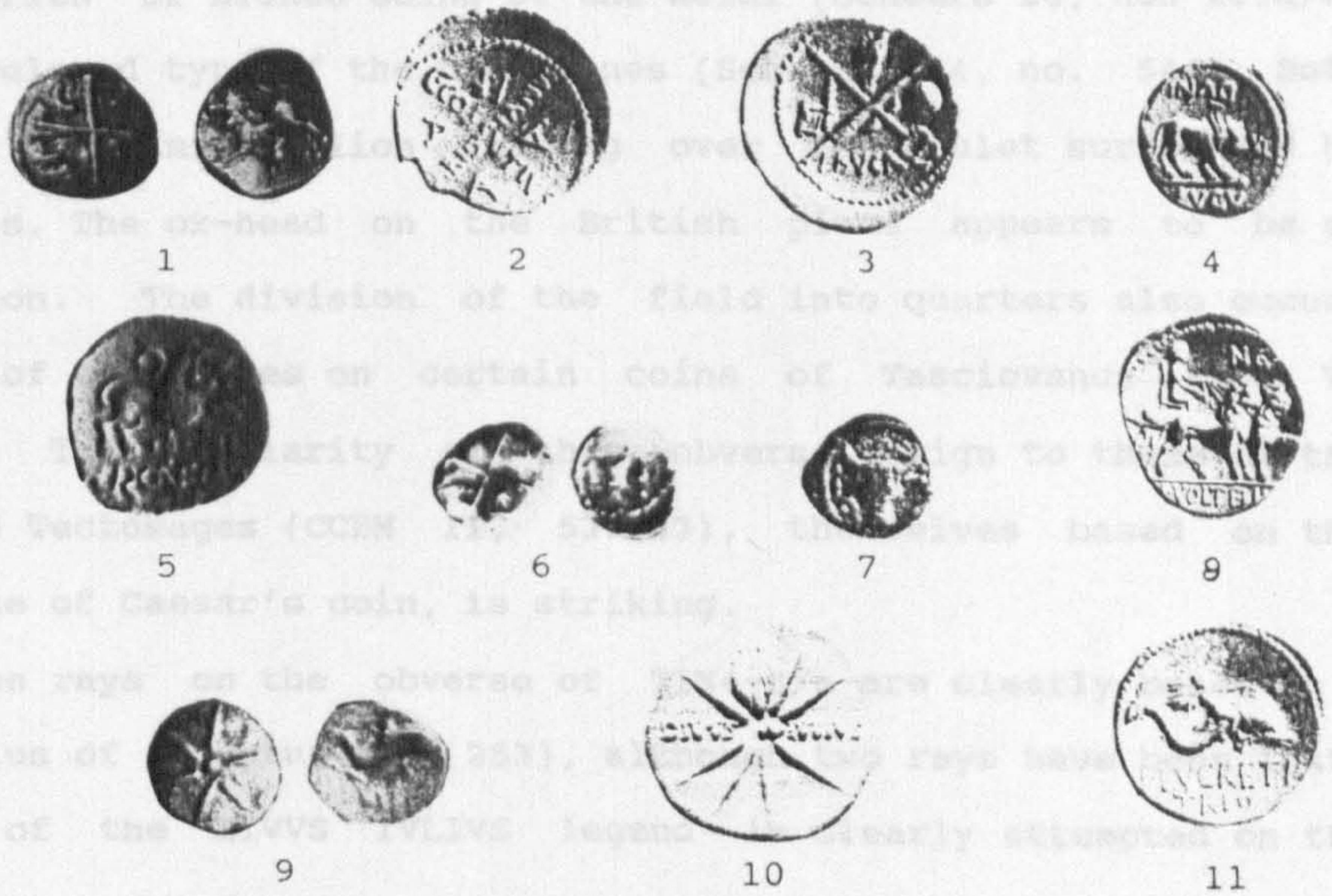


Figure 5.19. The design sources for Tincommius's Crude series. 1 TIN4-4, 2, 3 denarii of Julius Caesar (Cr 480/19, 480/6), 4 quinarius of M. Antony (Cr 489/5), 5 Scheers no. 209a, 6 TIN4-6, 7 quinarius of C.Antius C.f. Restio (Cr 455/4), 8 denarius M.Voltius (Cr 385/4), 9 TIN4-8, 10 RIC (Augustus) 253, 11 L. Lucretius Trio (Cr 390/2).

be the source for the minim TIN4-6, the ox-heads in the quadrants are clearly reflections of the axe, legend, globe and joined hands on the Roman piece (fig 5.19). The ox-head on the reverse of this minim would appear to be copied from a quinarius of Q.Vibius C.f. Restio 47 BC (Crawford 455/4). It appears that the type was copied as the design suited the small minim, not that a quinarius type was deliberately chosen. Most other minims of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica appear based on denarii where a source can be identified. The source of the lion on the reverse of silver unit TIN4-4 is harder to determine. The cowed lion on the quinarius of Mark Antony (Crawford 489/5,6) and the Massalia derivatives are unlikely sources. It is possible that the lion was adapted from a denarius of M.Voltius 78 BC (Crawford 385/4) which depicts a biga drawn by lions. Other possible sources are the series of bronze coins of the Meldi (Scheers 28, nos 209a/b) or a related type of the Suessiones (Scheers 154, no. 544). Both depict a similar lion leaping over an anulet surrounded by pellets. The ox-head on the British piece appears to be an adaption. The division of the field into quarters also occurs north of the Thames on certain coins of Tasciovanus (e.g. VA 1796). The similarity of this obverse design to those of the Voecae Tectosages (CCBM II, 537-43), themselves based on the reverse of Caesar's coin, is striking.

The rays on the obverse of TIN4-8/a are clearly based on a denarius of Augustus (RIC 253), although two rays have been lost, some of the DIVVS IVLIVS legend is clearly attempted on the

British dies. The source for the boy on the dolphin on the reverse would appear to be a denarius of L. Lucretius Trio 76 BC (Crawford 390/2; fig 5.19), the British coin retaining the original legend position.

The obverse of TINUNCI-1 is certainly Classically inspired although an exact source cannot be identified. The reverse is most probably copied from a Republican denarius of M. Volteius (Crawford 385/1; BC 78), a model used by both Eppillus and Verica at Calleva.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The majority of Tincommius's coins known to us today come from hoards and deposits such as Wanborough, Waltham St Lawrence, Selsey/Bognor, Lancing, Apuldrum and Tangmere. These are discussed and detailed in appendices 1 and 2. To date 19 coins of Tincommius have been recovered from controlled archaeological excavations and these are detailed in figure 5.20.

| Type | Site | Period |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1-5 Ar unit(?plated). | Hayling Island temple. | Unstratified. |
| 1-5 Ar unit(plated). | Hayling Island temple. | Unstratified. |
| 1-5 Ar unit(plated). | Hayling Island temple. | C1 - early C3 AD |
| 2-3 Av1/4 (plated). | Hayling Island Temple. | Saxon. H 405. |
| 2-5 Ar unit. | St Mary's Hospital, Chichester. | Post-medieval. |
| 2-6 Ar unit(plated) | Hayling Island temple. | Unstratified. |
| 2-6 Ar unit(plated) | Hayling Island temple. | C1 BC - mid C1 AD |
| 2-7 Ar unit(plated) | Hayling Island temple. | Saxon. |
| 3-3 Av1/4 plated. | Hayling Island temple. | Roman to end C2 AD. H 404. |
| 3-8 Ar1/4. | Chapel Str., Chichester. | Claudian-Neronian. H 459. |
| 3-8 Ar1/4. | Tower Str., Chichester. | C13-14 AD. H 459. |
| 3-8 Ar1/4. | Little Harting, Sussex 1938 | No further details. From index. |
| 3-8 Ar1/4. | Hayling Island temple. | C1 BC - mid C1 AD |
| 4-4b Ar unit. | Chapel Str., Chichester. H 459. | Tibero-Claudian. |
| 4-5 Ar1/4. | Owslebury, Hants. | Early Roman. H 407. |
| 4-5 Ar1/4 (plated). | Hayling Island Temple. | C1 BC - early C3 AD H 404. |
| 4-6 Ar1/4. | Kingdoms Workshop, Winchester 1956. | No further details. |
| 4-7 Av stater(plated) | Hayling Island temple. | Late Roman. |
| 4-7 Av stater(plated) | Hayling Island temple. | Roman to end C2. |

Figure 5.20. Coins of Tincommius from archaeological contexts. H = Baselgrove 1987 with page reference.

Only seven coins come first century BC/AD contexts. Those dated with any precision appear later than our present dates for Tincommius, and none of these coins is in a fresh condition. The majority of the coins, however, are clearly from later contexts. In conclusion the archaeological context is of little assistance in dating. The stratified coins are of no help in ordering the series as there is practically no differentiation between the different series.

The coins do conform to the pattern of coins from archaeological sites. Both stratified staters are plated, as are the two quarter staters, of the eight units six are plated as is one of the seven minims. If the coins from the temple site of Hayling Island are removed from the sample, the remainder, from settlement sites, are all silver units or minims.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE COINAGE OF EPPILLUS.

The Kentish coinage of Eppillus will be examined elsewhere (Bean forthcoming 2; here prefixed EPPK[ent]). This section is concerned with the series of coins apparently issued from Calleva for circulation in its immediate vicinity, some of which have strong affinities with the Kentish coinage of Eppillus.

Three groups of these coins share a very similar fabric and style, and may be grouped on the basis of legend and design. These contain gold quarter stater, a silver unit type and several silver minim 150. In addition there are two bronze types in the name of Eppillus which are of a similar style. That Eppillus produced a bronze series from Calleva should not be surprising, given the proximity of the bronze-using North Thames area¹⁵¹. It is not only style which distinguishes these types from the Kent issues of Eppillus. The gold was struck on thicker dumper flans than Eppillus' Kent series, and the Calleva silver is heavier. These coins appear to be from dies by the same hand, but for a single pair of crudely engraved dies that may be the work of an apprentice or under-study engraver (EPP1-2, dies F, f). A further series, with affinities to the Kentish coinage of Eppillus, includes a stater and two silver units. These appear to be from dies by a different hand.

The first group of coins is peculiar in that they bear truncated forms of the legend 'Calleva'. The 'Calleva' type quarter stater, EPP1-1 has the legend CALLE or CALLEV on the

obverse between two stars¹⁵². The reverse design depicts a boldly engraved hound leaping over a cluster of pellets with the legend EPP or EPPI above. A die variant (die c) has a ring above the hound and a triplet of pellets below the tail. The silver unit of this series, EPP1-2, has the legend REX CALLE on the obverse above and below a crescent¹⁵³; the cluster of pellets to either side, echo those beneath the hound on the quarter stater. The bold reverse depicts an eagle flying to the right with the legend EPP above it. The same reverse type appears on the minim EPP1-3, although the legend is below the eagle and reads EPPI. The early position of this minim is further suggested by the obverse which is the simplest of those on the minims of Eppillus¹⁵⁴.

The second group no longer bears the CALL(E)(V) legend, but instead truncated forms of the Commii Filius patronymic. The legends of this and the third group are confined to one side of the coin. The obverse of the quarter stater, EPP2-1, reflects the prominent crescent on the silver unit of the previous group; the surrounding legend now reading EPPILLV.COM.F. The reverse depicts a plump boldly engraved horse prancing to the right with a star above and below. A die variant (die b) has three pellets above the tail of the horse. This recalls those below the tail of the hound on EPP1-1 (die c)¹⁵⁵. The stars, style and attitude of the horse on this quarter stater are directly reflected in the stater and attendant quarter stater of Eppillus's Kentish series (EPPK3-1 (VA 430), EPPK3-2 (VA 437)). These two Kentish types appear to be from the hand of responsible for the Calleva series

(Bean forthcoming 2).

There are three types of minim bearing the EPP(I)(CO) legend on their reverse. Two types share a geometric obverse that appears to be a development of that on EPP1-3. The first type, EPP2-2, has a horse on the reverse, with the legend EPP above. The second, EPP2-3, depicts a ram or billy goat with the legend EPP above and CO beneath. The two types are die linked (fig. 6.5). The patronymic on the second minim confirms its place in the second group. The first type might be seen as transitional between the 'first' and the 'second' group. A third type, EPP2-4, depicts a more slender ram or billy goat leaping to the right with the legend EPPI above and CO beneath. While the obverse of this type retains a definite symmetry it has disposed of the geometric designs of its predecessors and depicts an ox-head on a bar with three pellets in the field. This group also includes the rare bronze type EPP2-5 (which may yet prove to be an unusually patinated silver type). The reverse depicts a leaping cat or dog with the legend EPPI above and COMF below. There are three triplets of pellets around the beast which recall those on previous types. The geometric obverse broadly recalls those on the minims, while the crescents recall those on the quarter staters EPP1-1, EPP2-1 and the silver unit EPP1-2. The central device is reminiscent of that which this engraver placed beneath the horse on the stater and quarter stater of the Kentish series, EPPK3-1 (VA 430) and EPPK3-2 (VA 437) (Bean forthcoming 2).

The quarter stater of the third group, EPP3-1 156 has just

the legend EPPIL COMF on the obverse with no further decoration. The reverse boldly depicts a winged horse or hippogryph with a pellet-in-ring below, and on certain dies one or two pellets behind the wing. This pellet-in-ring device is used on the later coins of Verica from Calleva (e.g. VERC2-2). This supports the placing of this type at the end of Eppillus's coins by the 'Calleva' engraver. The linear legend on the obverse also anticipates Verica's early quarter staters from Calleva (VIRC1-2, VIRC2-2/3). The bronze type EPP3-2 appears to belong to this group. The obverse depicts a male bust with the legend EPPI COMIF (with a pellet-in-ring after EPPI). The reverse depicts a griffin prancing right, over a pellet-in-ring, with a pellet behind the wing. Minim EPP2-4 may belong to the third group, although it is more easily accommodated in the second.

The legends and peculiarities in design have thus permitted the definition of three groups of coins from the Calleva mint. That only one silver unit type survives is puzzling; the only other silver unit types of Eppillus found in the Calleva area are by a different hand.

A further group of Eppillus' coins from the Calleva area have close stylistic links to the Kentish coinage¹⁵⁷. In the Calleva area these types are principally known from the Wanborough deposit. The series includes a stater and two silver units. The lettering and style of these coins indicate that they are from the hand of the Kentish engraver, responsible for the

'Traditional' group of Dubnovellaunus, and some of the 'Kentish' coins of Eppillus (Bean forthcoming 2). The flans of the silver units are identical to those of the EPP1-2 units.

The stater of this fourth series, EPP4-1, depicts a Victory figure holding a torc, within a wreath. The Victory figure is extremely close in style to that on EPPK1-3 (VA 452). The wreath may be inspired by the obverse of the Kentish stater EPPK3-1 (VA 430) which is from the hand of the Calleva engraver (Bean forthcoming 2). The reverse depicts a horseman carrying a carnyx. The carnyx also appears on the Kentish unit EPPK1-1 (VA 441). The slender lettering reflects that on the Kentish series, the raised F of the legend directly reflects the legend below the bull on EPPK2-3 (VA 451). The fine beading on the stater further reflects that on EPPK2-1 (VA 436). It is therefore apparent that the same hand is responsible.

The first of the two silver units, EPP4-2, depicts a head on the obverse, within a wreath, similar to that on the stater. The hairstyle and pellet beard of this head compare closely to the first type in the 'Alliance' series, ALL1-1. The style and form of the legend on the reverse confirms that this type is from the hand of the Kentish engraver. Like the stater the 'M' is peculiarly poorly executed. The boar on the reverse is somewhat more tentative in appearance than the animals on EPP1 - EPP3. Despite the fact that this coin appears to be from the hand of the Kentish engraver, a triplet of pellets is apparent above the head of the boar on one reverse die (die a). This device appears

on the Kentish series behind the bust on EPPK1-1 (VA 441). The metrology of EPP4-2 and EPP4-3 (fig 6.1) reflects that of the 'Calleva' unit (EPP1-2), rather than the Kent series (Bean forthcoming).

The second silver unit, EPP4-3, is similar in design. The obverse depicts a more mature head copied from a Republican denarius (fig. 6.6). The reverse depicts a lion right with the legend EPP(I) above, COM below a exergual line, and 'F' raised above. The M is once again poorly engraved. The exergual line is a peculiar feature of the Kent group and unknown in EPP1 - EPP3. The classical bust on the Kentish type EPPK1-3 (VA 452) may have set the precedent for the classical busts on EPP4-2/3.

It is only on stylistic grounds that the fourth group is separable from the other types struck at Calleva. They are struck on the same slightly dished fairly thick flans as EPP1-2 158 and in all other ways appear identical (below). It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that they too were struck at the Calleva mint

There is reason to attribute a further type to Eppillus. It is a bronze unit known only from a single somewhat corroded specimen found during excavations at Silchester. The obverse is no longer discernable, but the reverse depicts a poised lion or dog left, a pellet-in-ring above and behind, and a pellet just above the base of its neck. The style closely matches other coins from the hand of the 'Calleva' engraver (EPP1 - EPP3), particularly EPP2-5 and EPP3-2, the latter also using pellet and

pellet-in-ring devices on the reverse. We must await better preserved specimens for the obverse type and a legend for secure inclusion here. For now it is classified as EPPUNC[ertain]1-1.

METROLOGY

The three quarter stater types share near identical weight distributions (fig 6.1). The distributions are probably close to the original 'intended' weights of the coins as the great majority of these coins are from hoards and little circulated. Only one EPP1-1 suffers the sea wear that affects so many coins of Tincommius from Selsey/Bognor. The mean weights also produce a coherent picture¹⁵⁹, suggesting that the original 'intended' weight for these types was c. 1.16g. These weights equate to the weight distributions for the 'light' quarter staters of Verica (fig. 8.5; Burnett 1990, 24) and the quarter staters of Tincommius (fig 5.9).

The weight distribution of silver unit EPP1-2 compares closely to those of Verica's silver units from the Calleva mint (fig. 8.6). The overall weight distribution is far broader than that of the quarter staters. This is partly due to the abraded condition of some of these coins. The mean weight of 1.163g compares to that of the quarter staters. The wear and abrasion to these coins suggest the original 'intended' weight may have been higher. The weight distribution peak would suggest that the 'intended' weight was c.1.25g.

The weight distribution of the minims compares well to that of the Calleva minims of Verica and minims of Tincommius.

| Weight(g) | EPP1-1 | EPP2-1 | EPP3-1 |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1.35-1.4 | | | |
| 1.30- | | | |
| 1.25- | | | |
| 1.20- | I | II | III |
| 1.15- | OOOOOI | O | OII |
| 1.10- | IIII | II | III |
| 1.05- | | | II |
| 1.00- | i | | |
| 0.95- | | | |
| 0.90- | | | |

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Mean weight | 1.155g | 1.173g | 1.159g |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|

| Weight(g) | EPP1-2 | EPP4-2 | EPP4-3 |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1.32-1.38 | II | I | III |
| 1.26- | OOIII | OII | OI |
| 1.20- | OO | IIII | OI |
| 1.14- | OII | OII | OI |
| 1.08- | II | II | II |
| 1.02- | OI | II | II |
| 0.96- | I | I | |
| 0.90- | III | II | II |
| 0.84- | I | | I |
| 0.78- | | II | I |

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Mean weight | 1.163g | 1.137g | 1.179g |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|

| Weight(g) | EPP3-2 | Weight(g) | EPP4-1 |
|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| 2.5-2.6 | | 5.7-5.8 | |
| 2.4- | | 5.6- | |
| 2.3- | | 5.5- | |
| 2.2- | | 5.4- | I |
| 2.1- | | 5.3- | I |
| 2.0- | II | 5.2- | |
| 1.9- | | 5.1- | |
| 1.8- | | 5.0- | |
| 1.7- | | 4.9- | |
| 1.6- | | 4.8- | |
| 1.5- | | 4.7- | |

| | | | |
|-------------|--------|-------------|-------|
| Mean weight | 2.057g | Mean weight | 5.39g |
|-------------|--------|-------------|-------|

Figure 6.1. The metrology of coins of Eppillus's 'Calleva' coins.

From the admittedly small sample the 'intended' weight of these minims would appear to have lain between 0.2 and 0.3g.

The Calleva mint bronze, EPP3-2, has a weight distribution which equates to the larger module units of Cunobelin and Tasciovanus (cf Allen 1967; Haselgrove 1987 fig. 6.4). The weight of this type also compares to the upper modal weight frequency of the bronzes struck in Kent in the name of Eppillus and Dubnovellaunus (Bean forthcoming 2). The bronze EPP2-4, known from a single specimen, has a peculiarly light weight of 1.042g. This weight would be appropriate for a silver unit, but the coin is apparently bronze in colour¹⁶⁰. Several bronze coins of Tasciovanus do have a similar weight¹⁶¹.

The weights of the two known EPP4-1 staters correspond to those of the Kentish stater type EPPK3-1 and the upper range of Tincommius's stater (fig 5.8). The weight distribution of silver units EPP4-2 and EPP4-3 compare closely to that of EPP1-2 (fig 5.8). The mean weights, 1.137g (EPP4-2) and 1.179g (EPP4-3), confirm this similarity. In common with EPP1-2 the means are undoubtedly lowered by the many abraded coins from the Wanborough deposit. Once again the weight distribution suggest that the 'intended' mean would have been c.1.25g. These means and the weight distributions indicate that EPP4-2/3 are struck to the Calleva, not Kentish silver unit standard (Bean forthcoming 2).

METALLURGY

Seven gold 'Calleva' quarter staters of Eppillus, 15 silver units and two minims have been analyzed (fig 6.2).

The results for the quarter staters suggest that the alloy was more silver rich than that used in the Kentish gold of Eppillus (Bean forthcoming 2). This might reflect the greater availability of silver in the currency pool in the Calleva area. The alloy directly compares to that used for the Crude and Classical staters and Proto-Classical quarter staters of Tincommius (fig 5.11). However they contain less gold and more silver than Tincommius's Classical and Crude quarter staters (fig 5.11) which are probably broadly contemporary. The gold coins of Verica are generally slightly more base, however the earlier types from the Calleva mint are similar, containing several more per cent more copper at the expense of the gold (fig 8.7). The alloy used for Eppillus's quarter staters is very close to that used in the staters of Tasciovanus (Cowell 1992).

The uncorroded silver units present a fairly uniform picture that compares to the silver units of Verica's two mints and those of Tincommius, indeed a common bullion source is suspected (figs 5.12, 6.2; p.300). The uncorroded minim is more base containing about 10% less silver which is replaced with copper. This compares to the alloy of minims of Tincommius and Verica (figs 5.12, 8.8).

Quarter staters

| Type | AV | AR | CU | Source. |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|
| EPP1-1 | 47.11% | 8.07% | 44.07% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP1-1 | 48.83% | 14.64% | 36.60% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP2-1 | 45.7% | 22.4% | 31.9% | Burnett 1992 |
| EPP2-1 | 48.08% | 17.55% | 33.03% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP3-1 | 45.6% | 20.1% | 34.3% | Burnett 1992 |
| EPP3-1 | 46.05% | 17.05% | 36.53% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP3-1 | 46.67% | 12.92% | 40.13% | Northover 1992 |
| Average | 46.82% | 16.1% | 36.65% | |

Silver

| Type Units | Au | Ar | Cu | Source |
|---------------|-------|--------|----------|----------------|
| EPP1-2 | 0.71% | 96.86% | 1.92% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP1-2 | 0.31% | 97.21% | 1.84% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP1-2 | 0.29% | 96.17% | 3.10% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP1-2 | | 96.9% | 2.9% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP1-2 | | 98.9% | 1.1% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP1-2 | | 97.9% | 2.1% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP1-2 | | 95.3% | 4.7% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP1-2 | | 96.3% | 3.1% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP4-2 | 2.26% | 96.90% | 0.46% * | Northover 1992 |
| EPP4-3 | 0.73% | 97.85% | 1.12% | Northover 1992 |
| EPP4-3 | 0.9% | 97.4% | 1.7% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP4-3 | 0.6% | 98.2% | 1.2% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP4-3 | | 99.6% | 0.4% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP4-3 | | 97.9% | 2.1% | Cheeseman f/c |
| EPP4-3 | | 99.6% | 0.4% | Cheeseman f/c |
| Average | 0.39% | 97.53% | 1.88% | |
| Minims | | | | |
| EPP2-2 | 0.41% | 54.58% | 40.70% * | Northover 1992 |
| EPP2-4 | 0.33% | 89.51% | 9.05% | Northover 1992 |

* Coin is corroded, result does not reflect original alloy.

Figure 6.2. The metallurgy of Eppillus's 'Calleva' series.
Not all percentages total 100% as minor elements are not shown.

DISTRIBUTION

The majority of finds of non-Kentish types of Eppillus are tightly clustered in the area around Calleva (figs 6.3, 6.4). This should occasion little surprise as the first series is inscribed CALLE(V). This may be interpreted either as a mint name, or to be read in conjunction with the rest of the legend on the coin as 'Eppillus King of Calleva' (Bean 1991, 5; Bean 1992, Burnett 1992, 16, fn16). However one might be wary of treating apparent mint names literally (cf ROMA). The only coins known from the Southern district are from Selsey/Bognor and no coins of Eppillus are known from the 'South Downs' temple site. A single EPP1-3 minim is known from Canterbury and both specimens of the bronze EPP3-2 are from Harlow temple.

Finds of EPP4, with their stylistic affinities to the Kentish series, are similarly distributed (fig 6.4). The great majority are known from the temple deposit at Wanborough, and one is known from Kent. The only provenanced stater is from the Wallingford 'hoard', just to the north west of Calleva. Of the three silver units provenanced outside the Wanborough deposit two come from the Southern kingdom. Waltham St Lawrence, Selsey and the 'South Downs' temple site do not appear to have included any, nor did any number appear on the market at the time of their discovery.

Both groups of coins suggest that Eppillus held a limited territory centred on Calleva. With the exception of the EPP1-3

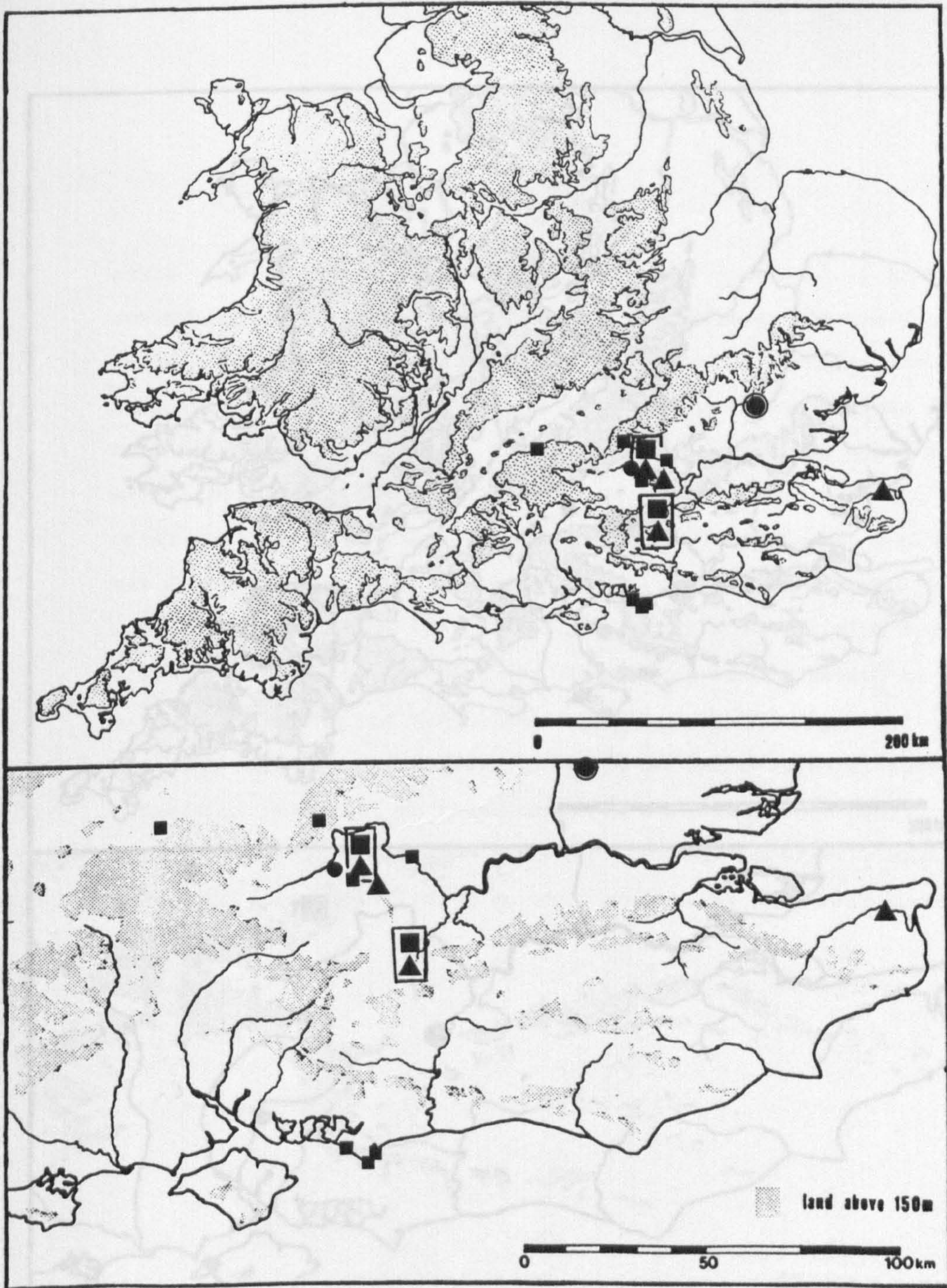


Figure 6.3: Distribution of EPP1,2,3: Quarter stater (■), unit (▲), bronze (●). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

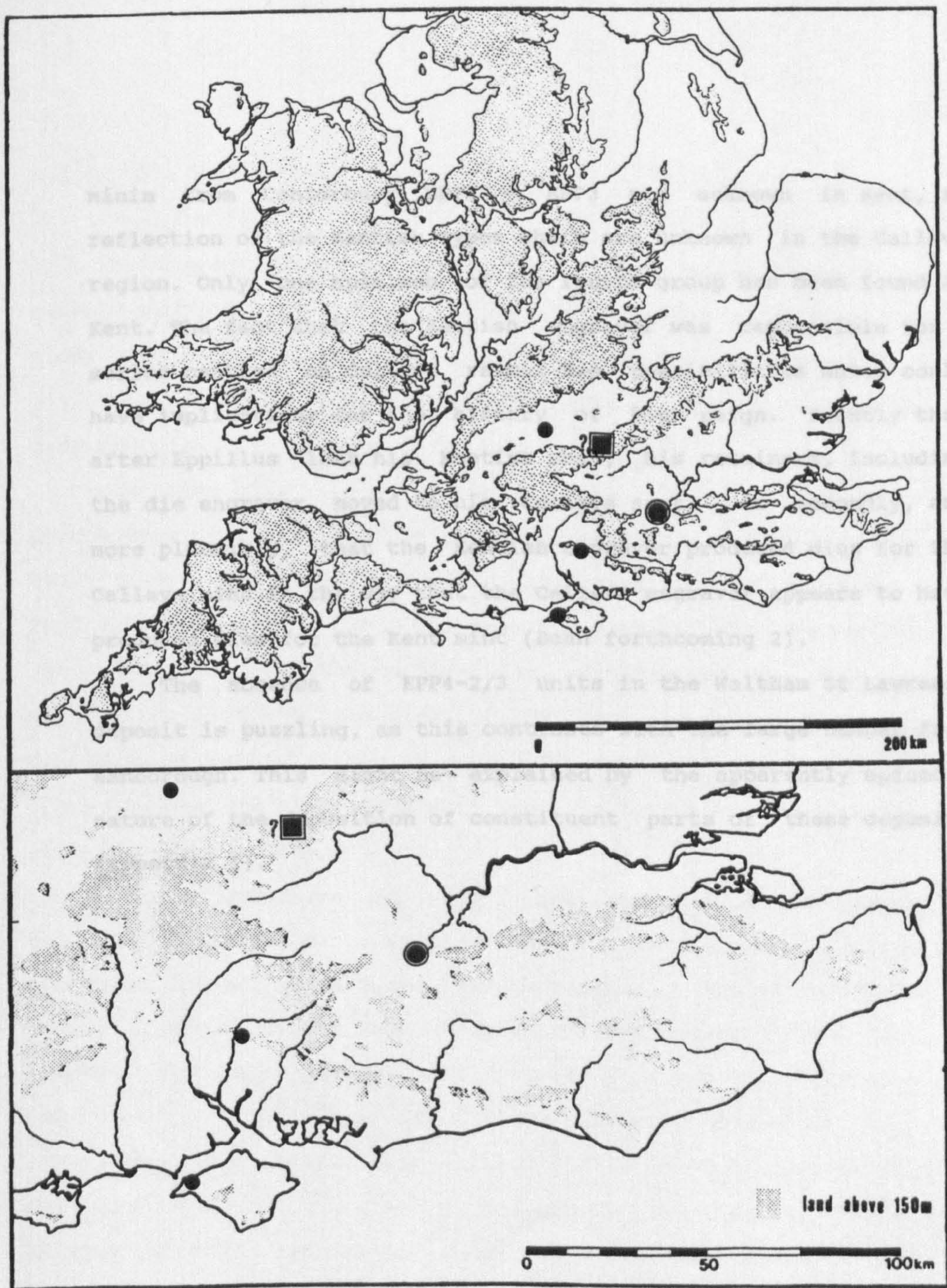


Figure 6.4: The distribution of EPP1-4: Stater (■), silver unit (●). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

minia from Canterbury EPP1 - EPP3 are unknown in Kent, in reflection of the Kentish types which are unknown in the Calleva region. Only one specimen of the fourth group has been found in Kent. The fact that the Kentish engraver was responsible for a series centred on Calleva raises two possibilities which could have implications for the history of his reign. Firstly that after Eppillus lost his Kentish seat, his retainers, including the die engraver, moved to his Calleva seat. Or secondly, and more plausibly, that the Kentish engraver produced dies for the Calleva mint in the way that the Calleva engraver appears to have produced dies for the Kent mint (Bean forthcoming 2).

The absence of EPP4-2/3 units in the Waltham St Lawrence deposit is puzzling, as this contrasts with the large number from Wanborough. This might be explained by the apparently episodic nature of the deposition of constituent parts of these deposits (appendix 1).

DIE STUDY

The large number of coins that have appeared recently, notably from the Wanborough deposit, have enabled a thorough die study of the non-Kentish coins of Eppillus to be undertaken.

Both surviving specimens of the EPP4-1 stater are struck from the same pair of dies.

The commonest quarter stater, EPP1-1 (45 specimens), is struck from six obverse and eight reverse dies. Die A becomes heavily worn and is paired with three reverse dies. These bear both fresh and worn impressions from the obverse die, suggesting that they are all contemporary. One of these reverse dies, c, carries the ring and triple pellet motif on the reverse. Obverse die E reads CALLE rather than CALLEV, possibly for reasons of space. Beyond die links (fig 6.5) there is little to suggest the ordering of these dies.

The 13 specimens of EPP2-1 are struck from four paired obverse and reverse dies. Reverse dies c and d may be later as the horse is more slender and less accomplished. The 33 specimens of EPP3-1 are also from four obverse and four reverse dies. With the exception of a single link between A and b these are also used in straight pairings. Die A is very heavily used and in this apparently later state, here called E, it becomes clogged. The left hand stem of the letter M on die A is slightly curved, however on E it has straightened. Both are paired with reverse die a and are in all other respects identical. It appears that

the change in the form of the M is due to some physical change in the die, although the difference is here acknowledged by calling the altered state die E 162.

The silver unit EPP1-3 is struck from six obverse and six reverse dies, the first four of which are used in straight pairs. Reverse die f is of cruder style than the other dies and has two rings connected by a wavy line below the eagle. This die is connected to the main series by a die link to obverse die E. Obverse die F is unusually crude. The group of pellets to the left of the crescent is loose and untidy and the whole design is contained within unusually irregular beading. The REX legend above the crescent is particularly crude and the legend below would appear to be blundered, reading CVLLE. The very worn and abraded reverse die used to strike this coin appears to be die f.

The 33 recorded EPP4-2 are struck from two obverse and four reverse dies, two reverse dies paired with each obverse die. Dies b, c and d are probably later as they are of cruder style. Reverse die b has a three pellet device above the head of the boar. The 38 specimens of EPP4-3 are struck from four obverse and eight reverse dies. Die A is paired with four reverse dies and becomes noticeably worn.

Minims EPP1-3 and EPP2-4 are each struck from two paired obverse and reverse dies. EPP2-2 and EPP2-3 are linked by obverse die A, die wear indicating the order of horse reverse (die a) then goat reverse (die b). This is confirmed as the next type of minim, EPP2-4, has the goat reverse type.

The two specimens of the bronze unit EPP3-2 are both from different pairs of dies.

Certain dies have a pellet at the centre of their design (e.g. EPP1-2 die A, 3-1 dies A and C). As these are exactly central, as denoted by the beading, it seems fair to assume that they are a mark left from the construction of the design. Such marks are commonly encountered on other series, for example the

Stater
EPP4-1
A
|
a

Quarter staters
EPP1-1
A B C D E F
/ | \ / | | / | | |
a b c d e f g h

EPP2-1
A B C D
| | | |
a b c d

EPP3-1
(E)A B C D
| \ | | |
a b c d

Silver units
EPP1-2
A B C D E F
| | | | | \ :
a b c d e f

EPP4-2
A B
/ \ / \
a b c d

EPP4-3
A B C D
/ | \ \ / | \ | / \
a b c d e f g h

Silver minims
1-3 2-2a | 2-3b
A B ? A B
| | | \ /
a b a b

2-4
A B
| |
a b

Figure 6.5. Die linking in the 'Calleva' coinage of Eppillus.

reverses of Roman fourth century AD 'VOTA' AEs. Their absence on other dies is explained by the fact that the exact centre is covered by design which has obliterated this pellet.

The die combinations (fig 6.5) make quarter stater EPP1-1 somewhat distinct from EPP2-1 and EPP3-1. This apparent difference in minting practice is not echoed in the metrology, metallurgy, distribution or typology. A similar distinction may be drawn between the straight die pairings of silver unit EPP1-2 and the die linking for silver units EPP4-2, 4-3. In this case there is some reflection in the difference of die cutter, design and subject portrayed on the two groups of coins.

SOURCES FOR THE DESIGNS

The coins of Eppillus from Calleva do not follow any earlier tradition, but suddenly appear in their well developed form. This might argue that Eppillus' issues are the first coins to be minted at Calleva for some time. Only TIN1-2 is at all stylistically similar and this type is purely Celtic. The EPP1-EPP3 types issued from Calleva under Eppillus have an animal type reverse and an obverse dominated by symbols and where space permits, a legend. The sole exception to this is the bronze type EPP3-2 which has a head on the obverse.

The obverse of quarter stater EPP1-1 may be compared in scheme to the quarter stater of Segó (VA 1848-1) and the Classical quarter stater of Tincommius (TIN3-2) (fig 6.6). The hound on the reverse would appear to be an invention of this die cutter and appears again on the silver minim of Verica from the same hand, VERC1-8. The pellet surrounded by six pellets occurs on Verica's minim VERC1-7 and the stater VERC1-1, both by the hand of this 'Calleva' engraver. This device appears in Tasciovanus' coinage on a coin of rather different style, VA 1750-3. The triple pellet device used on one reverse die of this type and on dies of other types is commented on above (p. 322).

The crescent on the obverse of EPP1-2 could be said to represent the final expression of the Apollo wreath device. In the gold of Dubnovellaunus' Essex series and the 'pattern-horse' series of the Iceni, the principle remains of this device are the

two opposed crescents. A Roman Republican denarius, however, offers itself as more probable source. The denarius L. Lucretius Trio (BC 76) (Crawford 390-1) offers the most likely source (as Van Arsdell 1989, 145 suggests) as the arrangement of the legend about the crescent is similar to that on the Celtic piece. The stars that appear on this denarius may have inspired those which appear on other types of Eppillus issued from Calleva. On EPP1-2 it would appear that they may have inspired the cluster of pellets either side of the crescent (fig 6.6). This coin would appear to set the precedent for the obverse of EPP2-1 and coins of Verica from Calleva which include prominent crescents in their designs. Van Arsdell suggested that the reverse of this piece is inspired by the reverse of a denarius of Cn Nerius (Crawford 441/1), where an eagle with raised wings is depicted between two standards (1989, 145). However a number of other Republican denarii depict such an eagle¹⁶³, including the extensive 'legionary' series of Mark Anthony. It appears that such pieces provided only the inspiration, as the eagle on this Celtic piece is somewhat different in its stance.

The minim of the series, EPP1-3, depicts an eagle which is much closer to those shown on the denarii cited above (fig 6.6). The obverse belongs to the large group of geometric pattern obverses in the South Thames series and may be compared to the obverses of certain types of Tasciovanus (e.g. 1690, 1796, 1810) (fig 6.6). Scheers (1992, 36) noted the similarity of this obverse to a Thraco-Macedonian piece, although admitting that for

such simple symmetrical designs the resemblance may be purely fortuitous'. The obverses of the early staters of Tasciovanus suggest that such geometric pattern obverses are ultimately derived from the Apollo wreath design. The geometric pattern obverses on EPP2-2 and EPP2-3 would also appear to share such an origin. The goat or ram on the reverses of these types may well be of original inspiration. A number of Republican coins do however depict similar rams and goats, for example Crawford 288/1, 353/1a,2 and 432/1 (fig 6.6).

The ox-head on EPP2-4 may be inspired by that used on the Crude series minim (TIN4-6) of Tincommius, the device is later used on the minim VERS2-3 of Verica. All three Celtic pieces may ultimately be inspired by the obverse of the silver sestertius of C. Antius Restio (BC47) (Crawford 455/4) (fig 5.19, no.7). The parallels cited by Scheers (1992, 41) in the smaller silver and bronze pieces of Greece and Crete seem less probable sources. The ox-head appears as a subsidiary element on the staters of Tasciovanus and some Kentish types (e.g. VA 169, 184), though none of Eppillus (Bean forthcoming 2). The ram on the reverse may well be of native inspiration, although the Republican denarius of L. Rustius (Crawford 389/1) would offer a source.

The two part legend on the obverse of EPP3-1, contained within beading, is unparalleled in the British Celtic series. While the 'RICON' series of staters of Tasciovanus split the legend into two parts, the tablet which contains the legend is at the centre of a degenerate 'wreath' pattern. It is possible, if

this design is not of native invention, that it is inspired by the obverse of a Republican denarius, for example the obverse of Crawford 534 of M. Agrippa (38 BC) (fig 6.6). The winged horse on the reverse reflects those encountered north of the Thames on certain coins of Tasciovanus (e.g. VA 1786, 1818; fig 6.6), the former coin also has a flower device below the horse, in the place of the ring in pellet on EPP3-1. While this design could be of native invention the pegasus on the reverse of a denarius of Augustus (of the moneyer P. Petronius Turpilianus, 18 BC; RIC 111), offers a likely source (fig 6.6).

The bust on the obverse of the bronze EPP3-2 would appear to be based on that of Augustus. It is very similar to such busts on the coinage of Tasciovanus, particularly VA 1818 where the scheme of the legend also compares. The reverse of EPP3-2 is also startlingly similar in both style and subject to that on the reverse of VA 1818. The similarities are such that one might suggest they are from dies by the same hand. The ultimate source for the reverse of EPP3-2 is hard to determine, although the reverse of the denarius of L. Papius, BC 79, (Crawford 384/1) is similar.

The 'Victory' figure on the obverse of the stater of EPP4-1 appears to be by the same hand as EPPK1-3 (VA 452) which also depicts a 'Victory' figure holding a torc. The figure is very similar to those on certain types of Cunobelin (e.g. VA 1971, 1979), that on the obverse of VA 1981 is particularly close and also holds a torc aloft. This similarity is reflected on the

reverse of both coins, each depicting a horseman right with legend below (fig 6.6). The ultimate source of the 'Victory' figure is likely to be a Roman piece such as Crawford 545/1 or 548/1a of Mark Antony (which also encloses the figure in with a wreath) or that on the reverse of the Augustan denarius issued by C. Marius Tromentina (13 BC; RIC 161). However Scheers (1992, 40) has 'no doubt about the Greek origin' of this design. She identified the Nike figure on the reverse of staters of Alexander the Great as the source. Compared to the Roman piece, however, there are significant differences, the wings are rather different and on the Celtic piece the wreath is shown extended and Victory holds a palm not a stylis. The carynx wielding horseman on the reverse is paralleled on the coins of Tasciovanus, most graphically on the stater series VA 1730-1736. Like that on EPP4-1 the warrior is either helmeted or at least wearing a hat. The clear saddle is not a feature Tasciovanus staters, (clearly saddled horses are not usually depicted on the North Thames series, with the apparent exception of a single type of Cunobelin (VA 2093-1)). The ultimate source of this design may well be an equestrian statue depicted on a denarius, that of M. Lepidus, BC 61 (Crawford 419/1d) is particularly close as the carynx and position of the legend on the Celtic piece mirror that of the trophy and legend on the Roman piece (fig 6.6).

The heads on EPP4-2 and EPP4-3 appear to be derived from Roman coins. That on EPP4-2 appears to be derived from the bust



Figure 6.6. Design sources for the coinage of Eppillus.

on the denarius of M. Junius Brutus BC 54 (Crawford 433/2). That on EPP4-3 appears copied from a particular depiction of Jupiter encountered on Republican denarii (e.g. Crawford 341/4a-7, 445/3b, 447). Similar heads likely to be derived from the same sources are also encountered north of the Thames on coins of Tasciovanus (e.g. VA 1709) and Andoco (VA 1868) (fig 6.6). A less probable source is suggested by Scheers (1992, 37) in depictions of Zeus on certain 4th BC coins of Locri, however unlike the Roman and Celtic pieces, the deity on these coins wears a wreath. The lion on the reverse of EPP4-3 is similar to that on the silver unit of Verica (VERC2-4), and if it is not derived from the lion on the Massalia coinage it seems probable that it may be borrowed from the Lugdunum quinarius series of M. Anthony, (Crawford 489/5-6, 42/3 BC; fig. 5.19) or perhaps adapted from the denarius of M. Volteius (Crawford 385/4; fig. 5.19 no. 8). The boar on the reverse of EPP4-2 is very similar to those encountered north of the Thames on coins of Tasciovanus VA 1796 (AR) and 1826 (AE)), and if it is not of native invention it may well be derived from the Erymanthian boar on the reverse of the denarius of M. Volteius, Crawford 385/1, BC 78 (fig 6.6).

Some of the types minted at Calleva under Eppillus appear to be of original inspiration, although similarities may be cited within other local Celtic series. Other types owe a most apparent debt to Roman types, although these sources are of little use in dating the series.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The four coins of Eppillus from archaeological contexts are of little help in dating the series. The silver minim (EPP1-3) from Canterbury is unusual as silver minims are not commonly found in this area. It should however alert us to the range of coins which may have circulated in such proto-urban settlements. Equally it is interesting to observe that the only two specimens of EPP4-2 so far known are from Harlow temple, Essex, well inside the bronze unit circulation area.

| Type | Findsite | Period | Reference |
|-----------|---------------------------|--------|-----------|
| EPP1-3 | Canterbury MIV 450 | Saxon | H 448 |
| EPP4-2 | Harlow temple HT 87 1488 | | No data |
| EPP4-2 | Harlow temple HT 89 1833 | | No data |
| EPPUNC1-1 | Silchester SIL74, 23 FZ 8 | | No data |

Figure 6.7. Finds of Eppillus' coins from archaeological contexts. Reference: H = Haselgrove 1987 with page number.

COINS OF THE 'ALLIANCE'

A group of coins apparently issued in the names of Tincommius, Verica and Eppillus, are known largely from Kent. They are included here due to their importance in understanding the relationship of these leaders. None are known from Wanborough or Waltham St Lawrence, which further supports a Kentish origin. They clearly follow the tradition of Dubnovellaunus' Kentish coinage. These coins have received detailed examination elsewhere (Bean 1990, 33-34, 50, 52-53, 56-70; 1991, 4-5).

In summary, the types are difficult to organize. All three types are silver units. The least accomplished of the types, ALL1-1, bears the legend TCVI on the obverse and E P on the reverse to either side of a 'victory' figure. The obverse legend was correctly read and interpreted by Evans (1864, 194) but subsequently mis-read as IOVI and dismissed by Allen (1944, 33, n7). Until recently only two worn specimens of this type were known, recently however a very well preserved specimen has been seen by Mr Geoff Cottam which puts the reading of the legend beyond doubt. The reverse legend E P, is most easily read as EPPillus; the legend EP C.F is found on the reverse Eppillus's bronze EPPK1-2 (VA 453-1), which confirms this reading on its obverse with the legend EPPIL. The legend TCVI makes little sense alone, but when split TC can reasonably be suggested to stand for TinCommius who uses this legend on quarter stater TIN2-4. VI can reasonably be seen to stand for Verica, who uses this form on

VERS1-3d and VERS1-2. The sword-bearing victory figure on the reverse of this type led Van Arsdell to call this a 'Victory type' (1989, 150), there is however little indication on the coin of any individual victorious party. The next type, ALL1-2 suggests ALL1-1 is best seen as an Alliance issue, and any 'victory' would presumably have been against a common enemy, perhaps Dubnovellaunos. Such an alliance has important consequences for the relative reigns of these three brothers (p. 418-19; Bean 1990, 51-5; 1991, 4-5). The style of the engraving and lettering on this type suggest that it is by the hand responsible for certain Kentish pieces of Eppillus (VA 450-1).

ALL1-2 has the legend VIR CO around a head on the obverse and EPPI / COMF above and below a capricorn on the reverse. Once again neither party appears to claim individual victory, although Tincommius is now apparently absent from this alliance.

Finally there is ALL1-3, whose typology, weight and portrayal of a bust on the obverse (otherwise unknown on the Verica's silver units) suggests that it may form part of this series. The only provenanced specimen is however from the Lancing deposit in Sussex. The obverse depicts a head with the legend VIRI in front, and a figure, but no legend, on the reverse. This is peculiar in that all other units of Verica have legends on the reverse (with the exception of VERUNC1-2 which is itself unusual). A less accomplished variety of this type, ALL1-3a, shows the types facing the other direction.

Close examination of ALL1-1, ALL1-2 and ALL1-3 suggests that

they are all from dies by the same hand (with the possible exception ALL1-3a). All have similar hair, noses and eyes on the obverse although ALL1-3 has a more Hellenistic appearance. The overall style of the designs and the lettering, suggest that these coins are by the same hand that engraved the Kentish quatrefoil gold types of Eppillus EPPK3-1, 3-2 (VA 430, 437) and certain other Kentish types.

METROLOGY

The metrology of the Alliance issues has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Bean 1990). These issues are heavy when compared to silver coins of Kentish origin (Bean forthcoming 2). They compare to the heaviest coins from Calleva under Verica (compare fig 7.1 with fig 8.6), but their distribution best conforms to the weight distribution of Eppillus' silver coins from Calleva (compare fig 6.1 with fig 7.1). The overall

| weight (g) | ALL1-1 | ALL1-2 | ALL1-3 |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1.32- | I | I | |
| 1.26- | | III | II |
| 1.20- | | II | |
| 1.14- | | | |
| 1.08- | | | |
| 1.02- | i | | |
| 0.96- | | I | |
| 0.90- | | | |
| 0.84- | | | |
| 0.78- | | | |
| Mean weight | 1.30 | 1.23 | 1.29 |

Figure 7.1 Metrology of the Alliance issues. 'i' signifies a particularly worn coin, the mean weight for ALL1-1 excludes this worn coin.

distribution of the weights of the Alliance coinage is however slightly heavier than the parallels cited and thus metrologically distinct.

It may be observed that the weight distribution of the Alliance coins is very similar to an unusual type of Cunobelin

(Mossop sale 325), all six provenanced specimens of which come from Kent (Bean forthcoming 2; Cottam pers. comm.).

METALLURGY

Two coins of the Alliance have been tested (fig 7.2). The results compare favorably to those for the units of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica (figs 5.12, 6.2, 8.8). The quantity of lead in the ALL1-2 is however unusual, only further tests will show whether this is a characteristic of the type.

| Type | Ag | Au | Cu | Pb | Source |
|--------|-------|------|------|------|----------------|
| ALL1-2 | 96.91 | 0.28 | 1.11 | 1.48 | Northover 1992 |
| ALL1-3 | 96.53 | 0.57 | 2.61 | 0.21 | Northover 1992 |

Figure 7.2 Metallurgy of the Alliance issues

DISTRIBUTION

The coins of the Alliance conform to the distribution of the coinages of Dubnovellaunus and Eppillus from Kent (fig 7.3; Bean forthcoming 2). They are restricted to northern Kent east of the river Medway. The only coin outside this area is a single coin from the Lancing 'hoard'. The absence of a bronze denomination may have prevented coins of this group travelling north of the Thames.

The surprising absence of coins of the Alliance and Eppillus between the river Mole and the Medway, an area larger than the core coin distributions of the Kentish and Calleva groups (figs 6.3, 6.4, 8.10; Bean forthcoming 2), is commented upon elsewhere (p. 416-19).

One ALL1-1 is known from an archaeological context. This was found at Birchington, Kent with four sceattas. Whether this find is interpreted as a grave or small hoard (Roach Smith 1848; Rigold and Metcalf 1978; Haselgrove 1987, 472) a late C7th/8th AD date would seem appropriate.

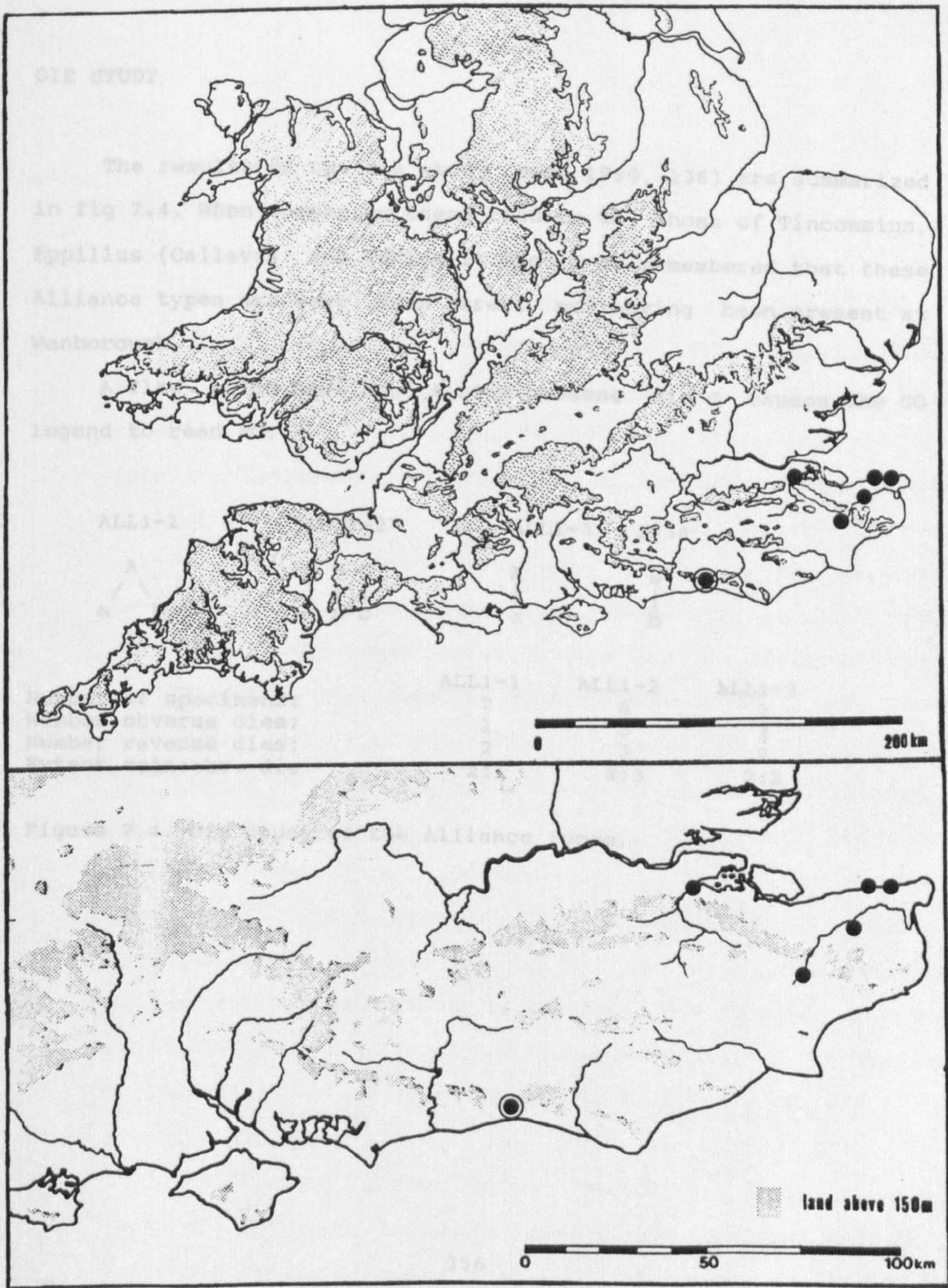


Figure 7.3: Distribution of coins of the Alliance. Boxed symbol denotes coin from multiple deposit.

DIE STUDY

The results of the die study (Bean 1990, 136) are summarized in fig 7.4. When comparing these results to those of Tincommius, Eppillus (Calleva) and Verica it should be remembered that these Alliance types are very much rarer, not having been present at Wanborough.

A flaw which develops ALL1-2 obverse die C causes the CO legend to read FO.

| | ALL1-1 | ALL1-2 | ALL1-3 |
|------------------------------|---|--|--|
| | <pre> A / \ a b </pre> | <pre> A B C a b c </pre> | <pre> A a </pre> |
| | | | 1-3a |
| | | | <pre> B b </pre> |
| | | | |
| | | ALL1-1 | ALL1-2 |
| Number of specimens: | | 2 | 8 |
| Number obverse dies: | | 1 | 3 |
| Number reverse dies: | | 2 | 3 |
| Extant coin:obv. die: | | 2:1 | 8:3 |
| | | | ALL1-3 |
| | | | 2 |
| | | | 2 |
| | | | 2 |
| | | | 2:2 |

Figure 7.4. Die study of the Alliance types.

DESIGN SOURCES

The heads on all three types fit within the tradition of the Kentish coinage of Eppillus (VA 453, 441, 452), although those on ALL1-2 and ALL1-3 betray Roman influence. The head on the obverse of ALL1-1 is however peculiar in that it appears to be bearded (previous inscribed coins of Kent depict clean shaven heads¹⁶⁴), stylistically the bust lies mid-way between the Celtic head on earlier Kentish coins (e.g. VA 165-1) and the pellet bearded head on the Calleva silver unit of Eppillus EPP4-2. An exact parallel or source in the Roman series is hard to find, although the head on the obverse of a denarius of M. Herennius (108/7 BC, Crawford 308/1a,b; fig 7.5) is superficially similar. The laureate bust on the obverse of ALL1-2 recalls busts of Augustus, although the features are much heavier. Superficially similar busts can be found on denarii of M. Durmius and C. Cassius and M. Servillus (c.18-16 BC, RIC I (Aug) 128; 42 BC, Crawford 505/1; fig 7.5). The head on the obverse of ALL1-3 has an almost Hellenistic appearance, it may however be copied from a denarius of Augustus (e.g. RIC 274/293; fig 7.5) or possibly denarii of N. Herennius or M. Durmius (Crawford 108/7 BC, 308/1a,b; c.18-16 BC, RIC 1, (Aug) 128; fig 7.5).

The 'Victory' figure on the reverse of ALL1-1 is clearly part of a group including EPP4-1 and Eppillus' Kentish type (probably by the same die cutter) VA 452-1. This specific reverse is probably copied from a denarius of Brutus and Casca Longus

(43-2 BC, Crawford 507/2; fig 7.5) or a quinarius of L. Piso L.f. Frugi (90 BC, Crawford 340/2e-g; fig 7.5), although the Celtic figure is not draped. The reverse of ALL1-2 is apparently copied from a denarius of Augustus from Lugdunum (c.19 BC, RIC 62; fig 7.5)165. The reverse of ALL1-3 is most similar to the 'Livia seated' reverses on Tiberian denarii (AD 14-37, RIC I 26). The treatment of the breasts and hair is similar though the Celtic figure is depicted crouching and details such as the cap and branch are native innovations.



Figure 7.4 The probable sources for the designs on the Alliance group of coins. 1,2,3 ALL1-1, 1-2, 1-3. 4,5,6,7,8 Obverses of VA 165, Crawford 308/1a, RIC (Aug) 128, Crawford 505/1, RIC (Aug) 274. 9,10,11,12 Reverses of Crawford 507/2, 340/2e, RIC (Aug) 62, RIC (Tib) 26.

It is interesting to observe that the capricorn reverse of ALL1-2 is shared with a type of Cunobelin known only from Kent (Mossop 325; G.Cottam pers. comm.) and with two types of the Kentish leader Amminus (VA 194, 195). It therefore appears possible that the capricorn was used as an emblem by rulers of Kent.

In summary this peculiar series shows an increasing reliance on Roman types for inspiration, although in style and tradition it remains within the Kentish tradition of Eppillus.

VERICA'S COINAGE: ORGANIZATION

The gold coinage of Verica was subject to the detailed study begun by Allen and completed by Haselgrove (Allen and Haselgrove 1980). The silver coinage has been subject to similar study (Bean 1990; 1991; Cheeseman forthcoming). The coins from Wanborough were not included in the dissertation die study, but a die study has since been made. Allen and Haselgrove's study may now be updated in the light of new discoveries, as may the study of the silver coinage in the light of the issues of Verica's predecessors, Tincommius and Eppillus. A revised summary of the silver coinage is included below.

We will commence with an examination of the gold coinage. At present four main types of stater and eight main types of quarter stater are known, there being several minor varieties of these types. It remains true that our knowledge of the gold coinage is principally derived from hoards or deposits, notably Alresford, Selsey, Waltham St Lawrence, Wanborough and the recent hoards from Hatfield and Tangmere (appendix 2). Thus the contrast remains with Cunobelin's gold which is still chiefly known from single finds (Allen 1976; Haselgrove 1978; Haselgrove 1984; Haselgrove 1988). A total of 93 staters and 57 quarter staters were available to Allen and Haselgrove plus two plated cores¹⁶⁶. Subsequent discoveries mean that the present study includes 148 staters and 118 quarter staters, plus five cores (it has only been possible to record a sample of coins from the Hatfield and

Tangmere deposits). The classification scheme used by Haselgrove and Allen has gained only limited adoption beyond academic works and is not compatible with the scheme of organization presented below. Types are therefore referred to by my own numbering system, VER[ica]C[alleva mint], VER[ica]S[outhern mint] and VER[erica]UNC[ertain mint].

The arrangement of the gold by Haselgrove and Allen (1980) is summarised in figure 8.1 (see plates). Staters VERS1-1 and VERC1-1 were regarded as no more than variants of the first substantive type (Allen and Haselgrove 1980, 1), corresponding to these were quarter staters VERS1-2 and VERC1-2 respectively. The next type of stater, VERC2-1, is linked to quarter stater VERC2-3 by the shared use of the REX legend on the reverse. The final class of stater VERS3-1 also appears to have an attendant quarter stater VERS3-2. The remaining quarter staters, VERS3-3 and VERS3-4, which share a common obverse die, appear to be later.

| | | | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Early | | | 'REX' | Vine leaf | |
| STATERS | | C1-1(A) | S1-1(B) | C2-1(C) | S3-1(D) | |
| QUARTER | R1-1() | C1-2() | S1-2() | C2-3() | S3-2() | S3-3() |
| | | | | | | S3-4() |

Figure 8.1: The arrangement of Verica's gold after Allen and Haselgrove (1980), their types in brackets, classification for this volume without VER prefix.

This arrangement has remained little questioned, although VERC1-2 and VERS1-2 have been observed by Burnett (1991, 16) to be very similar in type and module to the gold of Eppillus from Calleva. Working from the Wanborough coins Cheeseman

(forthcoming) presents a number of possible arrangements. The first, based directly on legend and type directly follows Allen and Haselgrove (1980; fig. 8.1). However Cheeseman rightly observed the different levels in accomplishment of the well engraved VERC2-1 stater dies and the rather crude dies for quarter stater VERC2-3, and questioned whether the two can definitely be linked. However when an approach largely reliant on legend (as Van Arsdell (1989) claims to be) is applied, certain problems instantly appear. As Cheeseman observed the silver units VERC2-4 and VERC3-5, both of which bear the REX legend, are of very different style. Cheeseman presents several elegant explanations to explain this apparent dichotomy within the 'REX' group. However his conviction lies with the possibility that two mints were involved, although he sees differences in style, content and legend as multifarious not bifid. His arrangement of the gold coinage is summarised in figure 8.2. The second mint being defined by coins of coherent style '...distinct from that of the main run of Atrebatian issues' (Cheeseman forthcoming). The underlying historical interpretation being that while initially

| | CALLEVA | | SECOND MINT |
|---------|------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|
| STATER | C1-1(A) S1-1(B) | C2-1(C) | S3-1(D) |
| QUARTER | R1-1() C1-2() S1-2() C2-2() | ?C2-3() | S3-2() S3-3() S3-4() |

Figure 8.2. Arrangement of Verica's gold, after Cheeseman forthcoming. Classification from this work lacks VER prefix. Haselgrove and Allen's classification in brackets.

based at Calleva, Verica was forced to yield this seat and mint to Epaticcus, and made his new mint to the south.

It has however been demonstrated (Bean 1990; 1991; and below) that Verica's coinage does not simply succeed that of Eppillus, instead it unites the twin traditions of Tincommius and Eppillus's mints. When this approach is applied it becomes clear that the gold does indeed come from two mints, although the development is somewhat different, clearer and more detailed than Cheeseman's approach allows.

The first two staters of Verica, VERC1-1 and VERS1-1, have previously been grouped together, but detailed examination shows them to belong to two different traditions. The reverse of VERC1-1 depicts six pellets around a central pellet behind the spearman (a variant, VERC1-1a, depicts a ring in this position). This device is entirely absent on the coins of Tincommius, but appears clearly beneath the hound on the reverse of Eppillus' quarter stater EPP1-1/1a and twice on the obverse of Eppillus' silver unit EPP1-2. The ring device on the variant VERC1-1a also occurs on the quarter stater of EPP1-1a above the dog. These parallels are enforced by the overall style of the horse on the stater which compares to that on the reverse of Eppillus's quarter stater EPP2-1. The obverse of the stater confirms its origins at the Calleva mint of Eppillus. At either end of the rectangle containing the legend there are groups of three pellets, a device unknown on Tincommius's coins but occurring on certain dies of Eppillus. The pellet in ring above and below the tablet reflect

the stars above and below the CALLE(V) legend on the obverse of Eppillus's quarter stater EPP1-1. The variant with the ring behind the horseman may be later than the standard type as the obverse die is clearly re-cut. No impressions survive from the original state of this die. As this form of obverse is not known previous to Verica at the Calleva mint, one would suggest that this die belongs to the main type with the group of pellets behind the horseman. (This assumes that the original die was not paired with another unknown variant reverse die).

The obverse of VERS1-1 lacks the pellet-in-ring and triple pellet devices of VERC1-1. In addition the legend is in a sunken tablet, not a raised rectangle, a feature of gold staters of Tincommius but absent on the coins of Eppillus. This is enforced by the reverse which is identical in subject and style to Tincommius's stater TIN4-7a, except that the crude TIN legend is now crudely rendered VIR. Unfortunately there is not yet an obverse die link between the two types.

As Allen and Haselgrove observed (1980, 6), both the above staters have attendant quarter staters. Quarter stater VERC1-2 was associated with stater VERC1-1 by Allen and Haselgrove. The obverse legend, like stater VERC1-1, is contained in a raised rectangle with a pellet in ring above and below. The horse on the reverse of quarter stater VERC1-2 is clearly by the hand responsible for the reverse of Eppillus's quarter stater EPP2-1. The Calleva origin is confirmed on certain dies by the appearance of groups of three, or in one instance four pellets below the

horse, similar to those which occur on certain dies in Eppillus's coinage. Quarter stater VERS1-2 is of the same style as stater VERS1-1, in particular the rather naive treatment of the horse. The horse and the large somewhat irregular beading recall the reverses on Tincommius's Crude series (TIN4), however the dies are better prepared and do not appear to deteriorate in the way that those for Tincommius's Crude series did.

A further quarter stater of Verica could belong to the early period of the Calleva mint, VIRC2-2. The obverse legend directly reflects that on Eppillus's quarter stater EPP3-1. However on VERC2-2 the legend is divided by a thunderbolt, this splitting of the legend by an extra-terrestrial device clearly reflects the crescent on the obverse of Eppillus's silver unit EPP1-2. The form of the horse on the reverse of VERC2-2 directly compares to the pegasus on Eppillus's quarter stater EPP3-1, a parallel confirmed by their common use of a pellet-in-ring beneath the horse/pegasus. The proportions of the horse are however less accomplished. Despite the strong links this piece has to the coinage of Eppillus there are reasons for not regarding it as the first quarter of Verica from Calleva. The form and position of the reverse legend in addition to the well engraved horse find direct parallel in the earlier reverse dies (Allen and Haselgrove dies a-e) of stater VERC2-1. Traditionally VERC2-3 has been seen as the attendant quarter stater to this stater type. Its overall crude style is however at odds with the early dies for the stater series. However it will be observed that the quality of the

engraving of the stater reverse dies declines (Allen and Haselgrove dies f-n). It has been observed that the engraving quality of VERC2-2 had declined from that on Eppillus's coins. Thus it may therefore be proposed that VERC2-3 simply lies at the end of a decline in engraving quality and is likely to be contemporary to latter dies for stater VERC2-1. It will be observed below that both these quarter staters are unusually heavy. The form of the obverse legend of VERC2-3 is certainly to be compared to Eppillus's quarter stater EPP3-1, and the six pointed star and the crescent certainly have their origins in Eppillus's coinage (a six pointed star occurs once, in ponderous form, on Tincommius's Classical stater TIN3-1). One possible flaw in this sequence is the late appearance of the REX legend in the quarter stater sequence, although this might be due to political factors (p. 420).

There can be little doubt that stater VERC2-1 originated from the Calleva mint. The horse on the reverse is undeniably from the same hand that produced Eppillus's quarter staters EPP2-1 and EPP2-3. The crescent motif, absent on Tincommius's coinage, is certainly the descendant of these on the obverse of Eppillus' EPP2-1 and EPP1-2. The confident lettering on the stater type also looks towards Calleva. It has been observed above that within this type reverse dies a-e are more accomplished than f-n. The revised die study (presented below) gives no reason to assume two separate series, as the die linking sequence suggests no more than a decline within a single series.

The major series of staters from the southern mint depict the vine leaf on the reverse, VERS3-1. This series is headed by two particularly accomplished obverse dies (Allen and Haselgrove dies A, B) and a single reverse die (Allen and Haselgrove die a). The same hand would appear to be responsible for the dies for the 'vine-leaf' quarter stater, VERS3-2. After these initial stater dies the quality of the engraving declines, some dies being less accomplished than others. In particular Haselgrove and Allen (1980) reverse die e is very crude, resembling the horse on the Crude quarter stater of Tincommius TIN4-3, indeed this hand might be expected. The hand that initiated the series may be that responsible for the dies of Tincommius's Classical series, which introduced other novel classical devices into this series. The hand responsible for the less accomplished reverses is surely that which appears on silver unit VERS3-6 - the form of the horse and horseman are identical. This silver unit forms the bridge between the vine leaf stater and the two obverse die linked quarter staters VERS3-3 and VERS3-4. Unfortunately only one specimen of each is available for study. It appears that the obverse die is a little more worn on VERS3-4 than VERS3-3, which is consistent with the traditional ordering. It is clear that the horse on the obverse leaps from a platform, and it therefore seems reasonable to compare this to Haselgrove and Allen reverse dies f-n of the 'vine leaf' stater series on which the horse also leaps from a platform. It might therefore be suggested that these two quarter staters are contemporary to the latter part of the

vine leaf stater series. The reverse of VERS3-4 would appear to link to the Southern mint silver unit and minims VERS3-7 and VERS3-10. The reverse of VERS3-3 (=VERC3-3) however, presents several problems. Having established that the obverse die is certainly from the Southern mint we must turn attention to the reverse. This type is shared with silver unit VERC3-1 167. The large lettering and bold, if somewhat crude rendering of the type on this piece, strongly argue for a Calleva origin. By implication the quarter stater reverse die must also originate from Calleva. Several explanations could be advanced to explain this phenomenon, which is shared with silver unit VERC3-4 (also known from a single specimen). Either the Calleva die cutter was producing dies for the Southern mint (apparently unprecedented as there is no other obvious mixing of types or dies from the two mints) or these two unusual dies, which lie at the end of the Calleva sequence, were brought South after the loss of Calleva to Epaticcus.

One early quarter stater of Verica is difficult to place in the main series, VERUNC1-1. As Haselgrove and Allen proposed (1980, 2) it is clearly the topologically earliest in the series, however it does not continue the traditions of either Eppillus' or Tincommius's mint. The wheel beneath the horse is without immediate precedent as is the form of the horse. The reins recall those used in the Proto-Classical and Crude series of Tincommius although the lettering is neater, recalling that on the Calleva quarter stater VERC2-2. The obverse crescents are also perhaps

CALLEVA MINT.

Stater VERC1-1 VERC1-1a ---VERC2-1---
Quarter VERC1-2 VERC2-2 VERC2-2

SOUTHERN MINT

Stater VERS1-1 VERS3-1 -----
Quarter VERS1-2 VERS3-2 VERS3-3 VERS3-4

UNCERTAIN MINT SERIES

Quarter VERUNC1-1

Figure 8.3. New arrangement for the gold coinage of Verica (see plates).

more in the character of the Calleva mint, as are the triple pellet devices in which the crescents terminate. The sunken tablet is however a feature of the Southern mint. For the time being this type must remain of uncertain origin. This quarter stater may be from the same hand that produced the dies for a silver type, VERUNC1-2 (below) which I had previously considered of Calleva or Kentish origin (Bean 1990, 28-9).

The silver coinage contains eight major unit types and 25 main types of minim. Like the gold coinage these can be demonstrated to follow the traditions of both Tincommius and Eppillus' mints.

The first silver unit from the Calleva unit, VERC1-3, retains the crescent device and bold lettering apparent on silver unit EPP1-2, the link is confirmed by a die variety which places a group of six pellets around a central pellet above the boar, a feature from Eppillus' first group of coins from Calleva. This

group of pellets features on the obverse of VERC1-7 which appears to belong to a group of minims directly continuing the Calleva tradition. Minim VERC1-6 is obverse type linked to EPP1-3 (although not die linked), and the uninscribed minim VERC1-5 also has a similar obverse. Variations in this obverse scheme are apparent on VERC1-8 and VERC1-8a, these depict bold spirited animals on the reverse with pellets and rings below, all of which characterise coins of Eppillus from Calleva. VERC1-9 represents another variation on this obverse scheme, the boar on the reverse apparently linking this piece to silver unit VERC1-3. Beneath the boar a torc like device is shown between two triplets of pellets, this is the device found above and below the obverse tablet on the next Calleva unit, VERC1-4. A variety of this minim, VERC1-10, has an R instead of rings and pellets below the boar. Succeeding coins make little use of such devices, and they appear to go out of fashion at this time. The use of such devices on stater VERC1-1 and to a lesser extent on the quarter staters VERC1-2 and VERC2-2 suggest that they are contemporaries. In common with the silver unit VERC1-4, VERC1-1 and VERC1-2 enclose the obverse legend within a raised rectangle.

The next Calleva mint silver unit VERC2-4, retains the crescent apparent on certain coins of Eppillus. The use of the REX title and the reverse format suggests that this piece is broadly contemporary to the stater VERC2-1 and quarter stater VERC2-3. An obverse linked pair of minims, VERC2-5/6 (one of which bears a lion on the reverse), may relate to this unit. Each

reads VIR followed by the title VAR which may equate to the REX title (Appendix 3; Bean 1990, 81). A similarly spirited horse appears on the reverse of minim VERC2-7, with CO168 beneath, in common with VERC2-5/6. The head on the reverse of this piece superficially resembles that on TINUNC1-1, the style of the reverse is however unlike the animals on TINUNC and VERUNC. The bull on the reverse of VERC2-9 is executed in very similar style and this introduces the cornucopia device common to the next unit and minim. These more classical themes are continued on minim VERC2-10 which shares its broad obverse type with the more Celtic VERC2-8.

The final silver coins of Verica from Calleva, VERC3-1 and VERC3-2, depict more Classical subjects but are of the same bold execution with legends of large strong letters. The reverse type is shared with the gold quarter stater VERS3-3, discussed above, which would appear to be broadly contemporary, and from the same hand. A further unit VERC3-4, known from a single specimen found recently at Richborough, has an obverse by the same hand, depicting a similar subject. This coin like quarter stater VERS3-3 appears to be a hybrid or mule. The style of the lettering, the execution of the horse, in particular the feet and the forward position of the rider vividly recall the reverse of Verica's early Southern mint stater VERS1-1.

The stater VERS1-1 and quarter VERS1-2 from the Southern mint (examined above) appear to continue the Crude (TIN4) and Proto-Classical (TIN2) traditions of Tincommius's series. VERS1-

3 is a distinct group of units type linked to the Calleva unit VERC1-3. It is clear that they are of very different style and they are not die linked to the Calleva type (Bean 1990; Cheeseman forthcoming). They are struck on rather different flans. The Calleva type, VERC1-3, are generally struck on fairly dumpy flans of an even thickness, by contrast VERS1-3 are often struck on thin flans of uneven thickness, the dies are also used until they are considerably worn. This type appears metrologically distinct from the Calleva issue (fig. 8.6) a weight distribution which resembles that of Tincommius' Crude series (fig. 5.10). In summary their poorly executed dies and poor striking recall the Crude series of Tincommius. The link to the Southern stater and quarter, VERS1-1 and VERS1-2, is provided by their style. Heavy irregular beading is common to both, and the crude five pointed star above the boar and the form of the boars hind legs (particularly on variety VERC3-1d) reflect the reverse of the stater. Two equally crudely engraved minims type belong to this group, VERC1-4 and VERC1-5.

By contrast the remainder of the silver from the Southern mint appears to follow the traditions of Tincommius's Classical series (TIN3). The neatly engraved designs of a Classical nature surrounded by legends of small neat letters. In this series of Verica each unit is apparently paired with a minim type, although there are eight minims which lack units. These minims are hard to organise, although style and subject might be used to create 'early' and 'late' groupings. The earliest minim, VERS2-1,

appears to be a reworking of the design used on Tincommius' Classical quarter stater TIN3-3. Other apparently early minims are VERS2-2 and VERS2-3 169. The first silver unit in this classical tradition appears to be VERS3-5, bearing the REX legend, which might be contemporary to the REX issues at Calleva. The reverse of this piece bears a 'hybrid' classical figure, similar to those on the Classical series of Tincommius, particularly that on the reverse of TIN3-4. This unit is reverse type linked to minim VERS3-8. This is succeeded by two units which drop the REX legend, bearing the legend COMMIF across the obverse and VERI CA or VIRI CA on the reverse (the A is always unbarred on coins of this series, a further contrast to the Calleva issues).

The first of these units, VERS3-6, is linked to stater VERS3-1 by the horseman on the obverse 170. This unit is linked via the obverse of the stater to minim VERS3-9 which has a vine-leaf on the reverse. The final Southern silver unit, VERS3-7 is reverse type linked to minim VERS3-10 and quarter stater VERS3-4. The link to the quarter stater, which is the last to depict a horseman, confirms the position of this piece at the end of the series. Four minims, apparently unassociated to units, belong to this most Classical phase of the coinage. One is somewhat Celtic in subject matter and style, but the remaining three are thoroughly classical in their style and execution. The first, VERS4-1 is confidently engraved with the patronymic CF below a boars head on a stake. This patronymic is also clear above the

Classical design on the obverse of VERS4-2. VERS4-2 is of similar style and format to VERS3-9 and is probably broadly contemporary. Three further types VERS4-3, VERS4-4 and VERS4-5 depict a seated sphinx on their obverse or reverse. VERS4-3 depicts a rather savage head on the obverse while VERS4-4 portrays an exquisitely engraved curled hound, surely marking the artistic zenith of Verica's coinage. VERS4-5 depicts a sphinx on the reverse in a more alert attitude. The obverse is ambiguous to the modern eye, resembling a Cromwellian helmet, which Symons (1993) suggested may be a dolphin. This I think unlikely as the group is typified by its life-like representations.

A further type, VERUNC1-2, I previously considered to be of Kentish origin (1990, 30). The bold obverse legend reflects those on the Calleva coins of Verica and Eppillus and the devices above and below the tablet broadly reflect the devices in this position on VERC1-4. However the outline pentangle on the reverse has no parallel at Calleva where the stars are neater and solid. The long rather crude and cumbersome winged horse contrasts to those shown on Eppillus' quarter stater EPP3-1. While this might be an inferior product of the Calleva mint (in which case one might have expected finds at Wanborough) it has similarities to quarter stater VERUNC1-1. The obverse of the quarter stater has unparalleled devices above and below the tablet which broadly echo those on the unit under discussion. The horses are only broadly similar but each have unparalleled somewhat Celtic devices below them. This silver unit and quarter stater form,

Calleva mint.

| Staters | Quarter staters | Units | Minims |
|---------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
|) |) | | C1-5 |
|) |) | | C1-6 |
|) |) | | C1-7 |
| C1-1) | C1-2) | | C1-8 |
|) |) | | C1-8a |
|) |) | C1-3/1-3a | |
|) |) | C1-4 | C1-9 |
|) |) | | C1-10 |
| C2-1 | C2-2, C2-3 | C2-4 | C2-5 |
| | | | C2-6 |
| | | | C2-7 |
| | | | C2-8 |
| | | | C2-9 |
| | | | C2-10 |
| | (C3-3) | C3-1 | C3-2 |
| | | C3-4 | |

Southern mint.

Crude series.

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------------|------|
| S1-1) | S1-2) | S1-3/a/b/c/d | S1-4 |
|) |) | | S1-5 |

Classical series.

| | | | |
|--------|------------|------|--------------|
| | | | Early minims |
| | | | S2-1 |
| | | | S2-2 |
| | | | ?S2-3 |
| S3-1) | S3-2 | S3-5 | S3-8 |
|) | | S3-6 | S3-9 |
|) | S3-3, S3-4 | S3-7 | S3-10 |
| | | | Late minims |
| | | | S4-1 |
| | | | S4-2 |
| | | | S4-3 |
| | | | S4-4 |

UNCERTAIN MINT

UNC1-1

UNC1-2

Figure 8.4. The arrangement of Verica's coinage (see plates).
VER prefix not used.

stylistically at least, a peculiar group.

The pentangle on the reverse of VERUNC1-2 clearly links it to TINUNC1-1, a type isolated within the series of Tincommius. The feet of the animals on VERUNC1-2 and TINUNC1-1 are the same, and both have the same long bodies with large shoulders and hind quarters. The form of the letters is also similar, although the letters on VERUNC1-2 are taller. Thus TINUNC1-1, VERUNC1-1 and VERUNC1-2 may tentatively be grouped together.

These pieces are clearly not from the main engravers of Tincommius and Verica's coinage. The fact that this hand is not evident in the Calleva series of Eppillus suggests that the mint may be in the Southern kingdom. Indeed quarter stater VERUNC1-1 is struck on the same small thick flans as quarter staters of Tincommius and Verica from the southern mint. However the designs, particularly that of VERUNC1-1, are sufficiently unlike other coins of the Southern mint in terms of content and style, to make such an origin seem at least uncertain. Metrology, metallurgy and distribution are of no help in determining the site of the mint. For the time being they are perhaps best regarded as products of an uncertain mint.

METROLOGY

Too few extant specimens exist to determine the mean weights of VERC1-1 and VERS1-1, although the current data suggests that their weights conform to the same distribution as the later staters. New data has meant that the mean weights for the two main stater series, VERC2-1, VERS3-1 are practically the same at 5.27g and 5.29g respectively (contra Allen and Haselgrove 1980, 15). There is little visible difference in the weight distribution of these types (fig 8.5).

It is apparent that like Tincommius's quarter staters from Selsey, Verica's coins are also leached and have lost weight. This is clearly apparent in the distributions of VERC1-2 and VERC1-3. The means and weight distributions for VERC1-2 (Calleva mint) and VERS1-2 (Southern mint) are nearly identical and the three specimens of VERUNC1-1 suggest a similar distribution (fig 8.5). The distributions are not dissimilar to those of Tincommius (the wider distribution may partly be due to the number of coins from Selsey which have lost their original provenance). The weight distribution of coins of Eppillus directly matches those for VERC1-2 and VERS1-2. It has been observed elsewhere that VERC2-2 and VERC2-3 are struck on broader flans than the preceding quarter staters (12-13mm compared to 10mm) (Allen and Haselgrove 1980, 16; Burnett 1991, 16). It is clear from recent finds that these two types are indeed heavier as Burnett (1991, 16) has suggested. Both have distributions

Staters

| Wt (g) | VERS1-1 | VERS2-1 | VERC1-1 | VERC2-1 |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 5.7-5.8 | | | | |
| 5.6- | | | | |
| 5.5- | | | | |
| 5.4- | | IIII | | |
| 5.3- | | OOOOOOI | I | OOOOO |
| 5.2- | I | OOOO | I | OOOIII |
| 5.1- | I | I | | iii |
| 5.0- | | | | IIII |
| 4.9- | | | | i |
| 4.8- | | | | |
| 4.7- | | | | |
| 4.6- | | | | |
| 4.5- | | | | |
| 4.4- | | I | | |
| Mean Weight | 5.21g | 5.29g | 5.28g | 5.27g |

Quarter staters

| Wt (g) | VERC1-2 | VERC2-2 | VERC2-3 | VERS1-2 | VERS3-2 | VERUNC1-1 |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| 1.45-1.50 | | | | | | |
| 1.40- | | | | | | |
| 1.35- | | | III | | | |
| 1.30- | | OI | IIII | | | |
| 1.25- | | I | I | | | |
| 1.20- | O | I | i | O | | |
| 1.15- | OOOO | | | OOII | | I |
| 1.10- | OIII | | i | IIII | | |
| 1.05- | Iii | | Iii | | i | i |
| 1.00- | i | I | Iii | | | i |
| 0.95- | iiii | | Ii | | | |
| 0.90- | ii | | i | | | |
| 0.85- | | | i | | | |
| Mean Weight | 1.17g | 1.298g | 1.227g | 1.18g | 1.06g | 1.15g |

Figure 8.5. The metrology of Verica's gold ('i' represents a leached or damaged coin). Mean weights include leached coins. The single leached specimen of VERS3-3 weighs 0.92g and the single leached and chipped specimen of VERS3-4 weighs 0.67g.

which peak around 1.30g, distinctly heavier than VERS1-2, VERC1-2 and VERUNC1-1. All specimens available for study of quarter staters VERS3-2, VERS3-3 and VERS3-4 are from Selsey and are worn and visibly leached. Their weights clearly fall within the range of other leached quarter staters (fig 8.5). From their module size it seems likely that they were intended to weigh as much as the light series of quarter staters. The dichotomy of weights in the quarter stater series lacks a precedent in the coinages of Eppillus and Tincommius. Their distribution indicates that they were used in internal transactions and not with a neighbour whose coinage was heavier (for example Cunobelin, whose quarter staters lie in the heavier range (Allen 1976, 16-17)). However the fact that the heavy series emanate only from the northern mint of Calleva might indicate the influence of the North Thames standard in this area. As Burnett observes (1990, 17-18) the weight of the 'light' quarter staters compares closely to that of Verica's silver units. Accepting the mean weights for the 'light' and 'heavy' quarter staters as 1.18g and 1.3g, then it is only really the 'heavy' series which can claim to be true quarter staters, as four would weigh 5.2g, about a tenth of a gram less than the apparent mean weight of a stater. It requires just under 4.5 'light' quarter staters to make this weight

A detailed discussion of the metrology of Verica's silver will be found elsewhere (Bean 1990; Cheeseman forthcoming). Since the submission of my dissertation it has become clear that

| Weight (g) | VERC1-3 | VERS1-3 | All Calleva Units | All 'southern' Units |
|-------------|---------|---------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1.32-1.36 | OO | III | OII | OI |
| 1.26- | OOI | OII | OOOOOI | OOOOOIIII |
| 1.20- | OOII | OOIII | OOOOOII | OOI |
| 1.14- | OI | III | OOO | OOO |
| 1.08- | IIII | OO | OOOO | OOOIIII |
| 1.02- | IIII | IIII | OIIII | OOII |
| 0.96- | IIII | III | OII | OIII |
| 0.90- | II | I | OIII | II |
| 0.84- | II | | III | OII |
| 0.78- | | | III | II |
| Mean weight | 1.177g | 1.169g | 1.135g | 1.139g |

Figure 8.6. The metrology of Verica's silver units.

VERC1-3 and VERS1-3 belong to two separate streams of Verica's coinage. As argued above VERS1-3 clearly follow the traditions of the Crude series of Tincommius, whereas VERC1-3 follow the traditions of the Calleva mint. This is apparent in the metrology of the two types. While the mean weights are very close (VERS1-3 and variants 1.177g, VERC1-3 1.169g) the distribution of their weights are somewhat different (fig 8.6). The southern mint type, VERS1-3, has a distribution very similar to that of Tincommius' Crude series (TIN4-4, 4-8; fig. 5.10), while VERC1-3 has a distribution reflecting Eppillus' silver from Calleva (fig. 6.1). It will be observed that VERS1-3 has a distribution distinct from other 'classical' units from the southern mint, while VERC1-3 falls within the spread of Verica's other coins from Calleva (fig 8.6). This might suggest that the Crude (VERS1-3) and Classical (VER3-5, 3-6, 3-7) units of Verica from the

'southern mint' emanate from two different sources. There is however no evidence for this in the coinage of Tincommius, indeed what evidence there is suggests the two series come from the same mint (above). One might however suggest that the two 'workshops' are now more distinct.

Taken in total the mean weight for the coins from the southern mint (excluding VERCI-3) of 1.139g is very close to that for the Calleva types of 1.135g. The distribution of these weights is similar although not identical (fig 8.6). One might expect such a similarity in weight as Verica had common political and presumably economic control over both kingdoms and mints. There is little to distinguish the weights of the minims from both mints, although relatively few specimens are available.

METALLURGY

Allen and Haselgrove had at their disposal a single analysis from the early part of the century which they suspect (1980, 15). Since this time 27 gold coins have been analyzed using modern methods (Burnett 1991; Cowell 1992; Northover 1992). Where only a single specimen of a type has been analyzed it should be treated with caution (in particular the apparently high silver content of VERC1-1). However in general the results are consistent (fig 8.7).

The first Calleva stater type, VERC1-1, appears to be of only marginally more noble alloy than the main series, VERC2-1. Both types show a significant variation in the silver and copper content, but as one might expect, the gold remains remarkably consistent. On average the Southern mint vine leaf stater (VERS3-1) has a marginally higher silver content than the Calleva stater VERC2-1. The results for this type, from the British Museum, offer what appears to be an illusory consistency, each element varying by less than 2%. Northover's results (1992) however show significant variation. With the exception of Northover test C213 (1992; which may be a 'freak') the composition is somewhat more consistent than that of VERC2-1. This would tend to confirm a different mint of origin for the two types. It is clear however that there is no progressive debasement as Cowell claims (1992, 230) as when results are arranged in die sequence no decline is evident (fig. 8.7).

With the exception of VERC2-3 it is clear that all the quarter staters were produced to a similar standard containing slightly more gold than the staters. This is more accentuated in the coinage of Tincommius (fig. 5.11). Although there is only one result for VERC2-2 it would appear that this 'heavy' quarter stater was produced from the same alloy as the 'light' quarter staters. From the current results there is little to indicate different alloys were being used at the different mints.

The two results from analyses on VERC2-3 are peculiar, for while the gold and copper quantities vary greatly, the low silver content is a common factor. Neither of the coins analyzed comes from Selsey, so it seems inappropriate to invoke leaching processes to explain this oddity. The coins are also from different dies, so a freak alloy batch seems unlikely. With the exception of certain staters of the Dobunni (Cowell 1992, 215) this alloy lacks parallel beyond apparent 'freaks'. It might be argued that adverse pressures may have been affecting the mint; the poorly accomplished dies used for this issue certainly reflect its unusual alloy.

When comparing the alloys used at Verica's two mints with those of his predecessors we are obstructed by the paucity of results (and specimens) for Verica's earliest coins; the very coins that directly continue the traditions of these predecessors. None the less staters VERS1-1 and VERC1-1 appear to be slightly more noble than later types and compare to

| Type | Dies | Au | Ag | Cu | Sn | Source |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----------------|
| S1-1 | | 45.4 | 12.1 | 42.5 | | Cowell 499 |
| S1-1 | | 43.5 | 19.1 | 37.3 | | Cowell 500 |
| C1-1 | | 43.47 | 22.15 | 34.08 | | Northover C240 |
| C1-2 | | 47.98 | 9.48 | 42.22 | | Northover C215 |
| C1-2 | | 46.3 | 16.1 | 37.7 | | Burnett p.24 |
| C1-2 | | 46.6 | 12.4 | 41.0 | | Burnett p.24 |
| S1-2 | | 47.4 | 10.9 | 39.0 | 2.7 | Burnett p.24 |
| C2-2 | | 46.02 | 10.98 | 42.77 | | Northover C216 |
| C2-1 | Fe | 40.0 | 19.7 | 40.2 | | Cowell 505 |
| C2-1 | Hg | 41.5 | 9.8 | 48.7 | | Cowell 504 |
| C2-1 | Hh | 41.92 | 11.39 | 46.39 | | Northover AAU53 |
| C2-1 | Jh | 39.93 | 16.49 | 43.24 | | Northover AAU52 |
| C2-1 | Mn | 40.77 | 8.54 | 50.38 | | Northover AAU54 |
| C2-1 | Mn | 42.45 | 11.5 | 45.91 | | Northover C212 |
| C2-1 | Mn | 40.5 | 19.6 | 39.2 | | Cowell 502 |
| C2-1 | Mn | 38.7 | 15.6 | 45.2 | | Cowell 501 |
| C2-1 | Mn | 44.9 | 13.0 | 42.1 | | Cowell 503 |
| C2-1 | ?? | 45.29 | 12.75 | 41.72 | | Northover C211 |
| C2-3 | | 58.02 | 6.74 | 34.48 | | Northover C217 |
| C2-3 | | 43.4 | 5.9 | 50.7 | | Burnett p.24 |
| S3-1 | Bb | 44.72 | 24.4 | 29.6 | | Northover C213 |
| S3-1 | Cc | 41.9 | 15.5 | 42.5 | | Cowell 506 |
| S3-1 | Fg | 43.1 | 13.8 | 43.1 | | Cowell 511 |
| S3-1 | Fg | 41.47 | 11.5 | 41.58 | | Northover AAU51 |
| S3-1 | Hn | 42.84 | 10.29 | 46.87 | | Northover C214 |
| S3-1 | Hn | 42.2 | 15.5 | 42.2 | | Cowell 508 |
| S3-1 | Ho | 42.2 | 15.4 | 42.4 | | Cowell 507 |

Mean compositions:

| Mint | Type | Denomination | Au | Ar | Cu | No. of coins |
|----------|------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|
| Southern | S1-1 | Stater | 44.45 | 15.6 | 39.9 | 2 |
| Calleva | C1-1 | Stater | 43.47 | 22.15 | 34.08 | 1 |
| Calleva | C1-2 | 1/4 | 46.96 | 12.66 | 40.3 | 3 |
| Southern | S1-2 | 1/4 | 47.4 | 10.9 | 39.0 | 1 |
| Calleva | C2-2 | 1/4 (heavy) | 46.02 | 10.98 | 42.77 | 1 |
| Calleva | C2-1 | Stater | 42.06 | 13.8 | 44.29 | 10 |
| Calleva | C2-3 | 1/4 (heavy) | 50.71 | 6.32 | 42.59 | 2 |
| Southern | S3-1 | Stater | 42.6 | 15.2 | 41.2 | 7 |

Figure 8.7. Analyses of gold coins of Verica, all types lack prefix VER. (Sources: Cowell 1992; Northover 1992, all referred to by test/source number; Burnett 1991, page number).

| | | | | | |
|--|--------|-------|--------|-----------|-----------------|
| C1-3 | | 0.61 | 97.05 | 1.26 | Northover AGA19 |
| C1-3 | | 0.31 | 96.82 | 1.90 | Northover C237 |
| C1-3 | | 1.9 | 96.2 | 1.9 | Cowell 279 |
| C1-3 | | | 96.3 | 2.9 | Cowell 282 |
| C1-3 | | | 95.0 | 0.5 | Cowell 291 |
| C1-4 | | 0.6 | 98.25 | 0.55 | Northover AGA20 |
| C1-4 | | 0.41 | 97.12 | 1.78 | Northover C226 |
| C2-4 | | 0.54 | 97.05 | 1.95 | Northover AGA24 |
| C2-4 | | 0.38 | 96.25 | 0.38 | Northover C219 |
| C2-4 | | 0.5 | 95.7 | 3.0 | Cowell 388 |
| C2-4 | | | 99.7 | 0.3 | Cowell 397 |
| C3-1 | | 0.85 | 97.12 | 1.38 | Northover AGA30 |
| C3-1 | | 0.62 | 97.52 | 1.37 | Northover C220 |
| S1-3 | | | 97.5 | 1.8 | Cowell 316 |
| S1-3 | | 0.7 | 98.6 | 0.7 | Cowell 323 |
| S1-3 | | 0.5 | 98.0 | 1.5 | Cowell 332 |
| S3-5 | | 0.48 | 97.49 | 1.61 | Northover AGA25 |
| S3-5 | | 1.16 | 95.31 | 1.58 | Northover C223 |
| S3-5 | | | 97.2 | 2.2 | Cowell 418 |
| S3-5 | | 0.5 | 96.2 | 2.7 | Cowell 420 |
| S3-5 | | 1.0 | 95.6 | 2.2 | Cowell 424 |
| S3-6 | | 0.65 | 96.11 | 2.95 | Northover AGA29 |
| S3-6 | | 0.78 | 93.51 | 0.78 | Northover C233 |
| S3-6 | | 0.47 | 95.45 | 3.1 | Northover C225 |
| S3-6 | | 0.9 | 97.0 | 2.1 | Cowell 438 |
| S3-7 | | 0.18 | 97.41 | 1.42 | Northover C237 |
| S3-7 | | 0.81 | 95.5 | 2.78 | Northover C222 |
| C1-8 | Ar 1/4 | 0.28* | 64.19 | 34.54 | Northover AGA22 |
| C1-7 | Ar 1/4 | 0.27 | 86.34 | 11.45 | Northover AGA44 |
| C2-8 | Ar 1/4 | 0.41 | 92.8 | 11.45 | Northover AGA43 |
| C2-8 | Ar 1/4 | 0.23* | 90.9 | 7.59 | Northover AGA23 |
| C1-10 | Ar 1/4 | 0.51* | 80.03* | 13.72* | Northover AGA26 |
| C3-4 | Ar 1/4 | 0.5* | 76.66* | 21.67* | Northover AGA38 |
| C3-4 | Ar 1/4 | 0.46 | 83.63 | 11.53 | Northover AGA39 |
| S2-1 | Ar 1/4 | 0.56 | 83.43 | 15.07 | Northover AGA15 |
| S3-9 | Ar 1/4 | 0.22* | 73.30* | 24.49* | Northover AGA37 |
| S3-10 | Ar 1/4 | 0.25 | 88.72 | 10.36 | Northover AGA33 |
| S3-10 | Ar 1/4 | 0.34 | 72.90* | 25.90* | Northover AGA34 |
| S3-10 | Ar 1/4 | 0.87 | 75.13 | 24.75 | Northover AGA35 |
| S4-4 | Ar 1/4 | 0.46 | 90.66* | 7.95* | Northover AGA40 |
| S4-1 | Ar 1/4 | 0.77 | 58.83 | 20.42 fn1 | Northover AGA42 |
| AVERAGES (excluding leached coins and AGA42) | | | | | |
| Calleva units | | | 0.52 | 97.28 | 1.72 |
| Southern mint units | | | 0.62 | 96.50 | 1.96 |
| Calleva minims | | | 0.33 | 83.57 | 15.31 |
| Southern mint minims | | | 0.56 | 82.43 | 16.73 |

Figure 8.8. Metallurgy of Verica's silver coins, all types lack VER prefix. All results from Northover (1992) and Cowell (forthcoming in Cheeseman). Figure excludes minor elements. Note 1: Figures in text appear incorrect giving a total of only 83.95%. An error in the silver percentage might be expected.

the gold alloy used in both Tincommius and Eppillus' gold series. The same is true for quarter stater VERC1-2 and VERS1-2 which compare to Tincommius' Crude and Classical series, although they appear a little more base than the gold of Eppillus. Verica's later gold coins generally contain about 4% less gold and several percent less silver than those of Tincommius and Eppillus, the deficit made up with copper. The alloy of VERC2-3 is without parallel in the coinages of Eppillus and Tincommius.

The metallurgy of Verica's silver has not been specifically examined elsewhere. The results currently known are summarized in figure 8.8. The results show that units and minims from both mints were produced from broadly the same alloys. This appears to be the same alloy that was employed by Tincommius and Eppillus and a common source of recycled Roman denarii may be suspected (p.300). It will be noticed that the alloy used at the Southern mint is very slightly more variable than that used at Calleva, though this may not be significant.

The minims appear, like those of Eppillus and Tincommius, to be of a more base alloy than the units. From the present results there appears to be no distinction between the alloys used at the two mints.

DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of the gold coins from the Calleva and Southern mint are practically indistinguishable (fig 8.9). This should not be surprising as it is clear from the coins that Verica united both mints within one kingdom. Therefore the circulation areas of Eppillus' and Tincommius' coins should also be united as both the northern and southern kingdoms were now politically and presumably economically united.

The distribution of the silver coinage by mint also shows very little differentiation (fig 8.10) and the same explanation may be offered. Both the silver and gold share the same distribution. Unlike the earlier coinages of Tincommius, Commius and the unscripted series, the gold does not appear to travel much outside the distribution area of the silver. As the stater and heavier quarter staters are broadly metallurgically and metrologically compatible with those of Cunobelin we may suggest that this restriction in the distribution of Verica's gold is due to political factors.

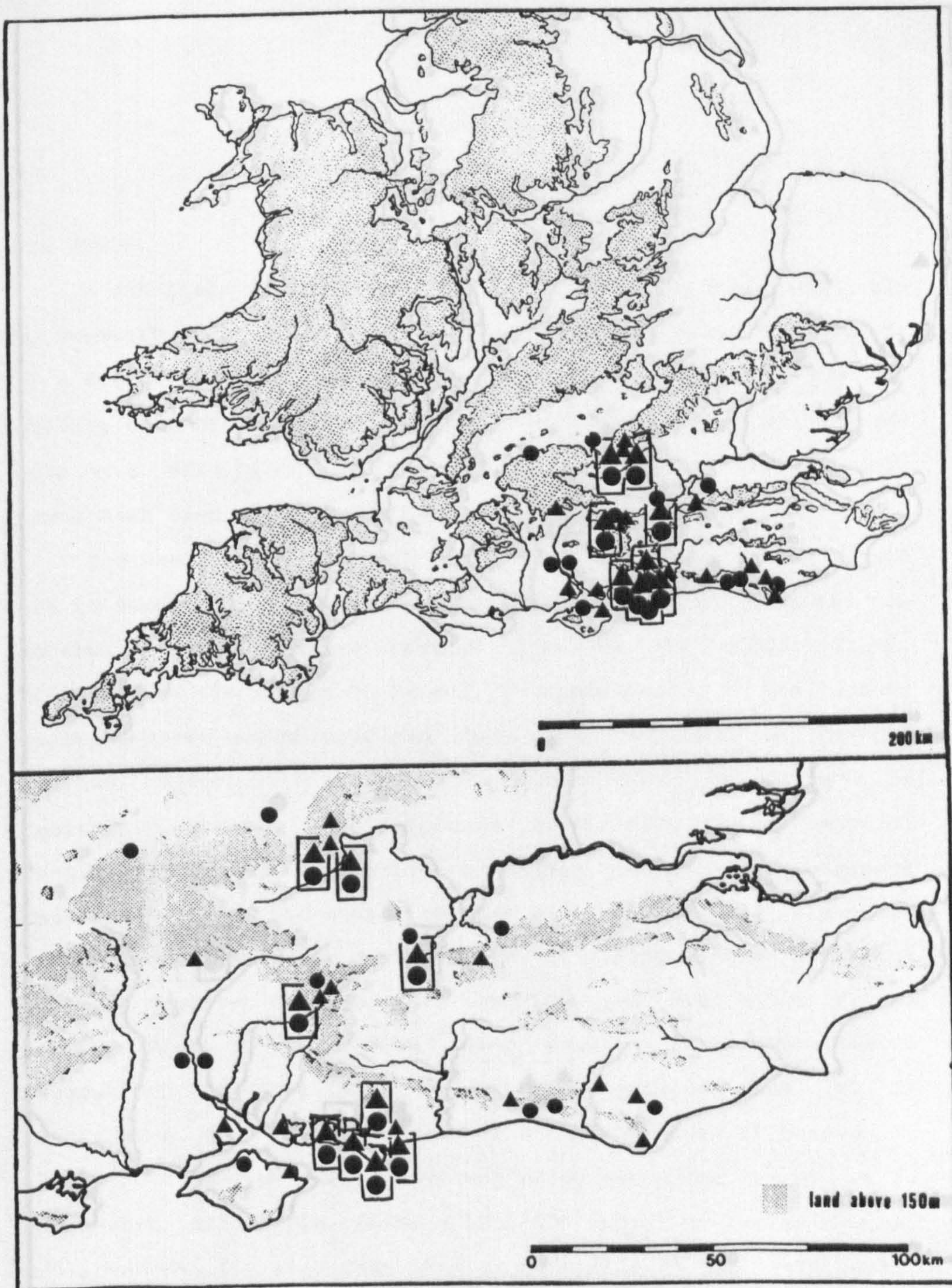


Figure 8.9: Distribution of the gold of Verica: Calleva mint (▲), southern mint (●). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

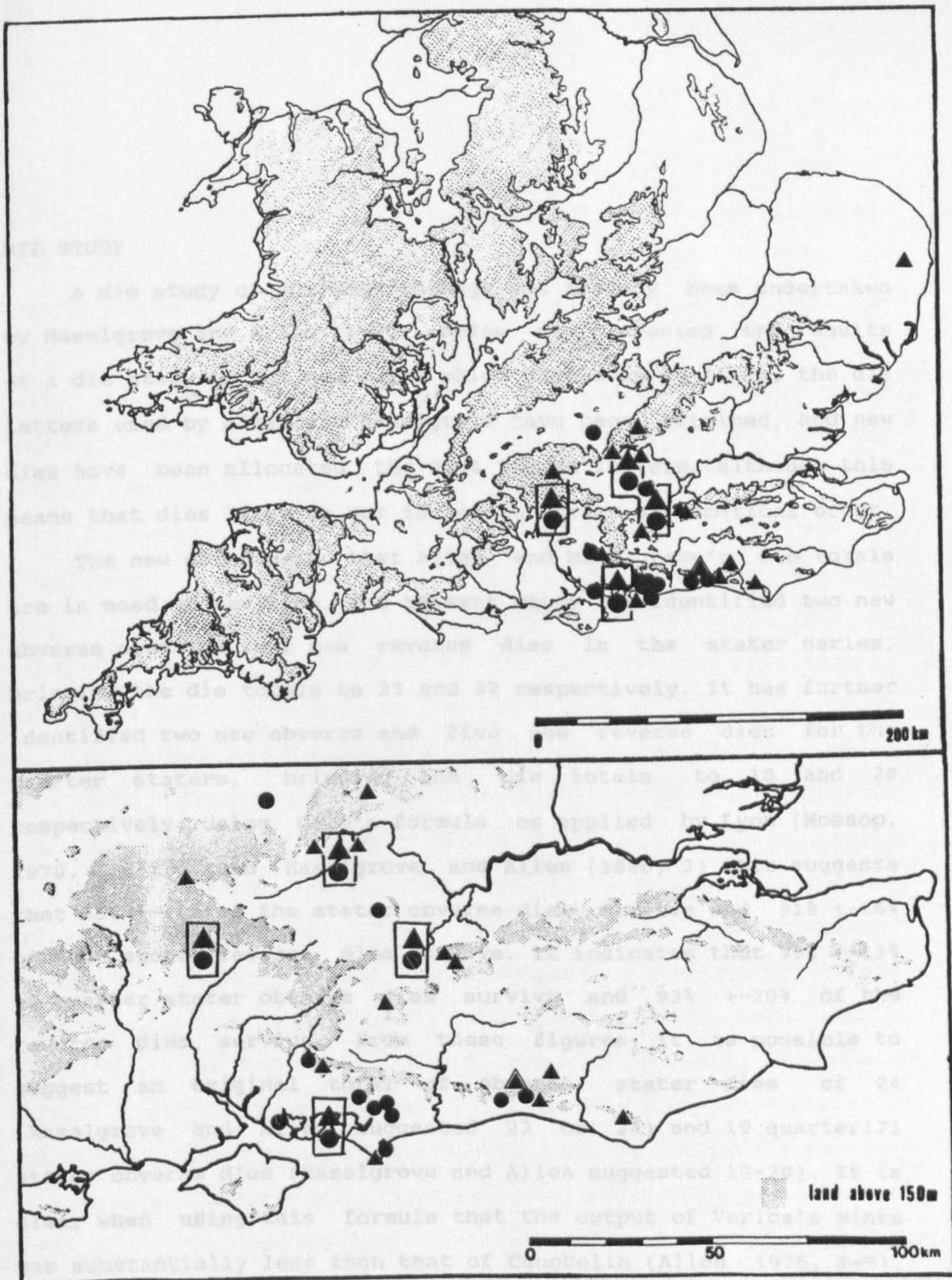


Figure 8.10: Distribution of the silver coins of Verica: Calleva mint (▲), southern mint (●). Boxed symbol denotes multiple find from site.

DIE STUDY

A die study of the gold coinage has already been undertaken by Haselgrove and Allen (1980). Below are presented the results of a die study on the new coins which have come to light, the die letters used by Allen and Haselgrove have been retained, and new dies have been allocated the next unused letters, although this means that dies links do not follow in strict alphabetical order.

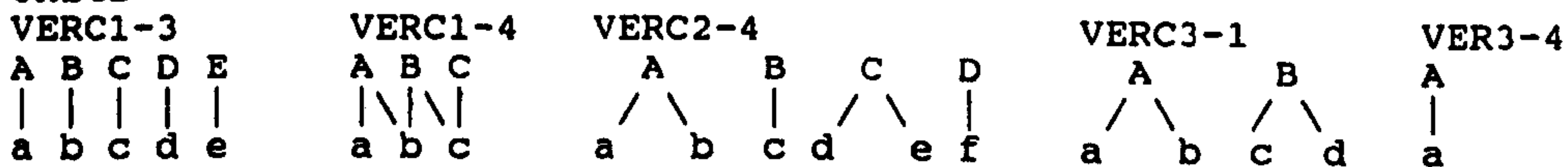
The new coins mean that Allen and Haselgrove's die totals are in need of revision. The present study has identified two new obverse dies and four new reverse dies in the stater series, bringing the die totals to 23 and 32 respectively. It has further identified two new obverse and five new reverse dies for the quarter staters, bringing the die totals to 18 and 28 respectively. Using Good's formula as applied by Lyon (Mossop, 1970, 16-19) and Haselgrove and Allen (1980, 3) this suggests that 95% \pm 10% of the stater obverse dies survive and 91% \pm 16% of the stater reverse dies survive. It indicates that 95% \pm 13% of quarter stater obverse dies survive and 93% \pm 20% of the reverse dies survive. From these figures it is possible to suggest an original total of obverse stater dies of 24 (Haselgrove and Allen suggested 23 or 24) and 19 quarter171 stater obverse dies (Haselgrove and Allen suggested 18-20). It is clear when using this formula that the output of Verica's mints was substantially less than that of Cunobelin (Allen 1975, 4-5). Underlying this method is the assumption that we possess a random sample of the coinage, which bearing in mind the high number of

coins from hoards is unlikely to be correct. This is illustrated, for example, by the fact that the only two known specimens of quarter stater VERC1-2 struck from reverse die i are from the Wanborough deposit. The longevity of certain obverse and reverse dies also undermines a number of assumptions inherent in this method. Attention has been drawn to these problems in other series (Esty 1978; Brown 1979; Lyon 1989).

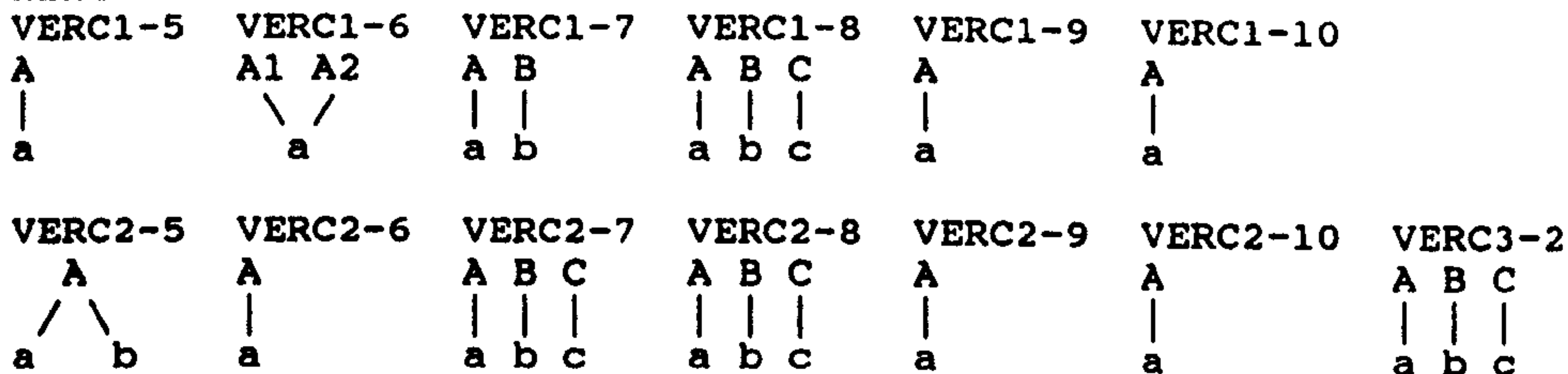
A number of observations may be made of the die linking displayed in figure 8.11. Both VERC1-2 and VERC2-2 emanate from the Calleva mint. The final obverse die for VERC1-2 (E) links to five reverse dies in contrast to its predecessors, the reverse die A of VERC2-2 also links to five reverse dies. This may be just coincidence, although one might very tentatively suggest that such practice could indicate chronological proximity. Such long lived obverse dies are not a feature of VERC2-3, which apparently succeed VERC2-2. The final three obverse dies for the vine leaf stater series (F,G,H) are used with eleven reverse dies, and the die linking pattern suggests a distinct group from obverse dies A-E (including J). This might be no more than a decline in the standards of mint practice, however, as obverse dies F,G and H display distinct signs of wear and the appearance of flaws, particularly on die F. The links for VERC2-1 present a less elegant picture and there is a definite hint of different mint practice. The straight 'top to bottom' die links for the early vine leaf stater series contrast with this, although the linking of dies F, G and H suggest that a 'die box' was in use.

CALLEVA MINT

Units

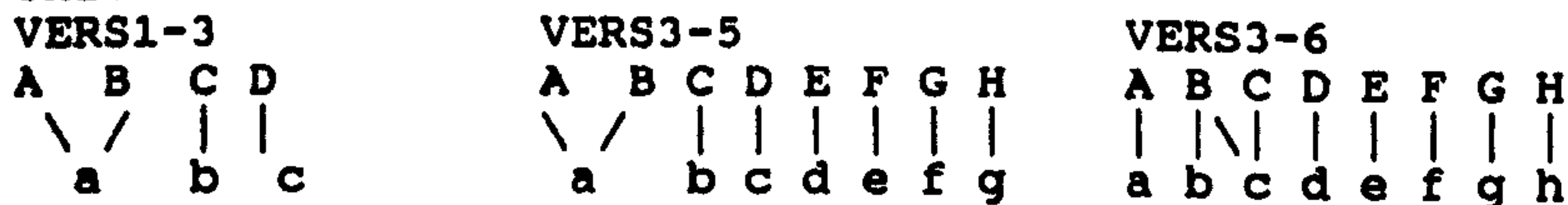


Minims



SOUTHERN MINT

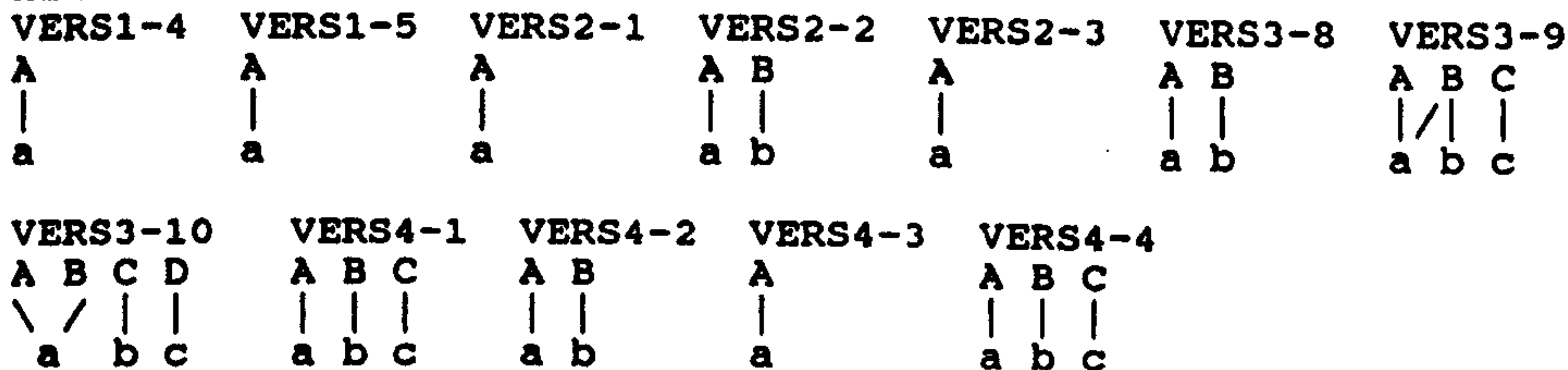
Units



VERS3-7



Minims



UNCERTAIN MINT unit VERUNC1-2



FIGURE 8.12. Summary of die study of Verica's silver (after Bean 1990 with additions and revisions).

The die links displayed by Verica's gold only weakly reflect patterns of mint practice in the coinages of Eppillus and Tincommius.

A number of specific points may be made about the dies for the gold coins. Several new die varieties have emerged. VERUNC1-1 die c has a six spoke wheel as opposed to the normal eight spoke wheel. VERC1-2 die E reads COMF (not COMFI, contra Haselgrove and Allen 1980) and die f reads VIR and VERC2-2 die e lacks the pellet-in-ring on the reverse. Several plated coins appear struck from genuine dies, VERS1-1 die b (Oxf. In. 82.176), VERC1-2 dies Aa (private collection), VERC2-1 dies Fe and VERC3-1 dies Aa (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, nos 53 and 55). The VERC2-3 dies De are only known from a plated specimen but appear genuine. VERC2-1 die '?F' appears to be die F but there is only one pellet, not two, between the letters M and F, apart from this the die is apparently the same, but in a fresher state. Several specimens of VERS3-1 are known from die Hn exhibiting the results of a serious die clash. All the specimens presently known which exhibit this feature are from the 'Hatfield' hoard.

A detailed die study of Verica's silver will be found elsewhere (Bean 1990; Cheeseman forthcoming; summarized fig 8.12). In summary unit dies are more numerous for the Southern mint. Both the Calleva unit dies and the VERS3 unit dies are similarly used, none to exhaustion. The nose on the head on VERS3-7 disappears on several dies when they become worn in common with the model for the type, a denarius of Tiberius, when

from worn dies. The dies for VERS1-3 appear to be ill-prepared like those of Tincommius' Crude series (TIN4; p.302-303) and are used when quite heavily worn. The dies for minims VERS1-4 and VERS1-5 are similarly prepared and heavily used. The remaining minims from both mints are struck from relatively fresh dies. VERS2-5 and 2-6 are not at present die linked. An interesting specimen of VERS1-6 is extant on which the legend has not been cut (die a1). The latter state of this die, with the legend, is here called a2.

A total of 34 plated silver units of Verica are recorded and almost all die link to good coins. One apparent exception to this is a rather irregular plated VERS3-7 (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, no. 59) which is probably from false dies.

THE SOURCES FOR THE DESIGNS ON VERICA'S COINS

The obverse legend in tablet on the early gold coins of Verica have their origin in the tablets employed on Tincommius's coinage. The mounted spear-men on staters VERC1-1, VERC1-2 and VERS1-1 also appear based on the same source used for TIN3 and TIN4 staters of Tincommius, (a denarius of P. Crepusius (Crawford 361/1; 82 BC)). The horseman on stater VERS3-1 appears either to be a reworking of the spear-man type or of native invention, no Roman coin depicts a rider with such a shield. The horseman holding a sword and small round shield that appears quarter staters VERS3-2, VERS3-3 and VERS3-4 may also be a reworking of the spear-man type or of native invention. While the type has a passing similarity to the depictions of Augustus on horseback on certain denarii (e.g. denarius of P. Licinius Stolo (BC 17, Aug. RIC 137) and Crawford 490 and 518) it may be adapted from the reverse of another denarius of Augustus depicting Caius Caesar similarly armed galloping right (RIC Aug. 348; fig. 8.13). A similar subject is depicted on a silver unit of Cunobelin (VA 2047).

The obverse of VERC2-2 appears to depict the device that signifies a lightning bolt on Roman coins. This device is clearly shown beneath an eagle on denarii of Petillius Capitolinus (Crawford 487/2c; 47 BC) and L. Plaetorius L.f. Cestianus (Crawford 409/1; 67 BC) although it is most probably copied from the reverse of an Augustan denarius of the moneyer Q. Salvius

(Crawford 523/1a; 40 BC; fig 8.13). The bust on the reverse of VERS3-4 is clearly copied from a coin of Tiberius and the reverse of VERS3-3 is most probably copied from the 'Livia seated' reverse type of Tiberius (RIC 26; AD 14-37) or the Augustan proto-type (RIC 220; fig 8.13).

The vine leaf on the obverse of stater VERS3-1 and quarter stater VERS3-2 poses something of a mystery, whatever its intended symbolism. Scheers (1992, 36) suggests a possible fifth century BC source in the selinus leaf shown on a coin of Selinus. However this is some way from the accurate portrayal of the vine leaf on Verica's coins. Scheers also raises the possibility of Augustan gem stones as the source, although the detail on those cited makes the detailing on Verica's coins all the more surprising. It has been observed above that the finest obverse and reverse dies in the 'vine leaf' series are quite distinct from later, inferior dies (Allen and Haselgrove 1980, dies A,B,a). Mack (1964, 53) may have been partly correct when he suggested a Roman hand was responsible, as the most detailed, naturalistic and presumably 'model' vine leaves are found on these initial dies. If a Roman engraver was not responsible then it is worth observing that vine leaves are shown on prestige Roman items which probably entered Britain in the Celtic period. Such leaves appear on Tiberio-Claudian sigillata from Camulodunum (Hawkes and Hull 1947, XXII, 4) and in near identical form on Roman silver such as an Augustan silver cup from the Hockwold treasure trove which is considered to have been imported in Roman times



Figure 8.13. The probable sources for the designs on the gold coinage of Verica. 1 VERS3-3,S3-4 (obv), 2 - reverse of denarius of Augustus (RIC 348). 3 VERC2-2(obv), 4 - reverse of Augustan denarius (Crawford 523/1a). 5, 6, VERS3-3(rev), VERS3-4(rev), 7 - denarius of Tiberius RIC 26. 8 VERS3-1(obv die A), 9 - sigillata shard from Camulodunum (Hawkes and Hull 1947, XXII, 4).

(fig. 8.13). A case for such a source may be strengthened by the depiction of fine Roman vessels on minims VERC2-10 and VERS2-2.

The design sources for the silver coinage have been examined in depth elsewhere (Bean 1990, 56-75; summarized fig 8.14). It will be seen that the majority of these are based on Republican or early Imperial denarii. However only two are certainly of

assistance in dating, either due to the recurrence of types in the Roman coinage or difficulty in identifying the exact source. The reverse of VERC3-1 cannot predate the model for the reverse, the common 'Livia seated' denarii (RIC 26; AD 14-37) of Tiberius or the rarer Augustan proto-type (RIC 220). The reverses of VERS3-7 and VERS3-10 are plainly copied from a portrait coin of Tiberius and cannot therefore predate AD 14. It has recently been suggested that the reverse of VERC3-1 is copied from an 'M. Agrippa' as dating to the reign of Gaius (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, 11). However this type is used on the Republican denarius of M. Antonius (Crawford 520/1; 40 BC), and the arrangement of the legend on this piece is closer to that on the Celtic piece.

This reliance on Roman models is not slavish, as a good number of types show considerable adaptation. The figure on the reverse of VERS3-5 has been skillfully adapted to hold a giant corn ear in her right hand and a head impaled upon an elaborate staff in her left. Such copying sometimes leads to the adoption of apparently classical devices. The tridents depicted on the reverses of VIRC1-5/6 (probably copied from Republican denarii Crawford 507/1, 511/2) are not weapons traditionally ascribed to the Celtic armoury. It is also curious that the Celtic die cutter choose to place a lituus in the right hand of the figure on the obverse of VERS3-7, another common subsidiary device on Republican denarii.

| Type | Obverse | Reverse |
|--------|---|--|
| C1-3 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Republican Den Cr. 385/2, 78 BC |
| C1-4 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Augustus Quad RIC 227 (c.15-10 BC) |
| C1-5 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Classical influence |
| C1-6 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Classical influence |
| C1-7 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Original |
| C1-8 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Continuation (Eppillus) |
| C1-9 | Continuation (Eppillus) | As C1-3 |
| C1-10 | Continuation (Eppillus) | As C1-3 |
| C2-4 | Augustus Den RIC 2 (25-22BC) | As TIN4-4, fig. 5.19 |
| C2-5 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Augustus Den RIC 297 (c.19 BC) /Republican denarius Cr. 385/4 |
| C2-6 | Continuation (Eppillus) | As TIN4-4, fig. 5.19 |
| C2-7 | Original | Original |
| C2-8 | Continuation (Eppillus) | As rev. C1-3/Celtic |
| C2-9 | Republican Den. Cr.375/2 | As TIN2-6, fig. 5.17 |
| C2-10 | Continuation (Eppillus) | Roman imports |
| C3-1 | Republican Den Cr. 520/1 (see text) | As VERC3-3 (rev) |
| C3-2 | As C3-1 | Republican Den Cr. 525/4a c.40 BC |
| C3-4 | cf Republican Den Cr 521/2 | As VERC1-1/VERSI-1 (rev) |
| S1-3 | Copied from VERC1-3 | Copied from VERC1-3 |
| S1-4 | Continuation (Tincommius) | Continuation (Tincommius) |
| S1-5 | Continuation (Tincommius) | Continuation (Tincommius) |
| S2-1 | Continuation (Tincommius) | Original or Republican Den Cr. 453/1a, 47 BC |
| S2-2 | Republican Den Cr.522/2,500/1 or Classical imports | Republican Den Cr. 549/1, 546/1, 759 BC, 31 BC |
| S2-3 | Augustus Au RIC 419 (12 BC) ?Tiberius As RIC 81 c.22-30AD | Original/Continuation (Eppillus/ Tincommius) |
| S3-5 | Augustus Den RIC 187 11-9 BC | Republican Den Cr. 494/19 42 BC |
| S3-6 | Augustus Den RIC 344 17 BC | Republican Den Cr. 259/1 129 BC Continuation (Tincommius) |
| S3-7 | Republican Den Cr. 455/1a | Tiberius eg RIC 26 14-37 AD |
| S3-8 | ?Augustus Au RIC 419 (12 BC) /Republican Den eg Cr. 480/21 | As VERS3-5(obv) |
| S3-9 | As S3-1 | Original |
| S3-10 | Original | As VERS3-7(rev) |
| S4-1 | Original | As VERC1-3(rev)/original |
| S4-2 | Classical imports | ?Republican Den Cr. 399/1a 72 BC (/? gem stone) cf VA 2057 |
| S4-3 | Republican Den Cr. 496/3 42 BC | Republican Den Cr. 464/1 46 BC Augustus Au RIC 511 19-18 BC |
| S4-4 | As VERS4-3(rev) | Original |
| S4-5 | Uncertain | As VERS4-3(rev) |
| UNC1-2 | Continuation (Calleva) | Augustan Den RIC 297 (19BC) /?Original |

Figure 8.14. Probable sources for the designs on the silver coins of Verica. Abbreviations: Den[arius], Quin[arius], Quad[rant].



Figure 8.14 continued

Despite the reliance on Roman models the engravers at both mints were more than capable of producing their own designs, the exquisite reverse of VERS4-4 is surely one of the aesthetic high points of Verica's coinage.

Many of the early coins from both mints continue the traditions of the preceding coinages of Eppillus and Tincommius. The exception to this are the early staters of Verica from Calleva which follow the traditions of Tincommius' staters. The explanation surely being that staters of Tincommius were produced in far greater quantities and were more influential than the one very rare stater issue of Eppillus from Calleva, EPP4-1.

A further group of Verica's coins bear designs which appear to come from the Classical world but which are not found on Classical coins. VERS2-2 and VERC2-10 both depict Roman urns. While these could be copied from denarii (fig 8.14) they may be indicative of the fine [high status] wares reaching Britain from the Roman world. Such wares certainly did reach Britain, for example the Augustan (or earlier) silver cups in the Welwyn graves (Stone 1961, 20-22), the decoration on which resembles that on the obverse of VERS4-2. The Kelvedon bowl (Rodwell 1973, 265), a copy of either a Roman metal or figured samian bowl, surely illustrates the influence such products had on Celtic people of southern Britain. Other artifacts survive which hint at other Classical influences on Celtic art, taste and coin designs. The green glazed lion's head found at Silchester may well have reached Britain before the Claudian invasion (Fulford 1985, pl.

3) and the bronze boar from the Lexden tumulus (Foster 1977) is similar in execution to those on Verica's coins.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

23 coins of Verica have been recovered from secure archaeological contexts (fig. 8.15). Only five coins come from contexts loosely dating to the time of Verica, the remainder from either secondary or residual contexts. None help refine the dating of these coins arrived at by other methods. The finds from Chichester and Owslebury are interesting in that they demonstrate the presence of minims on both rural and 'proto-urban' sites. The plated coins from Hayling Island are commented on elsewhere (p.394-395; appendix 1).

| Type | Find site | Period | Ref |
|----------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| C1-2 | Chichester, Wool store | C4th AD | H 459 |
| C1-7 | Hayling Island temple | Flavian - end C2nd | HI 62 |
| C1-8 | Owslebury, Hants | Mid C1st AD | H 407 |
| C1-10 | Hayling Island temple | Flavian - end C2nd | HI 63 |
| C2-1(pl) | Danebury camp, Hants | Unstratified | H 470 |
| C2-1(pl) | Hayling Island temple | Surface | HI 53 |
| C2-4(pl) | Hayling Island temple | Surface | HI 54 |
| C2-5 | Chichester, Central Girls School | Claudian-Neronian | H 459 |
| C2-8 | Owslebury, Hants | Mid C1st AD | H 407 |
| C3-1(pl) | Hayling Island temple | Surface | HI 57 |
| S3-1(pl) | Hayling Island temple | Surface | HI 55 |
| S2-3 | Chichester, Central Girls School | Claudian | H 459 |
| S3-6(pl) | Hayling Island temple | pre-Flavian | HI 56 |
| S3-6(pl) | Hayling Island temple | Flavian - end C2nd | HI 61 |
| S3-7(pl) | Hayling Island temple | C3rd/4th AD | HI 58 |
| S3-7(pl) | Hayling Island temple | C3rd/4th AD | HI 59 |
| S3-7(pl) | Hayling Island temple | Flavian - end C2nd | HI 60 |
| S3-9 | Hayling Island temple | Surface | HI 65 |
| S4-3 | Hayling Island temple | C3rd/4th AD - Saxon | HI 64 |
| cf C1-8 | Silchester | Augusto-Tiberian | H 412 |
| cf C1-8 | Silchester | Claudio-Neronian | H 412 |
| cf C1-8 | Silchester | Claudio-Neronian | H 412 |
| Ar type? | Chichester, Greyfriars | 'Early military levels' - C1st AD | H 461 |

Figure 8.15. Coins of Verica found in archaeological contexts. References: H = Haselgrove (1987), HI = Hayling Island report.

THE COINS INSCRIBED CRAB AND SIIC

A unique silver unit and a minim are known with the legend CRAB 172. A further minim is known with a slightly garbled version of the legend. No gold coins are known at present.

The unit depicts an eagle on the reverse and on the obverse C R A B in the angles of a cruciform pattern made by two wreaths. The minim, CRAB1-2, bears the legend in a tablet on the obverse and depicts a pellet-in-ring-in-star on the reverse. The legend on the obverse of the second minim clearly begins CR followed by two slender lines, presumably representing the A; the remainder is off the flan. All three coins are of similar style and the somewhat laboured lettering is common to all. The pellets to the right of the eagle equate to those used on the reverse of the minim to fill the outer angles of the star. All three coins are struck on rather thin broad flans, broader than most of the comparable denominations of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica.

A unique minim, SIIC1-1, inscribed SIIC (a pellet on the base of the C suggests the legend might have been intended to read SIIG) is known from the 'South Downs temple' deposit (appendix 2). In common with the CRAB minim the legend is on the obverse in a tablet, with a pellet-in-ring above and below. The reverse shows a lion-like animal left. The reverse compares closely to VERC2-5, VERC2-6 and particularly VERC2-10 (see plates). The latter is so similar that it is tempting to see the same die cutter as responsible. Both VERC2-5 and VERC2-6 have the

VIR/VAR legend on their obverses, in boxes, with rings above and below. It is suggested that VAR is a title (appendix 3). Given the similarities of these pieces to the minim inscribed SIIC or SIIG it is possible that this minim also belongs to Verica but now only bears a title. In the coinage of Tasciovanus II appears interchangeable with E, thus the piece under discussion might be expanded to read SEG[OMO] - 'victorious' (cf Green 1986, 111).

DISTRIBUTION

The CRAB silver unit is said to have been found near Portsmouth. This is rejected by Robinson (1980), however even if he is correct, it remains probable that the coin was found and purchased locally (appendix 2). The minims are provenanced to Hod Hill, Dorset and Hayling Island temple, Hants. From this slight evidence one may observe that this group has a similar distribution to British D and the HT group (figs 2.7, 3.11, 9.1).

The unique SIIC minim is from the 'South Downs temple' site, indicating that it is from the south Thames kingdom. Given the similarities to Calleva mint coins of Verica, it is more likely to originate from an area closer to this mint than the southern mint.

METROLOGY

The weights of the unit (1.07g) and the minims (0.26g, 0.25g) compare to those of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica. Visual inspection of the coins suggests that they are also of

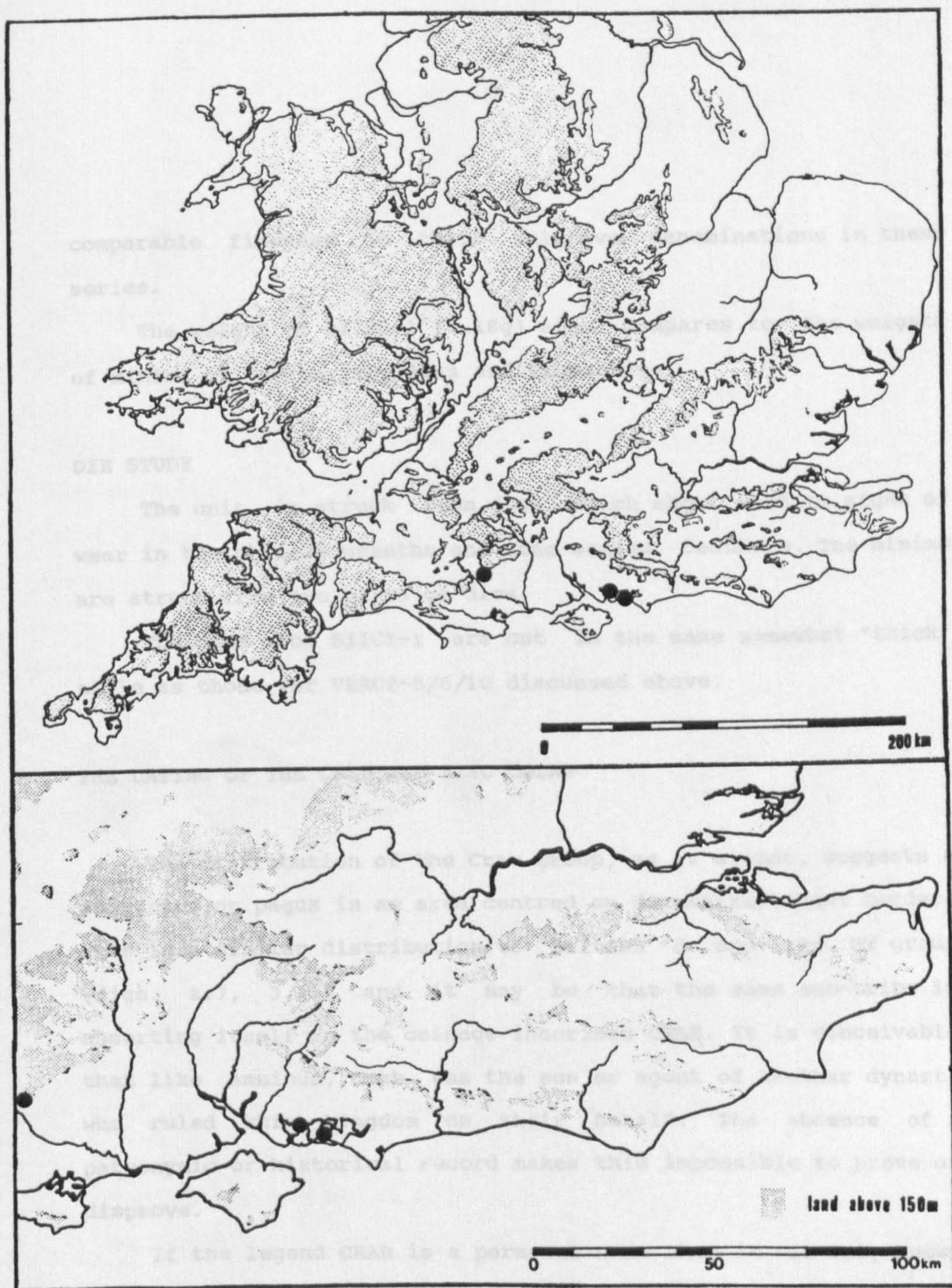


Figure 9.1: The distribution of coins inscribed CRAB (●).

comparable fineness to their relative denominations in these series.

The weight of SIIC1-1 (0.18g) also compares to the weights of minims of Verica, Eppillus and Tincommius.

DIE STUDY

The unit is struck from dies which show certain signs of wear in the obverse wreaths and the eagles feathers. The minims are struck from two pairs of dies.

The dies for SIIC1-1 are cut in the same somewhat 'thick' style as those for VERC2-5/6/10 discussed above.

THE DATING OF THE CRAB AND SIIC COINS

The distribution of the Crab group, as it stands, suggests a sub-tribe or pagus in an area centred on Hampshire/Dorset border. This is a similar distribution to British D and the HT group (figs. 2.7, 3.11) and it may be that the same sub-tribe is asserting itself in the coinage inscribed CRAB. It is conceivable that like Amminus, Crab was the son or agent of another dynast, who ruled this kingdom on their behalf. The absence of a patronymic or historical record makes this impossible to prove or disprove.

If the legend CRAB is a personal name then it is only known from the coins. Broadly speaking the designs on the coins compare to later types Tincommius, notably TIN4-4, 4-5 and TIN3-10.

Comparison may also be made with early types of Verica and coins of Eppillus. A precise parallel is to be found in the eagle on the reverse of the bronze types of Eppillus VA 450/451-1, which is of near identical style, although that on the CRAB1-1 coin has a more ruffled appearance. The cruciform arrangement of the obverse also finds parallel on the coins of Eppillus notably 436-1 and 450-1. The laboured lettering is also a feature of VA 442, 433 and 441. The similarities are such that the same engraver may be responsible. On these grounds the CRAB series might very tentatively be dated to the reign of Eppillus (i.e. c. BC10 - 10 AD).



Figure 9.2. Design parallels for CRAB1-1 (1). 2 VA 450, 3 VA 436(obv).

If the SIIC minim is not simply a coin of Verica then it may represent an issue of a leader of similar stature to CRAB (although no unit is yet known). The similarities to certain Calleva minims of Verica suggest that it might loosely be dated to the first two decades AD.

The minim UNCl-4 inscribed ..]NARTOS undoubtedly belongs to another such leader. The designs, which have far more in common with the unscripted silver coins, suggest that it is rather

earlier, perhaps broadly around the time of Commios' coinage and the 'Celtic' series of Tincommius. Both known specimens are from the Danebury deposit which may suggest their source was nearby.

DATING AND HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

The appearance of inscriptions on the southern series and their association to historically known persons has traditionally lead to the coins being used for historical purposes. One should however exercise caution as 'any attempt to read a complete history of any people into the surviving relics of it's coinage is bound to mislead: in all probability the coinage tends to reflect only the moments of prosperity and disaster' (Allen 1976, 203-4). From the detailed study presented above, certain suggestions may, however, be made.

There is little if any discernable trace of coins issued by the Commius of Caesar. The only type which has any claim to belong to this Commius is COM1-1. The remaining coins inscribed COMMIOS are issued by a leader who calls himself COM COMMIOS on COM1-2. This Commios [II] would appear to claim descent from a previous Com[mios] [I], quite possibly the Commios of Caesar. The remaining coins attributed to this Commios II are done so on stylistic grounds as they are not apparently inscribed. This might suggest that certain uninscribed quarter staters and silver units, which are of different style to the staters, may still have been produced 'under the authority' of this Commios. Within the stater series there is some suggestion of two mints as the different obverse types of COM1-3 and COM1-4 are both continued in the coinage of Tincommius. A mint site(s) and capital for Commios are hard to determine from the coins. Tentatively a date

around c.30 BC might be suggested for this coinage.

The first 'Celtic' series of Tincommius clearly continues the traditions of the coins inscribed and attributed to COMMIOS (particularly the type linked TIN1-1, 1-1 and 1-4). This we might expect not only from the name TinCOMMIUS (the fullest reading is TINCOMM, appendix 3), but also from the patronymic of COMMI.F on stater TIN1-2, which appear less clearly on quarter stater TIN1-3. The quarter staters and silver coins are now inscribed. Despite the typological continuity, Tincommius's early coins have a somewhat more southerly distribution than the COMMIOS staters.

The distribution of Tincommius's coins remains predominantly southern throughout the series, with only five single finds from the whole series known from the Calleva area. Numismatically there is little to suggest that Tincommius ever held Calleva as a seat. It is only stylistic and typological similarities to the coinage of Eppillus that suggest TIN1-2 may have been struck at Calleva. There is little to suggest that any other type of Tincommius was minted at Calleva. Eppillus's staters and quarter staters appear to have been struck from the same alloy, whereas staters and quarter staters of Tincommius's Crude and Classical series were apparently struck from different alloys. Further, there is no evidence that the hands which engraved Tincommius's dies engraved those of Eppillus. The two mints and leaders appear to have been numismatically separate.

The advent of the sunken tablet on the obverse of Tincommius's coins is of some use in dating. If one is correct in

identifying Roman counter stamps as their source, then the coins bearing this design must be later than 15 BC. Only one other type copied from a Roman coin is assistance for dating. The reverse of minim TIN3-11 is clearly copied from a series of denarii of Augustus dated from 15-10 BC. The Classical stater series, TIN3-1, may have been struck from Roman engraved dies, which might have been diplomatic gifts. The remainder of the Classical series (TIN3) are struck from dies by a hand which, alongside that responsible for the Crude series (TIN4), is apparent in Verica's earliest coins from the southern mint. The increasingly Roman character of Tincommius's coins must surely reflect the growing influence of Rome from across the Channel.

The Crude series (TIN4), poorly struck from ill-prepared dies which are sometimes re-cut, might suggest a hurried issue to meet some crisis. It is also in this series that the mean weight of the staters dips. A crude analogy might be made to the relatively base 'legionary' denarii of Mark Antony, issued on the eve of the battle of Actium (Crawford 1974, 102).

Tincommius was certainly a contemporary of Eppillus and Verica as the rare Kentish Alliance type ALL1-1 demonstrates. It may have been shortly after this issue that Tincommius lost his southern seat. The date for this event is hard to determine. It is likely that the TIN (the inscription is damaged at this point) recorded amongst the Res Gestae of Augustus was Tincommius. Only a terminus ante quem of c.AD 14 can be given as the basic text was updated on several occasions (Brunt and Moore 1967). Indeed

this need not be evidence for his flight to Rome. Haselgrove (1987, 92) is surely correct to raise the possibility that certain leaders who had merely submitted to Augustus and become clients (cf Strabo IV, 5.3) may also have been included in the passage. The Classical stater (TIN3-1) dies might support such a relationship. A relatively late date for Tincommius's loss of power is strongly suggested by the final Alliance unit ALL1-3, the reverse of which may be based on a denarius of Tiberius (RIC 26; AD 14-37).

The total number of dies employed in his coinage is not great, so there is no direct inference of a long reign. If the sunken tablets on the obverse of the 'non-Celtic' types are truly descended from Imperial counter-marks, then these should date after c. 15 BC. It seems perverse to suggest that the Celtic series is very much earlier, and a very rough date around 20 BC might be proposed for them. An equally approximate date of c. AD10+-5years might be offered for his loss of power.

Eppillus is unknown to us beyond the inscriptions on his coins. As a result we lack any historical points of reference. However some of the findings from the preceding examination are of assistance in establishing his relative position.

We may be fairly certain that the Eppillus of Calleva and Kent were the same person from their common use of abbreviated forms of the Commi Filius patronymic. Allen (1944, 7-8) suggested that Eppillus succeeded Tincommius at Calleva, and was

himself ousted from Calleva by Verica. Eppillus later establishing himself in Kent, although this seat was to be lost to Cunobelin (1944, 7). This scheme has been maintained Nash (1987, 137) who has suggested that Eppillus may have ruled Calleva as a subordinate before ousting his overlord, Tincommius. It is now however apparent that Eppillus lost Calleva to Verica, not Epaticcus (above; Bean 1990, 51-55; 1992, 5; contra Nash 1987, 137). Nash continues that later Eppillus managed to restore some of his lost prestige by taking power in Kent, commemorated in a number of 'Victory' types. Recently Van Arsdell has attempted to tie the coins of Eppillus into the relative chronology of the North Thames series (1989, 142). He maintains the view that Eppillus took power over the Atrebates and Regni after Tincommius had been exiled, at a time around the Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian 'Interregnum'. The weakness and chaos associated by Van Arsdell to this 'interregnum' permitted Eppillus to invade Kent. Van Arsdell further claimed that the Kentish types constitute an emergency coinage to finance this military operation.

First it is necessary to clarify the position of Eppillus to his brothers, Verica and Tincommius. It is clear that the engraver responsible for Eppillus' coins from Calleva was also responsible for the majority of Verica's coins from Calleva (above; Bean 1992, 5). The fact that the crescent device, so prominent on types of both leaders from this mint, was introduced on EPP1-2, indicates that Eppillus certainly preceded Verica. The

more classical subject matter on Verica's coinage proving the point. The proximity and continuity between the two series is illustrated by the similarity of quarter staters, silver units and minims of both leaders from the Calleva mint.

Epillus' relationship to Tincommius is less immediately apparent from the coins. Primarily it will be observed that the non-Kentish coins of Epillus are clustered immediately around Calleva, apparently in the Roman district of the Atrebates. They are very rare in the southern lands of the Regni. By contrast this is the very area in which the coins of Tincommius are concentrated. It has been observed above that the southern mint streams of Verica's coinage follows directly from those of Tincommius (TIN4 - VERS1; TIN3 - VERS2/3/4; TINUNC - VERUNC). Taken in sum this indicates that Epillus took the Calleva seat for himself, perhaps having initially held the seat as a subordinate to his brother, Tincommius. The localised nature of this kingdom may be stressed in the legend, EPP REX CALLE[V], if we read it as 'Epillus king of Calleva'. The new prestige bought to Calleva by Epillus establishing his capital here may be reflected in the laying out of a new rectilinear street system, c.20 BC, detected by Fulford (1987, 272-4). It is apparent that Epillus never ruled both the Atrebates and Regni, as Tincommius retained his southern seat.

The designs on Epillus' coinage assist us in placing his Calleva reign in context to Tasciovanus and Cunobelin. The similarity between EPP3-2 and VA 1818 of Tasciovanus is so strong

the same hand appears responsible.

The metallurgical analyses available confirm this picture. The gold coins of Verica are generally more base, whereas the alloy used by Eppillus at Calleva compares well to certain issues of Tincommius, Tasciovanus and the earliest types of Cunobelin (cf Cowell 1992).

The classical sources used for designs on the coinage of Eppillus are of little assistance in dating. The few designs probably derived from coins of Augustus do little more than enforce the traditional view that Eppillus' reign at Calleva may be dated around the first years of the first century AD.

There are a number of factors that indicate that Eppillus assumed power in Kent whilst he still held his Calleva seat, and that he was able to hold both seats for some time. Firstly it is apparent that the Calleva engraver produced the dies for the Kentish 'quatrefoil' group (VA 430, 437; Bean forthcoming 2). It is also apparent that the engraver responsible for many of Eppillus's Kentish coins produced the dies for the Calleva EPP4 group. Both these groups are typologically late in their respective series and may fall at the end of the period in which Eppillus ruled both the Atrebates and north east Kent.

It is perhaps possible to go further and identify the point at which Eppillus assumed power in Kent. It may be argued that while Eppillus produced his series inscribed 'CALL(E)(V)' he was king of little more than the environs of Calleva. However his later types apparently issued from Calleva make no mention of

Calleva, and may reflect a time when his kingdom also included part of Kent. North-east Kent certainly appears to have been in a weak condition with the appearance of Vosenos and SA in parts previously held by Dubnovellaunus (Bean forthcoming 2). It is quite possible, as Nash suggests (1987, 137), that Eppillus may have entered Kent at the request of some noble, then stayed for good. Eppillus' entrance cannot necessarily be dated with any precision from the expulsion and subsequent flight of Dubnovellaunus to Rome; the inferred dating from this reference is unreliable (Brunt and Moore 1967; p. 413-414).

Van Arsdell interpreted this event in terms of a military incursion (1989, 142), but a number of factors weaken his case. First the area between the 'Calleva kingdom' of Eppillus and north East Kent appear to have been controlled by Tasciovanus (Cunliffe 1981, 79 fig. 56). The difficult route to the south over the North Downs and across the Weald, through the lands of a possibly hostile Tincommius 173, seems unlikely. The river Thames however, may have offered a possible route for a water borne assault¹⁷⁴. The two pieces of evidence Van Arsdell marshalled are invalid. Firstly the 'Victory stater' (EPP4-1) which Van Arsdell believes part of Eppillus' Kentish series (1989, 142) and which argues for military incursion, is only known from Wallingford, and appears to form the stater of the EPP4 series struck from Calleva, not in Kent. Secondly Van Arsdell claimed that all the 'Kentish types constituted an emergency coinage to finance military operations' (1989, 142). This simply cannot be

substantiated; although some of the types appear to employ Victory devices which possibly reflect Eppillus' seizure or consolidation of power in Kent. It may be argued that the Alliance series constituted an issue to finance the military consolidation of the power of the 'sons of Commius' in Kent.

The fact that coins of the Calleva and Kentish mints have nearly mutually exclusive distributions, restricted to their respective territories, might be taken to indicate that the two series are not in fact contemporary. However this mutual exclusion should not be surprising. Firstly the two kingdoms were geographically separated by potentially hostile territory, so the only movement of coins would have been along the Thames. Such movement is unlikely for a number of reasons. Firstly the Calleva gold is finer (fig. 6.2; Cowell 1992; Northover 1992) than the Kentish gold. Secondly the Calleva silver units are somewhat heavier than their Kentish counterparts (fig. 6.1; Bean forthcoming 2). Thirdly bronze units appear to have circulated little in the Calleva region. However where bronze units had free circulation, such as Harlow, the Calleva and Kentish bronze of Eppillus are found together.

The final Alliance type, ALL1-3, in Verica's name alone, suggests that by this time Verica had taken advantage of Eppillus' stretched position and asserted himself at Calleva. If the Alliance series, or part of it, is to be dated to the latter part of Eppillus' reign both at Calleva and in Kent, then he may well have lost both seats in a short space of time. In Kent he

appears to be replaced by Cunobelin, and at Calleva by Verica.

It is clear from the numismatic evidence that Verica united the Calleva and Southern kingdom, thus uniting the Atrebates and Regni. No date can firmly be placed on Verica's assumption of power. However as Verica's first types are broadly speaking common to both mints, we may assume that Verica took both seats at the same time. As the Southern unit VERS1-3 is rather cruder than Calleva unit VERC1-3, we may assume that it copies VERC1-3 and is at least later than the prototype.

The Alliance series may help document Verica's gradual assumption of power if the sequence suggested has validity beyond Kent. This series suggests that initially Verica, Eppillus and Tincommius acted in alliance. The numismatic evidence suggests that Tincommius and then Eppillus were later lost from this partnership. If this has significance outside Kent it suggests that Verica may have driven Tincommius from his southern seat before taking control of Eppillus' seat at Calleva.

Eppillus apparently held both his Calleva kingdom and North Kent for some time and it is possible that Verica acted as client governor of Calleva. As Verica's earliest coins make no mention of Calleva we might postulate that at this time his kingdom exceeded the bounds of the Calleva territory. The title REX is not used on the earliest coins (unless VERS3-5 is contemporary to VERS1-3) and this delay may indicate that it was conferred by an outside agency (i.e. Rome). Whatever the importance of the REX title it was not maintained, and later

coins from both mints use only Verica's name and abbreviations of the patronymic Commii Filius.

The final silver type from Calleva, VERC3-1 has a reverse probably copied from a coin of Tiberius, thus dating to 14 AD and later (fig. 8.14). This means that the Calleva kingdom must have been lost after this date. This loss may be documented in two unique coins, VERC3-3 and VERC3-4, which appear (for the only time) to mix Calleva and Southern mint dies. These may attest to the withdrawal of the royal court and associated possessions, such as dies, from Calleva.

The Southern mint VERS3-4, VERS3-7 and VERS3-10 appear to borrow the bust on their reverses from a coin of Tiberius (fig. 8.14; Bean 1990, 61) and if this seeks to honour by bearing a contemporary emperor, it must date before Tiberius' death in AD 37, (and necessarily after his accession in AD 14). The least one can say is that Verica must have been a contemporary of Tiberius. The dies for this final unit, VERS3-7, are more heavily used than those for other southern mint Classical units of Verica and this might suggest a rushed issue. Perhaps Verica was now under increasing pressure from Epaticcus who had taken his Calleva seat¹⁷⁵. The proximity of this leader of North Thames origin may be archaeologically apparent in finds of pottery of Catuvellaunian character from Owslebury (Collis, 1968, 27) and the disputed fragment of pedestal urn from Selsey (Barrett 1979, 229). The fact that Verica's silver unit coinage may have ceased by AD 37, if not before (and by implication the final quarter

stater type VERS3-4 which is type linked) might indicate Verica's growing weakness. The quantity of worn VERS3-1 in the Hatfield hoard suggest this stater issue had circulated for some time without replacement (appendix 2).

What ever success greeted Verica's attempts to keep Epaticcus and perhaps later Cara(ctacus) at bay, he is found fled to Rome in AD 43 (Dio 60, 19, 1). The fact that Dio states the cause of his departure as civil war may be significant. Given the proximity of southern Britain to Gaul and the apparent relationship between Augustus and Tincommius, and that which enabled Verica's flight to Rome, the Romans were probably well acquainted with the political conditions in this area. It therefore seems unlikely that they would mistake Trinovantian conquest for civil war. It may have been a forgotten contender, perhaps empowered by Verica's inability to check Trinovantian expansion, that necessitated his flight to Claudius.

The victorious camp, if it was not Epaticcus or Cara(ctacus), appears to have issued no coins. After the invasion Cogidubnus was enthroned as client king of the Regni and 'certain lands presented to him' (Tacitus XIV). This is supported by the revised reading of his memorial at Chichester (RIB 91) that tells us that as client king he held more than one kingdom (Bogaers 1979), perhaps that of the Atrebates and Regni. That Verica was not reinstated may have been due to his age (his rule must have extended around thirty years) or the presence of hostile opponents, general unpopularity or a combination of all three.

With the close of Verica's reign the coinage of 'the house of Commius' comes to an end. Cogidubnus does not appear to have issued any coins in his own name.

The coins inscribed CRAB would appear to come the same area in which British D and the HT group are found, and it may be suggested that the same pagus is again asserting itself. This series has strong affinities with the coinage of Eppillus and probably dates to the same period. It may have been the instability and weakness of the southern kingdom resulting from the rivalry between Tincommius, Eppillus and later Verica, that permitted this issue.

The minim inscribed SIIC (if not actually a coin of Verica) may belong to a similar leader/pagus. This coin has strong affinities with Verica's second group of minims from the Calleva mint and is therefore probably later than the coinage inscribed CRAB. Whether this issue resulted from Verica's weak position or simply a leader/pagus being permitted to produce small denominations cannot be said. The minims inscribed ...NARTOS may have belonged to a similar leader/pagus, perhaps in Hampshire, as both finds are from the Danebury deposit. The style and designs of the type suggest that it is earlier, lying at the end of the uninscribed series and perhaps contemporary to the coinage of Commios and the first types of Tincommius.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

From the preceding examination it is possible to make certain broader observations regarding the evolution and development of coinage in the study area (summarized in fig. 10.5).

The earliest locally produced coinage appears to have been British A2, a type based (via British A1) on Gallo-Belgic C. This type has a distribution, metallurgy and metrology which make it distinct from British A1. This type appears to originate north of the Thames. British A2 shows little typological variety, and it may be suggested that it was produced from a single centre over a relatively short period of time. While the type was produced in some quantity it does not appear to have inspired a mass of local stater coinages. A single type, British C, appears based on British A2. It is typologically, metallurgically and metrologically distinct. Only 2 obverse dies are known and it would appear to have been a small localised issue.

A locally produced stater coinage was not revived until British Q[1-1 - 1-3]. This type takes a later Gallo-Belgic stater, Allen's Gallo-Belgic F, as its model. It is lighter and less noble than A2 and the two have not been found hoarded together. These factors indicate Q1-1 - 1-3 to be rather later than A2. British Q's lower intrinsic value would probably have driven the remaining A2 out of circulation. These staters are accompanied by what appear to be the first locally produced

quarter staters in the area, QcT1 and QcTM, which are struck on broad thin flans. Both the staters and quarter staters appear to have been struck in great numbers, and their general uniformity suggests they came from a single source.

It is this period, shortly before or around the time of Caesar's expeditions to Britain, that locally produced non-gold coinages appears in the area. Unlike the uniform gold these types are characterised by their great diversity. The great majority of these types were silver units (QsT1 and HT). All types are today very rare and each is known from either a few or single die pairs. Most are struck on thin broad flans, although there are exceptions, for example QsT1-6, struck on rather thicker and shorter flans. Initial types are closely modelled on continental Celtic coins, although later types show increasing native invention. From extant examples these appear to have been small, localised issues. This is well illustrated by a peripheral type, HT, struck on exceptionally thin flans, finds of which are clustered in southern Hampshire. Recently a local bronze group, SB, has been identified (Burnett 1993), centred on the Chichester area. Like the silver coins this is closely modelled on a continental type and its production may have been inspired by contact with continental traders. While the type gives rise to a more insular type, SB1-2, bronze coinage does not appear to have taken root in the area.

In this period the Q stater obverse dies are allowed to become progressively more worn (Q1-4), until blank obverse dies

are used (Q1-5 - 1-7). This may reflect the growing quantity of uniface Gallo-Belgic E in the area. It is probably around this time that distinctive groups of quarter staters (QcT2 and QcT3), based on QcT1/QcTM, are produced. These are all small issues which are both stylistically and typologically separate from QcT1/QcTM. Modern finds suggest QcT3 was a small issue probably centered on Hampshire.

The biface Q stater appears to have been more influential than the uniface type. It is used as a model by a number of lighter and less noble staters (Q1-9 - Q1-13). These were made distinct from the main Q series by alterations and additions to their designs. In the north of the study area similarly light and less noble staters, British Ma and Lz3, were produced. These took British L as their model but appear to have been struck and circulated south of the Thames. In southern Hampshire a peculiar type based on British B was produced. These British D staters were produced to a very light and base standard which may explain their tightly clustered geographical distribution. The die record for these staters suggests they were all small issues. They may have been the successors to British Q, which like British A2, appears to have ceased without a direct successor.

At about this time a large number of quarter stater types (QcD) appeared with very varied designs. Unlike the earlier quarter staters these tend to be struck on thick dumpy flans. Few can be termed true quarter staters as their weights vary significantly, most clustering around one fifth of a stater. Only

in rare instances can it be suggested that these are the fractions to a specific stater type (e.g. Ly3 and Lz3). At apparently the same time a great number of silver types (QsD) appeared. Like the gold fractions the great majority of these were struck on thick dumpy flans and the weights of different types vary considerably. From our surviving die record none appear to have been struck in great numbers and certain types, such as QsD3-1, appear to have had localised distributions. Only a minority of the silver types appear to relate to specific gold fractions, for example QcD3-8 and QsD3-1 / QsD3-2. We are aware of such relationships because the same die cutter appears to have cut the dies for the different denominations. Such craftsmen may well have been itinerant and there is often little to indicate that the different denominations were actually struck under the same authority.

The designs on these thick flan gold fractions and silver types owe a much less apparent debt to continental coins. It is in this period that designs of native inspiration appear to blossom on the coinage. Silver 'minims' were first struck in significant quantities during this period. The proliferation of types of lower denominations (when compared to staters) undoubtedly reflect the resources of those for whom the coins were produced, and undoubtedly the use to which they were to be put. Put simplistically, few leaders/authorities appear to have had the resources (or need) to produce staters, in contrast many leaders/authorities appear to have had the resources (and perhaps

need) to produce lower denominations.

From this very diverse and fragmented picture a single unified coinage emerges. This series included staters, quarter staters, silver units and minims. All are of very similar style and are linked by the use of an 'E' device on certain varieties of each denomination. The die record for the group indicates that the different denominations were struck in much greater quantities than were the immediately preceding types. The staters of this group bear the name COMMIOS and from now on the use of legends becomes common place. This does not appear to have been the Commius known to Caesar, but one who claimed descent from Caesar's Commios styling himself COM COMMIOS on COM1-2. It is likely that some uninscribed gold fractions and silver may be contemporary with this series of Commios. Indeed it is possible that some may have been struck under the authority of this Commios, but from dies by a different die cutter (which cannot therefore, on stylistic grounds, be attributed to Commios).

This group is succeeded by another, inscribed at their fullest TINCOMM. On certain coins the abbreviated patronymic COMMIF is used to claim descent from a Commios. The first group of coins of Tincommius directly succeed those of Commios. The legend is now placed on both the quarter stater and silver unit. Silver unit TIN1-5, inscribed TINCOMMRVS, appears to develop from a separate tradition in the uninscribed series. Both this group and that of Commios remained, bar the appearance of an inscription, solidly Celtic in design. A radical change is

apparent on the later coins of Tincommius (TIN2, TIN3, TIN4). Almost without exception the designs on these coins are based on Roman coins. The execution of some of these dies is to a very high standard (e.g. TIN3-1, TIN3-3) and the hand of a Roman or Roman trained engraver may be suggested. The later coinage of Tincommius seems to divide into two streams, possibly equating to two work-shops (TIN3 and TIN4). During this reign the weight and fineness of the staters was slightly reduced. Unusually some of the quarter staters now appear to have been struck to a slightly finer standard than the staters. A new weight and fineness for the silver units was set by the classically inspired TIN2 units. This alloy remained comparable to that of Roman denarii of the period and it seems likely that these were the source of not only the designs but also the bullion for the Celtic pieces. The silver minim coinage does not appear to have been revived until the Classical and Crude groups of Tincommius (TIN3 and TIN4). These and minims of later rulers appear to have been struck from a more base alloy.

At the time of Tincommius's later issues a leader known only from his coins, Eppillus, appears to have established himself at Calleva. Eppillus also styled himself a 'son of Commios' by use of the COM.F legend. The style and flan form of his coins are distinct from those of Tincommius, and we may suggest that Tincommius's coins came from a different mint in the south. There is evidence to suggest that Eppillus's final series of coins struck at Calleva, EPP4, dated to a period when he also held an

area of Kent.

A rare series of silver units is known largely from Kent. Initially the coins appear to have been produced by an alliance of Tincommius, Eppillus and Verica, later issues losing first Tincommius then Eppillus from this partnership. This peculiar and important series appears to record an episode when the three 'sons of Commios' acted in alliance.

The fate of Eppillus and Tincommius is uncertain. Coinage in the name of Verica, who also styles himself a 'son of Commius', now appeared from their former mints. Initially both the 'Crude' (TIN4) and 'Classical' (TIN3) traditions/workshops of Tincommius' coinage are apparent in Verica's southern coinage (VERS1 and VERS2/3 respectively). However the 'Crude' 'workshop' appears to have been closed fairly early in the reign. The weight and fineness of Verica's gold staters appears to have been slightly reduced. A 'light' series of quarter staters appear to continue the standards of Eppillus and Tincommius, and an exceptional series of 'heavy' staters were produced. The standard of the silver remained as it had in the coinages of Eppillus and Tincommius. Under Verica the number of mint types and the quantity in which they were struck appears to have increased. Verica appears to have lost the Calleva mint to Epaticcus. Two unique 'mule' types, struck from southern mint dies and dies bought south from Calleva, probably date to this period. Broadly speaking Calleva appears to have been lost in the second half of Verica's reign. Verica is eventually found fled to Rome on the

eve of the Claudian invasion. With his departure the coinage of the 'sons of Commios' appears to come to an end. Following the Claudian invasion Roman coins appear to have rapidly replaced Celtic coinage in this area.

From this summary an overview is possible. The first coinages in the areas were two large issues of stater, British A2 and Q. British A2 gave rise to a single imitator and British Q a number of intrinsically inferior copies. British QCT1/QCTM was probably the first locally produced quarter stater. Initially this spawned a few thin flan imitators which were followed by a huge number of thick flan gold fractions. The first silver units from the area appear to have been produced to a similar standard, however the great variety of later issues, on thick flans, were struck to many different standards.

From this somewhat chaotic picture emerge the first of the inscribed coins. While these may not have been struck as 'series' of different denominations they can be arranged into groups containing both gold and silver (in certain contrast to the majority of uninscribed issues). By the time of Tincommius' coins with classically inspired designs, coinage certainly appears to have become centralised. Given the diversity in both type and standard of the earlier uninscribed gold fractions and silver coinage, it seems unlikely that these were produced under the tight control of a central authority. As control over coin production appears to have become centralised, so minting appears

to have been concentrated. This did not mean that minting was concentrated at a single mint, Verica appears to have produced coins from both Calleva and the southern mint (and initially from both the 'Crude' and 'Classical' workshops). The very rare coins of Tincommius and Verica from the 'Uncertain mint' (TINUNC and VERUNC) appear to originate from yet another mint.

It would be misleading to give the impression of powerful and stable kingdoms. The way in which Verica assumed Tincommius and Eppillus's seats, and in which he himself lost Calleva, illustrate how fluid and changeable political conditions could be. The coinage inscribed CRAB from southern Hampshire, the area in which the earlier HT and British D are found, suggest that at times of central weakness certain local leaders may have taken the opportunity to exert their own identity locally. Alternatively certain local leaders may have, on occasion, been granted some autonomy.

Turning to the designs on the coins it will be apparent that three main phases are apparent. The earliest gold, silver and bronze types are mostly based on continental prototypes. The gold types tend to be fairly close copies of both the obverse and reverse the originals. The silver and bronze types also carry fairly faithful imitations of Continental types, although there is a tendency to borrow an obverse type from one Continental coin and the reverse from another. Later thin flan uninscribed types tend to show freer interpretation of their models. This phase is followed by the later uninscribed types (principally QcD and

QsD). This phase is characterised by designs which owe less to continental models, and in many instances appear to be of original inspiration. It is noteworthy that the staters from this period, unlike the gold fractions and silver, retain the same basic types of earlier staters, showing only slight innovation. The next phase is apparent in the second group of Tincommius's coins, those which bear Roman inspired designs. These designs are seldom slavish copies and almost all show some adaptation. Common to all is what we might term a 'mix and match' approach, where once again the obverse is copied from one Roman model and the reverse another. This 'mix and match' approach suggests that models were specifically chosen and combined. On the most accomplished examples such as TIN3-3, TIN3-7 and VERS3-5 (which may all be from the same hand) the reverse types appear to have been skillfully reworked to represent Celtic deities. It can be no coincidence that Roman inspired designs appear on the types which appear to have been struck from recycled denarii. This surely suggests contact and the growing influence of the consolidated Roman presence in Gaul. The earliest coins show a similar debt to Celtic Gaul. The absence of such strong links in the period of the QcD/QsD issues suggest that contact and influence with Gaul lessened in the two decades after Caesar's conquest of Gaul.

These conclusions have been made possible by a very detailed study of the data. The quality of some of this data is flawed and

some, such as the archaeological context, appears of only limited value. However from a detailed and combined study of the data available it is possible to construct groups and sequences on which a framework for these coins can be based. Indeed it is only from the study of the very details of the coins that the broadest of conclusions are made possible.

UNINSCRIBED STATERS

| (g) | A2 | C | Q1-1 -Q1-4 | Q1-5 -Q1-7 | Q1-9 -Q1-13 | Ma | Lz3 | D |
|-----------|------|------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----|-----|------|
| 6.50-6.59 | | | | | | | | |
| 6.40- | II | | | | | | | |
| 6.30- | 0 | II | | | | | | |
| 6.20- | OII | III | | I | | | | |
| 6.10- | IIII | IIII | | OIIII | | | | |
| 6.00- | 0 | I | OII | OOOOII | | | | |
| 5.90- | | | OII | OII | | | | |
| 5.80- | I | | OO | | | | | |
| 5.70- | II | | IIII | | I | | | |
| 5.60- | | | OI | | | | | |
| 5.50- | | | | I | | | | |
| 5.40- | I | | I | I | II | III | II | |
| 5.30- | | | | | 0 | OII | II | II |
| 5.20- | | | III | | IIII | I | | I |
| 5.10- | | | | | I | I | | III |
| 5.00- | | | | | | II | | IIII |
| 4.90- | | | | | | | | III |
| 4.80- | | | | | | i | | |

INSCRIBED STATERS

| | COM1-1 -1-4 | TIN1 | TIN3/ TIN4 | EPP | VERC | VERS |
|-----------|----------------|------|---------------|-----|---------|---------|
| 6.50-6.59 | | | | | | |
| 6.40- | | | | | | |
| 6.30- | | | | | | |
| 6.20- | | | | | | |
| 6.10- | | | | | | |
| 6.00- | | | | | | |
| 5.90- | | | | | | |
| 5.80- | | | | | | |
| 5.70- | | | | | | |
| 5.60- | | | | | | |
| 5.50- | I | I | | | | |
| 5.40- | OIII | II | | I | | IIII |
| 5.30- | OII | Oli | OIIII | I | OOOOOI | OOOOOOI |
| 5.20- | | Ii | I | | OOOIIII | OOOOI |
| 5.10- | | I | Ii | | iii | I |
| 5.00- | I | | i | | IIII | |
| 4.90- | | | | | i | |
| 4.80- | | | I | | | |
| 4.70- | | | I | | | |

Figure 10.1: A summary of the metrology of the staters from the study area (abraded and damaged coins plotted in lower case).

UNINSCRIBED SILVER UNITS (with the exception of HT, types > 0.5g)

| | QsT1 | QsT2 | QsT3 | HT | QsD1 | QsD2 | QsD3 |
|-------|------|------|-------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1.38- | I | | | | | | |
| 1.32- | I | | | | | | II |
| 1.26- | IIII | | | | | | II |
| 1.20- | IIII | | II | | | | IIII |
| 1.14- | III | I | II | | | I | 0 |
| 1.08- | Ii | I | IIIIi | | | | I |
| 1.02- | III | I | | | III | | II |
| 0.96- | Ii | | I | | IIII | | II |
| 0.90- | Ii | Ii | I | | II | II | I |
| 0.84- | i | i | OII | | I | I | IIIIi |
| 0.78- | | i | OI | | II | I | OIII |
| 0.72- | | | | I | | | IIII |
| 0.66- | | | | | | I | III |
| 0.60- | | | | i | | | |
| 0.54- | | | | II | | | II |
| 0.48- | | | | II | | | |
| 0.42- | | | | IIII | | | |
| 0.36- | | | | ii | | | |

INSCRIBED SILVER UNITS

| | COM1-7/8/9 | TIM1 | TIM2/3/4 | EPP | VERC | VERS |
|-------|------------|------|------------|------------|---------|------|
| 1.32- | I | I | OI | OI | OII | OI |
| 1.26- | | | 000000IIII | 000000IIII | 00000I | 29 |
| 1.20- | I | I | 00000III | 0000 | 00000II | OOI |
| 1.14- | II | III | 0000I | 0000 | 000 | 000 |
| 1.08- | IIII | | 00II | OI | 0000 | 0000 |
| 1.02- | IIII | I | IIIIi | 00 | OIIII | OOII |
| 0.96- | 0 | | OII | II | O0I | OIII |
| 0.90- | OII | | Ii | OII | OIII | II |
| 0.84- | OII | | i | II | III | OII |
| 0.78- | 0 | | | III | III | II |

Figure 10.3. A summary of the metrology of silver units from the study area (abraded or damaged coins plotted in lower case).

STATERS

| TYPE | Au | Ar | Ae | Sn |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| A2 | 47.02 | 36.49 | 16.41 | |
| C | 28.94 | 47.27 | 23.73 | |
| Q1-1 - 1-4 | 48.88 | 35.51 | 15.5 | |
| Q1-1 - 1-7 | 51.94 | 30.50 | 16.75 | |
| Q1-10 - 1-13 | 41.44 | 21.1 | 36.79 | |
| Ma | 40.77 | 18.87 | 38.77 | 1.63 |
| Lz3 | 41.4 | 8.5 | 49.35 | 0.75 |
| D | 27.42 | 13.15 | 55.41 | 3.84 |
| COM1-1 - 1-4 | 47.27 | 20.44 | 31.61 | |
| TIN1-1/2 | 47.25 | 16.2 | 31.13 | |
| TIN3-1/2 | 46.1 | 19.75 | 33.25 | |
| TIN4-7 | 46.0 | 19.35 | 34.55 | |
| VERC1-1 | 43.47 | 22.15 | 34.08 | |
| VERS1-1 | 44.45 | 15.6 | 39.9 | |
| VERC2-1 | 42.06 | 13.8 | 44.29 | |
| VERS3-1 | 42.6 | 15.2 | 41.2 | |

QUARTER STATERS

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| QcT1/QcTM | 50.98 | 32.78 | 15.85 | |
| COM1-5/6 | 57.3 | 16.4 | 22.9 | (possibly unreliable) |
| TIN2-1 - 2-4 | 48.42 | 15.29 | 35.6 | |
| TIN3-3/4 | 50.9 | 9.85 | 39.08 | |
| TIN4-2/3 | 49.19 | 12.03 | 38.11 | |
| EPP1/EPP2/EPP3 | 46.82 | 16.1 | 36.65 | |
| VERC1-2 | 46.96 | 12.66 | 40.3 |) light |
| VERS1-2 | 47.4 | 10.9 | 39.0 |) series |
| VERC2-2/C2-3 | 49.15 | 7.87 | 44.65 | heavy series |

SILVER UNITS

| | | | |
|----------------|------|-------|-------|
| COM1-7/9 | 0.38 | 86.96 | 12.04 |
| TIN2/TIN3/TIN4 | 0.87 | 97.61 | 1.37 |
| EPP1/EPP4 | 0.39 | 97.53 | 1.88 |
| VERC[alleva] | 0.52 | 97.28 | 1.72 |
| VERS[outhern] | 0.62 | 96.50 | 1.96 |

SILVER MINIMS

| | | | |
|---------------|------|-------|-------|
| TIN3/TIN4 | 0.02 | 91.71 | 7.73 |
| EPP2-4 | 0.33 | 89.51 | 9.05 |
| VERC[alleva] | 0.33 | 83.57 | 15.31 |
| VERS[outhern] | 0.56 | 82.43 | 16.73 |

Figure 10.4. A summary of metallurgical analyses for coins from the study area (no QcD gold fraction have been analysed). The metallurgy of uninscribed silver units is so variable (fig. 3.25) that an average figure seems inappropriate.

(A1 - North Thames)

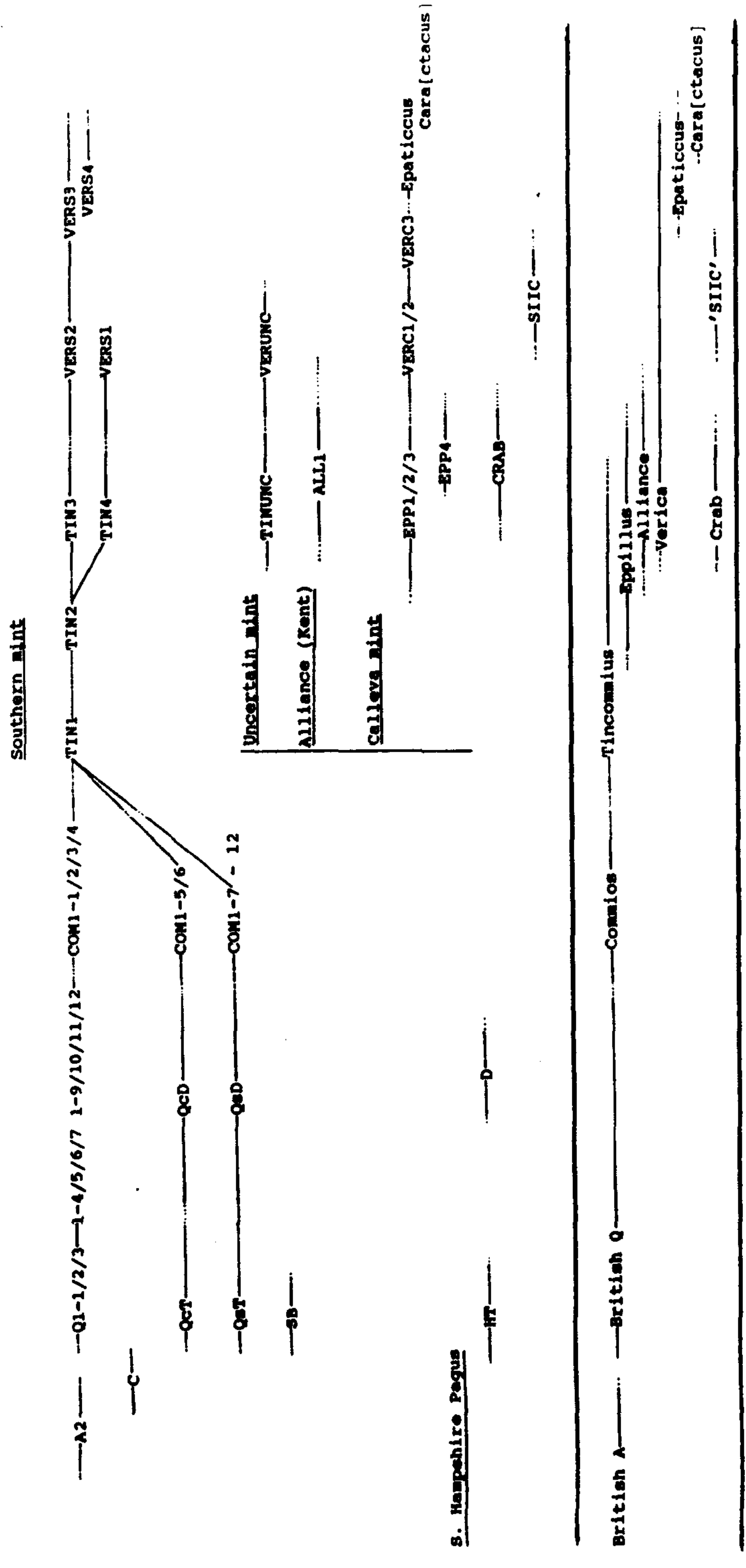


Figure 10.5 Summary of reigns and issues. For coin groups the line indicates the approximate period, not length of issue.

CATALOGUE

The reader is referred to the accompanying figures and plates.

A1 Av stater. Obv. Abstract head of Apollo right. wreath pointing upwards, bisected by line joined to curve on righthand side. Three fronds left and right of bisecting line to left of wreath. To right of wreath two crescents, traces of face below and box of parallel lines containing pellets below.

Rev. Abstract horse left, group of pellets above, outlined almond over group of lines behind horse. Large pellet below horse. Opposed diagonal lines between exurgual line and lower parallel line, pellets in resultant triangles.

Note: Designs vary by die, see figure 2.1.

A2 Av stater. As last, but wreath points downward. Curving line from top of first crescent in front of wreath.

Rev. As last but more compact and static design.

C Av stater. Obv. Abstact head of Apollo right. Wreath points downward and is bisected by a line. Two serpentine fronds either side bisecting line above above wreath. Slug like device in front of wreath with frond and crescent above, remnants of box below.

Rev. Abstract horse right. Tail breaks into three strands and front legs resemble combine harvester blades; lower

blade splits into three. Group of pellets above horse, two below tail, three under horse, four in 'blades' of front feet. Opposed diagonal lines between exurgual line and lower parallel line, pellets in resultant triangles.

D Av stater. Abstract wreath of Apollo Wreath bisected by three lines of pellets. Fronds above wreath with pellets between. To right of wreath two crescents with radiating lines. Large crescent in front with ring terminals; crescent of thin parallel lines and thick line in front. Traces of further wreath above and below the crescent device.

Rev. Very abstract horse left. Pellets above, group of parallel line behind, outline almond above. Line of inverted 'v's below exurgual line with pellets in angles.

Note: Design varies with dies, see figure 2.4.

Q1-1 Av stater. Obv. Abstract head of Apollo, pellets of wreath point upwards with four fronds to left. Wreath bisected by line with open crescent on right hand end, three outline crescents to right with a pellet in the bow of the right most crescents. Irregular star crescents with acute ended box below containing a row of pellets either side a central line.

Rev. Celticised horse right over eight spoke wheel, expanded brooch-like device above. Large pellet above tail, pellet-in-outline-almond under tail. Horse

has exaggerated fetlocks.

Q1-1a Av stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last, but horse is of more abstract and sinuous form and has an exaggerated ear. Four spoke wheel under horse, line below with zig-zag line below.

Q1-2 Av stater. Obv. As last but 'nose and eyebrows' device above crescents. Large pellet in front of central termini of right most crescents. The star device has become a large pellet on a rod parallel with the box below and has two beak-like lines radiating from it.

Rev. Celticised horse right with expanded brooch-like device above, group of three pellets above tail and under nose. Pellet-in-outline-almond below tail, seven or eight spoke wheel below horse with zig-zag line below. The whole design within an irregular circuit of pellets terminating either end of the zig-zag line. Small nail mark in front of horses head within the circuit of pellets.

Q1-3 Av stater. Obv. As last, but top of wreath ends at top in two lines off to right. Large pellet below right hand terminus of line which bisects wreath. Wreath is connected to rear of the three crescents by two parallel lines. The rod ending in pellet is now connected to base of lower crescent, large pellet in front of point of connection.

Rev. As last but the wheel below horse contains from six

to nine spokes.

Q1-3a Av stater. Obv. As last, but the parallel lines connecting the wreath to the rear crescent are now of zig-zag form. The pellet on the left end of the line which bisects the wreath has small lines radiating from it.
Rev. As last.

Q1-4 Av stater. As Q1-3 but struck from heavily worn dies, resultant image is faint.
Rev. As Q1-3.

Q1-5 Av stater. Obv. Blank.
Rev. As last but three large pellets above horses head and pellet-in-outline-almond in front of head.

Q1-6 Av stater. Obv. Blank.
Rev. As last but horse is of more sinuous form, six spoke wheel below horse; line below with row of short lines below making loose zig-zag.

Q1-7 Av stater. Obv. Blank.
Rev. As Q1-5 but horse thinner and more sinuous, the expanded brooch device above horse is transposed and open end faces down. Ring behind horses tail.

Q1-8 Au stater. Obv. Blank.
Rev. As Q1-5 but horse of very heavy and thick style, six spoke wheel below horse, row of sub-square pellets below.

Note: This type comes from the area of the Dobunni.

Light weight and derivative types of British Q.

Q1-9 Au stater. Obv. Similar to Q1-3 but top most frond replaced by cog-wheel. No parallel lines connecting wreath to rear crescent. Pellet-in-ring ornament at base of wreath and below left hand terminal of line which bisects wreath.

Rev. As Q1-3.

Note: No secure British provenance, possibly Continental.

Q1-10 Au stater. Obv. Similar to Q1-3 but many small rings between elements of design.

Rev. As Q1-3 but no circuit of pellets around design and no line with zig-zags below. Single large pellet above tail and ear, two small pellets above the expanded brooch device and before the horses shins. Six spoke wheel under horse. Other details vary by die.

Q1-10a Au stater. Obv. As last but small pellets as well as rings within field. Large pellet above 'nose and eyebrows' motif.

Rev. As last.

Q1-10b Au stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As Q1-10 but numerous small rings and pellets in field. Arc of pellets from tail to outline almond-containing-pellet in front of head. Catherine wheel device under nose of horse.

Note: Q1-10a and Q1-10b share the same obverse die.

Q1-11 Au stater. Obv. As Q1-10 but line of pellets up centre of wreath. The line that bisects wreath terminates at right end in a pellet-in-ring-in-cog. The crescents are not joined and lack curling ends.

Rev. As Q1-10, six or seven spoke wheel below horse. Further details vary by die.

Q1-12 Au stater. Obv. As Q1-3 but rather static in appearance. Direction of wreath below bisecting line is downward. Row of pellets on right hand side of wreath above bisecting line. Much enlarged 'nose and eyebrows' device above crescents.

Rev. Celticised horse right with ladder mane and detailed face. Uncertain ring ornament above horse. Pellet-in-almond and two large pellets in front of head, Catherine wheel with central pellet under nose. (?)Eight spoke wheel, with ring either, side below horse.

Q1-13 Au stater. Obv. Similar to Q1-3 but line up centre of lower half of wreath. Left hand end of line bisecting wreath terminates in six pointed star. The parallel lines connecting wreath to rear crescent contain two pellets. The 'nose and eyebrows' device of more abstract form with both eyebrows looping round to nose, the right hand loop containing pellet. The two lines radiating from the pellet on rod above the box also loop back and each contain a pellet.

Rev. More naturalistic horse right with almond eye, two ears, ladder mane and wind-pipe. Open brooch device above with crescent to either side. Very large pellet within circuit of pellets before horses chest, ring before throat and below belly with six spoke wheel below. Uncertain ring\outline almond device behind horse.

L23-1 Au stater. Obv. Blank but for die flaw.

Rev. Horse with ring-in-ring device on shoulder leaping right over nine spoke wheel, two pellets above wheel, ring to right. Fist above horse with thumb right holding two zig-zag lines, ring either side of wrist.

L23-2 Gold stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but one pellet above wheel, thumb of fist points left, two rings to left of wrist.

Almost every dies for British Ma has a peculiarity, see fig. 3.28
Below are listed the main varieties.

Ma1-1 Au stater. Obv. Degraded wreath of Apollo. Opposed crescents at centre of wreath-form cross. Large deeply bowed line containing pellet-in-ring in opposed quadrants of cross. Pellet-in-ring with frond above with wreath pattern in remaining part of quadrant. It is not known what is in remaining quadrant. (Die A).

Rev. Horse right with pellet mane and line in front of neck. Six spoke wheel with central hub below horse, anti-clockwise eight armed whorl above with central hub. Almond ring containing pellet in front of head and behind tail; two pellets above device behind tail, four above that in front of head. Pellet-in-ring within rosette below nose, three pellets in front of this device. Pellets used to decorate field. (Dies a and b).

Ma1-2 Au stater. Obv. As last but deeply bowed line containing pellet-in-ring with pellets either side. Three fronds in each of other opposed quadrants. (Die B).
Rev. As last.

Ma1-3 Au stater. Obv. As last but three fronds in each quadrant. (Dies C-G).
Rev. As last but eight spoke wheel below horse, pellet decoration around nose and curved line behind fore-heel. Small rings and pellets used to decorate field. (Dies c and d).

Ma1-4 Au stater. Obv. As last.
Rev. As Ma1-1, but eight spoke wheel below horse and a line of fine pellets between each solid line of whorl. Small rings and pellets used to decorate field. (Die e).

Ma2-1 Au stater. Obv. Degraded wreath of Apollo.
Rev. Slender horse to right, six armed clockwise whorl above. Nail mark with pellet ends above rear, five spoke wheel with central hub below, pellet to right.

Ma2-2 Au stater. Obv. As last but usually worn smooth.

Rev. Slender horse right, six or seven armed anti-clockwise whorl above, six spoke wheel below. Three pellet-in-ring motifs below tail, one above back and below belly, four in front of horse, two connected by arc. Nail mark with pellet ends in front of horses head and knees.

Quarter staters.

Qc1-1a Au Quarter stater. Obv. Abstracted wreath of Apollo. Central wreath bisected by line ending to right in crescent, with three pellet-in-ring devices on line to left. Wreath points in opposite directions either side of line. Three fronds behind each half of wreath. Pellet in ring above the crescent of the bisecting line. Two joined outline crescents with curled terminals in front of top half of wreath, three pellet-in-ring devices in front of crescents. Box containing horizontal lines joined by diagonal lines in front of lower part of wreath. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. Triple tailed horse right with defined wind pipe, lance ending in pellet-in-ring coming from base of neck. Pellet-in-ring surrounded by radiating petals above horse, wheel with hub below and pellet below wheel. Pellet-in-ring device behind head and at base of neck. Pairs of pellet-in-ring devices in front of fore-leg,

behind hind leg, above tail and head.

QcT1-1b Au quarter stater. Obv. As last but pellet-in-ring devices between upper fronds.

Rev. As last.

QcT1-1c Quarter stater Obv. As QcT1-1a but line of pellets in front of box.

Rev. As last.

QcT1-1d Quarter stater Obv. As QcT1-1a but zig-zag line between first two fronds above bisecting line.

Rev. As QcT1-1a but pairs of pellet-in-ring devices replaced by pellet-ended outline crescents.

QcT1-1e Quarter stater Obv. Of cruder style, rings between fronds and devices before wreath transposed.

Rev. As QcT1-1a but of heavier style, no pellet-in-ring devices.

Note: Could be a regional copy of QcT1

QcT1-2a Quarter stater. Obv. As QcT1-1a but whole wreath points upwards.

Rev. As QcT1-1a but cog beneath horse and single pellet-in-ring above, pellet-in-ring surrounded by radiating petals above horses back with pellet in ring above.

QcT1-2b Quarter stater. As QcT1-1a but only two fronds above and below bisecting line, vestige of third frond possibly shown at bottom.

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring below cog, semi-circle

above and below tail, above and before head and in front of horse's fore-leg. The semi-circle in front of head and below tail contain pellet.

QcT1-2c Quarter stater. As last.

Rev. As last but no pellet-in-ring at base of neck.

QcT1-2d Quarter stater. As last, but pellets between horizontal lines in box.

Rev. As last, but no pellet-in-ring behind head.

QcT1-2e Quarter stater. As last, but two pellet-in-ring devices among upper pair of fronds.

Rev. As last.

QcT1-3 Quarter stater. Obv. As QcT1-1a but only two fronds below bisecting line and the box has been replaced by a wheel with hub. Within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Triple tail horse right with pellet-in-ring ended lance coming from base of neck. Wheel with hub above and below horse, pellet below lower wheel. Pellet-in-ring device behind head, at base of neck, three such devices running down from head, one below lance and two below tail.

QcT1-4 Quarter stater. Obv. As QcT1-1a but bisecting line only carries one pellet-in-ring or pellet. Pellet between upper fronds.

Rev. Horse left of weak style with lance coming from base of neck. Pellet-in-ring surrounded by radiating petals above, pellet-in-ring inside circuit of pellets below.

Pellet-in- ring above tail, at base of neck, behind fore feet. Ring in front of head and above device above horse.
Rev. As last.

QcTM1-1a Quarter stater. Obv. As QcT1-1a but two fronds above and below bisecting line. Thin crescent above crescent end of bisecting line.

Rev. Triple tail horse right with pellet-in-ring ended lance coming from base of chest, horse has mane which curls up at bottom. Large pellet with radiating petals above horse, cog below. Pellet-in-ring device above head, in front of nose, fore foot, under hind foot, below and above tail. Zig-zag line between fore and hind feet.

QcTM1-1b Quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring between fore and hind feet.

QcTM1-1c Quarter stater. Obv. As last but pellet above crescent end of bisecting line.

Rev. As last but zig-zag line with ring between fore and hind feet.

QcTM1-1d Quarter stater. Obv. As QcTM1-1a but two pellet-in-rings in front of crescents with zig-zag line in front.

Rev. As last.

QcTM1-1e Quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but zig-zag between fore and hind feet.

QcTM1-1f Quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring between hind and fore

feet.

QcTM1-1g Quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but nothing between fore and hind feet.

QcTM1-1h Quarter stater. Obv. Finely engraved abstract wreath of Apollo. Fine wreath pointing upwards, bisected by thick line with a fine line either side, pellet-in-ring at either end and in middle. Two fronds above line and below. Two almost joined crescents with curling terminals in front of line, pellet in arc of each crescent and between them. Uncertain device above. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. As QcTM1-1b.

Note: This unique die appears to be by another hand.

QcTM1-1i Quarter stater. Obv. As QcTM1-1a but large pellet above the crescent end of the bisecting line.

Rev. As QcT1-1a but crescent above head, in front of head, behind rear feet and above tail. Nothing between fore and rear feet of horse.

QcTM1-1j Quarter stater. Obv. As QcTM1-1e.

Rev. As last but pellet-ended arcs under and above tail, above and before head and in front of fore leg. The latter arcs contain pellets. Zig-zag line between fore and hind feet of horse.

QcTM1-1k Quarter stater. Obv. As last but pellet above crescent end of bisecting line.

Rev. As last.

QcTM1-11 Quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As QcTM1-1a but different devices. Cog above tail and before face of horse. Three pellets above horse's head, three pellet-in-ring devices rising above cog above tail.

QcTM1-1m Quarter stater. Obv. As QcTM1-1j.

Rev. As last.

QcTM1-1n Quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but cog above and before head of horse, line of four pellet-in-ring devices rising diagonally from end of horses tail.

QcTM1-2a Quarter stater. Obv. As QcTM1-1a, but pellet-in-ring above crescent above the crescent end of bisecting line. Pellet not pellet-in-ring before joint of crescents.

Rev. Horse right with lance coming from base of neck, horse has mane that curls up at bottom. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above horse, wheel with hub below. Line of sub-square pellets between feet of horse.

QcTM1-2b Quarter stater. Obv. As last but ring above crescent above the crescent end of bisecting line. Zig-zag line in front of crescents and below box, box contains pellets between horizontal lines.

Rev. As last but ring above tail and wheel below horse. Crescent with pellet-in-ring terminals below tail with pellet-in-ring in arc, crescent below horses head. Further possible crescent above tail.

QcTM1-3 Quarter stater. Obv. As QcTM1-1a but simpler, zig-zag above crescent end of bisecting line, the crescents lack curling terminals with three pellets in front. The box is narrower, containing single horizontal line with pellets either side. Within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Triple tailed horse right with pellet-in-ring ended lance from base of neck. Mane curls at base. Stylised bird above with uncertain ring ornaments above. Serpent below with ring below.

Note: This possibly belongs to the north Thames series.

QcT2-1 Quarter stater. Obv. Two wheels with open axles between two parallel wreaths. Pellet-in-ring above and below wheels, pellet-in-ring devices at either end of both wreaths. Three fronds on outside of wreaths, central frond terminates in pellet-in-ring device with pellet either side, further pellets between fronds.

Rev. Triple tail horse left with small ladder mane and pellet-in-ring form shoulder and hind quarters. Wheel above with star-like spokes and pellet hub, bird perched right, below. Two pellet-in-ring devices under tail and further pair above fore-legs, pellet-in-ring either side of wheel, at base of neck and in front of bird. Four pellets around bird.

QcT2-2 Quarter stater. Obv. Four fantastic long necked bird heads joined by central pellet-in-ring. Each neck has a

different 'mane' and there is pellet-in-ring or ring before the beak of each bird.

Rev. Triple tail horse left with pellet-in-ring ended lance coming from base of neck. Pellet-in-ring surrounded by radiating petals above horse, pellet-in-ring with circuit of pellets around below. Within at least a partial circuit of pellets.

QcT3-1 Quarter stater or fraction. Obv. Simplified wreath of Apollo. Central pellet within two rings and wreath above and below, the left hand leaves are outlined. Two fronds clear behind lower portion of wreath, two crescents with double line backs and radiating terminals in front. Rev. Double tail horse right with pellet mane. Ring and pellet in ring above, pellet-in-cog below.

QcT3-2 Quarter stater or fraction. Obv. Cruciform pattern made up of four 'C's arranged back to back around central wheel. Pellet at top and bottom of each C and frond in each C. Fine pellets at two ends of cross, pellet-in-ring at one other.

Rev. Horse left with pellet-in-ring ended lance coming from base of chest and mane that curls up at base. Wheel with pellet hub above horse, circuit of pellets below. Pellet-in-ring above and below tail. Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

QcT3-3 Quarter stater or fraction. Obv. Cog with large central pellet surrounded by four pairs of curly fronds, pellet-

in- ring device between each pair of fronds. Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

Rev. Single tail horse left with wheel with pellet hub above and pellet-in-ring with radiating petals below. Three pellet-in-ring devices behind tail and one below. Two rings below hind feet.

QcT3-3a Quarter stater or fraction. Obv. As last.

Rev. Similar to last but line of fine pellets along course of tail and pellet under chin.

QcT3-4 Quarter stater. Obv. Large central 'flower' in partial ring of pellets with four radiating triangles with outlines, each ending in a pellet. Fern leaf device in one quadrant with ring either side. Three parallel lines with pellets between and ring either side in opposite quadrant. Cotter pin device and a device resembling bird skull in remaining quadrants.

Rev. Triple tail horse left with ladder mane and probable pellet ended lance coming from base of neck. Pellet-in-ring with circuit of pellets around inside further ring, above, pellet-in-ring above tail and below belly. Within at least partial circuit of beading.

QcD1-1 Au fraction. Obv. Wreath of Apollo. Wreath of opposed directions bisected by short fine wreath between two parallel lines of fine pellets with pellet-in-ring at either end. Two pairs of fronds above wreath with pellet-

in-ring and two pellet ended arcs between. To right of wreath two joined crescents with three pellet-in-ring devices in front and two pellets between. Box below, all but bottom horizontal line are made up from lines of diagonal pellets.

Rev. Triple tail horse left with pellet mane and pellet-in-ring ended lance coming from base of neck and pellet mane. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above horse, pellet-in-cog below surrounded by swarm of pellets. Pellet-in-ring under tail, between feet, in front of fore feet and head.

QcD1-2 Au fraction. Obv. Wreath of opposed directions bisected by ring, a wreath radiates left and terminates in ring. Two facing pairs of fronds either side. Group of linked rings above. Pellet and pair of joined crescents in front of main wreath with pellet between and in arcs.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and lance from base of neck. Pellet with radiating pellets above, pellet-in-cog below.

QcD1-3 Au fraction. Obv. Similar to last but bisecting ring contains pellets and has circuit of pellets around. Line of pellets between leaves of main wreath, small wreath to left from central ring device.

Rev. Similar to last but pellet in ring below horse and uncertain lines amid fore legs.

QcD1-4 Au fraction. Obv. (Obverse die worn on known specimens)

Pellet ended cross with frond in two quadrants and crescent with ring in arc in remaining quadrants.

Rev. (Die worn on all known specimens). Horse left with pellet-in-ring above and below, further ring below.

QcD1-5 Au fraction. Obv. All coins from very worn die, design uncertain.

Rev. Horse left with pellet over back, under chin and pellet-in-ring under horse.

QcD1-6 Au fraction. Obv. Central pellet in ring with one radiating wreath and three lines of diagonal pellets forming a cross. At least one frond either side of wreath, arc containing pellet within arc in other quadrants.

Rev. Triple tail horse left, two rings above, one below with cog below, pellet-in-ring in front of neck.

Note: Only known specimen from Wiltshire, could perhaps be Dobunnic, although the typology and style indicates it belongs in the south Thames area.

QcD1-7 Au fraction. Obv. Central pellet-in-cog with four radiating lines of diagonal shaped pellets. Each quadrant contains at least one frond and two opposed quadrants appear to contain boxes containing lines of pellets.

Rev. Triple tail horse left with line mane. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above. Ring and pellet-in-cog below, ring under neck, pellet-in-ring below nose.

QcD1-8 Au fraction. Obv. Only specimen worn, but similar to QcD1-1, except top right quadrant of design contains wheel

with hub.

Rev. Horse left with wheel and small pellet-in-ring above and a probable ring within ring below.

QcD1-9 Au fraction. Obv. Only specimen very worn, appears similar to last.

Rev. Horse right with double tail, lance from base of neck and pellet mane, over wheel. Ring over back and pellet under tail and either side of lance.

QcD1-10 Au fraction. Obv. Wreath of opposed directions bisected by line with pellet at either end and in centre, top half of line has fine line either side. Wreath ends in pellet at each end. Two pairs of fronds above wreath. Pellet at lower end of bisecting line surrounded by pellets, line to either side containing wreath. Two linked curves below, each curve containing two pellets, radiating lines from centre of curve.

Rev. Horse with ladder mane right, wheel with hub above and below, pellet above back and under horse. Two pellets under head and pellet-in-ring under tail.

QcD1-11 Au quarter stater. Obv. Only specimen from worn die, wreath with fronds above and joined crescents below, the arc of each crescent containing pellet in ring.

Rev. Triple tail horse right with pellet mane. Uncertain device above, four pointed star in front of head, pellet in ring in front of horse.

Note: Possibly a thin flan type struck on a dumpy flan. Type could

belong to the north Thames series.

QcD2-1 Au fraction. Obv. Wreath made up of line of short diagonally set lines within two parallel lines of beading. Wreath bisected by line with ring on upper end and pellet-in-ring-in-cog at lower end, with pellet-in-ring and pellet towards centre of line. Two fronds with small pellet-in-ring devices in upper quadrant, at least one frond in lower quadrant with pellet above. Small cog and pellet-in-ring either side of large cog device at the base of bisecting line.

Rev. Triple tail horse left with lance from base of neck, ring on shoulder and hind quarters. Large pellet-in-cog-in-circuit of pellets above and large pellet-in-ring in cog below horse. Pellet-in-ring under chin above and below shoulder and below tail.

QcD2-1a Au fraction. Obv. As last but top terminal ring of bisecting line contains cog and there are two small pellet-in-ring devices either side upper part of line, the pellet has been lost from the bisecting line. Pellet-in-ring above lower terminal of bisecting line.

Rev. As last, but ring below horses shoulder and at base of back.

QcD2-2 Au fraction. Obv. As QcD1-1 but bisecting line is shorter and without top terminal, the places of which are taken by two rings. Devices below wreath differ in detail.

Rev. As last but device below horse now large arc (circle?), horse has mane and the shaft of lance device has gone. Two rings below horses chest, one above shoulder.

QcD2-3 Au fraction. Obv. Similar to QcD1-1 but line parallel to wreath below terminal of device that bisects wreath, and crescent to either side of lower terminal.

Rev. Horse with mane right. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above.

Note: Type only known from single plated specimen.

QcD3-1 Au fraction. Obv. Large central pellet-in-ring with wreath confused with lines above and below. In upper right quadrant a group of joined arcs, in the lower right quadrant a line with lines and pellets resembling the key system of a modern flute. Uncertain lines above. In front of wreath a pip shaped pellet from which a number of lines radiate. A group of short parallel lines connects the upper part of the wreath to one of these lines. A group of arcs is visible in the lower corner.

Rev. Two arcs with star terminals back to back, each arc contains a pellet and 's' on its side. Ring and pellet between star terminals with unclear devices above and below.

QcD3-2 Au fraction. Obv. Ring-in-ring with radiating lines ending in pellets (resembling the 'clock' of a dandelion) with

four fronds around. Ring-in-cog and ring in opposite quadrants between fronds, further quadrant contains crescent with lengthened termini with line between with pellets either side line. Design within partial circuit of pellets with short lines radiating from pellets.

Rev. Horse with mane right with double tail and ring on shoulder and hind quarters, with mane. Pellet with radiating petals above, wheel with hub below. Group of three pellets above front knees and pellet under chin and belly of horse. Several parallel lines make lower portion of lower fore leg.

QcD3-3 Au fraction. Obv. Central line of pellets to shallow crescent from which short lines radiate to beading. Unusual device resembling an alert rabbit either side with pellet-in-cog and group of pellets in front and pellet-in-ring above.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and pellet on shoulder and hind quarters. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above horse. Pellet-in-ring above head, above and below tail, below belly and chin.

QcD3-4 Au fraction. Obv. Central wreath resembling fern leaf. On one side pellet-in-cog with pellet in ring either side; on other side a cog-wheel and uncertain device either side of two parallel lines containing pellets.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane. Device resembling fern leaf above back. Two pellets above hind quarters and

pellet below tail.

QcD3-5 Au fraction. Obv. Pellet in circuit of pellets at centre. Four radiating 'fern leaves' with uncertain leaf like devices in each quadrant. One quadrant also contains two rings, another a cog wheel and possible ring of pellets. Rev. Horse right, ring-in-ring with radiating petals above horse, pellet-in-cog below and in front.

QcD3-6 Au fraction. Obv. Central pellet in ring of pellets with four inward facing 'fern leaves'. In each quadrant a deeply bowed line, two of which contain leaf like devices, the third, a group of pellets, the fourth, a pellet-in-ring.

Rev. Horse left with mane, two pellet-in-ring devices below, large arc containing two pellets below.

Note: Only known from plated example.

QcD3-7 Au fraction. Obv. Pellet-in-ring with four radiating petals. Two parallel lines containing pellets radiate from between petals. One quadrant contains at least a pellet-in-ring and part of a circuit of pellets.

Rev. Horse right with mane, pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above, group of pellets below.

Note: Only known from plated specimens.

QcD3-8 Au fraction. Obv. Wreath with central line of pellets, crescent either side.

Rev. Horse right with ladder mane and ring on hind quarters, tail ends in group of short parallel lines.

Comet device above horse and ring-in-ring with radiating petals below horse. Pellet-in-ring device under chin, behind rear feet, behind hind quarters and above tail; ring between head and comet device. Within circuit of beading.

QcD3-9 Au fraction. Obv. As last.

Rev. Horse left with double tail and lance coming from base of neck with mane. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above horse, ring and pellet-in-cog below. Three pellets between fore and hind feet.

QcD3-10 Au fraction. Obv. 'Wreath' of two parallel lines of diagonal pellets with three pellet-in-ring devices between. Group of three rings either side.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and tail partially constructed from pellets. Bird with long curled tail on horse's back with ring above. Group of three rings below neck and tail, ring-in-ring-of-pellets under horse, line of diagonal pellets running from rear fore foot under hind feet.

QcD3-11 Au fraction. Obv. Plain but for faint parallel bands.

Rev. Horse right with mane that curls at base. Large pellet with radiating petals above horse, ring with radiating petals in front of horse, partial circuit of pellets visible below horse.

QcD4-1 Au quarter. Obv. Bust left with sharp nose and ear. Wears

elaborate head gear, composed of diadem with crescent ends, a fine line before the nose and strange raspberry like devices (hair?) above. Two fine curls of ? plaited hair behind, with a double 'V' device above and between the two curls.

Rev. Horse left with fine mane single strand tail with 'fern leaf' device below. Small animal with beak looking over shoulder on horses back, wheel with hub below. Line of sub-square pellets between fore and hind feet. Star either side of horses head, four legged device in front of horse.

QcD4-1a Au quarter. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but animal on horses back looks forwards, there are no stars either side of horses head, but a pellet-in-ring is shown in front of the head.

QcD4-2 Au fraction. Heavy featured bust to left. Head dress formed from two crescents with radiating lines behind. Pellet-in-ring and uncertain features before head.

Rev. Horse with double tail, with pellet on shoulder and hind quarters. Cog or flower in ring above, pellet-in-ring of pellets and wheel below. Pellet above front knee of horse.

Possibly a misdescribed core of a silver coin, cf QsD3-5.

Ly3-1 Gold quarter stater. Obv. Blank but for faint parallel lines.

Rev. Horse leaping right, two interlocked crescents

above and below with ring to left and pellet to right of both pairs; pellet over horses head.

Ly3-2 Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but pellet below horses stomach (die c).

Uninscribed silver

QsT1-1 Ar unit. Obv. Bust right with flaming hair, diadem, and ring inside ear. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Triple tail horse right with ladder mane. Human head above horse, boar below. Ring above knee and tail of horse. Within at least partial beading.

QsT1-2 Ar unit. Obv. Diademed bust right with sharp pointed nose and distinct locks of hair. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Horse with double tail and pellet mane right, human head above and boar below. The boar has a line ending in a ring under its belly. Device with four wavy arms in front of horse with ring above and pellet-in-ring below. Further pellet-in-ring devices above nose of horse, at base of neck, two below tail and one in front of boar.

QsT1-2a AR unit. Obv. Head with heavy features right, pellet-in-ring under nose and possible wheel under chin.

Rev. Horse right with pellet mane, boar below on exergual line. Pellet-in-ring over back of horse and ring below chin. Within beading.

Note: Only known specimen struck on base metal flan, this and the unusual style suggests the type might be Gaulish.

QsT1-3 Ar unit. Obv. Crude bust right with large nose and eye and crescent for ear. Luxuriant locks of hair or head dress with zig-zag lines between plaits. Device below chin resembling the number '6' surrounded by pellets, large pellet surrounded by rings behind neck. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Horse right with double tail and pellet mane. Possible beast above horse and boar below with what appears to be a central leg. Pellet-in-cog before horse, pellet-in-ring behind tail, zig-zag line below tail. Within at least partial beading.

QsT1-4 Ar unit. Obv. Helmeted head left, crest along ridge of helmet and exaggerated ear device over ear. Zig-zag line before face.

Rev. Horse with triple tail and pellet mane left. Whorl above horse, stylised boar below, thin crescent with pellet ends in front of horse. Ring at base of horses neck, under and in front of boar, and in front of horse with pellet above and below. Within at least partial beading.

QsT1-5 Ar unit. Obv. As QsT1-2.

Rev. Horse right with solid mane and zig-zag line in tail. Wheel with open hub above horse, lyre below. Device composed of three curls connected by central pellet above

horse, ring in front of head, reverse 's' in front of horse. Within at least partial beading.

QsT1-6 Ar unit. Obv. Heavy bust right with hair composed of outline and filled crescents; two thin linked crescents beneath jaw.

Rev. Horse right with solid mane, simplified lyre below with sub-circular body containing a diagonal line and two pellets, two pellet ended lines radiate upwards. Large pellet-in-ring above, broken ring under chin and three pellets in front of horse.

Note: Although this type is of rather crude style and apparently copies the preceding type, the instrument depicted here, the form of which has been consciously altered, appears musically more plausible.

QsT1-7 Ar unit. Obv. Head right with large mane of hair composed of solid crescents within outline crescents, pellet-in-ring for eye under heavy brow.

Rev. Triple tailed horse with peculiar short neck left with lyre below. Two pellet-in-ring motifs above horse, crescent above tail and crescent in crescent behind rear leg and in front of head. Line of pellets between fore and hind feet.

Note: Only extant specimen is chipped so detail of face on obverse is lost.

QsT1-8 Ar unit. Obv. Similar to last.

Rev. Similar to last but horse apparently more dis-

articulated.

Note: Only specimen is heavily worn.

QsT1-9 Ar unit. Obv. Bust right with substantial hair composed of crescents. Line of pellets round outside of hair. Pellet-in-ring eye and pellet-in-rings and pellet-in-cog at base of hair and neck. Pellet-in-ring before lips. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Horse left with fern tail and mane. Backwards facing beast with long tail above horse, pellet-in-cog-in-ring below horse. Ring above horse's head, below, two joined rings under neck, pellet-in-ring above tail, pellet-in-ring and a ring below tail.

QsT1-10 Ar unit. Obv. Diademed head right with pellet-in-ring for eye. Pellet, ring and pellet-in-ring and uncertain devices in field in front of face. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Horse right with fern tail and mane, animal above. Pellet-in-ring, pellet-in-cog and double exergual line below. Pellet-in-ring under head, rear fore hoof; ring behind rear hoof. Within at least partial beading.

QsT1-11 Ar unit. Obv. Plump head right with line of pellets along hair line and wheel above head with hair either side, pellet-in-cog over ear. Two ring in circuit of pellet devices in front of face with two pellet-in-rings beyond. Two pellet-in-ring devices at base of neck and two rings behind head.

Rev. Horse left with ladder mane and fern tail with open hub whorl above. Cog and pellet-in-ring below, horse stands on three thin crescents. Pellet-in-ring device above tail, and below with three smaller behind, in front of fore leg. Ring-in-circuit-of-pellets and in front of horse. With in at least partial beading.

QsT1-12 Ar unit. Obv. Facing head, plaits either side of face, wearing diadem with antlers at side and a wheel mounted at the centre. Three pellet-in-ring devices either side of head, the central one within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Horse left with mane and fern tail. Pellet-in-ring with hook above with pellet-in-ring to right and again below but within circuit of pellets. Large pellet surrounded by circuit of pellets under horse. Ring under base of tail, large ring at end of tail, pellet in ring under nose.

QsT1-13 Ar unit. Obv. Uncertain. Inverted crescent containing two pellets, ring connected below, small ring either side. Pellet-in-rings and ?flaming hair in field.

Rev. Horse left. Pellet-in-ring-in-whorl above, ring over back, pellet-in-ring over tail; three rings and pellet-in-ring behind; pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets below. In circuit of beading.

Note: Only known from a single specimen.

QsT2-1 Ar unit. Obv. Two maned horses with double tails rearing,

joined by forefeet and beards. Smaller animal below with leaf device and cog wheel below.

Rev. Horse with ladder mane and fern tail right with hubbed wheel above, pellet-in-cog above. Small backwards facing animal below.

QsT2-2 Ar unit. Obv. Two horses, with manes along entire backs, rearing together with beast, upside down (dead?) below. Ring and ring-in-ring above each horse.

Rev. Horse with double tail and double mane left. Small backward facing beast, upside down, above, small boar below. Ring at base of mane and in front of head, part of large ring visible behind head and over tail.

QsT2-3 Ar unit. Obv. Two horses, with manes to base of back, which end in ring, rearing together. Horses joined by ring-in-ring at end of fore legs. Small animal below. Pellet-in-ring between horse's heads.

Rev. Horse with triple tail and mane left, uncertain devices above and below horse. Two pellet-in-ring devices in front of hind feet, one behind fore feet, large pellet-in-ring below hind feet. Uncertain circular device under head.

QsT2-4 Ar unit. Obv. Two rearing horses with manes and beards. Horses lack fore limbs and are joined by line of pellets between heads. Uncertain device below horse, large pellet-in-circuit-of-pellets with ring above and behind each horse.

Rev. Horse with pellet mane right, whorl with hub above, pellet-in-ring above head, two in front.

QsT2-5 Ar unit. Obv. Two backwards facing animals (?hounds) with long curling pellet tails. Animals separated by pellet line ending in ring around pellet.

Rev. Horse right with pellet mane, wheel above and small animal below. Ring above head of horse.

Note: Type possibly Gaulish.

QsT2-6 Ar unit. Obv. Two opposed 'C' devices each with long 's' like device behind. Design otherwise unclear, traces of animal on left. Within at least partial line.

Rev. Horse left with two strand pellet tail and pellet beard; dolphin above and uncertain device below and before horse.

Note: There are metrological and stylistic similarities to the HT group. Type could possibly be Gaulish.

QsT3-1 Ar unit. Obv. Boar right with ladder crest and pellet-in-ring device for tail. Four crescents formed from pellets above back of boar. Serpentine device below boar composed of two pellet lines going downward and joining pellet-in-ring. Outlined spearhead in front, pellet in ring above. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Horse left with triple tail and mane with pellet ends. Pellet-in-ing in circuit of rings over horse's back, line of pellets with pellet-in-ring either side

between legs of horse. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets in front of horse. Within at least partial beading.

QsT3-2 Ar unit. Obv. Two boars, one above the other below, with feet inter-linked. Three pellet-in-ring in circuit of rings devices to right, crescent, pellet-in-ring and pellet-in-ring with radiating petals to left. Pellets-in-rings and pellets above crests of boars; two rings and a pellet to right between boars and larger devices.

Rev. Horse right with triple tail and pellet on shoulder and hind quarters. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals over horse, pellet in circuit of pellets below, pellet-in-ring in circuit-of-pellets in front of horse. Pellet above horse's head, pellet-in-ring above and below horse's head.

QsT3-3 Ar unit. Obv. Stylised face right with pellet-in-ring-in-cog on chin. Possible leaf on fore head, large leaf device surrounded by pellets in front of nose with ring and two pellets-in-ring devices above. Large sun in circuit of pellets with ring and pellet-in-ring below leaf device.

Rev. Horse with mane and pellet on shoulder and hind quarters right. Thick 's' device above, pellet ended thin crescent in front. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets in further ring, below horse. Pellet and uncertain device behind horse, three pellets around device above horse.

Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

QsT3-4 Ar unit. Obv. Stylised head right with pellet-in-ring-in-cog on chin. Ring, solid and outline crescent and uncertain device in front of face. Line of pellets round back of head, arcs of pellets containing rings for hair behind.

Rev. Horse left with solid mane and multiple tails. Pellet-in-ring above, ring above head and at base of mane. Ring-in-circuit of pellets under horse, two rings under head and one under fore legs. Within line with radiating lines.

Note: Details behind horse uncertain as best preserved specimen is double struck.

QsT3-5 Ar unit. Obv. Similar but simplified version of QsT3-3.

Rev. Horse with ladder mane right. Pellet above head and beside base of mane, thin pellet ended crescents above head, ring below head and wheel below body.

Note: The one specimen known to me is struck on a short thick flan, it is included here on typological grounds. As no provenances are known for type a Dobunnic origin is possible.

QsT3-6 Ar unit. Obv. Head left with plaited hair with lines of fine pellets between plaits, pellet-in-ring on chin. Pellet-in-ring in lowest curl of hair, thick line (torc ?) at base of neck. Three pellets-in-ring devices joined by pellets in front of face.

Rev. Horse with double tail, solid mane and pellet-in-

ring on shoulder, right. Pellet ended whorl above, line with two shallow curves either side with parallel fine lines below. Pellet and ring under head of horse, pellet-in-ring in front, ring below body.

QsT3-6a Ar unit. Obv. As last but 'EX' above head, ring-in-ring and pellet in pellet-ended-thin-crescent in front of chin. Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

Rev. As last but less accomplished.

Note. Obverse and reverse dies become very worn. On one reverse die the head is crudely re-engraved as a round cornered rectangle containing three pellets.

QsD1-1 Ar unit. Animal (has been called dragon) resembling horse without fore-legs left, looking over shoulder. Line of pellets around body. Five pellet-in-ring devices around head and over back, pellet-in-ring-in-circuit of pellets with pellet in circuit of pellets behind hind leg. Group of at least five solid crescents with pellets in arc below.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane, double strand tail and pellet on shoulder on hind quarters. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above, ring either side. Line of pellets above tail, three rings in front of horse, pellet-in-ring over front legs. Pellet-in-cog with pellet either side, with line of pellets between fore and hind feet.

QsD1-2 Ar unit. Obv. Boar with crest and curly tail left, pellet-

in-ring at front of crest. Three 'U' shaped devices above each containing large pellet at end of line of pellets. Pellet-in-ring with line of pellets between two of 'U' devices. Pellet-in-ring either side 'U' devices. Large pellets in circuits of pellets in front and below boar, two further pellet-in-ring devices below boar.

Rev. Horse with two strand tail and distinct wind-pipe left. Wheel with open hub and pellet rim above, two rings and a pellet below. Pellet-in-ring above tail, two rings under mouth.

QsD1-2a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above horse, large pellet-in-ring below and pellet-in-ring with three pellets around in front of horse.

QsD1-3 Ar unit. Obv. Head with plaited hair right and thick line to base of neck (torc ?). Line of pellets at base of neck, ring at top and base of hair, with line of pellets between, above hair. Procession of small animals from brow around head. Pellet in ring, pellet with radiating petals and an uncertain device in front of face.

Rev. As QcD1-2 but additional ring device above head and at base of neck, pellet-in-ring above ears and other probable rings above the wheel. Extra pellet under horse, under chin and over nose. Large arc or ring in front of horse.

QsD1-4 Ar fraction. Obv. Four leaf devices radiating from central

pellet-in-ring. Each leaf ends in pellet-in-ring, pellet in corner of each quadrant. One crescent contains large pellet in circuit of pellets, the next a cotter pin filled with pellets with pellet in ring either side. Other quadrants contain pellet in 'U' device with radiating mouth and lines within, pellet-in-ring either side. Final quadrant contains uncertain device composed of two shallow crescents.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets, with pellet-in-ring either side, above. Pellet-in-ring below belly, pellet-in-ring and ring below mouth and probable further rings around flan.

QsD1-5 Ar fraction. Obv. Devolved wreath pattern. Pellet-in-ring at centre with row of thin crescents above and below between parallel lines of pellets. Single thin crescents with lines of pellets either side of central pellet-in-ring. One quadrant contains fronds, another a large arc or ring containing two pellets, the contents of the remaining quadrants is unclear.

Rev. Horse left with pellet on shoulder and pellet mane. Ring below containing six pellets, with pellet-in-ring below. Pellet, crescent and ring in front of horse and a probable pellet in circuit of pellets.

QsD1-6 Ar unit. Obv. Small horse with mane right, looking back over shoulder. Wheel with hub and pellet rim above, two 'propeller' devices under horse. Pellet and pellet-in-

ring over head and behind horse. Pellet in circuit of pellets behind hind legs and pellet-in-ring and ring-in-ring under rear foot. Within beading.

Rev. Horse left with ring-in-ring with pellets between rings above, pellet with circuit of pellets under tail, pellet-in-ring under horse. Ring under mouth of horse.

QsD1-6a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last, pellets clear on shoulder and hind quarters of horse. Thin crescent with another above, the latter ends in pellet-in-ring with beak. Propeller devices under tail, belly and before fore-leg.

QsD1-6b Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As QsD1-6 but horse right and propeller under belly.

Note: QsD1-6/a/b are frequently encountered overstruck on QsD1-1, traces of which are often clear.

QsD1-7 Ar fraction. Obv. Similar to last but pellet-in-ring-in-cog in front of horse, pellet-in-ring below, and pellet-in-ring with radiating petals behind.

Rev. Horse left with solid mane. Pellet in circuit of pellets above, pellet above and below tail and two pellets under chin.

QsD1-7a Ar fraction. Obv. Similar to last but whorl under tail with ring below. Pellet-in-ring in front of horse.

Rev. As last but rings above head, pellet at base of mane and pellet-in-ring below belly.

QsD1-7b Ar fraction. Obv. Similar to last but ring in curl of tail,

pellet-in-rings around neck, and two thin crescents form mane.

Rev. Horse right with pellet mane. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of rings above, arcs containing pellets above head, pellet-in-ring with radiating petals in front of chest, two rings under horse.

QsD2-1 Ar unit. Boar left with pellet ended spines, rings, pellets, lines and leaf devices in field.

Rev. Horse left with mane and two strand tail. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets above. Leaf motif between legs. Ring under tail and between feet, circuit of large pellets from fore feet to motif over back.

QsD1-2 Ar unit. Obv. Abstracted head (?), face right with line of pellets between two rings in front, arc of pellets between two rings around pellet in circuit of pellets, in front. Two rings above and two below. Within ring.

Rev. Horse with crude ladder mane right, large pellet-in-ring above horse, pellet under chin, ring under tail. Pellet-in-ring with four pellets below horse.

QsD2-3 Ar unit. Obv. Pellet-in-cog-in-ring at centre, four radiating pairs of lines containing pellets. Simplified frond in each quadrant with pellet and ring either side.

Rev. Horse left with ladder mane. Pellet ended thin crescent above, with pellet-in-ring in arc of crescent. Ring under chin of horse and ring-in-ring under horse.

QsD2-4 Ar unit. Obv. Central pellet-in-ring with four swirling radiating lines of elliptical pellets. Crescent device in each quadrant with various pellets, rings and pellet-in-ring devices. One quadrant contains arc of radiating petals.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and pellet tail. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above, pellet under tail and pellet-in-cog below.

QsD2-4a Ar unit. Obv. As last but only crescents and a pellet in each quadrant. Two of these crescents have lines radiating one end.

Rev. As last.

QsD2-5 Ar fraction. Obv. Similar to last but double radiating lines. Pellet-in-ring in three quadrants, pellet in circuit of pellets in remaining quarter.

Rev. Horse right with ladder mane, crescent above, three rings under head, crescent with pellet below under horse.

QcD2-6 Ar fraction. Obv. Large central pellet surrounded by radiating petals. Four pellet-in-cog devices around with two pellet-in-rings between.

Rev. Large central pellet in circuit of small pellets, four crooked radiating lines. Pellet and pellet-in-ring in each quadrant. Uncertain devices in outer part of field.

QsD2-7 Ar fraction. Obv. Two opposed arcs containing short parallel

lines, ring-in-ring above and below. Pellet-in-ring either side of arc devices, pellet-in-cog either side of top ring-in-ring.

Rev. Central ring-in-ring with four radiating pellet arms, three of the quadrants contain pellet-in-cogs, the last a pellet-in-ring.

Note: Type may belong to area of Dobunni.

QsD2-8 Ar unit. Obv. Die rather worn, apparently four opposed crescents with parallel radiating ends containing pellets. Pellet-in-ring and ring devices visible in several quadrants.

Rev. Horse of crude form right. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of rings above horse, ring under chin, pellet and ring-in-ring under horse. Possible ring or arc behind tail.

QsD2-9 Ar fraction. Obv. Similar to last, only known specimen from worn obverse die, crescent devices appear to have been simplified to 'u' devices, of which only three are clearly visible.

Rev. Horse of naive style right with triple tail, a large pellet above and below, ring under tail.

QsD2-10 Ar fraction. Obv. Obverse die used for only known specimen very worn, apparently shows animal leaping left (deer ?) looking back over shoulder.

Rev. Horse left with mane and double tail, pellet on shoulder and hind quarters. Pellet in circuit of pellets above, pellet below.

QsD2-11 Ar fraction. Obv. Remnants of Apollo wreath. Wreath bisected by line, ending in arc on right which contains a ring with radiating lines. Ring-in-ring above and below arc, and above and below other end of line. Within beading.

Rev. Crested boar left, pellet-in-ring under belly and chest, this with downward radiating lines. Within at least partial beading.

QsD2-12 Ar fraction. Obv. Four leaf shaped devices around central pellet-in-ring, some appear to contain pellets. Uncertain pellets and elliptical objects between leaf devices. Within at least partial beading.

Rev. Crested boar right with three rings above, three ring-in-pellet devices and further ring behind. Ring with radiating lines under belly of boar. Uncertain devices before boar.

QsD2-13 Ar fraction. Obv. Opposed crescents with three lines of pellets and two lines radiating from their mouths. Line between crescents ending in ring that forms base of leaf device on either side. Pellet-in-ring in one quadrant, pellet-in-ring with radiating petals in opposite quadrant.

Rev. Horse right with solid mane and pellet on flank, leaf device above, ring under chin and uncertain petals below.

QsD2-13a Ar fraction. Obv. As last.

Rev. Horse left with ladder mane, pellet above, in front of chest, between fore legs; uncertain device below.

QsD2-13b Ar fraction. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets above horse and pellet over tail.

QsD2-14 Ar fraction. Obv. Central pellet-in-ring-in-cog with four radiating lines of pellets with leaf device in each quadrant.

Rev. Horse with two strand tail and pellet mane left. Pellet-in-cog above, two rings below, pellet-in-ring under chin.

QsD2-15 Ar fraction. Obv. Pellet-in-ring-in-cog in square with incurving sides and pellets ends. Pellet-in-ring in each incurving side of square. Within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Horse left with solid mane and double tail, pellet on shoulder and hind quarters. Four spoke wheel above, ring either side; pellet-in-ring below.

QsD3-1 Ar unit. Obv. Head right wearing crested helmet or crest. Crest terminates at base of neck in loop containing pellet inside a course of pellets with a straight line of pellets below. Inwardly radiating petals above nose, pellet-in-thick-ring in circuit of pellets in front of lips. Pellets and small star under chin.

Rev. Horse right with loose ladder mane, pellet-in-ring on shoulder and rear quarters. Device above horse

resembling nose and eyebrows with pellet eyes and nose ring. Ring ended lance device with ring either side from chest of horse. Whorl in circuit of pellets under horse, ring above whorl, ring under tail.

QsD3-1a Ar unit. Obv. As last, but ring-in-ring at centre of lower part of crest. Upper part of crest now in form of thin 'u's.

Rev. As last.

QsD3-2 Ar fraction. Similar to last but crest now just two courses of pellets. Arc of pellets above nose.

Rev. Horse right with pellet mane and pellet on shoulder and rear quarters, arc in arc of pellets above (probably both rings in full form). Ring-in-ring under horse, pellet-in-ring under tail. Ring above back and in front of chest.

QcD3-2a Ar fraction. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but no ring over back.

QcD3-3 Ar unit. Head left with hair formed from 'propellers' and pellets. Wreath with pellet-in-ring terminals (torc ?) at base of neck with two arcs below. Pellet-in-ring in two circuits pellets and ring-in-ring with pellet either side in front of face.

Rev. Horse left with solid mane, arc (probably circuit) of pellets and pellet-in-ring over horse. Wheel with open hub under horse, pellet-in-ring under tail, in front of legs, and ring under chin.

QsD3-3a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but horse right with ring and pellet-in-ring under horse and ring-in-circuit-of-rings in front of horse, ring under tail.

QsD3-4 Ar unit. Obv. As last but hair denser and more wavy. Wreath below head has pellet-in-ring terminal with triangular beak, these devices appear in front of face with other pellets and possible pellet-in-ring devices.

Rev. Horse left with solid mane, four pellet-in-ring devices and two rings above. Two rings behind tail, three pellets and ring under tail. Pellet and pellet-in-ring under belly, ring and pellet-in-ring in front of fore leg.

QsD3-5 Ar unit. Obv. Head left, crescents containing pellets in the arc around hair line, headdress or mane of plaited hair with thin lines between behind crescents. Three large pellets in front of face, each separated by a pair of pellets. Large pellet in circuit of pellets at base of neck. Pellet-in-ring devices at end of plaits.

Rev. Horse left with solid mane and pellet on flank. Wheel with exaggerated hub above horse and wheel with hub below. Two rings below horse head and under tail, further pellet-in-ring behind horses rear feet.

Note: Most known specimens are plated.

QsD3-5a Ar unit. Obv. As last, but no large pellet-in-circuit-of-pellets at base of neck.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane, wheel above and below with pellet rim. Pellet-in-cog below and possibly above tail, two pellets under chin of horse.

Note: All known specimens are plated cores.

QsD3-5b Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and pellet on shoulder and flanks. Large pellet-in-ring over horse, pellet-in-ring-in-circuit of pellets under horse. Pellet-in-ring and uncertain number of pellets in front of horse.

QsD3-6 Ar unit. Head left with solid crescents along hair line, plaits of hair or headdress behind crescents. Pellet-in-ring in circuit of pellets under jaw.

Rev. Horse right with triple tail and solid mane with pellet on shoulder and flanks. Large pellet in loose ring of pellets, leaf device below with stem in form of pellet-in-ring.

Note: Single find spot suggests this is possibly a North Thames type.

QsD3-7 Ar unit. Obv. Similar to last but hair starts in 'v' form. Pellet-in-ring with line of diagonal pellets running back from brow. Pellet-in-ring in front of nose.

Rev. As last but loser style and horse has mane of pellets and two strand tail.

Note: Single find spot suggests this is possibly a North Thames type.

QsD3-8 Ar unit. Head left with pellet-in-ring eye, hair arranged in

pellet ended pairs of parallel lines of pellets containing further pellets. Pellet-in-ring over ear. Line of pellets at base of neck, thick moustache like device below. Uncertain devices before face including pellet-in-ring devices.

Rev. Horse right with triple tail of pellets and mane of pellets that curls at base. Cog above and below horse. Large pellet-in-ring in front of horse, two pellets in front of rear legs and pellet-in-ring under tail.

Note: possibly not from the study area.

QsD3-9 Ar unit. Obv. Head right with double band running down hair line to below chin, plaits of hair behind. Pellet-in-ring and uncertain devices in front of face.

Rev. Horse left with pellet tail. Pellet-in-ring with radiating petals above, pellet-in-rings-in-ring below and radiating petals in front of horse.

QsD3-10 Ar unit. Face right with hair in plaits, pellet-in-ring-in-ring at base of head. Pellet and at least two stars in front of face.

Rev. Horse right with ladder mane and pellet on shoulder, pellet-in-ring-in-cog above and wheel with hub and pellet rim below. Upside-down 'eye brow' device with pellet eyes above head; four pellets under chin, ring under tail.

QsD3-11 Ar fraction. Obv. Horse left with pellet on shoulder and flanks, looking back over shoulder.

Rev. Horse right with ladder mane, whorl in ring above and below. Pellet under tail and above head.

QsD3-11a AR fraction. Obv. As last.

Rev. Horse left with ladder mane and pellet on shoulder and flanks. Pellet-in-ring-in-ring with radiating petals above and below. Ring over fore leg, several other possible pellets in field.

QsD3-12 Ar unit. Obv. Face left, three crescents in hair just above hair line. Uncertain serpentine animal in front of nose and chin, uncertain devices above nose.

Rev. Horse with double tail and ladder mane right with maned animal above (resembles sea horse) upside down, small animal below.

Note: Could belong to the coinage of the 'Dobunni'.

HAMPSHIRE THIN SERIES.

These coins are here classed as units, however their metrology is peculiar and they might be called half units.

HT1-1 AR unit Obv. Abstracted wreath of Apollo pattern with central ring and crescent amid several irregular courses of pellets. Several rows of pellets to right, rings, pellets and uncertain ornaments to left. Lower right quadrant contains inverted object resembling a heart with several short radiating lines at point and a central line with a

pellet either side.

Rev. Stylised horse left, course of pellets runs from back of ear along body down to hind hoof. A further curved line of pellets comes from line above flanks and has two pellets and two rings between two courses of pellets. Curved line of pellets above neck and in front of hind legs. Two pellets and a ring above the horse, ring under belly and in front of fore legs.

HT1-1a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. Similar to last but two large and two small pellet-in-ring devices over back, pellet-in-ring and ring behind horse. Additional ring and course of pellets between legs. Fore-legs connect to a ring, not the body.

HT1-1b Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. Apparently similar to last but ring with three upwardly radiating lines above horse and several pellets.

HT1-2 Ar unit. Obv. Devolved Apollo wreath pattern similar to last, but three thin crescents at centre, heart like device is now sub circular and is between two pellet-in-ring devices.

Rev. As HT1-1b.

HT1-3 Ar unit. Obv. Unclear but large 's' on side in upper right quadrant of design with pellet-in-ring in right curl.

Rev. Naturalistic horse left with mane with pellet ends. Ring and pellets over horse and ring below.

HT1-4 Ar unit. Obv. Devolved wreath of Apollo, one half of design

apparently filled with vertical wreaths and lines of pellets; two lines of elliptical pellets to right, uncertain devices above. Heart shaped device in lower quadrant has now become elliptical in form and contains two pellets. Within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and long pellet tail. Line with loop at base in front of head, line of pellets from behind head to flanks, pellet-in-cog above. Within circuit of pellets.

southern bronze group.

SB1-1 AE unit. Obv. Diademed bust right with corded hair. Two pellet-in-ring devices at base of three line diadem. Large ring-in-ring-in-ring at top of neck, two outer rings joined by radiating lines. Corded beard on rear half of jaw, three pellets below. Within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Bearded head right wearing a headdress (?) of a cock's neck, head and wings, the feet are behind the bearded head. Thick ring-in-cog above, curving line with pellet-in-ring at centre in front (snake ?), ring in circuit of pellets behind.

SB1-1a Ae unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. Similar to last but head left, with two probable pellet-in-arc devices behind.

SB1-1b Ae unit. Obv. As last but only one ring at base of diadem, ring in circuit of pellets in place of the three ring device with an elliptical circuit of pellets around large pellet, above. Only two pellet-in-rings under beard.

Rev. As SB1-1.

SB1-2 Ae unit. Obv. Similar to SB1-1 but head much thinner and cord appears to fall from upper ring at base of diadem. Pellet-in-ring under neck, ring in front of chin.

Rev. Similar to SB1-1 but possibly more curving lines in front of head, and two possible rings behind neck of cock. A 'Y' device with drooping top stems behind, and pellet in ring above, below tail of cock.

SB2-1 Ae unit. Obv. Head right similar to SB1-1 but with pellet-in-ring-in-cog at top of neck. Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

Rev. Horse left looking back over shoulder with ring head and crescent mouth. Arc of pellets from head to chest terminating in ring device, further arc of pellets to left. Ring at base of neck with 'Y' device radiating from it, one upper terminal in form of pellet the other a pellet in ring. Possible double flowing tail, ring above head and between legs. Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

SB2-1a Ae unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring in probable circuit of pellets behind rear of horse.

SB2-2 Ae unit. Obv. Similar to last but diadem made from three rows of pellets and hair is more wavy. Ring in very spiny cog in circuit of pellets at base of neck

Rev. Similar to last but horse more deeply curving, ring terminal of 'Y' now behind horses rear. Horse has upwards curling pellet tail. Strange device to left of neck with torc-like device on one end and ring on other, with spines on either side of line connecting these two devices. Pellet-in-ring above this device, pellet-in-ring under tail and ring between legs. Within at least partial circuit of pellets.

UNC1-1 Ar unit. Obv. Helmeted head left with pellet on chin. Apparent crest of lines and rings behind helmet, pellet, ring and pellet and uncertain device in front of head.

Rev. Horse left with pellet mane and tail. Wheel above with pellet rim with two rings below. Ring-in-ring under horse, pellet-in-ring in front of horse, possible ring under tail.

UNC1-2 Ar fraction. Obv. Two boars with feathery tails around central pellet-in-ring-in-circuit of pellets. Two pellet-in-ring devices behind boars.

Rev. Butting horse left with pellet mane and pellet on shoulder and flanks. Pellet-in-ring-in-circuit-of-pellets above and below horse, that above has pellet in circuit of pellets either side, pellet-in-ring and radiating

lines below and in front of horse.

UNC1-3 Ar fraction. Obv. Two upright horses facing with small crouched beast behind. Animals on line of pellets with pellet-in-ring below. Within circuit of pellets.

Rev. Horse right with pellet mane which curls at base, and two strand tail. Two pellet-in-ring devices above and two petals. Crescents before fore legs, two rings and further petals below horse.

UNC1-4 Ar fraction. Obv. Boar left with pellet ended spines and pellet-in-ring below. Uncertain legend anti-clockwise round boar apparently reading ..NARTOS.

Rev. Stag of crude style right, two rings over back, two joined arcs with pellets in arc in front of stag. Pellet and ring under belly and pellet under tail.

UNC1-5 Ar unit. Obv. Head left with prominent thick features. 'S' device on side below chin. Within beading.

Rev. Horse (?) over pellet and wheel.

Only known specimen is a fragment from Waltham St Lawrence (Burnett 1991, coin no. 24).

COMMIOS

COM1-1 Au stater. Obv. Degraded head of Apollo (fig.13.1).

Rev. Triple tailed celtic horse right. Inverted curled brooch-like device above with crescent terminal containing pellet. Three large pellets above tail, pellet within two crescents below. Five spoke wheel with central hub below

horse. Legend [CO]MM[IOS] below.

COM1-2 Au stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but no pellets above tail, COM above inverted brooch-like device, COMMIOS below horse. No wheel below the horse.

COM1-3 Au stater. Obv. As COM1-1.

A die variant (C) places pellets rather than rings between the two pairs of forward crescents. On certain dies a ring rather than a horn like device appears below the lower rear crescent.

Rev. As COM1-1 but three connected rings between lower terminal of brooch-like device and neck of horse.

COM1-4 Au stater. Obv. As COM1-1 but no pellet or ring devices in fields around crescents.

Rev. As COM1-1 but E device with drooping central bar between brooch-like device and horses neck. COMMIOS and six spoke wheel below horse. Three pellet device beneath horses chin. The three pellets above the tail may be replaced by a single ring.

COM1-5 Au quarter stater. Obv. Digamma with large pellet connected by line above in blank field.

Rev. Double tailed horse left with exaggerated chin.

E device above horse with drooping central bar.

Ring in front of horse, pellet above nose, ring and a ring-in-ring below, pellets below.

COM1-6 Au quarter stater. Obv. As COM1-5 but without line (dies C

and D).

Rev. As last but pellet-in-ring-in-cog wheel above horse with two rings at either side. Die variant (d) has band round the horse at the base of the mane.

COM1-6aAu quarter stater. Obv. As last but no pellet.

Rev. As last.

COM1-7 Ar unit. Obv. Crude bust left with almond eye and ladder hair. Two ring-in-ring devices before nose, nose and eye-brow device in front of mouth, chip pellets in outer curls of eye-brows. Three serpentine devices behind head. Rev. Double-tailed horse left, six spoked wheel device above, serpentine device below. Pellet ended crescent above head, above and under tail. Ring-within-ring before front knee. Three pellets below serpentine device on certain dies.

COM1-8 Ar unit. Obv. As COM1-7.

Rev. As COM1-7 but upright E device above horse.

COM1-9 Ar unit. Obv. As COM1-7.

Rev. As COM1-7 but down-facing E device above horse and ring-in-ring above horses head.

COM1-10 Ar unit. Obv. As COM1-8, but line suggests torc round neck.

Rev. As COM1-7.

COM1-11 Ar unit. Obv. As COM1-10, but whole design enclosed by solid line.

Rev. As COM1-7.

COM1-12 Ar minim. Obv. Crude bust with almond eye and ladder hair left, ring above nose, three ring-in-ring devices below. Rev. Single tailed horse left, pellet-in-ring above and below.

COM1-13 Ar minim. Obv. As COM1-12 but only two ring-in-ring devices before face. Rev. As last.

TINCOMMIUS

CELTIC SERIES

TIN1-1 AV stater. Obv. Devolved Apollo wreath pattern, fig. 13.1. Rev. Celtic horse leaping right, TIN above, DV reading from foreleg to chin. Beading from ear to tail, down turned crescent with two pellets, above horse but below beneath TIN. Thick irregular saw-toothed line (might read COMMIF) below horse from fore feet to beyond hind feet. Down pointing crescent with short line below, behind horse. Triple petal motif under horse's chin. Six spoked wheel with central hub below horse.

TIN1-1a AV stater. Obv. As 1-1 but constituents smaller, more widely spaced and less well executed. Rev. Celtic horse to right, with single thick erect ear containing central line. TINC above horse, D/S from fore foot to chin. Large pellet below TINC, pellet in almond-ring above head, triple petal motif below chin. Traces of

thick irregular saw-toothed line below horse.

NOTE: There are grounds for believing that this piece is a modern forgery

TIN1-2 Av stater. Obv. Devolved Apollo wreath pattern.

Rev. Triple tailed celtic horse leaping right, TIN, possibly TINC above horse, COMMI.F below. Three rings above horse but below legend, four spoke wheel below horse with ring either side, pellet in ring under tail.

TIN1-2a Av stater. Obv. as last.

Rev. As last but without ring either side of wheel.

TIN1-3 Av quarter stater. Obv. TINCOM / COMMI, line of tear-shaped pellets above, between and below. Lower line COMMI is initially visible on early dies, but legend then corrupts into zig-zag in which only an 'I' and possibly a 'V' are discernable.

Rev. Celticised horse left, with accentuated ears and ring nose. Seven spoke hubbed wheel above with pellet either side. Outline triple petal motif under horse's chin. Ring on line and thick reverse S motif on right, below horse.

TIN1-4 Ar silver unit. Obv. Crude face with ladder hair and almond eye left. Nose and eyebrow motif before mouth, pellet-in-ring before mouth.

Rev. Celticized horse left with double tail. TIN above, right facing winch hook below. Possible ring beneath chin of horse.

TIN1-5 Ar silver unit. Obv. Diademed head with woven style hair left. TINCOMMRVS reading from base of head to chin, two pellet in ring motifs at start and at end of legend. Three pellets below neck. Legend blundered on some specimens.

Rev. Celtic horse to left, ring nose and single erect ear, tail ends in three strands. Upwards facing crescent above horse with three radiating rays. Two small rings to right of crescent above tail. Pellet below chin. Line with ring head with thick reverse S motif to right, below horse.

PROTO-CLASSICAL SERIES

TIN2-1 Av quarter stater. Obv. COMF in sunken tablet, circuit of pellets broken by ends of tablet.

Rev. Horse leaping right with reins, TI below, N above. Enclosed by circuit of triangular beading.

TIN2-2 Av quarter stater. Obv. as last.

Rev. Horse leaping left with reins, TI above, C below. Enclosed by circuit of triangular beading.

TIN2-3 Av quarter stater. Obv. as last.

Rev. Horse leaping right with reins, TIN above, retrograde C below. Within circuit of triangular beading.

TIN2-4 Av quarter stater. Obv. COMF in sunken tablet (on extant specimens the F has clogged on the die).

- Rev. Thickly engraved horse to left with reins, T above.
- TIN2-5 Ar unit. Obv. Facing head with heavy features, band running across fore-head. Within circuit of beading.
- Rev. Prancing bull left, with tail raised. TIN above, C below. Two pellets beneath tail. Within ?triangular beading.
- TIN2-6 Ar unit. Obv. Laureate head left, ring behind. ?Within circuit of pellets.
- Rev. Prancing bull left with tail raised, TIN above, C below. Two pellets beneath tail. Within ?triangular beading.
- TIN2-7 Ar unit. Obv. Laureate head right within beading.
- Rev. Prancing bull right with tailed raised. TIN above, CO below.
- TIN2-8 Ar unit. Obv. Laureate head right, C or crescent with pellet behind. Within circuit of beading.
- Rev. Prancing bull right with raised tail. TIN above (possible pellet after N), C between hind legs, almond shaped O below chest.
- TIN2-8a Ar unit. Obv. As last.
- Rev. As last but O below bull contains pellet.
- TIN2-9 Ar unit. Obv. Laureate bust right. All known impressions are from a die that has been incorrectly prepared (p.). The resultant image is poorly defined and blobby.
- Rev. Thickly cut bull prancing right with raised tail. TI

above, C below.

TIN2-10 Ar unit. Obv. Uncertain. Possibly laureate head left.

Rev. Thickly cut bull left with tail raised. TI above, C below, pellet before C. Within circuit of beading.

Note: Possibly a poorly preserved TIN2-6 or 2-7.

CLASSICAL SERIES

TIN3-1 Av stater. Obv. Sunken tablet containing neatly cut and serifed legend TINC.

Rev. Classically engraved horseman right, thrusting down spear held in near hand. Horse rearing with hind legs on exergual line is clearly saddled and harnessed. Six-petalled star with central pellet above horse's head, .C.F below horse but above exergual line. Within circuit of beading.

TIN3-2 Av stater. Obv. as TIN3-1, but contains thickly cut unserifed legend TINCO.

Rev. Classically engraved horseman right, thrusting down spear held in near hand. Horse rearing with hind legs on exergual line and is clearly harnessed. Within circuit of beading.

Note: Only known specimen is from Selsey and is heavily sea-worn.

TIN3-3 Av quarter stater. Obv. Neatly engraved legend TINC within rectangle formed from pellets (only visible on fresh die impressions, solid line on other impressions). C above, A

below. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. Classically engraved facing head. Two wings on forehead with three irregular lines radiating from parting of wings. Fine line of pellets either side of face, thick wavy line (?hair) either side. Within circuit of beading.

TIN3-4 AV quarter stater. Obv. As last, but B below rectangle.

Rev. As last.

TIN3-5 Ar unit. Obv. Classically engraved laureate head right.

TINCOM from neck to forehead in neat letters, A behind bust. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. Eagle with extended wings, facing, head right. Snake held by head in eagle's beak, tail of snake held by feet. Within circuit of beading.

TIN3-6 Ar unit. Obv. As last but B behind head.

Rev. As last.

TIN3-7 Ar unit. COF within clockwise wreath, within beaded circles.

Rev. Draped 'Victory' figure right, holding wreath and palm. Wreath is raised above snake rising from altar. T behind figure, I in exergue and N to right of snake. Within beading.

TIN3-8 Ar minim. Obv. Neatly cut A within two interlaced squares with in-curving sides. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. Bird right on exergual line, four pellets under chin, branch above. Within circuit of beading.

TIN3-9 Ar minim. As last but B within squares.

Rev. As last.

TIN3-10 Ar minim. As last but C within squares.

Rev. As last.

TIN3-11 Ar minim. Obv. As last but CO within squares. Pellet between each corner of squares. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. Classically engraved bull butting right, tail raised over back, TI above.

CRUDE SERIES

TIN4-1 Av stater. Crudely cut TINC in sunken tablet.

Rev. Crudely engraved horseman right, thrusting down spear with near hand. Horse rearing with hind-feet on exergual line. Irregular star (ox-head?) behind horseman. Crude C below fore-feet, two pellets below tail.

TIN4-2 Av quarter stater. Obv. Crudely cut TIN in sunken tablet.

Rev. Crude thickly engraved boar left, pellet above. Within beading.

TIN4-2a Av quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. Boar or dog leaping left, irregular star (?ox-head) and irregular pellet above.

Note: Most reverse impressions are weak.

TIN4-2b Av quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. Very crude (die re-cut) boar left.

TIN4-3 AV quarter stater. Continuous clockwise wreath around large central pellet. Faint circular line outside wreath (may be edge or collar of die).

Rev. Horse right, near fore-leg raised. T above, C below.

TIN4-4 Ar unit. Two crossed scepters with letters T I N C in angles. Within circuit of beading.

Rev. Lion leaping left over ox-head (resembles star on worn dies) with raised tail, pellet below chin. Within circuit of beading.

TIN4-4a Ar unit. Obv. Letters between double crossed scepters (re-cut die).

Rev. As last.

TIN4-4b Ar unit. Obv. Letters T I N C around central pellet, traces of scepters in angles (re-cut die).

Rev. As last.

Note: All varieties of TIN4-4 are weakly struck, often from worn dies.

TIN4-5 Ar minim. Obv. C.F within two interlaced squares with incurving sides. Within beading.

Rev. Boar leaping right, pellet bristles on back. TI above, NC upside-down and retrograde, below. Within beading.

TIN4-6 Ar minim. Obv. Two crossed scepters with bull-heads with chins pointing inward, in each quadrant.

Rev. Bull's head within beading. Possibly pellet either side of head.

Note: Weakly struck, often from damaged dies.

TIN4-7 Av stater. Obv. COM.F in sunken tablet.

Rev. Horseman right on rearing horse, thrusting down spear held in near hand. Horse rears on exergual line, ring below tail. T behind horseman, I in front, NC below, upside-down and retrograde.

TIN4-7a Av stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but large TIN below front of horse, nothing behind horseman, two pellets below tail.

TIN4-7b Av stater. Obv. As last. (An altered coin, BM 879, reads TIN, the C and the right side of the flan appear to have been filed down).

Rev. As last but star behind horseman.

Note: TIN4-7a/b both struck from poorly prepared dies which give thick ill-defined impressions.

TIN4-7c Av stater. Obv. Neatly cut COMF in sunken tablet.

Rev. Horseman right, thrusting down spear held in near hand. Horse rearing with hind legs on exergual line is clearly saddled and harnessed, horseman wears helmet. TIN below horse, ring below tail and star between tail and raised arm of horseman.

TIN4-8 Ar unit. Obv. Central pellet with six radiating petals, traces of DIVVS IVLIVS legend in two opposed sextants, pellets in each of remaining sextants. Within line border.

Rev. Boy on dolphin right, two pellets behind, large

crude TIN below. Within line border.

TIN4-8a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. Boy on dolphin right, T below, within circuit of
clockwise 'S's. Within line border.

Note: Both varieties of TIN4-8 are weakly struck from poorly
prepared dies.

Uncertain mint

TINUNC1-1 Ar unit. Obv. Diademed head left. Within beading.

Rev. Boar right, crescent above, pentangle below head,
TINCO in exergue.

Eppillus (Calleva coinage)

EPP1-1 Av quarter stater. Obv. CALLEV with a six pointed star
above and below. Within beading.

Rev. Hound leaping right, EPPI above, pellet surrounded
by six pellets below.

EPP1-1a Av quarter stater. Obv. As last but reads CALLE.

EPP1-1b Av quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but three pellets below the tail of the
hound and a ring above the neck.

Both obverse and reverse variants are not peculiar to die pairings
and are linked into the main series.

EPP1-2 Ar unit. Obv. Large outline crescent with REX above and

CALLE below. Pellet surrounded by six pellets either side, pellet sometimes visible above crescent (This may be the mark left by compasses used to mark the line of the beading). Within beading.

Rev. Eagle flying right, EPP behind. Within beading.

EPP1-2a Ar unit. Obv. As last but reads CALL.

Rev. As last.

EPP1-2b Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but two pellet-in-ring devices connected by wavy line below eagle.

EPP1-2c Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. Blundered reverse die reads CVLLE instead of CALLE.

Only known paired with EPP1-2a (die F).

EPP1-3 Ar minim. Obv. Pellet in ring surrounded by four outward facing 'V's each containing a radiating line. Three pellets between each 'V'. Within beading.

Rev. Eagle flying right, EPPI below, within beading.

EPP2-1 AV quarter stater. Obv. Crescent surrounded by EPPILLV.COMM.F..

Rev. Horse prancing right, six pointed star above and below. Within beading.

EPP2-1a AV quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but three pellets above flanks of horse.

EPP2-2 Ar minim. Obv. Pellet-in-ring at centre of four crooked arms. Groups of four pellets between each arm.

Rev. Horse right with EPP above. Within beading.

EPP2-3 Ar minim. Obv. as EPP2-2.

Rev. Billy goat right, EPP or EPPI above, CO below.
Within beading.

EPP2-4 Ar minim. Obv. Ox head with bar behind, pellet above and
one either side of chin. Within beading.

Rev. Ram or goat leaping right, EPPI above, CO below.

EPP2-4a Ar minim. Obv. As last but enclosed by two circuits of
beading.

Rev. As last.

EPP2-5 AE ?half unit. Obv. Pellet-in-ring surrounded by eight
petals. Four crescents with pellets before arcs facing
petals. Pellet-in-ring between each crescent. Within
beading.

Rev. Hound with feline head leaping right, EPPI above,
COMF below. Groups of three pellets below tail, belly and
below chin.

NOTE: There is reason to believe that this is a silver type.

EPP3-1 Av quarter stater. Obv. EPPIL/COMF within beading.

Rev. Winged horse right, pellet-in-ring below. One or two
pellets behind wings. Within beading.

EPP3-2 AE unit. Obv. Bare headed male bust right, EPPI behind,
COMIF in front, pellet-in-ring after EPPI. Within
beading.

Rev. Large horned griffin left. Two pellets in front,
large pellet behind wing and large pellet-in-ring below
with two rings either side. Within linear band.

EPP4-1 Av stater. Obv. Draped Victory wearing cap left, torc in right hand, ?bow in left over shoulder. Within wreath.
Rev. Horseman right with carnyx over shoulder. Horseman appears to wear helmet and horse is saddled. F/EPPI.COM below. Within beading.

EPP4-2 Ar unit. Obv. Bare headed bust right with short beard of pellets. Within anti-clockwise wreath.
Rev. Boar to left, EPPI above, F/COM below. Within beading.

EPP4-2a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but three pellets above boars head.

EPP4-3 Ar unit. Obv. Classical bearded bust right in the style of Jupiter.

Rev. Lion to right with tail and fore leg raised. EPP or EPPI above, F under raised leg, COM in exurgue.

EPPUNC1-1 AE unit. Obv. Uncertain.

Rev. Lion or dog, poised to pounce, left, tail raised above. Pellet-in-ring above and behind, pellet above base of neck.

ALL1-1 Ar unit.. Obv. Bearded and diademed head left; diadem terminates in ring, from which a ribbons hang. Legend TCVI before bust. Within beading.

Rev. Winged nude male advancing figure right. On one die (a) figure has sword at hip, on die b the sword is carried over the shoulder. E P either side of legs. Within beading.

- ALL1-2 Ar unit. Obv. Head bust right. Hair contained by double band. Legend VIR before bust CO behind. Within beading.
 Rev. Capricorn left. Legend EPPI above, COMF below. Within beading.
- ALL1-3 Ar unit. Obv. Draped classical head right. Hair contained by band. Legend VIRI before bust. Within beading.
 Rev. Winged seated figure left. Figure wears cap and holds branch in right hand.
- ALL1-3a Ar unit. Obv. As ALL1-3 but direction of type reversed.
 Rev. As ALL1-3 but direction of type reversed.

VERICA

Calleva mint

- VERC1-1 Au stater. Obv. COM.F in box, ring above and below, triplet of pellets at either end of box.
 Rev. Horseman right with spear, on exurgual line. VIR below line, triplet of pellets above below horses forefeet. Group of six pellets around central pellet behind horseman. Within beading.
- VERC1-1a Au stater. Obv. As last.
 Rev. As last but no triplet of pellets and a ring replaces the group of pellets behind the horseman.
- VERC1-2 Au quarter stater. Obv. COMF in box with ring above and below. Within beading.
 Rev. Horse rearing right on exurgual line, VI above.

VERC1-2a Au quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but group of four pellets below horse's fore-legs (die d).

VERC1-2b Au quarter stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but group of three pellets.

VERC1-3 Ar unit. Obv. Legend COM.F with in-facing outline crescent above and below, pellet-in-ring to either side of each crescent, pellet between each crescent and the legend. Within beading.

Rev. Boar right on exurgual line, six pointed star above and VIRI below line. Within beading.

VERC1-3a Ar unit. Obv. As last but no pellets between crescents and legend.

Rev. As last but group of six pellets around central pellet above boar in place of star.

VERC1-3b Ar unit. Obv. As last, no pellets between crescent and legend, legend reads COMIF.

Rev. As VERC1-3.

VERC1-4 Ar unit. Obv. COMF in rectangle. Outward facing torc device containing tear-drop pellet with two smaller such devices facing inward either side, above and below rectangle. Within beading.

Rev. Eagle facing, head and tail turned to left, VI to left of head, RI to right. Within beading.

VERC1-4a Ar unit. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but legend RI VI.

VERC1-5 Ar minim. Obv. Central pellet with four radiating lines.
Each quadrant contains triplet of pellets. Within
beading.

Rev. Trident. Within beading.

NOTE: This coin is uninscribed and may therefore belong to
Eppillus's series from Calleva.

VERC1-6 Ar minim. Obv. Pellet in ring at centre with four outward
facing V's containing radiating lines around, triplet of
pellets between each V.

Rev. Fist holding trident right, V to left of wrist, R to
right, REX below. Within beading.

NOTE: A variant of the reverse, lacking the trident and
legend, is apparently from an uncompleted die.

VERC1-7 Ar minim. Obv. VIR contained between two lines with out-
facing crescent at either end. Group of six pellets
around a central pellet above and below. Within
beading.

Rev. Boars head to right.

VERC1-8 Ar minim. Obv. Central pellet-in-ring with four radiating
triplets of pellets around. Within beading.

Rev. Lion leaping to right, VIR above, triplet of pellets
below with downward facing torc device containing tear-
drop pellet either side.

VERC1-8a Ar minim. Obv. As last.

Rev. Uncertain animal with seal-like head right, VI
above, group of four pellets and a ring below.

VERC1-9 Ar minim. Obv. Central pellet-in-ring with four radiating lines. Each quadrant contains an outwards facing torc device containing a tear-drop pellet. Within beading.

Rev. Boar leaping to right, VIR above. Upward facing torc device boar containing tear-drop pellet with triplet of pellets either side below boar.

VERC1-10 Ar minim. Obv. As VERC1-9.

Rev. As VERC1-9 but VI above boar and R below.

VERC2-1 Au stater. Obv. COMF in sunken tablet.

Rev. Mounted spear man right, VIR above horses rear, REX below horse's fore-legs. Crescent below rear legs and lituus below tail. Within beading.

VERC2-1a Au stater. Obv. COMFI in sunken tablet (die M).

Rev. As last.

VERC2-1b Au stater. Obv. As either VERC2-1 or VERC2-1a depending on die combination.

Rev. As VERC2-1, VERC but no crescent.

VERC2-2 Au quarter stater. Obv. Roman style thunder bolt, COM above, FILI below. Within beading.

Rev. Leaping horse right, VIR above, pellet-in-ring below. Within beading.

VERC2-3 Au quarter stater. Obv. VERIC / COM.F, crescent above, six pointed daisy-like flower below.

Rev. Horse right with far fore-leg raised, REX below and six pointed daisy-like flower above.

VERC2-4 Ar unit. Obv. Shield boss in form of pellet-in-ring

inside another ring, VERICA.COM.F around. Within beading.
(On a worn dies the E appears as 1 to give VIRICA).

Rev. Leaping lion right, REX below and upwards facing
crescent above.

VERC2-4a Ar unit. Obv. As last but two rings connected by four
radiating lines.

Rev. As last.

VERC2-4b Ar unit. Obv. As last but four pairs of radiating lines.

Rev. As last.

VERC2-5 Ar minim. Obv. VIR / VAR in square divided by central
line, ring above and below. Within beading.

Rev. Lion leaping left, CO below.

VERC2-6 Ar minim. Obv. As VERC2-5.

Rev. Winged horse to right, CO below.

VERC2-7 Ar minim. Moustached head right. Within beading.

Rev. Prancing horse right, VIR above horse, F(retrograde)
CO below. Within beading.

VERC2-8 Ar minim. Legend VIRIC within beading.

Rev. Leaping boar to right, ring below, carnyx above.
Within beading.

Note: An obverse die of this type becomes flawed, leading to
Van Arsdell's fantastic description for VA 423-1 (1989, 165).

VERC2-8a Ar minim. As last but legend retrograde.

Rev. As last.

VERC2-9 Ar minim. Obv. Cornucopia, COM to left, VER to right.
Within beading.

Rev. Prancing bull right on exurgual line.

VERC2-10 Ar minim. VERI within beading.

Rev. Classical urn with elaborate side handles, crescent mouth and pellet stopper. Group of four pellets either side of mouth. Within beading.

VERC3-1 Ar unit. COM - MI F(below); thyrsus between two cornucopiae, all springing from elaborate cup.

Rev. VERI CA, draped female seated right, spear in left hand, shield below.

VERC3-2 Ar minim. As VERC3-1 but no legend, within beading.

Rev. Eagle left with wings raised. Within beading.

VERC3-3 (= VERS3-3) Au quarter stater. Obv. Horseman right holding sword in right hand and small shield in left, COMMIF behind. Within beading.

Rev. As VERC3-1.

VERC3-4 Ar unit. Obv. Single cornucopia right, Roman prow to right, COMMIF to left. Within beading.

Rev. Capped mounted spear-man right, VERIC below. Within beading.

NOTE: 3-3 and 3-4 appear to be struck using Southern mint obverse and reverse dies (respectively) and are apparently 'hybrid's or mules.

Southern mint

Crude series

VERS1-1 Au stater. Obv. COM.F in sunken tablet.

- Rev. Mounted spear-man right, VIR below, ring below tail, five pointed star above rear. Within beading.
- VERS1-2 Au quarter stater. Obv. COM.F in sunken tablet. Within beading.
- Rev. Horse right on exurgual line with harness, VI above. Within beading.
- VERS1-3 Ar unit. COMF, in-facing crescents above and below with pellet between crescents and legend. Within beading.
- Rev. Boar right, five pointed star above and VIRI below.
- VERS1-3a Ar unit. Obv. As last but COMI.F.
- Rev. As last.
- VERS1-3b Ar unit. Obv. As VERS1-3.
- Rev. Legend reads VIRIC.
- VERS1-3c Ar unit. Obv. As VERS3-1.
- Rev. As VERS3-1 but VIR below exurgual line.
- VERS1-3d Ar unit. Obv. As VERS3-1.
- Rev. As VERS3-1 but VI. below exurgual line.
- VERS1-4 Ar minim. Obv. C followed by pellet in rectangle with incurving ends with pellet on outside of each crescent. Ends of a rectangle with in-turned ends above and below, each containing pellet. Within beading.
- Rev. Boar right, VIR above.
- VERS1-5 Ar minim. Obv. As last but irregular star in place of letter C and pellet.
- Rev. As last but legend above bull reads VI.

Classical series

Early minims.

VERS2-1 Ar minim. Obv. COF in rectangle, pellet in O. Pellet to left and right of rectangle, pellet-in-ring above and below. Within beading.

Rev. Facing head with centrally parted hair, VERI below.

VERS2-2 Ar minim. Obv. Broad bodied urn with REX above. Within beading.

Rev. VERICACOMMIF, eagle right with wings raised, eagle appears to wear a neck tie.

VERS2-3 Ar minim. Obv. Two door temple with domed roof, C F either side. Within beading.

Rev. Facing bulls head, inverted V above, ERICA below.

NOTE: This minim may originate from the Calleva mint.

VERS3-1 Au stater. Obv. Vine leaf, VI to left, RI to right,

Rev. Horseman to right with oval shield and ?spear on back, C behind horseman, O above horses head, F below. Within beading.

VERS3-1a Au stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but platform beneath hind feet.

VERS3-1b Au stater. Obv. As last.

Rev. As last but platform beneath fore- and hind legs.

VERS3-1c Au stater. Obv. As last but VE to left of vine leaf (die G).

Rev. As VERS3-1b.

VERS3-1d Au stater. Obv. VERS3-1c.

Rev. As VERS3-1b but F is retrograde.

VERS3-1e Au stater. Obv. As VERS3-1.

Rev. As VERS3-1 but horse's hind feet rest on hatched box.

VERS3-2 Au quarter stater. Obv. Vine leaf, V to left, R below and I to right. Pellet in ring by stem. Within beading.

Rev. Horseman right with sword in right hand and small round shield in left, on exurgual line. C before horse, O below and F behind.

VERS3-3 Au quarter stater = .VERC3-3.

NOTE: Hybrid from Calleva and Southern mint dies (p.).

VERS3-4 Au quarter stater. Obv. As reverse of VERS3-2 but COMMIF behind horseman. Within beading.

Rev. Laureate head of Tiberius right, VIRI in front.

VERS3-5 Ar unit. Obv. Butting bull left on exurgual line, VERICA above (inverted) REX below. Within beading.

Rev. Female draped figure facing left, large ear of corn in right hand, human head impaled on ornate staff in left. COM to left, MIF to right. Within beading.

VERS3-6 Ar unit. Obv. As reverse of VERS3-1 but legend reading COMMIF below horseman. Within beading.

Rev. Mounted spear man charging right, VERI behind CA below. Within beading.

VERS3-7 Ar unit. Obv. Naked male, head to right, left arm raised

holding round ?fruit, holds lituus in right hand. Legend
COMMIF at knee level. Within beading.

Rev. Bust of Tiberius right, VIRI or VERI behind, CA in
front.

VERS3-8 Ar minim. Obv. Temple with circular door. Inverted C F
either side. Within beading.

Rev. Butting bull right, VER inverted above, REX below.
Within beading.

VERS3-9 Ar minim. Obv. Vine leaf, C F either side O or ring by
stem. Within beading.

Rev. Prancing horse right on exurgual line, VER above, CA
belong. Within beading.

VERS3-10 Ar minim. Obv. Torc containing CF. Within beading.

Rev. Bust of Tiberius right, VERIC (VE ligate) in front.
Within beading.

Late minims

VERS4-1 Ar minim. Obv. Boars head on pole right, CF inverted
below. Within beading.

Rev. Eagle with wings spread, V E either side of feet and
tail. Within beading.

VERS4-2 Ar minim. Obv. Three interlaced stems terminating in
acorns, C F either side of top acorn. Within beading.

Rev. Hippocamph right, VER inverted above, CA below.
Within beading.

VERS4-3 Ar minim. Obv. Savage looking bust right, COMM IF around,

pellet in ring either side of IF. Within beading.

Rev. Seated winged sphinx right, VE in front, inverted R above. Within beading.

VERS4-4 Ar minim. Obv. Seated winged sphinx right with C F between fore feet. Within beading.

Rev. Curled hound to left, VERI above. Within beading.

VERS4-5 Ar minim. Obv. Object resembling Cromwellian helmet, right, small and large ring below. Within beading.

Rev. Sphinx seated left on exergual line.

Uncertain mint

VERUNC1-1 Au quarter stater. Obv. COMF in sunken tablet, arc above and below, each end terminating in a triplet of pellets.

Rev. Dragon headed horse left, VIR above, spoked wheel below.

VERUNC1-2 Ar unit. Obv. VIRIC between two lines, outward facing devices resembling a carinated torc above and below. Within beading.

Rev. Leaping winged horse right, pellet above, five pointed star below. Within beading.

Coins of 'CRAB' and 'SIIC'

CRAB1-1 Ar unit. Obv. CRAB in the angles formed by cruciform

device composed of two wreaths. Pellet-in-ring at centre.
Within beading.

Rev. Eagle left with expanded wings, head to right. Two pellets beside right wing.

CRAB1-2 Ar minim. Obv. CRAB in tablet, ring above and 's' on side below.

Rev. Star formed of six arcs with pellet ends, pellet in ring at centre, triangles of pellets in arcs. Within beading.

CRAB1-2a Ar fraction. Obv. CR followed by two thin parallel lines in tablet, 's' device above, ring below.

Rev. As CRAB1-2.

SIIC1-1 Ar minim. Obv. SIIC or SIIG in rectangle with in-curving ends. Pellet in ring above and below.

Rev. Lion (?) prancing left

CONCORDANCE.

| Bean | Van Arsdell (1989) | Haselgrove (1987) | Mack (1975) |
|--------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| A1 | 200-1 | | 28 |
| A2 | 202-1 | S4.1 | 29 |
| C | 1220-1 | S4.2 | 31 |
| D | 1215-1 | S4.4 | 33 |
| Q1-1 | - | - | - |
| Q1-1a | - | - | - |
| Q1-2 | 210-1 | - | - |
| Q1-3 | 212-5 | S5.1 | 58 |
| Q1-3a | - | - | - |
| Q1-4 | - | - | - |
| Q1-5 | 216-1 | S5.2 | 59 |
| Q1-6 | - | - | - |
| Q1-7 | - | - | - |
| Q1-8 | - | - | - |
| Q1-9 | - | - | - |
| Q1-10 | - | S6.1 | 60 |
| Q1-10a | - | S6.1 | - |
| Q1-10b | - | S6.1 | - |
| Q1-11 | 212-1, 215-1 | S6.1 | 61 |
| Q1-12 | - | - | - |
| Q1-13 | - | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|----------|-------------------|------------|------|
| Lz3-1 | 1507-1 | E6.22 | 145 |
| Lz3-2 | 1507 'another' | E6.22 | 144 |
| Ly3-1 | 158-1 | SE6.1 | 78 |
| Ly3-2 | - | - | - |
| Ma1-1 | 1520-1 another(2) | E6.12 | - |
| Ma1-2 | - | E6.12 | - |
| Ma1-3 | 1520-1 | E6.12 | 148 |
| Ma1-4 | 1520-5 | E6.12 | - |
| Ma2-1 | 1522-1 | - | 147 |
| Ma2-2 | 1522-5 | - | - |
| QcT1-1a | 220-1 | S5.1a | - |
| QcT1-1b | - | - | 65 |
| QcT1-1c | - | - | - |
| QcT1-1d | - | - | - |
| QcT1-1e | - | - | - |
| QcT1-2a | - | - | - |
| QcT1-2b | - | - | - |
| QcT1-2c | - | - | - |
| QcT1-2d | - | S5.1b | 63 |
| QcT1-2e | - | - | - |
| QcT1-3 | 224-1 | S5.1a | 64 |
| QcT1-4 | 230-1 | - | 66 |
| QcTM1-1a | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1b | - | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|----------|-------------|------------|------|
| QcTM1-1c | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1d | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1e | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1f | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1g | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1h | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1i | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1j | 228-1 | S5.1b | 71 |
| QcTM1-1k | 226-1 | - | - |
| QcTM1-1l | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1m | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-1n | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-2a | - | - | - |
| QcTM1-2b | 222-1 | S5.1a | 70 |
| QcTM1-3 | - | - | - |
| QcT2-1 | 236-1 | S6.1 | 69 |
| QcT2-2 | 256-1 | S6.1 | 67 |
| QcT3-1 | - | - | - |
| QcT3-2 | - | - | - |
| QcT3-3 | - | - | - |
| QcT3-3a | - | - | - |
| QcT3-4 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-1 | - | S6.52 | 72 |
| QcD1-2 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-3 | 242-1 | S6.52 | 73 |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|---------|-------------|------------|------|
| QcD1-4 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-5 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-6 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-7 | 232-1 | - | - |
| QcD1-8 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-9 | 246-1 | S6.41 | 75 |
| QcD1-10 | - | - | - |
| QcD1-11 | - | - | - |
| QcD2-1 | 1015-1 | S6.51 | 74 |
| QcD2-1a | - | - | - |
| QcD2-2 | - | - | - |
| QcD2-3 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-1 | 65-1 | - | 37 |
| QcD3-2 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-3 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-4 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-5 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-6 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-7 | 244-3 | - | - |
| QcD3-8 | 250-1 | S6.42 | 77 |
| QcD3-9 | - | - | - |
| QcD3-10 | 254-1 | S6.53 | 80 |
| QcD3-11 | - | - | - |
| QcD4-1 | - | - | - |
| QcD4-1a | 78-1 | - | 79 |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|---------|-------------|------------|------|
| QcD4-2 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-1 | - | ?ST3.4 | - |
| QsT1-2 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-2a | - | ST3 | - |
| QsT1-3 | - | ST3.1 | 87 |
| QsT1-4 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-5 | - | ?S6.62 | - |
| QsT1-6 | - | ?S6.63 | - |
| QsT1-7 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-8 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-9 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-10 | - | - | - |
| QsT1-11 | - | S6.81 | 86 |
| QsT1-12 | - | ?S6.81 | - |
| QsT2-1 | - | ?S6.72 | - |
| QsT2-2 | - | - | - |
| QsT2-3 | - | - | - |
| QsT2-4 | - | - | - |
| QsT2-5 | - | - | - |
| QsT2-6 | - | - | - |
| QsT3-1 | 867-1 | - | - |
| QsT3-2 | - | - | - |
| QsT3-3 | 282-1 | - | - |
| QsT3-4 | - | - | - |
| QsT3-5 | - | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|---------|-------------|------------|------|
| QsT3-6 | 292-1 | - | - |
| QsT3-6a | - | - | - |
| QsD1-1 | 286-1 | - | - |
| QsD1-2 | 288-1 | - | - |
| QsD1-2a | - | - | - |
| QsD1-3 | 262-1 | S6.64 | 88 |
| QsD1-4 | - | - | - |
| QsD1-5 | - | - | - |
| QsD1-6 | - | - | - |
| QsD1-6a | - | - | - |
| QsD1-6b | - | - | - |
| QsD1-7 | - | - | - |
| QsD1-7a | - | - | - |
| QsD1-7b | - | - | - |
| QsD2-1 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-2 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-3 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-4 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-4a | 290-1 | - | - |
| QsD2-5 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-6 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-7 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-8 | 1662-1 | - | 446d |
| QsD2-9 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-10 | - | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|----------|-------------|------------|------|
| QsD2-11 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-12 | - | ST2 | - |
| QsD2-13 | - | ST2 | - |
| QsD2-13a | - | - | - |
| QsD2-13b | - | - | - |
| QsD2-14 | - | - | - |
| QsD2-15 | 482-1 | S7.1 | 119 |
| QsD3-1 | 264-1 | S6.61 | 89 |
| QsD3-1a | - | - | - |
| QsD3-2 | 268-1 | S6.61 | 90 |
| QsD3-2a | 270-1 | S6.61 | 91 |
| QsD3-3 | 284-1 | - | - |
| QsD3-3a | - | - | - |
| QsD3-4 | - | - | - |
| QsD3-5 | - | - | - |
| QsD3-5a | - | - | - |
| QsD3-5b | - | - | - |
| QsD3-6 | - | ?S6.82 | - |
| QsD3-7 | - | - | - |
| QsD3-8 | - | - | - |
| QsD3-9 | - | - | - |
| QsD3-10 | 280-1 | - | - |
| QsD3-11 | - | - | - |
| QsD3-11a | - | - | - |
| QsD3-12 | - | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|--------|---------------|------------|------|
| HT1-1 | - | - | - |
| HT1-1a | - | - | - |
| HT1-1b | - | - | - |
| HT1-2 | 1280-1 | ST1.1 | 321 |
| HT1-3 | - | ST1.2 | 321a |
| HT1-4 | - | - | - |
| SB1-1 | - | - | - |
| SB1-1a | - | - | - |
| SB1-1b | - | - | - |
| SB2-1 | - | - | - |
| SB2-1a | - | - | - |
| SB2-2 | - | - | - |
| UNC1-1 | - | - | - |
| UNC1-2 | - | - | - |
| UNC1-3 | - | S6.71 | - |
| UNC1-4 | - | - | - |
| UNC1-5 | - | - | - |
| COM1-1 | - | - | - |
| COM1-2 | - | - | - |
| COM1-3 | 350-1 | S6.2 | 92 |
| COM1-4 | 352-1 | - | - |
| COM1-5 | 351-1(i & ii) | - | - |
| COM1-6 | 353-5 | S6.53 | 83 |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|---------|-------------|------------|------|
| COM1-7 | 355-5 | S6.62 | 446b |
| COM1-8 | 355-1 | - | - |
| COM1-9 | 355-3 | - | - |
| COM1-10 | - | - | - |
| COM1-11 | - | - | - |
| COM1-12 | - | - | - |
| COM1-13 | - | - | - |
| TIN1-1 | - | S7.1 | - |
| TIN1-1a | 362-1 | S7.1 | 93 |
| TIN1-2 | 363-1 | S7.1 | 94 |
| TIN1-3 | 365-1 | S7.1 | 95 |
| TIN1-4 | 473-1 | S7.21 | 131b |
| TIN1-5 | - | - | - |
| TIN1-6 | - | - | - |
| TIN2-1 | 387-1 | S7.22 | 101 |
| TIN2-2 | 388-1 | S7.22 | 102 |
| TIN2-3 | 390-1 | S7.22 | 104 |
| TIN2-4 | 389-1 | S7.22 | 103 |
| TIN2-5 | 370-1 | - | - |
| TIN2-6 | 396-1 | S7.21 | 106 |
| TIN2-7 | - | S7.21 | - |
| TIN2-8 | 381-1 | - | - |
| TIN2-9 | 381-3 | - | - |
| TIN2-10 | - | - | - |
| TIN3-1 | 375-1 | S7.21 | 96 |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|---------|-------------|------------|-------|
| TIN3-2 | 376-3 | - | - |
| TIN3-3 | 378-1 | S7.21 | 97 |
| TIN3-4 | - | - | 97var |
| TIN3-5 | 397-1 | S7.21 | 105 |
| TIN3-6 | - | - | - |
| TIN3-7 | - | - | - |
| TIN3-8 | 561-1 | S7.21 | 316 |
| TIN3-9 | 562-1 | - | - |
| TIN3-10 | 383-5 | - | - |
| TIN4-1 | 376-1 | S7.21 | 98 |
| TIN4-2 | 379-1 | S7.21 | 99 |
| TIN4-2a | - | - | - |
| TIN4-2b | - | - | - |
| TIN4-3 | 366-1 | S6.42 | 81 |
| TIN4-4 | 372-1 | - | - |
| TIN4-4a | - | - | - |
| TIN4-4b | 382-1 | S7.1 | 106a |
| TIN4-5 | 383-1 | S7.21 | 118 |
| TIN4-6 | 483-1 | S7.1 | 120 |
| TIN4-7 | - | - | - |
| TIN4-7a | - | - | - |
| TIN4-7b | 385-1 | S7.22 | 100 |
| TIN4-7c | - | - | - |
| TIN4-8 | 371-1 | - | - |
| TIN4-8a | - | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|-----------|-------------|------------|------|
| TINUNC1-1 | - | - | - |
| EPP1-1 | 407-1 | SE8.1 | 107 |
| EPP1-2 | 415-1 | SE8.1 | 108 |
| EPP1-3 | 420-1 | - | - |
| EPP2-1 | 409-1 | SE8.1 | - |
| EPP2-2 | 421-1 | - | - |
| EPP2-3 | - | - | - |
| EPP2-4 | 422-1 | - | - |
| EPP2-5 | - | - | - |
| EPP3-1 | 435-1 | SE8.1 | 302 |
| EPP3-2 | - | - | - |
| EPP4-1 | 431-1 | SE8.21 | 301 |
| EPP4-2 | 416-1 | - | - |
| EPP4-3 | 417-1 | - | 305 |
| EPPUNC1-1 | - | - | - |
| ALL1-1 | 442-1 | - | 307 |
| ALL1-2 | 443-1 | - | 308 |
| ALL1-3 | 532-1 | - | 130 |
| VERC1-1 | 461-1 | S8.11 | 109 |
| VERC1-2 | 466-1 | S8.11 | 112 |
| VERC1-3 | 470/472-1 | S8.11 | 115 |
| VERC1-4 | 471-1 | - | - |
| VERC1-5 | 486-1 | - | - |
| VERC1-6 | 487-1 | - | - |
| VERC1-7 | 564-1 | S8.11 | 117 |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|----------|-------------|------------|------|
| VERC1-8 | 484-1 | S8.2 | 120c |
| VERC1-8a | - | S8.2 | 120a |
| VERC1-9 | - | - | - |
| VERC1-10 | 510-5 | S8.12 | - |
| VERC2-1 | 500-1 | S8.2 | 121 |
| VERC2-2 | 468-1 | S8.2 | 114 |
| VERC2-3 | 501-1 | S8.2 | 122 |
| VERC2-4 | 505-1 | S8.2 | 123 |
| VERC2-5 | - | - | - |
| VERC2-6 | 511-1 | S8.2 | 120d |
| VERC2-7 | 480-1 | S8.22 | 116 |
| VERC2-8 | 423/510-1 | S8.11 | 120b |
| VERC2-8a | 485-1 | - | - |
| VERC2-9 | 559-1 | - | - |
| VERC2-10 | 554-1 | - | - |
| VERC3-1 | 531-1 | S8.22 | 129 |
| VERC3-2 | 555-1 | - | - |
| VERC3-3 | 526-1 | . | 126 |
| VERC3-4 | - | - | - |
| VERS1-1 | 460-1 | S8.11 | 109 |
| VERS1-2 | 467 | S8.11 | 113 |
| VERS1-3 | 470-3 | - | - |
| VERS1-3a | - | - | - |
| VERS1-3b | - | - | - |
| VERS1-3c | 470-7 | - | - |

| Bean | Van Arsdell | Haselgrove | Mack |
|-----------|-------------|------------|------|
| VERS1-3d | 470-5 | - | - |
| VERS1-4 | 387-3 | - | - |
| VERS1-5 | - | - | - |
| VERS2-1 | 384-1 | - | - |
| VERS2-2 | 563-1 | - | - |
| VERS2-3 | 552-1 | S8.22 | 120e |
| VERS3-1 | 520-1 | S8.21 | 125 |
| VERS3-2 | 525-1 | S8.21 | 124 |
| VERS3-3 | 527-1 | S8.22 | 126 |
| VERS3-4 | 526-1 | S8.22 | 126 |
| VERS3-5 | 506-1 | - | - |
| VERS3-6 | 530-1 | S8.22 | 128 |
| VERS3-7 | 533-1 | S8.22 | 131 |
| VERS3-8 | 553-1 | - | - |
| VERS3-9 | 550-1 | - | - |
| VERS3-10 | 551-1 | S8.22 | 132 |
| VERS4-1 | - | - | - |
| VERS4-2 | 556-1 | - | - |
| VERS4-3 | - | S8.22 | - |
| VERS4-4 | 557-1 | S8.22 | - |
| VERS4-5 | - | - | - |
| VERUNC1-1 | 465-1 | S8.11 | 111 |
| VERUNC1-2 | - | - | - |
| CRAB1-1 | 1285-1 | S9.4 | 371 |
| CRAB1-2 | 1286-1 | S9.4 | 372 |

Bean

Van Arsdell

Haselgrove

Mack

SIIC1-1

-

-

-

APPENDIX 1: COIN 'HOARDS' AND TEMPLE DEPOSITS FROM THE STUDY
AREA.

There are 34 groups of coins from the study area which have at some time been claimed to be hoards (excluding solely Gallo-Belgic hoards). The composition and reliability of individual hoards is discussed in appendix 2. Five 'hoards' come from sites later occupied by Roman temples, 16 appear to come from sites with no associated archaeology. There are two, possibly three groups of coastal finds, from Selsey, Bognor and possibly Portsmouth (although the latter may constitute a parcel from Hayling Island, appendix 2). The reliability of the remaining hoards is certainly not beyond question.

As a particular set of these coin groups are from Romano-Celtic temple sites we should ask if they can be treated in the same way as other 'hoards' of coins. The coins from Selsey and Bognor should also be examined to see how they compare to the other groups. As the term 'hoard' is both ambiguous and suggestive, the neutral term 'deposit' will be used in the following discussion.

At Wanborough, Waltham St Lawrence and Lancing, Roman coins have been recovered with Celtic coins. Due to the extremely unsatisfactory conditions surrounding the recovery of these coins they must be treated with caution. The problems are exemplified by the Waltham St Lawrence deposit. In this case coins which appeared inappropriately late were excluded from the 'hoard' on this ground alone (Burnett 1992, 19-20). Only at Hayling Island have Roman and

Celtic coins been recovered under controlled conditions.

Traditionally there has been an incentive to identify all these deposits as groups concealed with the intention to recover. This being due entirely to the Treasure Trove law returning groups concealed without the intention to recover to the finder and/or landowner.

First it is necessary to compare the coins from sites of Romano-Celtic temples with those deposits from sites with no apparent archaeological association. If one examines the denominations included in these deposits an immediate contrast is apparent (fig. 11.2). The deposits from sites without any apparent archaeological association are principally composed of gold denominations, often staters. There are only four possible [small] deposits of silver coins from sites without apparent archaeological association Battle, (coins of Iceni), Pevensey, New Timber Hill and 'Uncertain 1968-1974'. Only the Ashdown deposit contained both silver and gold coins. All these deposits contain coins from a brief period of time like the gold deposits from non temple sites. Where gaps are apparent on fig.10.1 this is principally due to the difficulty of portraying contemporary groups in a linear diagram. The Birling deposit of gold plated cores is exceptional (appendix 2).

These deposits contrast to the majority of temple deposits. Most of the coins from these groups are silver denominations, and

| | Au | Au1/4 | Ar | Ar1/4 | AE | Au(pl) | Au1/4(pl) | Ar(pl) |
|-------------------------------|------|-------|------|-------|------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Non-temple deposits | | | | | | | | |
| Ringwood | 97.8 | 2.2 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Yarmouth | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Farnham | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Womersh | 69 | 31 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Kingsclere | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Maidenhead | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Hampstead | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Norreys | | | | | | | | |
| Bowerchalke | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Ashdown | . | 20 | 50 | 20 | . | . | 10 | . |
| Unknown II | 75 | 25 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Camberley | . | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Petersfield | . | . | 100 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Robinwood | 97.5 | 2.5 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Pevensay | . | . | 100 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Apuldrum | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Finkely | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Tangmere | 28.3 | 71.7 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Alresford | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Timberhill | . | . | 100 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Matfield | 100 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Unknown I | . | . | 100 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Temple/marine deposits | | | | | | | | |
| Waltham St Lawrence | 9.8 | 7.5 | 33 | 4.5 | 7 | 15.5 | 3 | 12.8 |
| Hayling Island | 1.2 | 5.5 | 24.4 | 7.32 | 15.2 | 9.1 | 8.4 | 28.7 |
| Wanborough | 0.6 | 4.7 | 78.3 | 9.7 | 4.3 | 1.35 | . | 1.1 |
| Danebury | . | 5.5 | 62 | 23.6 | . | 1.8 | 5.45 | 1.8 |
| S. Downs | . | 3.8 | 18.9 | 66 | 3.8 | 1.9 | . | 5.7 |
| Lancing | . | . | 6 | 70 | 12 | 6 | . | 6 |
| Farley | . | 2 | 25 | 48 | 25 | . | . | . |
| Selsey | 15.3 | 81.1 | 3.6 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Bognor | 16 | 74 | 8 | . | . | . | . | . |
| Unreliable deposits | | | | | | | | |
| Alfriston | 66 | 23 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Wallingford | 56 | 44 | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| Portsmouth | . | . | 100 | . | . | . | . | . |

Figure 11.2: The composition of deposits from the study area by denomination. For QsD types a coin weighing > 0.5g has been treated as a unit, those <0.5g as minims. Forgeries in Pb treated as plated coins. Silver/billon staters and quarters treated as Ar. These figures are at variance with Briggs, Hazelgrove and King (1993) table 2.

while quarter staters are not infrequent, staters are rare. While it may be argued that the highest value coins were recovered at a later date, the great quantity of silver minims is in contrast to the non-temple deposits. With the exception of the Farley Heath temple deposit, it is clear that coins from temple deposits cover a far longer period of time than the groups from non-temple sites (fig. 11.1). It is also apparent that the temple deposits contain a significant number of coins of other tribes, which is less usual in non-temple deposits. With the exception of the Birling deposit, discussed in appendix 2, the non-temple groups contain, with the exception of the plated quarter stater in the Ashdown hoard, no plated cores. This is in certain contrast to the deposits from temple sites which contain a significant quantity of plated coins (fig. 11.2).

Deposits from temple and non-temple sites are therefore of a very different nature, and they will be considered separately. There is a further category of deposits, those from Bognor, Selsey and possibly Portsmouth. These deposits contain coins covering a broad period of time, like the temple deposits (fig. 11.1). However they contain principally gold coins, like the non-temple deposits. These deposits clearly constitute a further category and will be considered accordingly.

We will first turn our attention to the deposits of coins from non-temple sites. From figure 11.1 it is immediately apparent that these deposits belong to two broad episodes. The first group contains British Q and associated coins only. The

Ashdown hoard was probably deposited later as the silver coins it contains are possibly later than the quarter stater. The second group ends in the southern mint coins of Verica and the broadly contemporary staters of Epaticcus in the Alresford hoard.

It may however be wrong to identify these deposits with single episodes. The Tangmere deposit contained many little worn coins of Tincommius, equally fresh Calleva quarters of Verica, but only one southern mint quarter stater of Verica, which is an early type and also little worn. This deposit may be seen as further evidence for Verica's later ascendancy to the southern seat. The Finkley hoard provides further evidence for this theory, including staters of Tincommius, but only one stater of Verica from the Calleva mint, which is little worn. The Alresford and Hatfield deposits contain a substantial quantity of southern mint staters of Verica, some from both hoards were quite worn, suggesting a later date for deposition.

One might tentatively associate the first wave of deposits with the aftermath of the Gallic war and the ensuing upheavals which led Commius to enter this area. The second wave might partly be associated with the increasing pressure on Verica from the north which eventually necessitated his flight to Rome. The Finkley and Tangmere deposits, however, may date to the period of Verica's taking and consolidating his southern seat.

The composition of these groups allow a number of inferences. The only deposit from the study area to contain British A1, Ringwood, included a Gallo-Belgic D quarter stater

and staters of the Baiocasses. It contained no other British coins. This confirms the early position of British A1 as suggested by the Westerham, (Kent) hoard. The next major phase of coinage, British Q, is neatly fixed by the Farnham deposit, which confirms that the type is broadly contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E.

The role that geography plays in the composition of these deposits is apparent. The coins of Eppillus, so well represented in the northern temple deposits at Wanborough and Waltham St Lawrence, are noticeably absent at Hayling Island, Finkley Down and they appear to have been comparatively scarce in the Tangmere group (fig. 11.1).

The unparalleled group from Birling deserves comment. One can only speculate as to the circumstances surrounding the concealment of this group of gold plated cores. The styles of the coins are sufficiently different to suggest that they are by different hands and do not constitute a forgers' hoard; there is also no duplication of types. The hoard is of some importance if it is not a collection of plated coins made over a long period of time. It suggests that at the time of deposition Gallo-Belgic E staters might be encountered in circulation alongside north Thames staters of Dubnovellaunos, which are significantly lighter, less noble, and on accepted dating half a century later. Such diversity in a non-temple deposit is exceptional. This might suggest that the coins in the other non-temple deposits were selected for their similar alloy, and may not be a true

sample of the circulating coin.

There are five deposits from sites later occupied by Roman temples and there are reasons to believe that three further coin groups come from pre-Roman religious sites. Coins from such sites are not peculiar to this part of the country. A large number of Celtic coins have been recovered from the Roman temple site at Harlow. A smaller number of coins have also been recovered from the Roman temple at Thistleton, Lincs (May 1992). The latter deposit is however far more modest than those from southern sites. The phenomenon is not restricted to Britain. There is a definite concentration of Celtic coins surrounding the temple at Corent, Aulnat (Malacher and Collis 1992, 192).

It has already been observed that these deposits are of a very different composition to the deposits from non-temple sites. The typical 'hoard' interpretation of these sites has been doubted in certain instances (Fitzpatrick 1992, 4). In view of the particularly long period of time represented in these temple deposits, one must question whether they are the result of a single episode of deposition. Firstly it is necessary to ascertain the nature of these sites before the construction of the Roman temples.

Re-excavation of the badly disturbed temple site at Lancing, in 1980, revealed an earlier wooden structure beside the Roman temple which has been interpreted as a LPRIA shrine (Bedwin 1981). The site itself is on raised ground and very close to the source of a stream. It is noteworthy that the Roman temples at

Farley Heath, Weycock Hill and Wanborough also occupy high ground. At Hayling Island the bulk of the Iron Age material comes from the loam surrounding, and particularly in front of the first circular timber building which is enclosed by a square ditch. This structure is thought to have stood from the second half of 1st BC to c. AD 60/70. The Roman temples at Farley Heath and Weycock Hill (Waltham St Lawrence) are not known to have pre-Roman structures beneath them. However the coins from these sites, which compare to Lancing and Hayling Island, may indicate that such structures have gone undetected in previous excavations. No evidence of a Iron Age building was found at Wanborough. The presence of priestly regalia here, from the same 300msq as the coins (Surrey Arch. Soc. 1986), strongly suggests a cult site pre-dating the temple. The great majority of the Celtic finds recovered by excavation from this site came from a dark layer overlying a depression in the clay. The obvious interpretation is that this area originally formed a bog or pond, a condition it soon reverted to during the wet winter excavation of the site. A similar water association is probable at Farley Heath, a number of springs rise close to the temple, particularly close to the area recently disturbed by metal detectorists (Chadburn pers. comm.).

Most, if not all these sites appear to have been Iron Age religious centres. We must turn our attention to the nature of the deposition of the coins. Haselgrove has argued that the large number of coins from Wanborough constitute a single foundation

deposit at the time of the construction of the Roman temple (Haselgrove 1987, 287). The broad chronological range of types has been seen to demonstrate that these coins spent their lives immobilised in treasuries or otherwise hoarded, and were thus available for deposition in the early Roman period. Interpreting the original Lancing report literally, Haselgrove argued that the coins from this site, apparently found on the Roman floor surface, also argue for the immobilization of coins and their deposition in the Roman period (1987, 292). This literal interpretation may however be questioned and would seem less likely (appendix 2). As both sites have produced evidence of pre-Roman religious use, it seems simplistic to ascribe the deposition of coins to the Roman period.

There is a body of evidence to suggest that the coins from these sites were not derived from a single episode of deposition. The fact that the first find of coins from Farley Heath, 11 Durotrigian staters, were found in a discrete group, indicates that these coins were deposited as a separate parcel. The separate holes and rumours from the recent detecting of the site suggest that the silver coins were also found in separate parcels. At Hayling Island, while most of the coins appear to have been disturbed by the construction phases of the Roman temple, one small group of continental coins were recovered intact, apparently forming a discrete parcel (Haselgrove 1987, 276, 403; Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, 8). The peculiar group of coins allegedly found at Portsmouth c.1830 may also be a

similarly discrete group of coins from Hayling Island temple (appendix 2). The official account of the Wanborough finds is revealing (cf Haselgrove 1987, 286). The initial group of coins, interpreted as a single hoard of c.10 silver coins, was found just below the crest of the Hog's Back. This was followed by the discovery of two larger parcels nearer to the temple. This alone indicates that the deposit was composed of at least three physically separate parcels or groups of coins. This observation is corroborated by the accounts of metal detectorists active at Wanborough. The recurring theme to their accounts is the finding of separate small groups of coins, often of a single type, in addition to some single coin finds. Two such groups of 'PIND' were recorded as well as a 'lump' of 40 units of Cara[ctacus]. The common interpretation placed on these groups by their finders, that they were the contents of purses or the like, seems correct. It appears that they, and perhaps single or unbounded coins, were cast into the bog or pond and the surrounding area. The discrete nature of these groups and often the lack of wear to coins in them (cf Burnett 1992, pl, 7-12), suggests that we are seeing specific episodes of deposition. This, rather than long term hoarding and immobilization, would account for the early and little worn coins from these sites. North of the Thames at Harlow there is the suggestion of similar deposition, two of the QcT1-1 were found '...cupped together, as no doubt, they were originally deposited' (Allen 1964, 2). The deposition of coins in a series of separate hoards or groups is paralleled at certain temple

sites in France (Magnard 1978, 307-9).

The time span of coins represented at these temple sites varies (fig. 11.1). At Hayling Island and Waltham St Lawrence a significant number of little circulated early types, particularly silver, were present. The very earliest gold types (which significantly predate the silver) are however significantly worn. At Wanborough the emphasis is a little later. At Hayling Island there appears to have been a significant increase in the quantity of coins deposited from the coinage of Tincommius onwards. At Wanborough and Waltham St Lawrence the increase is manifest in the quantities of Tincommius' TIN3 and TIN4 coins. The very large number of coins of Epaticcus and later types of Verica may have been deposited in the Roman period. It would have been these coins, particularly those of Epaticcus and the much rarer issues of Cara[ctacus], that formed the bulk of the Celtic coins circulating locally at the Roman Conquest. The non-temple deposits from this area, none of which contain Roman coins, suggest the Roman coinage quickly replaced the Celtic system. The remaining Celtic coins in circulation (predominantly late types) therefore appear to have had little monetary function. The deposits from temple sites suggest that these coins were, in a sense, redeemed by using them for offering purposes.

The time span covered by the coins from Lancing, Wanborough, Hayling Island and Waltham St Lawrence is similar, suggesting that they had been the location for offerings for broadly the same period of time. The coins presently known from Farley Heath

are later in emphasis, and suggest this site did not become the focus for offerings until 1st AD.

It has been suggested that Iron Age coinage developed from a medium used to meet social obligations, to one used to meet obligations with the super-natural world (Bradley 1987, 358). This clearly parallels the Roman conception of votive offerings used to fulfil an 'agreement' or 'contract' made between a worshipper and a god. Worshippers would make a particular request and provide a specific offering for it to be fulfilled (Henig 1984, 32-33). The temple deposits may well be the result of an earlier such practice.

A notable feature of the coins from temple sites is the large quantity of plated coins they include (fig. 11.2). It has been suggested that these coins were a special purpose temple money (Henig 1984, 22-23). However plated coins are well known from sites with no religious connections and are relatively well known from nucleated settlements from Lincolnshire (May 1992) to the south of England. These plated coins are accomplished products and their intention can have only been to deceive. It is likely that a small number of forgeries might have been deposited at Iron Age religious sites innocently. However the great number from Hayling Island (19% of the gold, 47% of the silver) requires further explanation. The Iron Age religious site and associated coin deposits appear to have been severely disturbed by the construction of the Roman temple. The spatial spread of coins at Lancing also appears to indicate severe disturbance of earlier

deposits (appendix 2). One may hypothesize similar though less severe disturbances at Wanborough. Nash has argued that the disturbance at Hayling Island (Nash in Downey et al 1980, 301) would have led to the retrieval of the precious coins, which would have been used to defray the cost of the new larger Roman temple. Haselgrove, however, has questioned whether such mercenary activity is appropriate to this period (1987, 405). The full publication of the stratification of these coins may help to resolve this matter.

If significant silver deposits from non-temple sites were known from this area, it might be possible to compare the number of plated coins in such deposits. Only the non-temple deposit from Ashdown contained a plated coin. It might however be argued that such groups were put together with a good deal more care than the groups deposited at religious sites. The proportion of plated coins from Wanborough and Waltham St Lawrence is lower than at Hayling Island (fig. 11.2). If these sites are accepted as typical then the original proportion of good coins from Hayling Island may have been much higher (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, 6). A small but significant percentage of plated coins from temple sites might be explained in other ways. Worshippers may have been less critical of coins used for offering purposes. Known recognised forgeries may even have been deliberately deposited, as the temple may have offered the only place where the face value of these coins could, in a sense, be redeemed.

Like the deposits from non-temple sites, those from temple sites reflect the proximity of local mints. The high number of coins of Eppillus, Verica (Calleva mint) and Epaticcus in the Waltham St Lawrence and Wanborough deposits reflect the proximity of the Calleva mint. By comparison Calleva types are noticeably scarce compared to southern mint coins at the southern sites of Hayling Island and Lancing. The location of these temple deposits is also to a degree reflected in the proportions of coins from neighbouring tribes included. This supports Creighton's hypothesis (1992, 84) that initially coins will circulate about their point of issue. This is supported by the little circulated condition of coins from temple sites, for example the Calleva mint coins from Waltham St Lawrence.

The broad chronological span and composition of the Nether Wallop deposit suggest a religious site. The presence of gold coins in this group would militate against them coming from a market site (contra Van Arsdell 1989, 543; fig. 11.2). The absence of coins of Eppillus might be expected from such a southern location. The absence of coins of Tincommius is, however, puzzling; one can only assume this is due to our incomplete record of the find. A similar chronological span and wide range of types is apparent in our partial record of the 'South Downs' temple site, and again the coins of Eppillus are absent.

Like the temple site deposits the coin deposits from Selsey

and Bognor cover a long period of time (fig 11.1). The major difference, however, is that nearly all the coins are gold and there are no plated coins (fig. 11.2). Plated coins might not, however, survive this hostile environment, the known silver from Selsey is very abraded. It has been argued that the Selsey and Bognor coins emanate from the same single deposit (Aldsworth 1987, 45). Although existing sand spits attest to drift it might be doubted that coins could cross the Church Norton channel that separates the two sites. The coins themselves appear, where a specific provenance is known, to have come from several specific areas. Heron-Allen (1919) certainly implies that one discrete deposit of c.200 coins was found at Selsey.

The span of all the gold coins from Selsey/Bognor is far broader than that of known non-temple deposits. The Gallo-Belgic B and C staters reflect the vestigial element of early coins in the Waltham St Lawrence and Hayling Island deposits. More significantly, like the gold from temple sites, the Bognor/Selsey groups are dominated by quarter staters (fig. 11.2). Specific groups of these, such as the QcD4-1, appear to form discrete groups; in the way that certain types are known to be from discrete parcels from temple sites. The Selsey/Bognor deposits also mirror the temple site deposits in that they show a marked increase in deposition for the coins of Tincommius. Like temple and non-temple deposits, the contents reflect the proximity of the southern mint (fig. 11.1), coins of Eppillus being rare from Selsey and absent from Bognor. These observations suggest that

the Selsey/Bognor coins may emanate from deposits at religious sites. For some reason, probably the hostile environment, plated coins are absent and only a few very abraded silver coins are known. The wide spatial distribution of the finds (Aldsworth 1987, fig.3; fig. 11.3) could be the result of sea action. The whole area may in some way have been sacred, and a number of separate deposits made. Many of the other religious sites which have produced celtic coins in the area appear to have water associations, perhaps the sea at Selsey and Bognor represented a grand water association.

It might however be argued that several hoards were deposited in this area over a long period of time, for secular rather than religious reasons. This would help to explain the broad spatial distribution of the finds and the predominance of gold coins. The parallels of the group as a whole with temple deposits remain striking.

There are two groups of coins that are at best treated as uncertain, those from Alfriston and Wallingford. These are discussed in details elsewhere (appendix 2). The Alfriston group, with its exceptional span, is at best incomplete or more probably a collection. The Wallingford group can be divided into a group centered on British Q and another on the staters of Tincommius and Verica. Such a distribution of types from non-temple sites is without precedent in the study area, although individually the two groups are paralleled. The group does compare to the distribution of coins from Bognor (fig. 11.1) which may have been

the source for some of these coins (Haselgrove 1987, 283).

It is therefore apparent that there are at least two separate types of Celtic coin deposit in the study area. Firstly deposits of usually uniform metal, usually high denominations, invariably from sites without religious associations. Typically they include a short range of types and appear to relate to a single episode of deposition. The second category come from sites which often have evidence for pre- and post-Conquest religious activity. The coins from these sites are largely silver, often include types from other tribes and cover a long period. The deposit is formed by many separate parcels of coins deposited over a long period and such sites have yielded significant numbers of plated coins. The coin groups from Selsey/Bognor may be the remnants of such deposits or perhaps a number of 'hoards' of the first category.

The rarity of silver in non-temple deposits, and its abundance in temple deposits, inversely reflects the small quantity of gold, particularly staters, from temple deposits when compared to non-temple deposits. This strongly argues for a division of value. Quarter staters are not uncommon from temple sites, but staters, even their cores, make up only a very small proportion (fig. 11.2). This argues that while staters could be collected together and deposited at a non-religious site as a store of wealth, their value, and perhaps circulation sphere, was beyond that appropriate to offerings at a religious site.

APPENDIX 2: THE DEPOSITS.

Below are detailed all deposits and probable deposits from the study area (hoards containing solely Gallo-Belgic coins are considered elsewhere). The names by which the hoards are commonly known, and to which they are referred in the text, are underlined. The following abbreviations are used in the contents listings:

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------------|
| GB | Gallo-Belgic | Ar | Silver unit |
| Au | Gold stater | Ar1/4 | Silver fraction |
| Au1/4 | Gold quarter stater | (pl) | Plated |

Alfriston, nr Burnt House, Sussex c. 1824

Early casts suggest that a group of coins was found at this location in c.1824. Their sale in 1844 has led to the date 'c.1840' being commonly cited as their date of discovery (Haselgrove 1987, 289; e.g. Van Arsdell 1989, 530). The group consisted of at least six gold coins, Allen (1960, hoard 22) included only the staters. A further gold stater of Tincommius, found 1846, is possibly a stray (the only reference to this coin is Haselgrove (1987, 289); it does not appear in any other gazetteer or the Oxford Index). The profile of this group is unique (fig. 11.1). The Gallo-Belgic gold and that of Tincommius would seem to form two separate groups. The Wealden quarter stater appears to lie mid-way between both groups. The Gallo-Belgic Aa2 appears very early, though it could be a residual

element. At best this group might be considered as a collection, including at least one possible hoard.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 1 GB Aa2 Au1/4 | 1 GB E Au |
| 1 Au1/4 VA 151-1 | 1 Au TIN1-2 |
| 2 Au TIN4-7b | |
| 1 Au Tincommius uncertain type (1846 find) | |

Maresfield, Duddleswell, Ashdown Forest 1825

According to Evans (1864, 92) about 20 gold and silver coins were found, although only the ten engraved in the original notice (NC 2, 1839, 231) can be readily identified. Evans' account implied more gold quarter staters than he specified.

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 1 Au1/4 VA 151 | 1 Au1/4(pl) VA 151 |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD3-8 | 5 Ar QcD3-1 |
| 2 Ar1/4 QsD3-2 | |

Lancing Down, Sussex 1838

These coins have received much uncritical attention. The original account (Gentleman's Magazine 1838, 631, 2) seems both ambiguous and inaccurate. It appears that the coins were discovered during what might loosely be termed the excavation of the Roman temple. They were found on a tessellated floor, at the centre of which were a quantity of ashes. In all 25 Ancient British, Roman and Saxon 'pieces' were recovered. 'On one side of the edifice 12 pieces of silver coins, no two pieces of which were alike...' were recovered.

The way in which the author treats the 'ashes' should caution our approach. He clearly interprets the mound covering the temple as a tumulus, and ashes were therefore expected. Only

six of the Celtic coins have survived, although the majority were seen by Roach-Smith who sent impressions to Evans, from whose description (1864, 183-5) others can be identified. 17 Celtic coins were recovered, together with nine bronze coins from Claudius to Commodus, and a coin of Gallienus.

Haselgrove (1987, 292) suggested that these coins were deposited in the temple cella, the remainder having been stolen at a later date or missed by the 'excavators'. 12 of these coins are silver minims, however, which suggests that either enormous quantities of minims were present or that certain care must have been taken in their recovery. If the account is reliable then it appears that the coins were above the Roman pavement, and by implication must have been deposited after the conquest. Haselgrove took this as further evidence for the late circulation of southern silver (1987, 292).

There are problems with this view. First, 12 coins are recorded from the side of the 'edifice', and it is possible that these coins derived from contexts predating or disturbed by the Roman temple. A further problem is posed by the 'ashes'. Excavation in 1980 (Bedwin 1981) revealed several Bronze Age burials around the temple, implying that the 'ashes' might actually belong to a burial below the temple. This would suggest that the horizon of the tessellated floor is not so reliable. Further, the 1980 excavation revealed a wooden structure beside the Roman temple, which was interpreted as a late Iron Age temple. No coins were found. However the whole site had been

grubbed up in 1833 by a farmer, and it seems likely that the only coins to survive in-situ would be those protected by the stone cella of the temple. Prior to the excavation in 1980 the site had been machine stripped, which may have removed disturbed coins in the plough soil.

There is further evidence to suggest that the coins were not deposited in the Roman cella. At least three coins are described, in a later account, as originating from burials, '...a Gaulish or British coin from grave O, and two coins one silver one plated from grave R...' (Roach-Smith 1845, 93). Haselgrove suggests that these coins were probably intrusive (Haselgrove 1987, 293), although they could possibly parallel the Deal grave coin (Parfitt 1993). A gold brooch from grave R suggests the graves date to mid C2nd AD (Collingwood and Richmond 1969, no.109) indicating that the coins are residual and have accidentally entered the grave. This argues that, as at Hayling Island and Harlow, the coins were spread over a wide area. Like the coins from the cella area these coins have only survived the C19th grubbing by being buried deep in the graves. The graves themselves are 5-6m from the south east corner of the temple, beyond the limit of the mound.

These coins appear to be the remnant of a group typical of those found at other temple sites (fig. 11.1). The small total may be the result of coins recovered and removed during the construction of the Roman temple, or more probably later disturbance of the site. It seems unlikely that a sample of coins

was retained during the building of the temple to form the group found in 1838. The three Anglo-Saxon sceattas found on the site indicate a later period of activity and may be indicative of a later episode of looting. The deposit certainly contained the following Celtic coins.

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1 Ar1/4 QsD3-2 | 1 Ar1/4 QsD2-15 |
| 2 Ar1/4 TIN4-5 | 4 Ar1/4 TIN2-6 |
| 1 Ar ALL1-3 (grave R) | 1 Av(pl) VERC2-1 (grave R) |
| 1 Ar(pl) VERS3-6 | 2 Ar1/4 VERC1-7 |
| 2 Ar1/4 VERC2-7 | |
| 1 Ae (Gaulish) Scheers 216 (possibly from grave) | |
| 1 Ae (Gaulish?) uncertain type (Grave P) | |

Battle, Sussex, before 1839.

The records of this hoard are most unsatisfactory. It appears that it contained at least five silver coins of the Iceni. It is not detailed nor examined here as it contained no coins from the study area (analysis exists elsewhere: Haselgrove 1987, 289-290; Chadburn forthcoming). A number of coins of the Iceni are known from the study area, and the 12 coins of the Iceni from Wanborough makes the hoard seem quite probable. This likelihood is increased by the obvious links between certain Icenian quarter staters and British Qc and the similarity between QcD4-1 and the 'Bury' types.

Bognor, Sussex 1841-2 and subsequent finds

This group of finds appears to be discrete from the coins from Selsey. Aldsworth (1987, 45) has suggested that they could be derived from Selsey. While sand spits attest to drift in this

direction it seems unlikely that coins could cross the Church Norton harbour mouth channel.

The initial group found on the sea shore from 1841-2 was entirely composed of quarter staters. Other coins have been recovered, including several from Aldwick beach which Haselgrove suggests may have been the location of the original find (1987, 290). However no staters were recorded from the original find and the only two coins found together at Aldwick beach were staters of Tincommius. Several different deposits could have been involved. In total 32 coins have been found. In addition a 425g gold alloy ingot was found on the beach at Felpham, although it is not securely dated. This might equate, if Celtic, to the torc fragment from the Weybourne hoard (Allen 1971) and the ingot from Selsey.

It has been impossible to trace eight of the coins listed as subsequent discoveries by Haselgrove (1987, 290) and these are shown below in brackets.

1841-2 find

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 3 Au1/4 GB Db | 4 Au1/4 GB Dc |
| 1 Au1/4 COM1-5 | 1 Au1/4 TIN3-3 |
| 1 Au1/4 TIN4-3 | 1 Au1/4 VERC1-2 |
| 1 Au1/4 VERS1-2 | 1 Au1/4 British O |

Later discoveries, Aldwick beach

| | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| 1 Au TIN3-1 |) found | |
| 1 Au TIN4-7b |) together | (1) Au1/4 British O |

Between Middleton and Elmer beach

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| (1) Au1/4 Qc(uncertain type) | 1 Au1/4 TIN2-3 |
|------------------------------|----------------|

Unspecified

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1 Au1/4 QcT1-4 | 1 Au1/4 QcD1-1 |
| 1 Au Mal-1 | 1 Ar QsT1-6 |
| (2) QsD3-8/TIN4-3 | 1 Au1/4 COM1-5 |
| (3) Au1/4 COM1-5 | 1 Au1/4 TIN1-3 |

1 Au1/4 TIN3-2 (1) Au1/4 TIN3-2/4-2
1 Au Cunobelin (before 1904) 1 Ar Rhone valley

Maidenhead, Berkshire, before 1845

A ticket in the British Museum implies that five coins were found here (Haselgrove 1987, 269), on the strength of a second coin (Evans 1864, 67) a further type may be suggested.

5(+) Au Q1-3 1(+) Au Q1-5

Wonersh, Albury, Surrey, 1848

Only 29 coins survive from this hoard, although Tupper (1859) estimated that it had contained c.40 coins. Subsequently a number of coins from this hoard have been re-attributed to Farley Heath (Haselgrove 1987, 288-9). As Haselgrove observed the rarity of the types involved make two such finds, so chronologically close, unlikely. Further examination of these coins shows them all to be similarly worn.

1 Au ?Q1-3(possibly Q1-10/11) 6 Au1/4 VA 145/7
3 Au1/4 Ly3-1 19 Au Mal

Farley Heath temple, Albury, Surrey, before 1853 and c.1991-2

The first group of coins from this site is recorded somewhat ambiguously by Evans (1864, 117), but we can be confident that the parcel of 11 Durotrigian staters came from this group.

A number of coins from C19th collections are described as

coming from Farley Heath, although none explicitly state that they are from the temple site. As a group they compare to the finds from recent detecting of the site and also to other temple sites (fig. 11.1, 11.2).

In late 1991 and early 1992 the temple site was subject to the attention of metal detectorists. A number of their pits have been identified (Chadburn pers. comm.) largely to the west, but also within the temple compound. It has been possible to record a sample of these coins but the record is by no means complete. It has not been possible to examine the small number of denari and C4th AEs said to have been found.

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| C19th finds | |
| 11 Ae Durotrigian VA 1290 | 1 Ar VERC1-3 |
| 1 Au1/4 VERC2-3 | 1 Ar VERC2-4 |
| 1 Ar VERC3-1 | 1 Ar VERS3-7 |
| 1991/2 finds | |
| 2 Ar VERC1-3 | 1 Ar1/4 VERC1-7 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERC1-10 | 6 Ar1/4 VERC2-8 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERS2-2 | 3 Ar VERS3-7 |
| 6 Ar1/4 VERS3-9 | 3 Ar Epaticcus VA 580 |
| 6 Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 585 | Several uninscribed Ar of Dobunni |

Farnham Castle Park, Farnham, Surrey c.1859-1930

Whitbourn (1859) records the discovery of a uniface gold coin near the castle. In 1980 a detectorist found two further gold coins in the castle grounds, a further seven were subsequently recovered by excavation. It appears that this deposit was scattered by the construction phases of the castle. A further gold coin found 'in Farnham' in 1966 may belong to this

deposit.

6 Au GB E

4 Au Q1-3

Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, Hants., 1867

The details of this find are not preserved. The hoard was apparently found near Yarmouth, apparently on the coast. All of it passed to Evans (1864, 445).

8 Au C

Wallingford, Berks., before 1891

The records of this deposit are frustratingly unclear and confused. It appears that the coins entered the collection of a Mr Davies, a resident of the parish. A letter from Mr Davies (Seaby quoting in Berks A.J. 1891, lxii) implies that at least 30 coins had been found within a two-mile radius of Wallingford. This implies that not all the coins are necessarily hoard coins, and it appears that often their local provenance was simply assumed (Haselgrove 1987, 282). In view of this uncertainty the group is of little value. The 1891 letter includes references to silver and bronze coins of Eppillus, Verica and Cunobelin. On the face of it all the coins could be from a Wanborough-like deposit, or simply be an accumulation of local finds.

The case for the hoard is further weakened by the history of the recording of the group. Our current list dates from a letter from T.H.Powell to P.Manning at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which mentions the hoard directly with exact contents. This was

taken from the 1893 Sotheby sale catalogue for the Davies collection. These coins are in fact the only ones in the sale which lack a provenance.

Haselgrove (1987, 283) believed that some of the coins may have originated from Bognor, and it is apparent that Davies was often uncritical of his sources (VCH Berks I, 222-7). There is evidence that at least some of his coins came from someone who deliberately falsified provenances (cf Stead 1984).

There remains reason to believe that a hoard was actually found in Wallingford. Five British Q stater are known to have been in the possession of a Mr Tooley of the parish, although they were later believed to have been found at Penzance. Allen favoured Wallingford as the origin for these coins (1960, 289, 17a). This hoard may have included some of the earlier coins from the Davies collection.

Below is a listing of the coins known to be from Wallingford. Allen erroneously listed the Verica stater as M100 instead of M125 (1960, 290, 18a), a mistake followed by Van Arsdell (1989) who also omits the Gallo-Belgic Db quarter stater. Haselgrove omits the Eppillus stater and the Cunobelin quarter (1987, 282; Allen regarded the latter as a possible intrusion, (1960, 290, 18a)). Given the presence of other Calleva mint coins in the group, there seems no reason to reject the Eppillus stater.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| 1 Au1/4 GB Db an early coin, from Bognor ? | |
| 5 Au Q1-3 |) same |
| 3 Au1/4 QcTM1-1 |) source ? |
| 1 Au1/4 QcTM1-2 | |
| | 1 Au1/4 QcD2-1 |
| | 1 Au1/4 QcD1-1 |

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Au1/4 TIN1-3 | 1 Au1/4 TIN2-2 |
| 1 Au1/4 TIN2-3 | 1 Au1/4 TIN 3-3 |
| 1 Au1/4 TIN4-3 | 1 Au EPP4-1 |
| 1 Au1/4 VERC2-3 | 1 Au VERS3-1 |
| 1 Au Cunobelin VA 1927 | |

Selsey, Sussex, C19th - present

The remains of one or more hoards of mainly gold coins have been found at several locations along the beach at Selsey, although exact locations for many are not recorded. A possible gold ingot (Aldsworth 1987, 43) and other objects are known, but some of these probably emanate from a late Saxon hoard (Aldsworth 1987, 43). Willett (1879) mentions over 300 coins, but does not supply details, Allen (1960) accounted for 271. To this number can be added two finds made in 1935 and 1950, and Haselgrove (1978) adds a further 13 coins. The Selsey '1986 hoard' is here disregarded (below). It has been suggested that the 32 coins from Bognor may be associated with the Selsey deposit(s) (Aldsworth 1987, 45), however these coins are here treated as a separate group.

Allen (1960) considered that at least two deposits were involved. Heron-Allen (1911, 73-4) refers specifically to 200 coins found together in a pocket of brick earth. The coins recorded by Willett (1879) and Evans (1864; 1890) may come from another group (Aldsworth 1987, 45). The variety of find-spots (Aldsworth 1987, fig.3; fig. 11.3) indicate that the coins may have come from several deposits. This is borne out by the coin list below in which certain types appear to cluster at certain locations. In particular the six QcD4-1 stand out (they are not

known from any other site), unlike most coins from Selsey they are little water worn or leached, further indicating that they come from a discrete deposit. The coins from Selsey are principally gold, possibly suggesting that several non-temple deposits are involved, rather than settlement or temple site deposits, which are usually composed of lower denominations. The earliest Gallo-Belgic coins, which are few in number, would appear from their condition to have been old when deposited.

The principal problem in viewing the group(s) as a conventional deposit is the very long time range represented, and it certainly appears that separate 'parcels' are represented rather than a single deposit. This is proved by the spatial distribution of the finds and the condition of peculiar groups such as the QcD4-1. Below is an amended list which seeks to resolve the differences in the accounts (Haselgrove 1987, 294-297; Aldsworth 1987, microfiche 25-34) and includes recent finds. The coins are listed in sequence of recovery with find site when known.

In 1986 a further group appeared, allegedly from Selsey (Bone and Burnett 1988). There are certain difficulties with this find. Firstly it contains an unprecedented number of Calleva coins, particularly those of Eppillus, which are otherwise very rare from Selsey. Secondly it contained an exceptional number of silver coins for Selsey (13 out of the 17 declared; compare to fig. 11.1). Thirdly, with the exception of coins 1, 10 and 16 the remaining coins are exceptionally well preserved for Selsey

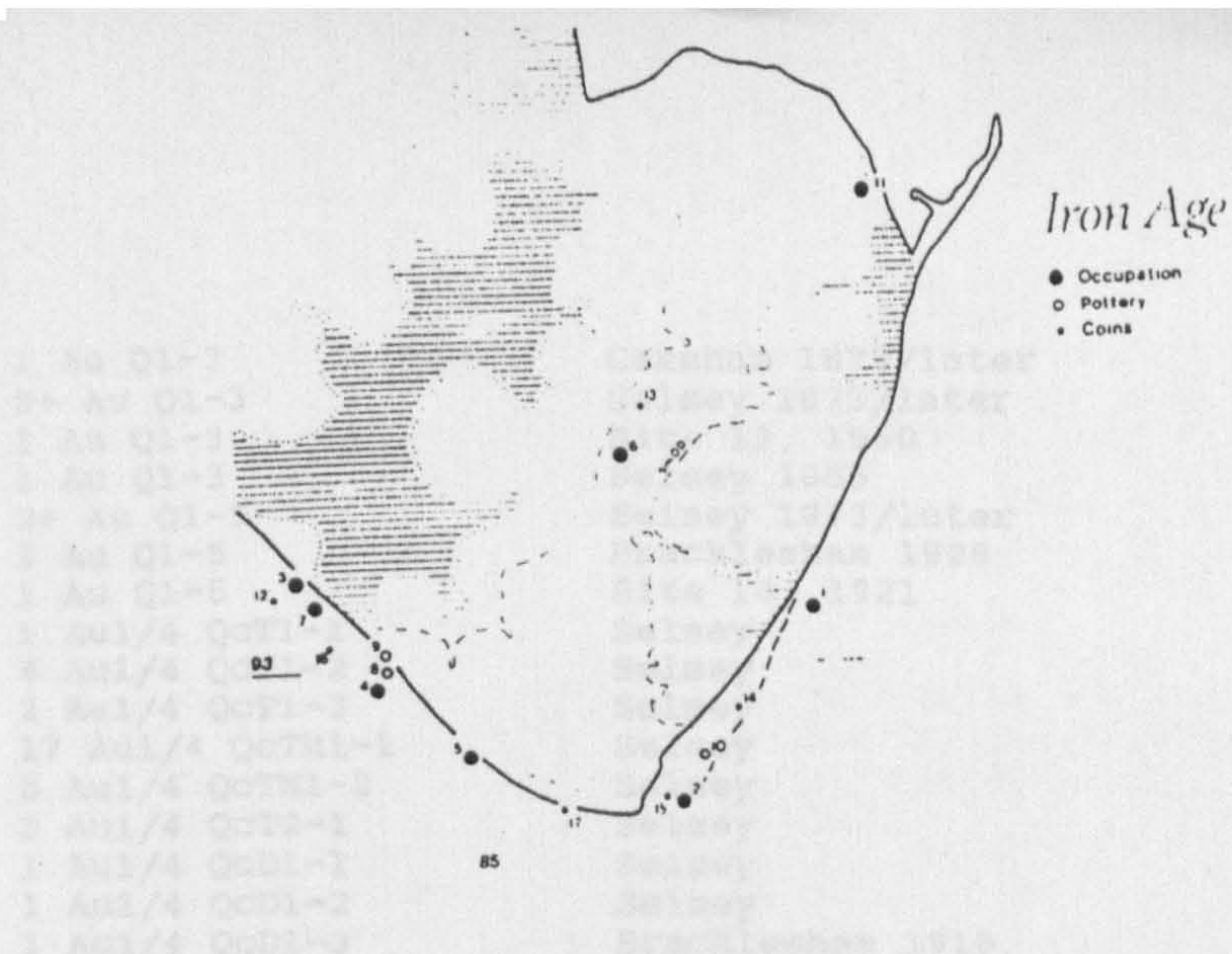


Figure 11.3: Sites in the Selsey region where coins have been found (from Aldsworth 1987).

other Selsey finds. The fact that the profile and the time of discovery match Wanborough so closely suggest this group is better attributed there.

| | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Au1/4 GB Aa2 | Selsey Pre 1918 |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Bb | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au GB C | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au GB C | Cakeham 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Da | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Db | Bracklesham pre-1918 |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Db | Medmerry 1875 |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Db | Pagham pre-1918 |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Db | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 GB Dc | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au GB E | Cakeham pre 1918 |
| 1 Au GB E | West Wittering 1873/later |
| 1 Au GB E | Pagham 1854 |
| 4 Au GB E | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au GB Xc1 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au A1 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au A1 | West Wittering 1873/later |

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Au Q1-3 | Cakeham 1873/later |
| 5+ Au Q1-3 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au Q1-3 | Site 13, 1950 |
| 1 Au Q1-3 | Selsey 1955 |
| 2+ Au Q1-5 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au Q1-5 | Bracklesham 1928 |
| 1 Au Q1-5 | Site 14, 1921 |
| 1 Au1/4 QcT1-1 | Selsey |
| 4 Au1/4 QcT1-2 | Selsey |
| 2 Au1/4 QcT1-3 | Selsey |
| 17 Au1/4 QcTM1-1 | Selsey |
| 5 Au1/4 QcTM1-2 | Selsey |
| 2 Au1/4 QcT2-1 | Selsey |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD1-1 | Selsey |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD1-2 | Selsey |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD1-3 | Bracklesham 1918 |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD1-8 | Selsey |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD1-9 | Selsey |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD1-10 | Selsey |
| 2 Au1/4 QcD2-1 | Selsey |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD3-8 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD3-9 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 8+ Au1/4 QcD3-10 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 QcD3-10 | West Wittering c.1840 |
| 8+ Au1/4 QcD3-11 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 6 Au1/4 QcD4-1 | Selsey 1875 |
| 1 Au1/4 Ly3-1 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 Qc(uncertain) | Selsey 1921 |
| 1 Au1/4 Qc(uncertain) | Selsey pre 1978 |
| 1 Au1/4 Qc(uncertain) | East Wittering 1873/later |
| 1 Ar QsT1-11 | Selsey 1986/before |
| 1 Ar QsT1-11 | Selsey 1918 |
| 1 Au Ma1-1 | |
| 2 Au COM1-3 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au COM1-3 | Cakeham 1873/later |
| 2 Au COM1-3 | Site 15 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 COM1-5 | East Wittering 1873/later) see |
| 14+ Au1/4 COM1-5 | Selsey 1873/later) note |
| 1 Au1/4 COM1-5 | Cakeham c.1840) 1 |
| 1 Au TIN1-2 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au TIN1-2 | Selsey 1899 or before |
| 15+ Au1/4 TIN1-3 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au TIN1-2 | East Wittering 1873/later |
| 40+ Au1/4 TIN2-1 - 2-4 | Selsey 1873/later |
| In BM: 3 TIN2-1 | |
| 4 TIN2-2 | |
| 17 TIN2-3 | |
| 2 TIN2-4 | |
| 1 Ar TIN2-6 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au TIN3-1 | East Wittering 1873/later |
| 22+ Au1/4 TIN3-3 | Selsey 1873/later |

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1 Ar TIN3-5 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 10+ Au1/4 TIN4-2 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 4+ Au1/4 TIN4-3 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1+ Au1/4 TIN4-3 | West Wittering pre 1978 |
| 1 Au TIN4-7b | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 EPP1-1 | Bracklesham 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 EPP1-1 | East Wittering 1876 |
| 9+ Au1/4 VERC1-2 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Ar VERC1-3 | Selsey 1915 |
| 1 Au VERC2-1 | Site 15 Selsey 1935 |
| 1 Au VERC2-1 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au VERC2-1 | Selsey 1872 |
| 2 Au1/4 VERC2-2 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 VERC2-2 | Selsey 1990 |
| 9+ Au1/4 VERC2-3 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 VERC2-3 | East Wittering pre 1918 |
| 1 Ar VERC3-1 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au VERS3-1 | Pagham 1851 |
| 2 Au1/4 VERS3-2 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 VERS3-3=C3-3 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au1/4 VERS3-4 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Ar VERS3-6 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 2+ Au1/4 VERUNC1-1 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Ar Epaticcus VA 581 | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Ar Epaticcus VA 580 | Selsey 1978 |
| 1 Au British B | Selsey 1979 |
| 1 Au British La | Selsey before 1939 |
| 2 Au British Rb | Selsey pre 1978 |
| 1 Au1/4 cf British R | Selsey site 17 1986 see note 2 |
| 2 Au1/4 Dobunni VA 1010 | Selsey |
| 2 Au1/4 British O | East Wittering 1895 |
| 1 Au1/4 British O | Medmerry 1875 |
| 15 Au1/4 British O | Selsey 1873/later |
| 1 Au Cunobelin | West Itchenor pre 1853 |
| 1 Au Cunobelin | East side of point 1921 |
| 1 Ar Coriosolites | Selsey 1873/later see note 3 |
| 1 Au1/4 Mediomatrici | Selsey/Brighton pre 1899 |
| 1 A total of 26 COM1-5 are noted by Allen (1960, 294-5), however only 17+ are included in his list (1960, 171). | |
| 2 Recorded by Aldsworth (1987) but not Bone and Burnett (1988). There is no record of this coin in the Oxford Index - does it exist? | |
| 3 Cunliffe (1981, fig 11) shows three coins, however only one is recorded (Allen 1960, 273). | |

Bentworth, Alresford, Hants, 1880

This deposit is problematic in both its composition and provenance. It has been re-assessed by Haselgrove (1980, 131-2). The initial lack of a record of the find has given rise to confusion. This has meant that records suggest, when treated literally, two hoards: one at Bentworth, Alresford, the other at Avington. I am inclined to follow Haselgrove (1980, 132) and be reluctant to accept that two hoards of such similar nature should have been found so close together within such a short space of time. It would appear that the single coin from Avington, on which evidence the second hoard rests, is either a single find or wrongly provenanced.

The totals of 41 coins from the Calleva mint and 41 from the southern mint may be coincidental as our records are incomplete (Allen 1960, 291, 296). Haselgrove (1987, 276) suggests a further four coins of Verica and one of Epaticcus may come from the deposit.

36+ Au VERC2-1
4+ Au Epaticcus VA 575-1

40+ Au VERS3-1

Reynsay, Sussex, before 1864

Three QsD3-1 are recorded from here (Evans 1864, 108) although it is not said whether they are from a hoard or single finds. In view of the rarity of this type a single deposit would appear the likely source.

3 QsD3-1

Birling, East Dean, Sussex, 1932

The coins were found together by a workman digging flints. The deposit was composed solely of gold plated cores and is without parallel in the period. The find site is overlooked by the promontory fort of Belle Tout. As the deposit comprised a single coin of each type, each executed in a different style, it appears unlikely that this was a forgers hoard. As all the coins are plated it seems likely that they had been recognised before deposition. One can only guess as to why they came to be concealed.

The coins are particularly interesting if they are not a collection made over a long period of time. They suggest that a broad spectrum of gold coins might be expected in the circulating currency at the time of deposition. It is possible that earlier gold coins were largely excluded from other [non-temple] deposits due to their incompatible gold content and weight.

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1 Au(pl) GB E | 1 Au(pl) Ma2-1 |
| 1 Au1/4(pl) QcD3-8 | 1 Au1/4(pl) VA 151 |
| 1 Au(pl) Dubnovellaunos (Essex) VA 1650 | |

Camberley, Surrey

Noted at the British Museum, the casts were destroyed during the war. Apparently a small hoard (Allen 1960, 202).

4/5 Av1/4 QcT1-2

Unknown hoard c.1969

Between 1969 and 1974 a small number of Epaticcus silver units appeared on the market. Previously this type had been extremely rare, and a small hoard may be suspected.

There is the possibility that this group came from a religious site, however no other types appeared in comparable numbers at the time.

9+ Ar Epaticcus VA 580

Hayling Island temple, Hants, 1976-1982

A small group of coins was found together, stratified beneath the stone Roman temple.

4 AE units Carnutes BN 6088
2 AE units Aulerici Ebuovices DLT XXVIII 7034

The following coins were recovered by excavation and were of a more dispersed nature; the great majority were in secondary contexts (Haselgrove 1987, 402-404). The majority of the coins come from contexts associated with a stone temple initially constructed c.60/70 AD (cf Downey, King and Soffe 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980). The temple stands on the site of an earlier structure dating from the second half of the 1st BC. A significant number of Roman coins, many forgeries or copies, have also been recovered from the site (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993).

A better understanding of this site and the deposits will be

possible with the full publication of the excavation (Downey, King and Soffe forthcoming).

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 2 Au1/4 GB D | 2 Au(pl) GB D |
| 3 Au(pl) Gallo-Belgic E | 1 Au(pl) Q1-13 |
| 6 Ar HT1-1 | 2 Ar1/4 cfHT1-1 |
| 1 Ar QsT1-1 | 1 QsT1-2a |
| 1 Ar QsT1-5 | 4 Ar QsT1-6 |
| 1 Ar QsT2-1 | 2 Ar QsT2-6 |
| 1 Ar(pl) QsT3-6 | 1 Au(pl)1/4 QcD3-6 |
| 1 Au(pl) QcD3-7 | 1 Au(pl)1/4 cfQcD2/3 |
| 1 Au(pl)1/4 QcD3-10 | 1 Ar1/4 QsD2-11 |
| 5 Ar(pl) QcD3-5 | 1 Ar QsD3-10 |
| 1 Ar(pl) QsD3-11 | 1 Ar UNC1-3 |
| 1 Ar(pl) COM1-8 | 3 Ar(pl) TIN1-4 |
| 1 Au(pl)1/4 TIN2-3 | 1 Ar(pl) TIN2-5 |
| 1 Ar(pl) TIN2-6 | 1 Ar(pl) TIN2-7 |
| 1 Au(pl)1/4 TIN3-3 | 1 Ar(pl) TIN3-9 |
| 1 Ar(pl)1/4 TIN4-5 | 1 Au(pl) TIN4-7a |
| 1 Au(pl) TIN4-7c | 1 Ar1/4 VERC1-7 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERC1-9 | 1 Au(pl) VERC2-1 |
| 1 Ar(pl) VERC2-4 | 1 Ar(pl) VERC3-1 |
| 1 Au(pl) VERS3-1 | 1 Ar(pl) VERS3-5 |
| 1 Ar(pl) VERS3-6 | 3 Ar(pl) VERS3-7 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERS3-9 | 1 Ar1/4 VERS4-3 |
| CRAB1-2a | 2 Ar(pl) Epaticcus |
| 1 Ar(pl)1/4 Epaticcus VA 512 | VA 580 |
| 5 Au1/4 British O | 19 Ar and Ar1/4 |
| | Durotriges |
| 9 Au(pl)/Ar/Ar(pl) Dobunni | 2 Au(pl) British L |
| 1 AE unit RUES VA 1890-3 | 1 Ar(pl) Iceni |
| | VA 659 |
| 2 Au(pl) Corieltauvi | 13 Av(pl)/Ar(pl)/AE |
| | Belgic Gaul |
| 7 Billon Armorican | 6 Western/Cent. Gaul |
| 6 Eastern Gaul | 14 plated uncertain |
| 2 Ar Gaulish uncertain | |

For full details of the coins from other tribes see Briggs Haselgrove and King 1994.

Note: Briggs, Haselgrove and King (forthcoming) nos 13 and 21 are here considered Gaulish.

Weycock Hill temple (?), Waltham St Lawrence, Berks., c.1977

This hoard has been largely published elsewhere (Burnett 1992). The coin list below includes the coins to have entered the collection and notes of Henry Mossop (Robinson 1978; Mossop 1977; Mossop notes), the National Museum of Wales and the Finney collection. I have followed Burnett by including coins said to have come from Kew in the Waltham St Lawrence list (contra Haselgrove 1987, 269). The coincidence of two such finds is remarkable, and such an eccentric findspot as Kew, on the bank of the Thames (beyond the scope of Treasure Trove law) seems most unlikely. The substance of these suspicions is confirmed by the fact that the coins are of the same types and have a similar surface appearance.

The coins were said to come from a field adjacent to the Roman temple, thus outside the scheduled area. Many of the coins from this find were dispersed into private collections. However the coins to have entered the British Museum, the National Museum of Wales and the Finney and Mossop collections appear to preserve a representative sample. The coins recorded in trade tend to emphasize quarter staters of Eppillus and silver units of Verica. The recorded contents of the deposit are summarized below.

The Roman coins from the deposit have received detailed consideration elsewhere (Burnett 1992, 18-21). Here the absence of coins of Tiberius and Augustus is rightly considered unusual if the coins derived from a single deposit. The Republican and 'legionary' denari are heavily worn and need not have entered

Britain until after the Conquest. It is possible that coins of Augustus and Tiberius may have been removed from the group. However as Burnett observes (Burnett 1992, 20) this seems unlikely given the presence of denari of Vitellius and the Civil Wars, which are both rarer and more valuable. A denarius of Claudius (RIC 7) in the National Museum of Wales (Burnett 1992, coin 219) begins to make good the deficiency. The Imperial coins are little worn and seem to represent fresh deposits or losses. The denari of Sabina and Faustina are probably later deposits or losses, (Burnett (1992, 19) treating this deposit as a 'hoard' from a single episode of deposition views these denari as intrusive). The apparent problems presented by the Roman coins vanish if this deposit is treated as a group of separate deposits, in common with the coins from other temple sites.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1 Au Scheers no. 35(?) | 1 Au1/4 Scheers no. 37 |
| 1 Au GB E | 3 Au Q1-3 |
| 1 Au(pl) Q1-3 | 1 Au Q1-10 |
| 1 Au1/4 QcT1-1 | 2 Au1/4 QcT1-2a |
| 1 Au1/4 QcT1-3 | 1 Au1/4 QcD1-10 |
| 1 Ar QsT1-2 | 1 Ar QsT2-3 |
| 2 Ar QsD1-3 | 1 Ar QsD3-9 |
| 1 Au1/4 COM1-5 | 3 Ar COM1-8 |
| 1 Ar COM1-9 | 1 Au1/4 TIN1-3 |
| 1 Au1/4 TIN2-3 | 1 Ar TIN2-5 |
| 1 Au(pl) TIN3-1 | 1 Au TIN4-7 |
| 1 Au TIN4-7a | 11 Au1/4 EPP1-1 |
| 2 Au1/4 EPP2-1 (Mossop notes) | 2 Au1/4 EPP2-1 |
| 5 Au1/4 EPP3-1 | 3 Ar EPP1-2 (incl 1 from Mossop notes) |
| 10 Av1/4 VERC1-2 | 3 Av1/4 VERC2-2 |
| 6 Av1/4 VERC2-3 | 4 Ar VERC1-3 |
| 5 Ar VERC2-4 | 1 Ar1/4 VERC2-6 |
| 2 Ar VERC3-1 | 2 Ar1/4 VERC3-2 |
| 6 Av1/4 VERS1-2 | 1 Ar VERS1-4 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERS1-5 | 7 Ar VERS3-5 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 12 Ar VERS3-6 | 12 Ar VERS3-7 (incl. Devizes Mus. coin) |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERS3-9 | 1 Ar1/4 VERS3-10 |
| 3 Ar1/4 VERS4-4 | |
| 1 Ar UNC1-5 | 1 Ar1/2 N. Thames VA 474 |
| 1 Ar North Thames VA 1540 | 13 Ar Epaticcus VA 581 |
| 43 Ar Epaticcus VA 580 | 2 Ar(pl) Epaticcus VA 580 |
| 1 Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 585 | 1 Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA - |
| 4 Ar Cara VA 593 | 4 Ar1/4 Cara VA 595 |
| 2 Ar Cunobelin VA 2057 | 11 Republican denari |
| 5 objects of precious metal | 5 Imperial denari |
| 8 'Legionary' denari | |

Finkley Down, Andover, Hants. c. 1977

Both the record and date of this deposit have become confused (cf Van Arsdell 1989, 541; Haselgrove 1987, 276). The account given by Haselgrove (1987, 276) conflicts with that previously given (Haselgrove 1984, 125). The coins were found by metal detector, scattered across the Down and presumably constitute [part of] a scattered hoard. The Down is close to the intersection of Roman roads. The Q1-3 included by Van Arsdell (1989, 541) may not belong to the hoard as it was found some distance away on the other side of the modern road. Six coins certainly came from this deposit and have entered Andover Museum.

Van Arsdell (1989, hoard 101) suggests that four staters of Tincommius are strays from this hoard. However these coins appeared on the market in 1988, while the Finkley deposit was found in 1977 (wrongly dated by Van Arsdell (1989, 541, wrong

cross reference given p. 548)). Three of the coins are said to have been similarly toned, although a fourth is included in the group (Van Arsdell 1989, 548). Given the date they appeared on the market they may have come from Wanborough or possibly another small hoard.

Coins to have entered Andover Museum which are certainly from the deposit.

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1 Au TIN4-1 | 1 Au TIN4-7b |
| 1 Au VERC1-1 | |

Coins probably wrongly associated with the deposit.

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1 Au TIN3-1 | 3 Au TIN4-7b |
|-------------|--------------|

Ringwood, Hants. 1979

This hoard is known as the Ringwood II hoard to distinguish it from a group of Durotrigian staters found in the same general area. The deposit was found without a container (Burnett and Cowell 1988).

| | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 43 Au Baiocasses | 1 Au1/4 GB D |
| 1 Av A1 | |

Wanborough temple, Surrey, 1984-present

Initially about 10 coins were found by a detectorist on the footpath close to the temple, this was followed by the discovery of two larger parcels, also by detector. The sorry story of what ensued, when the find spot was revealed at the inquest, is

related elsewhere (Surr. Arch. Soc. 1986; CBA annual report 1985). The metal detector activity and subsequent excavation indicate that the coins came from an area of c.300msq.

The list below contains all the coins in the British Museum from Wanborough (see Cheeseman forthcoming for Roman coins). In brackets are shown the number of other coins recorded by the author which are certainly from this site.

The total number of coins from the site will never be known. Estimates have ranged from c.1500 (Kent in Haselgrove 1987, 2-3) to c.20,000-30,000 (Van Arsdell 1987, 545). My own estimate, based on the British Museum coins and those seen in trade, would be a total of c.3000-4000 coins.

| | |
|---|--|
| 1 Au(pl) Q1-13 | (3) Au1/4 QcT1-1 |
| 15 Ar QsT3-6 | (3+?6) Ar QsT3-6 (cf 'Stockbridge' find) |
| (3) Ar1/4 QsD2-15 | (1) Ar QsD3-9 |
| (3) Ar QcD3-10 | 1 Au COM1-4 |
| 15 Ar COM1-9 | (6) Ar COM1-9 |
| (1) Au TIN1-1a (illustrated by Van Arsdell, VA 405) | (2) Au(pl) TIN1-3 |
| (1) Au1/4 TIN2-1 | 1 Au1/4 TIN2-3 |
| 3 Ar TIN2-5 | (4) Ar TIN2-5 |
| 2 Ar TIN2-6 | 11 Ar TIN2-7/8 |
| (9) Ar TIN2-7/8 | 4 Ar TIN2-9 |
| (1) Au TIN3-1 | (1) Au(pl) TIN3-1 |
| 2 Au1/4 TIN3-3 | (1) Au1/4 TIN3-3 |
| 24 Ar TIN3-5/6 | (1) Ar TIN3-5 |
| (1) Ar1/4 TIN3-8 | (3) TIN3-9 |
| 3 Au1/4 TIN4-2 | 7 Au1/4 TIN4-3 |
| 16 Ar TIN4-4 | (9) Ar TIN4-4 |
| (1) Ar1/4 TIN4-5 | (2) Ar1/4 TIN4-5 |
| (1) Ar1/4 TIN4-6 | 1 Au TIN4-7a |
| 1 Au(pl) TIN4-7a | 32 Ar TIN4-8 |
| (23) Ar TIN4-8 | |
| 10 Au1/4 EPP1-1 | (6) Au1/4 EPP1-1 |
| 40 Ar EPP1-2 | 1 Ar (pl) EPP1-2 |
| (16) Ar EPP1-2 | 2 Ar1/4 EPP1-3 |
| (1) Ar 1/4 EPP1-3 | 3 Au1/4 EPP2-1 |

(1) Au1/4 EPP2-1
 (1) Ar1/4 EPP2-2
 (1) Ar1/4 EPP2-4
 (7) Au 1/4 EPP3-1
 (6) Ar EPP4-2
 (8) Ar EPP4-3
 25 Ar VERC1-3
 (10) Ar VERC1-3
 19 Ar VERC1-4
 (2) Ar1/4 VERC1-6
 (1) Ar1/4 VERC1-7
 (1) Ar1/4 VERC1-8
 (2) Ar1/4 VERC1-10
 (1) Au(pl) VERC2-1
 (2) Au1/4 VERC2-2
 24 Ar VERC2-4
 2 Ar1/4 VERC2-5
 (6) Ar1/4 VERC2-8
 (9) Ar VERC3-1
 (20) Ar1/4 VERC3-2
 (3) Au1/4 VERS1-2
 (7) Ar VERS1-3

(1) Ar1/4 VERS1-5
 (2) Ar1/4 VERS2-1
 (5) Ar1/4 VERS2-2
 1 Au VERS3-1
 (6) Ar VERS3-5
 (8) Ar VERS3-6
 (6) Ar VERS3-7
 (7) Ar1/4 VERS3-8
 (2) Ar1/4 VERS3-9
 (7) Ar1/4 VERS3-10
 (4) Ar1/4 VERS4-1
 (6) Ar1/4 VERS4-2
 3 Ar1/4 VERS4-4
 (1) Au Epaticcus VA 575

1 Ar Epaticcus VA 583
 22 Ar Epaticcus VA 581
 214 Ar Epaticcus VA 580
 3 Ar(pl) Epaticcus VA 580
 4 Ar(pl)1/4 Epaticcus VA 585
 6 Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 560
 1 Ar(pl)1/4 Epaticcus S.111h

3 AR1/4 EPP2-2
 4 Ar1/4 EPP2-4
 1 Au1/4 EPP3-1
 27 Ar EPP4-2
 27 Ar EPP4-3
 (1) Au VERC1-1
 1 Ar(pl) VERC1-3
 1 Ar(pl) VERC1-3
 (11) Ar VERC1-4
 1 Ar1/4 VERC1-7
 2 Ar1/4 VERC1-8
 3 Ar1/4 VERC1-10
 2 Au VERC2-1
 2 Au1/4 VERC2-2
 (1) Au1/4 VERC2-3
 (5) Ar VERC2-4
 (1) Ar1/4 VERC2-6
 24 Ar VERC3-1
 15 Ar1/4 VERC3-2
 8 Au1/4 VERS1-2
 50 Ar VERS1-3
 2 Ar1/4 VERS1-5 (1
 under Tincommius in
 BM)

1 Ar1/4 VERS2-1
 6 Ar1/4 VERS2-2
 3 Ar1/4 VERS2-3
 29 Ar VERS3-5
 18 Ar VERS3-6
 19 Ar VERS3-7
 3 Ar1/4 VERS3-8
 1 Ar1/4 VERS3-9
 6 Ar1/4 VERS3-10
 3 Ar1/4 VERS4-1
 4 Ar1/4 VERS4-2
 3 Ar1/4 VERS4-3
 (8) Ar1/4 VERS4-4
 1 Ar Epaticcus
 VA 582
 (1) Ar Epaticcus
 VA 583
 (7) Ar Epaticcus
 VA 581
 (30) Ar Epaticcus
 VA 580
 14 Ar1/4 Epaticcus
 VA 585
 (4) Ar1/4 Epaticcus
 VA 585
 6 Ar1/4 Epaticcus
 S. 111h
 4 Ar1/4 Epaticcus

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (3) Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 512 | 4 Ar 1/4 Epaticcus VA 512 |
| (1) Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 558 | (5+40 reliably reported) |
| 7 Ar Cara VA 593 | Ar Cara VA 593 |
| 3 Ar1/4 Cara VA 595 | (3) Ar1/4 Cara VA 595 |
| 1 Au(pl) Cunobelin VA 2010 | 4 Au1/4 Cunobelin VA 1927 |
| 1 Ar Cunobelin VA - | 1 Au(pl) Vosenos VA 184 |
| 12 Ar Iceni | 3 Au(pl) Dobunnic staters |
| 4 Ar Dobunni | 38 AE staters |
| 55 Uncertain Ar | 5 Ar(pl) Uncertain |
| 8 AE scrap | |

Coins from the 'Selsey 1986' hoard, here suggested to belong to Wanborough.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 2 Au1/4 COM1-5 | 4 Ar COM1-9 |
| 1 Au1/4 EPP1-1 | 1 Au1/4 EPP3-1 |
| 1 Au1/4 VERC1-2 | 2 Ar VERS3-5 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERS4-1 | 2 Ar Epaticcus VA 581 |
| 2 Ar Epaticcus VA 580 | 2 Ar Cara VA 593 |
| 1 Au1/4 British O | |

Nether Wallop, Danebury, Hants. 1984-6

A scattered group of at least 85 coins was found in a plough disturbed field below the hill fort by detectorists. The site is close to a spring. This and the range of coins present suggest a religious deposit (fig. 11.1). About half the coins entered the British Museum, seven more entered Andover Museum. The remainder were dispersed into private collections and few can now be traced.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 1 Au(pl) D | 1 Au1/4 QcT3-3 |
| 1 Au(pl)1/4 cfQcD2/3 | 2 Ar QsT3-2 |
| 1 Ar QsT3-3 | 2 Ar QsT3-4 |
| 3 Ar QsD1-1 | 1 Ar QsD1-2 |

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Ar QsD1-4 | 1 Ar QsD1-6 |
| 1 Ar1/4 QsD1-7 | 2 Ar QsD2-2 |
| 1 Ar QsD2-4 | 1 Ar1/4 QsD2-5 |
| 2 Ar1/4 QsD2-13 | 1 Ar QsD3-3 |
| 1 Ar(pl) QsD3-5 | 1 Ar1/4 QsD3-6 |
| 7 Ar QsD3-10 | 1 Ar1/4 UNC1-4 |
| 2 Ar1/4 COM1-12 | 1 Ar1/4 TIN4-5 |
| 2 Ar1/4 VERC2-5 | 1 Ar VERS3-6 |
| 1 Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 512 | 1 Ar Epaticcus VA 581 |
| 8 Au1/4 British O | 1 Ar Durotriges VA 1270 |
| 2 Ar Dobunni | |

The following are probably from this deposit:

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Ar QsT3-1 | 1 Au1/4(pl) Qcd3-7 |
| 1 Au1/4(pl) Qcd3-8 | 1 Ar QsD3-10 |

The coins illustrated as 'Danbury' types by Van Arsdoll (1989) undoubtedly came from this deposit.

'Petersfield, Hants', mid 1980's

Three highly unusual early silver units were recorded in trade in the mid-1980's. A variety of different find spots have been cited for each coin, however a Petersfield provenance, originating from one of to the initial trade sources for the coins, is common to all three. If this was not the true source for the coins then Hayling Island temple might be suggested, as this site has produced similar unusual early coins. Such a source would explain why so much [apparently deliberate] confusion surrounds the origin of these coins.

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1 Ar QsT1-5 | 1 Ar QsT1-12 |
| 1 Ar UNC1-1 | |

New Timber Hill, Henfield, Sussex, c.1986

These two coins, reportedly found together, appear to

constitute a small deposit. Both coins are struck on unusually large flans and are unworn. It might be borne in mind that these two coins appeared at the same time as a large number of this type from Wanborough.

2 Ar VERC1-4

Kingsclere, Hants., 1989

Seven coins were found together in a flint 'tube'.

2 Au Q1-4

5 Au Q1-5

Robinwood, Compton, Sussex, 1989-1993

A scattered deposit of c.40 coins was found at this site. With the exception of a QcD1-10 the deposit comprised entirely of British D stater, a previously very rare type. Neither the quarter stater nor the stater show signs of circulation wear. The deposit appears to have been buried at the end of the production of British D as it contained at least 17 stater from the typologically final pair of dies.

40+ Au D

1 Av1/4 QcD1-10

Hampstead Norreys, Berks.

Three coins are reported found together. No further details.

3 Au Q1-5

Apuldrum, nr Chichester, Sussex, 1990

Three stater were found within 35 feet of one another in a

ploughed field. A small disturbed deposit may be suggested.

1 Au COM1-4

2 TIN1-2

Bowerchalke, Wiltshire, 1990-1991

This deposit was found in two episodes in a ploughed field, scattered over an area 15m in diameter. No traces of a container were found. It is possible that the second parcel was actually from another deposit nearby as its location was not initially marked. The similarity of the two finds suggest they form a single deposit. While a few of the British B staters were little worn the majority showed signs of wear, the Q1-5 staters were little circulation worn, although two were from worn dies.

The coins were declared Treasure Trove and have since entered Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

Four further staters were found in the same general area, but were considered single stray finds. They appear rather later than the main deposit.

Parcel 1: 17 Au British B
Parcel 2: 22 Au British B
4 Au Q1-5

Stray finds: 3 Ar staters Durotriges
1 Au VERS3-1

'Stockbridge, Hants, 1990'

Six QsT3-6/a were allegedly found together at this location. The dealer who originally sold these coins also had a dozen or more of the same type in his trays. Given the quantity of this

type from Wanborough, with a similar surface appearance and also from worn dies, this source seems more likely.

'Hatfield, Herts' actually nr Reading, Berks. 1991

In the autumn of 1991 a deposit of gold staters and quarter staters were reportedly found near Hatfield. It has subsequently emerged that the deposit was actually found close to Reading, Berks. It allegedly lacked a container but had not been disturbed by ploughing. Initial reports suggested that it contained 40 coins, however it is now evident that it contained c.90 coins. These were predominately coins of Verica. A small number were in mint state but the majority showed signs of wear suggesting that they were not all new when deposited. The majority of the staters were the vine-leaf type, VERS3-1. Three of these are from a distinctive (and previously unknown) pair of clashed dies. The fact that so many coins from Verica's last stater issue are worn suggests that they had circulated without replacement for some time.

The two staters of Tasciovanus are something of a puzzle. Neither is heavily worn, indeed they compare to the less worn of Verica's staters from the deposit. Unless one accepts a very late date for Tasciovanus, it would seem that these coins were old when buried. It is possible that they were included due to their high gold content (cf Cowell 1992, 225-6).

c.70 Au VERS3-1
2 Au Tasciovanus VA 1732

c.20 Au VERC2-1

Unknown deposit II, c.1991

Following the sale of the Mossop collection Glendinings offered a number of other Celtic coins. Four had a similar appearance, were equally little worn and appear to form a coherent group. A small deposit (or part of a larger deposit) is suspected.

3 Au Q1-3

1 Au1/4 QcTM1-1

Tangmere, Sussex, 1991

It appears that a deposit of c.200-300 coins was discovered in this area by metal detectorist(s). It has been rumoured that it was recovered in several discrete parcels within a small area. This is corroborated by the very little circulated condition of the coins, which unlike the bulk of the Hatfield coins, cover a period of several decades.

The deposit was largely dispersed abroad and the record is therefore sketchy. A 'significant' part of a torc terminal was allegedly found in the same area, along with other jewelry and artifacts. This would equate to the torc fragment from the Weybourne hoard (Allen 1971).

This deposit has the profile of a non-temple deposit. However the nature of its discovery and the condition of the coins suggest several deposits were made at the same site. It is possible that we are dealing with a deposit from a religious site, although the proportion of gold is high, comparing perhaps to Selsey/Bognor.

The following coins from the deposit were fully recorded, the numbers in bracket indicate the number recorded by type only. A very worn Commios stater was in the possession of a Continental dealer who had a large number of coins from this deposit, it is conceivably from the group.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1(3) Au TIN3-1 | (2) Au TIN4-7B |
| (1) Au TIN4-7c | 5(26) Au1/4 TIN4-3 |
| 3(11) Au1/4 TIN3-3 | 3(2) Au1/4 EPP3-1 |
| 2(6) Au1/4 VERC1-2 | 6(13) Au VERC2-1 |
| 2(5) Au1/4 VERC2-3 | 1 Au1/4 VERS1-2 |
| Possibly from deposit: 1 Au COM1-4 | |

'Seasalter, Kent 1992'

Three QsD1-5 and a QsD3-6 were allegedly found together in this area. This location conflicts with that given by other dealers who were offered these coins. The coins were in fact recorded in 1991 at the Ashmolean Museum when they were reported to have come from Sutton Courtnay, Oxon (BNJ 62, coin register nos 182-4). Given that these types belong to the study area such a findspot also seems unlikely. All four coins have the same leached and worn appearance and appear to be from the same site. The findspot must remain uncertain for the time being.

South Downs temple c. 1992-1994

A broad spectrum of coins is reported from this site and it is suspected that others have entered the trade unrecorded. It is not at present possible to pinpoint the site with any further accuracy. It has not been explicitly stated that the coins come from a known temple site; this is an interpretation placed on the

group by the author.

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Ar QsT1-13 | 1 Ar1/4 QsD2-10 |
| 1 Ar1/4 QsD2-15 | 1 Ar COM1-9 |
| 1 Ar1/4 COM1-12 | 1 Ar TIN1-4 |
| 1 Ar TIN2-8 | 1 Ar1/4 cfTIN3-9 |
| 1 Ar TIN4-4 | 5 Ar1/4 VERC2-8 |
| 2 Ar1/4 TIN4-5 | 4 Ar1/4 TIN4-6 |
| 1 Ar VERC1-4 | 2 Ar VERC2-4 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERC2-7 | 1 Ar1/4 VER2-9 |
| 4 Ar1/4 VERC3-2 | 1 Ar1/4 VERS1-5 |
| 1 Ar1/4 VERS2-1 | 1 Ar1/4 VERS2-2 |
| 1 Ar VERS3-5 | 1 Ar(pl) VERS3-6 |
| 1 Ar VERS3-7 | 1 Ar(pl) VERS3-7 |
| 5 Ar1/4 VERS3-9 | 1 Ar1/4 VERS3-10 |
| 1 Ar1/4 SIIC1-1 | 1 Ar(pl) Epaticcus |
| 5 Ar1/4 Epaticcus VA 585 | VA 580-3 |
| 1 Au(pl) Dubnovellaunos | 1 class 1 potin |
| (Essex) 1650-3 | 1 Continental potin 2 |
| 2 Av1/4 'geometric types' | |

Coins of Ambiani also reported from site.

Portsmouth, Hants. c.1830

This group is included as it may have contained at least two coins from the study area. It is also included as a significant amount of new material has come to light since it was last examined (Robinson 1980). Allen initially accepted the hoard (1960, no. 38) reconstructing the diverse contents, including continental coins and coins of the Durotriges and Icenii, from tickets in the British Museum stating the coins to have come from near Portsmouth in 1830 (cf Robinson 1980, 1). Subsequently Allen indicated that the coins might not be from a true hoard, largely due to his late dating of the Icenian pieces (Allen 1971, 31). There is no contemporary account of the hoard and the first mention is in a footnote (Akerman and Ridding in NJ I (1846), 221). This stated that '...nearly 100 coins of silver and mixed

metal were found near Portsmouth'. As Robinson observes (1980, 2) the latter probably refers to Armorican coins, although it might refer to plated coins. From the comparison made by Akerman it is apparent that the group contained coins of the Coriosolites and Durotriges. Robinson uses this to dismiss the Icenian and Baiocassian coins included by Allen. Robinson raised the possibility that a Durotrigian quarter stater, an uncertain silver and a CRAB1-1 silver unit might also belong to the deposit (1980, 4). The CRAB1-1 had been stripped of its Portsmouth provenance when it entered the British Museum, this and chronological difficulties in associating the coin to the others from the group led it to be dismissed (Robinson 1980, 5). It was argued that the coins of the Iceni had gained their Portsmouth provenance via an unscrupulous dealer (Robinson 1980, 5). However at the same time Robinson uncritically accepts finds of Durotrigian staters from near Portsmouth, from this period, as being from the deposit. The deposit as reconstructed by Robinson (1980, 6) appears fairly tight and compares most apparently to the Le Catillon hoard.

The actual findspot of the hoard, as reconstructed, may be surmised. If one adopts a cynical viewpoint then it might be argued, as Haselgrove suggested, that the entire hoard originated in the Channel Islands (1987, 277). However Armorican coins have been found in some number along the southern coast (e.g. Cunliffe 1980, fig 68), and it would seem quite possible that these coins were actually found in Britain. Seven Armorican coins are known

from Hayling Island, and as Haselgrove tentatively suggests (1987, 277), this is a likely source for the group. It may be that the group was in fact a large parcel deposited at the temple or nearby. A Hayling Island temple attribution would allow other coins to be re-admitted to this group. The CRAB1-1 would certainly not be out of place in this group which included its associated minim, CRAB1-2a. Given the presence of late coins of the Icenii from Wanborough and Hayling Island, the Icenian coins originally attributed to this group may in fact belong. Other coins such as the stater of Verica (SCBI Copenhagen I, no.13) found near Portsmouth, with a pedigree dating back to 1873, might also be from Hayling Island if not a single find.

Finally we must turn our attention to the uncertain silver coin from the group. The rather poor C19th drawing of this piece published by Robinson (1980, 4) means that identification can only be provisional. The coin is described as being of base silver (a description substantiated by that of other coins in the hoard) which makes one doubt that it originates from the study area, as these coins tend, in appearance at least, to be of good silver. The fact that it was excluded by Evans would indicate that he considered it Gaulish, explaining the base fabric. As



Figure 11.2: The 'uncertain' coin from the Portsmouth group (from Robinson 1980 (no scale on original drawing)).

Robinson indicated the reverse is better understood if rotated through 90', thus resembling a backwards facing beast. The closest local parallel is the obverse of QsD1-1, although it seems unlikely that the reverse would be mistaken for a head. The drawing of the obverse recalls the rather terrifying heads on the Icenian face-horse type Mossop 92, the deep-chested horse on the reverse might be misinterpreted to give the reverse in the drawing. If the coin was not Celtic it seems likely that it may have been an Anglo-Saxon sceatta (Kent in Robinson 1980, 4; cf Brooke type 32b)

Coins from main 1830 'find'

| | | | |
|------|----------------|----|------------------------|
| 1(+) | Ar HT1-2b | 6+ | Ar staters Durotriges |
| 2+ | Ar 1/4 staters | 1 | Ar uncertain, sceatta? |
| | Durotriges | | |
| Many | Ar stater | 1+ | Ar 1/4 stater |
| | Coriosolites | | Coriosolites |

Coins found in this period, supposedly from same find

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Ar CRAB1-1 | 1 | Ar Iceni VA 659 |
| 1 | Ar Iceni VA 665-9 | 1 | Ar Iceni VA 764 |
| 1 | Ar Iceni VA 740 | 1 | Ar Iceni VA 730 |
| 3 | Billon staters of Baiocasses | | |

APPENDIX 3: LEGENDS

Coin legends first appear in the study area with the staters inscribed COMMIOS. By the reign of Tincommius legends are found on all denominations. A rare silver fraction inscribed ...]NARTOS (UNC1-4) is probably contemporary with the coinage of Commios and the first issues of Tincommius.

The various legends on the coins from the study area are shown in figure 11.3 (this amends and updates Mays 1992b). Minor varieties with mis-cut or blundered letters are not shown. Only the most frequent positions of pellets in the legends are shown as these often vary by die. The di-gamma and 'E' device shown on coins attributed to Commios are here treated as design devices, not letters. The only legend copied direct from a Roman coin is the often faint and blundered DIVVS IVLIVS legend on the obverse of TIN4-8 (plate XIII).

The spellings of titles and names appears consistent (excepting blundered dies), the only exception being the interchangeable spelling of VERICA and VIRICA. It is instantly apparent that many of the legends are highly abbreviated in form. When a name or patronymic is shortened the emphasis is invariably on the first part of the word. Only Commios and Verica's names are shown in full on coins from the study area, although the full name EPPILLVS appears on the Kentish stater VA 430. The longest form of Tincommius is TINCOMMRVS on TIN1-5; there are reasons for regarding the RVS element as a title.

| TYPE | OBVERSE LEGEND | REVERSE LEGEND | OBVERSE LEGEND | REVERSE LEGEND |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| QsT3-6a | EX | ..]NARTOS | EPP2-2 | EPP |
| UNCL-4 | | CO]MH[IOS] | EPP2-3 | EPP / CO (sometimes EPP1) |
| COM1-1 | | COM COMMIOS | EPP2-4 | EPP1 CO |
| COM1-2 | | COMMIOS | EPP2-5 | EPP1 COMF |
| COM1-3 | | COMMIOS | EPP3-1 | EPP1 COMIF |
| COM1-4 | | TIN DV | EPP3-2 | F / EPP1.COM |
| TIN1-1 | | TIN DIS (possibly DVS) | EPP4-1 | EPP1 / F / COM |
| TIN1-1a | | TIN[?C] COMMI.F | EPP4-2 | EPP / F / COM (sometimes EPP1) |
| TIN1-2 | | | EPP4-3 | |
| TIN1-3 | TINCOM / COMMI | TIN | ALL1-1 | EP |
| TIN1-4 | | TI / M | ALL1-2 | EPP1 / COMF |
| TIN1-5 | TINCOMMRVS | TI / C | ALL1-3 | |
| TIN2-1 | COMF | TIN / C | VERC1-1 | VIR |
| TIN2-2 | COMF | TIN / C | VERC1-2 | VI |
| TIN2-3 | COMF | TIN / C | VERC1-3 | VIRI |
| TIN2-4 | COMF | TIN / C | VERC1-3b | VIRI |
| TIN2-5 | | TIN / C | VERC1-4 | VI RI (RI VI on one die) |
| TIN2-6 | | TIN / C | VERC1-5 | No legend |
| TIN2-7 | | TIN / CO | VERC1-6 | V R / REX |
| TIN2-8 | C | TIN / C | VERC1-7 | |
| TIN2-8a | C | TIN / CO (O contains pellet) | VERC1-8 | VIR |
| TIN2-9 | | TI / C | VERC1-8a | VI |
| TIN2-10 | | TI / C | VERC1-9 | VI / R |
| TIN3-1 | | .C.F | VERC1-10 | VIR / REX |
| TIN3-2 | TINC (re-engraved die) | | VERC2-1 | VIR / REX |
| TIN3-3 | TINCO C / A | | VERC2-1a | VIR / REX |
| TIN3-4 | TINC C / B | | VERC2-1b | VIRC / REX |
| TIN3-5 | TINCOM A | | VERC2-2 | VIR |
| TIN3-6 | TINCOM B | | VERC2-3 | REX |
| TIN3-7 | C O F | | VERC2-4 | REX |
| TIN3-8 | A | | VERC2-5 | CO (ligate) |
| TIN3-9 | B | | VERC2-6 | CO (ligate) |
| TIN3-10 | C | | VERC2-7 | VIR / F(etrograde) CO |
| TIN3-11 | CO | | VERC2-8 | |
| TIN4-1 | TINC | | VERC2-9 | VERI CA |
| TIN4-2 | TIN | | VERC2-10 | No legend |
| TIN4-3 | | | VERC3-1 | VERI CA |
| TIN4-4 | T I N C | | VERC3-2 | VERIC |
| TIN4-5 | CF | | VERC3-3 | VIR |
| TIN4-6 | No legend | | VERC3-4 | VI |
| TIN4-7 | | | VERC3-5 | VIRI |
| TIN4-7a/c | | | VERC3-6 | VIRI |
| TIN4-8 | DI /II I\LIII (some dies) | | VERC3-7 | VIRI |
| TIN4-8a | | | VERC3-8 | VIRI |
| TINUNC1-1 | | | VERC3-9 | VIRI |
| EPP1-1 | CALLEV | | VERC3-10 | VIRI |
| EPP1-1a | CALLE | | VERC3-11 | VIRI |
| EPP1-2 | REX / CALLE | | VERC3-12 | VIRI |
| EPP1-3 | | | VERC3-13 | VIRI |
| EPP2-1 | EPPILLV.COMM.F | | VERC3-14 | VIRI |

Figure 12.1. Summary of legends on coins from the study area.

| TYPE | OBVERSE LEGEND | REVERSE LEGEND | SUMMARY |
|-----------|----------------|---|--|
| VERS2-2 | REX | VERICA COMMIF | <p>NAMES: ...]MARTOS COMMIOI T, TI, TIN, TIMC, TINCO, TINCOM, TINCOMA EPP, EPPIL, EPPILLV VI, VIR, VIRI, VIRIC, VIRICA, VE, VER, VERI, VERIC, VERICA CRAB</p> <p>PATRONYMIKS: C, CF, CO, COP, COM, COMF, COMMI, COMM.F, COMMI.F, COMM.F, COMFI, COM FILLI</p> <p>TITLES: REX, VAR, RVS, ?DV, ?R/S</p> <p>PLACE NAME: CALLE, CALLEV</p> <p>'MINT MARKS': A, B, C</p> <p>UNCERTAIN: EX, SIIC</p> <p>The obverse legend on TIM4-8a is directly copied from its Roman model (fig. 5.19).</p> |
| VERS2-3 | CF | V ERICA | |
| VERS3-1 | VI RI | C O F | |
| VERS3-1C | VE RI | C O F | |
| VERS3-2 | V I R | VERIC | |
| VERS3-3 | COMMIF | COM MIF | |
| VERS3-4 | COMMIF | VERI CA | |
| VERS3-5 | VERICA / REX | VERI CA (some dies and worn dies read VIRI) | |
| VERS3-6 | COMMIF | VERI CA | |
| VERS3-7 | COMMIF | VERI CA | |
| VERS3-8 | CF | VER REX | |
| VERS3-9 | CF | VER CA | |
| VERS3-10 | CF | VERIC (VE ligate) | |
| VERS4-1 | CF | V E | |
| VERS4-2 | CF | VER CA | |
| VERSA-3 | COMM IF | VE R | |
| VERS4-4 | CF | VERI | |
| VERS4-5 | No legend | No legend | |
| VERUNC1-1 | COMF | VIR | |
| VERUNC1-2 | VIRIC | | |
| CRAB1-1 | CRAB | | |
| CRAB1-2 | CRAB | | |
| SIIC1-1 | SIIC | | |

Figure 12.1 continued: Summary of legends on coins from the study area.

Generally speaking it will be observed that the longest legends appear on the quarter staters and silver units. None of the staters bear particularly long legends and this may reflect a desire to maintain an aesthetic balance between type and legend on this denomination. The minims often carry very contracted legends and a few bear no legend at all. This absence of a ruler's name on low denominations is paralleled on the series of Roman quadrantes dating to the late C1 AD and early C2 AD (RIC II p. 216-219). The length of the legend on these small coins appears to have been partially governed by the skill of the die cutter. This is illustrated by the very full legend on the reverse of the finely executed VERS2-2. On the whole the length of the legend appears to have been dictated by the die cutters ability, the space available and a sense of aesthetic balance. The legend length appears to be of little assistance in ordering the coins. The order of TIN1-1 - 1-4 is demonstrated by die linking and die wear, the legends bear little relation to this ordering.

It appears to have been usual to place the name of a leader on one side of the coin and the patronymic on the other. Neither appear to have been used exclusively on one side of the coin and this too seems to have been largely a matter of die engravers preference. Patterns apparent within certain reigns are often the result of the same die cutter having cut the dies. Verica's name is often split into two components, VERI CA, often for reasons of space and balance. This suggests that as with our modern

pronunciation there was originally a stress of the -CA syllable.

From several different coins it appears the longest form of the *Commi Filius* patronymic is *COMMI FILI* confirming this interpretation of the legend (Evans 1864, 170). A number of other titles appear on the coins. The most easily recognised is the *REX* title used by both *Eppillus* and *Verica*, which may have been conferred by an external hand (above). The *EPP* (rev) *REX CALLE* (obv) legend on *EPP1-2* may well have been intended to read 'Eppillus king of Calleva' (above). The obverses of *VERC2-5* and *C2-6* read *VIR / VAR* and the latter element may well have been a title. The title is not apparently classical and appears to be Celtic, equating to the *RICON* legend on coins of *Tasciovanus*. In the surviving Celtic languages of the United Kingdom a number of words support such an interpretation (*B* and *V* appear interchangeable, for example Dio's spelling of *Verica* as *Berikos*; this practice is continued by the first Latin trained monks to record the Celtic languages, for example early Irish literature). In Cornish '*Barthusek*' translates as prodigious or mighty (Nance 1976), in Welsh '*Barlain*' (obsolete) identifies one who is of superior lineage or extraction (Bodnam-Anwyl 1915) and in Gaelic '*bar*' and '*barn*' (both obsolete) translate to hero and nobleman respectively (Dwelly 1971). Such parallels are supported by the Gaelic '*righ*' (=king; Dwelly 1971) and the Welsh '*Rhieddog*' also translating 'king', which apparently preserving the *RICON* title found on *Tasciovanus*' coins. The stylistic similarity of *SIIC1-1* to these two types suggest it might also have been a minim of

Verica, but in this case bearing only a title.

The legend TIN DV and TINCOMMRVS (TIN1-1 and 1-5) and possibly TIN DVS on TIN1-1a (if accepted as a genuine coin) appear to share a similar final element. Bearing in mind the close linking of the two types and their similar sound, this may be two spellings of the same word. Neither the stater nor the silver unit with these legends carry a patronymic, and in both cases it appears this word is being used as the title instead. The use of the letters A, B and perhaps C on the 'Classical' coinage of Tincommius (TIN3) as some form of mint marking is discussed elsewhere (p. 270).

APPENDIX 4: DEVICES

In the preceding examination the term 'engravers device' or 'engravers motif' has been used to describe elements of the design on a coin which are subsidiary to the main type. The term 'symbol' which is so frequently used (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989) has been specifically avoided as we are uncertain as to the meaning of many of these devices. While a complex pellet-in-ring-surrounded by petals might be an astrological symbol, a boar a tribal badge and certain arrangements of pellets mint control marks; we do not know for certain. In certain cases, such as the lyre encountered on the QsT1 group, we may suggest its appearance is due to nothing more than to slavish copying. However the skillful adaption of classically based designs on such coins as TIN3-7 and VERS3-5 would suggest that while a device or type might be copied, it was often copied for a specific reason and not slavishly.

Below is a glossary of the devices found on coins from the study area. Small animals are excluded as catalogue descriptions are deemed sufficient. The list is not exhaustive as certain as individual devices are often combined to form more complex devices (e.g. pellet-in-ring, pellet-in-cog, pellet-in-ring-in-cog, pellet-in-ring-surrounded-by-pellets, pellet-in-ring surrounded by radiating petals etc).

- Pellet
- ◌ Tear shaped pellet/petal
- ◌ Ring
- ◌ Outline almond
- ◌ Cog wheel
- ◌ Zig-zag line
- ◌ Wheel
- ◌ Hubbed wheel
- ◌ Wheel with pellet rim
- ◌ Whorl
- ◌ Catherine wheel device
- ★ Star
- ◌ Comet
- ◌ Outline crescent
- ◌ Solid crescent
- ◌ Nail mark
- ◌ Torc device
- ◌ Brooch-like device
- ◌ Frond
- ◌ Lyre
- ◌ Lituus
- ◌ Nose and eyebrows device
- ◌ Fist
- ◌ Thunderbolt
- ◌ 'E' device
- ◌ Di-gamma

APPENDIX 5: COINS FOLLOWING THE Qc TRADITION WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED
TO THE STUDY AREA.

A number of quarter stater types that follow the Qc tradition have distributions which indicate that they are not from the study area. Allen (1960 and 1964,2) observed a number of these types, classifying them 'Lx'. However these and other types have since wrongly been attributed to the study area by Van Arsdell (1989). Six types are listed here although there are further varieties which might be included (e.g. BNJ 60 (1990) coin register no. 126). A further group of types, the 'Irstead' group from East Anglia and several related types, will be considered elsewhere (Chadburn forthcoming). The types described here will be the subject of more detailed attention elsewhere (Cottam forthcoming).

The design reconstructions of types are shown in figure 12.2, below is the list of associated provenances for types, taken from the Oxford Index and my own records. They should not however be considered exhaustive.

Type 1. Only provenanced specimen from Harlow.

Of different style to south Thames types.

Type 2. (VA 234; Allen's Lx4) Specimens known from Harlow,
further coins recorded from Puckeridge and Ware.

Type 3. (VA 244) All known specimens from Harlow.

Note VA 244-3 is actually another type belonging to

the south Thames group, QcD3-7.

Type 4. Variant of last type. Ware, Herts.

Type 5. From 'Cambridgeshire' and Harlow.

Type 6. (VA 260, inexplicably described as silver; it is gold).
Clacton, Essex; Folkestone, Kent; 'Suffolk'; Alton,
Hants. The device above the horse on QcD1-11 may be the
same as that shown here above the horse. It is possible
that QcD1-11 may also belong to this North Thames series.

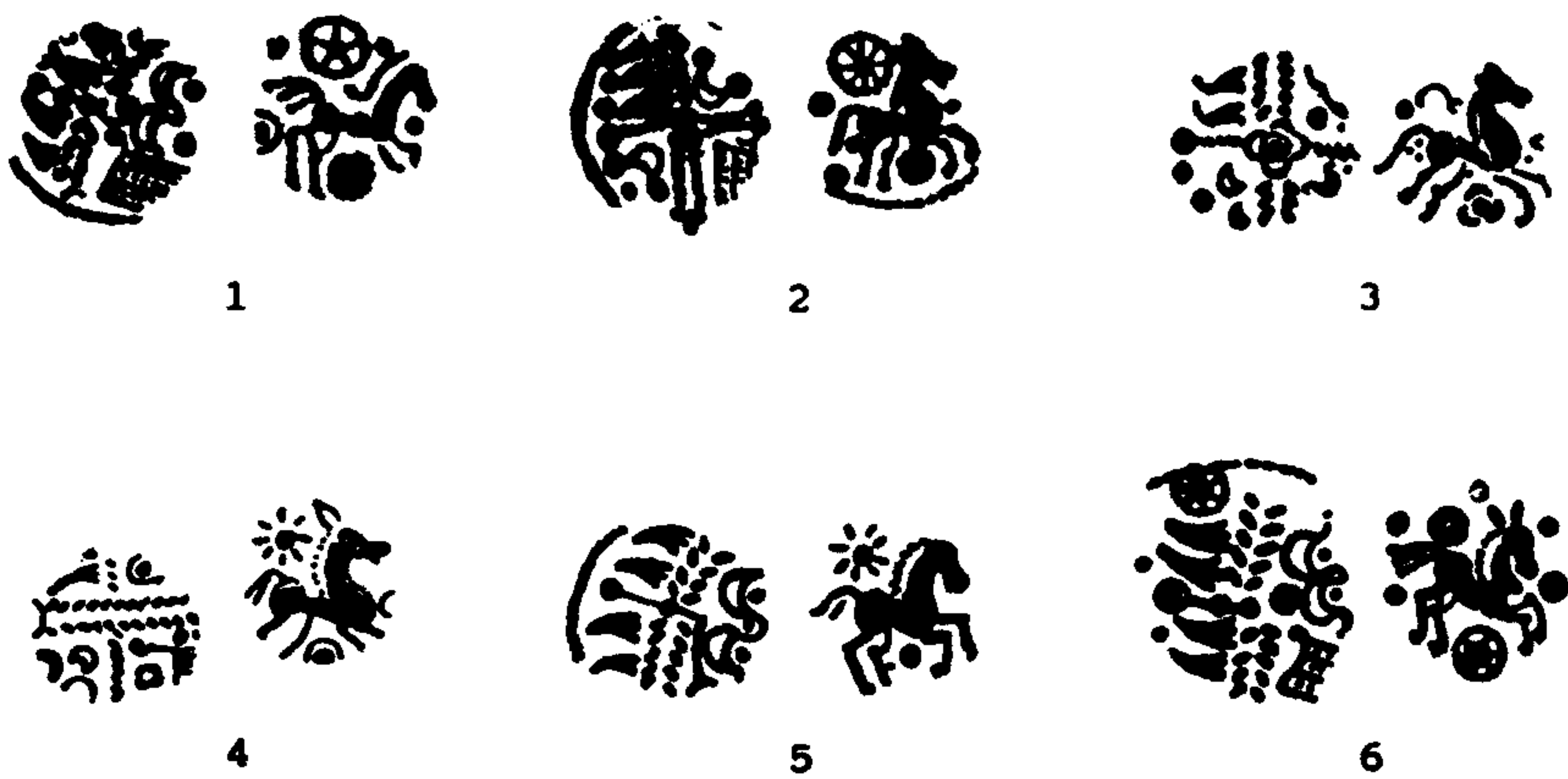


Figure 12.2. Quarter staters of the Qc tradition which do not originate from the study area.

END NOTES

1. Many of these types appear to be products of the Calleva mint (Bean forthcoming 1).
2. Due to finite resources of money and time it has not been possible to examine the coins held in all local museums.
3. With the exception of the HT group of thin silver coins and some of the QCT thin flan gold quarter staters.
4. The metallurgy and designs of inscribed coins from the study area strongly suggest Roman coins entered Britain before the Claudian conquest.
5. M. Taylor 'Volume measurements of Old Sleaford coin pellet molds', a contribution to the Celtic Coin Study Group 3/12/1993.
6. cf Challis 1990, 182; while an average of 30,000 coins were produced per die between 1281 and 1327 in England (Mate 1969) they were struck on sheet metal, not hammered out [harder] flans.
7. Van Arsdell has recently argued that these dies are in fact defaced dies of the Gallo-Belgic A series. However careful examination of the under-type on Gallo-Belgic B clearly shows the types to be of cruder and thicker execution. The lyre below the horse would also appear to be peculiar to the type.
8. On the available evidence it could be suggested that the staters were of British manufacture, based on the Gallic quarter stater. An admittedly later parallel exists in the Xc2 quarter stater series, which can be seen to be clearly indigenous (here classed as COM1-5/6) but has the same types as the Gallic Xc1, so rare in Britain.
9. It has not been possible to confirm this. A case against continuity may, however, be made. From the coins I have seen the Gallo-Belgic C staters are all struck on flat flans whereas the E are struck on significantly dished flans. It might however be suggested that this was a necessary technical alteration, now that the obverse design is missing to provide a degree of friction in the minting process.
10. See Allen 1975, nos. 9, 12, 14, 20, 23, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 46, 60, 81, 98, - 99, 104, 105, 112, 121, 128, 165, 180, 181 for example.
11. See Allen and Haselgrove nos. 28, 49, 51, 69, 71, 74, 77, 79, 95, 94, 102, 122, 128 for example.
12. Although it is possible that this is simply a common name to Britain and the continent as Atrebates and Parisii might be argued to be.

13. The composition of this hoard may be questioned. Our record is based on a group of unticketed coins given to the British Museum by Evans, reconstructed to form a hoard by Hill (1919). Two Gallo-Belgic A staters may have been included (Allen 1960, 297, 294; contra Hill 1919, ;Van Arsdell 1989, 535).

14. These diagrams attempt to compare wear to coins while seeking to preserve and recognise the continuous and often ambiguous nature of circulation wear to coins. These diagrams attempt to depict circulation wear and therefore exclude die wear and post-depositional wear (in the case of sea worn coins -Selsey/Bognor and Weybourne). The coins are graded using the trade terms F, VF, EF with the qualifiers G[ood]-, N[ear]- and A[bout]- as intermediaries to these grades.

The grades are plotted on a pie chart, a clear sector with a grade within being the proportion of coins attaining that grade from a sample. Segments lightly shaded represent coins either A[bout]-grade or G[ood]-grade depending which side of a clear segment they fall. Dark shaded segments represent coins that fall between two grades, what the trade optimistically refer to as N[ear]-the higher of the two grades.

15. After Allen 1960; Haselgrove 1978, 1984 and 1990. The maps from Cunliffe (1981) have not been used as they appear to contain a number of errors.

16. A somewhat radical proposition might be made that the staters were struck in Britain.

17. British D is often seen as Durotrigian (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989a) and may be later (see below).

18. Two staters found at Snettisham in Norfolk (BNJ 1990, 60, coin register nos. 20 and 21) which are metrologically similar to British A might be earlier. Their typology is far more closely linked to Gallo-Belgic C than is British A. Both are struck on thin broad flans in contrast to the dumpy flans of A1 and A2. Only further research and metallurgical analysis will help pinpoint their position in the British series.

19. Ringwood, Westerham, Clacton, Mark's Tey and Carn Brae. The two specimens from Selsey (Evans 1864, 434) are A2. The two A1 from West Wycombe might belong to a hoard, however their find-spots are not recorded with sufficient accuracy to tell whether the coins are associated or not.

20. When recent finds are plotted and die links shown a dense cobweb of links forms, principally due to the longevity of die C.

21. The two A2 from Selsey (Evans 1864, 434) are not recorded with sufficient accuracy to determine whether they are from the same deposit. The Selsey/Bognor group is best not treated as a

hoard (appendix 1).

22. All but one from an alleged hoard (appendix 2, Robinwood) from which coins continue to appear. Ten more specimens have been noted since the time of writing, and in excess of 40 coins are said to have been found; 17 from obverse die G. No new dies are evident and the metrological distribution below is maintained (8/2/199

23. The upper portion of the reverse die has yet to be seen. That published by McFadden (1993) does not in fact show the limit of the die, other coins show it to extend further; the example in question merely shows an area of flatness at the top of the flan.

24. A base silver stater found at Badbury (of which another specimen is reported) in the collection of Geoff Cottam appears to resurrect the British D obverse.

25. It seems perverse that a forger should make any great effort to exactly match the alloy of his plating to that of the type copied.

26. The distribution of A2 makes this unlikely, see fig. 2.2.

27. Taking a Celtic pound to be 309 grams as per Allen 1960, 302-304; Allen and Nash 1980, 32. Damaged coins excluded from sample, see introduction for discussion of weight loss to gold coins through circulation and deposition.

28. Mean weight of coins in British Museum.

29. As note 26.

30. However a class 2 stater is known from Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, vol.2, 332-334) and 3 class 2 staters are known from the small hoard found 16 km away at Hurstbourne Tarrant (Britannia 21, 1990, 355).

31. The two coins from Selsey (Evans 1864, 434) are not regarded as true hoard coins, see appendix 2.

32. The same date range proposed for A1 via a different path.

33. While it might be considered undesirable to have coins from the same obverse die and similar reverse dies split into separate types, the distinction of biface, uniface and intermediate class Q staters will be demonstrated to be an important one.

34. When an apparently diagnostic device is discerned on the obverse or reverse any sequence it can be used to suggest is soon undermined by contradictory sequences suggested by devices in the field on the reverse.

35. The coin was however found with a group of normal QcT1-1 at a probable temple site, nr Caistor, Lincolnshire.

36. However a significant number of British Q and Qc in addition to several uninscribed silver coins from the south Thames region are known from Wiltshire.

37. The single specimen of this probable type is too worn for the types to be entirely certain.

38. The style of both plated coins is reasonable and one suspects that if not struck from genuine dies then they may be derived from genuine coins. It seems unusual that an ancient forger should produce fantasy pieces and it may be suspected that like the ECEN staters of the Iceni the discovery of plated specimens may preface the discovery of genuine coins.

39. The only known specimen is struck from a very worn obverse die.

40. Mack (1975, 47) suggested that the type might be British and noted its similarity to a silver type, Mack 438, the so-called Bury type from East Anglia.

41. I have not been able to inspect the single specimen of this coins (BNJ 60 register no. 128) this coin so therefore have not had the chance to ascertain whether it really is struck in gold or just a silver coin/core with an unusual surface appearance.

42. For VA 260-1 see appendix 5.

43.43. Of these a number are possibly Gaulish (see catalogue).

44. The Lz prefix was considered as it has been used by Allen (1960) to classify a number of silver types from the area. It was also however used to classify gold types, so to avoid confusion arising from the duplication of numbers a new prefix has been used.

45. No die links have yet been found, but the same engraver is surely responsible.

46. Known only from one very worn specimen BM 839.

47. This first appears on QcD4-1, although the horse's here are of very different style.

48. On none of these types does the animal appear to be a horse so it is unlikely that it is a foal.

49. The dolphin which also appears on the TIN3-8 suggests it may have had a significance in the south Thames region.

50. The form of the legs is however different.

51. The only securely provenanced coin was found on Jersey, the second specimen is thought to have been found in the south of England, and the third was offered for sale with a group of coins undoubtedly from the Danebury deposit (Vecchi auction 8/10/1986 no.4). There seem to be no grounds beyond very loose typological parallels for an attribution to the Corieltauvi.

52. This type could be Dobunnic.

53. 'Ex' is not easy to accommodate amongst known British or Gaulish personal names. The letter 'E' alone and the digamma device do appear on coins attributed to Commios.

54. This animal has been described as a dragon (Van Arsdell 1989, 126) however when viewed at the correct orientation it is clearly equine.

55. Like the majority of these coins this quarter stater was found on the site on the slopes of Danebury.

56. This type, VA 1662, is attributed without argument to Dubnovellaunos by Van Arsdell (1989). The coin he illustrates was found at Rowlands Castle, Hants and the only other specimen is from Chichester. A south Thames origin is apparent.

57. Types QsD3-6 and QsD3-7 are not certainly from the study area, the only provenanced coins for each type are Amersham, Buck and Sheering, Essex respectively. The horse on the latter type might be compared to that on VA 1646 (recently attributed without argument to Addedomaros (Van Arsdell 1989)).

58. Both British D and the silver types share a multitude of pellets in their designs and both are struck on fairly flat flans compared to the prevailing coinage. However I do not believe they are from the same hand. This is apparent as the pellets on the staters are discrete, on the silver each is joined as if the engraver had not lifted his tool, and simply dragged it between pellets leaving a trail. This is less apparent however on HT1-5/6.

59. A variety of this group was actually first identified as British by Evans (1864, 119, G9).

60. Compare to Mossop sale lot 252, a north Thames type (Cottam pers. comm. and forthcoming).

61. This map includes many of the north Thames Qc quarter staters listed in appendix 5.

62. The coin from Clacton, Essex is certainly not a hoard coin (Allen 1961, 194; Haselgrove 1987, 272).

63. A falsified find spot for a hoard of genuine coins would explain this.

64. The coin from 'Norfolk' formerly in the Mossop collection, now in the British Museum may have a provenance which reflects no more than its trade source.

65. This distribution is at variance with Cunliffe 1981, fig. 48 as are the stater distributions as the varieties of similar design (appendix 5) which however have discrete distributions outside the study area have been excluded.

66. The coins from hoards and temple groups are considered in the section dealing with dating.

67. This is supported by two vaguer provenances, a QcT2-2 (BM721) is stated as 'possibly from Sussex' this provenance may be derived on typological grounds however (Evans 1861, 91; the coin in question is the coin here discussed).

68. This observation was made before the distribution for QcT2 was plotted and was therefore made independently of the southern area distribution observed here.

69. On the ticket for the 3-2 in the British Museum and the card at Oxford: 'another found at Cheriton 1990'. This refers to the 3-3a mentioned here. Chris Rudd, the dealer from whom this information was acquired, states the date of publication of this piece (BNJ 1990, coin register no. 129) in error as the date of discovery, the coin was actually found in the preceding year.

70. One is described as being from 'Selsey', the other from Wittering.

71. This site is only a short distance from Danebury. However no coins of this type have a secure Danebury provenance so they may actually come from another site near Stockbridge, Hants. Alternatively one might observe that a significant number of coins of this type came from Wanborough. However at the time these coins came on the market (1991/2), many coins could be encountered with a Wanborough provenance, so falsification of provenance seems perverse.

72. The coin of this type in the Finney collection is described as coming from Essex. The card in the Oxford index has had 'a probable Danebury coin' added to it by R. Van Arsdell. No coins of this type are reliably reported from Danebury and the dealer

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who supplied the provenance is amongst the most reliable.

73. QsD3-6 from Amersham, Bucks; 3-7 from Sheering, Essex; 3-8 from Amersham, Bucks.

74. One QsT1-5, one QsT3-1, two HT1-1b, one HT1-3.

75. This includes BM 658 (ex Willet) which appears sea worn and has the unusually light weight of 5.31g.

76. Both staters and quarters have presumably been subject to similar weight reduction once obviously leached and damaged coins are excluded.

77. The mean weight of all coins plotted in figure 3.14.

78. The horse is shown to the right on the heaviest dumpy flan fraction, QcD1-11, however this coin may be a thin flan type struck on a dumpy flan (p.120-1). It is not inconceivable that this may be a North Thames type.

79. BM739 is the only coin with a sea worn appearance, it is also chipped. All the other coins have a remarkably fresh appearance, unlike other groups from Selsey such as the very worn group of QcD3-10.

80. Disregarding single, possibly rogue weights where only one specimen known are known.

81. This impression is strengthened by the one specimen of HT1-3 for which a weight is known, this weighs 0.60g despite being badly damaged.

82. Series which were augmented by the occasional issue of silver sestertii.

83. Published analyses of British Ra: 45.7% Au, 23 Ag, 30.5% Cu; 46.5% Au, 22.7% Ag, 30.4% Cu (Cowell 1992, 215); 45.93% Au, 26.89% Ag, 27.28% Cu (Northover 1992, 284).

84. I examined this coin soon after it appeared on the market, since entering the British Museum it has become gradually more red in colour.

85. However the published tests results of Gaulish types are neither numerous nor comprehensive.

86. This is too greater variation to have occurred within a single alloy batch.

87. It is interesting to note that the most noble silver uninscribed issue was also the heaviest in the QsD series.

88. Weight wrongly given as 0.87g, it is actually 0.37g.

89. It is present in British Mb in quantities comparable to the silver here discussed, however this type is not found in the study area (fig. 3.3).

90. This examination was carried out independently of the study of the metallurgical test results.

While surface appearance may differ within a type due to different post-depositional circumstances and differing treatment when recovered, a coherent picture can be arrived at by examining all the available specimens.

91. It is suggested on typological grounds that this type might be Gaulish.

92. While stylistically linked to QsT3-4 both known specimens of this type are struck on thick flans. It is possible that this type belongs to the Dobunni, however neither specimen is provenanced so the stylistic link to QsT3-4 is used to tentatively attribute this type to the south Thames region. The dumpy flan might be excused as QsT3-4 appears on typological grounds to be one of the latest thin flan silver units.

93. The one known specimen is said to come from Avon, Wilts, well inside Dobunnic territory. It is included here as it is typologically linked to the QsD2-4/5/6. However the silver coinage of the Dobunni appears to have been rather base (Northover, 1992, 292-3).

94. The Armorican coinage is however much more base, see Northover 1992, 280 for example.

95. Oxf. In. 82.0156, 71.0021, 72.0027.

96. The remnants of the right hand portion of the wreath which had clogged into a band when paired with die r.

97. Always paired with die x with this state of obverse die.

98. If they are struck from genuine dies or dies derived from the hubbing of a genuine coin.

99. The consistency of the dimensions of the horse becomes apparent when using calipers to assist the die study on twice scale photographs.

100. All finds of coins from this die are from north of the Thames, however it seems a little perverse to suggest that it forms a discrete north Thames type.

101. This might suggest that dies Cc and De are the last die pairs of their group.

102. Dies Dd are used until barely recognizable state (see Burnett 1992, plate 7, nos 12, 13 dies beginning to wear).

103. Bearing in mind the thin flan and fragility of these coins hubbing might be considered less likely. A forgers solution to the problem of fragility might be to protect the coin during the hubbing process by placing it on an appropriately concave/convex anvil.

104. See last note.

105. The bronze coins were not studied, however these will be the subject of a forthcoming die study by G. Cottam.

106. With the exception of QSD2-13, each pair of dies relates to a separate sub-variety.

107. In the latter type this accounts for the apparently worn appearance of the coins. This wear is largely die, not circulation wear.

108. Burnett (1989) has suggested that at least some of these, e.g. VA 1505 are East Anglian in origin.

109. All provenanced examples are from the north Thames area, not Kent. There appears little to support the Kentish origin Van Arsdell suggests.

110. A bronze type of uncertain date and attribution.

111. Scheers says one of these was found at Braughing, Herts, this is an error repeating that made by Allen 1961. The coin in question is a different type which may not even be Gallic, it is illustrated by Evans (1864, 481, N3).

112. Scheers (1977) following Allen (1960) wrongly says a coin of this type was found at Braughing, this is an error and misreading of Evans 1864, 481 coin N3.

113. The contexts of the cores is considered here making the assumption that they are roughly contemporary with the genuine pieces. The late stater of Dubnovellaunus in the Birling hoard of plated cores might however be said to call this into question.

114. Including BM 649, wrongly stored under British Q.
115. While single finds of other British gold types are known on the Continent, for example a Vosenos quarter stater, the exceptional number of British Q staters is suggestive of contact on a larger scale.
116. Interestingly the Q1-3 stater is very little worn.
117. The only apparent wear to the coins is die wear.
118. The same general site also produced three silver Durotrigian staters and a M125 stater of Verica. These were found some distance from the scattered hoard and are considered to be single finds.
119. The fact that these coins were found in a flint tube would preclude the possibility of post-depositional wear.
120. Illustrated by De La Tour XLI, 9495, initially and then subsequently misdescribed by Allen (1960, 199).
121. It is however not clear that the two types date to the same episode of deposition at this temple site.
122. It has not been possible to trace the British Q stater.
123. The QcT1-1 is from the same obverse die as four of the five quarter staters of this type from Harlow. This could be taken to indicate that the Ware group is part of the deposit from Harlow temple.
124. They are reported to have been found together in the Wallingford 'hoard'. The nature and composition of this group is however highly problematic (appendix 2).
125. The coin from Waltham St Lawrence was heavily circulation worn.
126. This is considered to be a false provenance, appendix 2. However all the coins have a similar worn surface appearance suggesting that they are from the same site.
127. Excluding the coins attributed to Commios.
128. The worn appearance of these coins is due to their base content and the fact that they are struck from very worn dies.
129. All the staters were in very fresh condition and the die linking would confirm that these coins had not long been in circulation (Allen 1960, 297).

130. Some of the dies used for these plated coins are clearly hubbed. However the Q1-13 cores might suggest a less than scrupulous issue.

131. B.G IV, 21, 7; 27, 2; 31, 1; V, 22, 3; VI, 6, 4; VII, 75, 5; 76, 1-3; VIII, 6, 2; 23, 2-6; 47, 2; 48, 1-9.

132. NC vol vii, 80.

133. The second specimen, seen by the author in a private collection is now lost.

134. The second specimen (from the same dies) clearly reads COMMIOS below the horse. This specimen was seen by the author in 1990 but has since disappeared.

135. On COM1-4 the motif is twinned with the COMMIOS legend apparently cancelling or duplicating any naming function. However on the descendant type TIN1-4 the legend TIN replaces the E device.

136. The coin illustrated by Van Arsdell as 353-1 (1989a, b) is actually obverse and reverse die linked to the main cog-wheel series.

137. It is certain that C201 did not, this coin was from the Mossop collection (sold before 1991 auction) and predates the looting of the Wanborough deposit.

138. Including those from Willett's collection which are likely to come from Selsey/Bognor plus others without provenance which have a similar surface appearance.

139. Van Arsdell's (1989, 129) comparison of this device to the Llyn Cerrig Bach 'gang-chain' seems far fetched.

140. The full name Tincommius does not appear on any coin, the longest apparently being TINCOM (TIN1-3, 1-5, 3-5/6). The inscription on the Monumentum Ancyranum is damaged at the vital point and reads only TIN[....]. If the name Tincommius is accepted as any more than a modern construct then following the stater of inscribed COMMIOS he might better be referred to as Tincommios. The silver unit TIN1-5 actually reads TINCOMDVR[?O]. However as the stater TIN1-1 reads TIN DV it appears that the DVS[?O] element is probably a title of some sort. See appendix 5.

141. See preceding note.

142. On a cast in the British Museum this appears, partially, in the form of an M. This would suggest that the saw tooth line is in fact the legend [COM]M. If future finds confirm this, then the full legend should read TIN COMM DV; direct comparison may be

made to TIN1-5.

143. The obverse is far less compact, the 'nose and eyebrows' motif which appears such an important motif on other coins, is barely attempted, being crudely blundered on this piece. The lines beneath the pellet filled box at the base of the wreath are also absent, although there is plenty of space on the flan. The reverse is of rather different style to other TIN1-1. The legend is far neater and reads TINC rather than TIN, while the form of the legend is similar to that on silver unit TIN1-4, the same hand would seem unlikely as the 'nose and eyebrows' device is so clearly rendered on the silver coin. The new legend before the horse of DIS, DVS or SID, SVD retrograde (the I/V is unclear as the left-hand stroke is only partial and weak) is hard to accommodate on the accepted reading of the stater's DV legend. This -DVR[?] legend does however appear on TIN1-5, the full reading of which has only recently been possible. The style of the reverse is unusual as is the near mint condition of the coin, I can only accept this coin, despite the legend, with reservations.

144. It has been suggested (Haselgrove and Nash forthcoming) that Waltham St Lawrence coin 23 (Burnett 1991) is the accompanying minim to TIN1-5. Although the broad reverse type is shared the two are stylistically very different. The distribution of this type of minim suggests that it originates north of the Thames (Cottam pers. comm.). While Tincommius may well have issued silver minims in his Celtic and Proto-Classical series they are not apparent.

145. Respectively, the very light specimen of TIN1-2 excluded from the latter calculation. The uncirculated TIN1-1b may be a 'freak' (if genuine) as it is heavy even compared to the preceding 'Commios' series.

146. The minim VA 384-1 in Northover (1992, 289) is a minim of Verica.

147. The resultant average alloy is Au 48.78%, Ar 12.17%, Cu 38.58%.

148. The link between A and c for TIN4-7 is perhaps best seen as a hybrid as this link is only known from a plated coin the dies for which may conceivably have been derived from two separate coins. It may therefore not represent a true link.

149. If it does read COMM then it compares directly to the staters of Commios with the legend in this position.

150. Eppillus does not appear to have issued a stater in this series. The stater VA 405-1 is a TIN1-2 (obverse and die linked to more clearly inscribed specimens.

151. The distribution of these coins suggests that they were not intended for circulation in Kent.

152. No coin exhibits the full CALLEVA legend (contra Van Arsdell 1989, 143; Kent 1990, 267).

153. This appears to introduce the crescent device to the Calleva mint, which other coins of Eppillus and Verica use. The ultimate source of this design appears to be a Roman denarius.

154. This obverse type, however, appears on the minim of Verica VERC1-6.

155. The meaning of these triplets of pellets is hard to determine, the fact that they are restricted to single dies might indicate that they had some control function within the minting process. The device is used in the Kentish series of Eppillus (EPPK1-1(VA 441), which appears the work of a Kentish engraver. This device also appears on the obverse of some of Cunobelin's staters, Allen believed the device to be a privy mark (Allen 1975).

156. The fact that all the coins known of this type are from hoards within the Atrebatian and Regnan area (fig. 6.3) indicates that their attribution by Van Arsdell (1989, 149) to Kent is incorrect. As Burnett (1991, 23) points out, the form of the flan is different from those of Kentish quarter staters, which are broader.

157. A single specimen has been found in Kent which presents slender grounds for a common Calleva-Kent coinage; it does not appear to have been a Kent series (contra Mack 1975).

158. This contrasts to the more deeply dished silver of Tincommius from the Southern mint. Eppillus appears to have issued no coins from the Southern mint.

159. The absence of lower weight specimens of EPP1-2 is a result of this type only being known from well preserved, little circulated pieces from hoards.

160. The dull golden-brown appearance of the coin does not indicate that it is of gold, unless uncharacteristically base. Further, if it is a quarter stater then it is surprising that it is absent from the Waltham St Lawrence and Wanborough temple deposits. By contrast bronze coins (other than cores) are notably absent from these deposits.

161. See Mossop sale lots 306 (1.07g), 307 (1.38g).

162. It is conceivable that two dies are involved. The wear sequence and otherwise remarkable similarities between the 'dies' make this seem unlikely. The same phenomenon occurs on TIN3-3 reverse die 'a'.

163. For example Crawford 365/1c, 497/3, 525/4b, 546/1.

164. This assumes VA 441-1, which has a bearded head on the obverse, is later (Bean forthcoming).

165. Denarii of Augustus from Col. Patricia (RIC 239) and Emerita (RIC 266) are similar but the additional cornucopia make them less likely sources.

166. The low number of cores may only reflect Haselgrove and Allen's reliance on coins in major public and private collections. As a rule plated coins appear more common in smaller public and private collections.

167. No die links between the two denominations are presently known.

168. The coin in the Finney collection, FL616 (Symons 1993) has a retrograde F below the horse's hind feet; alternatively this may be interpreted as a platform from which the horse rears, as shown on certain varieties of VERS3-1. It is not however of southern mint style.

169. The coin in the Finney collection, FL616 (Symons 1993) has a retrograde F below the horse hind feet; alternatively this may be interpreted as a platform from which the horse rears, as shown on certain varieties of VERS3-1. It is not however of southern mint style.

170. The unit does not bear a vine-leaf, this is perhaps to prevent the plating of such a unit to pass as the quarter stater which does bear a vine-leaf.

171. Where apparently genuine dies are represented by plated coins these have been included in the total as these appear to represent genuine dies.

172. First identified by Evans (1864, 213).

173. The position of Tincommius is ambiguous. He may well have granted Calleva to Eppillus to rule as a subordinate. The 'REX' legends on the coins of Eppillus, which make no mention of Tincommius, suggest that Eppillus had grabbed the Calleva seat as his own. However later the name of Tincommius is found in association to that of Eppillus on the Alliance silver unit ALL1-1.

174. The possibility that Eppillus assumed power in Kent by peaceful methods such as marriage or by group(s) weak or leaderless seeking suzerainty should not be over-looked.

175. Who continues the traditions of this mint, Stater VA 575 is reverse type linked to VERC2-1 for example (Bean forthcoming 1).

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PLATES AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

Many of the uninscribed and early inscribed coins are struck from dies which bore designs much larger than the coins themselves. For this reason the coins are best understood (and more easily identified) if design reconstructions are shown. These design reconstructions (fig. 13.1) have been built up from all the coins known to the author and are here shown at 1:1 scale. Where only a single, clear specimen of a type is known, the reader is referred to the plates as a reconstruction conveys no further information.

Minor varieties have not been shown in the reconstructions or plates and the reader is referred to the catalogue for these. For reasons of cost and space the plates illustrate coins at 1:1, although coins marked '*' are illustrated at twice scale in plates XVII-XVIII.

Figure 13.1: Design reconstructions (scale 1:1) the reader is referred to the catalogue for minor varieties of types.

see fig. 2.1.



A1



A2

see
fig 2.4



D

Q1-1



C



as Q1-1



Q1-2



Q1-3

as Q1-3 but
die worn

Q1-4

uniface



Q1-4



Q1-5



uniface



Q1-7



Q1-8



Q1-9



Q1-10



Q1-11



Q1-12



Q1-13



Q1-14



Q1-15

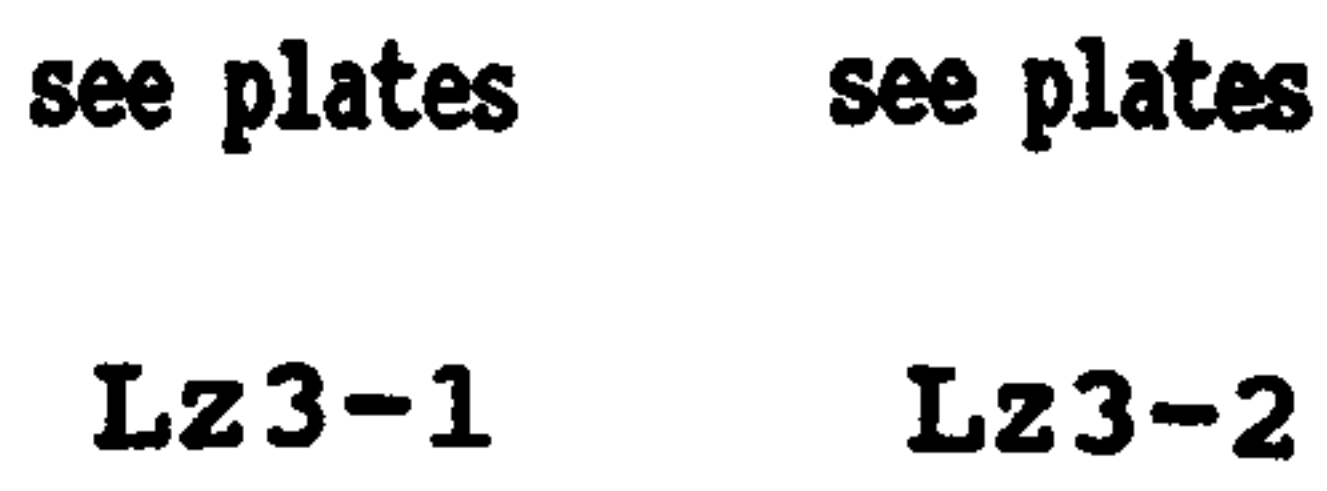
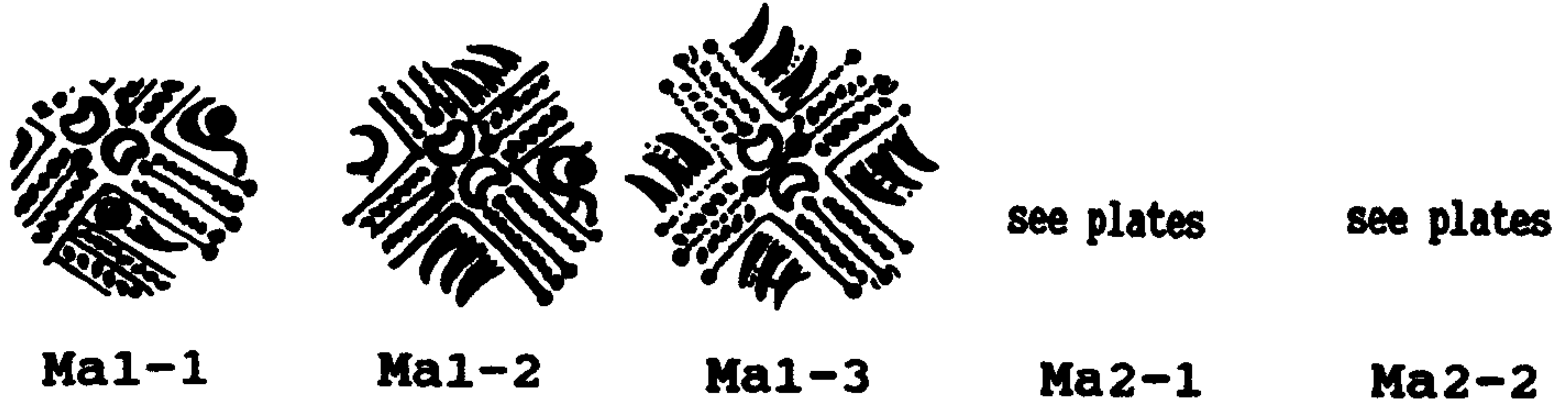


Q1-16



Q1-17

figure 3.28 for details





QcT2-1



QcT2-2



QcT3-1



QcT3-2



QcT3-3



QcT3-4



QcD1-1



QcD1-2



QcD1-3



QcD1-4



QcD1-5



QcD1-6



QcD1-7



QcD1-8



QcD1-9



QcD1-10



QcD1-11



QcD2-1



QcD2-2



QcD2-3





QcD3-1



QcD3-2



QcD3-3



QcD3-4



QcD3-5



QcD3-6



QcD3-7



QcD3-8



QcD3-9



QcD3-10



QcD3-11



QcD4-1



QcD4-1a



QcD4-2



Ly3





QsT1-1



QsT1-2



QsT1-3



QsT1-4



QsT1-5



QsT1-6



QsT1-7



QsT1-8



QsT1-9



QsT1-10



QsT1-11



QsT1-12



QsT1-13



QsT2-1



QsT2-2



QsT2-3



QsT2-4



QsT2-5



QsT2-6





QsT3-1



QsT3-2



QsT3-3



QsT3-4



QsT3-5



QsT3-6



QsT3-6a



QsD1-1



QsD1-2



QsD1-3



QsD1-4



QsD1-5



QsD1-6



QsD1-6a



QsD1-6b



QsD1-7



QsD1-7a



QsD1-7b



see plates



QsD2-1



QsD2-2



QsD2-3



QsD2-4:



QsD2-5



QsD2-6



QsD2-7



QsD2-8



QsD2-9



QsD2-10



QsD2-11



QsD2-12



QsD2-13



QsD2-13a



QsD2-14



QsD2-15





QsD3-1



QsD3-1a



QsD3-2



QsD3-3

QsD3-3a



QsD3-4



QsD3-5



QsD3-5a



QsD3-5b



QsD3-6



QsD3-7

QsD3-8



QsD3-9



QsD3-10



QsD3-11a



QsD3-12



QsD3-13



QsD3-14



QsD3-15



QsD3-16



QsD3-17



QsD3-18



QsD3-19



QsD3-20



QsD3-21



QsD3-22



QsD3-23



QsD3-24



QsD3-25



QsD3-26



QsD3-27



QsD3-28



QsD3-29



QsD3-30



QsD3-31



HT1-1



HT1-2



HT1-3



HT1-1b



HT1-4



SB1-1



SB1-1b



SB1-1c



SB1-2



SB1-1a



UNC1-1



UNC1-2



UNC1-3



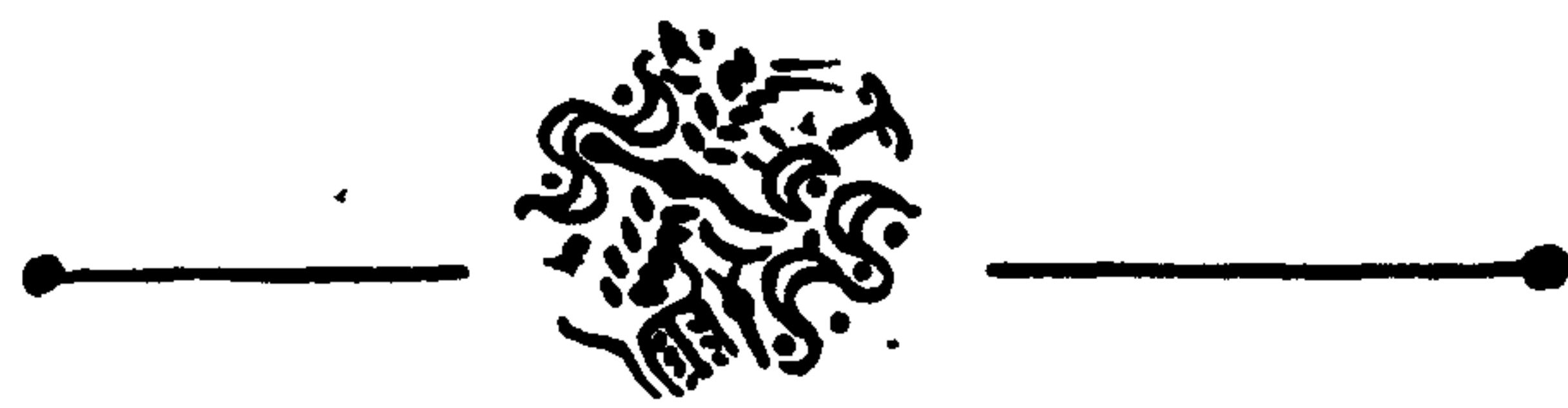
UNC1-4

see plates



UNC1-5





COM1-1

COM1-2

COM1-3

COM1-4

COM1-5



COM1-6

COM1-7

COM1-8

COM1-9

COM1-10



COM1-11

COM1-12

COM1-13



TIN1-1

TIN1-2

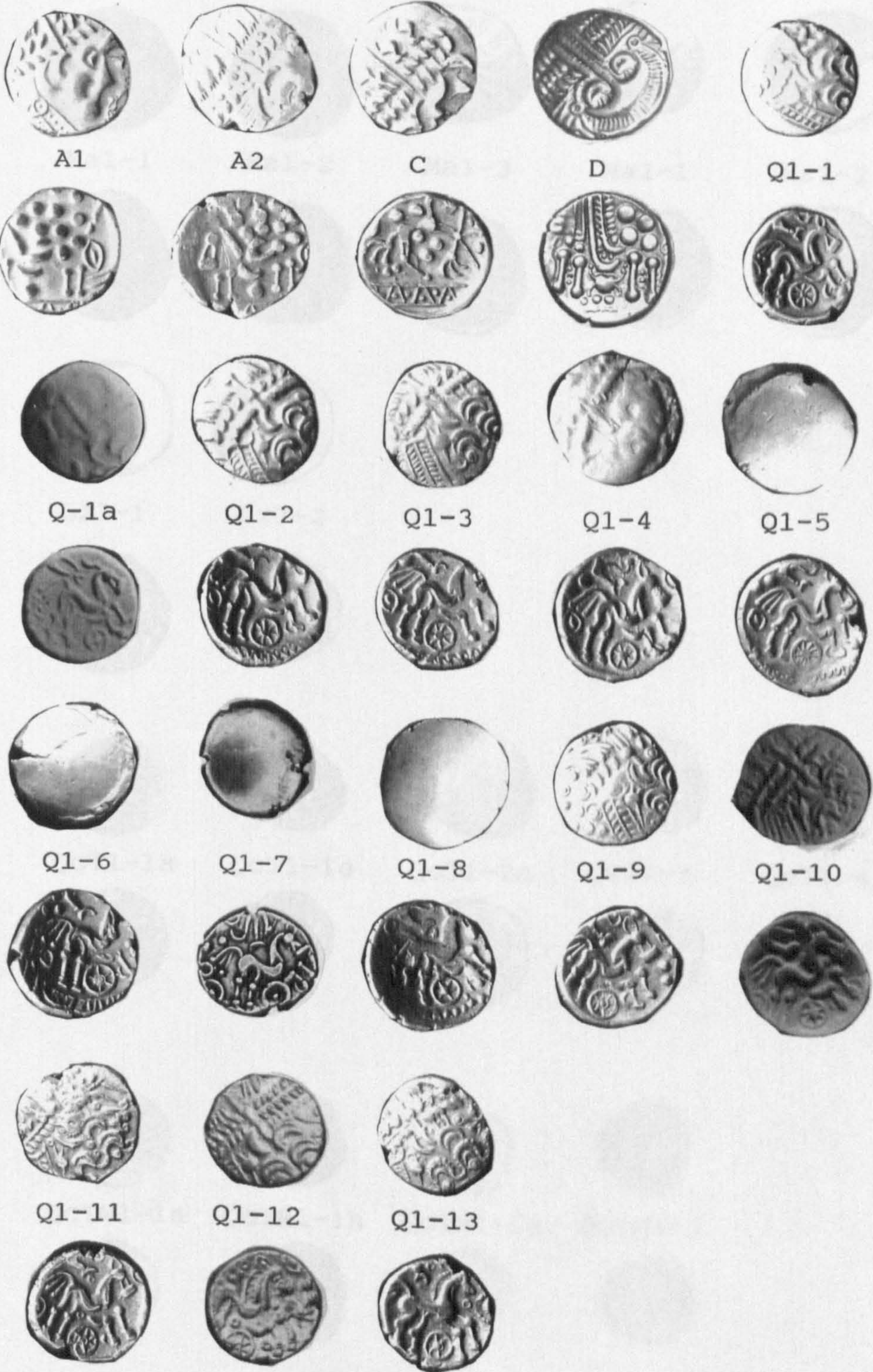
TIN1-3

TIN1-4

TIN1-5



PLATE I



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE II



Ma1-1



Ma1-2



Ma1-3



Ma2-1



Ma2-2



Lz3-1



Lz3-2



QcT1-1a



QcT1-1e



QcT1-2a



QcT1-3



QcT1-4



QcTM1-1a



QcTM1-1h



QcTM1-2a



QcTM1-3



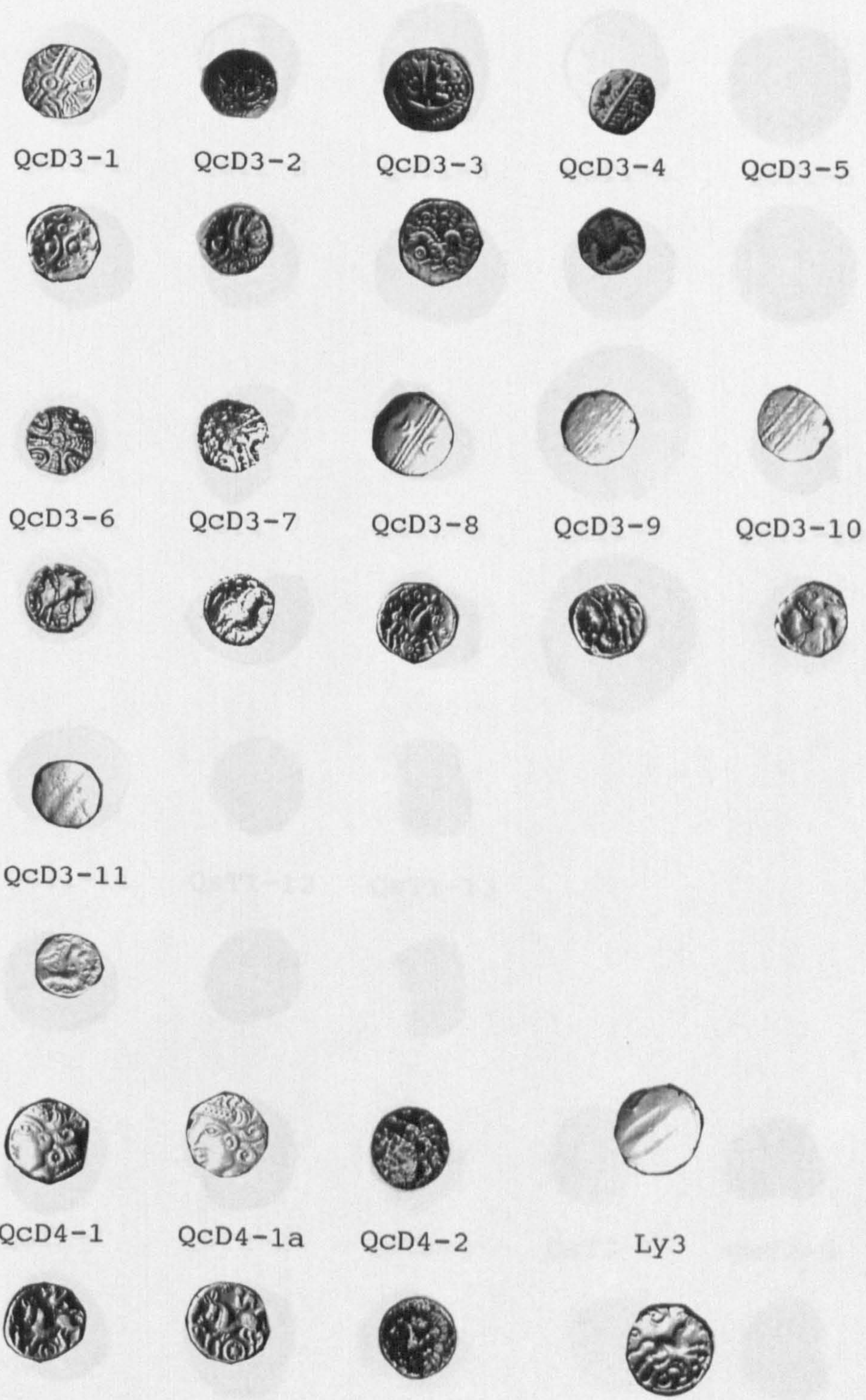
* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE III



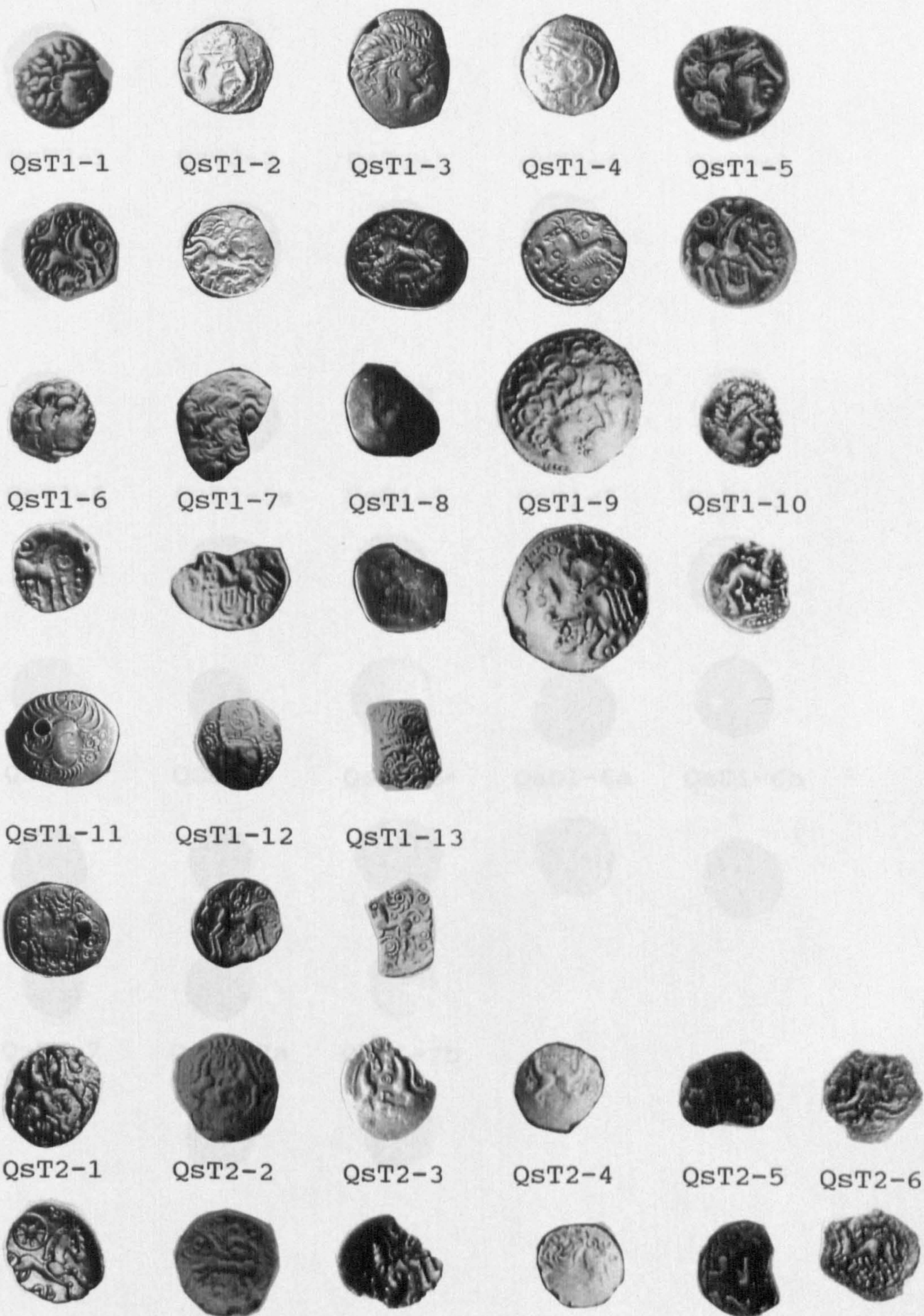
* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE IV



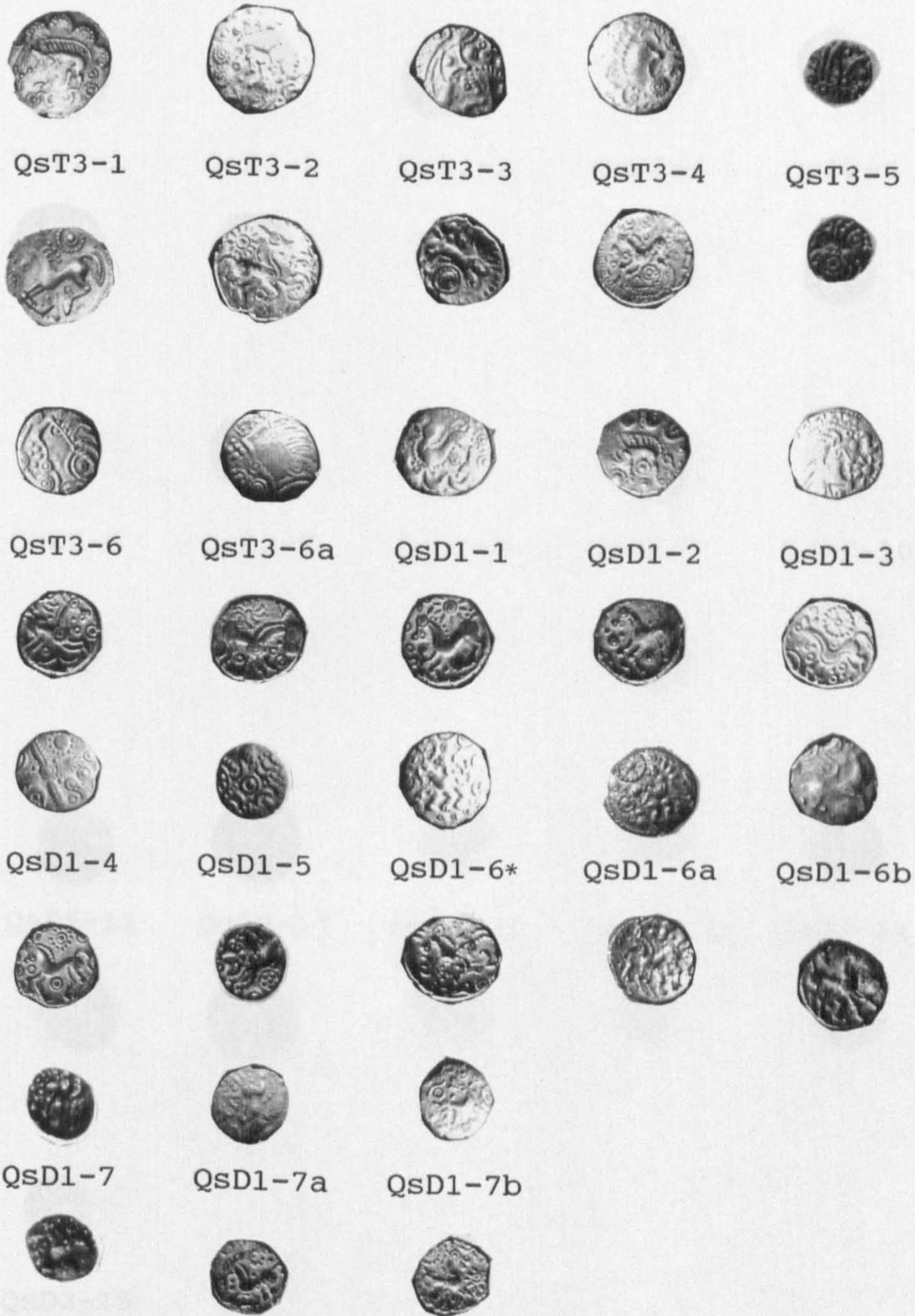
* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE V



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE VI



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE VII



QsD2-1



QsD2-2



QsD2-3



QsD2-4



QsD2-5



QsD2-6



QsD2-7



QsD2-8



QsD2-9



QsD2-10



QsD2-11



QsD2-12



QsD2-13



QsD2-13a



QsD2-14

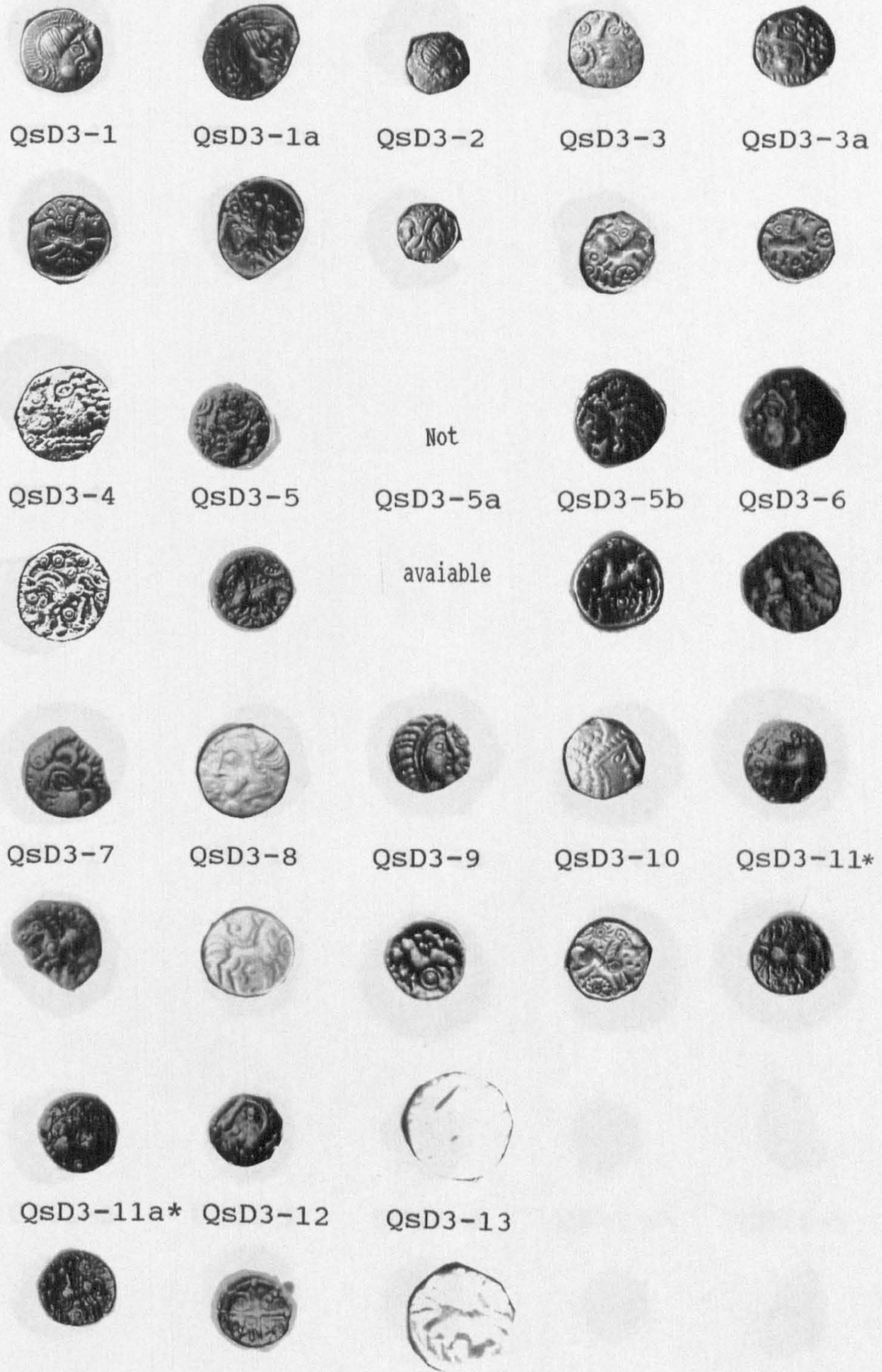


QsD2-15*



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE VIII



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE IX



HT1-1



HT1-1b



HT1-2



HT1-3



HT1-4



HT1-5



HT1-6



HT1-7



SB1-1



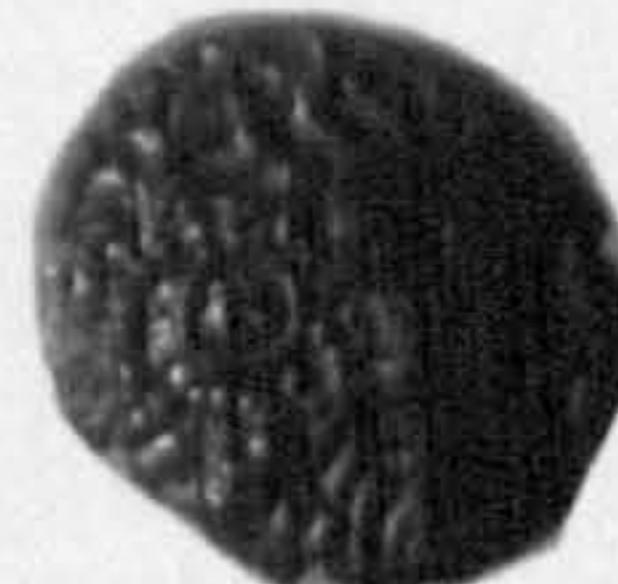
SB1-1a



SB1-1b



SB1-1c



SB1-2



SB1-3



SB1-4



SB1-5



SB1-6



SB1-7



UNC1-1



UNC1-2



UNC1-3



UNC1-4*



UNC1-5



UNC1-6



UNC1-7



UNC1-8



UNC1-9



UNC1-10

* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE X



COM1-1



COM1-2*



COM1-3



COM1-4



COM1-5



COM1-6*



COM1-7



COM1-8



COM1-9*



COM1-10



Not

COM1-11

available



COM1-12



TIN1-1



TIN1-1a



TIN1-2



TIN1-3



TIN1-4

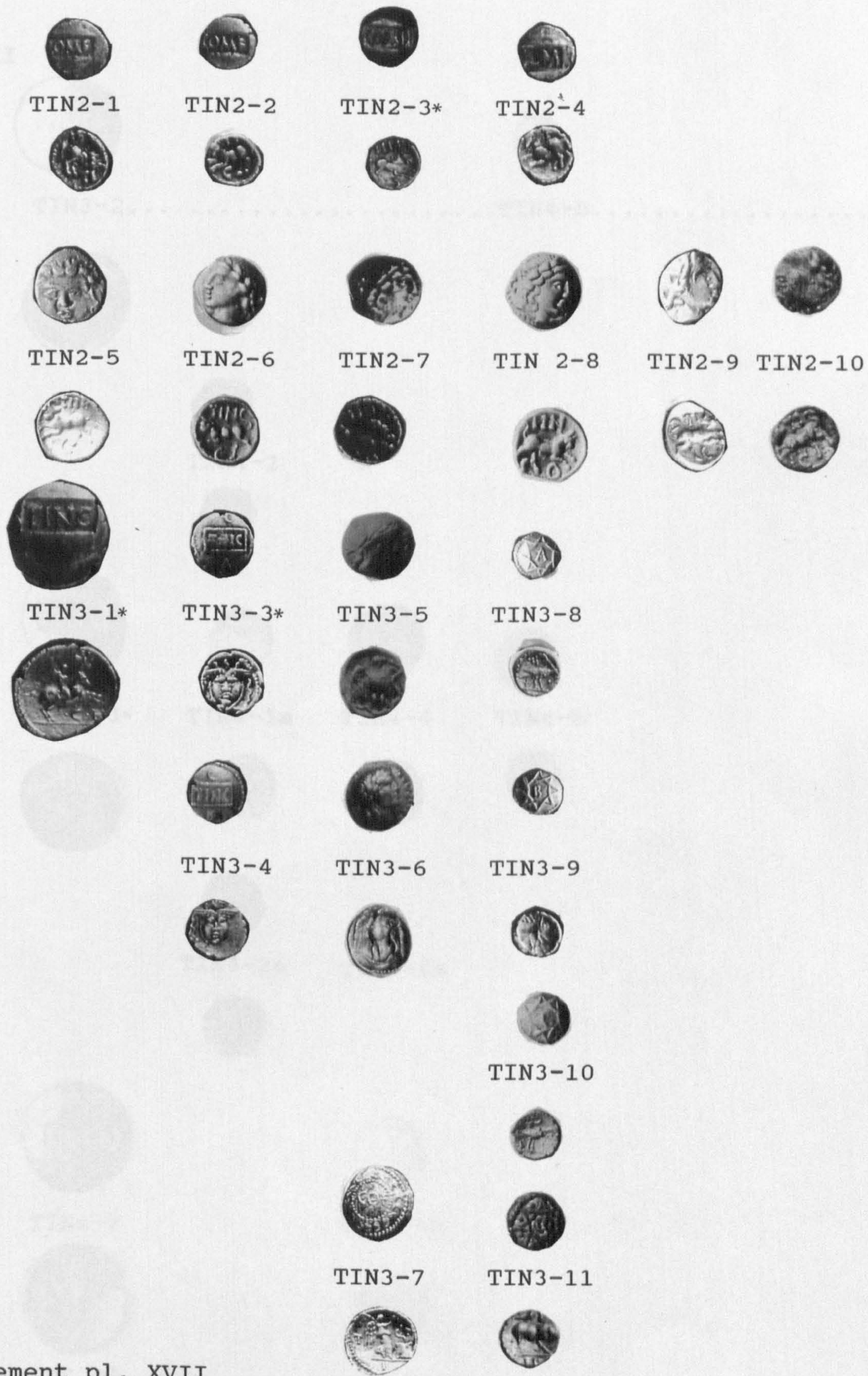


TIN1-5



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE XI



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE XII



TIN3-2.....



.....TIN4-5.....



TIN4-1*



TIN4-2



TIN4-1a



TIN4-4



TIN4-6



TIN4-2a



TIN4-4a



TIN4-7



TIN4-4b



* enlargement pl. XVII

PLATE XIII



TIN4-7a



TIN4-2b



TIN4-8



TIN4-7c



TIN4-8a



TINUNC1-1



EPP1-1



EPP1-1b



EPP1-2



EPP1-2b



EPP1-3



EPP2-1*



EPP2-2



EPP2-3



EPP2-4a

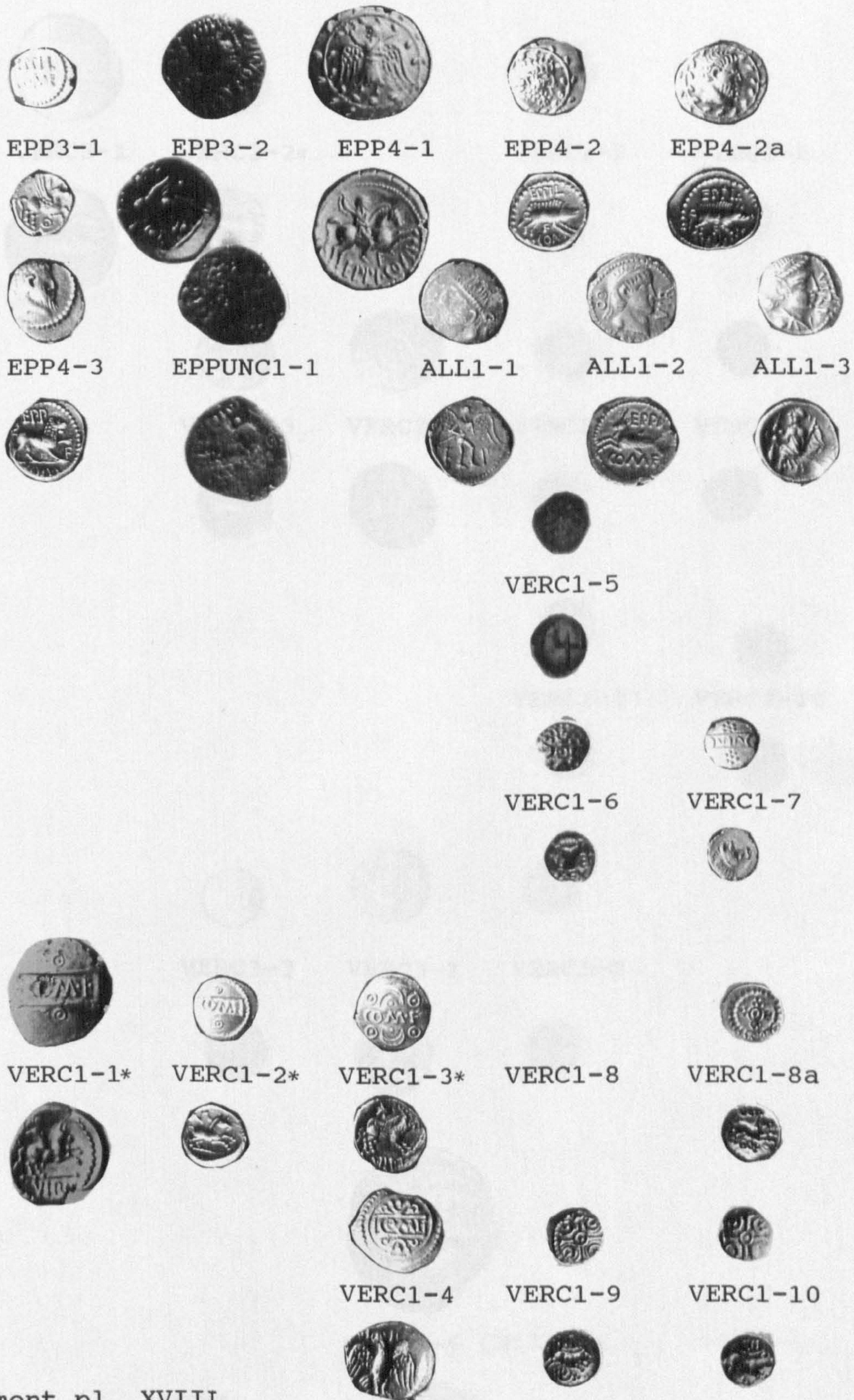


EPP2-5



* enlargement pl. XVIII

PLATE XIII



* enlargement pl. XVIII

PLATE XIV



VERC2-1



VERC2-2*



VERC2-5



VERC2-6



VERC2-3



VERC2-4



VERC2-7



VERC2-8



VERC2-9



VERC2-10



VERC3-3



VERC3-1



VERC3-2



VERC3-4 (2:1)

* enlargement pl. XVIII



PLATE XV



VERS1-1*



VERS1-2*



VERS1-3



VERS1-4



VERS1-3d*



VERS1-5



VERS2-1



VERS2-2



VERS2-3



VERS3-5*



VERS3-8



VERS3-1*



VERS3-2



VERS3-6



VERS3-9



* enlargement pl. XVIII

PLATE XVI



VERS3-1b



VERS3-4



VERS3-7



VERS3-10



VERS3-1e



VERS4-1



VERS4-2



VERS4-3*



VERS4-4



VERS4-5



VERUNC1-1



VERUNC1-2



CRAB1-1



CRAB1-2



SIIC1-1*



* enlargement pl. XVIII



QsD1-6 overstruck on a QsD1-1



QsD2-15 obv. die from crooked hub



QsD3-12



UNC1-4



QsD3-11



QsD3-11a



COM1-2



COM1-6 recut obv. die J



COM1-9



TIN3-1



TIN3-3



TIN2-3



TIN4-1



PLATE XVIII



EPP2-1a



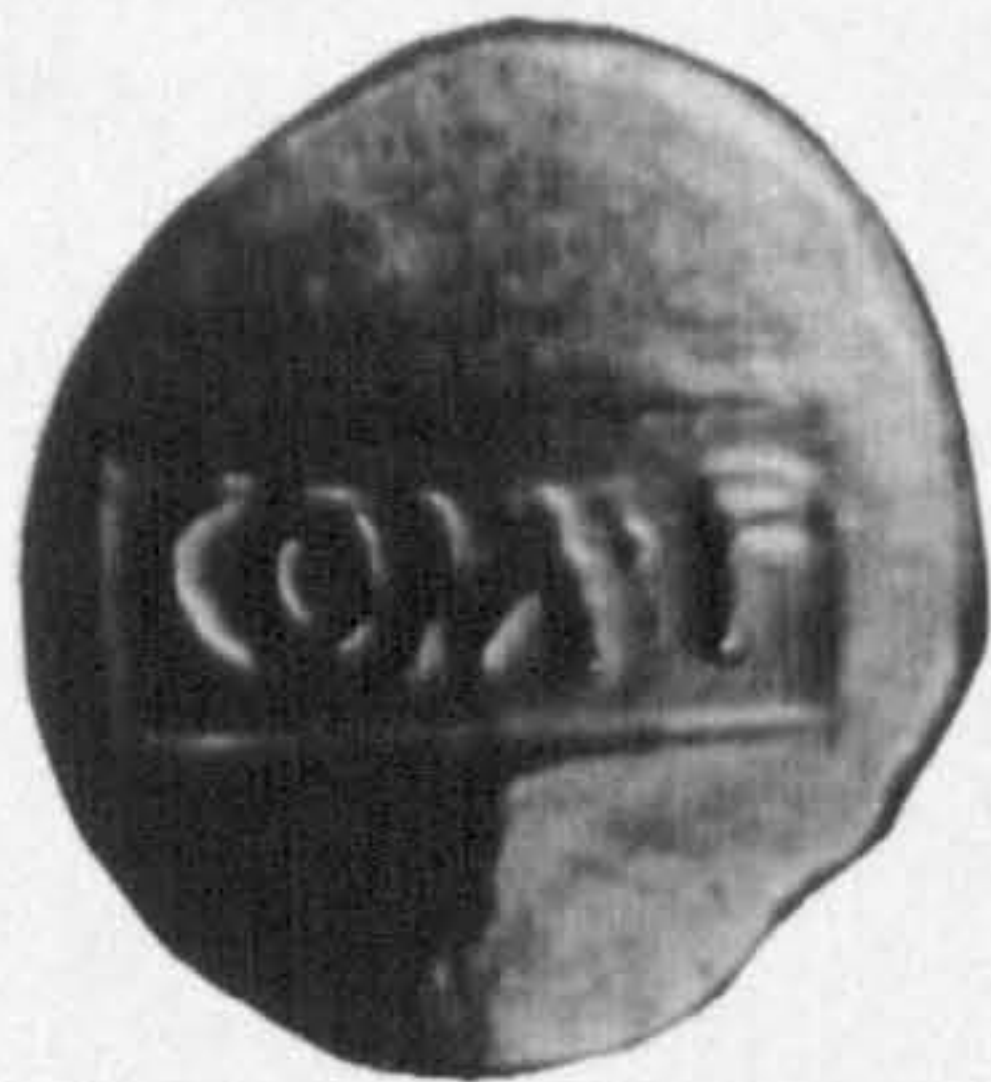
VERC2-2



VERC1-1



VER1-2



VERS1-1



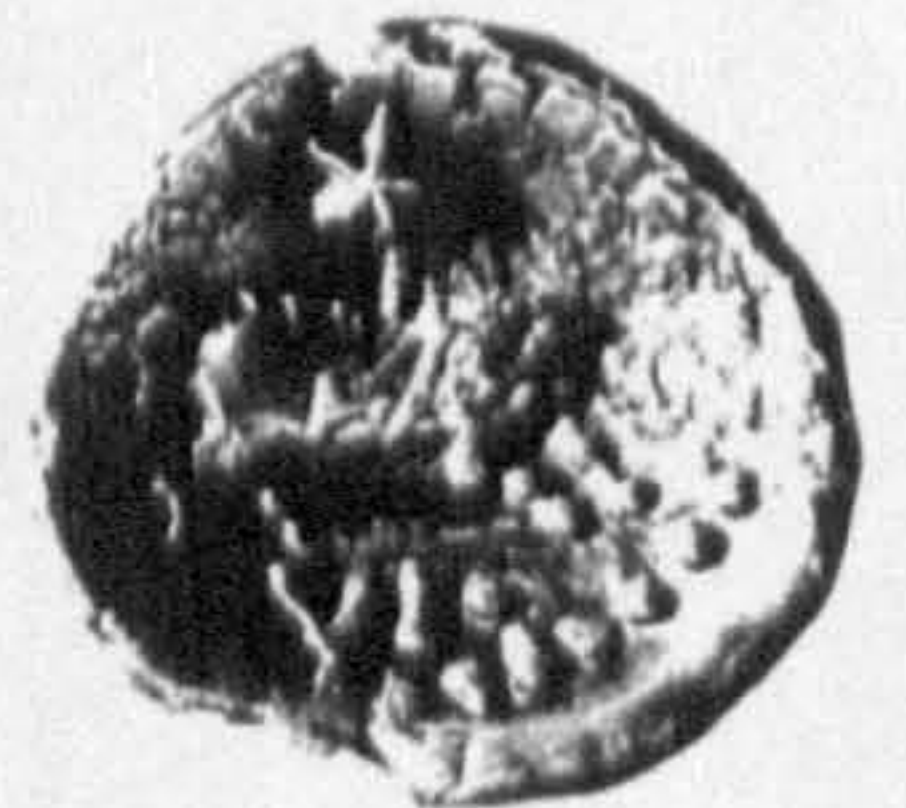
VERS1-2



VERC1-3



VERS1-3



VERS3-1
Dies Aa



VERS3-5



VERS4-4



SIIC1-1



Scale 2:1