"ASPECTS OF THE IRON AGE COINAGES OF NORTHERN EAST ANGLIA WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO HOARDS".

by

Amanda Dorothy Barras Chadburn , BA Jt. Hons, FSA.

A thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, November 2006.

VOLUME I
(Part 1)

University of Nottingham
Hallward Library

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

VOLUME I

CONTENTS

Abstract iii

List of figures iv

List of tables v

List of maps viii

Acknowledgements ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Aims and objectives 1
The study area 5
The scope of the study 7
The integrity of the data 13
General methodology 17
Terminology 19

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC CONTEXT

Introduction 36
Caesar 41
Strabo 42
Tacitus 43
Cassius Dio 50
Suetonius 58
The Claudian Arch 58
Coin legends and historical evidence 60
Roman client kings and coinage 65
Other sources 66
Previous numismatic work. 70

CHAPTER 3: COIN HOARDS

Methodologies, problems and die studies 89
Hoards containing Iron Age coins found within the study area. 97
Hoards outside the study area containing Icenian coins 100
Case studies 101
Numismatic discussion of all hoards containing Icenian coins including deposition dates 140
Conclusions from the coin hoards 177

CHAPTER 4: THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE ICENIAN COIN SERIES

Methodology 180
List of Icenian coin types and sub-types 185
Detailed catalogue of Icenian coins 197
Iconography 308
Legends 319
What does die variety mean? 328

CHAPTER 5: DISTRIBUTION

Distribution of all hoards in the study area 330
Distribution of Phase A hoards in the study area 340
Distribution of Phase B hoards in the study area 340
Distribution of Phase C hoards in the study area 341
Distribution of Phase D hoards in the study area 341
Distribution of Phase E hoards in the study area 341
Distribution of temple hoards in the study area 342
Distribution of non-Icenian hoards in the study area 343
Distribution of Icenian hoards outside the study area 344
Distribution of gold coins in hoards in the study area 346
Conclusions 346

CHAPTER 6: CHRONOLOGY

Introduction 359
The coins of Prasto 361
When did the minting of Icenian coins start? 370
When did the minting of Icenian coins cease? 372
Client kings and coinage after AD 43. 375
The earlier and later Client Kingdoms of the Iceni 377
The dates of Icenian coins 378
Conclusions 385

CHAPTER 7: COIN MANUFACTURE, MINTING AND METROLOGY

Metallurgy 386
The metrology of Icenian coins 421
Minting 428
Typological and stylistic evidence of minting 453
Possible mint sites 460
General discussion on the manufacture of Icenian coins 465

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction 466
Observations and conclusions 466

BIBLIOGRAPHY 504

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the Iron Age coinages found in hoards within a particular study area in northern East Anglia. The study area was widely defined to attempt to capture all the coins considered by previous scholars to belong to the Iron Age tribe, the Iceni. Other coins of the Iceni outside the study area found in hoards are also considered.

The historical context and previous numismatic research on these coins is reviewed. All coin hoards within the study area are fully described and reviewed, and two hoards are presented as detailed case studies, including a die study on the largest number of Iron Age hoard coins yet undertaken. A classification of the coin series is given, with each coin type fully described, illustrated, and photographed. The distribution of the coin hoards within and outside the study area is considered, results discussed and conclusions drawn. A chronology is suggested for the coin types and for the deposition of the hoards. The manufacture and minting of the coins is discussed and suggestions for mint sites given. Finally, a number of detailed conclusions are drawn.

Supporting data for the above and numerous plates are presented in Volume II.

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Number of coin hoards in the study area with dates of discovery. 12

2. Reconstructions of the pottery containers of the Field Baulk and the Fring hoards. 117

3. The plan of the immediate archaeological context of the Field Baulk hoard. 123

4. The numbers of coin hoards in the study area by hoard (depositional) phase. 162

5. Coin hoards in Britain from the medieval to modern periods. 164

LIST OF TABLES

1. Key topics. 2

2. Icenian history as told by the written sources. 40

3. Similarities between Gaulish personal names and Gaulish place and ethnic names. 61

4. Spellings of the "Icknield Way" arranged chronologically. 69

5. Hypothetical die links. 94

6. Summary of hoards within the study area. 98

7. Summary of hoards outside the study area. 100

8. Summary of hoard contents (Fring I). 105

9a. Catalogue of coins from the Fring I hoard. 105

9. Total number of dies by coin type, Fring I hoard. 118

10. Summary of the contents of the Field Baulk hoard. 126

11. Mean weights for the coin types in the Field Baulk hoard. 129

12. Proportions of Icenian coin types for selected hoards and findspots. 130

13. Total number of dies by coin type in the Field Baulk hoard. 134

14. Number of coin hoards by hoard type. 144

15. Temple hoards in the study area. 145

16. Coin hoards phases in the study area. 148

17. Phase A coin hoards in the study area. 149

18. Phase B coin hoards in the study area. 150

19. Phase C coin hoards in the study area. 150

20. Phase D coin hoards in the study area. 151

21. Phase E coin hoards in the study area. 155

22. Theoretical explanations for the compositions of hoards. 157

23. Summary of the contents of the Snettisham I group of hoards. 172

24. Description of Icenian coin and torc hoards. 177

25. Conclusions on the hoarding phenomenon in the study area. 179

26. Icenian typological series with denominations. 190

27. Possible relationships between the Freckenham and Boar-Horse types. 193

28. Plated coin types in the Icenian series. 194

29. Early Face-Horse types – possible criteria for identifying denominations. 232

30. Weights and diameters of the Early Face-Horse series. 232

31. Concordance of Chadburn types and Gregory types. 234

32. Legends on Icenian coins and their possible meanings. 327

33. British tribes/kingdoms where Icenian coins are found in hoards. 345

34. Obverse dies of Prasto with individual coin references. 369

35. Iron Age coin phases and Roman Emperors. 379

36. Phases and dates for Icenian coins. 379

37. Suggested dates for Icenian coins. 380

38. Possible groupings of coinages. 384

39. Metallurgical analyses of Icenian coins. 387

40. Means of gold, silver and copper in Icenian coin types. 398

41. The gold content in Icenian coin types with date phases. 401

42. The Icenian gold series sorted by mean gold content. 412

43. The Icenian gold series sorted by mean silver content. 412

44. The Icenian gold series sorted by mean copper content. 413

45. Possible groupings of Icenian gold types by mean gold content. 413

46. Possible groupings of Icenian gold types by mean silver content. 414

47. Possible groupings of Icenian gold types by mean copper content. 415

48. Possible groupings of Icenian gold types based on mean gold and silver values combined. 416

49. The Icenian silver series by mean silver content. 418

50. The Icenian silver series by mean copper content. 419

51. Possible groupings of Icenian silver types based on mean silver content. 420

52. Possible groupings of Icenian silver types based on mean copper content. 421

53. The weights of Icenian Early Face-Horse coin types. 422

54. Mean weights for coin types in the Field Baulk hoard. 424

55. Blanks and pellets in the study area. 435

56. Total numbers of Icenian coin dies. 439

57. Possible numbers of Icenian coins issues during different phases. 441

58. Uninscribed Icenian gold coin types minted from well-cut and poorly-cut dies. 443

59. Analyses of Icenian plated coins. 449

60. Typological evidence of minting. 456

61. Groups of coins possibly issued by the same mint. 458

62. Possible coinages relating to different Icenian *pagi*. 479

63. Contemporaneous coinages of the Iceni in Phase 8. 486

64. Possible evidence of client kingship in the Iceni. 497

LIST OF MAPS

1a. The location of the study area within Britain. 33

1b. The study area (showing the study area of Haselgrove 1987 for comparison) with modern placenames and rivers. 34

2. The location of the fen edge and broadlands and ancient rivers in the study area. 35

3. The location of all hoards in the study area with their numbers as referred to in the text. 90

4. The distribution of all hoards in the study area. 349

5. The distribution of Phase A hoards. 350

6. The distribution of Phase B hoards. 351

7. The distribution of Phase C hoards. 352

8. The distribution of Phase D hoards. 353

9. The distribution of Phase E hoards. 354

10. The distribution of all temple hoards in the study area. 355

11. The distribution of non-Icenian coin hoards in the study area. 356

12. The distribution of hoards containing Icenian coins outside the study area. 357

13. The distribution of hoards containing gold coins and hoards containing silver coins within the study area. 358

14. The distribution of pellet moulds in the study area. 434

15. The distribution of coin blanks and pellets in the study area. 437

16. The location of possible Icenian mint sites. 464

17. The possible Icenian tribal boundary derived from coin hoard evidence. 470

18. Major socio-economic zones in Southern Britain in the LIA. 494

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has been written part-time over a long period. A great many people have helped me on the way and it is a real pleasure to acknowledge the generosity of so many.

The idea for this thesis originated with Barry Cunliffe, when I was discussing suitable topics with him whilst digging at Hengistbury Head. (I later discovered that John Kent had previously suggested this as a topic to Barry). When I discussed this with my co-director Julie Gardiner, she cautioned me against the subject, as she indicated that Tony Gregory, whom I did not know, was undertaking research into Icenian coins. To my surprise a few weeks later, I received a delightful letter from Tony urging me to start work as soon as possible and offering any help he could give. Julie had discussed it with him on her return from the dig, and he generously wrote to me offering all his data. It was the start of a fruitful collaboration and friendship, which was cut short all too soon with his untimely death. Tony suggested his former director, Jeffrey May, as an ideal supervisor, a suggestion I took up. Tony also suggested that the study of the Field Baulk hoard would be a good way into the subject, and I started work at the British Museum each Saturday not long after. I am very grateful to all these people.

Staff at the British Museum have been incredibly helpful and friendly, in particular Andrew Burnett, Roger Bland (now DCMS), Richard Hobbs, Clive Cheesman, Jon Orna-Ornstein, the late John Kent, the late Martin Price, Ian Stead, Mike Cowell, the late Tim Potter, Ralph Jackson and all the staff at Dept. of Coins and Medals. They also kindly allowed me access to the then unpublished typescript of Robertson 2000.

I have benefited from help, advice and discussions over the years with a large number of East Anglian archaeologists including the following: Dave Gurney, Andy Rogerson and Brian Ayers (Norfolk); Jude Plouviez, Colin Pendleton and Edward Martin (Suffolk) and Tim Malim and Chris Evans (Cambridgeshire). Jan Allen (SMR Gressenhall, Norfolk) gave very helpful advice on the hoard from Fakenham/Walsingham and Tim Thorpe at Kings Lynn Museum provided details of some of their hoards. John Davies of the Norwich Castle Museum has been especially helpful in every sort of way – from offering hospitality, discussing ideas, lending books, reading drafts and so on, and I owe him a great deal.

At Oxford University, a number of people have been very helpful particularly in providing access to the Celtic Coin Index and in discussing their research with me, including Barry Cunliffe, Philip de Jersey, Peter Northover, Megan Dennis, and Derek Harrison. Cathy King of the Ashmolean Museum has been similarly helpful.

Over the years I have benefited from discussions on the LIA, early Roman period and on coinage with a large number of people including Colin Haselgrove, Simon Bean, Melinda Mays, John Casey, John Collis, Andrew FitzPatrick, Daphne Briggs (Nash), John Creighton, John Sills, Adrian Olivier,

Paul Robinson, John Chapman, Neil Lang, Mark Curteis, J.D.Hill, Prof Ellis Evans, Richard Bradley, Roger Thomas, Dave McOmish, Jane Webster, Miranda Green, Andrew Lawson, Mike Allen, Paul Sealey, Tom Williamson, Ross Samson, David and Joanna Bird (on Wanborough), David Holman, Dave Rudling, Dr Goddard on brockages, the late Christopher Hawkes, Joe Bispham and Chris Comber of BANS, Dr L.R. Day, Dept of Physics and Natural Science of the then Polytechnic of East London, and Dave Greenhalgh on the practical manufacture of hammered coins. Prof. David Braund of Exeter University gave very helpful advice on "friendly kings" and coinage, and Josh Pollard and Mike Parker Pearson discussed the conclusions with me. Josh Pollard and Paula Gardiner helped with access to the libraries at Bristol University, and the library staff at the Society of Antiquaries have also been very helpful.

At English Heritage, who supported me financially in undertaking this thesis, a large number of people have helped in practical ways including Rachel Foster, Dave Batchelor, Fiona Broadbent, Paul Moon, Nick Hanks, Bev Ballon, Amanda Payne, Steve Stead, Emma Carver, staff at NMR library and Dylan Isaacs. Andrew Saunders agreed to the proposal to support the thesis, and my many managers over the years have been supportive including Chris Smith, Graham Fairclough, Paula Griffiths, Nigel Clubb and Geoff Wainwright. I owe a particular debt to my current line manager Bob Bewley, who kindly looked at the thesis when I was in the doldrums and encouraged me to complete it. John Vallender digitised my base map and Justine Bayley looked at an early draft of the minting chapter. Members of my English Heritage "learning set" have provided moral support for me to keep going, and perhaps more than anyone recently, Hilary Barnett our tutor, has provided very practical advice on how to finish the thesis, for which I am truly grateful. My staff have also been very long-suffering particularly in the last few months.

I have received a good deal of help, hospitality and advice from the trade and from collectors, particularly from Bob Van Arsdell, Joe Linzalone, and S.W. Bragg. Bob Ilsley, Chris Rudd, Mike Vosper, Geoff Cottam, John Talbot, "Rocky" Nawrocki, and Martin Bridgewater have also discussed coins and provided help. I am very grateful to them all.

At Nottingham, I received a great deal of help and hospitality from Jeffrey and Brenda May. As my supervisor for the teaching period of the PhD, I benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of Jeffrey. He also allowed me unlimited access to the archives of the late Henry Mossop archive. It is a matter of great personal sadness that I was unable to show him the final product as he died two weeks before I submitted this thesis. Lloyd Laing took over as my supervisor during the write-up period upon Jeffrey's retirement and has been very helpful in assisting me in getting the thesis to completion, for which I am most grateful. Bill Cavanagh, Sheila Elsdon and the staff at Department of Archaeology and the Faculty Offices have also provided advice and assistance.

My family has been most supportive throughout this thesis, especially in the last 6 months of writing up, when young Master Torin (aged 2) and Miss

Isabella (aged 9) had to put up with a largely absent mother. My long-suffering husband Steve undertook most of the childcare during this period, for which he has my most heartfelt thanks. In addition, he has kept me sane and happy - I owe him big time. I am particularly grateful to him for his uncomplaining support during the last few weeks.

As well as being generally supportive, my family has also been of practical help. My sister Oenone Flambert helped with the inputting into the computer database, and my brother Jeremy Chadburn helped produce Maps 3 and 17. My cousin James Kilpatrick and his housemates provided accommodation in Nottingham from time to time, and my parents have encouraged me to complete.

Finally, it is difficult and perhaps unfair to select particular individuals to thank, especially when I have received so much generous help and assistance throughout the course of my studies from the aforementioned. But in addition to my family, I must give especial thanks to the following who have been particularly helpful. Firstly, Tony Gregory was an immense inspiration at the start of my PhD as well as providing a huge amount of practical advice and unlimited access to his private archives. His influence has continued throughout my studies despite his untimely death. John Davies has been equally helpful in sharing ideas, providing hospitality, advice and offering much other help, as has Richard Hobbs. Finally, I learnt a great deal from my tutor Jeffrey May, who was an excellent teacher and a most helpful tutor. He provided much practical assistance and support throughout my studies, for which I am extremely grateful.

Except where otherwise credited, all artwork was produced by the author.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Aims

The initial aims of the research were to further our understanding of Late Iron Age (LIA) society within a chosen study area by fully recording (as far as was practicable) all Iron Age (IA) coins within the study area, and investigating the distribution, classification, composition, context and possible function of these coins.

Once study was underway, it became clear that this was too large a topic as huge numbers of coins were continually being discovered within the study area.

The initial aims were therefore refined to look at all hoards of IA coins within the study area, to look at the coins which were probably produced by a tribe within it (i.e. the Iceni), to provide a classification of these coins, and to investigate the distribution, composition, and context of the hoards. All this was done with a view of furthering our understanding of the LIA in Britain and more particularly, in this region.

The primary objectives

A number of key topics were identified for investigation, the results of which would allow the aims of the study to be met. These are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Key topics.

- Detailed gazetteers (Chapters 3 and 4, Appendices G and H)
- Spatial analysis and distribution (see Chapter 5)
- Classification (see Chapter 4)
- Dating (see Chapter 6)
- Iconography (see Chapter 4)
- Archaeological context (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5)
- Composition and minting (see Chapter 7)
- Historical analysis (see Chapter 2)

These key objectives are discussed briefly below, but further discussion on these topics and the detailed methodologies employed is given in the relevant sections elsewhere (see below for the scope of the study and Table 1 above for further information).

Data capture and the detailed gazetteers.

Initially, it was considered that one of the most important of the objectives was to record (as far as was practicable) all known IA coins within the study area, including those traditionally attributed to the Iceni, as well as other regional IA coinages. An additional objective was to record all "Icenian" coins found outside the study area.

This objective was modified. The new objective was the production of two main gazetteers, one of which would detail all IA coin hoards within the study area. The other would detail all hoards containing Icenian coins outside the study area.

Spatial analysis and distribution

Another initial objective was to plot the distribution of IA coins and hoards within the study area, and the distribution of Icenian coins outside it. It was hoped that the study of the resulting spatial and distribution patterns would allow inferences to be drawn relating to socio-economic conditions within the LIA. Further methodological information is given in Chapter 5. This objective was modified to concentrate on the distribution of hoards and groups of coins, given the constraints set out above.

Classification

The classification of the Icenian coins into an ordered typological sequence was an essential objective. Without such a framework, no inferences on the development and use of the coin series could be drawn. Further discussion and information is given in Chapter 4.

Dating

Similarly, and for the same reasons, some attempt to date and order the coin series chronologically was necessary. It was only considered possible to date the coins relatively, as the nature of the data and current investigative techniques do not yet allow absolute dates to be drawn. Further methodological information is given in Chapter 6.

Iconography

It was hoped that recording and interpreting the designs, symbols, artistic styles and legends on the coins might suggest the existence of different mints, allow inferences to be drawn about the development of the coin series, and also allow inferences to be drawn about the possible political, ritual or symbolic significance of the coinage. Further information is given in Chapter 4.

Archaeological context

Investigating the provenance and archaeological context of groups of coins and coin hoards and the apparent circumstances of their deposition, would allow broad inferences to be drawn about their function, circulation, and place of manufacture of the coins. Further discussion and information is given in Chapters 3 and 4.

Composition and minting

An understanding of the physical composition of the coins would also allow inferences to be drawn about the development of the coin series, possibly including the identification and products of different mints, and socio-economic changes through time. Further information is given in Chapter 7.

History

A detailed analysis of any historical records and classical texts relating to the East Anglian IA might illuminate the usage of coins in that area, their role within society, and suggest the identification of any possible rulers associated with the coins. Further discussion is given in Chapter 2.

Numismatic context.

The work done to date on the series was reviewed in order to provide a basis for the way forward.

THE STUDY AREA

It is always a difficult task choosing a specific area to study, as the boundaries may reflect ones own and general preconceptions of the material to be studied, in this case, the distribution of Icenian coins. In the light of commonly held assumptions about tribal boundaries, a study area based on lines on the

National Grid was chosen, which is shown on Maps 1a and 1b. It was hoped that the study area would be large enough to encompass the main distributions of Icenian coins, so that conclusions might be drawn about tribal boundaries and coin circulation patterns. There was some overlap with the study area chosen by Haselgrove (1987, 56) which is also shown on Map 1b, but the wider area was needed to ensure that all Icenian coin distributions (as understood before the start of the study) were included.

The study area includes all of the modern county of Norfolk, and parts of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. Geographically, it contains areas of fenland and marsh, the Norfolk Broads, the chalk ridge and adjacent greensand, lowland heath in the Brecklands. Much of the modern fenland would have been under open sea and marsh in the IA as has been shown in the numerous recent publications of the Fenland Survey, and today, modern drainage has ensured that much of it is now farmland. However, there were islands within the fenland in the IA, such as the Stonea island (Jackson and Potter 1996). Map 2 shows the location of the fen edge and earlier drainage patterns in the study area.

Maps 1a and 1b show the location of my study area and Map 1b includes that of Haselgrove (1987). The base map of 1b was selected at this scale for three reasons. The first is that it gives the "big picture" and allows observations to be made for the whole of the territory of the Iceni. The second is that by plotting find spots at this scale, it makes it difficult to identify the exact location and therefore does not pose a security risk (for this reason, grid references are not

given either). Neither the Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs – also known as Historic Environment Records or HERs) who also list this sort of information, nor any responsible archaeologist would wish for such details to be misused by those who wish to loot sites. The third is that much locational information is not detailed anyway (e.g. antiquarian accounts which give a location as being near a village or within a parish), and is therefore plotted more accurately at this sort of scale.

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The coins

One of the first tasks undertaken was a classification of the Field Baulk hoard which had not at that stage been fully accessioned or sorted. All 872 coins were weighed, classified and die-linked in the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum. This allowed me to become very familiar with the bulk of Icenian coinage very fast. However, not all Icenian coin types are represented in that hoard, and at the same time, I started to look at all the other coins which had been classified as Icenian previously, and also to look at coin records (which included new types) sent to me by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit. Other data sources were also trawled for coins including the SMRs, the Celtic Coin Index and metal detectorists records.

At first, each coin was given a record (computerised and on paper), and a number of key variables were identified as being critical, including coin type, weight, and provenance. The resulting data set would be a key tool enabling all

other objectives to be realised. However, during the course of the research, it became impractical in terms of time to continue this work, and to date, about a third of the paper database of coins have a computerised record, although all have some form of paper record (a card like the Celtic Coin Index cards). This is because the number of known IA coins grew tremendously, especially with the discovery of some large hoards during the time I was compiling the database. (The final number of Icenian coins within in all hoards is 10,590). It is planned to complete the database and eventually to publish distribution maps and other observations.

Thus, much data is not included formally in this study, but is on card index and on a computerised database. This data may assist others to check my results in future, and to carry out further research in this area. A copy of all data will be made available to the Celtic Coin Index in the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

As well as all IA hoards within the study area, all Icenian (or probable Icenian) coins found in hoards *outside* the study area have also been included. Icenian coin hoards have been found in temple deposits well outside the study area such as Wanborough, Surrey (Cheesman 1994), Harlow, Essex (Allen 1970; Haselgrove 1989c) and there is even a hoard of Icenian coins recorded from Battle, East Sussex (Allen 1970). All such hoards have been included.

Other finds of single coins or site finds have not been included, although that had been the original intention. For example, as well as the numerous finds

from within the study area, there are many single Icenian coin finds from southern England and even one from an early Roman context in Germany (Allen, 1970). IA coin finds from Norfolk only have been studied by Hutcheson (2004), and Dennis (forthcoming) has reviewed silver Icenian coins, mainly from Norfolk.

A decision was taken *not* to include Roman Republican coins and other coins (e.g. Ancient Greek) which may have been present and circulating within the study area during the LIA. It is accepted, nevertheless, that at least some of these coins could have been present in northern East Anglia during the IA, and could have had one or some socio-economic functions during that period. However, it was felt impracticable to try and include these items, most of which are without a firm archaeological context.

Early Roman coin hoards, some of which may have been deposited during the period of the presumed Icenian client kingdom (c.43 AD - c.60 AD), also fall outside the scope of this work, although again it is accepted that they could relate to socio-economic events and systems during the LIA. In any case, such Roman hoards have already been studied (Davis and Gregory, 1991; Orna-Ornstein 1997).

It is also possible that other metalwork hoards date to the presumed client kingdom period, such as the Crownthorpe hoard of a wine set of seven bronze vessels, which is dated to c.AD 60 (Davies, 1996), but these also fall outside

the scope of this work. However, any Roman coins found in direct association with Icenian coins in hoards have been briefly recorded and described.

The limits of the data collection

Data was collected up to the mid 1990s. All hoards found before the mid 1990s should be included.

All relevant coins in the Oxford Celtic Coin Index up to 95.1185 have been looked at. As many of these are site finds or singletons, these have been used to assist with the classification of the series but are not included elsewhere. Much detailed hoard data is not yet on the Index.

The total number of coins studied

The data collection took far longer than was originally anticipated, because of the vast number of new coins being recovered. In 1939, Clarke estimated that there were 550 IA coins from Norfolk and Suffolk, about 450 of which came from hoards. But in 1970 Derek Allen published a corpus of 208 coins, having studied c.1,150 coins, and estimating that there were probably 1,700 in existence at that time. By the end of my data collection in 1995, I had records of 10,590+ Icenian coins from hoards (nor does this figure include site finds of which there are now several thousand), and the number of hoards in Britain containing Icenian coins had increased from 12 in 1970 to 63 in 2006.

Some basic figures on the data collected are given here (see also Tables 6 and 7 in Chapter 3):

- Number of well-recorded Icenian coins in hoards in the study area: 10,357+
- Number of well-recorded other IA coins in hoards in the study area: 1,106+
- Number of well-recorded Roman coins in IA hoards in the study area: 451+
- TOTAL number of coins in IA hoards in the study area (including poorly identified coins): 13,059+
- Number of Icenian coins in hoards outside the study area: 233+
- GRAND TOTAL of Icenian coins in British hoards: 10,590+

The graph shown in Fig. 1 indicates the number of hoards found since records began in AD 1658, and it can be seen that numbers increase greatly in the 1980s, and soar further in the 1990s. I accept that this is in part a function of my actively seeking out hoards (many of which are regrettably unpublished), but the main reason for this increase is the rate of discovery by metal-detector users. This rise in the popularity of the metal-detector has been ably documented in a recent study by the Council for British Archaeology (Dobinson and Denison 1995), especially in relation to IA coins, some of which is based on information supplied by me (*ibid,* 40-42).

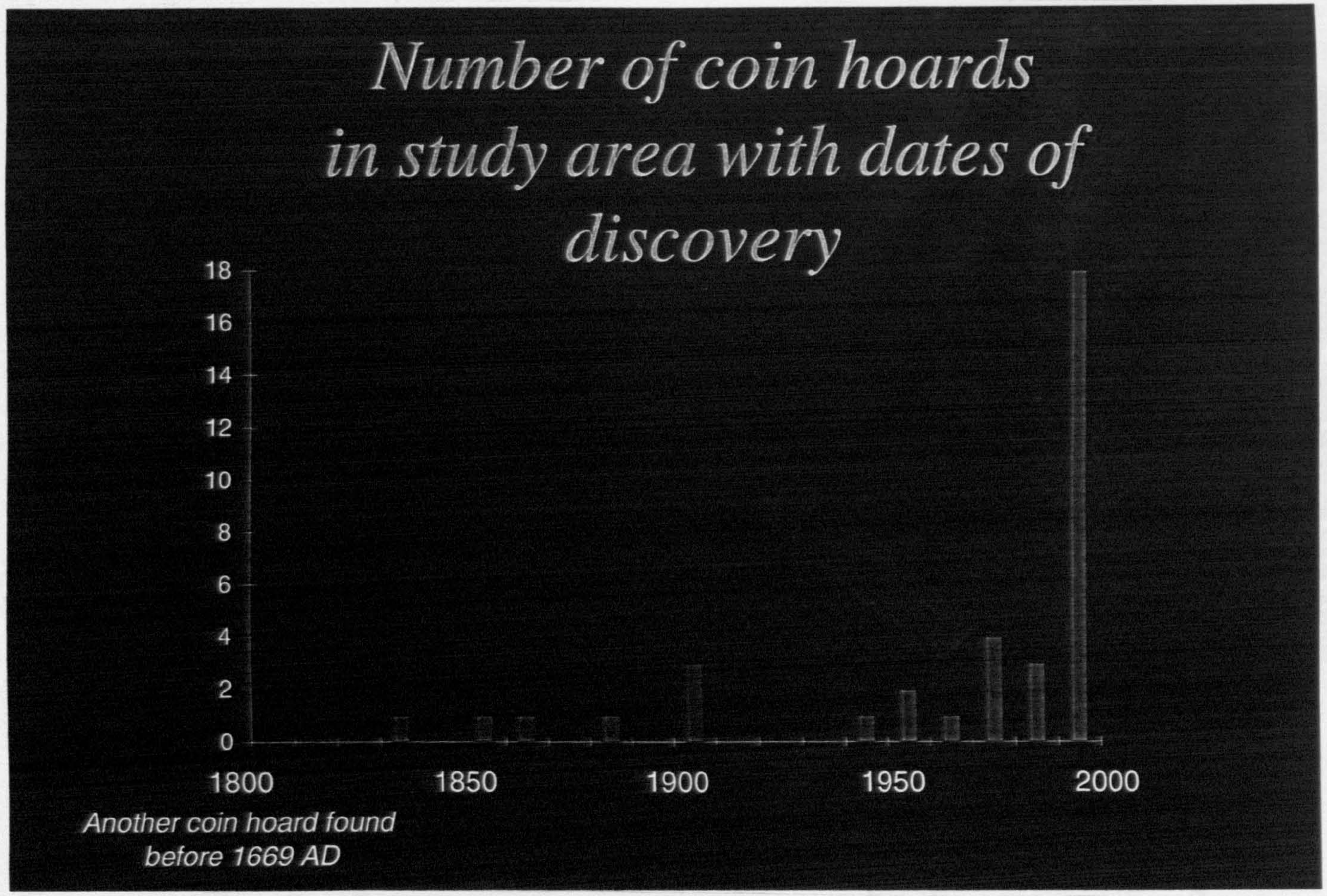


Fig 1: Number of coin hoards in the study area with dates of discovery (37 hoards in total are shown).

The number of hoards studied.

All hoards containing IA coins within the study area – both Icenian and non-Icenian – were studied. There were 54 such hoards.

There were 43 hoards in the study area which contain Icenian coins; the other 11 were hoards of other tribal coinages or early hoards such as Gallo-Belgic hoards.

All hoards containing Icenian coins outside the study area in Britain were studied. There were 8 such hoards, making a grand total of 51 hoards in Britain which contain Icenian coins (43+8).

Therefore 63 hoards were studied in total, both within and outside the study area (54+8).

THE INTEGRITY OF THE DATA

Many of the coins included within this study were recovered by metal-detector users. These finds were then either reported to the Norwich Castle Museum and/or the Oxford Celtic Coin Index, or sold to coin dealers, or retained in private collections. Access to these sources enabled me to build up the data set.

Where possible, the coins were provenanced, and if they were found with others, this fact has been noted too. However, it is a fact that the provenances

may in some instances be unreliable, and in extreme cases, false provenances have apparently been given. This has been addressed wherever possible, and if a provenance is thought to be unreliable, then that locational information has not been used in this study. Regrettably, it is clear that some coins were originally from undeclared hoards, and where this is the case, considerable detective work has been carried out to try and establish the facts of the matter (see for example, Chadburn, 1996). Such work carries on the tradition of antiquarian investigation - the account of the discovery of the Freckenham gold hoard involved similar work by Montagu (1886).

These factors are particularly important when considering the distribution patterns, as false or unreliable provanances will clearly produce false archaeological conclusions. Equally, it may be the case that metal detecting has concentrated in certain parts of the study area, which in turn may produce more finds for a particular location. This point has been carefully considered, but it is thought that at a macro-scale, metal detecting has taken place more-or-less evenly across the study area. The metal-detected finds across different geologies right across the study area would tend to support this. However, it would be difficult to place a great deal of reliance on the distribution maps at a smaller scale, especially if they were being compared and inferences drawn from any perceived differences.

Some coins (but not many) were excavated, and these provenances are more reliable, although even here, many of the coins were residual or unstratified.

However, some "residual" IA coins may actually have been in use on Roman sites (Reece, 1984).

Haselgrove (1987, 2-3) and Rodwell (1981) have commented on the effect which archaeologists and antiquaries can have upon coin distribution patterns. Rodwell goes so far as indicating that the "split" in certain coin distributions in Hertfordshire and Essex is purely the result of the collecting and excavating habits of archaeologists and antiquaries. This is an important point, and one which needs to be taken into account, and it may be the case that some areas of the study area are better represented than others because of the past presence of coin collectors and antiquarians in an area. However, it is clear that East Anglia is currently one of the most heavily metal-detected regions in the country and has been for some time (Dobinson and Denison, 1995), and this factor, in association with the relatively high levels of reported finds, is likely to outweigh such factors, and to even out the picture. Large-scale distribution maps are therefore unlikely to be affected in detail by such factors.

It is possible that Icenian coin hoards have been discovered for many centuries in East Anglia. Indeed, the first such reported hoard was discovered before AD 1658, seemingly the first reported IA coin hoard in the country. It is possible, even likely, that some distortion of the archaeological record will have taken place. However, it is again likely that the use of metal-detectors over the study area counterbalances this on a macro-scale. For example 24 of the reported coin hoards have been found by chance in the study area, and 30 through the use of metal-detectors. This indicates the increase in data as a result of metal-

detecting, allowing us to be more positive in drawing conclusions about coin hoard distributions. Although some coin hoards have not been declared, I think it unlikely that any large coin hoards have been found recently within the study area without my knowledge. Close contact with metal-detector users, and the numismatic trade, has been very helpful in this respect, as inevitably rumours of an illegal find reach them first. The coin hoard distribution maps can therefore be used with some confidence.

A large number of important finds of Icenian coins have been discovered since at least AD 1658, and it is important to establish what credence we can give to these finds. Generally, scholars have accepted the accounts of antiquarians without much question (Allen 1960; Haselgrove 1987). I have in all cases gone back to the original published sources for the finds, and examined the reports; in most cases the reports have been accepted as the best evidence we have, especially since most of them are relatively specific on the locational information. Trawling through the antiquarian literature has also occasionally produced further information - a new coin, or an earlier date for a hoard for example (the date of discovery for the Thorpe-next-Norwich hoard has been pushed back from before AD 1669, to before AD 1658). Given the fact that most scholars including myself accept such reports, a similar level of credence has been given to other reported finds from our own time.

GENERAL METHODOLOGY

Sources

The sources of data were various. Obviously, the major starting point was Allen's excellent study of Icenian coins (1970). Many of the coins described by Allen are held by the British Museum, London, and their collections have proved invaluable. Another most important source was the Oxford Celtic Coin Index, based within the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford. This draws together data from museums, published works, and more recently, sale catalogues, but only records those coins for which photographs are available. Another important source of unpublished data was found in the Henry Mossop notebooks, photocopies of which were kindly made available by Dr Jeffrey May. The work of the Norwich Castle Museum also deserves especial mention, as their records of metal-detector finds are perhaps the best in the country. The staff of the British Museum were very generous and also made much unpublished data available to me. More recently, data has also started to appear on the internet, and via the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Finally, the sale catalogues of various coin dealers, and numerous discussions with metal-detector users, collectors, local coin societies and dealers, have provided the bulk of the unpublished data. Further details can be found in the acknowledgements section. Data was also found in published works such as county archaeological and numismatic journals, although data on many of the coins was duplicated elsewhere, for example in the Oxford Coin Index.

Lines of investigation

Once the data was collected, there were three main lines of research. The first was the actual *classification and chronological ordering* of the vast numbers of newly discovered coins. The second was the study of the numerous *hoards* for which the region is well-known, and the third and final major line of study was to see if there were any *distribution patterns* of chronological or typological significance. For example, were the coins found on LIA or Romano-British archaeological sites, or perhaps only on certain types of sites? Were they distributed evenly throughout the study area? More detailed questions such as "were certain coin types limited to certain areas within the study area?" and "were early coins found in different areas to later coins?" will only be fully answered once a computerised database is completed, and distribution maps for each type produced.

Computing techniques

Once this data was collected, it was input into a simple computerised database using DBase III. Each coin had a unique record, an identifying number called the primary reference number (PRN), and a range of variables including coin type, metal, weight, grid reference, parish, county, archaeological site name, hoard name, and current location. The resulting body of data (the data set) could be sorted and organised in a variety of ways using any variable. This allowed ease of reference to coins from, for example, a particular hoard, or parish, or archaeological site. The data could be organised numerically or

alphabetically, or by both, according to what was needed. Only one third of the paper database has been transferred into this computerised database. It is intended to transfer this data onto new software (perhaps to the Celtic Coin Index) and try and complete this work. Once completed, it will be used as the basis for computer-generated distribution maps.

TERMINOLOGY

Iron Age vs Celtic

The terminology used throughout this study needs some explanation. The term "IA coin" rather than "Celtic coin" is generally used, as the former is less loaded with cultural connotations than the latter. For example, although many artefacts in the British IA share features in common with those Continental artefacts which appear to be the product of people sometimes known from Classical sources as the Celts, and indeed linguistic evidence also appears to link the British Isles with the Continent during that period (Jackson, 1979; Renfrew, 1987; Ellis Evans, 1995), the extent and nature of "Celtic" culture during the British IA is still open to debate (Haselgrove 1987, 4; Collis 1994a; Collis 1994b; Collis 1997).

Collis has published much on the subject, the latest being a detailed survey on European ethnicity (Collis 2003). He does not advocate the use of the word Celtic for describing the British IA, pointing out no contemporary writer described the native Britons as Celts, but simply called them the *Britanni* (e.g. Caesar in *The Conquest of Gaul*). Collis (1997) goes as far as saying that there

were never any Celts in Britain. On this subject, James (1999) takes a similar line in his detailed and often controversial book. I agree with the broad thrust of their arguments and consider it inappropriate to use the term "Celtic" to describe indigenous British coins of the LIA. However, numerous scholars currently use the term Celtic to describe the British IA (Megaw and Megaw 1989; de Jersey 1996; Green 1986, and 1993; Mays 1992; Van Arsdell 1989; and even Hingley 1984, who is very careful about the use of other terms in his article) and are comfortable with it. The Megaws in particular have argued strongly for its retention.

Of course, even the seemingly neutral phrase "IA coin" has its problems, not least for this work, as it is possible that IA coins were in use during the very early Roman period in the study area, and indeed early Roman coins were probably in use in LIA Britain. I am therefore using chronologically-defined terms to describe the products of different cultural groupings which interface during the same chronological period! However, at present, there does not appear to be a better or more generally-accepted alternative than the term "IA coin", although it is worth exploring the reasons why other alternative terminologies are inappropriate.

LIA vs LPRIA?

If one refined the chronological terminology as they do in Scandinavia, in East Anglia we have might have a "Later Pre-Roman Iron Age" (LPRIA), then a "Roman Iron Age" (RIA). Finally there would be a "Roman" period proper.

A number of scholars have recently used the term LPRIA in relation to the period spanning the introduction of coinage, wheel-made pottery and lowland nucleated settlements in Britain (see for example Haselgrove, 1987; Millet, 1990).

However, if one chose to use this terminology in relation to this study area, there would be a number of problems. There would be a LPRIA, but it could be argued that there is a RIA in East Anglia (and indeed elsewhere in Britain) when the client kingdoms were formed. The difficulty with this is that it is unclear *when* Roman influence really started, exactly when the Romans "conquered" northern East Anglia (54 BC? AD 43? AD 44? AD 61? etc), *where* the presumed client kingdom was, and exactly *when* it started. There is also much scholarly controversy at present as to when Romanisation really began in Britain (Braund 1996 and Creighton 2000 consider client kingdoms were set up long before the "Conquest" of AD 43).

It is for these reasons that the phrase LPRIA is not used in this study, and I use LIA instead. In any case, the coins themselves are not presently datable to a great degree of accuracy, so such terminology would be superfluous. The term "IA coin" is used to mean those which appear to be the product of an indigenous culture, and "Roman coin" to mean those coins which were produced under the auspices of the Roman Republic or Empire.

In the study area, the IA started around 8-700 BC, so it is legitimate to talk about a LIA in relation to coins. LIA here refers to the second century BC until

the Roman Conquest of AD 43. LIA artefacts produced before AD 43 could, of course, be found after that period, but are still referred to as LIA.

Tribes, Kingdoms, States or Chiefdoms?

Many scholars currently working in the field of the British IA refer to the socio-political groupings of IA peoples as tribes (Sellwood, 1984; Millett, 1990), taking their lead from the translations of classical authors such as Tacitus, who described the IA peoples as *tribes*. However, Tacitus also names some British leaders as *kings*, for example, Prasutagus, and indeed refers to the *kingdom* of Prasutagus. However, if we accept this, we still cannot be sure what preceded his kingdom, and at what stage prior to this the kingdom of the Iceni developed. Confusingly, Tacitus himself (in the *Agricola*) described British "groups", "states", "tribes" and "nations" within the same paragraph - referring to apparently very similar socio-political groupings. "High kings" are known on the continent. (A more detailed discussion of the classical sources is set out in Chapter 2).

We must therefore be circumspect in the language which we use. The terminology of IA socio-political groupings has been discussed in surprisingly little detail by archaeologists, although anthropologists have long considered it with more care. Lienhardt (1964) offers the following broad definitions: a "state" is "composed of the inhabitants of a specific territorial area along with those subject to the jurisdiction of the government of that area, even though they may not be permanently domiciled within it"; a "tribe" is "a major

political and territorial division of a larger, loosely organised cultural and ethnic group, a people or nation," and a "clan" (often incorrectly used instead of "tribe") refers "exclusively to descent groups composed of all those people who ultimately trace their origin to the same ancestor or ancestress". Where clanship is politically significant a clan has a "systematic genealogical structure, with numerous branches called lineages".

Hingley (1984, 75-6) set out his terms of reference. He used the term "society" to refer to a large-scale social group, and the term "social group" to refer to any unit of social organisation at any level *within* society (my italics) i.e. domestic groups such as nuclear or extended families to whole communities such as bands, tribes and chiefdoms, with any intermediate level in between. His reasoning for this approach was that in IA society, social groupings varied widely in scale within and between societies, and that presumably a simplified terminology was appropriate.

Champion (1985) indicated that power and status were largely dependant upon an individual's ability to recruit followers and allies from both within his or her own society and outside it, and defined a king as an individual who at the highest level, has managed to establish dominance over all his rivals.

Nash (1985) discussed the continental evidence, defining two main types of Celtic society - a warrior society and an agrarian society, whilst recognising the similarities between them. In her analysis, all early Celtic class societies were similar to the extent that leadership was exclusive to an equestrian

nobility, amongst whom the weaker nobles paid allegiance and tribute to the stronger chiefs or kings. At its most developed form, the political hierarchy could be unified under a single king. It would be useful to see if archaeological evidence is available for defining such kingly individuals, in order to distinguish them from the other leaders, such as the leaders of the West Hallstatt chiefdoms.

Haselgrove (1987, 52-3) divided British IA coinages into seven major geographical and typological groupings, which largely corresponded with Allen's (1944) "dynastic" or "tribal" groupings. However, Haselgrove reverted to a regional nomencature because of our ignorance of how exactly the Roman *civitates* reflected the pre-existing socio-political groupings, which in his view, must have fluctuated during the period when IA coinages were in use. He therefore used the term "East Anglian" to describe those coins attributed to the Icenian series, rather than use the terms tribe or kingdom.

The terminology is further discussed by Collis (1994, 32-3), who found the term "Iron Age" useful, but in coming to a more detailed level, also found the terms "chiefdom", "complex chiefdom" or "state" useful for signalling the degree of complexity of the social configuration being studied.

Braund (1996, 80-86) points out that Strabo's terms for the British rulers (between the period approx. 54 BC and AD 20) who set up dedications upon the Capitol is "dynasts" who ruled "dynastdoms" – Strabo withholds the term king.

Scholars of the IA therefore currently use the terms king, chief, tribe, kingdom, chiefdom, society and state loosely, and there is no general agreement about which terms should be used to describe what socio-political grouping. Given this, it is useful to review the evidence from early Anglo-Saxon England when considering the nature of kingship. Anglo-Saxon scholars sometimes look backwards into the British IA to draw parallels with their period, but little reciprocal study has taken place by those studying the IA. Yorke (1990) suggested that the majority of the English Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were already in existence by the arrival of the Gregorian mission of St. Augustine in AD 597. Sub-Roman Britain was seemingly divided into a number of small self-governing units - about thirty - many of which were controlled by kings in the parts of Britain colonised by the Anglo-Saxons by AD 600. But by AD 800, only five kingdoms are known to have been in existence, and a number of British kingdoms in the west had also disappeared. The major kingdoms had grown by absorbing the smaller ones, through a system of overlordship. The nature of Anglo-Saxon kingship was, in Yorke's analysis, primarily based upon military strength, and there appear to be parallels with the leaders of IA societies on this point.

Bassett (1989) also discussed Anglo-Saxon kingship, pointing out that generally, the smaller units are not referred to as kingdoms by modern Anglo-Saxon historians - but that conversely, the written historical sources refer to major kingdoms and the smaller units but use the same terms - i.e. *provinciae* and *regiones*. He suggested that the smaller units should also be correctly viewed as kingdoms, though they were on the point of extinction. The

difficulties of the language are seen fully as Bassett used the term "tribe" to describe an extended family. Bassett further suggested that Bede, writing in AD 731, used the same words to describe both minor and major kingdoms because Bede was watching the processes of state-formation in action, writing about the earlier rounds of a fiercely-contested knock-out competition, which was yet to end.

James (1989) pointed out how flexible we need to be when discussing the nature of kingship. For example, even in the Roman period, the word *regnum* could be used to denote the Empire as well as a barbarian kingdom. Such terms were therefore used far less narrowly than we use such terms today. He also pointed out the multiplicity of words for royalty used in Anglo-Saxon period - *rex, regulus, subregulus*, but also suggests that the *duces regii, princies* and *praefecti* of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, may also have had royal connections.

Where does this review take us? It seems consistent with the evidence to suggest that we should use the classical sources as our guide, and that we may use the term "kingdom" to describe the socio-political grouping of the Iceni during the reign of Prasutagus, although the Iceni are also referred to as a "tribe" in the classical sources at this time too. Caesar, like Tacitus, refers to both tribes (e.g. Trinovantes), kings (e.g. Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segovax, the four kings of Kent), and leaders of noble birth (e.g. Lugotorix). It seems unlikely that the socio-political organisation in the late coin-using IA of East Anglia changed radically (except perhaps in scale - to

grow more powerful?), and it is therefore likely that there were earlier East Anglian IA kings before Prasutagus. The evidence from Caesar and Strabo might suggest this too.

However, as we cannot be sure of this, the terms "tribe" and "kingdom" are both used here. The latter is usually used to describe the "known" client kingdom period of Prasutagus and perhaps earlier. In anthropological terminology, a tribe can denote a relatively sophisticated cultural, political or ethnic grouping or nation, which is certainly how the Iceni of the LIA should be viewed.

Tribal names

Another difficulty with terminology relates to the attribution of IA coins to different tribal groupings. Today, everyone working in Britain with IA coins uses such names, at least verbally, as a useful shorthand, such as "Durotrigian", "Trinovantian", "Cantian" etc., but there are problems with this approach. Such problems are explored below, so that we can fully understand the limitations of the terms *should we choose to continue using them*. Such difficulties are also considered by Haselgrove (1987, 52), and de Jersey (1996).

For example, the tribal names we use to describe LIA groupings are adopted from the Roman (colonial) perception of the British tribal or political groupings which existed at the time of their conquest. The Roman *civitates* take their name from these social groupings, which are presumed to reflect

accurately LIA boundaries and political affiliations (Millett 1990, 12; Allen 1944, 3). But how fluid were these groupings in the LIA? And do the Roman *civitates* accurately reflect their territories? A further complication is that there is some historical evidence that IA socio-political groups in Britain changed through time, and indeed one would surely expect this. For example, as well as setting out the hostilities between the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni (which in itself seems to imply considerable political instability), Caesar also mentioned the names of five tribes which were in existence at the time of his expeditions of 54 and 55 BC; the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci and the Cassi. These five tribes sent representations or ambassadors to him, none of which (with the possible exception of the Cenimagni - further discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 8) appear again in the historical or archaeological record (Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul,* V). Unless these tribes simply changed their names into those *civitates* names which we know about from later Roman evidence, which seems unlikely, then it implies that political groupings changed spatially too. All this suggests shifts in political allegiance, with the emergence of new successful groupings - larger kingdoms perhaps? - with some groups dominating others who disappear as entities in their own right. We can therefore see that it might be dangerous to give a tribal (*civitas*-derived) name to a particular IA coin. It could be like describing a medieval Scottish coin minted before the Union as a coin of the United Kingdom.

Another problem with using the *civitates*-derived tribal names, is that sometimes they do not reflect the archaeological evidence. For example, it is at present difficult or impossible to see a distinct group of coins belonging to the

Regni. Instead, we see coins of the Atrebates and Canti in the area of Sussex presumed to be the territory of the Regni (Bean 2000). Does this mean that the Regni did not use coins? Or perhaps they did not really function as a late IA political grouping in the way that other tribes apparently did? Did they really exist as a tribe? Or did they simply decide not to issue coins? Whatever the reality, it makes for considerable difficulties in ascribing coins to particular tribal groupings.

These difficulties are also manifest when we discuss the coins of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes. These two apparently separate tribal groupings appear to have such a complicated and intertwined political history, that it is often impossible to tell whether a coin should be ascribed to the Trinovantes or the Catuvellauni, hence I have used the abbreviation "Trin/Cat" throughout this study.

We also have problems when discussing particular groups or types of coins, such as potin coins and Gallo-Belgic coins, which have distributions within a number of the currently understood tribal areas of LIA Britain. It seems likely on current evidence that a number of different tribal groupings used these coins, as, for example, Gallo-Belgic E coins are distributed widely throughout many different regions of southern Britain. However, it is also possible that the political geography of LIA southern Britain was very different to how we currently envisage it, and that an altogether different set of groups or tribes used these coins. This becomes especially significant where we appear to get a particular coin issue which appears to have a very limited distribution, for

example, the Chichester cock types (Burnett 1992). Are these really "Atrebatic" issues? Or were they issued by an earlier tribal or sub-tribal grouping (a *pagus*?) which once existed in the area? The more IA coins we become aware of, the more interesting and difficult to interpret these distribution patterns become.

We even have difficulties in believing the actual names of the *civitates*-derived tribes. The Corietauvi were for many years known as the Coritani, until evidence to the contrary was revealed (Tomlin 1983a and 1983b, and there is still some controversy over this), and it therefore possible that the name Iceni was a shortened version of another IA name.

For the above reasons, I have entitled this study "Aspects of the Iron Age coinages of northern East Anglia with especial reference to hoards", as this seems as neutral and as free from cultural preconceptions as is possible. However, in order to use a convenient shorthand within the text, I have continued to use the tribal names in current archaeological usage when describing particular coins. When tribal names are given, these describe the principal area where the coins circulated (which happens to be broadly the same as the Roman *civitas*), and from where they were probably issued. For example, I describe the coins known as "Norfolk Wolf" as Icenian, even though I recognise that a political entity known as the "Iceni" may not have existed at the time when the coins were made. (In fact, on current evidence, it is perhaps more likely that a social grouping known as the *Cenimagni* issued the Norfolk Wolf coins). However, Norfolk Wolf coins do have a similar

distribution to other later coins, such as the Anted(i) issues, and to the Roman *civitas* called "Iceni", and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that there is some cultural, political and/or socio-economic continuity in that area, which allows us to ascribe these coins to the same group, which for convenience sake, we term "Icenian". It is argued that the Iceni are one of the most stable of the IA states, and this is further justification for terminology used. It is important that all these limitations and difficulties are fully understood when reading the text which follows.

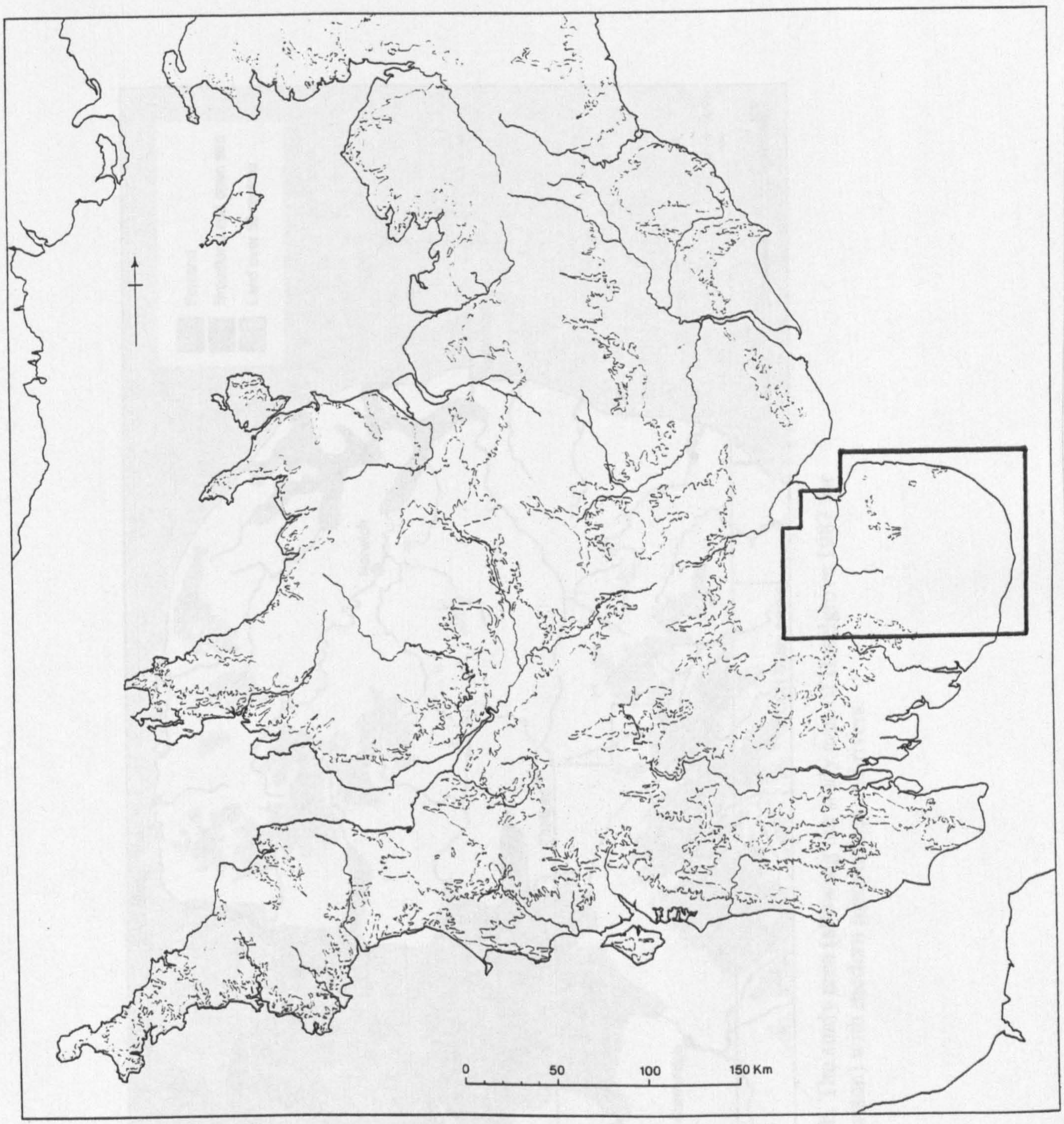
An alternative to using tribal names would be to follow the Haselgrove terminology (Haselgrove 1987, i, 52), where coins are ascribed to more neutral geographically-defined groupings. Although I agree with his reasons for defining and using such terminology, it seemed cumbersome within the context of a purely regional study to use them. I therefore use the term "Icenian" synonymously with the Haselgrove term "East Anglian" (*ibid*, 53).

Boadicia, Boudicca or Boudica?

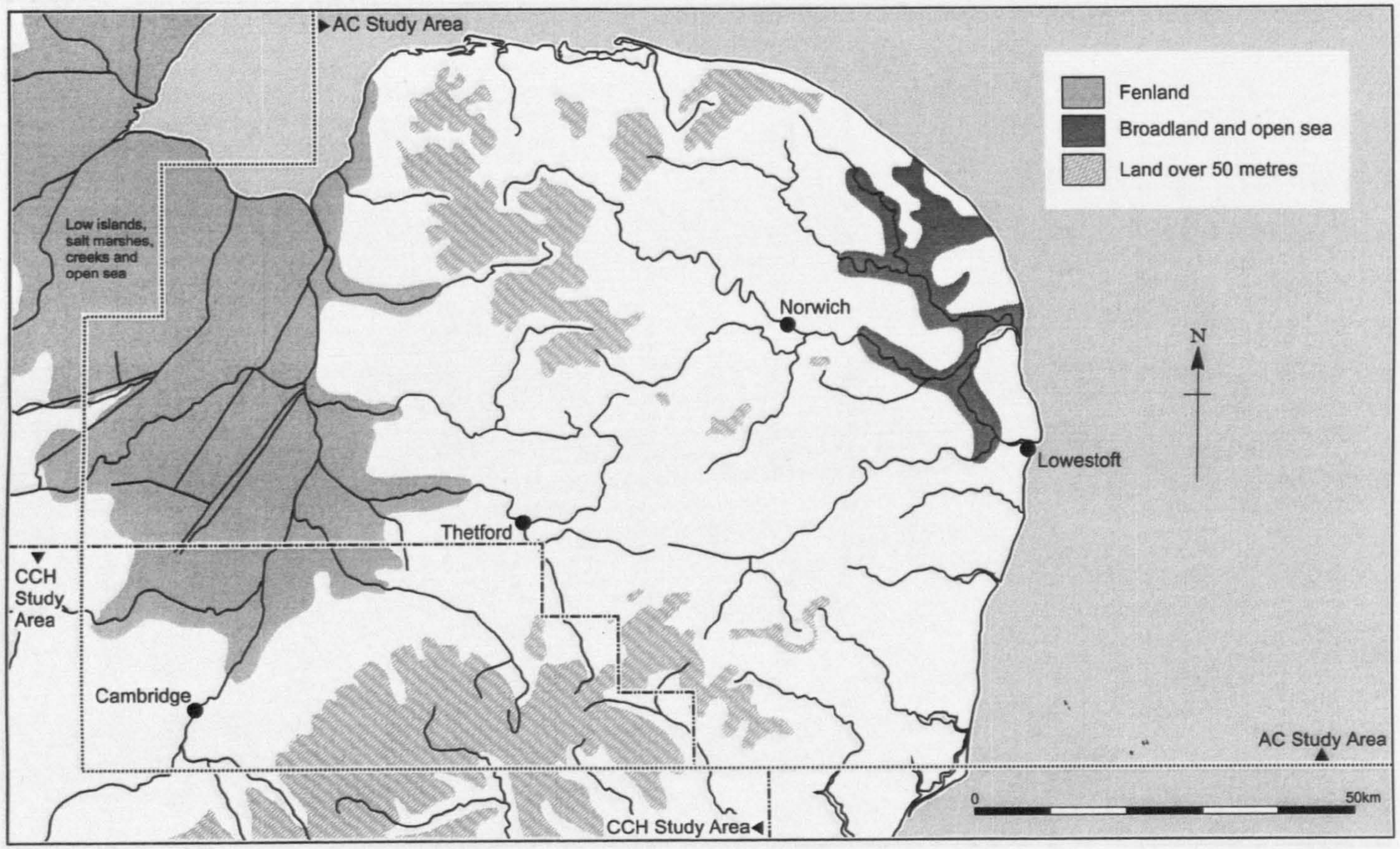
This point has been eloquently argued by Jackson (1979), who set out the philological arguments for spelling the name as Boudica. His arguments have not been challenged, and in this study Boudica is used. Webster (1978) also follows this spelling, pointing out that the name Boudica derived from the Celtic *bouda* meaning victory, and the name can be equated with our Victoria. Webster also sets out the misspellings from which the name Boadicea arose.

Other terminology

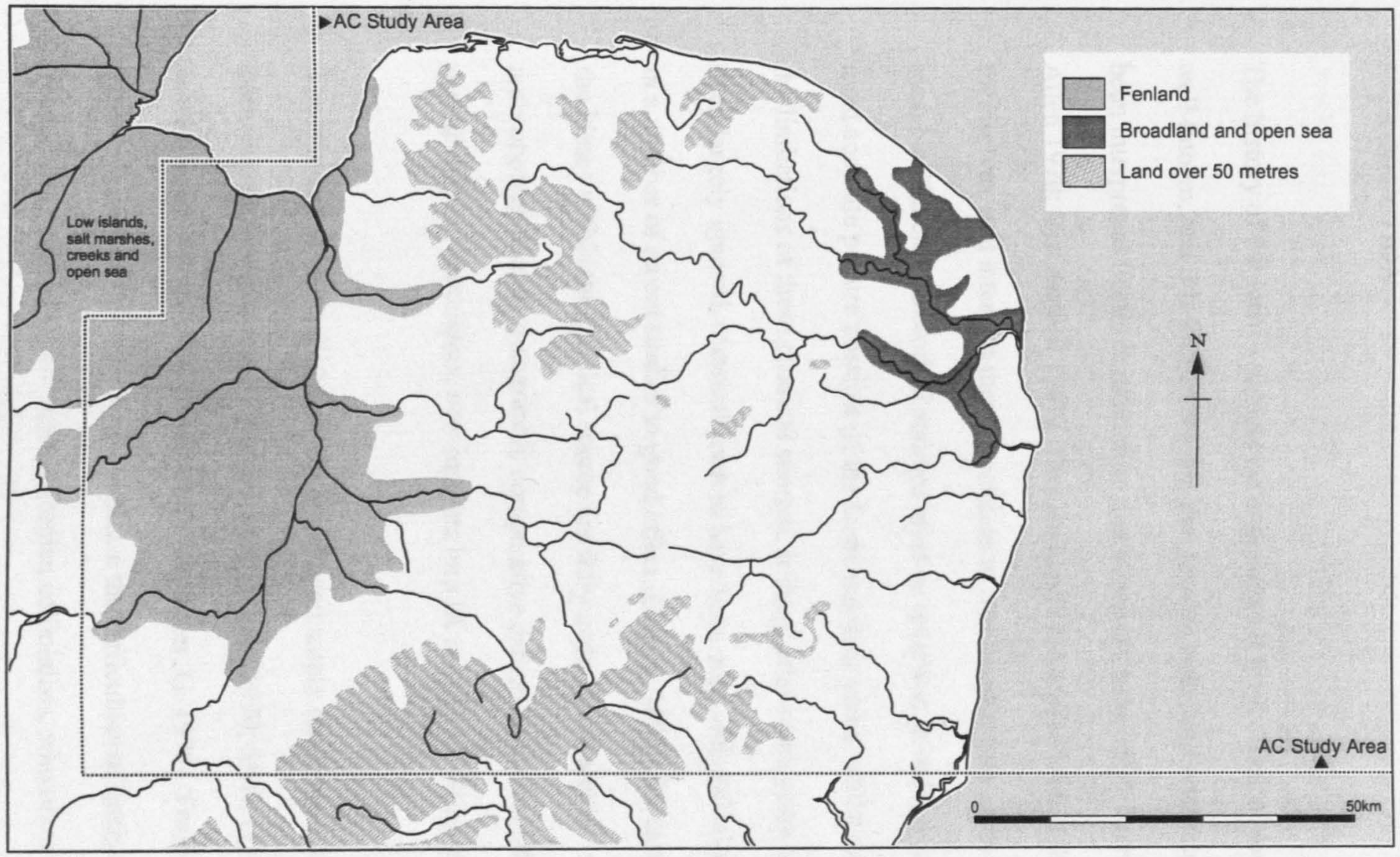
The definitions of such terms as "coin hoard", "coin type", "coin sub-type", "variant" and so on, are given in the relevant sections elsewhere.



Map 1a. The location of the study area within Britain.



Map 1b. The study area (showing the study area of Haselgrove 1987 for comparison) with modern placenames and rivers.



Map 2. The location of the fen edge and broadlands and ancient rivers in the study area.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Iceni - such as we understand it from classical sources - is well-known, and it is for this reason, that Icenian coins and artefacts have often been interpreted firmly in relation to that history (Clarke 1939; Frere 1941; Allen 1970; Van Arsdell 1987). This study will attempt to look at the coins themselves, and interpret them in relation to numismatic data without historical bias. Nevertheless, historical sources must be reviewed in order to provide the most accurate picture possible of the Iceni and their coins, whilst recognising the limitations of these classical sources. Indeed, after some years of having been largely ignored, classical sources have been used and critically appraised in a number of recent studies to good effect (Dietler, 1995). By ensuring that the biases within the classical source are fully understood, and by using anthropological and ethnographic comparative data from studies of more recent colonial encounters, new insights into IA society are being drawn.

The limitations of the classical texts have been amply discussed elsewhere, both in general terms (e.g. Mattingly 1970; Millett 1990; Martin 1981), and more specifically in relation to the Iceni (Webster, G. 1978). There are also a growing number of studies which indicate the difficulties of interpreting IA societies from the classical texts of Roman colonialists, who often only write about exceptional events (Henig 2002; Braund 1996; Webster, J. 1995 and

1996). Such studies sometimes usefully draw on parallels from more recent colonial history to illustrate these problems (Dietler 1995; Webster, J. 1995 and pers. comm.). In particular, Braund (1996) reviews the evidence of Tacitus and Dio in relation to Boudica, stating that the characterisations of Tacitus and Dio tell us little about Boudica but a great deal about these author's attitudes to women in power. It is not proposed to cover the difficulties of interpreting Roman classical texts here, although the arguments are generally accepted and understood. Nevertheless, classical sources do have the potential to tell us much - if used with care.

Graham Webster's book *Boudica* (1978) undoubtably provides the most thorough coverage of the archaeological and classical sources for the Boudican war, although a major omission of his study is the lack of discussion of all available historical evidence. For example, Boudica's personal details, status and qualities as given to us by Dio Cassius and Tacitus are not discussed, and instead Webster prefers to concentrate almost exclusively on military events. An earlier discussion by Scott (1975) on the subject similarly concentrates on military events although he briefly discusses the social and personal context to the war. Since Webster wrote his book, there have been a plethora of books and novels about Boudica, including thorough and updated studies by Hingley and Unwin (2005), and Collingridge (2005), a "trilogy" of novels by Manda Scott and even a TV drama. Her story continues to fascinate.

The War and its significance has been discussed in great detail (Robinson and Gregory, 1987; Carroll, 1979; Dudley and Webster, 1962) and it is not

proposed to review it in detail here. However, it is important to grasp its essential significance; this was no small revolt or rebellion, but a very major uprising, with far-reaching political, social and military implications. During this period, there were a number of military engagements including the final battle. Tacitus himself describes this period as a "war", a "rebellion" or a "mighty war" - significantly most often as a war. It is described as one of the "disasters" of Nero's reign by Suetonius Tranquillus. Its importance - as we understand it from these classical sources - cannot be underestimated. Following this, I refer to these events as the Boudican War in this study.

It is worth briefly mentioning the debate about the exact date of the War; most modern scholars date its outbreak to AD 60 (Webster, G. 1978) but Carroll (1979) argues convincingly that it took place in spring and early summer of AD 61, which is the date given by both Tacitus and Dio. Carroll sets out a tentative timetable of the War starting "before the time for planting crops" (*Annals* 14) i.e. around the beginning of May AD 61 and ending with the final battle around mid-June. Although he does not discuss this, perhaps an elderly Prasutagus had died during the winter of AD 60-61, and the arguments about who was to inherit his kingdom had broken out that spring. I agree with Carroll's arguments and follow his dating where appropriate here. However, the exact year is of little consequence to this study, as the chronology of the IA coinage cannot yet be defined in terms of such precise dates.

The use of raw materials (including metal for coinage) for which Britain was famous is discussed in a number of classical sources including Strabo and

Caesar, and these texts are discussed fully elsewhere (Frere, 1978; Millet, 1990).

Client statehood is also discussed by classical authors both directly and indirectly; it was a well-known Roman tactic to employ "even kings to make others slaves", as Tacitus tells us in the *Agricola*. Besides Prasutagus, we are aware of a number of other historical figures - such as Cogidubnus of Britain, whose client kingdom was probably contemporary with that of Prasutagus (Barratt, 1979), Commius of the Gallic Atrebates, Herod the Great, Herod Antipas, and Cleopatra - who were all client rulers (Bourne, 1966; Braund 1984).

It would appear that the right to mint *some* coinage was a privilege of client kings and queens; certainly Cleopatra and Herod the Great minted coins in their own names, and it appears that Prasutagus did too (discussed further below). But most of the time, client kingdoms were a temporary solution by Rome on its road to overall domination. In the case of Herod, for example, the Emperor Augustus took the view that upon the death of a client king, his personal fortune and estates became Imperial property, and it may be that the same was expected upon the death of Prasutagus (Webster, G. 1978).

Table 2 below summarises the main classical texts for the invasion period, with especial reference to the Iceni. Each major source is discussed individually below. It is noteworthy that the Boudican War is mentioned in no less than

four separate classical works which have survived to us, and this fact alone suggests the severity and importance of the event.

Table 2: Icenian history as told by the written sources.

DATE	EVENT AND CLASSICAL SOURCE
55 BC	Caesar's first invasion. Iceni not mentioned. (Caesar: *The Conquest of Gaul*)
54 BC	Caesar's second invasion. *Cenimagni* send ambassador(s) and surrender after Caesar takes Trinovantes into protection. (Caesar: *The Conquest of Gaul*)
27 BC-AD 20	Various British Kings arranged friendships with Augustus and made dedications on the Capitol. (Strabo: *Geography*)
AD 43	Claudian invasion of Britain by three legions under Aulus Plautius; Iceni not mentioned. (Cassius Dio: *History of Rome* 60.19)
?AD 43-8	The Iceni had voluntarily become the allies of Rome by AD 47/8 (presumably formally at AD 43 but this may possibly refer instead to 54BC or another time). (Tacitus: *Annals* 12.31-39)
AD 47/8	P. Ostorius Scapula arrived to find revolt in the province [Britain], which [in AD 48] he overcame. He then attempted to disarm all peoples as far as the Trent. The Iceni and neighbouring tribes revolted, but were defeated. (Tacitus: *Annals* 12.31-39)
AD 61	G. Suetonius Paulinus successfully attacked Anglesea, to where refugees had fled. During this period, following the death of the Icenian client king, Prasutagus, the Iceni and Trinovantes went to war [in 61AD] under the leadership of Boudica and were defeated. Famine followed. Boudica died. (Tacitus: *Annals* 14.29-39) (Tacitus: *Agricola* 5: 16 and 32) (Dio Cassius: *History of Rome*) (Suetonius: *Nero* 39)

CAESAR

Caesar provides us with two important references for this study. The first is the frequently quoted passage from *The Conquest of Gaul* on the British use of coinage in the middle of the first century BC:

> *"For money they use either bronze, or gold coins, or iron ingots of fixed weights. Tin is found inland, and small quantities of iron near the coast; the copper that they use is imported."*
>
> Caesar: *The Conquest of Gaul*. (Trans. S.A. Handford, 1951)

The second is his reference to the *Cenimagni* tribe, in the same work:

> *"When they saw that the Trinovantes had been protected against Cassivellaunus and spared any injury on the part of the Roman troops, several other tribes sent embassies and surrendered (the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi). From them Caesar learnt that he was not far from Cassivellanus' stronghold."*
>
> Caesar: *The Conquest of Gaul*. (Trans. S.A. Handford, 1951)

The *Cenimagni* have long been identified by scholars as the Iceni (Clarke, 1960; Allen, 1970). Even Camden (in the edition of *Britannia* of 1607) indicated that "I have long conjectured [the Iceni] to have been included by Caesar in the confused name of Cenimagni, to which opinion I was led by the near resemblance of Iceni and Ceni-magni to each other". Stukeley (1776)

followed him, placing the *Cenomani* in north-east Anglia on his mapped depiction of Roman Britain. This identification is perhaps strengthened by the fact that Caesar was probably in Hertfordshire near to Cassivellanus' stronghold, when the *Cenimagni* and the other tribes sent their ambassadors to him. Presumably an Icenian ambassador(s) would have been reasonably familiar with that part of Britain, and been able to supply such information to Caesar. Apart from the Trinovantes, all the other tribes indicated in Caesar's account are unidentified, although all were probably from Southern Britain. If the *Cenimagni* were the Iceni, then the name seems to imply greater and lesser parts to the tribe. Interestingly, the "magni" seems to come from the Latin rather than the Celtic, so it is unlikely that this was the true British tribal name.

STRABO

Strabo, a Greek, finished his Geography around AD 20. He gives us an important account of British client kings between the invasion of 54 BC and AD 43, as well as providing us with details of the geography, climate and people of Britain. However, it is his account of the client kings which is relevant here:

> *"Now, however, some of the dynasts there, having arranged friendship with Caesar Augustus by embassies and by paying court, have set up dedications on the Capitol and made all but one with the Romans the whole island".* Strabo 4.5.1-3

Braund suggests that this shows that the Britons were interacting with Rome in a major way, for it was a privilege to be able to travel to Rome as a friendly king and make such a dedication (Braund 1996, 85).

Although it is clear that the British "dynasts" (Strabo does not call them kings) surrendered to Augustus (27 BC-AD 14), it is possible that the dedications on the Capitol took place over a longer period of time, possibly up to 20AD when Strabo wrote his work. Elsewhere he indicates that the Britons were ruled by "chieftains" (4.5, 2).

TACITUS

Tacitus, a Roman senator and consul who probably came from southern Gaul, provides us with our most detailed account of the Iceni from classical sources. However, it is noteworthy that the Iceni are only mentioned because of their insurrection to Rome, and by default, he describes the Britons under exceptional circumstances.

Tacitus wrote the *Annals,* his last great work, some fifty years after these major events took place, and although he had access to the Imperial archives, he was also the son-in-law of Agricola. It is quite possible - perhaps even likely - that he discussed the Boudican War with Agricola. Significantly, Agricola was a young, up-and-coming military tribune in Britain at the time of the War, and may even have taken part in the fighting. At the very least, he would have been aware of events in detail, and thus it is likely that Tacitus presents us with a

relatively accurate historical account of these events. In the *Agricola*, written earlier around AD 98, Tacitus gives us a much shortened account of the War, but with the same essential elements.

Tactitus' description of the revolt of AD 47/8, is our only account of earlier Icenian troubles. The late Christopher Hawkes (pers. comm. 1989) considered it likely that these events took place in the spring of AD 48, as there were too many events to fit into the preceding autumn, given the British climate and the length of the usual military campaigning season. Whatever the exact date, the revolt does not appear to have been viewed as a particularly serious affair, as we know that Prasutagus was a client king until around AD 61, continuing the tradition of the Iceni as a "friendly" tribe (discussed further below). It is worthwhile reminding ourselves of the key passages for this rebellion:

> *"In Britain, the situation inherited by the imperial governor Publius Ostorius Scapula was chaotic. Convinced that a new commander, with an unfamiliar army and with winter begun, would not fight them, hostile tribes and broken violently into the Roman province. But Ostorius knew that initial results are what produce alarm or confidence. So he marched his light auxiliary battalions rapidly ahead, and stamped out resistance. The enemy were dispersed and hard pressed. To prevent a rally, or a bitter treacherous peace which would give neither general not army any rest, Ostorius prepared to disarm all suspects and reduce the whole territory as far as the Trent and Severn.*

The first to revolt were the Iceni. We had not defeated this powerful tribe in battle, since they had voluntarily become our allies. Led by them, the neighbouring tribes now chose a battlefield at a place protected by a rustic earthwork, with an approach too narrow to give access to cavalry. The Roman commander, though his troups were auxiliaries without regular support, proposed to carry these defences. At the signal, Ostorius' infantry, placed at appropriate points and reinforced by dismounted cavalrymen, broke through the embankment. The enemy, imprisoned by their own barrier, were overwhelmed - though with rebellion on their consciences, and no way out, they perfomed prodigies of valour."

Tacitus: *The Annals of Imperial Rome*. (Trans. M. Grant, 1956)

Tacitus's reference to the Iceni as a powerful tribe might refer to population numbers. Haselgrove (1987, 58) following Fowler (1983) indicated that the IA population levels in his study area were probably comparable to those during the Domesday Survey. If this is the case, then the IA population levels in this study area are likely to be amongst the highest in England, as this region was the most populous of all as set out in the Domesday Survey.

The Boudican War, in which Camulodunum, Londinium and Verulamium were later attacked and badly damaged, is also described in a famous and lengthy account by Tacitus. It ends with the suicide of Boudica by poison, and starts by giving the reasons for the War:

"While Suetonius was thus occupied [in defeating the island of Anglesea], he learnt of a sudden rebellion in the province. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, after a life of long and renowned prosperity, had made the emperor co-heir with his own two daughters. Prasutagus hoped by this submissiveness to preserve his kingdom and household from attack. But it turned out otherwise. Kingdom and household alike were plundered like prizes of war, the one by Roman officers, the other by Roman slaves. As a beginning, his widow Boudica was flogged and their daughters raped. The Icenian chiefs were deprived of their hereditary estates as if the Romans had been given the whole country. The king's own relatives were treated like slaves."

Tacitus: *The Annals of Imperial Rome.* (Trans. M. Grant, 1956)

The two accounts by Tacitus concentrate largely on the military aspects of Rome's relationship with the Iceni, and rarely throw any light on the social or political life of the tribe, which might assist us in the interpretation of their coinage. However, some throwaway lines do give us some clues. For example, we are told that the Iceni were a powerful tribe, and they led neighbouring tribes, not once, but twice to war (AD 48 and AD 61), and thus must have commanded a certain respect and military standing amongst their peers and neighbours.

Some other details of social interest are given by Tacitus; the presence of women at the final engagement is commented upon, and it is clear that women formed part of the fighting forces, a fact more fully discussed by Allason-Jones

(1989, 19). Boudica herself "drove around all the tribes in a chariot with her daughters in front of her" before the battle to encourage her troops, and indicated that the British were used to women commanders in war. This would appear to be corroborated elsewhere in the *Annals*, when the "tribal queen" Cartimandua headed a faction of the Brigantes tribe. The Roman general Suetonius, who led the opposition to Boudica, indicated that there were "more women than fighting men" in the British ranks. After the battle, Tacitus indicates that the Romans "did not even spare the women", although it is unclear whether these unfortunate women were troops, or camp followers with the waggons and baggage train, or both. We also remember that women were among the fighting forces in Anglesea (Tacitus: *Annals*).

Boudica is quoted by Tacitus encouraging her troops before the final engagement. How much of her speech is factual rather than a convenient narrative device is impossible to establish, and we must therefore caution in interpreting her words (Martin, 1981). However, we may be able to gain some idea of Boudica's own status in this account. Not once, for example, is she described as a queen - unlike Cartimandua in Tacitus' *Annals*. Tacitus describes her only as the widow of Prasutagus, or as a "lady of royal descent". As he was usually careful with historical facts, if Boudica had been a queen, it is likely that he would have described her as such. This fact has been ignored by most scholars (Scott, 1975; Webster, G. 1978; Robinson and Gregory, 1987; Van Arsdell, 1987) who all describe her as a queen. Allason-Jones (1989) is probably more accurate when she suggests that Boudica never had a right to her husband's throne in her own name, but acted on behalf of her

daughters, whose rights as co-heirs of the Icenian kingdom were recognised by the Britons, if not the Romans. Perhaps this is why she drove before her troops with her daughters *in front of her*. Boudica herself emphasises her importance and status not as a queen, nor even as the widow of a king, but in her own right as the descendant of "mighty men". However, Dio's evidence, which is slightly contradictory, is reviewed below.

On the eve of the battle, Boudica is shown calling upon the gods to grant them the vengence they deserve, evidence of the polytheistic religion of the Iceni and the Trinovantes, and again signalling the Icenian belief at being wronged by the Romans.

The two accounts of Tacitus are only slightly contradictory. In the *Agricola*, Tacitus indicates that the British alliance "hunted down Roman troops in their scattered posts, stormed the forts and assaulted the colony [Camulodunum] itself", whereas in the *Annals*, he indicates that the Britons "enjoyed plundering and thought of nothing else. Bypassing forts and garrisons, they made for where the loot was richest and protection weakest". Perhaps the truth is somewhere between these two versions of events, and Tacitus wanted to emphasise that the Britons were aiming to storm the most important settlements and forts.

The scale of the War is once more suggested in the *Annals*, when Tacitus states that even after Boudica's death, there was still insurrection. Troops were brought from Germany to "finish the war" but "the savage British tribesmen

were disinclined for peace". This situation was apparently not resolved in Britain until Suetonius was removed "for not terminating the war" and was succeeded by Publius Petronius Turpilianus, although Tacitus is scathing about the latter's tactics: "neither provoking the enemy nor provoked, [he] called this ignoble inactivity peace with honour".

The Boudican War is mentioned in two other places in the *Agricola*, when Tacitus discusses his relative's "first lessons in military life", when he states:

> *"Britain has certainly never before or since been in a more disturbed or dangerous state. Veterans had been massacred, coloniae burned down, armies cut off. They had to fight for their lives first, before they could think of victory. All these operations were, to be sure, carried out under the direction and leadership of another, and the supreme command and the glory of recovering the province went to the general."*
>
> Tacitus: *Agricola, 5.* (Trans. A. Birley, 1999)

The reference here to *coloniae* is rhetorical, for only Camulodunum had this status in AD 61, while Verulamuim and Londinium were of lesser status.

A further reference is made by the leader of the Caledoni, Calgacus, when in a speech which appears largely rhetorical, he exhorts his troops before the battle of Mons Graupius in AD 84:

"Abandon then, any hope of mercy, take courage at last, whether it is life or glory which you hold most dear. The Brigantes, with a woman as their leader, set a colonia in flames and stormed a fortress. If their success had not made them careless, they could have thrown off the yoke."

Tacitus: *Agricola, 31.* (Trans. A. Birley, 1999)

Birley (1999, 87) states that Tacitus may have deliberately confused the Brigantes with the Iceni as Calgacus was more likely to have heard of the former as they were nearer geographically. However, it could also be an error by Tacitus or by a later copyist.

CASSIUS DIO

Cassius Dio (or Dio Cassius) is our other major source on the Iceni, again describing the Boudican War. A Greek historian, he wrote his *History of Rome* at the end of the second century AD, probably using Tacitus as a major source, but he clearly had access to other material too, now lost to us. His account differs considerably from Tacitus both in style and content, and he is generally considered to be a less reliable historian, making far greater use of rhetorical devices to convey his story. However, his account is much more lengthy, and gives more background detail, including the famous personal description of Boudica. At least some of it is likely to provide us with useful insights into IA society and the Iceni, although we have to take into account the use of rhetoric and Roman attitudes – for example towards women (Braund 1996, 118-147).

Dio differs from Tacitus in his explanation of principal cause of the War, making no mention of the violation of Boudica and her daughters:

> *"An excuse for the war lay in the reclaiming of the money which Claudius had given to the leaders of the Britons. According to Decianus Catus, the procurator of the island, that sum had to be paid back. It was for this reason that they rebelled - and because Seneca had lent them several million sesterces, even though they had not requested it, in the hope of making a large amount of interest, and had then recalled all the capital at once, exacting it with considerable harshness"*
>
> Cassius Dio: *History of Rome* lxii.2.1 (Trans. Beard and Chard, 1981)

In citing the principal cause of the War, Dio may be more accurate than Tacitus, as Tacitus may not have wished to offend Seneca, and thus omitted this part of the story from his account.

It is likely that the "leaders of the Britons" to whom Claudius gave money, were in fact those kings, chiefs or leaders who did not oppose the invasion of AD 43, and it is also likely that among them were the eleven un-named kings whose surrender was recorded on the triumphal arch of Claudius (discussed in detail below). Tacitus tells us that the Iceni voluntarily became allies of Rome before AD 47/8, and the Iceni - as an ally - may well have been given money by Claudius around the time of the Roman Invasion. What appears to be in doubt, is whether these monies were non-returnable *gifts* for loyalty at a critical

time for the Romans, as the Britons appear to have believed, or were indeed *loans* as indicated by Decianus Catus (Dio hints that it was only Decianus Catus who considered the monies to be loans, not gifts).

This incident emphasises the cultural differences between the Britons and Romans; whereas in British IA societies it is likely that gift-exchange was a well-established feature of social interchange, with strict codes of honour and protocol, the Romans (or some of them) took a different attitude. It reminds us of the passage by Tacitus, in which he states that the Britons bitterly resented any abuse of power. The calling in of all loans with interest by Seneca could have appeared such an abuse, but still more so would the request for the return of monetary gifts, especially as these "gifts" had probably been given some 18 years earlier. No doubt the Britons throught these gifts were non-returnable in exchange for neutrality or friendliness during the Invasion. Incidentally, there is little evidence in the archaeological record for these "several million *sesterces*"; bronze *sesterces* as such are not found in the mixed hoards (although of course *denarii* are), neither are they found in great quantities in early Roman or LIA contexts.

In portraying Boudica, Dio gives us our most detailed picture of a British IA woman known to us from classical texts. In his description, she appears as a powerful, intelligent, and charismatic individual and leader, although it is recognised that this may be a rhetorical device:

"But the person who was chiefly instrumental in rousing the natives and persuading them to fight the Romans, the person who was thought worthy to be their leader and who directed the conduct of the entire war, was Boudica, a Briton woman of the royal family and possessed of greater intelligence than often belongs to women."

"In stature she was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and in her voice most harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This was her invariable attire."

Cassius Dio: *History of Rome* lxii.2.2

(Trans. Cary, 1982)

In giving this detailed description, Dio does not mention that Boudica is a queen, but a member of the royal family only. However, later, contradicting this, in a speech which is apparently largely rhetorical, he calls her a queen and a ruler of the Iceni. Dio only refers to her as a "queen" once. The balance of evidence from all classical texts, seems to indicate that Boudica was a member of a royal family, but was *not* a queen in her own right. This is substantiated by Dio when he seemingly uses words carefully instead of in a rhetorical fashion.

Boudica's attire is most interesting, and gives credence to the rest of the account; the necklace around her neck must surely be a torc, as no other golden necklace types are known from this area during the LIA. Golden torcs are

relatively common in East Anglia but virtually unknown elsewhere in Britain (Sealey 1979; Hutcheson 2004). However, Hutcheson concludes that Boudica's necklace was unlikely to be a torc, as these were an expression of power from a different age, and torcs would have been unfamiliar objects to Boudica in the mid first century AD (Hutcheson, 2004, 99). It is likely that the Icenian gold torcs recovered so far were manufactured earlier than the lifetime of Boudica, but in the absence of other credible alternatives, I consider it highly likely that she wore a torc, perhaps an heirloom. (The use of inherited regalia by royalty is a well-known phenomenon).

Hutcheson also does not take into account classical sources such as after the defeat of Caratacus c. AD 50 when the "torcs, military trappings and spoils of his foreign wars were displayed" before finally Caratacus is put on show himself (Tacitus: *Annals, 36*). These clearly show that torcs were known in the mid first-century AD. The coins of Prasto (which I date to AD 30-45) also show a twisted metal torc above the bust. Lindsay-Allason also discusses torcs which were worn by early Roman-British women (1989, 122), so it is clear that torcs survived into the Roman period elsewhere in Britain. She quotes Cassius Dio on Boudica saying she wore "a great twisted golden necklace" which also sounds like a torc, although I have been unable to find her translation (*ibid*). However, the choice of words by Cassius Dio is interesting as he emphasises that the necklace was *around her neck*, which implies to me that it was a neck-ring and therefore a torc. Brooches are well-known from the first century AD, and Boudica's thick mantle and multi-coloured tunic perhaps recall the weaving skills of the Britons. Scott (1975, 78) has pointed out that her hair

may not actually have been red as all hair which was not black or blond was - to the dark-complexioned Romans - described as red (the Chinese similarly described the British many years later as "red-headed Barbarians").

Boudica, in exhorting the Britons to fight, gives us further evidence of an Icenian client kingdom. "Some" of the Britons had agreed to Roman rule - presumably the Iceni and not the Trinovantes:

"...although some of you may previously...have been deceived by the alluring promises of the Romans, yet now that you have tried both, you have learned how great a mistake you made in preferring an imported despotism to your ancestral mode of life..."

A fascinating passage relates to Roman taxes, and the apparent lack of money amongst the Iceni at this time. Whilst, again, some of this may be rhetorical, the gist of the passage may be correct, and indeed is corroborated in part by Tacitus. Prior to the War, the Iceni appear to have been very heavily taxed:

"Have we not been robbed entirely of most of our possessions, and those the greatest, while for those that remain we pay taxes? ...even dying is not free of cost with them; nay, you know what fees we deposit even for our dead.... Why is it that, though none of us has any money (how, indeed, could we, or where could we get it?), we are stripped and despoiled like murderer's victims?"

Cassius Dio: *History of Rome* lxii.3.3. (Trans. Cary, 1982)

The religious beliefs of the Britons and Iceni are discussed by Cassius Dio in two passages, which relate the existence of two goddesses, Andraste and Andate, who may well be one and the same deity. Both were seemingly goddesses of Victory:

"When she had finished speaking, she employed a species of divination, letting a hare escape from a fold of her dress; and since it ran on what they considered the auspicious side, the whole multitude shouted with pleasure, and Boudica, raising her hand toward heaven, said: 'I thank thee; Andraste, and call upon thee as woman speaking to woman...those over whom I rule are Britons, men that...hold all things in common, even children and wives, so that the latter possess the same valour as the men. As the queen, then, of such men and such women, I supplicate and pray thee for victory, preservation of life, and liberty against men insolent, unjust, insatiable, impious...'"

"All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets and wanton behaviour, not only in all their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate. This was their name for Victory, and they regarded her with most exceptional reverence."

Cassius Dio: *History of Rome.* lxii.6.1 (Trans. Cary 1982)

This passage is interesting as it mentions the family structure of the Iceni, where men, women and children were considered part of a single extended family. It echoes the passage in Caesar's *Conquest of Gaul* where he indicates that the wives of the Britons were shared between groups of ten to twelve men. It appears that Allason-Jones (1989) is incorrect when she states that IA women in Britain had monogamous marriages; the kinship systems of IA Britain appear more complicated than that.

Dio's account of the War differs from Tacitus, in that he indicates that only two Roman cities (presumably Verulamium and Camulodunum) were sacked, although none are mentioned by name. His account of the final battle also makes clear what a bloody and difficult affair it was, with the Romans only prevailing at the end of the day. Many Britons were taken prisoner, but equally many escaped, and were apparently preparing to fight again, when Boudica died, apparently so disheartening them that they accepted defeat. Dio gives us our last glimpse of Boudica when describing her death:

> *"The Britons mourned her deeply and gave her a costly burial; but feeing that now at last they were really defeated, they scattered to their homes. So much for affairs in Britain."*
>
> Dio Cassius: *History of Rome* lxii.12.6. (Trans. Cary, 1982)

SUETONIUS

The Boudican War is described in a single sentence by Suetonius Tranquillus (b. AD 69) in his *Biographies of the Twelve Caesars*, when describing the life of that most colourful emperor, Nero. Earlier in his account, Suetonius indicates that Nero had been considering withdrawing forces from Britain, but this fact does not appear to have been connected with the events of AD 61, and almost certainly pre-dated the Boudican War. Suetonius' sources were probably the Imperial and Senatorial archives, and his account, although very brief, is useful because it broadly corroborates the accounts of Tacitus and Cassius Dio:

> *"Fate made certain unexpected additions to the disasters of Nero's reign.....Two important British garrison-towns were taken by storm, and huge numbers of Romans and allies massacred"*

The garrison-towns referred to can be identified as Camulodunum and Verulamium, and, as in Dio's account, emphasise the importance of those two centres relative to Londinium at that period.

THE CLAUDIAN ARCH

A different sort of historical source - although not positively relating to the Iceni - is the inscription on the Claudian triumphal arch at Rome, which records the fact that eleven British kingdoms surrendered to him upon his

invasion of AD 43. As the inscription is fragmentary, there are a number of interpretations of the text and indeed the number of kings is in doubt. The originl text could have read:

> *"The senate and the Roman people [dedicated this] to Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son of Drusus, Pontifex Maximus, during his eleventh tenure of Tribunicia Potesta. Consul five times, hailed as Imperator twenty-two times, Censor, Pater Patriae, because he received into surrender eleven kings of the Britons conquered without loss and he first brought the barbarian peoples across the Ocean under the authority of the Roman people"*
> (after G. Gatti, 1942, quoted in Barrett 1991).

The record of the eleven kings extols a diplomatic triumph, and echoes Cassius Dio's account of the British campaign when he states that Claudius beat the British in battle, captured Camulodunum and afterwards won over numerous tribes by voluntary submission and force (Barrett 1991). Although the Iceni are not mentioned by name, it is very likely, given their probable earlier submission to Caesar, the reference by Cassius Dio to Claudian monetary gifts to British leaders, and the information that they had voluntarily become allies of the Romans prior to AD 47/8 (Tacitus: *Annals*), that they were amongst those eleven. Given his long life, it may have been Prasutagus himself who surrendered to Claudius, and this must be the case if my dating of the Prasto coins as pre- AD 43 is correct (see below and Chapter 6).

COIN LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

We must not neglect the evidence of the coins themselves, and whether the legends on them can be interpreted in the light of historical sources. We consider first the legend ECEN. This has been widely interpreted as being the tribal name (Allen, 1970; Robinson and Gregory, 1987; various coin dealers). However, it more likely that ECEN is an abbreviation of personal name - presumably the name of a ruler, and does not represent the name of the tribe (also the view of Dr. John Kent, pers. comm, 1995.) The coins inscribed ECE *may* be a further abbreviation of that same personal name, whereas those inscribed ED(N) seem to be a blundered version of ECEN (with the C reversed). There are three main options to consider with the ECEN legend:

- ECEN represents the *tribal name*, not a personal name.

- ECEN is a totally different name to the tribal name, and represents a *personal name.* The I and the E at the beginnings of the names are a significant and real difference.

- ECEN was a ruler whose *personal name was the same or cognate with the tribal name.*

Options 2 and 3 seem to be the more likely options, and in support of option 3, Ellis Evans (1967) lists literally hundreds of Gaulish (Celtic) personal names which are the same or cognate with local and/or ethnic names. Table 3 below

sets out some examples drawn at random from his book. (Perhaps this should not surprise us as many surnames today are taken from place-names, particularly with our aristocracy. This can be seen at all levels of society - my own relatives from Norfolk have the surname Massingham and come from the village of Great Massingham. Some modern first names are also derived from place-names – Skye, Iona, India, Shannon, Devon and so on).

Table 3: Similarities between Gaulish personal names and Gaulish ethnic and place-names.

PERSONAL NAME	LOCAL/ETHNIC NAME	ELLIS EVANS (1967) REF.
Andecamulos	Andecamulenses	p 161
Cottia	Cottias	p 186-7
Tarus	Tarus	p 262-3
Tauricius	Taurici	p 262-3
Taurina	Taurini	p 262-3
Catuellaunus	Catu(u)ellauni	p 276-7
Vecticia	Vectis	p 284-5

The spelling of the tribal name *Iceni* in ancient sources should also be taken into account - all of which (with the exception of *Venta Cenomum* and *Cenimagni*) start with the letter I. Nowhere is the tribal name given with a E, although admittedly, this may not be a very significant point. Additionally, there are no other instances of Celtic coins either in Britain or the Continent solely inscribed with tribal name. Indeed it is also difficult to imagine in what circumstances a tribal name would be given *instead* of that of a ruler,

although somewhat laboured and unconvincing arguments about a republic (represented by the ECEN coins) succeeding the rule of Anted, which was in turn succeeded by the client kingdom of Prasutagus, have been advanced (Gregory and Gurney 1986; Robinson and Gregory 1987). Such a scenario seems very unlikely.

Neither is there any evidence that the coins are inscribed more fully ECENI, although the position of the front legs of the horse sometimes makes the legend appear to read thus. This is in direct contrast to the Anted coins, some of which do have an inscription reading ANTEDI (this legend is found on both the gold and silver coins). In short, although we cannot be certain, it seems most unlikely that the legend ECEN relates to the historically attested name of the *civitates*, Iceni, but rather represents the name of a ruler. However, it is possible that a personal or titular name might be very similar to that of the tribal name. There may be parallels in Britain with the VEP COR F coins of the Corieltauvi where the COR could represent the name Corielatauvi as part of a personal name or title.

It is interesting to note that there are certain coins of the Dobunni which are also inscribed ANTED (types VA 1062; VA 1066; VA 1069; VA 1082) using a very similar monogram to that on Icenian coins. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Anted of the Iceni is the same person as the Anted of the Dobunni, as both coin types seem to date to a similar phase (Haselgrove 1987). Evans (1890) considered that they were the same ruler, and Van Arsdell (1987, 268) indicated that his theory "should be reconsidered" as did Braund (1996,

74). The Dobunnic coins are inscribed with a monogram which must read ANTED but some coins also have the inscription RIG (or king; VA 1066). It might be difficult although not impossible to rule two such geographically separated kingdoms, and on balance I feel they are two individuals, despite the similarity of the monogram. There are known instances of Gauls with the same name - there were two Aeduans named Eporedorix in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (Ellis Evans, 1967, 90) and there is no reason why there should not have been common and popular Celtic names in IA Britain just as there are today. This is discussed further in Chapter 5, in the context of the distribution of these coin types.

Still greater speculation might revolve around the superficial similarity of the name Anted to that of the Celtic goddess "Andraste" or "Andate" as described by Dio (lxii, 2 and 3), a goddess who might be the same as another Celtic goddess "Andarte", worshipped by the Vocontii of Gaul (Allason-Jones, 1989). However, it does not appear likely at this stage that the names of Celtic gods and goddesses were inscribed on British IA coins, even if some of the symbols used on such coins had a magical or religious significance (Creighton 2000).

Perhaps we can be more certain about the Prasto coins described in Chapters 4 and 6 which are inscribed SUB ESVPRASTO and on the reverse ESICO FECIT. We cannot be sure, but it is probable that these are the coins of the historical figure Prasutagus, who we know from Tacitus was king of the Iceni. (Prasutagus and his daughters are not mentioned in any other classical source). It would seem too great a coincidence if some of the last Icenian coins,

Romanised in style, were inscribed with the name "King Prasto", and this were a different person to the client king "Prasutagus" as described by Tacitus. These coins are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

The Prasto coins are extremely important in a number of ways. Firstly, they appear to provide independent evidence for at least some of the events as set out in the classical sources. Secondly - even if not the coins of Prasutagus but those of another king - they show us something of the power structure of the LIA society in East Anglia. These coins were minted under the authority of a ruler, probably a king, implying a high degree of political centralisation and sophistication. Such centralisation has been argued as crucial in the formation of early states (Nash 1981). Moreover, the authority to mint, has been divested from the ruler to a second tier of power. Esico is the name given as the one who "made" the coins, presumably a moneyer in charge of coin production, rather than a person involved in the physical side of coin manufacture at a mint. Again, this implies a degree of social structuring and ordering which is consistent with political statehood. It might seem that the Iceni, and indeed much of the rest of south-east Britain, was at a stage of development at least as sophisticated as the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of sixth century AD, and perhaps as sophisticated as the early kingdoms of the seventh centuries by which time the larger kingdoms such as Kent, Wessex and Mercia had evolved (Bassett 1989) and had started to mint coins.

Williams (2000) and Hingley and Unwin (2005, 36-8) consider that Esvprasto is not the same person as King Prasutagus, in particular Hingley and Unwin

considering this as one of several cases where there has been the manipulation of archaeological evidence to fit preconcieved ideas (*ibid*). But given all the evidence above and the clear similarities between the two names, there must remain a good possibility that Esvprasto is indeed the King Prasutagus of history, and that Tacitus did not record the Celtic name fully or accurately (Chadburn 2006). This is surely more logical than Hingley and Unwin's notion that there were *two* pro-Roman kings in the *same* area during the mid first century AD, one called Esvprasto and minting Romanised coins, and the other called Prasutagus who was a known "friendly king" and who perhaps controlled other kings in the area (Hingley and Unwin 2005, 36-8).

All the coin legends are considered further below in Chapter 4, but the others do not relate to any known historical evidence and are not considered here.

ROMAN CLIENT KINGS AND COINAGE

A number of scholars have commented that "friendly kings" were granted privileges which included the right to continue to mint coins – but only in bronze, in case their minting of silver and gold coins destabilised the Roman economy (Madden 1881; Ben-David 1973; Frere 1978, 84). Only in very rare cases did the Romans grant the right to mint in silver – and that to only the most important cities; gold was completely forbidden (Madden 1881). Thus the Jews marked both their revolts under Nero and Hadrian with an immediate and abundant issue of silver coins – a symbol of their independence from Rome - all their previous coinage under their client kings such as Herod had

been bronze (Madden 1881; Ben-David 1973). However, Braund argues that there are so many exceptions to this "rule" elsewhere that it is meaningless and that many friendly kings did mint coins (Braund 1996). Perhaps this practise may be true of the coins of the Jews, but it does not necessarily appear to be the case elsewhere in the Roman world.

Creighton (2000, 116-24, 169-70, 208, 217) argues that following the invasion by Caesar, south-east Britain became part of the Roman world and the classical imagery on IA coins is proof that some became client kingdoms. His arguments are persuasive, and it should be noted that some of his pre-Claudian "friendly kings" minted in silver and gold. It may have been that – if we accept Creighton's arguments that there were post-Caesarean client kingdoms – there was simply no-one in Britain to enforce any rules about minting in silver and gold, if indeed they existed. (In Britain there are only three post-Conquest friendly rulers named in the classical sources – Cartimanudua, Cogidubnus and Prasutagus. Only Prasutagus appears to have minted coins and these may well be pre-Conquest).

OTHER SOURCES

We have a number of other direct and indirect historical sources for the Iceni, but which are not classical texts. For example, a major source is the evidence from names, both place-names, tribal names and personal names.

The tribal name.

The Romans, when establishing political and social control over a territory, generally adapted what was already there, and it is commonly assumed that the British *civitates* were based on pre-Roman social groups and patterns. The *civitas* for northern East Anglia was that of the Iceni, and the *civitas* capital at Caistor St. Edmund (Caistor-by-Norwich) was named *Venta Icenorum* – from the Celtic "the market place of the Iceni", although this is unlikely to have been the pre-Roman name for the settlement which existed at Caistor before the Roman town developed. This town is also mentioned in the *Antonine Itenerary* as *Icinos* and *Icinorum*; Ptolemy's *Geography*; and the *Ravenna Cosmography* as *Venta Cenomum* (Allen, 1970), a name which may hark back to Caesar's description of the *Cenimagni*.

Nash (1985, 65), discussed territorial expansion in continental IA societies, and suggested that strong warrior societies colonised other, peripheral areas. Place-name evidence may provide evidence of such expansion, and she suggested that the *Cenomani* of Northern Italy migrated and formed that *Aulerci Cenomani* of eastern Armorica, who in turn migrated and formed the *Cenimagni* of East Anglia. It is possible that there were some links between IA Armorica and East Anglia, but there is no obvious LIA archaeological evidence to substantiate this. There are few continental IA goods known from the study area, and the relatively few continental coins which have been found in the region are far outweighed in number by those found in the most southerly parts of England. It is therefore considered unlikely that there was a

large-scale migration from Armorica of the *Cenomani* who became the Iceni. Certainly there are no close stylistic links between the coins of the *Aulerci Cenomani* (de Jersey, 1994) and those of the Iceni. Perhaps the apparent similarities of the names *Cenomani, Cenimagni* and *Iceni* are a misleading coincidence, or perhaps the critical letter is the second "I" as the medieval and Saxon placenames evidence above seems to show, and that CENO- and (I)CENI- are two very different names.

The Gallo-Roman shipwreck discovered in 1983 in the "Sept Iles" off the Armorican coast of France, produced evidence of two British *civitates* - the Brigantes and the Iceni. Most of the ingots were inscribed using stamps impressed into the cooling lead; fourteen ingots were inscribed BRIGANTES or similar, and five ICENES or similar. The "Icenian" inscriptions include CIVTI ICENOR PCCC (no. 289) and CIVTICIINP (no. 298).

Some believe that the Icknield Way, and other modern "Ick-" place-names are corruptions of the name Iceni (Robinson and Gregory, 1987, 10). There are large number of "Ick" and "Ix" modern place-names beside Icknield Way and in the study area compared with the rest of Britain, which are given in Appendix R. This latter observation is not new, although I had not read Camden (1607) or Stukeley (1776) before coming to this conclusion. Camden stated that "there are many traces of the Iceni in this tract, as Ikensworthe, Ikenthorpe, Ikborrow, Iken, Iksning, Iklingham, Eike etc., and the consular way leading hence is in the old chronicles called Icknield-Street, q.d. the Street of the Iceni." If such place-names do preserve the name Iceni within them, this

might explain the etymology of the word "Icknield" which is otherwise lost today.

The Icknield Way.

All sources record that the etymology of this name is obscure (Mills, 1991; Mawer and Stenton, 1925; Gover, Mawer and Stenton, 1937). It is first recorded in an Anglo-Saxon document as Icenhylte (903 AD), but is recorded on many occasions thoughout the medieval and post-medieval periods. The forms in which it is recorded are illuminating, and worth recording:

Table 4: Spellings of the "Icknield Way" arranged chronologically.

ICENHYLTE	AD 903
YKENILDESTRET, Bucks.	AD 1227
HIKENHILT, Herts.	AD 1251
IKENILD, Herts.	AD 1255, AD1508
HIKENHILTE, Herts.	AD 1275
IKENHILT, Herts.	AD 1277
EKENILDESTRETE, Herts.	AD 1287
IKENYLD, Herts.	AD 1294
HIKENHILDE, Herts.	AD 1327, AD 1347
EKENYLD, Bucks.	AD 1340
YKENYLDWEY, Bucks.	AD 1348

This is very interesting as in all the above place-names, it appears that the full word ICENI can be made out - it does not simply stop at ICKEN- or ICK- as the modern placenames do. The medieval placename was ICKENILD WAY or STREET, now corrupted to Icknield. This suggests that the Icknield Way does indeed preserve the IA tribal name, and that it was the Way or Street to the Iceni.

PREVIOUS NUMISMATIC WORK

Early scholars

The early history of numismatic research into IA coins in Britain has been fully discussed by Haselgrove (1987), and it is here proposed only to discuss the work of others in so far as it relates to the Iceni or the IA of the study area.

Systematic scholarly interest in British IA coins can be said to have begun seriously in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, with the writings of numismatists such as Akerman in the 1830s (1837; 1839). However, prior to this, there were a number of important works which are relevant. Camden was the first to record IA coins in his *Britannia* (1586), when he included woodcuts of coins of Cunobelinus; later versions of the work (1600, 1607) included engavings of 18 coins (14 British and 4 Gaulish). He did not, however, record any Icenian coins. Nevertheless, he did set out that the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire were "anciently inhabited by the Iceni".

The coins of the Iceni were first noted well over three centuries ago, in Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall or a Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urnes lately found in Norfolk* (1658), and it is Browne who first linked the coins with the Iceni. He described discoveries of coins in East Anglia, including the Thorpe-next-Norwich hoard, seemingly the first late IA

coin hoard to be recorded in Britain. Browne's account suggests that the coins may have belonged to the Iceni:

> *"..no small number of silver peeces [were found] near Norwich (at Thorpe), with a rude head upon the obverse, and with an ill-formed horse upon the reverse, with inscriptions Ic. Dvro. T., whether implying Iceni, Dvrotriges, Tascia, or Trinobantes, we leave to higher conjecture."*

This quotation is taken from the earliest version of *Hydriotaphia*, a copy of which is held by the Society of Antiquaries, although Evans (1864) and later scholars quoted from a later version published in 1669. Browne also correctly stated that the presence of British coins from Norfolk "afford conjecture of early habitation in these parts".

Browne possibly alludes to the practice of client kingship, stating that the British coins after Caesar were "stamp by permission", which may be a reference to the Romans allowing indigenous people to mint coins (*ibid*).

Fifty years later, Gale, in his *Itinerary of Antoninus* (1709, 109), apparently refers to the same coins as Browne, describing coins of Anted, Can Dvro(?) and probably Ece or Ecen types.

White, in 1773, engraved a coin which he ascribed to the Iceni (1773, Plate XV), and Stukeley (1776) identified the Cenomani with the Iceni and

discussed the sites of Boudica's burial and her final battle, although he did not discuss any Icenian coins.

In 1789, Gough translated William Camden's *Britannia*, but added to it his own *Conjectures on the British Coins*, in which he engraved 18 IA coins originally engraved by Camden, and added to it a number of others, including an Ece A silver coin (no. 19, plate facing page lxv). He also discussed the fact that various Roman coin hoards had been found at March, and that a British gold coin had been found at Thorney, Cambs. Intriguingly, he included a map of Cambridgeshire, engraved by J. Cary, where he gave the placename *Stoneas Hords* for modern Stonea. Perhaps this might refer to discoveries of coin hoards, in the same way that today parts of Snettisham are known as Treasure Field.

Ruding, 1817, in his *Coinage of Britain*, Vol 4 included five plates of "British" coins, including a Freckenham 4 stater (Plate 2, no 42).

Akerman (1837) made the next significant academic step, indicating that the distribution of Icenian coins was peculiar to Cambridgeshire and Norfolk. He was the first scholar to firmly link the coins to the Iceni using locational evidence to back up his claim. In his article "The coinage of the Ancient Britons" in the *Numismatic Journal*, Vol I, 1837, he engraved and described several Icenian coins, namely a Norfolk Wolf B; a Freckenham stater; a Normal Face-Horse B/C; the Freckenham 4 stater from Oxnead, and lastly a silver Anted unit. He argued strongly that "the Britons were aquainted with the

use of stamped money, and had a coinage of their own long previous to the arrival of Caesar".

Additionally, in Volume I of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1838-9, Akerman described six more previously unpublished Icenian specimens and engraved them; a Normal Face-Horse A; a Normal Face-Horse B/C; two silver Ecens; an Ece A; and finally a silver Anted. He describes the very close similarity of the Anted silver horse, with the Freckenham 4 horse, a fact ignored until recently (Chadburn, 1991) but which allows us to re-order the Icenian series. For some time, Akerman had been urging that IA coins should be provenanced (e.g. Akerman, 1837, pp 208). It is therefore no surprise to find that on many occasions in the article, and with admirable foresight and great zeal, Akerman urges those researching coins of "the absolute and imperative necessity of ascertaining *beyond a doubt* the places of their discovery".

Burgon in 1838 (published 1839), wrote a fascinating article, correctly ascribing British coins to Britain, and again urging the necessity of observing where a coin was dug up, and recording in systematic and full detail (metal, weight, provenance, design). He stated "it is high time we should, at least, *begin* to furnish data for our successors in these pursuits", and we are certainly the richer today for his efforts in this respect. He did not, however, refer specifically to any Icenian coins.

Hawkins, 1841, in his *Silver coins of England* included in his Plate I of "British" coins, a gold Freckenham 4 stater found at Oxnead in 1831 (now in

the BM, and incidentally perhaps the most illustrated Icenian coin, having been published no less than seven times between 1831 and 1864 alone; Evans, 1864, pp 375) and a also silver Boar-Horse B type. C. Roach Smith (1852) described the Weston hoard, ascribed the coins to the Iceni, and discussed their relationship to other known Icenian coins. Beale Poste engraved a series of coins ascribed to the tribe (Poste 1853 and 1861).

However, the serious study of Icenian coins really dates to the writings of Sir John Evans, who in his great work *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864) published the most extensive group of Icenian coins up to that date. This work (supplemented in 1890) was the standard reference for Icenian coins for over a century, until the Allen's publication of 1970. Evans (1869) also described the finding of the Santon Downham hoard, Suffolk, and also identified the silver coins of Anted with the Dobunnic "prince" Antedrigus. Finally, Montagu (1886), described in an important and perceptive article, what was at that time the most important LIA coin hoard to have been discovered since Whaddon Chase, namely the Freckenham stater hoard.

Twentieth-century work on Icenian coins

After this, we move into the twentieth century, when significant Icenian coin finds were generally published and researched by archaeologists and museum staff.

The staff of the British Museum were amongst those who followed on from Evans' work. Hill (1919) briefly discussed the Iceni, and Fox (1929) discussed the coin distributions of the Iceni and the Trinovantes, believing that the southern boundary probably crossed the chalk belt around Newmarket.

Brooke produced the first distribution map of Icenian coins (1933a), and also discussed the early "pre-Belgic" coins in that year (1933b), pointing out the constant Norfolk provenances for the gold Norfolk Wolf A and B types, and indicating that although they bore resemblances to other early British gold types, their separation from the others occurs at an early date. He indicated it was curious that the wolf left no trace in the later Icenian coins, although he speculated there was a long interval between the common Icenian silver series and the Norfolk Wolf types. He also attributed the gold coins of Addedomarus to the Iceni, and read the inscription on the silver Anted coins as ATED, and by substituting the T for DD, ascribed those also to Addedomarus (1933a), neither of which theories are generally accepted today.

Rainbird Clarke published a series of useful works in 1939, 1956 and 1960. In a wide-ranging and perceptive study in 1939, he set out the first detailed discussion of the indigenous coinage of Norfolk and Suffolk. He ascribed the silver coins of Anted to a hypothetical Icenian ruler, Antedrigus, and argued against Brooke's identification of them as the coins of Addedomarus, rightly stating in addition, that the gold coins of Addedomarus are absent from Icenian coin hoards. Clarke discussed tribal boundaries as seen from the numismatic perspective, and echoed Stukeley (1776) when he suggested that the Dark Age

earthworks such as the Devil's Dyke at Newmarket preserved the course of pre-Roman tribal boundaries (an idea taken up by Davies (1996) recently; Stukeley simply ascribed all the earthworks to the ancient Britons). He also produced the first gazetteers for coins from the region (1939), and described a newly discovered Icenian hoard from Honingham (1956).

Allen published a highly important account of Icenian coinage in 1970. This has been constantly referred to throughout this study, and it remains, in my view, the most accurate of several recent classification systems (Chadburn, 1996). At the British Museum, Andrew Burnett and John Kent (Burnett 1986a, 1986b, 1986c; Kent and Burnett, 1984) continued reporting on Icenian coin hoards as they were discovered, and Jonathan Williams continues this useful work today.

Gregory's analysis of "Thornham type" enclosures of north Norfolk (Gregory and Gurney, 1986, 32-35) included a historical interpretation of the inscribed coins of the Iceni, starting with the Ale Sca and Cans Dvro types, which he considered might represent joint rulers, perhaps elected magistrates, in the early 30s AD, who were in turn followed by a monarchy, as implied by the coins of the monarch Antedi in the 30s and 40s. After this monarchy, a period of change - possibly a republic - followed, as shown by the coins of Ece(n), representing the tribal name. The political changes ended with a further period of monarchy, as represented by the rulers Saenv, Aesv, and Prasto, and ending by the Boudican War at AD 61. This model is also set out in Robinson and

Gregory's work *Celtic Fire and Roman Rule* (1987). However, it is considered that there are considerable difficulties with this historical model.

Haselgrove's study of southern British IA coins (1987) included a brief appraisal of the coinages outside his main study area, including the Iceni. His classification was based on the typology of and coins studies by Allen (1970) but he re-dated some coins chronologically, and renamed them all. The only new coins included were those of the Prasto coins (Allen 1978b). Haselgrove produced a broad framework of chronological phases into which various coin types from different areas were placed. Further discussion on the dating of these phases is given in Haselgrove (1987). His work provides us with a useful model against which to test the large amount of data from northern East Anglia.

Van Arsdell (1989) also largely followed Allen (1970) in his classification of the coinage, and like Haselgrove, he also re-dated the series. His most important change was to place the silver Face-Horse A and B/C types at the end of the series, and to attribute them to Boudica (1987 and 1992c). He also attributed a number of other coins ("arbitrarily") to Prasutagus (Van Arsdell 1989).

Gregory's article (1992) on the early Icenian coins, was unfortunately, one of the few articles he wrote specifically on coinage before his untimely death, and remains his most important published contribution to this field. His analysis of the early new gold and silver types, although based on considerably less data

than we have now (Chadburn, 1992b), has largely stood the test of time and is a credit to his perception. Gregory worked closely with staff at the Norwich Castle Museum to record artefacts in systematic detail, along with their provenances. Such work continues today with the work of archaeological curators such as John Davies, and detailed records of newly discovered IA coins are sent directly to the Celtic Coin Index at Oxford. Gregory's other major contribution to this field was his excavation of the IA site at Fison's Way, Thetford, where he uncovered an IA mint (Gregory 1991a).

In Suffolk, Martin excavated a contemporary settlement at Barnham (Martin, 1993) which he conidered to fall within Icenian territory as shown by coin distributions. He had previously set out his evidence for tribal territories based on coins, and other cultural indicators such as ornamental horse harness fittings, "Belgic" cemeteries, amphorae in his work on excavations of the "minor oppidum" of Burgh (Martin, 1988). At Barnham, he interpreted the enclosure as defensive, but also possibly domestic too (despite the fact that the only interior features were burnt flints and a clay-lined trough), perhaps the residence of an Icenian ruler or chief. He went on to discuss the coins of Ale Sca, Can Dvro, and Anted, including the distributions of each type, which he considered to be broadly contemporaneous with the date of the enclosure, which he considered to be later IA, and abandoned by the middle of the first century AD. Although he did not present his evidence (and I would challenge his assertions), Martin indicated that the distributions of Can Dvro and Anted coins were centred on the Breckland area, and that the enclosure could have

been the "princely seat" of the Icenian ruler Anted. However, no IA coins were found at Barnham or Burgh.

Murray's catalogue of the Henry Mossop Collection for the auctioneers Glendining was also an important contribution, as it catalogued and photographed the many new types of British IA coins collected by Mossop over the years. His section on early Icenian types is particularly useful.

Richard Hobbs (1996) produced a catalogue of British IA coins in the British Museum, including a large section on Icenian coinage. This included the Field Baulk hoard and the Stonea Grange group (Chadburn 1992a), and his classification system for the East Anglian series is largely based on published classifications in Allen (1970) and Chadburn (1991 a, b, c, 1992a, 1992b, 1996). Along with Haselgrove's 1987 volumes, this is a key reference.

Davies has produced much work including a very useful article on the archaeology of the region in the IA (1996), which briefly discussed coinage and Natasha Hutcheson (2004) and Megan Davis (pers. comm.) have also worked on aspects of the metalwork of the Iceni including coinage in Norfolk and the silver coins of the Iceni respectively.

The Celtic Coin Index based at the University of Oxford has gone from strength to strength, particularly now it has been digitised and access is easily available via the web. This is now one of the most important sources for the study of IA coins, along with museum collections.

Finally, my own work in this area has been published in a number of articles, and books. I consider my most important contribution to date to be that in Jackson and Potter's volume on the excavations at Stonea Grange (Chadburn 1996).

Recent numismatic theories on Iron Age coins.

In considering the interpretation of Icenian coins, recent work on British IA coinage, and new theoretical approaches must be considered, especially since the use of IA coin data within archaeological research has been the subject of much debate particularly over the last twenty years.

Theoretical approaches to the interpretation of coin data have been ably summarised by Haselgrove (1987) and de Jersey (1994). Two main theoretical models have been used to explain British coin data, with each having at its heart, an explanation of the function and role of coinage. For example, the formalist approach makes the key assumption that money and coins have the same main function through time and space, i.e. as a medium for commercial exchange. This model was dominant for a long period in British and continental coin studies. Many such studies sought historically attested events within the archaeological record to interpret coin data, for example Allen (1944; 1970), Kent (1981) and Rodwell (1976).

This approach was criticised by Collis (1981) who queried the use of the "formalist" school of economics to interpret ancient economies in terms of

nineteenth century Western market economies (e.g supply and demand etc.). Within the historical/formalist school, however, two main theories developed regarding the introduction of Gallo-Belgic coins to Britain (May 1994, 4), both relating to historical events - one school dating the introduction with the arrival of the Belgae (Allen 1960; Rodwell, 1976), and the other with the Gallic War (Kent 1978a, 1978b, 1981). Such dependence upon historically-attested events leads to obvious difficulties, and May (1994) following Hawkes points out that the reality of events was probably far more complex. However, he suggests that a further historical event to be considered is the hegemony during the reign of Diviciacus, traditionally dated to around 100 BC.

Dissatisfaction with the assumptions and assertions on which the formalist model is based, led to a functionalist or substantivist approach by scholars such as Collis (1974; 1981) and Haselgrove (1987). (Collis dubbed his approach "newmismatic" to echo the "new archaeology" models being put forward in the 1970s). The substantivist or socio-economic arguments were based not upon the formalist economic school, but upon the economic theories propounded by Sahlins (1974) and Polyani (1957), who envisaged economies "embedded" in social relationships, resulting in seemingly "uneconomic" events and patterns occuring (Collis, 1981; Pocock, 1975).

However, Collis (*ibid*) saw the differences as being deeper still than this, basically being a split between inductive and deductive reasoning; an inductive approach looking at a body of data and then forming models to explain the data, and deductive approach forming models and then testing them against a

body of data. Collis and Rodwell in particular entered into a vigorous and lively debate about the merits of each approach (Collis, *ibid*; Rodwell, 1981). Curiously, however, given their firmly held views, it was Rodwell and not Collis who argued that the dataset of British IA coinage was so biased that "the recording of Celtic coins ..... has now become an unattainable goal" and that "we must accept distribution maps as providing only the coarsest general overview of coin circulation and loss patterns" (Rodwell, *ibid.*) This seems curious, as Rodwell used an inductive approach, and was very reliant on the quality of his data for his subsequent interpretations. Conversely Collis was "sceptical that the situation is as bad as Rodwell suggests".

I have already discussed the quality and integrity of the Icenian coin data (see section 1.5), and broadly agree with Collis with regard to the recording of IA coins; the situation is surely not as bad as Rodwell suggested. Of course, the "fine tuning" is lost for ever, and unless time travel is invented we will probably never know if one IA village differed in its coin use from its neighbour, and if so, exactly when, how, and to what extent. But unlike Rodwell, I believe the data is good enough to suggest circulation patterns, mint sites, and tribal and sub-tribal territories, (see for example Sellwood, 1984; Haselgrove, 1987; Van Arsdell and de Jersey, 1994, 24; Bean 2000). The approach of looking at seemingly out-of-context artefactual data to enhance our understanding of a particular culture or period is one which has met with some success in recent studies, and has been tried and tested with other archaeological data to good effect. Julie Gardiner (pers. comm.), for example, studied neolithic flint collections from the Wessex region, and derived many

useful insights into neolithic Wessex by studying these previously overlooked artefacts. Hutcheson also found the study of unstratified IA material fruitful in Norfolk (Hutcheson 2004).

Unlike Collis (1981) and Haselgrove (1987), I have adopted a broadly inductive approach, studying the data, observing patterns and results and then interpreting these patterns. However, I hope to have avoided the pitfalls of a the historical/formalist approach by attempting to interpret the data solely in relation to numismatic patterns, and *only then* seeing whether the results of numismatic study fit with any historical evidence. Nevertheless, I have not ignored the historical sources for obvious reasons; they provide a view of IA society which archaeology cannot offer, and even if biased, inaccurate, and colourful, they still need to be taken into account and explained. Indeed, new approaches to the study of ancient texts, taking anthropological perspectives and using colonial comparative material, have proved useful (Dietler, 1995; Webster, 1995;)

Although largely avoiding a deductive stance, I have taken the opportunity to test the Icenian data against the framework set out by Haselgrove (1987), who offered a detailed and radical overview of British IA coinage. Chapter 4 on Icenian coin classification and Chapter 5 on distribution patterns are especially relevant here.

The book which has done most to shake up British IA coin studies recently is Creighton's *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain* (2000). Whether one

agrees with it or not, it has certainly been provocative, taking as it does the central premise that client kingdoms started far earlier in Britain than AD 43. He argued that the symbolism on some IA coins can be paralleled in the Roman Empire in other client kingdoms, as they all derive from Classical iconography present in Rome.

Other work on British IA coinage

The core-periphery model was set out in Allen (1944, pp3) when outer and inner rings of tribes were described by him. The outer ring comprised the Durotriges, Dobunni, Iceni, Brigantes (the latter were at that time considered to have a coinage) and the Coritani. The inner ring comprised the Atrebates, Regni, Catuvellauni, Trinovantes and Cantii. (Allen, 1944, pp3).

Important work has also been undertaken on the Continent by Scheers (1981 and 1992), Gruel (1986), Haselgrove (1999) and Sills (2003) especially with respect to the origins and date of the earliest coins in Britain (Scheers 1981). Haselgrove's redating of the Gallo-Belgic series (1999) also has implications for the start date of Icenian coinages.

Major articles on individual finds have continued. These include the description of the Le Catillon hoard (FitzPatrick and Megaw 1987; Gruel 1990) and accounts of temple finds at Harlow (Haselgrove 1989), Hayling Island (Briggs *et al* 1992) and Wanborough (Cheesman 1994). Much important work has also been undertaken on the composition of IA coins

through metallurgical analysis, which has sometimes given indications as to possible metal sources for the coins (Burnett and Cowell 1989; Northover 1992). Themed studies have also continued with a useful article on the inscriptions on British IA coins (Mays 1992b); studies of British potin coins (Haselgrove 1988b; FitzPatrick 1990) and a provocative article on the symbols found on coins (Creighton 1998).

Approaches to the study of IA coinages and the regional approach

We have seen how Haselgrove (1987) set out a theoretical framework for classifying all main groups of IA coins in Britain. His detailed synthesis now forms a model for us to compare and chronologically order coins from different areas and tribes. Van Arsdell's work (1989) attempts much the same, but without such detailed evidence and argument to back up his claims. In fact, both these works draw heavily on the writings of Allen, and his ordering of the various British series, and indeed Haselgrove and Van Arsdell, although vastly different in their approach, do have much common ground in the detail of the relative ordering of regional coin series. Hobbs (1996) has also published research on British coins, studying the coins in the British Museum collections. In many ways, his was a more detailed numismatic approach, and included such techniques as die-linking on occasion. However the work only related to coins held in the British Museum collections, (although these are currently a good sample of British IA coins), and drew heavily on existing classifications. The strength of his work was that he classified and described large numbers of new types, and attempted a systematic classification of symbols on IA coins.

What neither Haselgrove, Van Arsdell nor Hobbs has attempted to undertake (indeed it may now be almost impossible for a single individual to attempt this given the numbers of coins) is a detailed numismatic study of the IA coinages of the British Isles. Both Van Arsdell and Haselgrove, for example, drew upon published works rather than undertaking a detailed study of the coins themselves. Neither has attempted a detailed numismatic study or ordered coins using such techniques as die-linking.

With the publication of these synthetic works, it seems the best way of pursuing IA coin studies is to scale down the scope of the research, and to test these models. By studying selected groups of coins in greater detail, incorporating all new relevant data, we can modify the old models as appropriate, and form new frameworks for future scholars to test.

This approach has been adopted by the majority of those studying British IA coins in recent years. For example, Mays (forthcoming) has studied the coins of the Durotriges; Sellwood (1984) and Van Arsdell and de Jersey (1994), the Dobunni; May (1994), the Corieltauvi; and Bean (2000), the Atrebates and Regni. On the continent, de Jersey (1994) has adopted a similar approach for Armorica. In Britain again, the Iceni are the subject of this work, and currently, work is underway by Curteis and Cottam on the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni (pers. comm.) and by Holman on the Canti (pers. comm.). Other work has recently been carried out on the earliest IA coins by Sills (2003). Once these

regional studies are complete, a substantial revision of British IA coinage will be possible on a more secure basis.

The possible functions of Iron Age coins

There have been relatively few discussions on the possible functions of IA coins, although rather more have focussed on the possible function of coins at the point of adoption by an IA society (Nash 1981, 1987; FitzPatrick 1992a). However, Haselgrove (1987) gave wider consideration to the problem, and reviewed the possible functions of coins from the substantivist viewpoint, taking his lead from Polanyi (1968), who believed that we think of money in too narrow terms today. Possible uses for coins (after Haselgrove and Polyani) might include:

- a means of payment (in the form of a quantifiable object or objects to discharge political, social or religious obligations e.g. bride-wealth, fines, tribute).

- the storage of wealth (the accumulation of quantifiable objects for future disposal or for holding a valuables).

- a standard of value (to assist in exchange and commercial transactions where different commodities are being exchanged. Such standards allow greater flexibility in such transactions).

- a medium of exchange (for indirect exchange using quantifiable objects, allowing one to save up for a desired commodity)

Haselgrove (1989, following Dalton 1977) also suggested that by reviewing money objects in "pre-colonial" and non-industrialised societies, further functions might become apparent. Three such were suggested:

- primitive valuable (a means of acquiring social, political or religious status in a stateless society)

- primitive money (a medium of market place transactions in economies with small market sectors)

- early cash (produced in early state societies and used to meet political obligations (eg taxes), for services, and for market transactions)

Not all would agree with these possibilities; Van Arsdell in particular saw the role of IA coins as money pure and simple (1989), and argued strongly that their function was akin to modern money. By contrast, Allen (1978) suggested that IA coinage was not used to facilitate large scale trade which was carried out by barter, and that it initially had a social function, acquiring only later some more economic functions, and other writers have more recently stressed the symbolic importance of the imagery of coins (Creighton 2000).

CHAPTER 3

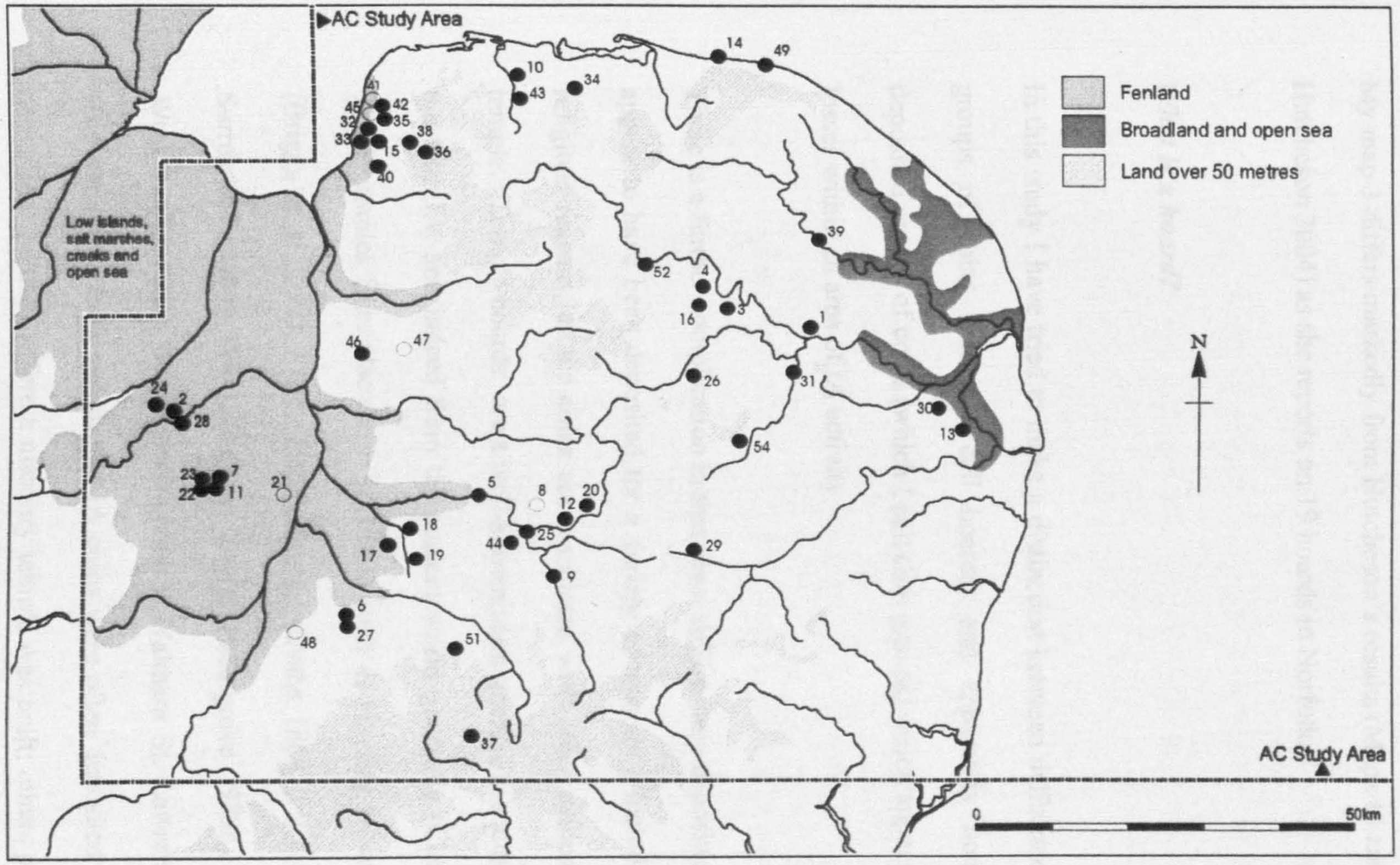
COIN HOARDS

METHODOLOGIES, PROBLEMS AND DIE STUDIES.

General methodology

All known IA coin hoards within the study area were reviewed and studied, and those hoards outside the study area containing Icenian coins were also studied. The Sites and Monuments Records (now Historic Environment Records) from Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk were also trawled to ensure that no hoards were missed and also to identify coin groups. Although the study by Allen (1970) formed a useful basis for this study, many hoards have been discovered since then and many are unpublished, although most of these have been to a Treasure Trove Inquest – the records of these Inquests have also been studied where available. Two hoards (Field Baulk, Cambridgeshire and Fring I (batch 1) which contained only Icenian silver coins were chosen for detailed die studies. All the Icenian coins in all hoards were classified using my classification as set out in Chapter 4.

54 IA coin hoards (or coin hoards containing IA coins) are discussed here. 35 of these were from Norfolk, 7 from Suffolk and 11 from Cambridgeshire. The locations of these 54 hoards are given in Map 3.



Map 3. The location of all hoards in the study area with their numbers as referred to in the text. (Open circles denote hoards which are not well-located).

Eight IA coin hoards outside the study area which contain Icenian coins are also discussed. Their distributions are discussed in Chapter 5.

My map 3 differs markedly from Hutcheson's results (Maps 13 and 14, Hutcheson 2004) as she reports on 19 hoards in Norfolk.

What is a hoard?

In this study I have tried to make a distinction between deliberately deposited groups of coins (which I call hoards) and apparently non-deliberately deposited groups of coins (which I call coin groups) which appear to be casual losses within an area of IA activity.

There is a further complication in that some deliberately deposited coin hoards appear to have been deposited for a variety of reasons – including votive or religious reasons, as the coins are associated with other evidence such as a temple. "Temple hoards" are a well-known phenomenon in southern Britain in the later IA, and indeed from the ancient world generally (Cheesman 1994, 33). Examples from elsewhere in Britain such as Hayling Island, Hampshire (Briggs *et al* 1992), Farley Heath, Surrey (Evans 1864, 110), Wanborough, Surrey (Cheesman 1994), Harlow, Essex (Haselgrove 1989c), Ratfyn Mill, West Sussex (S.W. Bragg, pers. comm.), Waltham St. Lawrence, Berkshire (Burnett 1990), have shown that IA coins were often deposited at these sites, sometimes perhaps before a masonry temple was built; others perhaps during the lifetime of an IA temple (Rodwell 1981). Some of these Romano-British

masonry temples replaced timber IA temples and it is generally thought that they represented indigenous rather than introduced religious cults.

A number of such temples are known from the study area, some of which have been excavated. IA coins have been recovered from the sites of some but not all, although not always by excavation. I have not included single finds, although it is worth noting that an IA coin is known from the two temples within Caistor (Insula IX), Norfolk.

Additionally, we do not know if "normal" hoards were sometimes or indeed always deposited for "votive" reasons if we have no other obvious accompanying evidence to help us decide this (e.g. the remains of a temple). Many modern scholars have commented that they feel it likely that there was little distinction between the sacred and everyday in the minds of the LIA peoples anyway. I have therefore included in my list of coin hoards, those hoards which have been found on known temple sites, or which appear to be "special" deposits such as those from Snettisham and associated with torc hoarding. However, "temple hoards" are often not closely datable – coins are often found in a more-or-less continuous date range from IA to late Roman, with no obvious depositional date. I have therefore simply classified them as temple hoards and given no hoard phase date. Other scholars (e.g. Hobbs 1996, Bean 2000) have also included temple hoards in their studies, and by including them here, this will facilitate comparisons between regions.

For this study, a hoard has to comprise 2 or more coins, and would appear to have been deposited deliberately. I have not included single finds, as although it is possible that single coins may have been hoarded, it is very difficult to tell them apart from a casual loss.

By contrast, site finds or coin groups are usually characterised by being found in association with a known archaeological site such as a settlement, and are often found dispersed over a wide area. They do not appear to have been deposited at a single point in time or space, and may often comprise a dispersed group of coins with a wide date range and a large number of denominations. They often have the appearance of being casual losses. They can be single or multiple, and are not further discussed in this chapter.

Although the above may sound relatively clear, it is sometimes very difficult to tell whether a group of coins is from a dispersed hoard or represents a coin group. I have indicated when these difficulties exist in the "circumstances of discovery" section (see catalogues of coin hoards in Appendices G and H).

The difficulty in deciding when a hoard really is a hoard partly explains the differences between my data and the most recent study which looked at hoards in this area. Hutcheson (2004, 49) reviewed 18 hoards which included IA coins from Norfolk, 19 if one includes the material from my Snettisham I (15) hoard which she also discusses. By contrast, I have records of 35 coin hoards from Norfolk. This large difference can be partly explained by the fact I here include temple hoards, partly because I have records of unpublished material,

and partly because I have used some published material which she did not. For example, she omits a number of early discoveries such as Thorpe (1), Burnham Thorpe (10) and Brettenham (12) and other published or SMR data such as hoards from Snettisham III (33), and Fincham (46).

Die studies and die linking

Methodology

Each of the coins in the two chosen hoards were looked at and a complete die study undertaken of each hoard. This was done by looking at the coins themselves and not photographs. Each coin was classified (for results see Appendices I to L inclusive) and compared with other coins of the same type to see if they were struck from the same dies. Each hoard was looked at separately and die numbers given for all coins (for results see Appendices M and N). Die chains were then made by seeing which coins were stuck from which dies as shown in the hypothetical example below, which shows Face-Horse obverse and reverse dies (FHO and FHR).

Table 5: Hypothetical die links

OBV. DIE NO.	COIN REF. NO.	REV. DIE NO.
FHO 1	1	FHR 14
FHO 2	2	
FHO 3	3	
FHO 7	4	FHR 2
	5	FHR 3
	6	FHR 5
FHO 4	7	FHR 1
FHO 5	8	
FHO 6	9	

Die catalogues and chains for the two case studies are given in Appendices M-P. My die linking results may be checked against the coins themselves and the photographs, as all die-linked coins are shown in the plates using the same reference numbers as in the Appendices.

Finally, the two hoards were compared to see if any of the dies were the same. A catalogue of Icenian coin dies was compiled from the results of these two case studies, although this is not a comprehensive catalogue as these two hoards contained only the "major" silver types. This catalogue is given in Appendix Q. Details of selected other dies are given in Chapters 4 and 6 e.g. the Prasto dies, and some other small die studies are found in Appendix G.

Die studies: discussion

In my hypothetical example above, coins 1-6 can be linked as the dies form a single die chain. Coins 7-9 can also be linked as their dies form a single die chain. Die chains tend to be more apparent in the later coin types, possibly because of a greater survival rate of the coins (perhaps earlier issues were withdrawn and recoined) or because of a greater degree of minting control of the later coins. It is difficult to know exactly what different die chains of the same coin type represent, but they might - at best - represent the output of a different mint or workshop or a different chronological episode of minting.

Sometimes after a die chain has been identified, another look at the coins themselves enables subtle typological differences to be identified. Perhaps

these are mint marks or may mean the coins of different die chains were minted at different times or are the product of different workshops. What is clear is that these dies and coins can be linked because they are linked by the manufacturing process. For example, the Ece A types were not split into subtypes a and b until it became apparent that the "trefoil" types and the "almond" types never shared the same dies, and that this may represent a different workshop, moneyer, chronological difference and so on. (In earlier coins, there is a lot more die variety and apparently less standardisation and control). In this way the die studies refined my classification of coin types.

Die linking is not, in my opinion, an exact science and requires subjective judgements. This is especially the case where a die starts out fresh and unworn, but then becomes progressively more worn until in some cases the die is almost worn out and produces little impression. A coin struck from a fresh pair of dies is often very difficult to match to the same dies which have become very worn, unless you have specimens of the in-between stages. Many Icenian coins are struck from very worn dies so this makes die linking difficult. This phenomenon is shown on Plate 40.

It is easier to do die studies from the coins themselves as sometimes differences are so subtle that it is easier to be able to rotate the coins in the light to see these. However, some die linking may be done through photographic analysis, although I always like to check against the coins themselves to verify my analysis. I have found that my results vary enough for me never to feel confident about die linking exclusively through photographs.

However, sometimes this is the only data available so it is better than nothing. This is why my die studies were done using the hoard coins themselves.

Die clogging – where part of a die becomes clogged or damaged - is a problem and can lead to misleading die-linking analysis unless careful. I have observed this phenomenon on some Icenian coins, including some in the case studies. I have also looked for evidence of die recutting but there is no evidence for this in the case studies.

Some plated coins do seem to have been struck using apparently official dies, which may mean that someone in a mint was responsible for manufacturing these plated coins (which were presumably contemporary forgeries). Evans (1890, 586) similarly observed of some Icenian coins that *"the [plated] coins so resemble those in genuine silver that it seems probable that the forgery was carried on by someone attached to the mint, with or without higher sanction"*. This observation still seems to hold good.

HOARDS CONTAINING IA COINS FOUND WITHIN THE STUDY AREA

The full gazetteer in Appendix G contains brief descriptions of the discovery, archaeological context, and catalogue of coins in each hoard, with references. Some of the coins are now lost, so the early descriptions of the hoard are now the only records we have – nevertheless I have included these hoards in the interests of completeness and accuracy. All available information sources,

including the coins themselves when possible, and unpublished and published references have been checked. This study does not include recent finds such as the Sedgeford hoard (Dennis and Faulkner 2005) as this was discovered too late to be included, but it should be complete to the mid 1990s. I have reclassified the "hoard" from Langwood Fen, Chatteris, Cambs (Burnett 1986b) as a site group (Chadburn 2003) so it does not appear here. Appendix G gives further details of which hoards were included and why.

The table below summarises the information in Appendix G.

Table 6: Summary of hoards within the study area containing Icenian coins (ordered by the date of the initial discovery).

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
1.	Thorpe, Nfk.	<1658	Iceni silver	4+	-	-	4+	-	E
2.	March, Cambs.	c.1838	Iceni silver	c.44	-	-	c.44	-	E
3.	Easton, Nfk..	c. 1849	Iceni silver	2+	-	-	2+	-	E
4.	W.Long, Nfk.	1852	Ro/Iceni	46+	-	3+	c.300	31 BC	E
5.	Santon D, Sfk	1869	Ro/Iceni	107	-	2	109	AD 41	E
6.	Freck, Sfk.	1885	Uninscribed Iceni gold	c.90	-	-	c.90	-	D
7.	Stonea I, Cambs	c.1887	Iceni silver	c.38	-	-	c.38	-	E
8.	Nr. Thetf, N.	<1890	Trin/Cat gold	-	5	-	5	-	C
9.	Bardw, Sfk	<1890	Potin	-	2+	-	2+	-	A
10.	B.Thor, Nfk.	c.1900	Iceni silver	2+	-	-	2+	-	E
11.	Stonea II, C.	<1904	Iceni silver	300+	-	-	300-350	-	E
12.	Brett, Nfk.	c. 1905	Iceni silver	5+	-	-	5+	-	E

Table 6 (cont): Summary of hoards within the study area containing Icenian coins (ordered by the date of the initial discovery).

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
13.	Haddis. Nfk.	1930s?	Potin	-	2+	-	2+	-	A
14.	Weyb. Nfk.	1940	G-B E/Dc	-	228 +	-	228+	-	B
15.	Snett. I, Nfk.	1948	G-B/Potin	26	208	-	234	-	A
16.	Honing, Nfk.	1954	Iceni silver	342	-	-	342	-	E
17.	Joist Fen, C.	1958	Ro/Iceni	33+	-	35+	188	?	E
18.	Laken, Sfk.	1959	Ro/Iceni	412	2	67	481	AD 34	E
19.	Erisw, Sfk.	1972	Ro/Iceni	255	-	72	327	AD 55	E
20.	Brett/B, Nfk.	1972	Iceni and IA	15	3	-	18	-	T
21.	nr. Little Cambs	1977	Iceni/IA/Ro	33	34	17	84	AD 35	E
22.	Stonea III, C	1977-8	Iceni/IA	37+	13+	-	50+	-	E
23.	Stonea IV, C	1977-8	Ro/Iceni	?	-	?	50+	?	E
24.	West Fen, C.	1980s	Iceni silver	10+	-	-	10+	-	E
25.	Fison W, Thet, N.	1980	Iceni silver	3	1	-	4	-	T
26.	Wickl/C, Nfk	1981	Iceni silver	32	-	-	32	-	T
27.	Chippen Cambs	1981	Trin/Cat gold	-	6	-	6+	-	E
28.	F.Baulk, Cambs	1982	Iceni silver	872	-	-	872	-	E
29.	Scole, N.	1982-3	Ro/Iceni	202	-	87	289	AD 60/1	E
30.	N. Subc, Nfk	1982-91	Ro/Iceni	2	1	113	116	AD 41-2	E
31.	Caistor St. E, N.	1985	Iceni	8	-	Yes	8	-	T
32.	Snett. II, Nfk.	1987	Iceni gold/ early silver	94	-	-	94	-	D
33.	Snett. III, Nfk.	1987	Early Iceni/IA	45	37	-	82	-	D
34.	Gt.Wals, Nfk.	1988	N. Wolf/ Iceni/ Ro	9	4	Yes	13+	-	T
35.	Ingold, Nfk	1988	G-B C	2	-	-	2	-	A
36.	Fring I, Nfk.	1990	Iceni silver	193	-	-	193	-	E
37.	NW Bab Sfk.	1990	Cuno gold	-	31	-	31	-	E

Table 6 (cont): Summary of hoards within the study area containing Icenian coins (ordered by the date of the initial discovery).

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
38.	Fring II, Nfk.	1991	G-B E	-	173	-	173	-	B
39.	Buxton Nfk	1991	G-B E	-	17	-	17	-	B
40.	Ders. By, Nfk	1991	Nfk W and Early F-H	13	-	-	13	-	D
41.	Hunst. I, Nfk.	1991	Ro/Ic silver, gold, IA	6,000+	13+	3+	6,690	Rep.	E
42.	Heach, Nfk.	1991	N. Wolf and Sn	28	-	-	28	-	C
43.	N. Crk, Nfk	1992	Ro/Iceni	30	-	2	32	Rep	E
44.	Thetford Nfk.	c.1992	Iceni/ Coriel	2	2	-	4+	-	D
45.	Hunst. II, Nfk.	c.1993	Nfk W. and Early F-H	136	20	-	156	-	D
46.	Fincham Nfk.	1993	Iceni silver etc	240	4	-	244 coins	-	E
47.	nr.Swaff Nfk.	1993	Trin/Cat gold	-	c. 300	-	c.300	-	D
48.	nr. S'ham,C	c.1994	Gold	238?	-	-	238	-	D
49.	W.Runt, Nfk.	1994	Fr.Gold	2	-	-	2	-	D
50.	Unprov. I	<1995	Fr.Gold	c.40	-	-	c.40	-	D
51.	L.Saxh, Sfk.	1995	Ic.silver and gold	8	-	-	8	-	E
52.	S.Morl, Nfk.	1995	Ro/Iceni	4	-	4	8	AD 36-7	E
53.	NW Norfolk	1995	Ro/Iceni	15	-	1	16	?	E
54.	Forn.St.P Nfk.	1996	Ro/Iceni	338	-	45	383	AD 36-7	E
TOTALS:				**10,357**	**1106**	**451**	**13,059**	-	-

Key:

T Temple hoard
Shading Temple hoard

COIN HOARDS OUTSIDE THE STUDY AREA CONTAINING ICENIAN COINS

A gazetteer of other IA coin hoards in the UK and abroad, in which Icenian coins have been recovered, is given in Appendix H. It contains brief descriptions of the discovery, archaeological context, and catalogue of coins in each hoard, with references. Some of the coins are now lost, so the early descriptions of the hoard are now the only records we have – nevertheless I have included these hoards in the interests of completeness and accuracy. The table below summarises the information in Appendix H. Reference numbers are given using Roman numerals in order distinguish them from hoards within the study area.

Table 7: Summary of hoards outside the study area containing Icenian coins (ordered by the date of the initial discovery). *Key as Table 6.*

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Ro	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
i.	Ports, H.	1830	Mixed IA	6	c. 100	-	c.100	-	E
ii.	Battle, E.Sussex	<1838	Icenian silv.	2+	-	-	2+	-	E
iii.	Harlow, Essex.	1962	Mixed IA	1	333	-	334	-	T
iv.	N'hamp-ton.	1973	Icenian silv.	4+	-	-	4+	-	E
v.	Hayling Island	1977	Mixed IA	1	162	-	163	-	T
vi.	Wanb., Surrey	1983	Mixed IA/R	14	1085 +	67+	20,000	?	T
vii.	Partney, Lincs	1986	Mixed IA	5	1+	-	6+	-	T
viii.	H'ting-don.	1992	Mixed IA/R	c.200	c.10	c.100	c.300	Rep.	E
TOTALS				**233**	**1691**	**167**	**20,909**	-	-

CASE STUDIES

The Fring I hoard, Norfolk (36)

Introduction

The Fring I hoard was found between 1990-1996 in six batches, and is a "typical" Icenian silver coin hoard. It currently totals 193 coins, although it is possible that more coins will be found in future. The first batch was discovered in March 1990, comprising 153 coins; the second in late 1990, comprising 16 coins; the third in late 1991, comprising 8 coins; the fourth in 1993, comprising 11 coins; the fifth in 1994, comprising 4 coins; and finally, the sixth batch was discovered October 1996, comprising 1 coin. All were found by the same man using a metal detector. All were declared Treasure Trove between 1990 and 1997, and are located in the Kings Lynn Museum, Norfolk.

153	Batch 1	Declared TT on 5.7.1990.
16	Batch 2	Declared TT on 11.7.1991.
8	Batch 3	Declared TT on 27.8.1992
11	Batch 4	Declared TT (in 1993?)
4	Batch 5	Declared TT (in 1995?)
1	Batch 6	Declared TT on 28.2.1997 in Kings Lynn.

193	TOTAL (summer 1997)	

Batch 1 was published by Chadburn (1990) and Chadburn and Gurney (1991) but batches 2-6 remain unpublished. Unfortunately, batch 2 was not well recorded for the Treasure Trove Inquest and weights and photos are not available. A detailed coin and die study has been only undertaken on the Batch 1 coins, given in Appendices J, L, N, P, Q and R. There are more details given

in this thesis than in the published accounts, particularly in relation to the die linking study.

Fring I: Archaeological and numismatic context

The Fring I hoard is one of the relatively large number of Icenian hoards which have been discovered over the last two centuries and its composition is similar to that of many other silver Icenian hoards.

Its findspot is well within the territory of the Iceni as defined by Allen (1970), and is situated near to the important trade routes of the Peddar's Way and the Icknield Way. Furthermore, Fring is situated in at a junction between the Peddar's Way and a known Roman route inland to South Creake, which may well have been established during the IA.

The large numbers of IA artefacts from this general area indicate its importance during that period. For example, the parish of Snettisham is immediately adjacent, where the spectacular "Snettisham treasure" was discovered between 1948-90 (Sealey 1979; Stead 1991; Chadburn 1990, 2). The Snettisham treasure is detailed as my Snettisham I (15) in Appendix G. Between 1987-89 a separate site at Snettisham yielded a total of 91 IA coins from a hoard (Gregory 1992) – detailed in Appendix G as Snettisham III (33), and Van Arsdell (1989) also reported an undeclared mixed coin hoard (32) which contained Norfolk Wolves and early Face-Horses as well as coins from other areas.

This general part of Norfolk has produced the remains of more than a hundred torcs in the mid twentieth century (Robinson and Gregory, 1987) and that was before the additional finds of 1989-90. The concentration of torcs from this area is truly remarkable and completely unparalleled in Western Europe. The original "Snettisham treasure" (1948-50) also included ingots, and "cake" of gold alloy and tin, and this fact, along with the fragmentary and damaged nature of many of the torcs, has lead to suggestions that a flourishing workshop existed in this area producing IA artefacts of precious metals (*ibid*; Megaw and Megaw, 1989). The 1989-90 finds may support the theory of a metalsmithing workshop in the vicinity.

Both Fring and Snettisham are situated near to IA trade routes, including the Wash which gave access to coastal routes into Lincolnshire and to the south-east. It is against this background that the Fring I coin hoard must be set.

Further details of the general archaeological background are given in Chadburn and Gurney (1991). No pit or other immediate archaeological context was discovered as an agricultural subsoiler had damaged the area.

Fring I: hoard contents.

The tables below give a summary and a detailed catalogue of the hoard.

Table 8: Summary of hoard contents.

Boar-Horse coins	*TOTAL 9 (5%)*
B-H B	3
B-H C	3
B-H UNCLASSIFIED	3
Face-Horse coins	*TOTAL 42 (22%)*
EARLY F-H	2
NORMAL F-H A	9
NORMAL F-H B/C	27
F-H UNCLASSIFIED	4
Pattern-Horse coins	*TOTAL 138 (71%)*
ANTED(I)	39
ECEN	36
ED(N)	10
ECEN/ED(N)	1
TRIPLE SYMBOL	4
ECE A a and b	18
ECE B a and b	14
ECE B (REVERSED)	3
ECE uncertain	4
SAENV	2
P-H UNCLASSIFIED	7
Iceni uncertain	*TOTAL 4 (2%)*
UNCERTAIN	4
GRAND TOTAL OF COINS	*193 (100%)*

Table 9a: Catalogue of coins from the Fring I hoard

EARLY FACE-HORSE 2b - 2 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.33	Batch 1, no.6
1.25	Batch 1, no. 7

NORMAL FACE-HORSE A - 8 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.25	Batch 1, no. 8
1.08	Batch 1, no. 9
1.28	Batch 1, no. 10
1.22	Batch 1, no. 11
1.20	Batch 1, no. 12
1.25	Batch 1, no. 14
1.16	Batch 4.
1.24	Batch 4.

NORMAL FACE-HORSE A VARIANT - 1 coin

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.38	Batch 1, no. 13. New type - horse left.

NORMAL FACE-HORSE B/C - 27 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.25	Batch 1, no. 15
1.26	Batch 1, no. 16
1.24	Batch 1, no. 17
1.28	Batch 1, no. 18
1.20	Batch 1, no. 19
1.20	Batch 1, no 20. Plated?
1.22	Batch 1, no. 21
1.21	Batch 1, no. 22
1.23	Batch 1, no. 23
1.23	Batch 1, no. 24
1.16	Batch 1, no. 25
1.24	Batch 1, no. 26
1.20	Batch 1, no. 27
1.23	Batch 1, no. 28
1.18	Batch 1, no. 29
1.23	Batch 1, no. 30
1.21	Batch 1, no. 31
1.16	Batch 1, no. 32
1.18	Batch 1, no. 33
1.19	Batch 1, no. 34

1.22	Batch 1, no. 35
1.19	Batch 1, no. 36
1.16	Batch 3.
1.23	Batch 3.
1.20	Batch 3.
1.27	Batch 4.
1.26	Batch 5.

NORMAL FACE-HORSE UNCLASSIFIED – 4 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
Not known	Batch 2
Not known	Batch 2
Not known	Batch 2
Not known	Batch 2

BOAR-HORSE B - 3 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.08	Batch 1, no. 1
0.96	Batch 1, no. 2
1.26	Batch 5.

BOAR-HORSE C - 3 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.18	Batch 1, no. 3
1.09	Batch 1, no. 4
1.19	Batch 1, no. 5

BOAR-HORSE UNCLASSIFIED – 3 coins

Not known	Batch 2
Not known	Batch 2
Not known	Batch 2

ANTED(I) - 31 coins (total of all sub-types)

Sub-type a – 1 coin

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.22	Batch 1, no. 37

Sub-type b – 14 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.11	Batch 1, no. 51
1.18	Batch 1, no. 52
1.17	Batch 1, no. 53
1.15	Batch 1, no. 54
1.26	Batch 1, no. 55
1.22	Batch 1, no. 56
1.20	Batch 1, no. 57
1.20	Batch 1, no. 58
1.20	Batch 1, no. 59
1.20	Batch 1, no. 60
1.26	Batch 1, no. 61
1.17	Batch 1, no. 62
1.25	Batch 1, no. 63
1.09	Batch 1, no. 64

Sub-type c – 12 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.29	Batch 1, no. 39
1.25	Batch 1, no. 40
1.21	Batch 1, no. 41
1.24	Batch 1, no. 42, brockage.
1.22	Batch 1, no. 43
1.17	Batch 1, no. 44. Plated?
1.22	Batch 1, no. 45, Plated?
1.27	Batch 1, no. 46
1.20	Batch 1, no. 47
0.89	Batch 1, no. 48
1.20	Batch 1, no. 49
1.15	Batch 1, no. 50

Sub-type d – 4 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.24	Batch 1, no. 38
1.24	Batch 1, no 65
1.23	Batch 1, no. 66
1.17	Batch 1, no. 67

Anted(i) unclassified – 8 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.10	Batch 3.
1.27	Batch 3.
1.19	Batch 3.
1.08	Batch 4.
0.99	Batch 4.
1.15	Batch 4.
1.15	Batch 5.
Not known	Batch 2.

ECEN - 36 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.24	Batch 1, no. 68
1.22	Batch 1, no. 69
1.18	Batch 1, no. 70
1.13	Batch 1, no. 71
1.25	Batch 1, no. 72
1.22	Batch 1, no. 73
1.25	Batch 1, no. 74
1.22	Batch 1, no. 75
1.10	Batch 1, no. 76
1.23	Batch 1, no. 77
1.24	Batch 1, no. 78
1.23	Batch 1, no. 79
1.16	Batch 1, no. 81
1.26	Batch 1, no. 82
1.23	Batch 1, no. 83
1.15	Batch 1, no. 84
1.15	Batch 1, no. 85
1.20	Batch 1, no. 86

1.17	Batch 1, no. 95	
1.22	Batch 1, no. 98	
1.28	Batch 1, no. 99	
1.66	Batch 1, no. 100	Very heavy
1.18	Batch 1, no. 103	
1.21	Batch 1, no. 104	
1.14	Batch 1, no. 107	
1.27	Batch 1, no. 108	
1.16	Batch 1, no. 109	
1.13	Batch 1, no. 110	
1.31	Batch 1, no. 112	
1.20	Batch 1, no. 114	
1.25	Batch 1, no. 115	
1.27	Batch 1, no. 116	
1.26	Batch 1, no. 117	
1.22	Batch 1, no. 118	
1.23	Batch 1, no. 119	
1.21	Batch 4.	

ED(N) - 10 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.25	Batch 1, no. 87. Inscription reads ED
1.18	Batch 1, no. 88. Inscription reads EDN
1.10	Batch 1, no. 89. Inscription reads]DN
1.20	Batch 1, no. 90. Inscription reads]D[
1.21	Batch 1, no. 91. Inscription reads EDN
1.25	Batch 1, no. 92. Inscription reads]D[
1.23	Batch 1, no. 101. No inscription visible
1.20	Batch 1, no. 102. No inscription visible
1.17	Batch 1, no. 111. Inscription reads]N
1.23	Batch 1, no. 113. Inscription reads ED

TRIPLE SYMBOL: sub-type a – 3 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.24	Batch 1, no. 93
1.23	Batch 1, no. 94
1.10	Batch 1, no. 96

TRIPLE SYMBOL UNCLASSIFIED – 1 coin

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.23	Batch 3.

PATTERN-HORSE UNCLASSIFIED: ECEN OR ED(N) – 5 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.12	Batch 1, no. 97
1.28	Batch 1, no. 105
1.30	Batch 1, no. 106
1.26	Batch 1, no. 120
1.26	Batch 4.

ECE A - 18 coins total

ECE A: sub-type a - 2 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.25	Batch 1, no. 121
1.17	Batch 1, no. 122

ECE A: sub-type b - 16 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.18	Batch 1, no. 80
1.25	Batch 1, no. 123
1.21	Batch 1, no. 124
1.22	Batch 1, no. 125
1.21	Batch 1, no. 126
1.11	Batch 1, no. 127
1.25	Batch 1, no. 128
1.20	Batch 1, no. 129
1.18	Batch 1, no. 130
1.18	Batch 1, no. 131
1.14	Batch 1, no. 132
1.17	Batch 1, no. 133

1.23	Batch 1, no. 134
1.09	Batch 1, no. 135. Heavily worn on both sides
1.20	Batch 1, no. 148
1.22	Batch 4.

ECE B - 13 coins total

ECE B: sub-type a - 1 coin

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.22	Batch 1, no. 142

ECE B: sub-type b - 12 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.07	Batch 1, no. 136
1.15	Batch 1, no. 137
1.08	Batch 1, no. 138
1.22	Batch 1, no. 139
1.14	Batch 1, no. 140
1.17	Batch 1, no. 141
1.04	Batch 1, no. 143
1.15	Batch 1, no. 144
1.18	Batch 1, no. 145
1.15	Batch 1, no. 146
1.18	Batch 1, no. 147
1.21	Batch 4.

Ece B: unclassified – 1 coin

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.27	Batch 3.

ECE UNCLASSIFIED – 4 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.28	Batch 6.
Not known	Batch 2.
Not known	Batch 2.
Not known	Batch 2.

ECE B (REVERSED) – 3 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.23	Batch 1, no. 149
1.31	Batch 1, no. 150
1.21	Batch 1, no. 151

SAENV - 2 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.22	Batch 1, no. 152
Not known	Batch 2

UNCERTAIN PATTERN-HORSE – 3 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
1.17	Batch 1, no. 153
1.15	Batch 4. ?Ecen.
1.26	Batch 5.

ICENI UNCERTAIN – 4 coins

WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NOTES
Not known	Batch 2.
Not known	Batch 2.
Not known	Batch 2.
Not known	Batch 2.

Fring I: The composition and nature of the hoard

The Fring I hoard contains 193 Icenian silver coins, with no other Roman or IA tribal issues being present; just under half the Icenian hoards to date consist

of exclusively Icenian issues. The Fring I hoard is about average in size for an Icenian coin hoard, the largest well-recorded of which so far is the Field Baulk hoard found in Cambridgeshire (Chadburn, 1992a, Chadburn 1996), which contained 872 silver Icenian coins.

The proportions of each group within the hoard are somewhat different to those worked out by Allen (1970) as an average for Icenian silver coin hoards. However, the hoard profile bears a strong resemblance to that of the Field Baulk hoard, with an apparent over-representation of Pattern-Horse coins compared with Allen's average (see Table 12 below).

As with the Field Baulk hoard, this observation contrasts with the provisional distribution patterns noted by Allen (1970), who concluded that the main distribution area of the Pattern-Horse series lay in the Breckland area of Norfolk, some distance from Fring. This further suggests that the distribution patterns deduced by Allen mainly from hoards may be incorrect; evidence from Fring I, Field Baulk, and numerous recent single coin finds contrasts with Allen's conclusions regarding the distribution and manufacture of different Icenian coin types (Allen 1970; Chadburn 1992a).

There are obvious differences between the coins found in hoards, including Fring I, and coin assemblages from what appear to be settlement sites such as Saham Toney, Norfolk (Brown 1986) and Stonea Grange (Chadburn 1996). Settlement-related assemblages appear to contain a wider variety of coin types, including other IA tribal issues (see Table 12 and also Gregory 1992),

and a much higher proportion of plated coins and cores. In contrast, most Iceni silver coin hoards appear to have been selected for good quality coins as they contain few plated or underweight coins, and generally, do not contain many other tribal issues (although Roman coins are common). The Fring I hoard only contained 3 coins which may have been plated or were poorly alloyed (much copper is visible), although their weights are normal. Two coins are significantly overweight, specimens 13 and 100. Interestingly, coin 13 is the new type of Normal Face-Horse A coin. All coins in the Fring I hoard are Icenian.

One other individual coin of note in the Fring hoard is coin 42, which is an obverse brockage of Anted as the obverse ("pattern") design appears on both sides. Coin 42 was apparently struck *twice* on its reverse surface (on different die axes) with the obverse of a coin stuck in the upper die - creating a brockage. But this error was spotted and this coin was *rectified* by being overstruck with the correct Anted upper or reverse die (i.e. showing a horse). However, some traces of the obverse "brockage" pattern remain on the reverse of the coin, beneath the horse design. IA brockages are rare, although the Field Baulk hoard contained two obverse brockages of Iceni Pattern-Horse coins.

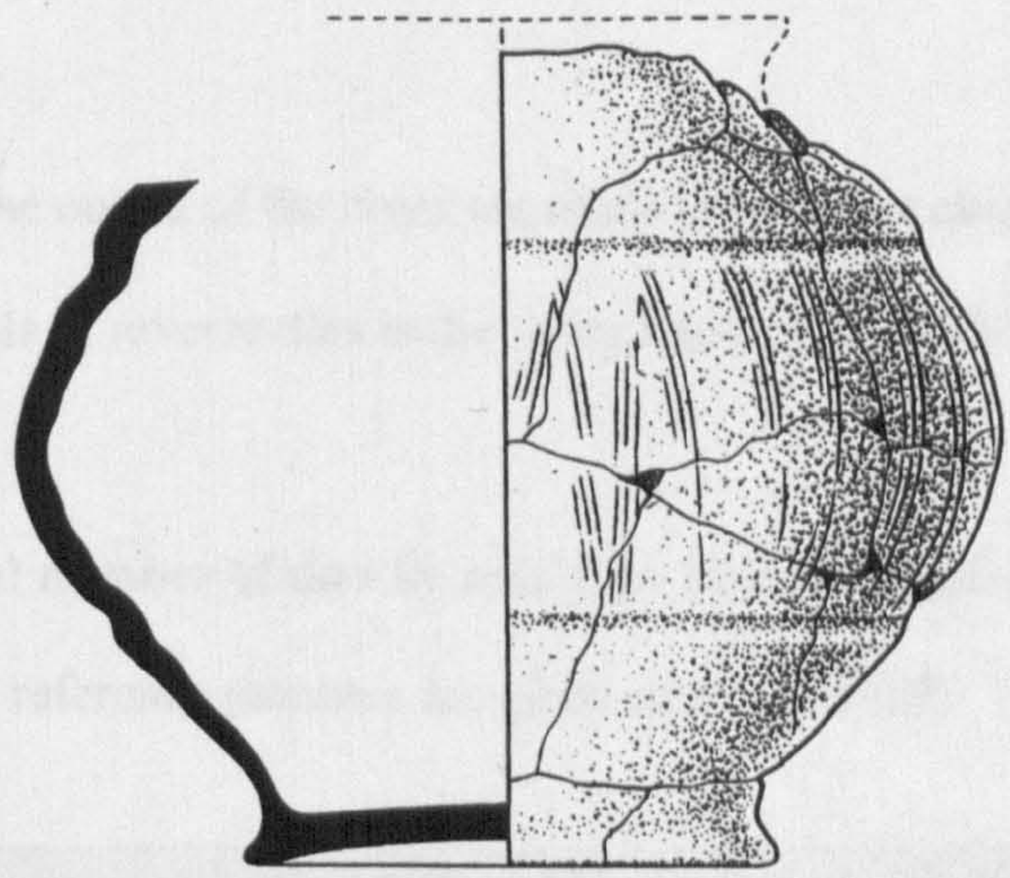
Allen (1970) noted that about 20% of the Ece B coins are entirely reversed, (presumably because a die-cutter made a mistake by making a die by copying exactly from another Ece B coin), and this same proportion was found in the Field Baulk hoard. Slightly more - 25% - of the Fring I Ece B coins were similarly reversed.

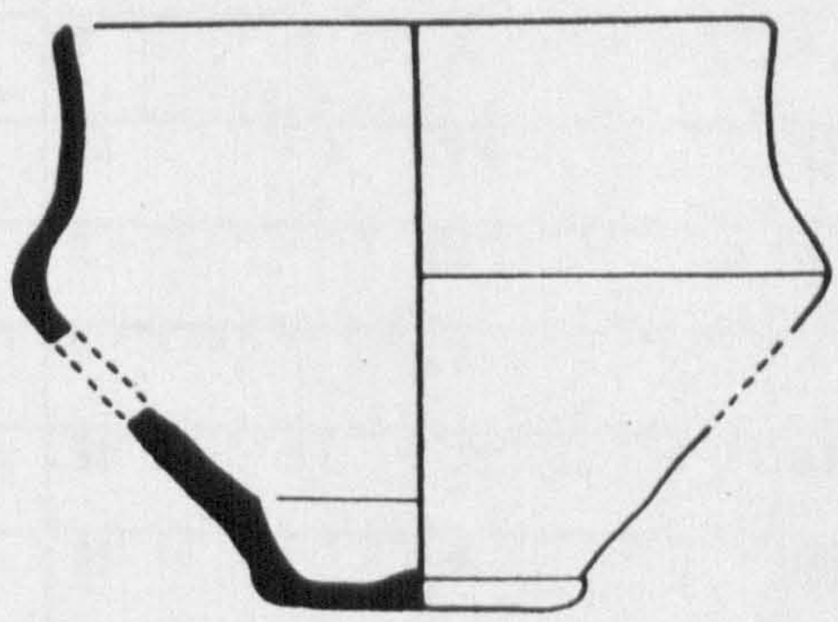
The container of the Fring I hoard.

The hoard itself was recovered from a mid-first century AD beaker (shown in Fig. 2 below) with the remains of a textile "jam jar" type cover tied down with twine. It is similar to concave-sided "Belgic" cups or bowls found in early Roman assemblages and the fabric is typical of local early Roman native wares (Chadburn and Gurney 1991, 220).

Another similarity between the Field Baulk and Fring I hoards, is the presence of a retrievable container. Many recorded Iceni coin hoards to date have not been associated with a container, although the gold Iceni hoard at Freckenham, Suffolk, was found in a small poorly-fired pot which is not closely datable (Haselgrove 1987) and the Lakenheath hoard was found in a Butt Beaker. The Field Baulk hoard was associated with a globular beaker which has been dated to c. AD 60-70 (Chadburn 1992a). The container of the Fring I hoard appears to be of a similar mid-first century date, as seems to be the textile which appears to have covered the mouth of the pot (Chadburn and Gurney 1991).

Figure 2. Reconstruction of the pottery containers of the Field Baulk hoard (above) and the Fring I hoard (below) shown together at 1:2 for comparison (after Jackson and Potter 1996 and Chadburn and Gurney 1991).





Dies in the Fring I hoard

A die study of the hoard has made possible the identification of many coins which are difficult to classify, especially the Ecen, Ed and Symbols coins, which often have their inscription off the flan. Many of the same dies are present in the Field Baulk hoard, and some Fring I coins have been identified with reference to Field Baulk dies. Die numbers are shown in Table 9 below.

A detailed die catalogue for Fring I (Batch 1) is given in Appendix N. Die chains are given in Appendix P, and a catalogue of all dies from the two case study hoards is given in Appendix Q.

Estimates of the output of the coins are made later in this chapter using the combined totals of reverse dies in the Fring I and Field Baulk hoards.

Table 9: Total number of dies by coin type in the Fring I (Batch 1) hoard.

Individual die reference numbers are given in Appendix P.

COIN TYPE	NO. OF COINS	NO. OF OBVERSE DIES	NO. OF REVERSE DIES
Early Face-Horse 2b	2	2	2
Normal Face-Horse A	7	5	6
Normal Face-Horse B/C	22	19	17
Boar-Horse B	2	2	2
Boar-Horse C	3	3	3
Anted(i)	31	15	15
Ecen	35	8	12
Ed(n)	10	7	5
Triple Symbol	3	1	1
Ecen or Ed(n) unclassified	4	2	4
Ece A	17	5	6
Ece B	12	7	10
Ece B (reversed)	3		2
Saenv	1	1	1
Icenian P-H unclassified	1	1	1
GRAND TOTALS	**153**	**78**	**87**

The date of the deposition of the Fring I coin hoard.

The Fring I hoard appears to fit into the general pattern for Icenian silver hoards of a mid-first century AD deposition date, and might also relate to the Boudican War. The container and textile covering appear to be mid-first century AD date (Chadburn and Gurney 1991), and the low proportion of presumed early Iceni issues within the hoard (i.e. the two early Face-Horse coins) might also indicate a deposition date later rather than earlier in the history of Icenian coinage. A detailed discussion on the date of Icenian hoards is given later in this chapter.

Conclusions on the Fring I coin hoard.

The area around Fring was clearly very important in the LIA. Spectacular discoveries of torcs and coins have been made in the neighbouring parish of Snettisham, and it is probable that both the production and trade of precious metal artefacts were carried out in this part of Norfolk. The Fring I hoard may reflect the general wealth of the population, some of whom were perhaps traders and metal-workers, or an elite who had power over them and/or who controlled trade routes.

Interchange points on trade routes are often associated with the development of high-status settlements such as *oppida*, and it is possible that some sort of

rich trade-oriented settlement may have existed in this part of Norfolk in the LIA, although it has yet to be discovered.

The composition of the Fring I hoard is very similar to other Icenian silver hoards, but there are larger numbers of Pattern-Horse coins than the average, contrasting with Allen's distribution patterns for Icenian coins. It is becoming clear from the evidence of Fring I and other recent hoard finds, that Pattern-Horse coins *are* found in large quantities outside the Breckland area of Norfolk, which Allen believed was the major area of distribution for these coins, and indeed, which he suggested might be the territory of a sub-tribe or *pagi* of the Iceni (Allen 1970).

The Field Baulk Hoard, Cambridgeshire (28).

Introduction

The Stonea area of Cambridgeshire has produced an increasing number of IA coin finds over recent years, many of which are of types traditionally ascribed to the Iceni. Amongst the most significant finds are the hoard from Field Baulk, March, and a dense scatter of IA coins from the Stonea Grange area (Chadburn 1996). The Field Baulk hoard is discussed below, with the detailed coin catalogue given in Appendices I and K as it too large to give here.

Field Baulk hoard: Methodology and Classification

All the coins in the catalogues are held by the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, whose accession numbers are given in the text. The coins were conserved and photographed in-house by the Museum, and weighed by the author with an electronic balance after conservation. A full die study has enabled some of the originally unclassified coins to be identified further (Chadburn 1992, Chadburn 1996).

Field Baulk hoard: archaeological and numismatic context.

The discovery of the Field Baulk hoard and the subsequent excavation of the area around the findspot is fully discussed elsewhere (Jackson and Potter 1996) and its archaeological context is shown in Figure 3 below.

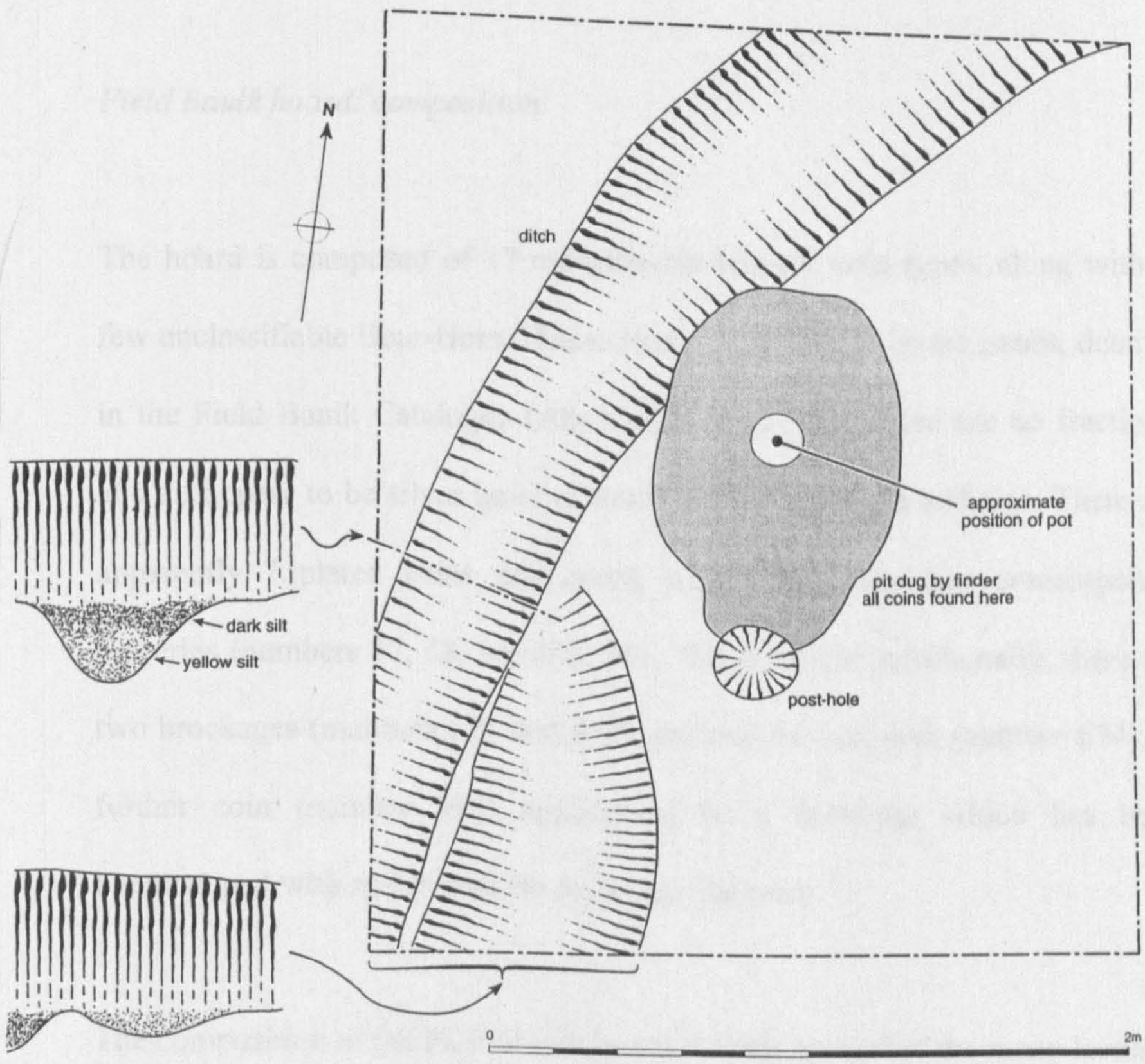
It is by far the largest well-recorded Icenian hoard, containing 872 silver coins in total. Originally the total number of coins was thought to be 860, but during conservation it was discovered that a number of coins were stuck together (Chadburn 1996). The next nearest well recorded Icenian hoard in terms of size is that from Lakenheath, Suffolk, which contained 482 Icenian and Roman coins, although Hunstanton I (41) - the "Bowl Hoard" - is far larger but is poorly recorded as it went straight onto the black market. An indication of Field Baulk's size and importance for British IA studies is given in Hobbs (1996, 8) as at that stage the hoard made up almost 20% of the entire British

Museum's collection of British IA coins as is clear in Hobbs' Table 1 (*ibid*). Only the Wanborough collection was marginally larger at that time.

No Roman or other IA coins were associated with the Field Baulk hoard, although this is not necessarily unusual with Icenian coin hoards, as less than half recorded so far are associated with Roman coins, and few contain other IA coins. It is published in Chadburn 1992a and 1996, although there are far more details given in this thesis than in the published accounts, particularly in relation to the die linking study which is unpublished and appears for the first time here.

The vessel which was found in association with the coins is certainly the container of the hoard (see Fig. 2 above). It and the hoard are well-known in numismatic circles as they feature on the front cover of "British Iron Age coins in the British Museum" by Richard Hobbs (1996). Val Rigby of the British Museum has indicated (pers. comm.) that the container is a pottery vessel in the form of a globular beaker, which imitates in detail Camulodunum form 91, a vessel from north Gaul imported during the Claudio-Neronian period. The fabric is an orange sandy-tempered ware, with a grey unoxidised core. The surface appears worn, and there are incised lines decorating the body of the vessel. The pot is substantially complete, but the rim was apparently lost in antiquity. Rigby indicates that the suggested date for manufacture could lie between AD 50-70, although the use of a Romanised sandy fabric makes it more likely that the date of manufacture lies between AD 60-70.

Figure 3. The plan of the archaeological context of the Field Baulk coin hoard (after Jackson and Potter 1996)



Generally, the coins are in a very good state of preservation, owing no doubt to the circumstances of their deposition. While some coins are worn through circulation, they do not appear to have been subject to leaching through exposure to the soil, and the weights are therefore particularly useful and valid for statistical work.

Field Baulk hoard: composition

The hoard is composed of 17 recognisable Icenian coin types, along with a few unclassifiable Boar-Horse, Face- Horse, and Pattern-Horse issues, detailed in the Field Baulk Catalogue (Appendices I and K). There are no fractions, and all appear to be silver units of much the same weight and size. There are apparently 7 plated coins and cores, which may represent contemporary forgeries (numbers 17, 68, 96, 453, 591, 708, 829) and additionally, there are two brockages (numbers 675 and 676) and one miscast coin (number 674). A further coin (number 530) appears to be a brockage which has been overstamped with an obverse die to correct the error.

The composition of the Field Baulk hoard is fairly typical of the many Icenian silver hoards, although it is the largest well-recorded Icenian hoard to date and contains proportionately higher number of rare types such as Aesv and Saenv, and is significant for this reason too.

About half the Icenian hoards to date have been mixed with Roman coins, so the fact that there are no Roman coins is not atypical. Other IA issues are rare

in Icenian silver hoards, and the Field Baulk hoard follows the normal pattern here, as it contains no other IA coins from other tribal areas.

The Field Baulk hoard is also important as it represents over a third of the well-recorded silver Icenian coinage to date, and increases the number of recorded specimens by over half in some cases. The total number of Icenian coins recorded by Haselgrove in 1987 was 2674, which includes the Field Baulk hoard, whereas Allen in 1970, was only able to study 1,150 specimens. In some cases, the hoard provides a larger number of coins than Allen had altogether. For example, Allen studied 9 specimens of the coins of Saenv, whereas there are now 16 examples from Field Baulk alone.

The number of brockages is high for a hoard of this size, and would appear to be higher than normal brockage frequency for IA coins, and indeed for the Roman Republican series too. (Goddard, pers. comm. and forthcoming). This would appear to indicate that the production of the numerous Pattern-Horse types at least, was rushed, and that they were produced in a short space of time.

Table 10: A summary of the contents of the Field Baulk hoard.

(see also Appendix I and K for detailed contents)

COIN TYPE	NUMBER OF COINS	% OF TOTAL
Boar-Horse A	4	
Boar-Horse B	4	
Boar-Horse C	25	
Can Dvro	1	
Boar-Horse unclassified (core)	1	
Boar-Horse total	*35*	*4%*
Normal Face-Horse A (including 1 plated)	42	
Normal Face-Horse B/C (including 1 plated)	129	
Unclassified Face-Horse	1	
Face-Horse total	*172*	*20%*
Early Pattern-Horse B	1	
Anted	193	
Ecen (including 1 plated)	157	
Ed(n) (including 1 core)	60	
Ed(n) variant	12	
Symbol	29	
Ecen/Ed(n) (including 1 plated)	10	
Ece A	73	
Ece B	74	
Ece B (reversed) (including 1 core)	23	
Aesv	11	
Saenv	16	
Iceni Pattern-Horse unclassified/brockages /miscast	6	
Pattern-Horse total	*665*	*76%*
GRAND TOTAL	872	100%

Die links in the Field Baulk hoard

There are die links between the Ecen, Ed(n), Ed(n) variant and Ecen/Ed(n) coin types, and these coins could therefore be considered as a single type ("Ecen types") where the die cutting and legend become more and more degenerate. However, they are here considered as separate coin types, the classification being based on the different reverse designs. The Triple Symbol types are certainly related but stand somewhat apart from them as the mane is different and there is no inscription. Its precise relationship to the Anted and Ecen types is as yet unclear and there are no die links.

The obverse die links which are apparent between several coin types, show they are related, and may have been struck within a relatively short space of time:

1. Normal Face-Horse A and Normal Face-Horse B/C
2. Ecen and Ed(n) } a group related by die-linking
3. Ed(n) and Ed(n) variant }
4. Ece B and Ece B (reversed)
5. Aesv and Saenv

The coins of Aesv and Saenv are particularly interesting. The die study has shown that all Aesv and Saenv coins were struck from a single obverse die, as was tentatively suggested by Allen (1970, p33 but see alternatively p22). Additionally, it is clear from a this hoard and from a study of other specimens (Chadburn, 1991a) that the Aesv coins were all struck from the same pair of

dies whereas there were two reverse Saenv dies, and the single obverse die. It is also apparent from studying the die wear on the single obverse die, that all the Aesv coins appear to have been struck *after* the Saenv coins. The two types are therefore likely to be closely related, and may well be the product of the same mint. No obverse die link with the Ece B series has yet been noted despite the typological similarities.

Field Baulk hoard: Metrology

Mean weights are given in Table 11 below. The Field Baulk hoard is very useful for undertaking statistical work on weights because of its size and good state of preservation.

TABLE 11: Mean weights for the coin types in the Field Baulk hoard.

COIN TYPE	MEAN WEIGHT (GRAMS)	NUMBER OF COINS
Boar-Horse A	1.09	4
Boar-Horse B	1.23	4
Boar-Horse C	1.19	25
Cans-Dvro	1.25	1
Normal Face-Horse A	1.26	41
Normal Face-Horse B/C	1.25	128
Early Pattern-Horse B	1.22	1
Anted(i) – a-d types	1.22	193
Ecen	1.25	156
Ed(n)	1.26	59
Ed(n) variant	1.25	12
Triple Symbol a and b	1.25	29
Ece A	1.25	73
Ece B	1.24	74
Ece B (reversed)	1.26	22
Aesv	1.21*	10
Saenv	1.25	16

*1.17 if chipped coin is included (total would be 11)

Most of the coin types in the Field Baulk hoard appear to have a mean weight of around 1.25gm. Some types are slightly lower in weight, for example the earlier types such as the early Pattern-Horse coins and the Boar-Horse coins. The Anted coins are also slightly lower in weight than some of the other Pattern-Horse types, and it is noteworthy that these are often worn through circulation. The differences in mean weights do not appear to be significant at this stage, and were probably caused because of differential wear, with the earlier coins being the most worn.

The composition of the Field Baulk hoard and comparative data.

Table 12: Proportions of Icenian coin types from selected hoards and findspots.

	Boar-Horse %	Face-Horse %	Pattern-Horse %	Other Celtic %	No. of coins
			HOARDS		
ALLEN'S "AVERAGE" ICENIAN HOARD (1970, pp 8)	7	30	60	3	-
FRING I HOARD NORFOLK (Batch 1)	3	20	77	-	153
FIELD BAULK HOARD CAMBS	4	20	76	-	872
HONINGHAM HOARD NORFOLK	6	25	69	-	340
SCOLE HOARD NORFOLK (excluding denarii)	7	21	72	-	202
			SITE FINDS		
SAHAM TONEY NORFOLK (settlement site) (IA coins only)	24	13	40	23	82
STONEA GRANGE CAMBS (IA coins only, but not those from the excavations)	22	12	48	18	59

Table 12 above sets out the result of selected hoards and two settlements sites from the study area. The most striking aspect is the similarity between the hoard profiles (the "average" hoard profile does not include the Fring I or

Field Baulk hoards) and more especially between the Fring I hoard (batch 1) and the Field Baulk hoard, which are virtually identical, despite the difference in their size.

However, there are some differences between the Field Baulk hoard and Allen's "average" Icenian coin hoard. The Field Baulk hoard contains a higher proportion of Pattern-Horse types, and lower Boar-Horse and Face-Horse types. This may reflect a chronological or spatial variation in the hoarding patterns throughout the Icenian territory.

Another striking aspect of Table 12 is that – despite their close proximity - the Field Baulk hoard and the coin assemblage from the Stonea Grange area vary considerably in composition. This almost certainly reflects the difference between the composition of hoards and those from settlement sites. Settlement site coins – unlike hoards – often comprise high percentages of what appear to be contemporary forgeries and new types are relatively common. By contrast, most Icenian silver coin hoards seem to have been carefully selected for good quality coins (15% of all coins are apparent forgeries in the Stonea Grange assemblage as opposed to 0.8% from the Field Baulk hoard). Fractions are also more common from site finds and are rarely found in hoards.

There is a relatively high proportion of non-Icenian coins in the Stonea Grange assemblage (12%), and the date range also varies widely from early coins such as the Gallo-Belgic E stater, potin and the Norfolk Wolf stater, to presumed later coins such as Ecen and Ece B. This pattern is also found at other Icenian

coin-using sites where a wide date range of coins are usually found. Most Icenian hoards do not contain such a wide date range, and no hoard found to date (with the exception of apparently votive hoards from temple sites) contains a tripartite mixture of gold, silver and bronze types, which is the composition of both the Stonea Grange and the Saham Toney assemblages.

The date of the Field Baulk hoard.

The Field Baulk hoard seems to have been deposited in the mid-first century AD, and the dating of the beaker to c. AD 60-70 could fit in with a burial date of c.AD 60. The low proportion of presumed early Icenian issues, might also indicate a late deposition date. Some Icenian hoards, Field Baulk included, appear to have been carefully composed "savings hoards", not added to after a certain point in time and not recovered. This non-recovery could well be associated with the events around the time of the Boudican rebellion. The date of Icenian coin hoards is discussed later in this chapter.

Dies in the Field Baulk hoard

A die study of the hoard has made possible the identification of many coins which are difficult to classify, especially the Ecen, Ed and Triple Symbols coins, which often have their inscription off the flan. Many of the same dies are present in the Fring I hoard. Die numbers are shown in Table 13 below.

A detailed die catalogue for the Field Baulk hoard is given in Appendix M. Die chains are given in Appendix O, and a catalogue of all dies from the two case study hoards is given in Appendix Q.

This would appear to be the largest die study ever undertaken on a British IA coin hoard - I have not been able to find a die study on a larger number of British IA coins.

Table 13: Total number of dies by coin type in the Field Baulk hoard.

Details of the dies for coin sub-types are given in Appendix O, as are individual die reference numbers.

COIN TYPE	NO. OF COINS	NO. OF OBVERSE DIES	NO. OF REVERSE DIES
Normal Face-Horse A	42	17	17
Normal Face-Horse B/C	128	45	45
Normal F-H B/C plated	1	1	1
Normal F-H unclassified	1	1	1
Boar-Horse A	4	4	2
Boar-Horse B	4	4	4
Boar-Horse C	25	21	22
Can Dvro	1	1	1
Boar-Horse unclassified	1	1	1
Early Pattern-Horse B	1	1	1
Anted(i)	193	53	59
Ecen	155	60	28
Ecen (plated)	1	1	1
Ed(n) Ed(n) variant Ecen Ecen/Ed(n)	81	11	13
Ed(n) core	1	1	1
Ecen/Ed(n) plated	1	1	1
Triple Symbol	29	2	4
Ece A	73	12	9
Ece B	74	21	22
Ece B (reversed)	22	6	4
Ece B (reversed) core	1	1	1
Saenv	16	1 shared by both Saenv and Aesv	2
Aesv	11		1
Icenian P-H unclassified	6	5	4 (not including the 2 brockages)
GRAND TOTALS	**872**	**271**	**245**

Field Baulk hoard: die output.

There is as yet little literature on die output. However, I have followed the formula employed by Allen when estimating the coinage of Cunobelin (Allen 1975, 4-5). He indicated that ancient dies generally produced between 5,000-20,000 coins per die (this figure was reached through experiments), and that it is well-established that in the Middle Ages, one obverse and two reverse dies could produce about 10,000 coins (Allen, *ibid*). Allen was following the work of Sellwood who provided an estimate for die life by striking coins using techniques and materials duplicating ancient ones, and striking the dies until very worn (which is what we see with many Icenian coins). Sellwood found that reverse dies wore out quicker than obverse dies and that he could strike 10,000 coins per reverse die. It is the reverse coins which should be therefore used to estimate the output of a mint. (Sellwood 1963, 226). Allen took 10,000 as an average output of each die of Cunobelin. This formula was also employed by Van Arsdell when estimating the output of the Dobunni (Van Arsdell, 1994, 25). By contrast, de Jersey (1996, 18) used a far more conservative estimate of 1,000 coins per die, although he did not give reasons for choosing this figure, which all other commentators appear to consider low.

There were the following numbers of dies in the Field Baulk hoard:

271 - obverse dies

245 – reverse dies

If we use the same formula using the reverse dies, the numbers we get are very high – 2.45 million silver Icenian coins. Further discussion on the overall output of Icenian silver dies is given later in this chapter.

The Field Baulk hoard and distribution studies.

There is now strong numismatic and archaeological evidence that the March area of Cambridgeshire fell within the main territory of the Iceni. This evidence includes the eight hoards which contain Icenian coins reported from the area around March, including Field Baulk itself, and further hoard finds reported from the vicinity of Stonea, although some of these are only alleged finds and are not well recorded. Another "hoard" of Iceni and Roman coins from Langwood Fen at Chatteris (Burnett, 1986), some ten miles from March, was later interpreted as a major IA/Romano-British coin-using site (Chadburn 2003). The numismatic evidence alone suggests that the area was *not* outside the main territory of the Iceni at least during the coin using period, and that indeed, there is a concentration of activity here in the IA. The difficulties of establishing tribal boundaries from numismatic evidence have been discussed in detail by Sellwood (1984), but there does appear to be firm evidence that the Iceni were well-established in this area. It is noteworthy that 84.5% of the IA coin finds from Stonea Grange area were Icenian. This is at variance with the provisional distribution patterns noted by Allen (1970) following Clarke (1956), who believed that the River Ouse formed the western boundary of the Icenian territory. It may be that the River Nene is a more likely candidate.

The tripartite interpretation of the Icenian tribe, based on the three streams of coin types (Boar-Horse, Face-Horse and Pattern-Horse) each representing a *pagus* (Allen, 1970), also seems to be oversimplified. For example, there are numerous Pattern-Horse coins in both the Fring and Field Baulk hoards, but the Breckland area of Norfolk has been suggested as their main distribution (*ibid*). The material from Stonea Grange, with a high proportion of early Pattern-Horse coins also suggests Allen may have been wrong on this point, and that the distribution of Pattern-Horse coins is more extensive than was previously thought. This is especially true as, for the hoards at least, there seems to be little difference in the distribution patterns of the three major silver types (see Table 12 above).

Similarly, Table 12 shows that both the Boar-Horse and Face-Horse types are under-represented at Field Baulk in relation to Allen's average hoard type. It is perhaps too early to say whether Allen's distribution patterns deduced mainly from a small number of hoards still hold good, but evidence from the Field Baulk hoard, and numerous recent single coin finds would tend to suggest not, and emphasise the provisional nature of earlier coin distribution studies.

The Field Baulk hoard and its archaeological context.

The numbers of IA coins from the Stonea Grange area are relatively high, although paralleled by the 82 IA coins found at Saham Toney, Norfolk (Brown, 1986). However, it should be remembered that many hundreds more were alleged to have been found from this vicinity, and if true, this further

suggests that the settlement was of high status. A number of other unpublished coin-using sites from Norfolk have similar coin assemblages (but with fewer numbers) varying widely in date, and containing relatively high numbers of plated coins and other tribal issues. The hoard at Field Baulk should be seen against this backdrop of IA coinage from this area, along with other archaeological material of the same date.

Other large assemblages of IA coins are known from Romano-British temple sites such as Hayling Island, Harlow and Wanborough, and from high-status sites such as the *oppida* at Canterbury, Colchester and Silchester (Haselgrove, 1987). Nearer East Anglia, 28 IA coins were recovered from Puckeridge-Braughing, Hertfordshire, and 38 from the nearby Skeleton Green (Potter and Trow, 1988). This latter complex was a high status settlement in the LIA with strong trading links with the Continent, and evidence of minting. No Romano-British temple is known from the area at Stonea Grange, and the presence of other IA finds suggest a settlement of some importance in the area, in addition to the IA enclosure of Stonea Camp which may never have been used for long-term settlement.

There is now strong numismatic evidence that the area may have been in use well before AD 47/8, and that occupation on the Stonea island may date from at least the first century B.C. even if the earthworks of Stonea Camp themselves are later. The large amounts of other LIA archaeological material from this area, which includes the terret-ring; a bronze duck probably embellished with coral; a large number of brooches, at least 20 of which are

pre-Flavian; and other material such as pottery, seem to confirm the existence of a LIA high-status site on the Stonea island.

Both the Field Baulk hoard and the Stonea Grange IA coin assemblage suggest – along with other IA coin and artefacts – that this part of the Fens was a focus of activity in the LIA. The substantial number of coin hoards and individual coin finds, as well as the concentrations of other LIA archaeological material emphasises this, and indicates in particular the existence of high-status, coin-using settlement in the Stonea Grange area, perhaps reaching a peak of activity in the late first century B.C./ early first century A.D.

Haselgrove (1988) has indicated that it can be demonstrated in an IA context, that the pattern of coin supply to any location, and the intensity of occupation in each period, are critical variables in determining how well different coin types are represented in an assemblage. The relatively high numbers of earlier Icenian issues which may date to the later first century B.C., and the lower numbers of the later issues (e.g. Ecen), may indicate on numismatic grounds that the *floruit* of the Stonea Grange settlement dates to the later first century B.C.

Stonea Camp has been suggested as the location for the battle of AD 47/8 between the Romans and the Iceni. It is interesting to consider in this regard the concentration of hoards in the vicinity. However, none of them are well dated by Roman coins, and it is not possible to take this observation further at this stage.

NUMISMATIC DISCUSSION OF ALL HOARDS CONTAINING ICENIAN COINS, INCLUDING DATES OF DEPOSITION

Theoretical explanations for hoarding.

The phenomenon of hoarding is rich and varied over time and space, and apparently endemic amongst humans with any form of material culture. A number of models can be used to explain why hoards were formed and deposited, and these are later discussed in relation to this study area and the Iceni.

a) Historical models

Historical interpretations are often employed to explain the existence of hoards of various periods, working on the assumption that periods of unrest correspond to an increase in the deposition of valuables.

For example, there certainly appear to be large numbers of coin hoards which date to the English Civil War period (Casey, 1986, 60) and peaks of Roman Republican coin hoarding appear to directly equate with known periods of unrest such as the Punic and Civil Wars (Casey, 1986, 64). The historical model is one which has been applied to the Icenian coin hoards (Allen 1970) and which clearly needs testing.

b) Economic models

Another model postulates that hoarding is a reflection of the wealth of a society, and that the more wealth there is, the more hoards there were, and the more there is to be discovered later. Such models have been used to explain the silver hoards of Bornholm, Denmark, during the Viking period (Randsborg 1980, 153; Samson 1991, 128).

Another economic model relates to when coins lose their value, and hoards may not be recovered as they are no longer valuable. Examples might include the coin hoards of the last years of the Roman Gallic Empire, when the coins only contained 3% silver, and were virtually worthless (Casey 1986).

c) Ritual and votive models

Ritual and votive reasons are sometimes used to explain hoards, especially in prehistoric societies. One suggestion is that wealth objects were created for an elite. These were then withdrawn from circulation by the elite, and through various rituals, these objects once withdrawn or destroyed, confered additional status upon the giver. These hoards were not designed to be recovered.

d) Socio-political models

Socio-political explanations are also used. For example, some scholars would explain the ending of hoarding in Viking Age Denmark, in terms of a changed

society, when the main source of political power changed, and hoards were no longer necessary (Samson 1991).

e) Functional models

Lastly, functional explanations can be used. "Industrial", "Founders hoards" and "Merchant's hoards" would come under this broad category. For example. a hoard from Addington Park, Greater London comprising Late Bronze Age "scrap" artefacts, has been interpreted as a founder's hoard connected with the accumulation and recycling of scrap metal (Bradley 1990, 12-13).

f) The composition of hoards

Coin hoards can also be categorised in terms of their composition. These to a certain extent parallel some of the explanatory models above – for example, historical explanations account for many emergency hoards.

EMERGENCY HOARDS - these were deposited on impulse due to an extreme external threat , e.g. Samuel Pepys Hoard, WWII jewellery hoards hidden by Jews.

SAVINGS HOARDS - deposited over a period of time and carefully selected.

ACCIDENTAL LOSS HOARDS - e.g. Roman purse hoard at Piercebridge lost during the making of a Roman road.

After Casey 1986 with additions.

Discussion of Icenian coin hoards.

The number of these coin hoards, especially the silver hoards, and the quantity of coins from them is unparalleled from other parts of LIA Britain. Hutcheson gives the latest figures for the rest of Britain and it can be seen by comparing my totals with hers, that there is a very large concentration of hoards in the study area (Hutcheson 2004, 14). However, it should also be noted that the hoard figures which she uses from the Celtic Coin Index need updating, as she cites 23 coin hoards from the Iceni tribe compared with my total of 54 from the study area, most of which fall into the area I regard as Icenian. This may apply to other regions too so the difference may not be as marked. Nevertheless, it is clear that there are very large numbers of hoards from the study area compared with the rest of the country (see also Hobbs 1996, Figure 1). Coin hoards in the study area vary in content and apparently date to a variety of periods, as can be seen in Figure 4 below. Their dates are discussed further below.

Most of the coin hoards within the study area are Icenian, although as one might expect, the neighbouring tribes/kingdoms are also represented and Corieltauvian and Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian coins are also present. There are the same numbers of Late Icenian hoards and Late Icenian/Roman mixed hoards, showing how widespread the use of *denarii* was during the Client Kingdom period (c. AD 43-61). The results are summarised in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Numbers of coin hoards by hoard type.

COIN HOARD TYPE	NUMBER OF HOARDS
Late Trin/Cat.	2
Early Icenian/Corielt.	2
Early Trin/Cat.	2
Gallo-Belgic E	3
Gallo-Belgic A, C, D and Potin	4
Temple hoards	5
Early Icenian gold/silver	8
Late Icenian (mostly) silver	14
Late Icenian/Roman silver	14
TOTAL:	54

The decision on classifying a "temple hoard" is sometimes difficult. Some sites have been identified on the basis of air photographs and some have not been excavated. Should the Fison Way site at Thetford be classified as a temple site? Should the Snettisham I site be regarded as religious? I have had to make a judgement on these matters, but my decisions are explicitly shown so others can draw their own conclusions if they wish. I believe that temple sites may have originally held both large and small hoards – often there appears to be more than a single deposit – and these may have been deposited both for safekeeping (and for retrieval) and for gifts (for non-retrieval). Cheesman (1994) usefully discusses the temples-as-banks in relation to the British evidence. The term "temple hoard" is therefore used as a shorthand for what may be a complex series of structured depositions over a long period of time.

5 of the 54 coin hoards in the study area are from temple hoards, as Table 15 shows:

Table 15: Temple hoards in the study area.

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
20.	Brett/B, Nfk.	1972	Iceni and IA	15	3	-	18	-	T
25.	Fison W, Thet, N.	1980	Iceni silver	3	1	-	4	-	T
26.	Wickl/C, Nfk	1981	Iceni silver	32	-	-	32	-	T
31.	Caistor St. E, N.	1985	Iceni	8	-	Yes	8	-	T
34.	Gt.Wals, Nfk.	1988	N. Wolf/ Iceni/ Ro	9	4	Yes	13+	-	T

Dies and the output of Icenian coins using die estimates: evidence from the case studies.

The number of dies from both hoards is given in Appendix Q and summarised below:

Reverse	**Obverse**	
168 – PHR	192 – PHO	
35 – BHR	35 – BHO	
82 – FHR	82 – FHO	
---	---	
285	309	TOTALS

Interestingly, there appears to be a near 1:1 relationship between the number of reverse and obverse dies. This contrasts with other IA coin series where there appear to be significantly more reverse dies (e.g. the Corieltauvian series, J.May pers. comm.)

If we do an estimate based on the number of reverse dies using the formula employed by Allen in 1975, then we end up with an output of around 2.85

million Icenian silver coins – and this is just on the number of *known* dies from Fring I and Field Baulk hoards which must represent only a portion of the original number of dies which once existed. Given the fact that the Field Baulk hoard is so large, one might have expected the Fring I hoard to duplicate most of the dies within Field Baulk – however, significant numbers of new dies were present in the Fring I hoard. This probably means that there are large numbers of dies which are not represented by the figures above, and that the estimates should be much higher – probably at least *5 million silver coins* of the types found in the hoards. This is likely to be a very conservative estimate for Icenian silver coinage as a whole as some silver Icenian coin types are not represented in the two hoards, and this is not even doubling the numbers estimated from the two hoards. I have not yet attempted to estimate the number of "missing" dies using the methods of Esty (1986) and Lyon (1989), although this would be instructive.

If each silver coin weighs around 1.25gm, and around half of that is silver, then we can calculate that *over 3,000 kilograms of silver* would have been required to make these 5 million coins. Again, this is a conservative estimate as it does not account for all silver Icenian coin types or dies. This is comparable to the estimates made by Allen (1975, 5) for the gold coinage of Cunobelin where he estimated that 1 million coins of Cunobelin were issued over 30 years, or 30,000 staters per year. Over 5,000 kilograms of gold would have been needed to produce those coins.

If we take the figure of 5 million silver coins as being a conservative estimate, and these were coined between c. 20 BC and AD 45 (i.e. during the c.65 years represented by my phases 7, 8 and 9) then this would represent an average output of around 77,000 coins per year. Although this is over double the estimates made by Allen for Cunobelin's gold, we are still in the same order of manufacture and this figure does not seem unreasonable. Given the fact that it is a conservative estimate, it would not be an unreasonable to say that an average of 100,000 silver coins per year may have been manufactured during Phases 7-9 inclusive by the Iceni. This estimate has considerable implications as it would necessitate large amounts of metal, fuel, skilled workers, transport networks and so on, not to mention the social and political organisation required for such an undertaking.

The phases of coin hoarding in the study area.

There are 54 coin hoards in the study area and there appear to be five broad phases of coin hoarding (these phases are not the same as the phases used to date the coins, although they can sometimes relate directly) as shown below in Table 16 and Fig. 4. The fact that there are five broad phases of coin hoarding completely disproves Van Arsdell's assertion that the "Iceni had no tradition of burying coins before 43 AD" (Van Arsdell 1992c). On the contrary, the Iceni appear to have hoarded coins from the date of the introduction of coinage to their territory onwards.

Table 16: Coin hoard phases in the study area (the 5 temple hoards are not included in this table)

HOARD PHASE	NUMBER OF HOARDS	LATEST COINS IN HOARD (not necessarily found together)	COIN PHASE(S)
A	4	Potin, Gallo-Belgic A and C and Dc.	4 c.80-60 BC
B	3	Norfolk Wolf A, Gallo-Belgic E	5 c. 60-50 BC
C	2	Norfolk Wolf B, Snettisham types.	6 c. 50-20 BC
D	10	Freckenham types, Early Face-Horse types, Boar-Horse types.	7 c. 20 BC - AD 10
E	30	- Late Icenian inscribed silver. - Cunobelin. - Some late Corieltauvian and other Trin/Cat. - Mixed Roman and Iron Age.	8 c. AD 10-40
			9 c. AD 30-45
			Later Client Kingdom (c. AD 43-61)

Hoard phase A. The first phase of coin hoarding c. 80-60 BC is seen so far in four hoards – two of potin, one possible hoard of two Gallo-Belgic C coins, and at the Snettisham I deposits where these early coins were found along with torcs, as shown below in Table 17. This phase may start earlier if one considers a new chronology for potin and Gallo-Belgic A coins (Haselgrove has redated their manufacture to the early second century BC) and for Gallo-Belgic C and D types (Haselgrove has redated their manufacture to the late second century BC) (Haselgrove 1999). Further work needs to be done on the relationship between Belgic coinage and Britain before one can refine the dates further, especially on the dates of the introduction of coins. Whatever their exact date, these coins certainly are amongst the first to be hoarded in the study area.

Table 17: Phase A coin hoards in the study area.

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
9.	Bardw, Sfk	<1890	Potin	-	2+	-	2+	-	A
13.	Haddis. Nfk.	1930s?	Potin	-	2+	-	2+	-	A
15.	Snett. I, Nfk.	1948	G-B/Potin	26	208	-	234	-	A
35.	Ingold, Nfk.	1988	G-B C	2	-	-	2	-	A

Hoard phase B. The next phase of coin hoarding appears to be around c.60-50 BC, when Gallo-Belgic E coins were probably hoarded (these coin hoards are not studied in detail here as they are not Icenian). Most IA coin scholars associate the manufacture of these coins to the Gallic War c. 60-50 BC (Scheers 1977; Hobbs 1996, 16) so their hoarding could not pre-date this period (my coin phase 5) but could fall a little after it. However, as Gallo-

Belgic E coins are never found hoarded with Norfolk Wolf B coins, the hoards are probably of different dates and Gallo-Belgic E hoards probably relate to my coin phase 5. Three coin hoards are known along with another two smaller hoards found recently from Sedgeford (39 coins) and Wormegay (4 coins), Norfolk, not studied or included here. The three are shown below in Table 18:

Table 18: Phase B coin hoards in the study area.

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
14.	Weyb. Nfk.	1940	G-B E	-	228 +	-	228+	-	B
38.	Fring II, Nfk.	1991	G-B E	-	173	-	173	-	B
39.	Buxton Nfk	1991	G-B E	-	17	-	17	-	B

Hoard phase C. The next chronological phase of coin hoarding, appears to be shown by those hoards containing the uninscribed Norfolk Wolf B gold staters and/or Snettisham types – so far there is only one hoard of this type. I date these hoards to c.50-20 BC (my coin phase 6). A Trin/Cat hoard from near Thetford also appears to date from this period.

Table 19: Phase C coin hoards in the study area.

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
8.	Nr. Thetf, N.	<1890	Trin/Cat gold	-	5	-	5	-	C
42.	Heach, Nfk.	1991	N. Wolf and Sn	28	-	-	28	-	C

Hoard phase D. The next group of hoards chronologically, comprise a varied typological group. Some hoards contain the Freckenham gold uninscribed staters c. 20 BC – AD 10 (my phase 7). However, also in this phase are those hoards containing Norfolk Wolf B coins, gold Snettisham types and some of the earliest Icenian silver coins, the early Face-Horse types. I date the manufacture of Norfolk Wolf B and Snettisham types to 50-20 BC. However, I date the early Face-Horse types to 20 BC - AD 10, and so date these hoards by the latest coins within them (my phase 7). There are 10 of these hoards in the study area.

Table 20: Phase D coin hoards in the study area.

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
6.	Freck, Sfk.	1885	Uninscribed Iceni gold	c.90	-	-	c.90	-	D
32.	Snett. II, Nfk.	1987	Iceni gold/ early silver	94	-	-	94	-	D
33.	Snett. III, Nfk.	1987	Early Iceni/IA	45	37	-	82	-	D
40.	Ders. By, Nfk	1991	Nfk W and Early F-H	13	-	-	13	-	D
44.	Thetford Nfk.	c.1992	Iceni/Coriel	2	2	-	4+	-	D
45.	Hunst. II, Nfk.	c.1993	Nfk W. and Early F-H	136	20	-	156	-	D
47.	nr.Swaff Nfk.	1993	Trin/Cat gold	-	c. 300	-	c.300	-	D
48.	nr. S'ham,C	c.1994	Gold	238?	-	-	238	-	D
49.	W.Runt, Nfk.	1994	Fr.Gold	2	-	-	2	-	D
50.	Unprov. I	<1995	Fr.Gold	c.40	-	-	c.40	-	D

Hoard phase E. The final phase of hoarding is the largest group – it is mostly made up of the silver hoards, exemplified by the Field Baulk hoard. It also covers the longest chronological period - my coin phases 8 (AD 10-40) and 9 (AD 30-45) and then into the early Roman period (AD 45-60) i.e. from AD 10

- 61 (this latter date is provided by the latest Roman *denarii* associated with the Icenian silver). This is a long period and it is possible that coin hoards were deposited all through this period – for example the Cunobelin hoards may be earlier during this period. The difficulty of dating the coins to a short time period means it is not advisable to try and split this phase further.

However, the Icenian silver coin hoards contain relatively similar proportions of Icenian coins, and have a relatively uniform profile, which is why they have often been interpreted as having broadly the same depositional date (Allen 1970), which many have related to the Boudican War.

Additionally, there appear to be a number of early Roman coin hoards from the study area which do not contain Icenian coins which also appear to date to this period (e.g. the alleged hoard of *asses* from Stonea Camp and a Roman hoard from Chippenham to AD 41 to name but a few). These are not discussed further here but it is acknowledged that they may form part of this pattern of LIA hoarding. There are also early Roman metalwork hoards which may also date to this period.

The relationship of Icenian silver units to *denarii* is a very interesting one. Firstly, we note that *denarii* of all periods are found mixed with Icenian silver, down to AD 61. However, the composition of Roman coins in the mixed Icenian/Roman is *not* uniform. For example, some hoards contain only Roman Republican coins whereas others contained later coins down to Nero. Finally, it is worth noting that Roman coin hoards after the Boudican War rarely

contained Icenian silver units. This appears to show that Icenian units and Roman *denarii* circulated freely until the mid first century AD (the evidence from hoard coins seems to show this down to c. AD 61) but after that period, Icenian coins appear rarely in the archaeological record. It is therefore likely that Icenian silver units were formally withdrawn or recalled after AD 61, and probably melted down or recoined.

The use of *denarii* is in stark contrast to the use of other IA tribal coinages, which are rarely found hoarded, and still more rarely found mixed with Icenian coins. The *denarii* which are found hoarded with Icenian coins date to all periods up to AD 61 and include Republican coins, implying the Iceni had easy access to such coins for some time. There was a clear preference to hoarding Roman coinage over other IA coinages.

There are clearly more hoards of this date than those of other phases. It is worth reminding ourselves that one reason for this might be that more coins were minted during Phase E, therefore there were bound to be more hoards of this period. Unfortunately, we do not yet understand enough about the numbers of coins minted during each phase to be able to discuss this in more detail as a factor, although it is noted that this could have had an effect.

There are 30 coin hoards of this date in the study area as shown in Table 21 below. Reece (1988) has set out the criteria which re needed to establish a true peak of coin hoarding:

"If you want to point to a burst of non-recovery of coin hoards in X at a time Y then the minimum you have to do is show that the pattern of hoarding changed both before and after, and that the pattern of hoarding is peculiar to that area and does not occur either side. So you must do a good geographical study to show what area is afflicted by non-recovery, where the limits are, and what the wider pattern of non-recovery is at that time. Ideally this will result in a map of coin hoards of date Y, with a detectable clustering in place X. Then you must study the coin hoards of place X for the time Y-50 to Y+50, perhaps in twenty year periods, and show that Y-10 to Y+10 is a peak among a fairly uniform distribution" (Reece 1988, 64).

Unfortunately, this study is limited in chronological scope and I have not been able to include early Roman coin hoards in the study area up to c. AD 150. Therefore I have not been able to establish that the very large numbers of mid-first century AD coin hoards really represent a true peak of hoarding. However, a brief literature search suggests that there are fewer early Roman coin hoards (e.g. from AD 50-100) in this area and that there is a real peak of hoarding.

Table 21: Phase E coin hoards in the study area.

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
1.	Thorpe, Nfk.	<1658	Iceni silver	4+	-	-	4+	-	E
2.	March, Cambs.	c.1838	Iceni silver	c.44	-	-	c.44	-	E
3.	Easton, Nfk..	c. 1849	Iceni silver	2+	-	-	2+	-	E
4.	W.Long, Nfk.	1852	Ro/Iceni	46+	-	3+	c.300	31 BC	E
5.	Santon D, Sfk	1869	Ro/Iceni	107	-	2	109	AD 41	E
7.	Stonea I, Cambs	c.1887	Iceni silver	c.38	-	-	c.38	-	E
10.	B.Thor, Nfk.	c.1900	Iceni silver	2+	-	-	2+	-	E
11.	Stonea II, C.	<1904	Iceni silver	300+	-	-	300-350	-	E
12.	Brett, Nfk.	c. 1905	Iceni silver	5+	-	-	5+	-	E
16.	Honing, Nfk.	1954	Iceni silver	342	-	-	342	-	E
17.	Joist Fen, C.	1958	Ro/Iceni	33+	-	35+	188	?	E
18.	Laken, Sfk.	1959	Ro/Iceni	412	2	67	481	AD 34	E
19.	Erisw, Sfk.	1972	Ro/Iceni	255	-	72	327	AD 55	E
21.	nr. Little Cambs	1977	Iceni/IA/Ro	33	34	17	84	AD 35	E
22.	Stonea III, C	1977-8	Iceni/IA	37+	13+	-	50+	-	E
23.	Stonea IV, C	1977-8	Ro/Iceni	?	-	?	50+	?	E
24.	West Fen, C.	1980s	Iceni silver	10+	-	-	10+	-	E
27.	Chippen Cambs	1981	Trin/Cat gold	-	6	-	6+	-	E
28.	F.Baulk, Cambs	1982	Iceni silver	872	-	-	872	-	E
29.	Scole, N.	1982-3	Ro/Iceni	202	-	87	289	AD 60/1	E
30.	N. Subc, Nfk	1982-91	Ro/Iceni	2	1	113	116	AD 41-2	E
36.	Fring I, Nfk.	1990	Iceni silver	193	-	-	193	-	E
37.	NW Bab Sfk.	1990	Cuno gold	-	31	-	31	-	E
41.	Hunst. I, Nfk.	1991	Ro/Ic silver, gold, IA	6,000 +	13+	3+	6,690	Rep.	E
43.	N. Crk, Nfk	1992	Ro/Iceni	30	-	2	32	Rep	E
46.	Fincham Nfk.	1993	Iceni silver etc	240	4	-	244 coins	-	E
51.	L.Saxh, Sfk.	1995	Ic.silver and gold	8	-	-	8	-	E

Table 21: Phase E coin hoards in the study area (continued).

No.	Name	Date of Disc.	Descript.	No. of Iceni	No. of IA	No. of Rom	Total	Last Rom date	Hoard phase
52.	S.Morl, Nfk.	1995	Ro/Iceni	4	-	4	8	AD 36-7	E
53.	NW Norfolk	1995	Ro/Iceni	15	-	1	16	?	E
54.	Forn.St.P Nfk.	1996	Ro/Iceni	338	-	45	383	AD 36-7	E

Discussion on Hoard phase E.

The large number of hoards containing Icenian silver has attracted the notice of archaeologists and numismatists for many years. There are two main questions which archaeologists and numismatists want answered about this phase:

a) Were these silver Icenian coin hoards (or most of them) deposited and not recovered *continuously* throughout the whole period or were they deposited and not recovered at around the *same time*?

b) If the latter, does this *hoarding episode* relate to the Boudican War or any other known period of unrest?

I shall try to answer these in the discussion below, but before doing so, it is important to try and understand what we are looking at. Table 22 below sets out some of the theoretical explanations for the compositions of hoards.

Table 22: Theoretical explanations for the compositions of hoards.

OBSERVATION	INTERPRETATION
Hoards with a variable composition	Coins are circulating slowly AND/OR New issues are continually being produced
Hoards with a uniform composition	Coins are circulating very quickly AND/OR No new issues are coming out

(After Creighton 1992)

Firstly, it has been noted by many – and I agree - that there is an apparently very uniform composition to the Icenian coin hoards (excluding the Roman coins). Creighton (1992) described there being a "truly remarkable uniformity" to them after undertaking a statistical analysis of selected hoards, and Van Arsdell (1992c) noted the same. Creighton suggested that rather than their having an extremely fast circulation rate, it was more likely that they had circulated for some time before deposition, and that the chronologies suggested by Van Arsdell were wrong in some respects (particularly with respect to his coins of "Boudica"). This seems logical and would fit in with my model of minting ceasing at the Conquest, and the coins having circulated for some time before deposition (although this rather supposes that all Phase E hoards were deposited post AD 43).

Taking a different tack two years later, Creighton (1994) argued that – despite their "remarkable uniformity" – the hoards represent a sequence of deposits throughout the period of the Icenian client kingdom AD 43-61. Although his two arguments are not mutually exclusive, they sit uneasily together.

I also undertook a statistical analysis of some of the hoard data (including the Field Baulk data) with the aid of Dr Day of the University of East London, and came to similar conclusions to Creighton's first study (1992) i.e. that the hoards are remarkably uniform. Although it was possible to place the hoards in a sequence of deposition, our conclusions from the analysis of the Icenian coins, were that this deposition was at a similar time.

This seems unusual. Although on the one hand it might be attractive to be able to conclude that the hoards are "Boudican" after all, it would appear strange if all hoarding ceased throughout this 50 year period except for one episode at the very end, especially given the fact that hoarding apparently took place throughout all the previous periods since coins were introduced. Common sense tells us that hoarding would continue throughout this period, and at least some of those hoards would not be recovered by unlucky owners throughout the fifty years.

However, there seems little evidence of this – for example one might expect silver hoards with high numbers of earlier types such as Boar-Horses and early Face-Horses, and far fewer of such types as the Pattern-Horse coins. So far,

such hoards have not been recovered, with the possible exception of the Cunobelin hoards.

The apparent uniformity of the Icenian silver hoards suggests they were formed at around the same date – and certainly within a much shorter period than fifty years. Other dating evidence from associated artefacts (e.g. the date of the pottery containers, textile covers, Roman coins and so on) certainly does not contradict this. For example, two hoards (Honingham and Lakenheath) were found in C1 AD Butt Beakers; one (Fring I) was found inside a mid-C1 AD beaker, and the Field Baulk hoard was found in a globular beaker apparently dating to c.60-70 AD. Importantly, especially from a dating point of view, nine of silver hoards were mixed with Roman coins, which vary in date from Republican down to 60/1 AD, but no later. The evidence from the associated Roman coins could be interpreted to mean that the hoards were deposited at different times, although their uniformity suggests they have similar dates but were not deposited after c.AD 61.

In terms of the composition of the Icenian silver hoards or the Icenian element of silver hoards, *all* of them are *mostly* made up of coins which were apparently manufactured during my phase 8 AD 10-40 (i.e. the silver Pattern-Horse coins). Table 12 above shows the relative proportions of the silver coins in main typological groups – and the Pattern-Horse coins of Anted(i), Ecen (and Ecen derivatives) and Ece usually make up around 70% of the Icenian coins. My phase 9 coins are very rare and many of the silver hoards do not contain any Phase 9 coins or Roman coins, making it a possibility that some

hoards were deposited in my Phase 8. The presence of one or two early Face-Horse coins (20 BC – AD 10, phase 7) could fit in with this. If Prasto coins were being minted in large quantities after the Conquest, we would also expect to find these in the hoards, which we do not.

Creighton's arguments (1994) about differential dates of deposition are not entirely convincing for other reasons. He uses hoards for his seriation analysis which are simply not capable of this sort of statistical analysis – for example he includes the Weston Longville hoard where we have data for only 49 out of the 300 coins, and also uses a number of other poorly recorded hoards. He also follows Haselgrove's dating of the series which is radically different to mine – especially for the Ecen, Ed(n), Triple Symbol and Ece types which Haselgrove dates to a later phase than I do. Similarly I date the Normal Face-Horse B/C type to an earlier phase than Haselgrove. Using Creighton's 1994 arguments, if one assumes that there no new issues after AD 43, one would still expect the some Icenian issues to be under-represented in some hoards which were deposited around this date, and for there to be different proportions if some hoards were deposited around AD 60 - yet this does not seem to be the case.

In terms of hoarding during this phase, there appear to be a number of early Roman coin and metalwork hoards containing no Icenian coins which may also date to this broad phase – again like the Gallo-Belgic E coins, they are not studied here although it is recognised the reasons for their deposition may be similar to the late Icenian silver coin hoards. Some appear to be mid C1 AD in date (Davies and Gregory, 1991; Orna-Ornstein 1997; Hutcheson 2004).

We know from Tacitus, *Annals*, that in 47/8 AD the Iceni revolted against Rome, and it is possible that there were a number of other unrecorded occasions in the first century AD (both before and after the Conquest) when the Iceni may have hoarded their wealth due to political unrest or for other reasons. We must consider it a possibility that some Phase E hoards might date to this period, and we have already discussed the concentration of hoards around Stonea and March with this possibility in mind. However, the evidence cannot be taken any further than this. It should also be remembered that the Iceni were a client state, and it is surely possible that some Icenians may have hoarded at least part of their wealth to avoid paying tribute to Rome whilst "clients" i.e. from c. AD 43 - c.AD 61?

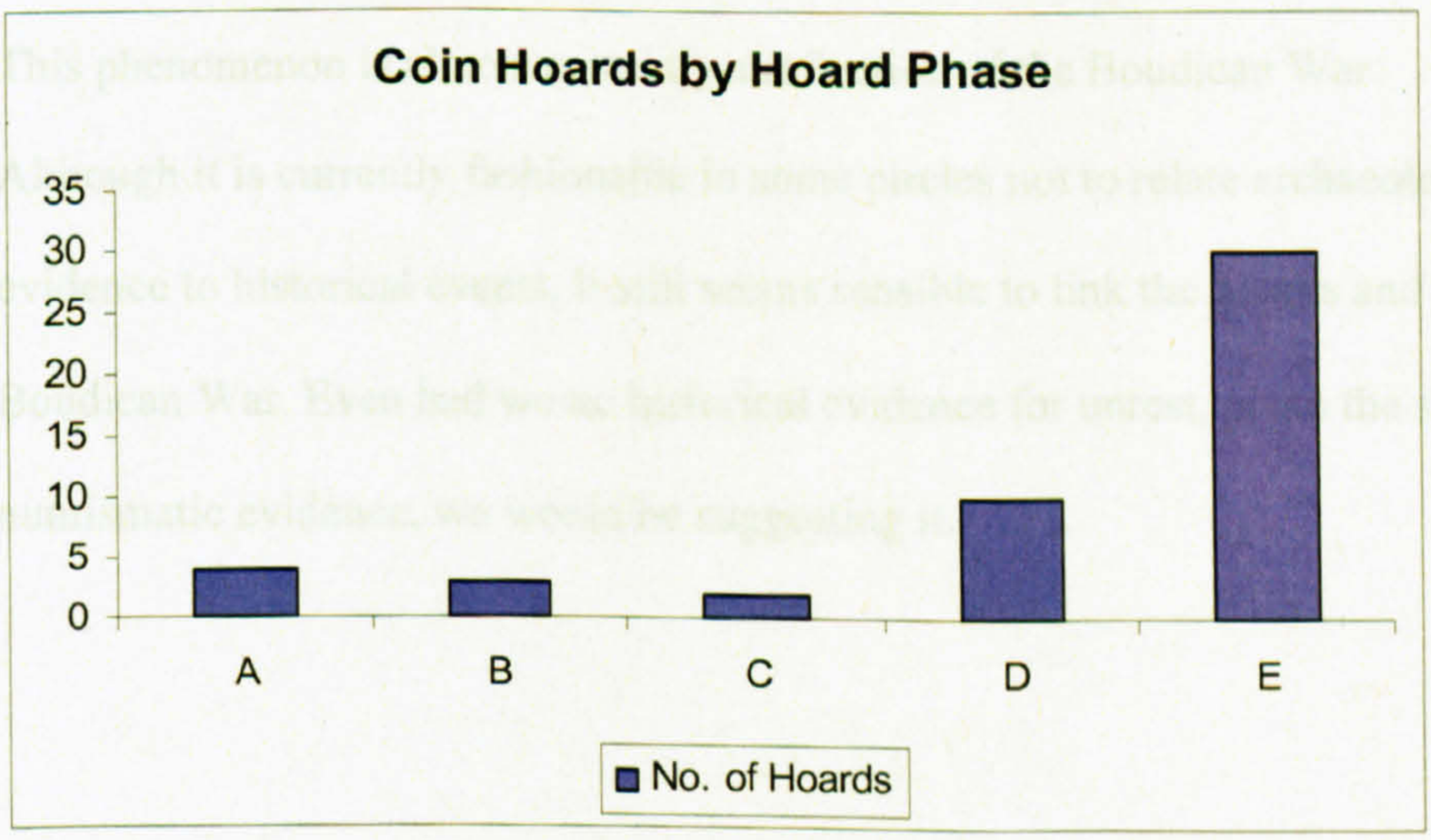
The Boudican War was obviously a period of great instability when it is likely that at least some - perhaps most - of the Icenian silver hoards were deposited and/or not recovered. However, the Conquest period in general was obviously one of social and political instability in Britain, and it is therefore unlikely that every silver Iceni hoard was deposited towards the end of hoard phase E.

The weight of the evidence at present is that most late Icenian silver hoards were deposited around the mid first-century AD or slightly later, and this may relate to the inability of many owners to collect their wealth following the Boudican War.

The fact that few Icenian silver coins (so common before the mid-first century AD) are found in deposits *after* the mid first century AD suggests a deliberate phasing out of these coins. Again, a likely scenario is that this occurred after the Boudican War when the Client Kingdom ended and the Romans asserted strict controls over the area.

It is worth noting that in a recent study of early Roman coin hoards in Britain, Orna-Ornstein (1987, 25) concluded that "it cannot be coincidence that so many hoards are found in an area which must have been devastated by the revolt of AD 61 ……. It is noticeable that the concentration of hoards from this period in Britain is not reflected across the rest of the Empire …… this in itself is telling in terms of the reason for non-recovery".

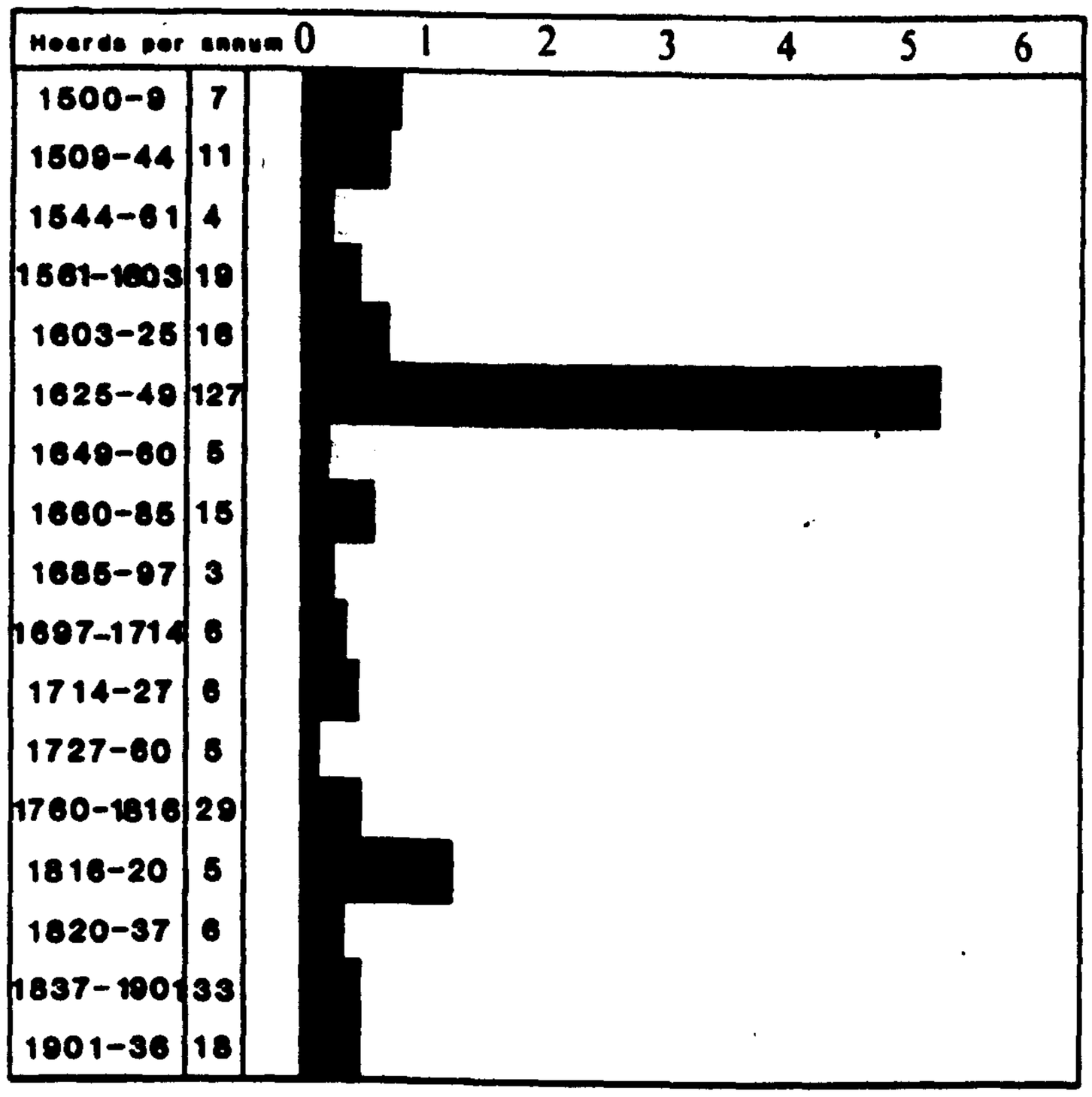
Fig 4 – Numbers of coin hoards in the study area by hoard (depositional) phase. (This graph shows 49 hoards and does not include the 5 temple hoards; hoard phase dates are as follows: A = c.80-60 BC; B = c.60-50 BC; C = c.50-20 BC; D = c.20 BC-AD 10; E = c.AD 10-60)



It would be very instructive to see how many late first century AD and later Roman coin hoards there are from the area too, to see if these Icenian and early Roman hoards really do represent a mid-first century "peak", in the manner of English Civil War hoards, as discussed by Casey (1986) and Bradley (1990). Figure 4 above suggests that this may be the case. By including both Roman and Icenian coin hoards from the area from the first century BC through to c. AD 150, one would get a good indication of this. A detailed study of this has been beyond the scope of this thesis, although it is clear from a brief literature review that there *are* many more mid-first century AD hoards compared to later Roman periods. Figure 5 below shows the number of coin hoards in Britain between AD 1500-1900, clearly indicating the Civil War "peak", and similar pattern is predicted for the period 100 BC-AD 150 for the study area.

In conclusion, when one adds the other metalwork hoards of this date into the equation (as well as the IA and early Roman coin hoards) the sheer number of hoards dating to around the mid-first century AD in this part of Britain is huge. This phenomenon is almost certainly a reflection of the Boudican War. Although it is currently fashionable in some circles not to relate archaeological evidence to historical events, it still seems sensible to link the hoards and the Boudican War. Even had we no historical evidence for unrest, given the strong numismatic evidence, we would be suggesting it.

Figure 5: Coin hoards in Britain from the medieval to modern periods (after Casey 1986).



The recovery and non-recovery of hoards

After a hoard's deposition, it is useful to consider the factors which may come into play in its recovery or non-recovery. We have already seen that some hoards appeared to have been votive and may have been intended as gifts for the gods or for non-recovery for other religious or votive reasons.

However, assuming that many hoards were intended as places of safe-keeping and for recovery at a later date, we can note the following. Some hoards were:

a) fully recovered and left little or no trace in the archaeological record.

b) partly recovered, some coins being lost, and remaining within the archaeological record.

c) not recovered, leaving a full archaeological record.

It is likely that all of these apply to at least some of the Icenian coin hoards, and it is instructive to consider some examples of the formation processes which may apply. Samuel Pepys' diary is perhaps the most famous written example of hoard recovery, but there are also more recent examples from the Second World War which are not well-known but which are equally instructive. For example, a record of a fully recovered hoard is given by Elli, a Hungarian Jewess who survived the Holocaust. At the outbreak of war, her

father hid the most valuable family jewels. She survived the war and tells the following tale:

> *[Somorja, Hungary, 1944]. "That night father took me down into the cellar. In the far corner of the dank, dark underground room the flashlight revealed a rough spot on the earthen floor.*
>
> *'Look, Elli. Here on this spot I buried our most precious pieces of jewellery, about 25 centimetres deep. Mummy and Bubi also know the spot. Each one of us should know where the jewels are buried. We don't know which of us will return. Will you remember?'"*
>
> *"Since the first publication of this book I have received many letters from readers who asked some questions..... Did we find the jewellery buried in the cellar?..... Yes, we found the small pouch that contained the pieces of jewellery in the dark, dank earth of our cellar. I am keeping them for my children, and their children. They are family heirlooms". L.E. Bitton-Jackson. 1984.*

It is worth remembering that similarly, there will almost certainly have been many Icenian coin hoards which were fully recovered, and which have left no trace today.

The partial recovery of a hoard is illustrated most graphically by the oft-quoted diary of Samuel Pepys (see for example Bradley 1990, 17-19). Pepys managed to recover most of his gold, but some pieces remained lost despite extensive

searching by his family. Perhaps some of the smaller Icenian hoards are remnants of ones which were much larger originally.

Finally, some hoards are never recovered, as Liliana, another Jewess who survived the Holocaust explains in her extraordinary account of hoard deposition and non-recovery. Liliana Zuker's family were wealthy Jews, living in the Polish city of Kalisz. When Hitler's demands for a Polish "land corridor" became known, the family made plans to flee their home.

> *"……everyone started immediately to pack everything……People walked around in a daze. Nobody knew what to do, what was the right thing to do, where to go and what to take along.*
>
> *The day before we were to leave Kalisz, my parents took me to a place where they buried a glass jar full of jewellery. They wanted everyone in the family to know exactly where it was……that was August 24, 1939."*

The Zuker family were interned in the Warsaw ghetto, but in 1943, Liliana was smuggled out and given "Aryan" papers. In August 1944, during the Warsaw uprising, times became even more desperate, and she and her friends hoarded not jewellery, but clothes:

"Our section of the town had not yet seen action, but we stayed ready... ...all our clothes we put into a big box with steel sides and buried it in the garden, hoping that when it was all over we would have something to wear."

Liliana fled the fighting and after the worst was over, returned in October 1944 to her Warsaw home.

"The Germans or looters had dug up our boxes, and pieces of clothing were strewn everywhere. They must have noticed the fresh dirt and thought something really valuable was buried there – the whole garden had been dug up."

Liliana survived the war and in March 1945, she returned to the family home in Kalisz.

"I did not forget about the family's jewels buried on the grounds of the factory before we left Kalisz in August of 1939... ...the two large buildings were the same, but everything around them had changed ... ...I was completely disoriented and had no idea where to look for the shed... ... the dream of finding the little jar full of jewellery was gone". (Liliana's Journal. Warsaw 1939-1945. Liliana Zuker-Bujanowska)

It is interesting to note from this account that the hoard owner (or one of them) survived but was unable to recover the hoard because the townscape had changed so much. There must have been similar events with some of the Icenian hoards – non-recovery does not automatically mean the death of the owner. Injury, changes to the landscape, and simple forgetfulness on the part of a hoard owner will also have played a part in the formation of the archaeological record.

The use of denarii and connections with Rome.

We have seen that there are large numbers of mixed hoards of Icenian and Roman coins. A number of observations follow:

a) The Iceni appear to have had access to vast quantities of *denarii* – perhaps as early as 20 BC if *denarii* are the source for much of the Icenian silver coinage (discussed below in Chapter 7), but certainly by Hoard Phase E (which starts around AD 10).

b) Nowhere else in Britain do we find such large quantities of *denarii* in LIA contexts.

We can conclude that this probably implies political and/or social connections. It is possible, for example, that the Iceni may have formally entered into a treaty with Rome far earlier than the Conquest of AD 43 (this would fit in with the suggestions of Braund (1996) and Creighton (2000) regarding the date of

the establishment of client kingdoms). Whether the Iceni were a formal client kingdom as early as 54 BC is debatable, but it must remain a possibility that they entered into a treaty with Caesar or a later Emperor before AD 43 as did other British kings (Braund 1996, 85), and the *denarii* may reflect these linkages with the Roman world. The numismatic evidence makes this more likely than not.

Coins not found or rarely found in hoards

Some coins are not well represented in coin hoards, notably fractions (especially silver fractions), plated coins and – with the exception of the Fincham "hoard" (46) – the Bury types [although there has been a recent small hoard found just outside the study area at Nettlestead, Suffolk, containing Bury coins and Bury coins were also found from the "temple hoard" at Great Walsingham (34)]. Norfolk Wolf A and Gallo-Belgic A and C coins are also rarely found hoarded.

Torc hoards and their relationship to coinage.

A concentration of hoards of precious metal IA torcs is found in East Anglia (Hutcheson 2004, 22). For example, 11 torc hoards have been found at Ken Hill, Snettisham, Norfolk, between 1948 and 1991. 8 of these 11 hoards contained deposits of complete torcs, whereas the other three contained what appeared to be scrap metal, ingots and coins (Sealey 1979; Stead 1991;

Chadburn 1990, 2). The contents of these hoards are dominated by three main types of artefact:

Torcs - there were 75 complete torcs and fragments of over 100 more in gold, silver and bronze (nearly 180 in total).

Ingot rings/bracelets - there were over 100 of these

Coins - there were over 230 of these

The combined weight is over 30kg, mostly gold and silver. Some of the artefacts were in a very fragmentary state and have been interpreted as scrap metal (Stead 1991; pers. comm. Stead 1994). In addition, hoard N only contained coins.

Table 23 below gives a summary of the contents of the hoards of Snettisham I (15).

Table 23: Summary of contents of Snettisham I group of hoards (not including surface finds from the area).

HOARD REF.	ARTEFACTS	COINS	DATE OF DISCOVERY.	NOTES.
A	4 Torcs	-	1948	Torcs
B	Torcs, Bracelets	G-B A, C, Dc and 2 blanks	1950	Much scrap
C	Torcs	145+ potin	1950	Much scrap
D	1 torc	-	1950	Torcs
E	2 torcs, 1 bracelet	1 G-B Dc	1950	Torcs
F	50 torcs, 70 ingot/br, 3 ingots	G-B A, C and A quarters	1989 (Hodder)	Scrap weighing 9.2kg
G	16 torcs, 4 bracelets	-	Nov 1990	Nest of torcs
H	11 torcs	-	Nov 1990	Nest of torcs
J	9 torcs	-	Nov 1990	Nest of torcs
K	8 torcs	-	Nov 1990	Nest of torcs
L	19 torcs, 2 bracelets	-	Nov 1990	Nest of torcs
N	-	G-B A, C etc.	1991	Dispersed coin hoard

It is interesting to note that only the "scrap" hoards contained coins, with the exception of Hoard N – a coin hoard proper, and E, in which the coin was found within a torc terminal. This may mean that the coins were being stored in the "scrap hoards" as bullion for re-coining or melting down. It appears that there was no place for coins in the carefully deposited and structured "torc nest" deposits, although we can only speculate as to the reason why.

However, it is not just at Snettisham that torcs have been recovered from this area. For example, a hoard of five torcs was found at Ipswich, Suffolk, and

three torcs have been recovered from another location in Norfolk (Bawsey). All these hoards are virtually without parallel in the British IA, and certainly in terms of the number of hoards and the number of artefacts, Snettisham is unique in Britain. Ian Stead, the excavator, has been quoted as saying that he believed that Snettisham had been some sort of tribal treasury or bank in IA times. The site has yielded the largest find of IA gold and silver ever discovered in Britain and is internationally significant (Keys, 1991; British Museum Press Office 1991). A fuller review of torc hoarding can be found in Hutcheson (2004), with the exception of the possible torc from Weybourne, Norfolk, (Allen 1971) which is omitted.

The manner that these artefacts was deposited is critical to our full understanding of them, and it appears that the Snettisham I hoards were all carefully selected and deposited. Not only are there different artefact types in different pits, but torc hoards G, H and L each contained two separate deposits separated by layers of earth and fill. The fact that many of the hoards have torcs of gold, silver and bronze is surely deliberate, and this theme of triplism may be echoed in the contents of the Hunstanton Area I hoard (41), another reason for believing that the latter came from the same site.

At Snettisham, as well as the hoards in the pits, there was a scatter of IA coins including Norfolk Wolf staters. The pits are also sited within a large enclosure ditch, within which Roman pottery has been found. In other words, the site appeared to have been in use for some time (Stead 1991; Stead 1998, 146).

Why did the Iceni hoard their coins and torcs?

Cheesman (1994, 33) discusses the common practice of hoarding valuables and coins at temple sites in antiquity and convincingly puts forward the temple-as-bank theory in relation to Wanborough, although this does imply a pre-existing IA temple or shrine at Wanborough which pre-dates the stone-built Roman one of c. AD 160/170 (O'Connell and Bird 1994, 165). Similar arguments may be put forward to explain deposits at "religious/ ceremonial" sites in East Anglia and Lincolnshire such as Wicklewood/Crownthorpe, Caistor, Partney, Walsingham, and possibly Snettisham and Fison Way, Thetford.

From the archaeological and numismatic evidence, it appears likely that the Icenian coin hoards represent *accumulated wealth*, carefully selected, stored for safekeeping, but *not recovered* - for whatever reason. In other words, and using Casey's terminology (1986), they were *savings hoards*. It is almost certain from archaeological evidence that only some Icenian people used coins and torcs (coins have been recovered from some settlements, but not all), and that Icenian coin hoards were carefully selected, over time, and stored. It is possible that they were kept above ground and within easy access as they were being added to, but were buried at a certain point in time after which no more savings were added to the hoard.

This *hoarding tradition* appears to be a *culturally distinct phenomenon*. For example, although hoards are known from elsewhere in IA Britain, coin hoards

are not recovered in such numbers from the territory of the neighbouring Trinovantes tribe - who also joined the Boudican War, and who appear from their surviving material culture to be - if anything - a richer tribe that the Iceni. The concentration of modern arable land in the area of the Iceni (and therefore higher rates of metal detecting) will affect the modern recovery rates of ancient hoards, but does not explain the very significant differences we see as there are also large parts of Essex which are arable. It may even be that this Icenian hoarding tradition starts earlier in prehistory and continues into the Roman and possibly even later periods. For example, the distribution of later Roman metalwork in the Empire is certainly intriguing, with a distinct concentration in East Anglia (pers. comm. Richard Hobbs), and there are also hints of a similar phenomenon in the Late Bronze Age in this area (pers. comm. Andrew Lawson). Hutcheson comes to a similar conclusion when looking at metalwork hoards in general from the county of Norfolk (Hutcheson 2004, 92) when she states that "burying metalwork and coins in the ground in this region is a continuous tradition", although she emphasises the probable votive nature of hoarding.

Another possibility is that we see large numbers of hoards because the Iceni had more coins than other tribes. This is very difficult to assess at present as there are very few estimates of the number of coins minted by different tribal groups. The Iceni certainly minted in huge quantities, but we do not know if they minted significantly more that everyone else – this is something to investigate for the future.

The numbers of coins in hoards suggest that much wealth was in the hands of an elite (Tacitus mentions the Icenian royal family and nobles, indicating social stratification), who stored the coins as wealth or even simply as bullion. Where coins appear as apparently casual losses in Icenian settlements, we invariably find lower value denominations, far more contemporary forgeries, and some imported bronze coins.

But the torc hoards seem to be different. Although the initial evidence seemed to point to the Snettisham hoards being bullion for recycling, more recent evidence suggests that it was a religious site, in use for a considerable period of time, and that the hoards were probably deposited by an elite (perhaps religious, perhaps social, perhaps both) and may not have been intended to be recovered. If they were scrap metal hoards intended for recovery, it is difficult to understand why the site was apparently in use for a lengthy period of time, and why the hoards were not recovered. Neither does their careful distribution and the sheer numbers of hoards suggest emergency hoarding. If Hunstanton Area I and II hoards were also from this area, then there appeared to be activity for a considerable length of time on this site, and hoarding over a long period. The surface coin finds also suggest this. Coin evidence from temple sites in the region indicates that metalwork was apparently deposited for votive reasons in East Anglia, and this may also be the reason at Snettisham. But exactly what status this conferred upon a priestly or social elite, we can only guess at.

Table 24: Descriptions of Icenian coin and torc hoards.

ICENIAN COIN HOARDS:

- DATE TO AT LEAST FIVE MAIN CHRONOLOGICAL PHASES
- ARE CAREFULLY SELECTED (NOT EMERGENCY) - This appears to be the case because they contain high value coins (no small change) and very few forgeries.
- OFTEN CONTAIN LARGE NUMBERS OF COINS, ESPECIALLY SILVER COINS
- ARE SOMETIMES ASSOCIATED WITH SETTLEMENT SITES, "HILLFORTS", AND WITH TEMPLE SITES.

ICENIAN TORC HOARDS:

- SOMETIMES ONLY CONTAIN COMPLETE TORCS
- SOMETIMES APPEAR TO COMPRISE SCRAP METAL
- SOMETIMES INCLUDE COINS BUT SOMETIMES DO NOT – USUALLY COINS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE "SCRAP" HOARDS
- ARE CAREFULLY STRUCTURED AND DEPOSITED - SOMETIMES WITH TWO DEPOSITS IN ONE PIT AND OFTEN CONTAINING A MIXTURE OF GOLD, SILVER AND BRONZE TORCS
- MAY CONTAIN LARGE NUMBERS OF ARTEFACTS, SOME COMPLETE, SOME BROKEN AND POSSIBLY SCRAP.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE COIN HOARDS.

The Iceni apparently hoarded their coins and torcs because of cultural tradition. This is not a purely Icenian phenomenon – coin hoards are known throughout the coin-using parts of IA Britain (and sometimes outside them), but hoards of metal and coin do seem to be especially prevalent in this region – we do not yet know why. This would also explain why IA coins of all periods appear to be hoarded, when the classical sources, at least, indicate that the Iceni were not under threat from Rome. In other words, the action of making a hoard need not have related to political unrest. Archaeological evidence hints that this

hoarding tradition may have started earlier than the IA and continued in the region into at least the Roman period - although why this should be so is as yet unclear.

But this is not the full picture. The *non-recovery* of hoards appears to be for a variety of reasons, including religious or votive, historical and economic. The Boudican War was a major event, mentioned by no less than four surviving classical sources, and corroborated by much archaeological evidence. It seems likely that the Icenian elite were unable to recover their wealth because many of them were wounded and killed by the Romans, and this is why there are so many late silver coin hoards.

A *multiple model* seems to explain the complex phenomenon of hoarding by the Iceni. Table 25 below summarises my conclusions on the phenomenon of hoarding by the Iceni.

Table 25: Conclusions on the hoarding phenomenon in the study area.

1. WHY DID THE ICENI HOARD THEIR COINS AND TORCS?

- Cultural tradition

2. WHY WEREN'T THEY RECOVERED?

- Multiple reasons:
    - Religious/ votive – may apply to torc deposits and coins in temple deposits. Hoards may not have been intended to be recovered.
    - Economic - could explain why IA coins of all periods are hoarded from c.50 BC to c.AD 60 and indicate that the large numbers of hoards reflect the general wealth of the region. Savings hoards may have been the norm with certain classes of Icenian society. A steady rate of non-recovery would be expected simply due to forgetting where the hoards were located, unexpected death of owner etc.
    - Historical – this is also likely to apply. The significant increase in the number of later coin hoards probably reflects the *non-recovery date rather than deposition* by owners because of Boudican War. Other historical periods of unrest may also be represented although there is a less distinct pattern than the mid-first century AD hoards.

CHAPTER 4

THE CLASSIFICATION OF ICENIAN COINS.

METHODOLOGY

The coins within the study area were considered along with previous classifications, especially Haselgrove (1987) and Allen (1970). I then studied their designs, and tried to classify them into types. This initial typology was then refined by die-linking results, metrology, metallurgical analyses and sometimes by archaeological context. I then produced a catalogue of all Icenian coin types. Each type or sub-type has been illustrated with a die reconstruction of the obverse and reverse at 2:1, and description of the obverse and reverse given, along with other useful information.

I have given each type a name and number. The series starts at 20 in order to have spare number for future discoveries, and then goes up by fives. The last number is 450. There are 87 types and sub-types. The numbering, however, does not denote any chronology but is purely a reference number. Any future discoveries can be numbered using the spare numbers.

Most Icenian coins have die designs which are considerably larger than the normal coin flan. This means that on any single coin, some of the design will usually be missing. I have attempted to reconstruct as much of the die design as possible, using as many coins as possible. However, with rare types it has

been more difficult to do this, which is why many of the drawings in the catalogue appear unfinished.

Additionally, many of the drawings in the catalogue are die design reconstructions as it was often difficult to reconstruct particular dies because many coins did not show the whole die, and because of the general rarity of some coin types. As the dies are almost invariably larger than the flans, and I have attempted to reconstruct as much of each die variety as possible; this was dependent on the number of off-centred specimens available. With the larger issues, such as the silver Anted issues, many dies are so similar that it was not necessary or feasible to reconstruct each one, but only the main die designs.

A particular type or sub-type may have quite a lot of die variety (this is particularly the case with early types) which is why I have chosen to call these reconstructions "die design reconstructions" rather than "type reconstructions". A number of slightly different die designs may be classified under the same type or sub-type.

Glossary and detailed explanation of terminology

Type

Coin types can be clearly defined typologically, and when recovered in large numbers, can be seen to have a number of very similar dies. Usually both obverse and reverse designs are different to others. The conservative Icenian series is rather an exception to this rule, in that large numbers of the Pattern-

Horse coins have very similar obverse designs, and the main difference is in the inscription e.g. Anted, Ecen etc. Along with other scholars, I have decided that this difference seems important enough to justify classifying these coins as separate types. Where letters are used to differentiate types, these are in the upper case (e.g. Norfolk Wolf B).

Sub-type

Coin sub-types have much in common with each other, but vary in one or more minor details, usually only on one side of the coin only. Examples within the Icenian series include Ece Aa (the horse has an oval shoulder motif) and Ece Ab (the horse has a trefoil shoulder motif. Sometimes it can be difficult to classify coins into types and sub-types. For example, the Triple Symbol coins could be classified as separate types rather than two sub-types. Die-linking has sometimes helped here - if for example there are no obverse die links with different reverse dies, then it was safer to classify them as sub-types rather than simply as die variety within a single coin type. This is the case with the Ece A coins, where one set of obverse dies is found with the oval motif reverse dies, and a different set of obverse dies found with the trefoil motif reverse dies. Even this "rule" can be difficult with the Icenian series as some rare types (e.g. Saenv and Aesv) share the same obverse die. Common sense has been applied, but there is inevitably room for further argument and reclassification. Where letters are used to classify sub-types, these are in the lower case.

Die variety

Die variety exists when there is a rich variety of symbols in the field of the die, but these are not used consistently enough to classify into proper types or sub-types. This phenomenon usually occurs in earlier coin types. Examples in the Icenian series include the variety within Bury B and within Freckenham 4 types. Sometimes there are not yet enough specimens known to be able to tell whether the "die variety" is really a series of coin sub-types. More discoveries will assist here, as will more die-linking studies.

Die reconstruction

A reconstruction of a single die, made by studying the design on a number of coins struck from the single die.

Die design reconstructions

A reconstruction of a die design found on a single coin type or sub-type, made by studying the same design found on a number of different dies. This is necessary where part of the design is off-flan, and the whole design can only be reconstructed using a number of different dies. The reconstructions cannot therefore be regarded as completely accurate scale drawings for this reason, although they are of course broadly to scale.

Dies and coin names

Die numbers are recorded for some rare types where it was possible to die link a number of coins. Further results of die linking including the results of the die

study of the Field Baulk and Fring I hoards are in Chapter 3 and associated appendices.

The coins have been named - where possible - according to the names which are in common use, such as Norfolk Wolf (even though I now identify this as a dog!) Many of the names follow Allen's as set out in his 1970 article, such as Boar-Horse A. However, where a particular group of coins has been reconsidered and reworked, such as the Freckenham types and the Early Face-Horse types, new numbering systems have been adopted.

I have generally followed Hobbs' terminology of symbols throughout this work (Hobbs 1996).

Where necessary, I have followed the spellings as given in the previous works to avoid confusion, even when I believe them to be incorrect (e.g. Pratsutagus instead of Prasutagus; Van Arsdell, 1989)

LIST OF ICENIAN COIN TYPES AND SUB-TYPES (BY CHADBURN NUMBER AND NAME).

UNINSCRIBED GOLD SERIES (18 types and sub-types)

20. Norfolk Wolf A

25. Norfolk Wolf A ¼ stater

30. Norfolk Wolf B

35. Snettisham A

40. Snettisham B

45. Snettisham C

50. Snettisham D

55. Snettisham E

60. Snettisham ¼ stater 1

65. Snettisham ¼ stater 2

70. Snettisham ¼ stater 3

75. Freckenham 1

80. Freckenham 2

85. Freckenham 3

90. Freckenham 4

95. Irstead ¼ stater 1

100. Irstead ¼ stater 2

105. Irstead ¼ stater 3

FACE-HORSE SERIES (19 types and sub-types)

110. Bury A

115. Bury B

120. Bury C

125. Bury D

130. Early Face-Horse 1

135. Early Face-Horse 2a

140. Early Face-Horse 2b

145. Early Face-Horse 3

150. Early Face-Horse 4a

155. Early Face-Horse 4b

160. Early Face-Horse 5a

165. Early Face-Horse 5b

170. Early Face-Horse 6a

175. Early Face-Horse 6b

180. Early Face-Horse 7

185. Normal Face-Horse A

190. Normal Face-Horse A variant

195. Normal Face-Horse B/C

200. Prasto

BOAR-HORSE SERIES (9 types and sub-types)

205. Early Boar-Horse

210. Early Boar-Horse fraction

215. Boar-Horse A

220. Boar-Horse B

225. Boar-Horse C

230. Can Dvro

235. Ale Sca

240. Boar-Horse fraction 1

245. Boar-Horse fraction 2

PATTERN-HORSE SERIES (41 types and sub-types)

250. Early Pattern-Horse A

255. Early Pattern-Horse B

260. Early Pattern-Horse variant

265. Early Pattern-Horse fraction 1

270. Early Pattern-Horse fraction 2

275. Anted(i) stater

280. Anted(i) a

285. Anted(i) b

290. Anted(i) c

295. Anted(i) d

300. Anted(i) variant

305. Anted(i) fraction

310. Ecen stater

315. Ecen

320. Ecen variant

325. Ecen fraction

330. Ed(n)

335. Ed(n) variant

340. Ed(n) fraction

345. Triple Symbol a

350. Triple Symbol b

PATTERN-HORSE SERIES (CONT.)

355. Triple Symbol fraction

360. Ece stater

365. Ece A a

370. Ece A b

375. Ece B a

380. Ece B b

385. Ece fraction

390. Ece B (reversed)

395. Ece B (reversed) fraction

400. Saenv

405. Aesv

410. Aedi

415. Pattern-Horse fraction 1a

420. Pattern-Horse fraction 1b

425. Pattern-Horse fraction 2

430. Pattern-Horse fraction 3

435. Pattern-Horse fraction 4

440. Pattern-Horse fraction 5

445. Pattern-Horse fraction 6

450. Pattern-Horse fraction 7

GRAND TOTAL: 87 TYPES AND SUB-TYPES

Discussion of list of types and sub-types.

It is interesting to note that I have classified 87 types and sub-types. By October 2005, the Celtic Coin Index of Oxford had 70 types and sub-types of the Iceni and some of those "types" were actually plated examples or variant dies. My classification therefore represents a significant increase in the numbers of Icenian coin types.

Table 26 below sets out the series by typology without taking chronology into account.

Table 26: Icenian typological series with denominations.

GOLD STATER	GOLD 1/4 STATER	SILVER UNIT	SILVER FRACTION
UNINSCRIBED GOLD SERIES			
Norfolk Wolf A	Norfolk Wolf A		
Norfolk Wolf B			
Snettisham A Snettisham B Snettisham C Snettisham D Snettisham E	Snettisham 1 Snettisham 2 Snettisham 3		
Freckenham 1			
Freckenham 2			
Freckenham 3			
Freckenham 4			
	Irstead 1		
	Irstead 2		
	Irstead 3		

Table 26: Icenian typological series with denominations (cont).

GOLD STATER	GOLD 1/4 STATER	SILVER UNIT	SILVER FRACTION
FACE-HORSE SERIES			
		Bury A Bury B Bury C Bury D	
		Early F-H 1	
		Early F-H 2	
		Early F-H 3	
		Early F-H 4a	
		Early F-H 4b	
		Early F-H 5a	
		Early F-H 5b	
		Early F-H 6a	
		Early F-H 6b	
		Early F-H 7	
		Normal F-H A	
		Normal F-H A var.	
		Normal F-H B/C	
		Prasto	
BOAR-HORSE SERIES			
		Early B-H	Early B-H
		B-H A	
		B-H B	B-H 1
		B-H C	B-H 2
		Can Dvro	
		Ale Sca	

Table 26: Icenian typological series with denominations (cont).

GOLD STATER	GOLD 1/4 STATER	SILVER UNIT	SILVER FRACTION
PATTERN-HORSE SERIES			
		Early P-H A Early P-H B Early P-H var.	Early P-H 1 Early P-H 2
Anted(i)		Anted(i) a-d	Anted(i)
		Anted(i) var.	
Ecen		Ecen	Ecen
		Ecen var.	
		Ed(n)	Ed(n)
		Ed(n) var.	
		Triple Symbol a-b	Triple Symbol
Ece		Ece A a-b Ece B a-b Ece B (rev)	Ece Ece B (rev)
		Saenv	
		Aesv	
		Aedi	
			P-H 1a-b
			P-H 2
			P-H 3
			P-H 4
			P-H 5
			P-H 6
			P-H 7

It is interesting to note the variety of denominations – some types have a number of them, but others do not. For example, one might expect the Normal Face-Horse coins to have fractions. If they do, they do not look like the Face-Horses.

However, it seems there is a very close relationship between the Freckenham gold staters and the silver Boar-Horse series, and that the table above is too rigid in its typological divisions. It seems possible that some of the Boar-Horse silver units are the units for the Freckenham gold staters. The following table gives the most likely relationships between these types:

Table 27: The possible relationship between Freckenham and uninscribed Boar-Horse types.

GOLD STATER	GOLD ¼ STATER	SILVER UNIT	SILVER FRACTION
Freckenham 1			
Freckenham 2			
Freckenham 3		Early B-H	Early B-H
Freckenham 4		B-H B (and also B-H A?)	B-H 1
		B-H C	B-H 2

Table 28 below indicates how wide-spread plated examples are within the Icenian series. It should also be remembered that some of the Norfolk Wolf B coins are so debased that they might also be regarded as forgeries (some of them only contain 7% gold).

Table 28: Plated coin types in the Icenian series

	Chadburn number	Chadburn name	Plated examples known?
1	20	Norfolk Wolf A	N
2	25	Norfolk Wolf A ¼ stater	N
3	30	Norfolk Wolf B	YES
4	35	Snettisham A	N
5	40	Snettisham B	N
6	45	Snettisham C	N
7	50	Snettisham D	N
8	55	Snettisham E	N
9	60	Snettisham ¼ stater 1	N
10	65	Snettisham ¼ stater 2	N
11	70	Snettisham ¼ stater 3	N
12	75	Freckenham 1	N
13	80	Freckenham 2	N
14	85	Freckenham 3	N
15	90	Freckenham 4	YES
16	95	Irstead ¼ stater 1	N
17	100	Irstead ¼ stater 2	N
18	105	Irstead ¼ stater 3	N
19	110	Bury A	N
20	115	Bury B	N
21	120	Bury C	N
22	125	Bury D	N
23	130	Early Face-Horse 1	YES
24	135	Early Face-Horse 2a	YES
25	140	Early Face-Horse 2b	N
26	145	Early Face-Horse 3	N
27	150	Early Face-Horse 4a	N
28	155	Early Face-Horse 4b	N
29	160	Early Face-Horse 5a	N
30	165	Early Face-Horse 5b	N
31	170	Early Face-Horse 6a	N
32	175	Early Face-Horse 6b	N
33	180	Early Face-Horse 7	N
34	185	Normal Face-Horse A	N
35	190	Normal Face-Horse variant	N
36	195	Normal Face-Horse B/C	N
37	200	Prasto	N

Table 28 (cont.): Plated coin types in the Icenian series

	Chadburn number	Chadburn name	Plated examples known?
38	205	Early Boar-Horse	N
39	210	Early Boar-Horse fraction	N
40	215	Boar-Horse A	YES
41	220	Boar-Horse B	YES
42	225	Boar-Horse C	YES
43	230	Can Dvro	YES
44	235	Ale Sca	N
45	240	Boar-Horse fraction 1	YES
46	245	Boar-Horse fraction 2	YES
47	250	Early Pattern-Horse A	YES
48	255	Early Pattern-Horse B	YES
49	260	Early Pattern-Horse variant	N
50	265	Early Pattern-Horse fraction 1	YES
51	270	Early Pattern-Horse fraction 2	YES
52	275	Anted(i) stater	YES
53	280	Anted(i) a	N
54	285	Anted(i) b	YES
55	290	Anted(i) c	N
56	295	Anted(i) d	N
57	300	Anted(i) variant	N
58	305	Anted(i) fraction	N
59	310	Ecen stater	YES
60	315	Ecen	YES
61	320	Ecen variant	N
62	325	Ecen fraction	N
63	330	Ed(n)	YES
64	335	Ed(n) variant	N
65	340	Ed(n) fraction	N
66	345	Triple Symbol a	N
67	350	Triple Symbol b	N
68	355	Triple Symbol fraction	N
69	360	Ece stater	N
70	365	Ece Aa	YES
71	370	Ece Ab	YES
72	375	Ece Ba	YES
73	380	Ece Bb	YES

Table 28 (cont.): Plated coin types in the Icenian series

	Chadburn number	Chadburn name	Plated examples known?
74	385	Ece fraction	YES
75	390	Ece B (reversed)	YES
76	395	Ece B (reversed) fraction	N
77	400	Saenv	N
78	405	Aesv	N
79	410	Aedi	N
80	415	Pattern-Horse fraction 1a	N
81	420	Pattern-Horse fraction 1b	N
82	425	Pattern-Horse fraction 2	N
83	430	Pattern-Horse fraction 3	N
84	435	Pattern-Horse fraction 4	YES
85	440	Pattern-Horse fraction 5	N
86	445	Pattern-Horse fraction 6	N
87	450	Pattern-Horse fraction 7	N

DETAILED CATALOGUE OF ICENIAN COINS.

Abbreviations in this catalogue.

RDD	Reverse die duplicate
ODD	Obverse die duplicate
DD	Die duplicate (coins are struck from the same dies and are therefore identical on both sides)
N/A	Not attempted
B-H	Boar-Horse
F-H	Face-Horse
P-H	Pattern-Horse
Trin/Cat	Trinovantian or Catuvellaunian

The Norfolk Wolf types.

These appear to be the very first Icenian coins with a regional distribution. The Norfolk Wolf B types are far more common and are often highly debased. There is much die variety and further work could be done here to classify this series in more detail. Norfolk Wolf A types are rarely found hoarded. Norfolk Wolf B types are sometimes found with gold Snettisham types and some Early Face-Horse coins.

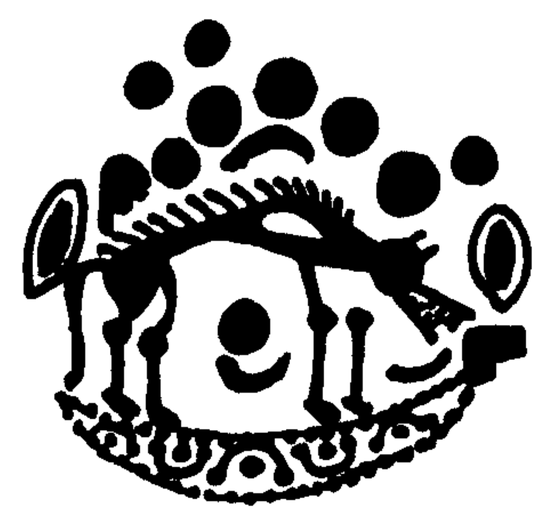
Elements of their design can be traced from Gallo-Belgic C and E, but the "wolf" is a purely indigenous choice of symbol. The obverse ultimately derives from the head of Apollo from the Phillipus. The "wolf" may appear later in the series in the ALE SCA coins.

There are some very rare silver coins which feature an almost identical "wolf" and which have been found mainly in Lincolnshire, although one is known from the Hunstaton Area II hoard. These are not included here on the basis of their geographical distribution but it is accepted that they may be found to be Icenian in future.

TYPE NO: 20 COIN NAME: NORFOLK WOLF A

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Abstract laureate head of Apollo to the right. Laurel leaves face downwards (not upwards as stated in Van Arsdell).

Reverse description: Wolf-like animal to right, with bristles on spine, ears, large jaws and bared teeth, S-shaped curved tail and bowed head. Under body, large pellet and solid crescent. Exergual open crescent, decorated internally with pellet and crescent design. Above body, solid crescent and five pellets in a curved line. Other symbols in field. There are some die varieties where the arrangements and the symbols vary.

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 60-50 BC
Weight: 6.0gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Norfolk Wolf
Allen ref: JA
Mack number: 49
Haselgrove number: EA 51
Van Arsdell number: 610-1
Hobbs numbers: 212-216
Evans ref: C2

TYPE NO: 25 COIN NAME: NORFOLK WOLK A ¼ STATER

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Fabulous beast with bristles on spine, curved tail and two legs.

Reverse description: Wolf-like animal to right as stater, with bristles on spine, large jaws and bared teeth snapping at a crescent, and a bowed head. Above body, a solid crescent and single pellet. Other symbols in field. Curved exergual line.

Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.60-50 BC
Weight: 1.59gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 30 COIN NAME: NORFOLK WOLF B

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Note: A number of contemporary forgeries are known *cf* VA 610-5. Also many genuine coins look and apparently are base, and it is unsure whether these were officially issued coins or not.

Obverse description: Abstract laureate head of Apollo to the right. Laurel leaves face upwards (not downwards as stated in Van Arsdell).

Reverse description: Wolf-like animal to left, with bristles on spine, large jaws and bared teeth, S-shaped curved tail and bowed head. Under body, pellet and solid crescent, or sometimes triangle of three pellets (Mack 49b). Exergual open crescent, decorated internally with pellet and crescent design. Above body, solid crescent and five pellets in a curved line. Other symbols in field.

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 5.8gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: Fairly common
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Norfolk Wolf
Allen ref: JB
Mack number: 49a, 49b
Haselgrove number: EA 51
Van Arsdell number: 610-2, -3, -5
Hobbs numbers: 217-278
Evans ref: C3

The Snettisham Series

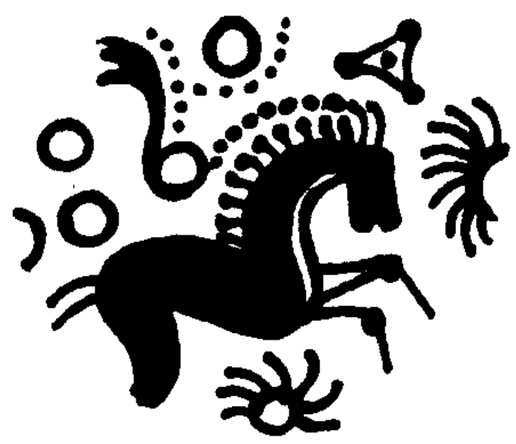
These gold staters were unknown until a hoard of these types was recovered from Snettisham, hence their name, given to them by Tony Gregory (1992). However the quarter staters were recovered singly from various locations within the study area prior to the discovery of the hoard.

The quarter stater types 1 and 2 are very close indeed to Hobbs 367 (Early Uninscribed LX Gold; Evans C13), although the die cutting on Hobbs 367 appears much crisper. Additionally Evans L7, Hobbs 365 and 366 are very similar. These Snettisham quarter staters look as though they could have been derived from this prototype (Hobbs 367), and are rather blundered examples of the same. The same phenomenon can be observed with the Snettisham staters which are extremely similar to some Late Whaddon Chase staters, and appear to have been derived from these.

TYPE NO: 35 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM A

Die design reconstruction at 2:1

Reverse



Obverse description: Largely blank, but die cracks sometimes show and "messy" appearance. Possible remains of a pellet cross, much degraded?

Reverse description: Horse right, with solid head. One upper foreleg is made of two lines. Ornaments in field, including concave-sided triangle, pellet lines (filigree) and rings above the horse. Spirals below and in front of the horse. Mane of small pellets. (RDD Hobbs 3353-3355).

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 5.70gm
Diameter: 16mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3353-3355
Evans ref: -

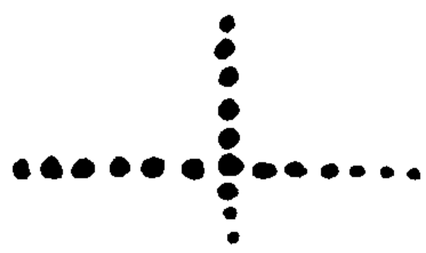
No. of specimens: 3+
No. of obv. dies: ?

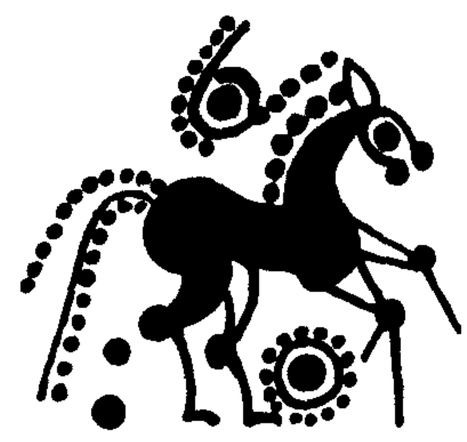
No. of specimens studied for die linking: 3
No. of rev. dies: 1

TYPE NO: 40 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM B

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: Largely blank, but traces of wreath as in Norfolk Wolf A (re-used die?) OR traces of pellet cross OR blank with 3 small curved lines off-centre.

Reverse description: Horse right, with open head and pellets forming mouth. Pellet mane. Tail formed of lines and pellet lines. Both upper forelegs are made of two lines. Below the horse is a pellet-in-ring with pellets around. Above, pellet rings and pellet lines.

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 5.60gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3356-3359
Evans ref: -

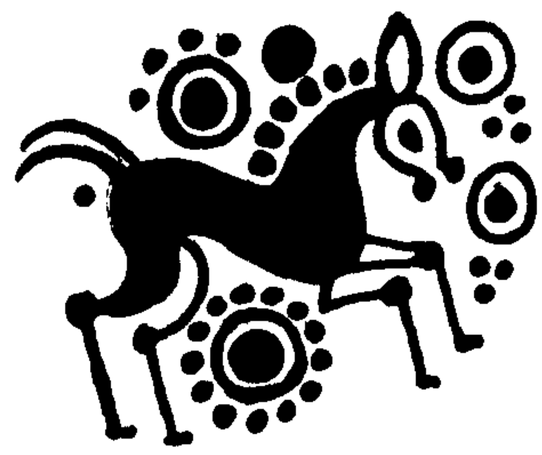
No. of specimens: 4 known
No. of obv. dies: at least 3

No. of specimens studied for die linking: 4
No. of rev. dies: appear to be 4 but similar

TYPE NO: 45 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM C

Die design reconstruction at 2:1

Reverse



Obverse description: Largely blank with faint traces of incised cross OR 3 small curved lines off-centre.

Reverse description: Horse right, as Snettisham B but more crudely engraved and usually one of the upper forelegs is not "double" (i.e. not made up of two lines). Above the horse are pellets, a pellet-in-ring and other pellets. No pellets form tail, although usually there is a single pellet below tail. Below the horse is a pellet-in-ring with pellets around. One die shows the horse with a beak-like jaw, and another has pellet lines above the horse.

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 5.64gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3360-3364
Evans ref: -

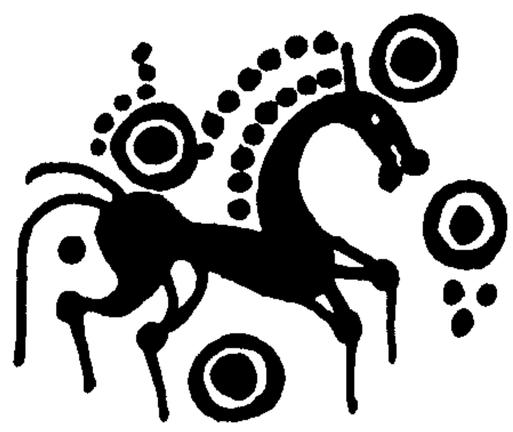
No. of specimens: 5 known
No. of obv. dies: at least 2

No. of specimens studied for die linking: 5
No. of rev. dies: 5

TYPE NO: 50 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM D

Die design reconstruction at 2:1

Reverse



Obverse description: Largely blank with faint traces of incised cross OR 3 small curved lines off-centre.

Reverse description: Horse right, as Snettisham C but the upper forelegs are always "double" (i.e. made up of two lines), and the upper hind leg is also "double" (the inner hind leg). Under, above, and in front of horse are simple pellet-in-rings; also above are pellet lines. Most examples show the reverse dies are somewhat worn.

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 5.55gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3365-3374
Evans ref: -

No. of specimens: 10+
No. of obv. dies: 2+

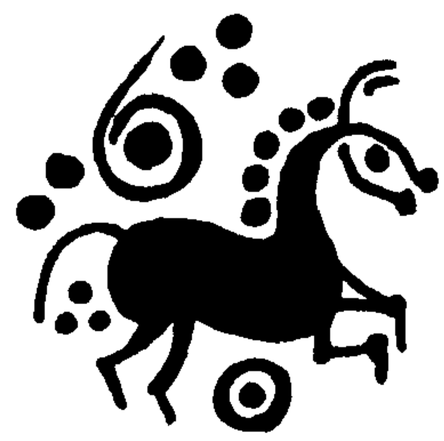
No. of specimens studied for die linking: 10
No. of rev. dies: 2

ODD Hobbs 3369-3370-3372.
RDD Hobbs 3365-3372.
DD Hobbs 3373-3374.

TYPE NO: 55 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM E

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Reverse



Obverse description: Largely blank with faint traces of incised cross OR 3 small curved lines off-centre

Reverse description: Horse right, as Snettisham D but no "double" rear inner leg. Crudely engraved with a simple pellet-in-ring above and below horse. One die has a similar feel to some "Freckenham" type horses, and may have been engraved by the same die engraver (for example compare Hobbs 3383 with Hobbs 3407).

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 5.52gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: British LB
Allen ref: BR LB
Mack number: 143
Haselgrove number: EA 62.1
Van Arsdell number: VA 1505-1
Hobbs numbers: 3375-3383
Evans ref: XXIII 7

No. of specimens: 9+
No. of obv. dies: 2+

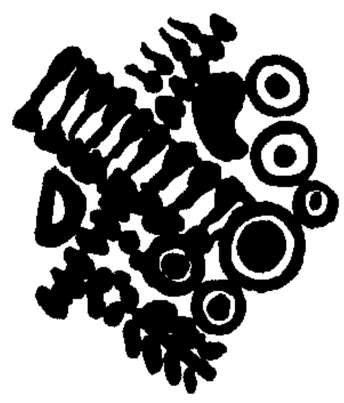
No. of specimens studied for die linking: 9
No. of rev. dies: N/A

ODD Hobbs 3382-3383.

TYPE NO: 60 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM ¼ STATER 1

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Abstract design based on stylised cross and wreath, with pellet-in-ring decoration. Ultimately derived from head of Apollo.

Reverse description: Horse right, with ring ornaments below, above and in front of the horse. ?Solid head. Pellet mane. Pellet-in-ring on shoulder and rump.

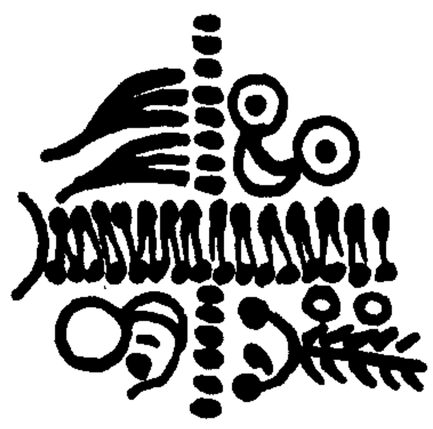
Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 1.10gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3420-3421
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 65 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM ¼ STATER 2

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Abstract design based on stylised cross and wreath, with pellet-in-ring decoration. As type 1 (no. 60).

Reverse description: Horse right above curved pellet exergue or border. Pellet-in-ring on shoulder and rump. Pellet mane. Some dies are crudely engraved (*cf* Hobbs 3427-3434).

Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 1.07gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

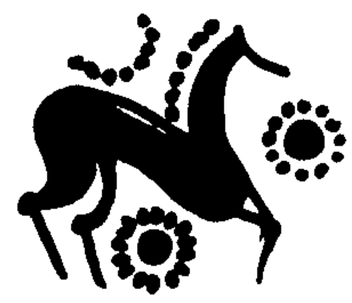
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3422-3434
Evans ref: -

No. of specimens: 13+

TYPE NO: 70 COIN NAME: SNETTISHAM ¼ STATER 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Abstract design. Wreath with central pellet-in-ring and other rings in the field.

Reverse description: Horse right, with ring ornaments below, above and in front of the horse. ?Solid head. Pellet mane. Pellet-in-ring on shoulder and rump. As type 1 (no. 60).

Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 1.08gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3435
Evans ref: -

The Freckenham Series

This gold series is not well classified in the existing literature. Allen (1970) classified the series into three main types, and Van Arsdell (1989) and Haselgrove (1987) followed this model. Mack recognised seven main types and two sub-types. Hobbs (1996) did not attempt any formal sub-division of the group. Nevertheless, there are four clear types, as originally recognised by Montagu (1886), who wrote the original account of the hoard and who saw more examples than any other scholar (much of the hoard has since been dispersed). I have, however, re-ordered Montagu's four types chronologically (Chadburn 1991c), and have used numbers to distinguish my four types.

The exact relationship between these four types is unclear. It is possible that they were issued in simple chronological succession. However, it seems clear that all four types were issued within a relatively short period of time, because of their typological similarity, and the fact that - with the exception of the Hunstanton Area I (the "Bowl Hoard") which appears to be a special deposit - they have only been found in hoards with other Freckenham coins. They are also found as singletons.

The latest type, Freckenham 4, (classified by Allen and Haselgrove as the earliest type) features the back-to-back crescents which are such a major feature of the later silver Icenian coins. Additionally, the horses' heads on this type are identical with those later found on the Anted, Ecen and Ece staters,

making it almost certain these were the last Freckenham staters to be issued. The metallurgical analyses would also support this sequencing.

There is one important hoard – Unprovenanced II - which appears to confirm my classification of this series, and my dating of Freckenham 4 as later in Phase 7 than Freckenham 1-3. This hoard only contains Freckenham types 1-3 although it does contain a new variant of Freckenham 3 which may be a transitional coin between Freckenham types 3 and 4. The fact it only contains Freckenham 1-3 types implies that Freckenham 4 is either earlier or later than types 1-3, and the fact that there appears to be a transitional variant type between Types 3 and 4 implies that this sequencing is correct.

The new variant Freckenham 3 type is unpublished and has a reverse identical and *die linked* to Hobbs 3409 (i.e. it has a pellet flower under the horse). The reverse is also die-linked to "normal" Freckenham 3 coins within the same hoard. But its obverse is much more similar to certain Freckenham 4 types as it features two thin back-to-back crescents in the centre of a pellet cross – very similar to Hobbs 3384. Interestingly, whenever this reverse die is used on the "normal" Freckenham 3 coins, it appears to be quite fresh and unworn. However, on the two examples of the variant Freckenham 3 types, the same die appears to be more worn and is slightly breaking up. This suggests that "normal" Freckenham 3 types were struck *earlier* than the variant type, again suggesting a sequence of Freckenham 3 – Freckenham 3 variant – Freckenham 4.

The back-to-back crescent design on the obverse of Freckenham 4 mentioned above (cf Hobbs 3384) is reminiscent of staters of Tasciovanus (cf Hobbs 1618, 1622, themselves having similarities to Whaddon Chase obverses) and it may be that some of the Freckenham 4 designs are derived from these coins of the Trinovantes. This design is then developed and becomes a standard feature of the Icenian silver Pattern-Horse coins. If influenced or derived from coins of Tasciovanus, then this would also fit in with my dating of the Freckenham series.

It is worth mentioning that Evans (1890), John Kent (pers. comm March 1989) and to a certain extent Haselgrove (1987, p283) argue that Freckenham types are among the last Icenian coins to be issued. Haselgrove argued that the relatively low weights and metallurgy would support this view. However, this would mean that these uninscribed staters followed an inscribed series, which would not seem logical or fit the usual sequencing of the Iron Age coin types. Moreover, the Iceni had issued very base gold coins before in the form of the Norfolk Wolf B types. It may be that the usual pattern of gradual debasement of gold does not apply to Icenian gold coins, and that the amount of gold available for minting coins varied greatly. It is possible that this was connected to torc production. It is also worth noting that the horse's head on the Freckenham 4 types is identical to the Anted(i) – Ecen – Ece stater, also showing it should be placed late in the sequence.

The Irstead types are likely to be the quarter staters to the Freckenham series, because they appear to be a similar date on typological grounds, and there are

apparently no obvious staters of "Irstead" design and no quarter staters of "Freckenham" design. Although the obverse designs on the Irstead quarters and the Freckenham staters are not similar, the horses can be. For example, the Freckenham 2 and 3 type horses are similar to the Irstead B and C types, although these latter are rather more delicately cut. It is also likely that there is a relationship between the Freckenham types and the silver boar-horse units, although exactly what this could be is not known.

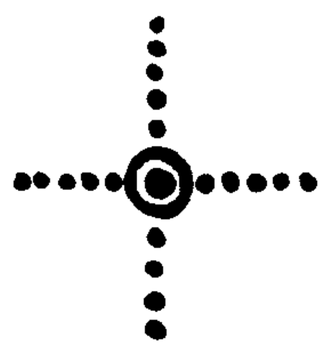
There is one possible exception to this and that is a very rare gold stater with back-to-back crescents and a star under the horse similar to that in my type 435 (*cf* Hobbs 369). Two of these are known from East Anglia, one from Norfolk. These coins may be Icenian and it is possible they are part of the Freckenham series. They are not further mentioned in this thesis and I have not included them as Icenian at this time.

Numbers are used to distinguish my Freckenham types from the Allen classification.

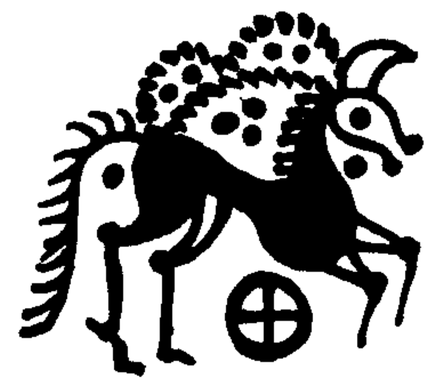
TYPE NO: 75 COIN NAME: FRECKENHAM 1

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse



Reverse



Obverse description: Blank apart from a cross of pellets, sometimes with a pellet-in-ring at the centre of cross.

Reverse description: Horse right, with open head, pellet eye, mane, and single ear. The upper forelegs are each made up of two lines. Usually above the horse is an arch sectioned into two. A variety of symbols exist in the field, including an eight-spoked wheel below the horse, and a four-spoked wheel above the horse. Also pellet triangles above or below the horse. Horse may have a branched tail. There are a number of die varieties.

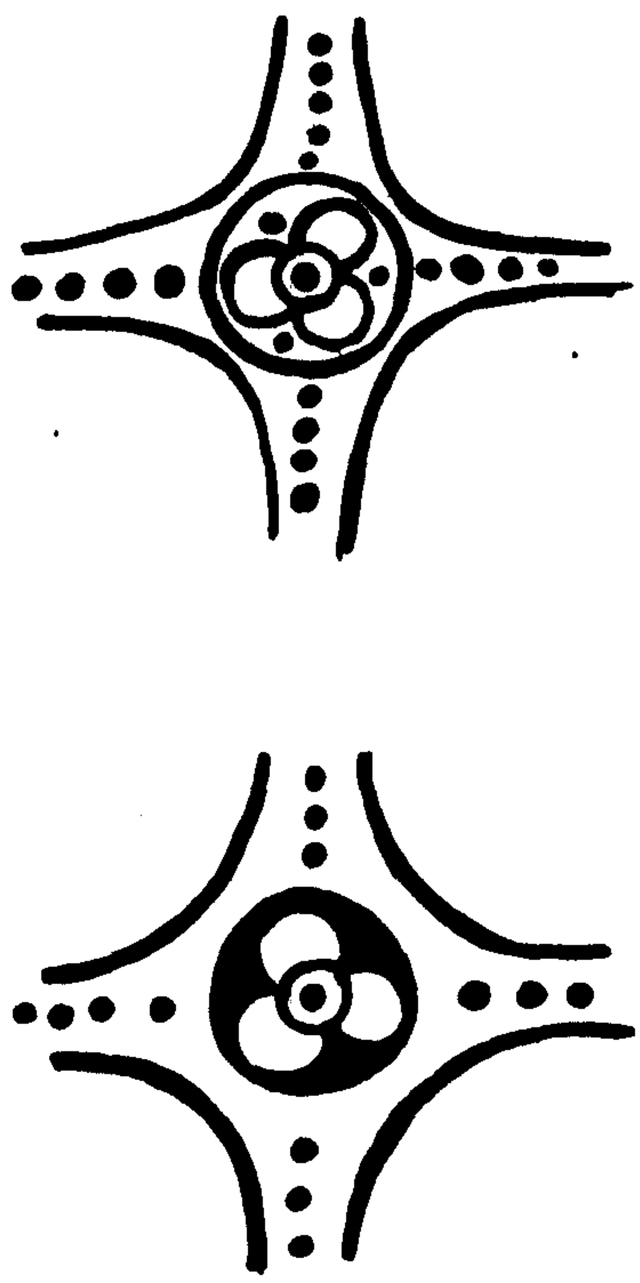
Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: c.5.45gm
Diameter: 18mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Freckenham A
Allen ref: Ib (British NC)
Mack number: 400, 400a
Haselgrove number: EA 71.1
Van Arsdell number: 624-1,-4,-7
Hobbs numbers: 3390-3395
Evans ref: XXIII 6, 7, 8, 9,

TYPE NO: 80 COIN NAME: FRECKENHAM 2

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Concave-sided cross, with a pellet cross within it. At the centre, a three-petalled flower design (or crescents) within a circle, and a pellet-in-ring at the very centre.

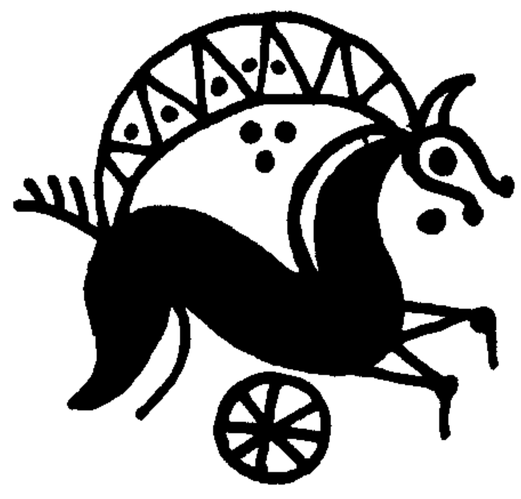
Reverse description: Horse right, with open head, pellet eye, single ear, mane, branched tail, and upper forelegs each made up of two lines. Above the horse is an arch formed of an open crescent, decorated internally with a zig-zag pattern. Symbols found in the field include pellet-triangles, and spoked wheels below and above the horse.

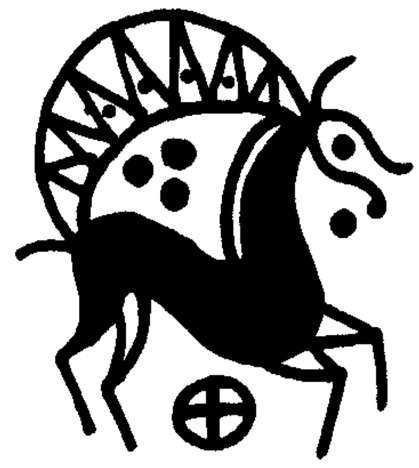
Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 5.34-5.69gm
Diameter: 18mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Freckenham A
Allen ref: Ib (British NC)
Mack number: 401
Haselgrove number: EA 71.1
Van Arsdell number: 626-1
Hobbs numbers: 3396-3404
Evans ref: XIV 14, XXIII 2 and 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Reverse

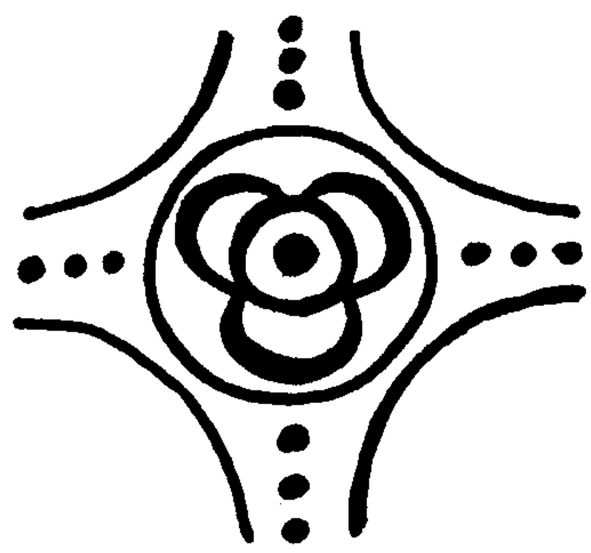




TYPE NO: 85 COIN NAME: FRECKENHAM 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Note: There is a variant Freckenham 3 type which has a reverse identical and *die linked* to Hobbs 3409 (a Freckenham 3 type with a pellet flower under the horse). But its obverse is much more similar to certain Freckenham 4 types as it features two thin back-to-back crescents in the centre of a pellet cross – similar to Hobbs 3384 – and with no exergual line. It appears to be struck later than "normal" Freckenham 3 types.

Obverse description: Concave-sided cross, with a pellet cross within it. At its centre, a three-petalled flower design (or crescents) within a circle, and a pellet-in-ring at the very centre. Despite the close similarity, the obverse design is larger and more crudely engraved than Freckenham 2. A number of specimens show the dies breaking up.

Reverse description: Horse right, with open head, pellet eye, mane, branched tail, single ear, and upper forelegs sometimes each made up of two lines. Above the horse, is a spoked wheel, or a pellet-flower in a ring or above a crescent. Below the horse is a four-spoked wheel or a pellet-flower. There are a number of combinations of these symbols. Most of the reverse dies for this type so far discovered appear to have been cut by the same die engraver - the horses are very distinctive and deeply cut with rather short necks and large heads (see also Early Boar-Horse for the same die engraver).

Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 4.63-5.65gm
Diameter: 18mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

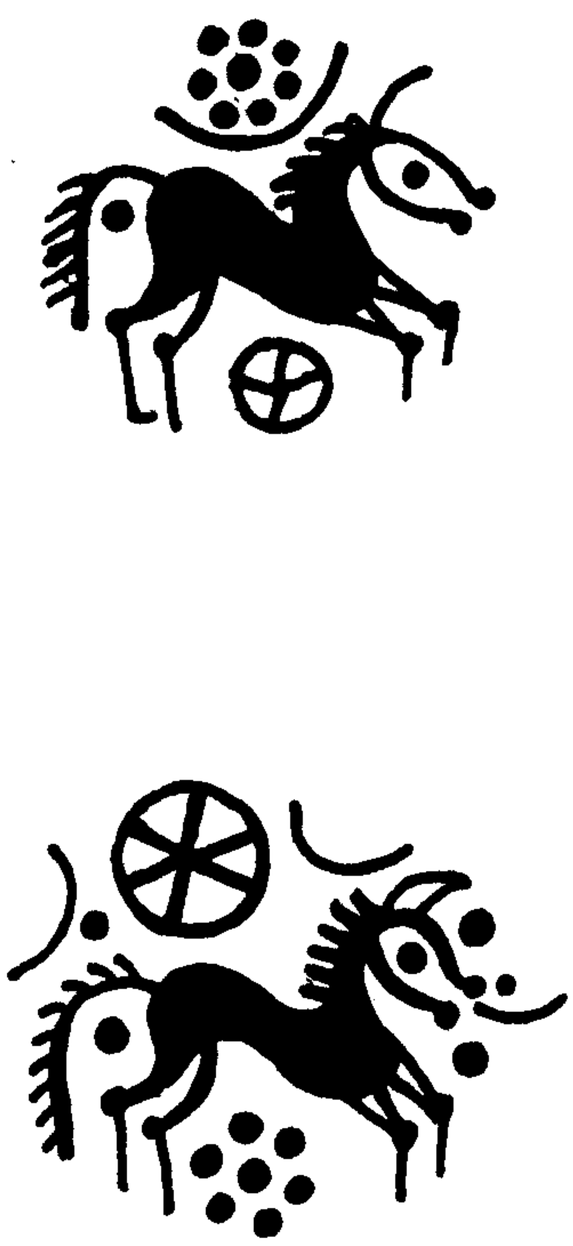
Allen name: Freckenham B
Allen ref: Ic (British NB)
Mack number: 403c, 402, 403, 403a
Haselgrove number: EA 71.2
Van Arsdell number: 626-4,-7,-9,-12
Hobbs numbers: 3405-3419
Evans ref: XIV 13, XXIII 4-5

TYPE NO: 85 (CONT.) COIN NAME: FRECKENHAM 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse

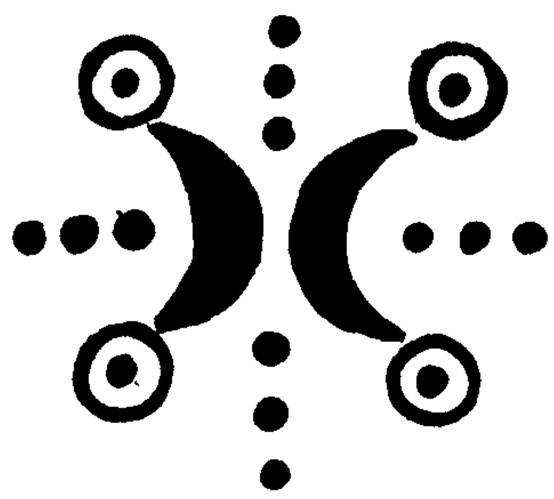
Reverse

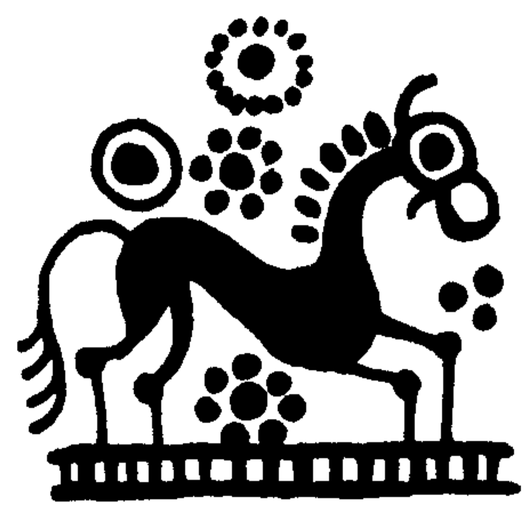


TYPE NO: 90 COIN NAME: FRECKENHAM 4

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: The main characteristic of this type is that all feature two large centrally placed back-to-back crescents. However, there are at least five obverse die varieties, most of which feature an exergual line, with various symbols in the field. These can include a solid five-pointed stars, pellet triangles and pellet lines. Another variety features the crescents within a pellet cross, with pellet-in-rings at the edge of each crescent. These obverses appear to be used with a variety of reverses, so there do not appear to be any true sub-types.

Reverse description: Horse right, always with a bulbous head quite unlike the other Freckenham types, showing the nose and perhaps the tongue. The horse may have either two or one ears. The upper forelegs are never made up of two lines (i.e. never in a Y shape). A variety of symbols are found in the field, including a sun-like symbol, a solid star, and pellet-flower and pellet-in-ring motifs. There are at least four die varieties, at least two of which have exergual lines under the horse.

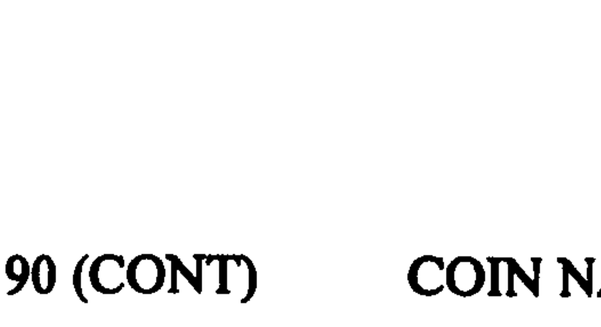
Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 5.29-5.54gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: see below
Modern forgeries: None known

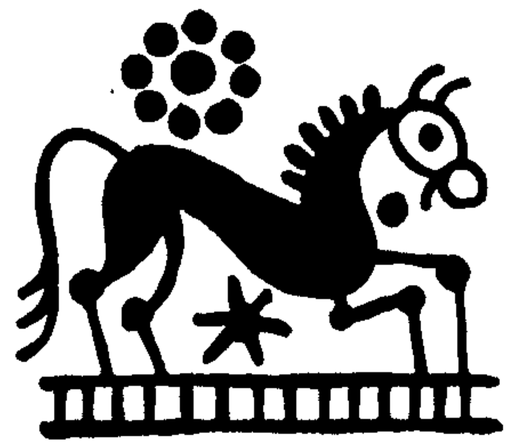
Allen name: Early Type Stater (British NA)
Allen ref: Ia (nos. 1-12)
Mack number: 403b, 397, 398, 399
Haselgrove number: EA 61.2
Van Arsdell number: 620-1,-4,-5,-7,-9
Hobbs numbers: 3384-3389
Evans ref: XIV 10-12, XXIII 1

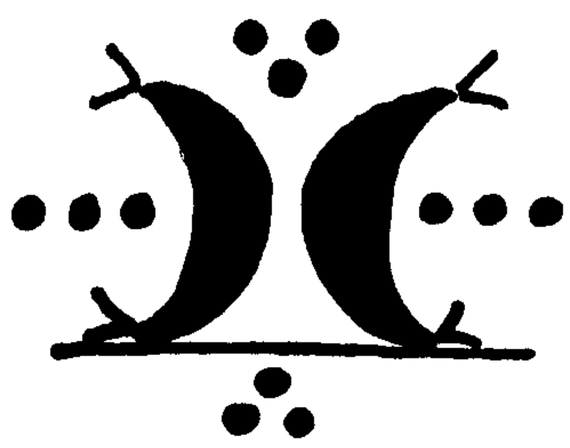
Plated examples: Two such coins known from former HRM collection; also another from Stonea Grange 10-39-1 (in BM).

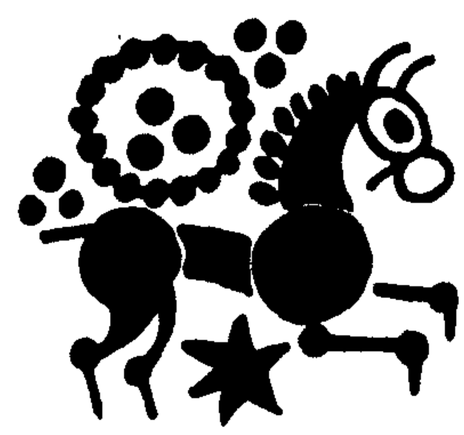
More reconstructions of die designs at 2:1

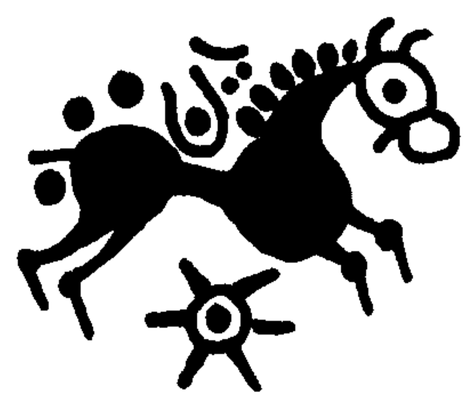
Obverse Reverse

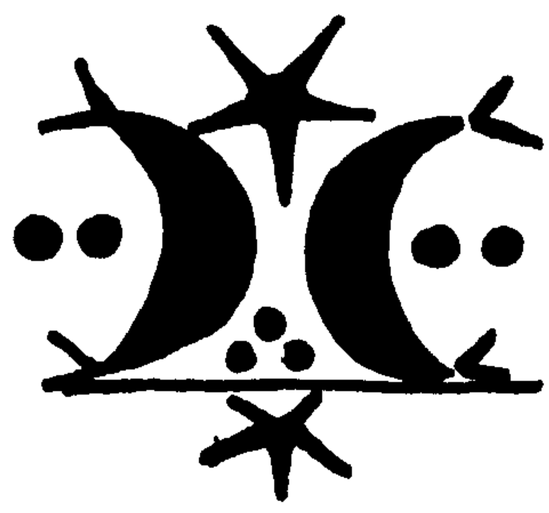








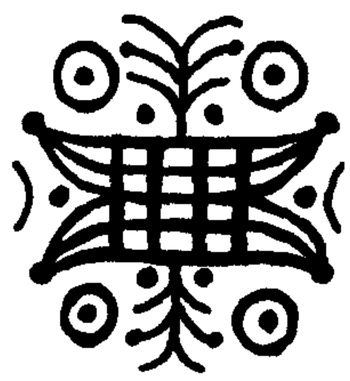




TYPE NO: 95 COIN NAME: IRSTEAD ¼ STATER 1

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Abstract pattern, centred on a square divided into a chequer-board pattern. A branched emblem flanked on each side by a pellet-in-ring comes from the top and bottom of the square, and from each of the other two sides, two back-to-back half-crescents, also inscribed with lines.

Reverse description: Stepping horse right, with a solid head and often an open mouth. Between the two front legs there is a pellet triangle, under the horse a pellet-in-ring and above the horse, and open trefoil. The tail is branched. An annulet is in the field in front of the head. This whole design is set within an enclosing circle, formed of a jagged line. This would appear to be the complete die, although the feet have yet to be seen on any specimen.

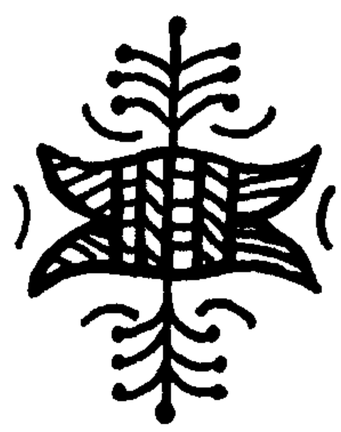
Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.07gm
Diameter: 9mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

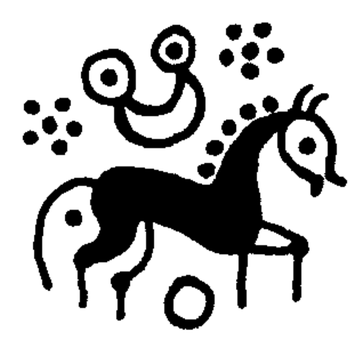
Allen name: Irstead quarter stater
Allen ref: Id (British ND)
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: EA 71.1
Van Arsdell number: 628-1
Hobbs numbers: 3436
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 100 COIN NAME: IRSTEAD ¼ STATER 2

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: Abstract pattern, centred on a square inscribed by lines. As in Type A, a branched emblem comes from the base and top of the square, and from each of the other two sides, two back-to-back half-crescents, also inscribed with lines. No pellet-in-ring symbols are found.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with a four-spoked wheel or a pellet-in-ring below and an open crescent symbol above. One example shows a pellet-in-ring at each end of the crescent, and a six-pellet flower either side. Usually, the tail consists of two strands, infilled with lines. Other pellet-in-ring symbols are in the field.

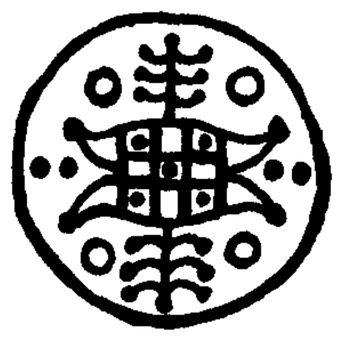
Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.09gm
Diameter: 9mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Irstead quarter stater
Allen ref: Id (British ND)
Mack number: 404
Haselgrove number: EA 71.1
Van Arsdell number: 628-3
Hobbs numbers: 3437-3439
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 105 COIN NAME: IRSTEAD ¼ STATER 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Previously unrecorded type. Abstract pattern, centred on a square divided into a chequer-board pattern, infilled in alternate squares by pellets. A branched emblem comes from the top and base of the square, on each side of which is an annulet. Situated on each of the other two sides of the square are two uninscribed back-to-back half-crescents, with two single pellets between each pair of half-crescents. The whole design is surrounded by an enclosing line, presumably marking the edge of the die design. This would therefore appear to be a complete die design. It is smaller than types A and B, and better engraved – perhaps the first chronologically in the Irstead series.

Reverse description: Previously unrecorded type. Open-headed horse right, with a pellet-in-ring and single pellet below and a daisy-like symbol above, surrounded by two single pellets. One example shows the shoulder of the horse formed by a circle.

Denomination: Quarter stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: Not known
Diameter: 9mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

No. of specimens: 2
No. of obv. dies: -

No. of specimens studied for die linking: 2
No. of rev. dies: 2

The Bury Series

This is a fairly recently discovered series, discovered mainly during the 1980s, and which was first classified by Tony Gregory (1992). He named it the Bury Series as metal detectorists first uncovered the series around Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, and they named it "Bury Tribe".

The Bury A type is extremely similar to a rare gold quarter stater Gallo-Belgic Xd type (Mack type 79, 3rd edition 1975); VA 78-1; Evans L 11, 12, 13; Simon Bean type Qc 4-1) specimens of which were found at Selsey in West Sussex. This quarter stater may be the prototype of the Bury A type, or perhaps the same die engraver was used. The distributions of the two types appear totally separate however.

The Bury types are amongst the most elaborate and beautiful of Icenian coins, their most distinctive feature being the heads with elaborate head-dresses or crowns. At least two of the types also appear to feature torcs.

Bury D sits rather apart from Bury A-C as it does not feature an elaborate head-dress or diadem. It may be a transitional type between the Bury and Early Face-Horse types.

Appendix S provides a concordance between Gregory and Chadburn types.

TYPE NO: 110 COIN NAME: BURY A

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Head - possibly female - left, with elaborate head band on brow. Curls of hair above head band. Pronounced eye, eyebrow and ear. The nose is sometimes upturned. The head ends in a convex line at the base of the neck, and this may represent a torc as there are pellets which may represent torc terminals. In front of the head is a serpent, with a head left, with two ears or horns, probably a ram-horned serpent. Its body is rope-like, sometimes with a fish-like tail or two pellets at the end. Very similar to the obverse of Allen's Gallo-Belgic XD, a gold quarter stater, which may be the prototype.

Reverse description: Horse left, with long ears, and solid head. Horse is prancing. Cross symbol in front of horses head. Pellet-in-ring in pellet circle above with a pellet-in-ring either side, and a further pellet-in-ring below the horse. The mane is sometimes formed of S-shapes. Very similar to the reverse of Allen's Gallo-Belgic XD, a gold quarter stater which may be the prototype.

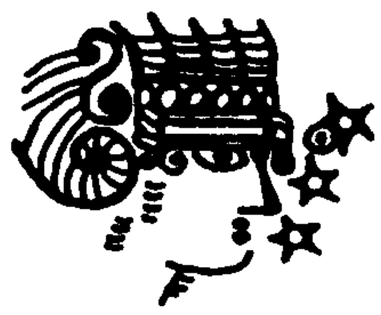
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 1.45gm
Diameter: 12-13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: British LX 10
Allen ref: -
Mack number: 438
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 80-1
Hobbs numbers: 3524-3527
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Bury A

TYPE NO: 115 COIN NAME: BURY B

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Head right, with elaborate hair style, and wearing a double head-band or head-dress which goes straight across the brow, the upper part of which is decorated. The eye, nose and lips are pronounced. No ear is visible. A huge curl sits below the head-dress behind the face, and other spring-like curls fall from the head-band, above which, rise vertically 4 or 5 rope-like braids which fall to the left. In front of the face, there are three open-centred 5-pointed stars. An elaborate die, possibly representing a female.

Reverse description: Considerable variation exists in the reverse dies. All show a spirited horse right, with reins, and a girth or harness, both sometimes decorated. The head is solid, and the mane composed of fine lines. The tail is kinked. Under the horse, is usually a five-pointed star, with an open centre. Above the horse is a large symbol which varies between a multi-spoked wheel or a multi-pellet-flower. Other symbols which exist include wavy-armed stars, pellet triangles, in various positions in the field.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 1.38gm
Diameter: 12-13mm
Plated examples: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3533-3535
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Bury B

Modern forgeries: Good modern forgeries are known, cast from genuine coins, so they do die link to such coins. On close examination, the weight, edges and "feel" of the coins indicate they are forgeries.

TYPE NO: 120 COIN NAME: BURY C

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: This is very similar to Bury B indeed. Again, the head faces right, and is characterised by a large curl where the ear should be, below the headband. The neck ends in a convex line decorated at each end with pellet-in-rings, which may represent a torc. The engraving, however, is cruder.

Reverse description: This is very similar to Bury A, and like Bury A, the spirited horse faces left. There are numerous pellet-in-ring symbols in the field both above and below the horse, and a decorated exergual line below.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 0.81-1.38gm
Diameter: 11-13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3528-3532
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Bury C

TYPE NO: 125 COIN NAME: BURY D

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Head left, with elaborate rope-like hair. C shape in front of face – perhaps part of a torc or ram-horned snake?

Reverse description: Horse right, with star and various symbols above horse, and ring below. Horse has a solid head.

Denomination: ?Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c.50-20 BC
Weight: 0.83-1.18gm
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: -

Face-Horse Series

Early Face-Horse types

This is a difficult group to classify as it has enormous variation, both in terms of die varieties and in terms of sub-types. Some of the dies appear identical between various sub-types (e.g. the horse in some examples of type 5 are identical to some of those in type 6). This calls into question whether the types are "real" or not. However, within this varied group some trends and patterns are discernable, and it was felt useful to attempt some classification, although it is recognised that this is an area where further revisions may well be necessary as more coins are discovered. Some of the classification is based on Gregory's work (1992) but further refinements have been made within his types, and some new types have been added.

The Early Face-Horse 1 coins can be particularly difficult to classify as the obverse die becomes virtually obliterated in some specimens, and the horse is very similar to some Early Face-Horse 2-5 types. As a general rule, the Early Face-Horse 1 coins are on thinner, larger silver flans and weigh slightly more.

There appears to be a variant of the Early Face-Horse 2b sub-type (Chadburn no. 140). The obverse is very similar, although rather cruder. However, the horse is very crisp, has two Y-shaped forelegs, a pellet-triangle under the horse, small pellets for rear hooves, and a decorated crescent-shaped exergue.

This variant comes from South Lincolnshire and has not been further recorded in this study.

There also appears to be a variant of the Early Face-Horse 6b sub-type. Two examples have been found, both in Southern Lincolnshire (one is recorded in the Oxford Coin Index, Ref 94.1324). The head is bearded and right-facing, but rather cruder than the East Anglian types. In one example, the die is virtually obliterated but the beard is just visible. The horse is rather different, with a tail that ends in a row of pellets and a pellet-ring above the horse, but retains strong similarities to Icenian horses especially that on the Boar-Horse A type. Because this variant has only been found in Southern Lincolnshire, these coins have not been further included in this study. However, this variant type does question the relationship between East Anglia and Southern Lincolnshire, especially since many other coin types appear similar (especially the Boar-Horse types). Other "normal" Icenian Early Face-Horse 6 types have also been found in Lincolnshire.

There are obverse die-links between the normal Early Face-Horse 6a and 6b sub-types providing further evidence for the links between them. The 6a left-facing sub-type is rarer. Die chains for Early Face-Horse coins can be found in Appendix U, and their metrology is discussed in Chapter 6.

Types 2-5 (Gregory's Early Face-Horse C types) are closely related typologically.

The Early Face-Horse types are a difficult group to classify in terms of metrology, as the weights are quite variable. Gregory (1992) classified the "dotty hair" Face-Horse 6 types (his type B) as fractions, but even this is not certain, as an examination of the weights of this group as set out in the tables below makes clear:

Table 29: early Face-Horse types – possible criteria for identifying denominations.

	UNITS	?FRACTIONS
WEIGHT	1.00-1.50gm	0.60-1.17gm
DIAMETER	14-18mm	12-14mm

Table 30: Weights and diameters of the Early Face-Horse series.

TYPE	WEIGHT IN GRAMS	DIAMETER
1	1.30-1.40	18mm
2a	0.80-0.90 (fraction?)	13mm
2b	1.00-1.50	15mm
3	1.00	14mm
4a	1.26-1.39	15mm
4b	1.25-1.39	14mm
5a	0.80-1.00 (fraction?)	12mm
5b	0.60-1.17 (fraction?)	13mm
6a	0.76-1.00 (fraction?)	12mm
6b	0.64-1.10 (fraction?)	12mm
7	0.68 (fraction?)	14mm

The weights are not especially helpful in trying to classify what denomination the coins might be; nor are the flan sizes particularly helpful. For example, Type 7 is on a largish thin flan (traditionally these are thought to be early in the British Iron Age coinage), but has a low weight, and is therefore tentatively classified as a fraction rather than a unit. However, flan sizes on the later Icenian full units are usually around 13mm. At present, I have not firmly

classified any of these Early Face-Horse types as fractions, although I am aware that some of them might be.

In conclusion, this group appears to be a relatively early group, not subject to a high degree of control. Much variation is apparent in the designs on the coins, die wear, die-linking, the weight of the coins and their flan size. It does not appear that it was important to have tight standards with this group, unlike later Icenian silver types which are subject to a high degree of standardisation in terms of the conservatism of designs, flan size and weight.

This may mean the Early Face-Horse coins were used in a slightly different way than the later types; the later silver types are much more recognisable as particular and standardised coin types, and they could therefore function more easily as an agreed and well-understood monetary system.

Table 31: Concordance of Chadburn types and Gregory types.

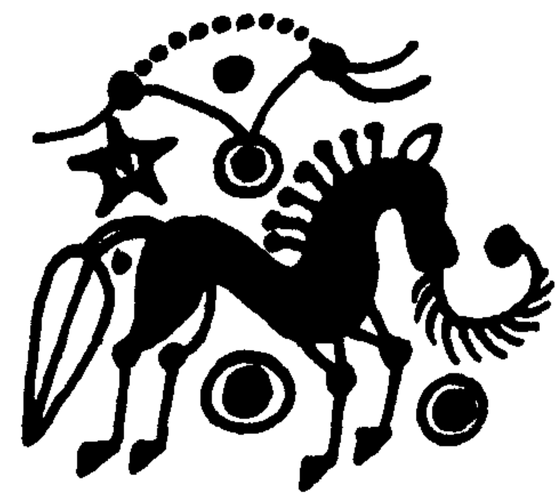
CHADBURN NAME AND NO.	GREGORY NAME AND REF. (1992)	EARLIER CHADBURN NAME AND REF.
130. Early Face-Horse 1	Early Face-Horse A	Early F-H I
135. Early Face-Horse 2a	(	Early F-H II Aa
	(Early Face-Horse Ca	
140. Early Face-Horse 2b	(	Early F-H II Ab
145. Early Face-Horse 3	Early Face-Horse Cb	Early F-H II B
150. Early Face-Horse 4a	(	Early F-H II Ca
	(Early Face-Horse Cc	
155. Early Face-Horse 4b	(	Early F-H II Cb
160. Early Face-Horse 5a	(	Early F-H II Da
	(Early Face-Horse Cd	
165. Early Face-Horse 5b	(	Early F-H II Db
170. Early Face-Horse 6a	(	Early F-H III a
	(Early Face-Horse B	
175. Early Face-Horse 6b	(	Early F-H IIIb
180. Early Face-Horse 7	-	Early F-H IV

TYPE NO: 130 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 1

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse

Reverse



Comment: Thinnish large flan, but heavy.

Obverse description: Head left – possibly a male warrior - with clearly defined hair lines ending in a curl at the shoulder. Some specimens appear to show a moustache, and perhaps they all originally showed this, but many specimens are in a very poor condition. The hair is often shown by a herringbone pattern. In front of the head, an antennae-like line ends in another curl and a pellet. The shoulder below (or perhaps the top of a shield) is formed from a line convex to the head. Many symbols in the field, including a multi-pellet-flower and single pellets. Often the die is nearly obliterated, leaving a blank obverse.

Reverse description: Horse right, with turned-back hooves, large ear, and mane formed of pellets. One foreleg is formed from a Y-shape. Below the horse are a group of four pellets - this symbol is also found above the horse, or alternatively there is a pellet-in-ring below the horse. The main symbol above the horse, however, is a bow or kite shape. Other symbols include an open-centred five-pointed star. The horse's head is solid, and from the mouth issues a branch, or possibly a fringed rein. The tail is leaf-shaped. There is quite a lot of variation in the symbols above and below the horse.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: c.1.3-1.4gm
Diameter: 15mm
Plated examples: One coin known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of specimens: 56+

Allen name: Early Face-Horse
Allen ref: IIIa (photo 82)
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3548, 3549
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse A

TYPE NO: 135 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 2a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Comments: This is the rarer of the two sub-types. Two examples are known, both in BM. One from Cherry Hinton, the other from the March hoard. It is possible that this type is a fraction, as the weights are low.

Obverse description: Stylised and rather crude head left, with open almond-shaped eye. The face appears moustached. No neck is visible. The hair is often shown as a herringbone pattern behind a line running from the brow to the neck. The ear is a simple open crescent or reverse C-shape. Other unidentifiable symbols in the field. It is possible that the line of the shoulder may in fact be the tope of a shield.

Reverse description: Horse right, with pellet-in-ring symbols in field above and below the horse. At least one example shows a branch from the horse's mouth. The head appears solid around the jaws, but possibly has an open pellet-in-ring for an eye. The tail is leaf-shaped. There is usually a five-pointed star above the horse. There is quite a lot of die variety with different symbols in the field.

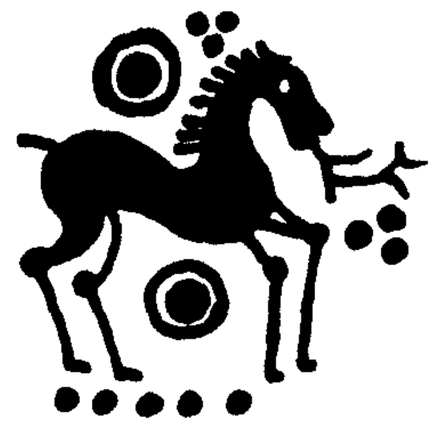
Denomination: Fraction?
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.8 - 0.9gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: Some known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 2
No. of rev. dies: 2

Allen name: Early Face-Horse (British LX 12)
Allen ref: IIIa (photo 83)
Mack number: 412
Haselgrove number: EA 73.1
Van Arsdell number: 665-1
Hobbs numbers: 3536, 3537
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Ca
No. of coins studied for die linking: 2

TYPE NO: 140 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 2b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: There is a specimen known from south Lincolnshire which is very similar only the horse has "double" forelegs, stands on a curved zig-zag decorated exergual line and has a triple pellet below the horse. I am provisionally assigning it to this type.

Obverse description: Simple and rather crude head right, with almond-shaped eye, and another almond-shaped symbol in front of the face, possibly representing the mouth. Some dies show a thickening around the mouth which may represent a moustache. No neck is visible and the shoulder (or possibly the top of a shield) is formed from a line convex to the head. The hair is often shown as a herringbone pattern behind a line running from the brow to the neck. One die clearly shows a beard. There is much die variety. Often, the obverse die is nearly obliterated.

Reverse description: Horse usually with a solid head, right, with pellet-in-ring or crescent symbols in field above and below the horse. One example shows a branch from the horse's mouth. Usually, one foreleg is Y-shaped.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.0 - 1.5gm
Diameter: 15mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

No. of rev. dies: 13
No. of obv. dies: 9
No. of specimens: 25+

Allen name: Early Face-Horse (British LX 12)
Allen ref: IIIa (photo 81)
Mack number: 413e
Haselgrove number: EA 73.1
Van Arsdell number: 665-7
Hobbs numbers: 3541-3545, 3547
Evans ref: -

Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Ca
No. of coins studied for die linking: 23

TYPE NO: 140 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 2b (CONT).

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse

Reverse

TYPE NO: 145 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Head right. Very similar to Early Face-Horse 2b, although the ear is visible.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right. Above the horse is a wheel symbol which defines this type, often with lines radiating from it, and below the horse, a pellet-triangle or pellet-in-ring. This latter symbol may also appear elsewhere is the field.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: c. 1.0gm
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

No. of specimens: 21+

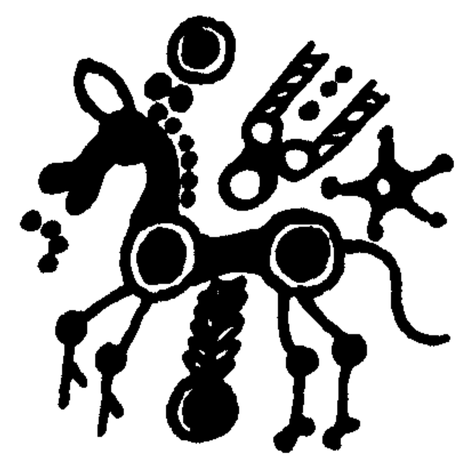
Allen name: Early Face-Horse (British LX 13)
Allen ref: IIIa
Mack number: 413a, 413b
Haselgrove number: EA 73.1
Van Arsdell number: 665-3,-9
Hobbs numbers: 3538, 3539, 3546
Evans ref: -

Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Cb

TYPE NO: 150 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 4a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: This type is rarer than the 4b type.

Obverse description: Head right. Very similar to Early Face-Horse 2b type.

Reverse description: Horse left facing, characteristically with a rope-like stick (which may be interpreted instead as a feather or ear-of-corn type motif) under the belly. Above the horse can be found pellet-in-ring symbols and a *boucephalon*. The horse has a solid head and a pellet mane. Other symbols in the field including a five-point star.

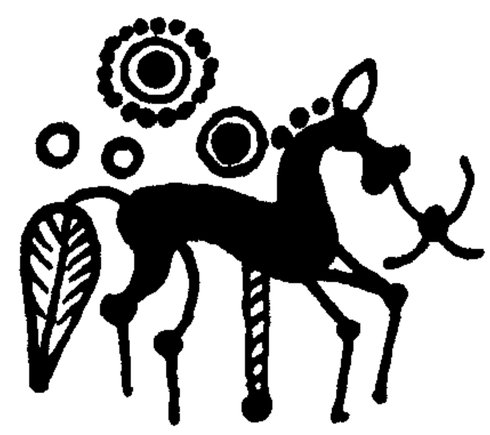
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.26 - 1.39gm
Diameter: 15mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 3
No. of rev. dies: 3

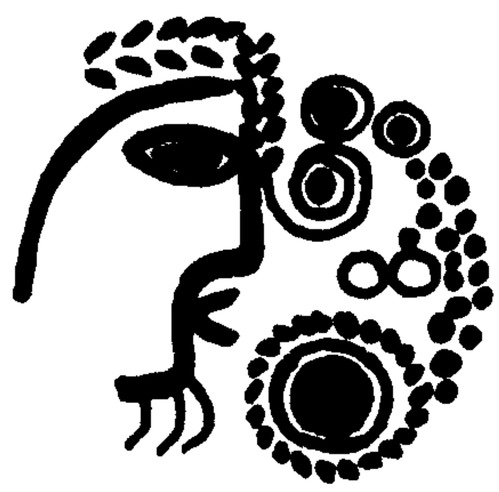
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Cc
No. of coins studied for die linking: 5

TYPE NO: 155 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 4b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverses Reverse





Obverse description: Similar to Early Face-Horse 2b. The head is right, with pellet-in-ring symbols around in the field. Usually dies show a bearded head. There is much die variety. Some dies are used virtually to destruction, and the obverses can appear nearly blank.

Reverse description: Horse right, characteristically with a rope-like stick under the belly, or a ear-of-corn-like symbol beneath, sometimes inverted. The tail may be leaf-shaped as in Bury A. Above the horse can be found pellet-in-ring symbols.

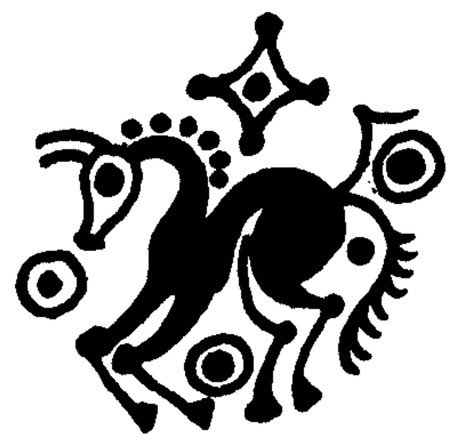
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.25 - 1.39gm
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 13
No. of rev. dies: 9
No. of specimens: 21+

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3350, 3351
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Cc
No. of coins studied for die linking: 16

TYPE NO: 160 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 5a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comments: The weights are relatively low, and it is possible that this type is a fraction. Some of the dies are badly cracked.

Obverse description: Realistically drawn head, right, with hair formed of two lines of pellets ending in a curl at the nape of the neck, similar to Early Face-Horse types 1 and 2. However, the brow and forehead are shown bare giving a Mohican-like appearance to the head. The ear is defined by a C-shape, the eye almond-shaped, and the mouth open. A line of pellets, perhaps the edge of the die design, is visible in front of the head.

Reverse description: Highly stylised and sinuous horse left, with open-head and square jaw, eye, ear, and pellet mane. A pellet-in-ring is below the horse, and a single pellet below the branched tail and a convex-sided diamond above the horse enclosing a single pellet. In front of the head is a pellet-in-ring. This die is identical in design to the Early Face-Horse 6a types.

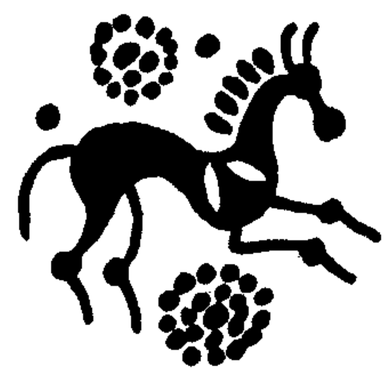
Denomination: Fraction?
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.8 - 1.0gm
Diameter: 12-14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 1
No. of rev. dies: 1
No. of specimens: 5+

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3553
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Cd
No. of coins studied for die linking: 4

TYPE NO: 165 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 5b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Realistically drawn head, right, with hair formed of two lines of pellets ending in a curl at the nape of the neck, similar to Early Face-Horse 1 and 2 types. However, the brow and forehead are shown bare giving a Mohican-like appearance to the head. The ear is defined by a C-shape, the eye almond-shaped but with no pellet, perhaps giving an appearance of an empty eye socket. The mouth is open. A line of pellets, perhaps the edge of the die design, is visible in front of the head.

Reverse description: This is a very varied group. Horse always right. Heads can vary from open-headed with a pellet eye and pellet mane, or Y-shaped, or solid. Symbols in the field include pellet-triangles, pellet-in-rings, pellet flowers, and single pellets below the tail. Other include a convex-sided diamond above the horse enclosing a single pellet. One die depicts a design identical that on some Early Face-Horse 6b coins (it is also identical but a reversed version of the Early Face-Horse 5a horse).

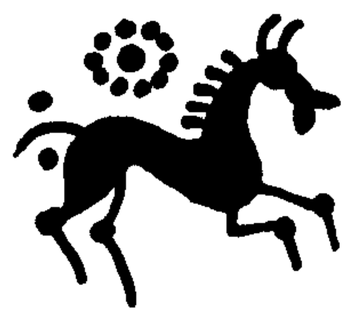
Denomination: Fraction?
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.6 - 1.17gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 4
No. of rev. dies: 4
No. of specimens: at least 6

Allen name: Early Face-Horse
Allen ref: IIIa (British LX 13)
Mack number: 413c
Haselgrove number: EA 73.1
Van Arsdell number: 665-5
Hobbs numbers: 3540
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse Cd
No. of coins studied for die linking: 4

TYPE NO: 165 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 5b (CONT)

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Reverses



TYPE NO: 170 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 6a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Head right, with a beard formed of rows of pellets, and hair similarly formed of larger pellets, giving the appearance of tight curls. The nose is pronounced, the lips formed of two pellets, and the brow jutting. The ear is C-shaped, and the eye round formed of a large pellet-in-ring. Single pellets and lines appear in the field. Gregory sometimes referred to it as "Dotty Face-Horse". Identical to type 6b (Chadburn 175).

Reverse description: Horse left, with open-head, eye, ear, and pellet mane. A pellet-in-ring is below the horse, a single pellet below the tail and a convex-sided diamond above the horse enclosing a single pellet. It is identical in design to some dies used on Early Face-Horse 5 coins.

Denomination: Fraction?
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.76 - 1.00gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 3*
No. of rev. dies: 2
No. of specimens: 3+

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3554
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse B
No. of coins studied for die linking: 3

Comment: * one of these dies is shared with type 6b.

TYPE NO: 175 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 6b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Head right, with a beard formed of rows of pellets, and hair similarly formed of larger pellets, giving the appearance of tight curls. The nose is pronounced, the lips formed of two pellets, and the brow jutting. The ear is C-shaped, and the eye round. Single pellets and lines appear in the field. Gregory sometimes referred to this type as "Dotty Face-Horse". Identical to Type 6a (Chadburn 170).

Reverse description: Horse right, with open-head, eye, ear, and pellet mane. A pellet-in-ring is below the horse, a single pellet below the tail and a convex-sided diamond above the horse enclosing a single pellet. It is identical in design to some dies used on Early Face-Horse 5 coins (type Chadburn 165). There is some die variety – two specimens (one from south Lincolnshire) show a pellet-in-ring symbol above the horse (see Hobbs 3552 for a specimen from Suffolk), and another coin from south Lincolnshire shows a pellet-in-ring above the horse and a spiral below.

Denomination: Fraction?
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.64-1.10gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 3*
No. of rev. dies: 4
No. of specimens: 12+

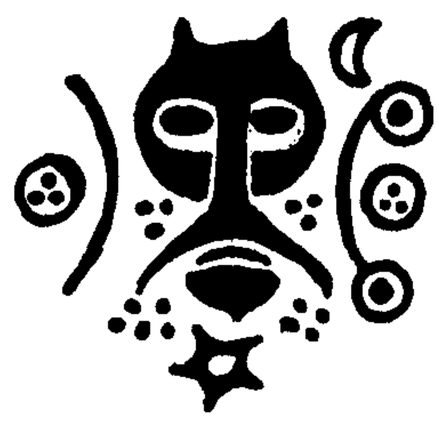
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3552, 3555
Evans ref: -
Gregory name: Early Face-Horse B
No. of coins studied for die linking: 12

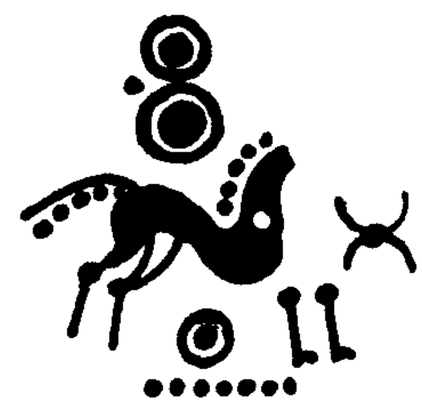
Comment: * one of these dies is shared with type 6a.

TYPE NO: 180 COIN NAME: EARLY FACE-HORSE 7

Die reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: The flan is thin. A single specimen is known.

Obverse description: Stylised head, facing, in bas relief. Nose becomes a long drooping moustache, under which there is a down turned mouth and pointed beard. The head appears to have two horns. The eyes are almond-shaped. In the field are numerous symbols, especially pellet-in-rings and pellet triangles. There may be a depiction of torcs on either side of the head, with pellet-in-rings depicting the torc terminals. The horns appear to be short bull's horns, not antlers. Non-antlered horned beings are common in British Celtic iconography, unlike on the Continent, and are often associated with overtly masculine traits (Green 1986, 197-8) such as the prominent moustache depicted here. In these cases, the horns depict fertility, although they are also associated with strength and power in general.

Reverse description: Stylised horse right, above pellet exergual line. Pellet line under tail, and pellet mane. Numerous symbols in field, especially pellet-in-rings.

Denomination: Fraction?
Metal: Silver
Date: 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.68gm
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

Normal Face-Horse types.

This series has been the subject of considerable debate in recent years, principally because Van Arsdell (1987) identified them as the coins of "Queen Boudicca". This identification was accepted by some coin dealers, but many numismatists never accepted the attribution and indeed many dealers now believe otherwise.

I have never favoured the attribution of this series to Boudica, which seems to have been made simply on the ground of their being the "final" coins in the Icenian series, using an analysis of their weight. I undertook an identical analysis on a larger sealed sample of coins (the Field Baulk hoard) and the results came out differently - in my analysis, the silver Pattern-Horse coins – the Anteds, Ecens and so on - were last in the series (*cf* my lecture to the RNS, 16.3.1993).

Other significant problems with the Boudican attribution include:

- why are the coins uninscribed? (in Van Arsdell's model the uninscribed types are apparently later than an inscribed series of coins, the Pattern-Horse series; this is most unusual in the normal stylistic development of coinage);

- why do they depict a male head, moustached in many cases?

- why were they needed by Boudica?

- was there enough time after she became "war leader" but before her defeat to mint and circulate the coins sufficiently widely so that they appear in very similar proportions in all Icenian silver hoards?

- did she have the authority to mint coins? (according to classical sources, her daughters were to inherit the Icenian kingdom, not her, and she was a royal consort. This is discussed in Chapter 2);

- and finally, if she were queen, why were they not inscribed with her name?

Additionally, Van Arsdell (1987) does not recognise the stylistic connections between the Early Face-Horse series and the Face-Horse series, but in fact it seems clear that they formed a chronological sequence. For example, some early heads bear a very close resemblance to later ones (*cf* Allen (1970) photo number 78, an Early Face-Horse 5 type, with Allen (*ibid*) photo number 84, a Normal Face-Horse A type).

Other motifs which continue between early and later types include the concave-sided lozenge, which occurs on Early Face-Horse 5 and 6 coin types, and which then appears on all later Face-Horse coins under the horse. Furthermore it seems logical to assume that Early Face-Horse coins (which are often heavier and on larger flans) came before a series of Normal Face-Horse

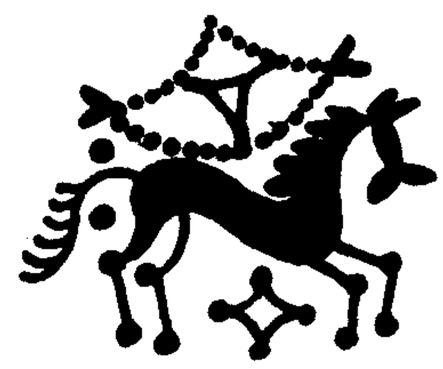
coins which bear stylistic similarities to the former, but which are far more standardised in their design, weight, and flan size.

In Van Arsdell's model, the Early Face-Horse coins date to around 20-15 BC and the Later Face-Horse coins to 61 AD, coming after the Ecen series. This chronological gap seems extremely unlikely for all the aforementioned reasons.

TYPE NO: 185 COIN NAME: NORMAL FACE-HORSE A

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Stylised head right in bas relief, probably male, with two trefoil motifs in front of nose and mouth. The face is enclosed by a line from forehead to chin, giving the appearance of a helmet or headdress being worn. Sometimes the ear is shown on this "helmet". The hair (or head-dress) is made up of two parts, one of short lines, and the second of longer wavy lines ending in pellets, and giving a decorative air. These longer lines are confined to the top of the head. The eye is usually shown by an almond-shaped pellet. Behind the neck is a branch or ear-of-wheat motif. Sometimes there is a pellet triangle below the head. The head is surrounded by a circular border of slanting lines. There is a considerable variation in the depiction of faces, and some seem to show similarities to certain Early Face-Horse coins (*cf* Allen photo no. 84 with Allen photo no. 78 in Allen 1970). Sometimes, a crescent is cut below the eye, and on other dies, the face is shown in bas-relief with a sunken eye (*cf* Allen photo no. 84 *ibid* and also coin 12 from Fring, Chadburn 1990). This type has no moustache, unlike Normal Face-Horse B.

Reverse description: Stylised horse right, with head and jaws made from a trefoil shape. The mane is made up of a line of single pellets. Below the horse is a concave-sided diamond ending in pellets. Above the horse, there is a stylised motif made up of three lines, two concave and one convex, usually made up of pellets. Within this crescent-like motif is a concave-sided triangle.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.26gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Normal Face-Horse A
Allen ref: IIIb
Mack number: 413
Haselgrove number: EA 73.2
Van Arsdell number: 790-1
Hobbs numbers: 3556-3604
Evans ref: XVI 7

TYPE NO: 190 COIN NAME: NORMAL FACE-HORSE A VARIANT

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Comment: A single specimen is known from the Fring hoard. The reverse die was probably made in error.

Obverse description: As type 185

Reverse description: As type 185 except horse faces left.

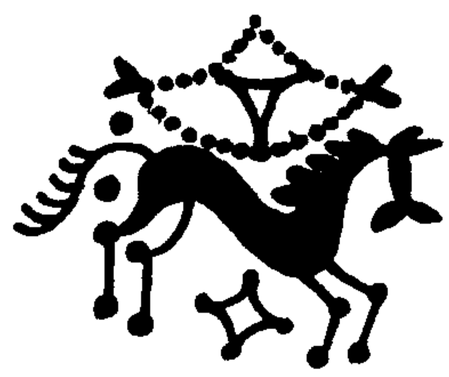
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 195 COIN NAME: NORMAL FACE-HORSE B/C

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: As Normal Face-Horse A (Chadburn 185), only with a moustache. There is perhaps less variation in this group, although the series seems to end with a number of rather spiky looking individuals with an upturned nose (e.g. photos in Van Arsdell 1979 nos 792-1, 794-1). Allen classified these latter as Normal Face-Horse C but there is such a continuum between these and the others that they are clearly the same type. They are almost invariably less worn, fresh-looking and are likely to be amongst the last dies cut of this type.

Reverse description: As Normal Face-Horse A (Chadburn 185)

Denomination: Unit

Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Normal Face-Horse B
Normal Face-Horse C
Allen ref: IIIc and IIId
Mack number: 413d
Haselgrove number: EA83.1, 83.2
Van Arsdell number: 792-1, 794-1
Hobbs numbers: 3605-3759
Evans ref: XVI 8

Prasto type

Although only a single coin type is known, this is a highly important type and deserves detailed discussion, which is given in chapter 6 as it has implications for the chronology of the series.

I have named this type "Prasto" as this is its common name and I have avoided changing common names where possible, although I recognise that this only reflects part of the inscription.

Only 15 coins are known.

It is noteworthy that this is a very rare type, and has low weights and appears to be made in low-quality silver. They types are not well-preserved as a result. Why this should be the case is not known, but these coins do not appear to be made to the same standards as the rest of the Icenian series.

TYPE NO: 200 COIN NAME: PRASTO

Die reconstructions at 2:1

Obverses Reverse

Obverse description: Male bust left in bas-relief. There are three dies and at least two show what may be a torc above the head and the legend SVB ESVPRASTO. The head is more Romanised in style than any other Icenian portrait and is the only Icenian portrait associated with a name. Whole design surrounded by circular pellet border. There are other Trin/Cat coins which show a similar head such as Hobbs 1864, a coin of Cunobelin, but is it most similar to Julio-Claudian busts on Roman coins, especially portraits of Caligula.

Reverse description: Horse right, in bas relief, apparently galloping. Above, a crescent, below a pellet flower, in front a solid multi-pointed star (possibly representing the moon, sun and stars). One die shows a large pellet behind the horse. Above the horse is the legend ESICO and below it (upside down) is the legend FECIT. There are very similar horses of Cunobelin (cf VA 2025; Hobbs 1828, 1839, 1847) and those coin types may be the prototype for the Prasto reverse. The horse on the Icenian ALE SCA and some Dobunnic BODVOC coins is also very similar. There is a circular pellet border around the horse and legends.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 30-45
Weight: 1.04gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Subidasto Esico
Allen ref: X
Mack number: 434a
Haselgrove number: EA 91.4
Van Arsdell number: 780-1
Hobbs numbers: 4577-4580
Evans ref: -

The Boar-Horse Series

This series shows a variety of boar types and horses. Although it is possible that the boar may be a domesticated pig, it is more likely to be a boar as the bristles along the back seem to indicate a wild rather than a domestic animal.

Some of the early horses show a great deal of similarity with the Freckenham horses, to the extent that some appear to have been cut by the same die cutter. Boar-Horse B also has similarities to Freckenham types 1 and 4.

The exception to this may be the ALE SCA coins (type 235) which could show a dog/wolf and not a boar based on the length of the tail. However, a variant of this type inscribed ALFF SCAVO (not given a separate type number here) appears to show a more boar-like creature.

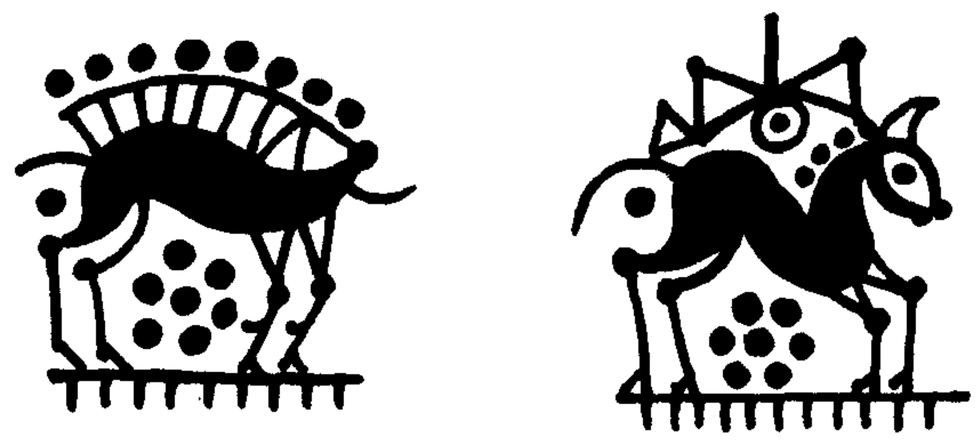
There are links to Corieltauvian coins here as many of the boars are similar. For example, one of the dies of Boar-Horse B boars (Allen's variant type – see his number 54) is similar to a Corieltauvian type (VA 857). Many of the Corieltauvian boars show symbols which are used on Icenian coins and there are strong stylistic links between the two series.

The Boar-Horse C type is by far the most common.

TYPE NO: 205 COIN NAME: EARLY BOAR-HORSE

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: A deeply engraved and stylised boar right, with well-formed bristles on the back. Under the boar, a pellet flower. There are two known dies - one has a line linking the bristles. The boar stands on a decorated exergual line.

Reverse description: A stylised horse, right. Very similar typologically to most Freckenham 3 horses, to the extent that it appears very likely that the same die-engraver worked on both series. Below the horse, a pellet flower. Above, either a spoked wheel, or pellet-in-ring flanked by triangles. The horse sometimes stands on a decorated exergual line.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.88 - 1.12gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

No. of obv. dies: 2
No. of rev. dies: 4

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3440-3444
Evans ref: -

No. of coins studied for die linking: 5

TYPE NO: 210 COIN NAME: EARLY BOAR-HORSE FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Stylised boar right, with short bristles on its back, a long tail and decorative pellets below and above the boar.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with pellet flower above the horse. There are close similarities in style to some horses on Freckenham 3 staters, and to the Early Boar-Horse unit.

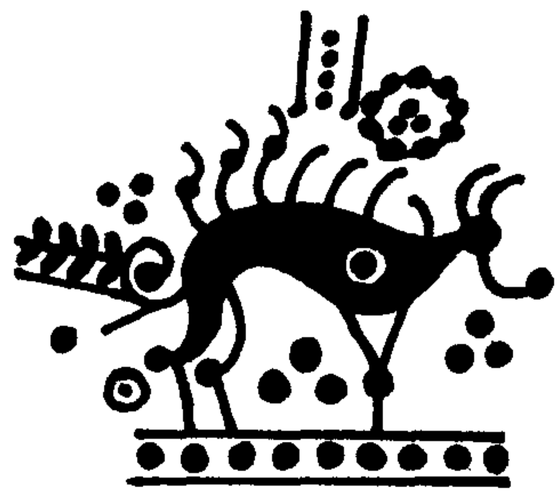
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.23gm (broken)
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

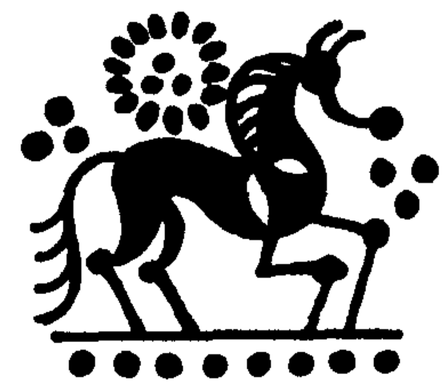
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 215 COIN NAME: BOAR-HORSE A

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: Stylised boar to right with a Y-shaped foreleg. Pellet triangle between the fore and hind legs, another in front of boar, and another behind. Above the back of the boar, which is covered in bristles, are two pellet circles, some containing a pellet triangle. These circles are sometimes separated by a double vertical line containing a line of pellets. Below the boar is a double exergual line, with a line of pellets between. Curly tail with what looks like a feather or branch attached.

Reverse description: Stylised horse to right on exergual line, with a line of pellets below. Pellet circle above horse, containing pellet triangle with two pellet triangles either side. Another pellet triangle in front of horse. Inner foreleg composed of three lines. Branched tail. Linear head, and stylised mane shown as an open curve decorated with incised lines. Two lines on body of horse perhaps representing harness.

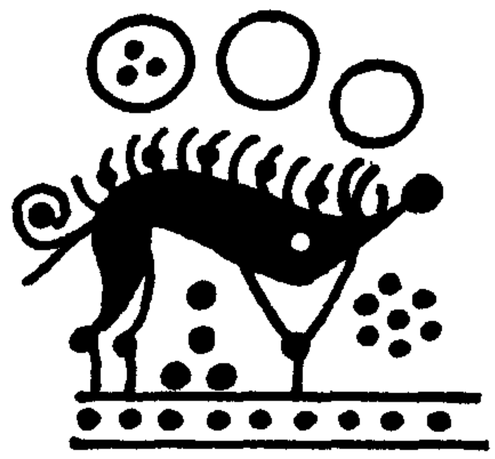
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.75 - 1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

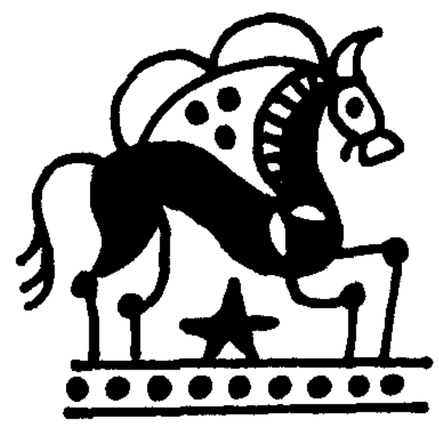
Allen name: Boar-Horse A
Allen ref: IIa
Mack number: 407
Haselgrove number: EA 62
Van Arsdell number: 655-1
Hobbs numbers: 3445-3454
Evans ref: XVI 11

TYPE NO: 220 COIN NAME: BOAR-HORSE B

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: There is some die variety in this group, and it here includes Allen's variant (no. 54) as the obverse die appears very similar, and only differs in very minor details. There is a probable fraction (type 240) which goes with this unit.

Obverse description: Boar right, with Y-shaped foreleg on a decorated double exergual line. Bristles along back of boar, with every other bristle being decorated with a pellet. Four annulets above the back of boar. Four pellets between the legs and five in front of the foreleg. Curly tail.

Reverse description: Horse to right on exergual line, with similar shaped head to Freckenham 4 staters, and divided arch above the horse as on Freckenham 1 stater. Pellet triangle above horse, and solid five-pointed star below. Sometimes the shoulder is marked by two lines, perhaps representing a harness.

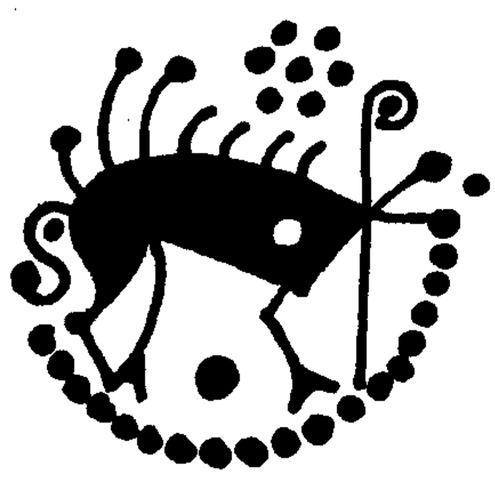
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.75-1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

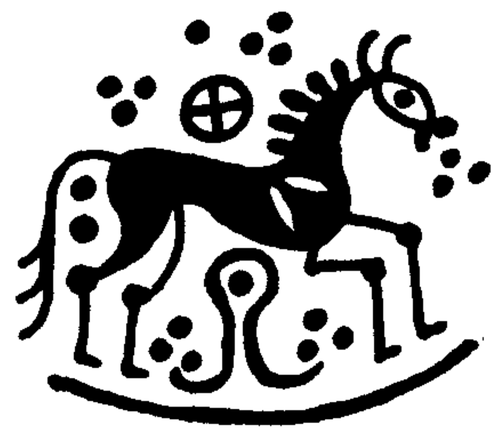
Allen names: B-H B, B-H B variant
Allen ref: IId, IIc
Mack number: 408
Haselgrove number: EA 72.1
Van Arsdell number: 657-1,-3
Hobbs numbers: 3455-3472
Evans ref: XVI 10

TYPE NO: 225 COIN NAME: BOAR-HORSE C

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comments: The most common of the Icenian boar-horse coin types. For a contemporary plated forgery see Hobbs 3512. Quite a few plated coins are known.

Obverse description: Stylised boar to right within a half-wreath of pellets. The hind legs are joined at the base, and feet are shown as by a V motif. Bristles are present along the back of the boar, which are longer and wavier towards the rump. Above the boar is a six-pellet circle, and in front a wand-like stick, ending in a single-pellet annulet at the top to one side. A single pellet can be seen below the boar. The tail is a curly S-shape.

Reverse description: Horse to right with an open-head, and pellet eye. The shoulder is marked by two lines, perhaps representing a harness. Above the horse is a four-spoked wheel (or occasionally a five-spoked wheel), and pellet triangles. Below the horse is a characteristic loop, ending in two or three pellets on either side or more usually, pellet triangles. Below that is a curved exergual line. In front of horse, yet another pellet triangle.

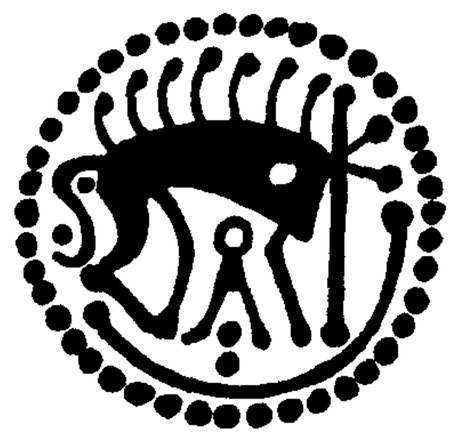
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight:c, 1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: Some known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Boar-Horse C
Allen number: IIe
Mack number: 409
Haselgrove number: EA 72.2
Van Arsdell number: 659-1,-2,-3
Hobbs numbers: 3473-3512
Evans ref: XVI 9

TYPE NO: 230 COIN NAME: CAN(I) DVRO

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Stylised boar right within a wreath of pellets. The boar itself is almost identical to that on Boar-Horse C coins, including the hind-legs joined at the base, and the same wand-like motif forming one of the forelegs, and curly tail. However, beneath the horse is a symbol resembling the letter A, with a ring above the A. Below the boar is a curved exergual line ending in pellets which might be interpreted as a torc.

Reverse description: Allen recognised the two reverse dies of this type, which have rather different manes, die A having a mane composed of a double line of pellets, and die B showing the mane composed of a single line of pear-shaped pellets with small pellets at the end. Both dies show a stylised horse right, with the inscription CAN above and DVRO below. Some have thought the inscription may read CANO or CANS, but this is uncertain. However, reverse die B, does appear to show the inscription CANI, and a line with pellets above that, perhaps representing a wand or spear. The legend CANI DVRO is therefore more likely. Below the neck is a reverse S motif; the head is solid, with a pellet for the eye.

Denomination: Unit

Metal: Silver
Date: c.AD 10-40
Weight: c.1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 1

Allen name: Boar-Horse D/CANS DVRO
Allen number: IIf
Mack number: 434
Haselgrove number: EA 72.3
Van Arsdell number: 663-1
Hobbs numbers: 3521-3523
Evans ref: XV 14
No. of rev. dies: 2

Comment: One contemporary forgery known, die A

TYPE NO: 235 COIN NAME: ALE SCA

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Comments: A variant type has been noted in trade, showing the legend ALFF or possibly ALIIFF and SCAVO (Chris Rudd List 70), and showing a realistically depicted boar right.

Obverse description: Leaping animal, probably a wolf or dog, right, with forelegs raised. The tail is very long and straight - the main reason for identifying the animal as a wolf/dog rather than as a boar, whose tails are usually depicted in a different fashion by Iron Age engravers i.e. they are more curly. However, Allen, Van Arsdell and Hobbs classify this animal as a boar, and because of the uncertainty, I have kept it in my "Boar-Horse" typological categories. Above the wolf/dog is a crescent and two pellet-in-rings. Below, the inscription ALE. One die depicts open jaws formed from two pellets.

Reverse description: Leaping horse right with a long tail. Above the horse, there are three pellets surrounding a pellet-in-ring. Below the horse is the inscription SCA, with the cross-bar missing from the A. The design is partly enclosed by a pellet wreath. One die is very similar to the horse in the Prasto type, and there are also very similar horses of Cunobelin (e.g. Hobbs 1839, 1847).

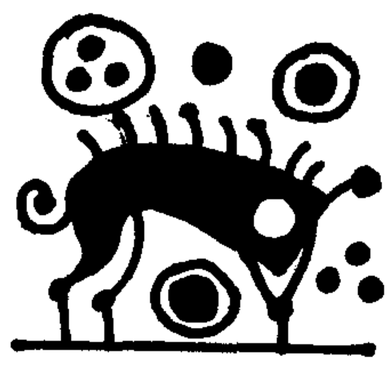
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 30-45
Weight: c.1.0gm
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: 2
No. of rev. dies: 2

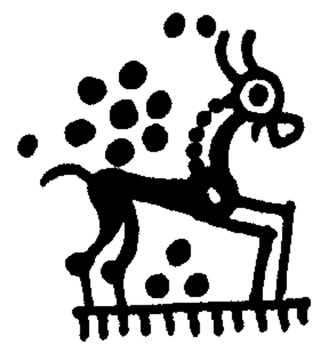
Allen name: Boar-Horse E (Ale Sca)
Allen number: IIg
Mack number: 469
Haselgrove number: EA 72.4
Van Arsdell number: 996-1 (Corieltauvi)
Hobbs numbers: 4576
Evans ref: -
No. of coins studied for die linking: 2

TYPE NO: 240 COIN NAME: BOAR-HORSE FRACTION 1

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: There may be two sizes of fraction here, as the flan size and weights vary from 8-9mm and 0.19-0.34gm (smaller size) to 11mm and 0.46gm (larger size). They appear rather different visually when placed side-by-side. Both the horse, boar, ornaments and decorated exergual lines are very similar to the full unit Boar-Horse B (type 220), so this is probably the fraction for that unit.

Obverse description: Open-headed stylised horse right on decorated exergual line (similar to Freckenham 3 and 4 staters), with pellet-triangle below, pellet-flower above and various other pellets in the field. The head sometimes has a bulbous nose similar to some horses on Freckenham 4 staters. The mane is made up of pellets and there is a circle on the horse's shoulder.

Reverse description: Stylised boar right sometimes on an exergual line, with a large pellet-in-ring below, and pellet triangle in front, and various pellet-in-ring motifs and pellets above.

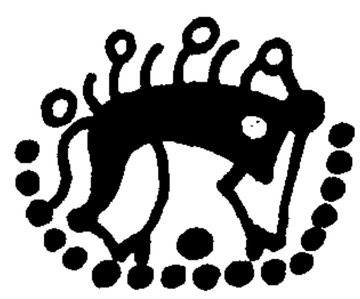
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: see above
Diameter: see above
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

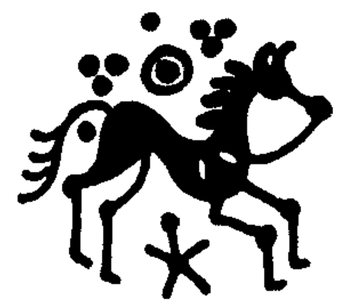
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3513-3516
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 245 COIN NAME: BOAR-HORSE FRACTION 2

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: This fraction is very similar to the designs on the Boar-Horse C unit (type 225) so this is probably the fraction for that unit.

Obverse description: Stylised horse right, with solid head, and line to body of horse probably representing reins. The mane is made up of oval pellets and above the horse is a pellet-in-ring flanked by two pellet triangles, and with other pellet in the field. The tail is branched. Below the horse is a star-like object which also has the appearance of a stick man. On the shoulder is an oval motif.

Reverse description: Stylised boar right, with very stylised legs, and bristles every other one of which ends in a small circle. Two pellets exist below the boar, and an exergual line of pellets continues in front of the boar in a straight line.

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.35 - 0.53gm
Diameter: 9mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Boar-Horse minim
Allen ref: IIb (cf photos 53, 53x)
Mack number: 411
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 661-1
Hobbs numbers: 3517-3520
Evans ref: -

The Pattern-Horse Series

These coins are by far the most common of Icenian coins – they usually make up around 65-70% of a typical Icenian hoard.

The most striking feature about them is their conservative design. The back-to-back crescents are used on a very large number of coin types, particularly the silver units. This conservatism may imply a high degree of political control – especially since there are a number of different legends on these coins which are presumed to represent different rulers.

The Anted(i) silver types are very similar but have been divided into sub-types. Most coins are inscribed with a monogram (ATD), which is interpreted as reading ANTED in full. However, in common with the gold stater, at least one die is inscribed with a fuller legend (ATDI), which is interpreted as reading ANTEDI in full. The coins from this die appear more worn than others, so they are likely to be earlier, and are classified as Anted(i) a. It appears very likely that the inscription ANTED is an abbreviation of ANTEDI, which itself is possibly a shortened version of a Celtic name such as ANTEDIOS.

TYPE NO: 250 COIN NAME: EARLY PATTERN-HORSE A

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Abstract pattern featuring two small internally-decorated crescents placed back-to-back. Rest of field made up of pellet-lines, crescents and lines in a cross shape.

Reverse description: Horse right, with "sun" motif below and exergual line. Pellet-triangle above and crescent. The horse appears to wear a harness.

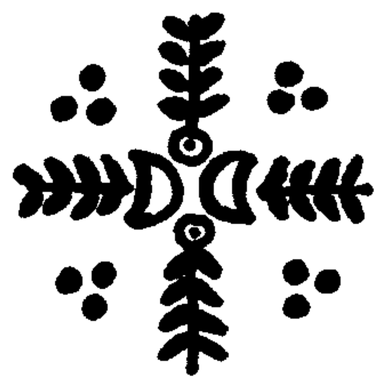
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.75-1.25gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Early Pattern-Horse A
Allen ref: IVa
Mack number: 414
Haselgrove number: EA 61.2
Van Arsdell number: 679-1
Hobbs numbers: 3763-3766
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 255 COIN NAME: EARLY PATTERN-HORSE B

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: There is a marked similarity with the Ece Bb type.

A variant type is known with the horse right, now classified as Chadburn 256, and known as Early Pattern-Horse B variant (not referred to elsewhere).

Obverse description: Two small back-to-back crescents in the middle of four leaves or branches in a cross shape. Pellet triangles in each corner.

Reverse description: Horse left with a Y-shaped head and two lines of pellets at the shoulder perhaps representing a decorated harness. One foreleg is "open" and the other legs are composed of single lines. The horse stands on an exergual line, and there is a pellet in circle below horse. Above the horse is a wheel and crescent line between two pellet triangles. Some horses have both upper forelegs shown by open double lines, although most only have the inner foreleg like this. There is a marked similarity with the Ece Bb horse.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.75-1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Early Pattern-Horse B
Allen ref: IVc
Mack number: 415
Haselgrove number: EA 71.1
Van Arsdell number: 675-1
Hobbs numbers: 3767-3774
Evans ref: XVI 1

TYPE NO: 260 COIN NAME: EARLY PATTERN-HORSE VARIANT

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Comment: The coin featured in Allen and Mack does not appear in the Hobbs catalogue although it is listed as belonging to the BM with a Suffolk provenance. Coins are very rare and found in Norfolk, Suffolk and one example comes from Surrey. Allegedly, a gold quarter stater with identical designs and weights was found in Sussex.

Obverse description: Almost identical to type 250, Early Pattern-Horse A. Some of the lines have additional decoration on them, and there are some additional lines.

Reverse description: Sinuous stylised horse right with the horse looking backwards, left. It appears to be a horse to judge from the harness it wears at the shoulder. There are circles in the field around the horse and a pentagram star below.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.35-0.7gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Early P-H A variant
Allen ref: IVb (photo 108a)
Mack number: 440
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 1611-1
Hobbs numbers: 3775, 3776
Evans ref: XVI 2

TYPE NO: 265

COIN NAME: EARLY PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 1

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse

Reverse

Obverse description: Abstract pattern in a cross shape, with various motifs in each corner of the cross.

Reverse description: Horse left with pellet mane and crescent above horse. Below is a branch or leaf with a pellet circle at the top nearest the horse. The motif under the horse bears a resemblance to the motifs under the Early Face-Horse 4 types.

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.5gm
Diameter: 10mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Early P-H minim.
Allen ref: IVd
Mack number: 417
Haselgrove number: EA 71.1
Van Arsdell number: 681-1
Hobbs numbers: 3785, 3786
Evans ref: p588

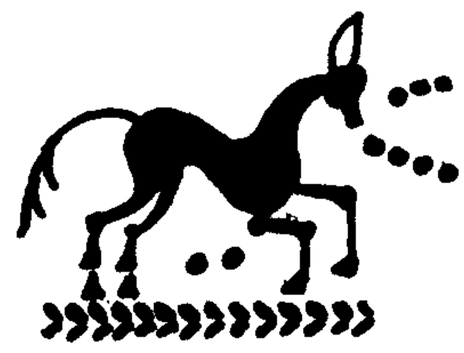
TYPE NO: 270

COIN NAME: EARLY PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 2

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse

Reverse



Comment: The only photo available is a poor quality copy of a Polaroid.

Obverse description: Abstract pattern, with three lines of pellets and other abstract designs in field.

Reverse description: Horse left, galloping on double exergual line. Tail is branched, and horse appears to have reins or a rope coming from head.

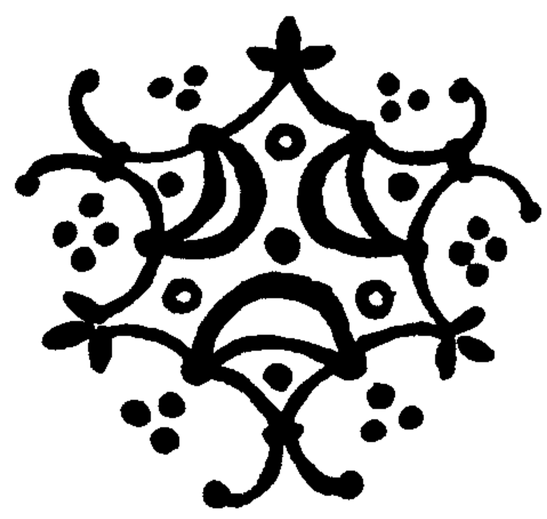
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c.20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.6gm
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

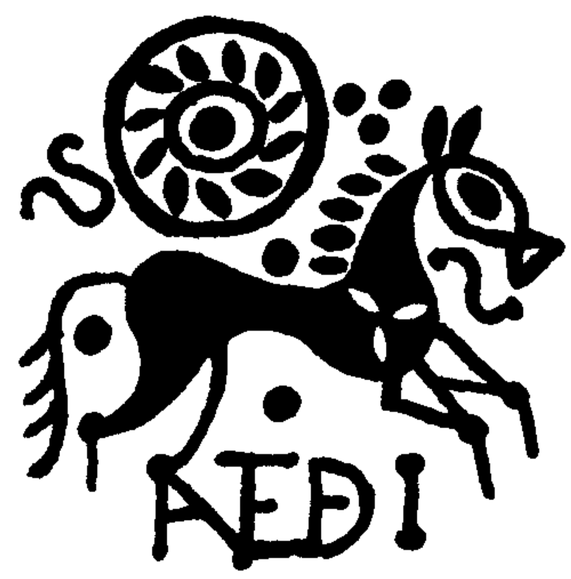
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 275 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) STATER

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: The relative minting sequence based on a very small number of specimens and analysis of the die wear is Anted - Ece - Ecen. However, this sequence could represent a short time.

Obverse description: Three open crescents in a curvilinear design with many pellets and symbols in field. This obverse is the same as types 310 and 360.

Reverse description: Horse right with reverse S under neck as in silver Anted(i) examples. The horse has an open head. Pellet under horse with monogram ATDI, which is interpreted as reading ANTEDI in full. It appears very likely that the inscription ANTED is an abbreviation of ANTEDI, which itself is possibly a shortened version of a Celtic name such as ANTEDIOS. The D is barred and probably pronounced TH. Above horse, a wheel symbol, perhaps symbolising the sun. Trefoil on shoulder of horse.

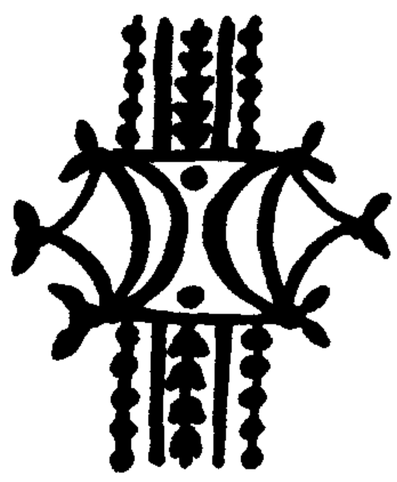
Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 5.12-5.4gm
Diameter: 20mm
Plated examples: 1 known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Anted stater
Allen ref: Va
Mack number: 418
Haselgrove number: EA 81
Van Arsdell number: 705-1
Hobbs numbers: 3790
Evans ref: XVIII 2

TYPE NO: 280 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with reverse S under neck. Below horse, a pellet triangle and the legend ANTEDI in monogram form (ATDI). Above the horse, a pellet ring and pellet triangle. Pellets below tail.

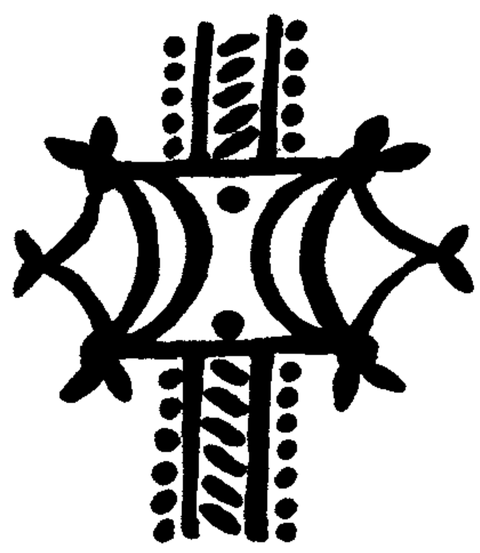
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c.1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

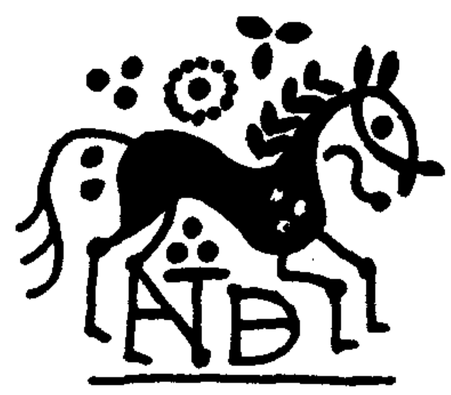
Allen name: Anted silver
Allen ref: Vb/c
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: EA 82
Van Arsdell number: 710-1
Hobbs numbers: 3791-3799
Evans ref: XV 9

TYPE NO: 285 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: A reversed type of this coin is known with the horse left, now classified as Chadburn 286 and named Anted(i) b variant. It is not discussed elsewhere.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with reverse S under neck. Below horse, a pellet triangle and the legend ANTED in monogram form (ATD). Above the horse, a pellet ring and pellet triangle. Pellets below tail.

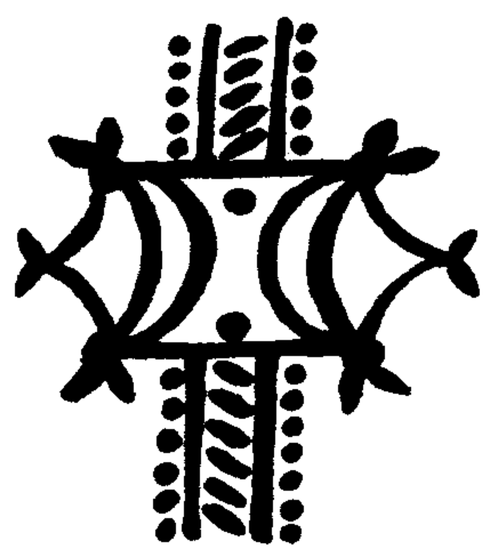
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD10-40
Weight: c.1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

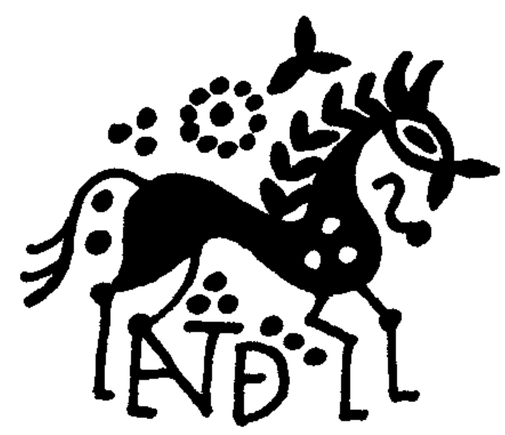
Allen name: Anted silver
Allen ref: Vb/c
Mack number: 420
Haselgrove number: EA 82
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3800-3855
Evans ref: XV 11

TYPE NO: 290 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) c

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with reverse S under neck. Below horse, a pellet triangle and a sloping line of three pellets. and the legend ANTED in monogram form (ATD). Above the horse, a pellet ring and pellet triangle. Pellets below tail.

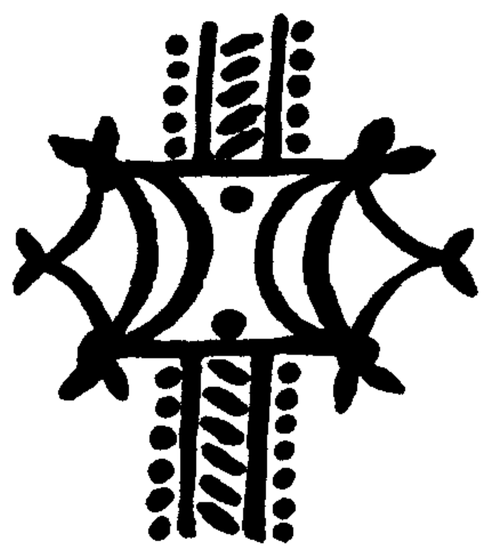
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Anted silver
Allen ref: Vb/c
Mack number: 419
Haselgrove number: EA 82
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3856-3959
Evans ref: XV 10

TYPE NO: 295 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) d

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with reverse S under neck. Below horse, a pellet triangle and a straight line of three pellets. and the legend ANTED in monogram form (ATD). Above the horse, a pellet ring and pellet triangle. Pellets below tail.

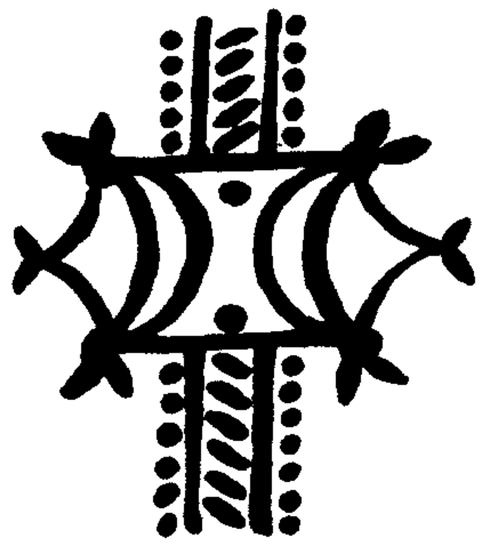
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Anted silver
Allen ref: Vb/c
Mack number: 420
Haselgrove number: EA 82
Van Arsdell number: 711-1/715-1
Hobbs numbers: 3960-4009
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 300 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) VARIANT

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with reverse S under neck. Below horse, a pellet triangle and two pellets in a straight line, and the legend T. The horse has hooves which are hook-like. The T is probably a blundered version of ANTED.

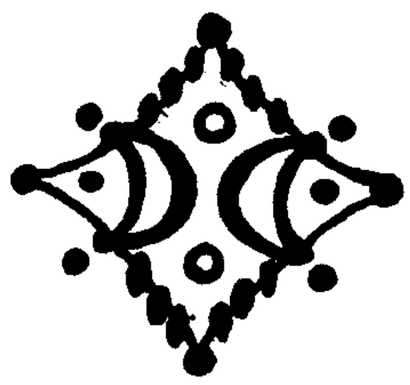
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 1.03gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

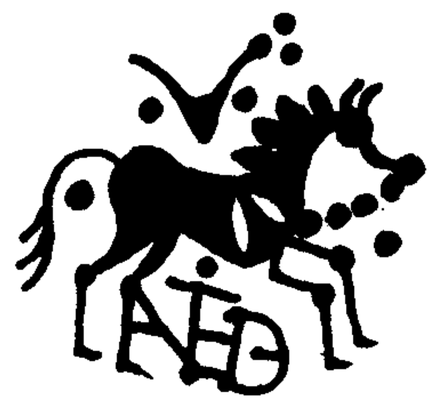
Allen name: Anted variant
Allen ref: Vc
Mack number: 421
Haselgrove number: EA 82
Van Arsdell number: 715-1
Hobbs numbers: 4027
Evans ref: XV 13

TYPE NO: 305 COIN NAME: ANTED(I) FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: All inscriptions appear as a monogram of ANTED, not ANTEDI.

Obverse description: 2 back-to-back crescents within a diamond shaped design, with pellets and circles.

Reverse description: Horse right, with solid head and a harness and reins. Under horse, monogram of ANTED, and above horse, V-shaped motif and pellet triangle.

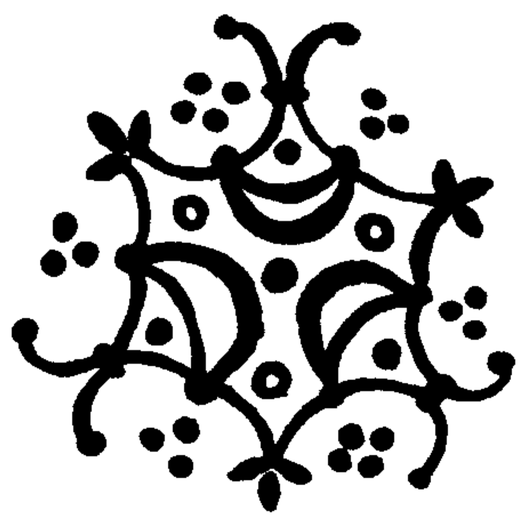
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 0.3-0.5gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

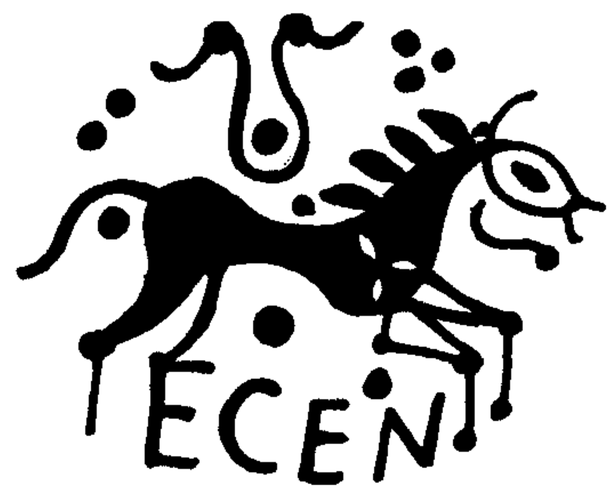
Allen name: Anted fraction
Allen ref: Vd
Mack number: 422
Haselgrove number: EA 82
Van Arsdell number: 720-1
Hobbs numbers: 4028-4031
Evans ref: p585

TYPE NO: 310 COIN NAME: ECEN STATER

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: Only the weight of the plated example is known. This die is shared with the Antedi and Ece staters but appears more worn, so the relative sequence is probably Antedi - Ece - Ecen.

Obverse description: As types 275 and 360. Three open crescents in a curvilinear design with many pellets and symbols in field.

Reverse description: Horse right with S under neck as in silver Ecen examples. Trefoil on shoulder. Under the horse, a pellet and the legend ECEN. Above the horse, a looped design identical to those used on some Freckenham 4 coins (another reason for putting these last in the sequence). The horse has an open head. Often the reverse dies are used almost to destruction.

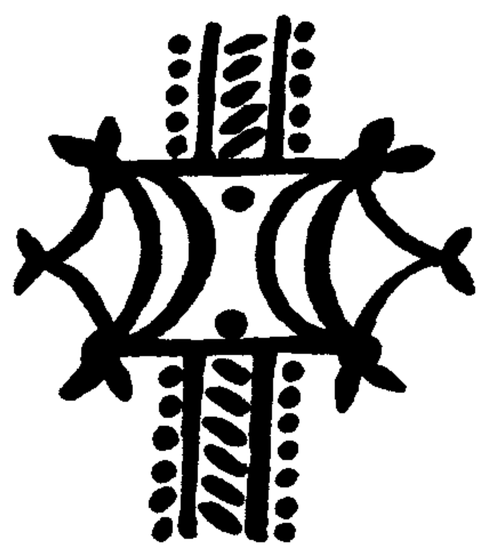
Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 3.29gm
Diameter: 17mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

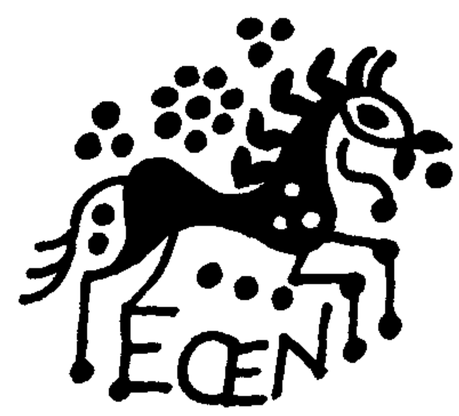
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 725-1
Hobbs numbers: 4032
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 315 COIN NAME: ECEN

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. Many are very crude and degenerate.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with S under neck. Below horse, a straight line of three pellets. and the legend ECEN. Above the horse, a pellet ring and pellet triangle. Pellets below tail.

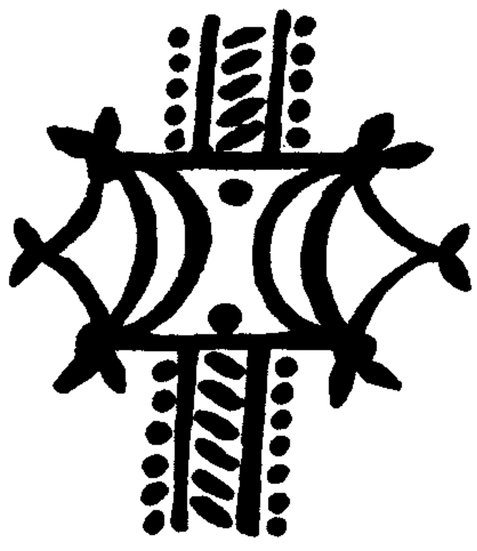
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 13-14mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ecen silver
Allen ref: VIa
Mack number: 421
Haselgrove number: EA 91.1
Van Arsdell number: 730-1, 732-1
Hobbs numbers: 4033-4215
Evans ref: XV 1, XV 2

TYPE NO: 320 COIN NAME: ECEN VARIANT

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with S under neck. Below horse, a straight line of three pellets. and the legend ER which is probably a blundered version of ECEN. Above the horse, a pellet ring and pellet triangle. Pellets below tail.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 1.06gm
Diameter: 15mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ecen variant
Allen ref: VIe
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 761-1
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 325 COIN NAME: ECEN FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within a diamond shape with pellets.

Reverse description: Horse right with a solid head and a harness and reins. Under horse is the legend ECEN with a pellet. Above the horse is a V shape.

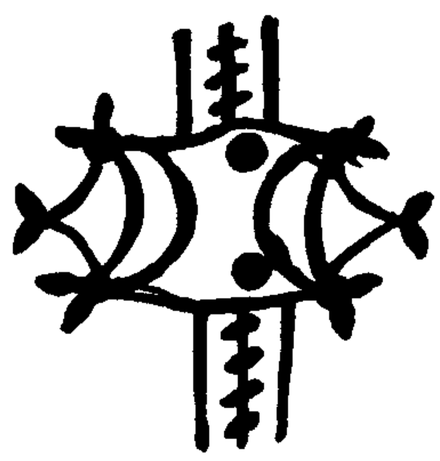
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 0.30-0.50gm
Diameter: 10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

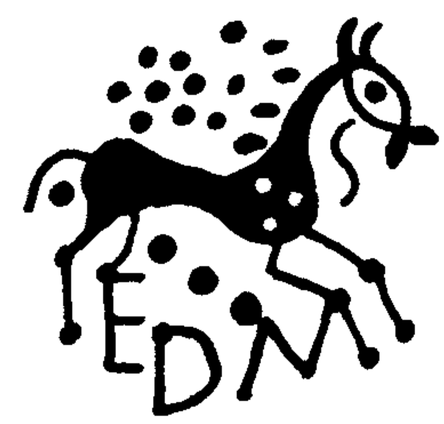
Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 736-1, 738-1
Hobbs numbers: 4217
Evans ref: p385

TYPE NO: 330 COIN NAME: ED(N)

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Comment: It is possible that this type might be an unauthorised issue, as the die engraving is so crude.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. The engraving is often very crude.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right, with S under neck. Below horse, a straight line of three pellets. and the legend ED or EDN which is probably a blundered version of ECEN. Above the horse, a pellet ring. The engraving is often very crude.

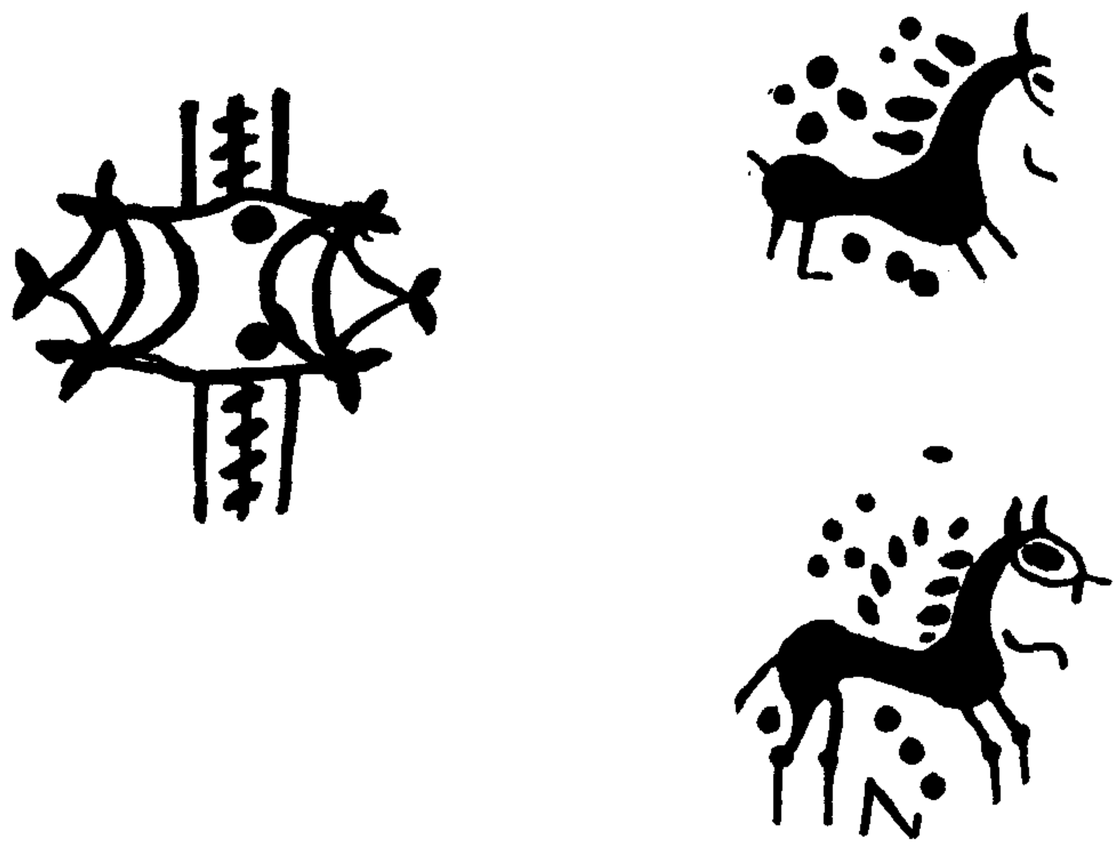
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 13-14mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ed, Edn
Allen ref: VIb
Mack number: 423, 425
Haselgrove number: EA 91.1
Van Arsdell number: 734-1, 740-1
Hobbs numbers: 4219-4282
Evans ref: XV 12

TYPE NO: 335 COIN NAME: ED(N) VARIANT

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: As Anted, but crudely engraved (see Chadburn 1996). Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines

Reverse description: Open-headed horse, right, with S motif beneath the neck, and a line of three pellets below the horse. The mane is crudely drawn, and degenerated from the Anted "ear of corn" type. Below the horse is a degenerate inscription; on one die, simply an N, on another, an E. This type can be confused with the Triple Symbol type because the degenerate mane looks similar, and the N can look like the top of a triangle symbol (Chadburn 1996)

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 1.20-1.35gm
Diameter: 11-14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known
No. of obv. dies: Not yet known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 756-1, 754-1
Hobbs numbers: 4283-4296
Evans ref: -
No. of rev. dies: 2

TYPE NO: 340 COIN NAME: ED(N) FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within a diamond shape with pellets.

Reverse description: Horse right with a solid head and a harness and reins. Under horse is the legend ED with a pellet. Above the horse is a V shape.

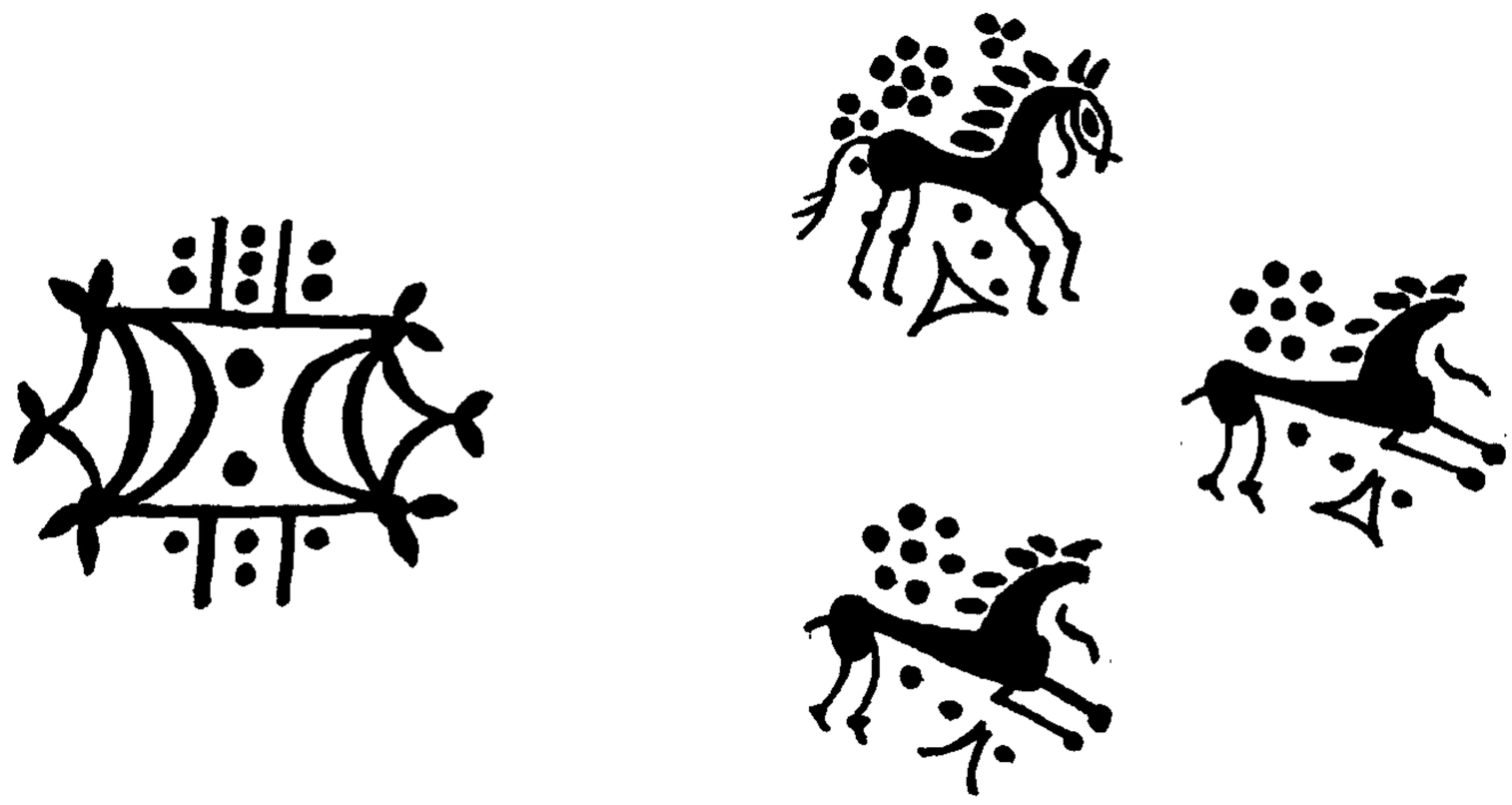
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 0.3-0.5gm
Diameter: 10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 345 COIN NAME: TRIPLE SYMBOL a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: As Anted(i) obverse, but more crudely engraved. Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse, right, with S motif beneath the neck, and a line of three pellets below the horse. The mane is composed of a single line of almond-shaped pellets, and this can distinguish it from the Ecen or Ed(n) types when the inscription or symbol is off-flan. Below the horse is a concave-sided triangle, and it is this which distinguishes it from the Triple Symbol b type. On one die this triangle usually appears unfinished, (perhaps because of a clogged die) but there is a specimen with the complete triangle in existence (see die reconstructions above). Above the horse is a pellet-flower flanked by two pellet triangles. The tail can be branched.

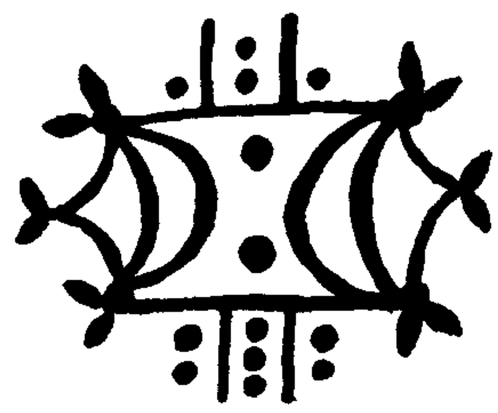
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c.AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

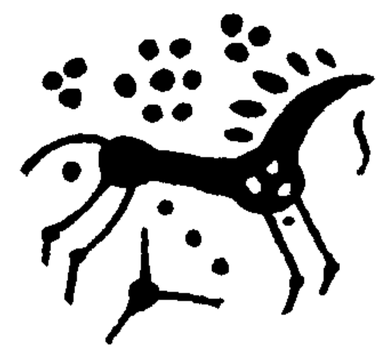
Allen name: Symbols
Allen ref: VIc
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: EA 91.1
Van Arsdell number: 750-1
Hobbs numbers: 4324-4328
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 350 COIN NAME: TRIPLE SYMBOL b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse





Obverse description: As Anted obverse, but more crudely engraved. Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse, right, with S motif beneath the neck, and a line of three pellets below the horse. The mane is composed of a single line of almond-shaped pellets, and this distinguishes it from the Ecen or Ed(n) types where the inscription or symbol is off-flan. Below the horse is a straight-sided triskeles or Y-shape with a pellet at the centre, and it is this which distinguishes it from Triple Symbol b. Above the horse is a pellet-flower flanked by two pellet triangles.

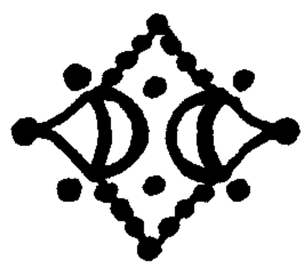
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25mm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Symbols
Allen ref: VIc
Mack number: 429
Haselgrove number: EA 91.1
Van Arsdell number: 752-1
Hobbs numbers: 4297-4323
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 355 COIN NAME: TRIPLE SYMBOL FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within a diamond shape with pellets.

Reverse description: Horse right with a solid head and a harness and reins. Above the horse is a V shape.

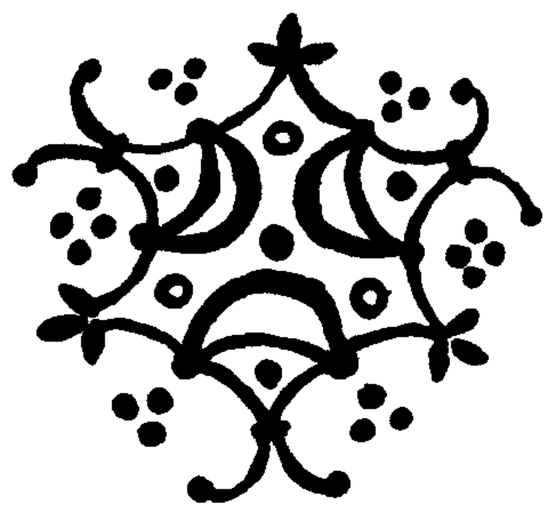
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 0.3 gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 360 COIN NAME: ECE STATER

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: The obverse die is shared with the Antedi and Ecen staters and appears more worn than the Antedi staters and less worn than the Ecens, so the relative sequence is probably Antedi then Ece then Ecen. (However, this relative sequence could have been a very short space of time – perhaps even a single minting).

Obverse description: As type 275 and 310. Three open crescents in a curvilinear design with many pellets and symbols in field.

Reverse description: Horse right with S under neck as in silver Ecen examples. Trefoil on shoulder. Under the horse, a pellet and the legend ECE. Above the horse, a looped design identical to those used on some Freckenham 4 coins (another reason for putting these last in the sequence). The horse has an open head.

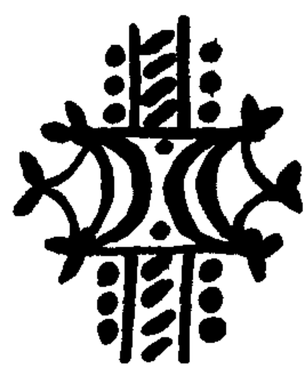
Denomination: Stater
Metal: Gold
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: Not recorded
Diameter: 14mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 365 COIN NAME: ECE Aa

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved.

Reverse description: This can be distinguished from the Ece Ab type by the almond or oval shaped motif on the shoulder. Horse right, stepping. Under the head is an S and above a pellet flower. The head is a curious shape, derived from a horse on a coin of Cunobeline (VA 2101).

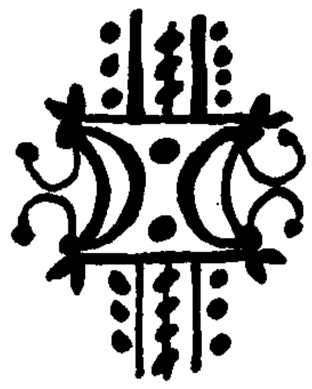
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 13-14mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ece A
Allen ref: VII
Mack number: 425
Haselgrove number: EA 91.2
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 4348-59
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 370 COIN NAME: ECE Ab

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved.

Reverse description: This can be distinguished from Ece Aa by the trefoil motif on the shoulder. Horse right, stepping. Under the head is an S and above a pellet flower. The head is a curious shape, derived from a horse on a coin of Cunobeline (VA 2101).

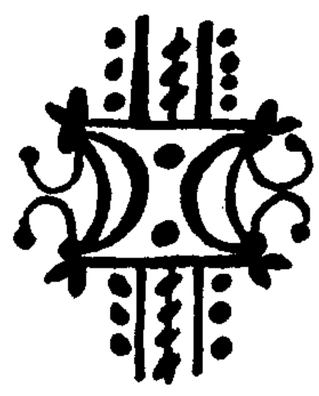
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 12-14mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ece A
Allen ref: VII
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: EA 91.2
Van Arsdell number: 760-1
Hobbs numbers: 4360-4430
Evans ref: XV 3

TYPE NO: 375 COIN NAME: ECE Ba

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved.

Reverse description: This can be distinguished from the Ece Bb type by the trefoil shoulder motif. Y-headed horse right, prancing. Under horse, the legend ECE. Above the horse, a pellet flower.

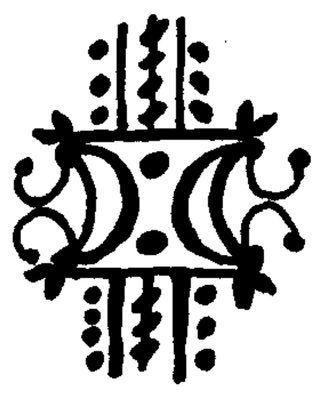
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ece B
Allen ref: VIII
Mack number: 426
Haselgrove number: EA 91.3
Van Arsdell number: 764-1
Hobbs numbers: 4431-4444
Evans ref: XV 4

TYPE NO: 380 COIN NAME: ECE Bb

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved.

Reverse description: This can be distinguished from the Ece Ba type by the six-pellet design on the shoulder. Y-headed horse right, prancing. Under horse, the legend ECE. Above the horse, a pellet flower.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ece B
Allen ref: VIII
Mack number: 427
Haselgrove number: EA 91.3
Van Arsdell number: 762-1
Hobbs numbers: 4445-4513
Evans ref: XV 5

TYPE NO: 385 COIN NAME: ECE FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Note: The weight of the plated example is 0.42gm.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within a diamond shape with pellets.

Reverse description: Horse right with a solid head and a harness and reins. Above the horse is a V shape and a pellet triangle. Below horse, the legend ECE.

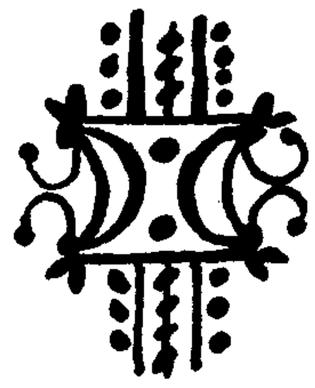
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 0.49gm
Diameter: 9-10mm
Plated examples: Yes (4218)
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ece fraction
Allen ref: VId
Mack number: 431
Haselgrove number: EA 91.1
Van Arsdell number: 742-1
Hobbs numbers: 4216, 4218
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 390 COIN NAME: ECE B (REVERSED)

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: The weight of the plated example is 0.76gm.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved.

Reverse description: Six-pellet design on the shoulder, so this relates to the Ece Bb types. Y-headed horse left, prancing. Under horse, the legend ECE, backwards. Above the horse, a pellet flower. This looks as though a die has been cut by copying that on a coin, with the result that everything is in reverse.

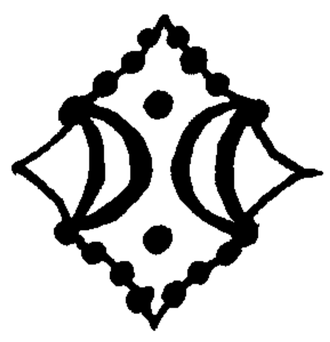
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: Yes (4539)
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Ece B reversed
Allen ref: VIII
Mack number: 428
Haselgrove number: EA 91.3
Van Arsdell number: 766-1
Hobbs numbers: 4514-4539
Evans ref: XV 6

TYPE NO: 395 COIN NAME: ECE B (REVERSED) FRACTION

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within a diamond shape with pellets.

Reverse description: Horse left with a solid head and a harness and reins. Above the horse is a V shape and a pellet triangle. Below horse, the legend ECE reversed.

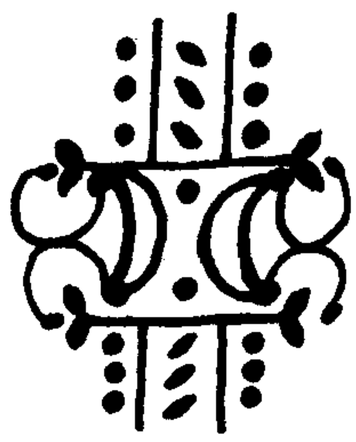
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 0.3-0.5gm
Diameter: 11mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 400 COIN NAME: SAENV

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: There is a single obverse die shared with the Aesv type. The Saenv coins appear to have been struck first.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved and more curvilinear.

Reverse description: Identical to the Ece Bb type with a six-pellet design on the shoulder. Y-headed horse right, prancing. Under horse, the legend SAENV. Above the horse, a pellet flower.

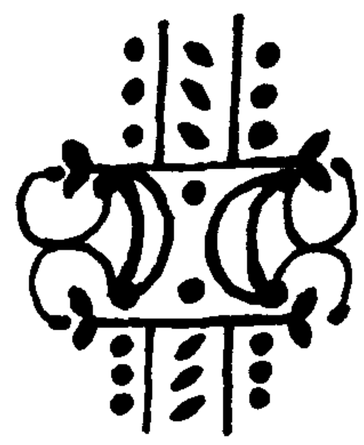
Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: c. 1.25gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Saenv
Allen ref: IXa
Mack number: 433
Haselgrove number: EA 91.3
Van Arsdell number: 770-1
Hobbs numbers: 4540-4557
Evans ref: XV 7

TYPE NO: 405 COIN NAME: AESV

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: There is a single obverse die shared with the Saenv type. The Aesv coins appear to have been struck first.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents within two lines at top and bottom. Above and below those lines, another linear design of pellets and lines. As Anted(i) and Ecen types but often smaller and more finely engraved and more curvilinear.

Reverse description: Identical to the Ece Bb type with a six-pellet design on the shoulder. Y-headed horse right, prancing. Under horse, the legend AESV. Above the horse, a pellet flower.

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 10-40
Weight: 1.21gm
Diameter: 13mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Aesv
Allen ref: IXb
Mack number: 432
Haselgrove number: 91.3
Van Arsdell number: 775-1
Hobbs numbers: 4558-4572
Evans ref: XV 8

TYPE NO: 410 COIN NAME: AEDI

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: The letters AEDI or AEDIC or possibly AEDIO are inscribed within a tablet, enclosed within a circle and a circular border of pellets. The C is less clear or certain than the other letters, and it is possible that the I could alternatively be read as a T as it merges with the upper line. The D has a crossbar and was probably pronounced TH. It is also possible to read the letters AE as ANTE as in the manner of other Icenian ANTED coins. If so, the inscription could read ANTEDI[O]or ANTEDI[C]. The inscribed tablet is without parallel in the Icenian series but recalls other more Romanised Iron Age coins such as those of Verica, Tincommius, Cunobelin and Tasciovanus (Chadburn 1991a).

Reverse description: A stylised horse with a three pellet triangle on the shoulder, and a simple linear head. The letters]SIA[can be made out under the horse, which are probably part of a longer inscription (Chadburn 1991a).

Denomination: Unit
Metal: Silver
Date: c. AD 30-45
Weight: 0.94gm
Diameter: 12mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs number: 4581
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 415 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 1a

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Triskeles with lines and pellets arranged in design. Central pellet.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right with pellet flower above and below horse.

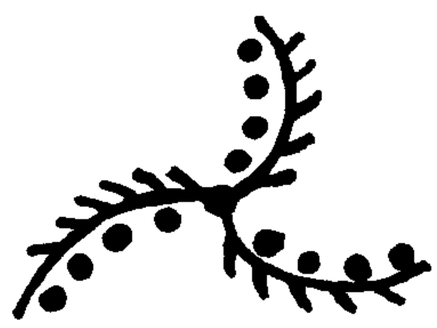
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.59gm
Diameter: 10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs number: 3788
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 420 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 1b

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Triskeles with lines and pellets arranged in design. Central pellet.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right with pellet triangle above and below horse.

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.54gm
Diameter: 10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs number: 3787
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 425 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 2

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Concave-sided triangle with central pellet.

Reverse description: Horse, right, with pellet triangle below and ring above.

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.50gm
Diameter: 9mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs number: 3789
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 430 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 3

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Reverse

Obverse description: Blank.

Reverse description: Open-headed horse right with pellet triangle below and pellet in ring above. Reins made of pellets lead from head.

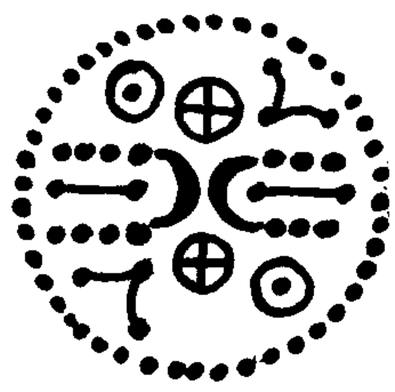
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: c.0.5gm
Diameter: 9mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: -
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 435 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 4

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Obverse description: Abstract design with lines and back-to-back C shapes. Two wheels.

Reverse description: Rather spiky horse with motif on shoulder. 5-petalled flower below and wheel above with two pellet triangles.

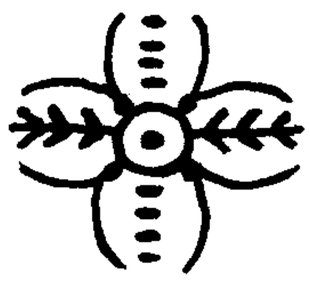
Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.42gm
Diameter: 8-10mm
Plated examples: Yes
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3779-80
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 440 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 5

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse



Comment: Hobbs classifies these coins as Corieltauvian.

Obverse description: Flower-like design with four "petals" and central pellet-in-ring.

Reverse description: Horse left with solid head. Pellet triangle above,

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: : c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.42-0.45gm
Diameter: 9-10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: -
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: -
Hobbs numbers: 3256 and 3257
Evans ref: -

TYPE NO: 445 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 6

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Obverse description: Three solid crescents back to back with three pellet triangles and three triangles.

Reverse description: Horse right on exergual line. Pellet triangle above and below horse.

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.48-0.54gm
Diameter: 9-10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: -
Allen ref: -
Mack number: 417
Haselgrove number: -
Van Arsdell number: 681-1
Hobbs numbers: 3777-3778
Evans ref: p588

TYPE NO: 450 COIN NAME: PATTERN-HORSE FRACTION 7

Die design reconstructions at 2:1

Obverse Reverse

Comment: Very similar to Ecen and Anted fractions – this may be one of them but no legend is visible.

Obverse description: Two back-to-back crescents similar to the Ecen and Anted units, but within a decorated diamond of pellets.

Reverse description: Horse right with V shape above and reins. Pellet below.

Denomination: Fraction
Metal: Silver
Date: c. 20 BC-AD 10
Weight: 0.28-0.27gm
Diameter: 9-10mm
Plated examples: None known
Modern forgeries: None known

Allen name: Pattern-Horse fraction
Allen ref: VId
Mack number: 417a
Haselgrove number: EA 91.1
Van Arsdell number: 683-1, 744-1
Hobbs numbers: 3781-3784
Evans ref: -

ICONOGRAPHY

Faces and regalia

Most of the portraits on Icenian appear to be of humans. The Face-Horse series is very varied, but many coins appear to depict male heads, sometimes with moustaches, sometimes clean-shaven, and sometimes bearded. Some of the early Face-Horse types appear to show the tops of oval shields, although this could be a shoulder. Most Face-Horse coins – and therefore most Icenian portraits - appear to depict (un-named) male warriors. Clearly, the depiction of masculinity and strength were highly important to the Iceni, and we recall Tacitus' analysis of them as a "powerful" or "tough" people.

It is most interesting that with the exception of the Prasto coins, none of the named individuals (if that is what they were), such as Antedi, Saenv, Ecen, Aesv, Aedi and so on are represented by portraits. This is in direct contrast to most Roman coins where the emperors or dictators were depicted as well as named. Many British IA coins bearing names are not associated with portraits and this makes the Prasto coins unusual and exceptional within the Icenian series. It is interesting that the Prasto coins appear to depict a man with a torc above his head – perhaps this should be regarded as a badge of high office and/or a religious symbol.

By contrast, the faces on the four Bury types may be female. Their diadems, crowns or head-dresses recall the Roman head-dresses which have been found at Romano-British temple sites, including sites at Hockwold-cum-Wilton in

Norfolk and Cavenham, Suffolk (Green 1997, 60). It is significant that most of the ceremonial diadems from Britain so far come from the lands of the Iceni, as Green points out *(ibid)*. A similar head-dress from an Iron Age context has been found from Deal, Kent. It is possible that these head-dresses signify the wearer's importance, showing that they were either socially important, or that perhaps they were female priestesses or even female druids. Another alternative is that the coins may depict gods or goddesses, and in this respect it is interesting that a ram-headed snake appears on the Bury A coins, which sometimes accompanies gods in later Gaulish iconography. It is also significant that the wearers of these diadems on the Bury coins sometimes wear torcs – both humans and gods are known to wear these in British Iron Age and Continental Celtic societies.

With the possible exception of the Bury coins and the Early Face-Horse 7 coin considered below, it is not considered likely that any Icenian coins depict gods who have a human form. The only named goddess of the Iceni is that of Andarte/Andraste – a goddess of Victory according to Dio. Although some of the Bury types have been associated with this goddess by the trade, this enters the realms of pure speculation. Ross (1999, 28) is another who does this; she depicts the Bury A coin which she dates to 70-50 BC, stating it features a double ram-headed snake and the head of a malevolent female, probably Andraste. However, she does not give any information as to why she has come to any of these conclusions nor cite any references, although she acknowledges coin dealer Chris Rudd in her photo credits and it is likely she took this information from one of his catalogues. It is not possible to say whether the

Bury heads depict humans or gods, although the diadems may indicate humans wearing some sort of regalia. Both possibilities remain.

The obvious exception is the Early Face-Horse 7 type (no. 180), which depicts a face with two short horns and a large moustache. The horns appear to be short bull's horns, not antlers. Non-antlered horned beings are common in British Celtic iconography unlike on the Continent where they are rare, and are often associated with overtly masculine traits (Green 1986, 197-8) such as the prominent moustache depicted on this coin. Despite the sinister appearance of this face to modern eyes, the coin may well symbolise *fertility* through the use of the short horns, although these are also associated with strength and power in general. It is also interesting that there may be a depiction of torcs on either side of the head, with pellet-in-rings depicting the torc terminals.

The Prasto coin (no. 200) depicts a highly Romanised individual – probably King Prasutagus himself - but alternatively a Roman emperor. The coins and dies are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Torcs appear to be shown on four Icenian coins – those of Prasto, Early Face-Horse 7, Bury A and Bury C, and diadems on three – those of the Bury A-C types.

Horses

The Iceni appear to have loved these animals, and to have set huge store by them. They were probably status symbols – as they still are today in Britain. A staggering 96.5 % of Icenian coin types depict horses, emphasizing the importance of these animals to the Iceni. In fact the only coins which do not feature horses are the Norfolk Wolf series.

As well as the evidence from the coins, large amounts of Iron Age horse equipment have been found from this area (Hutcheson 2004). Presumably owning horses inferred status on the owner, but there may also have been a sacred element to their love of these creatures. Epona is a well-known Celtic goddess, the patroness of horses and symbolic of fertility (Green 1986, 92).

It is also interesting that many of the horse are depicted with reins and harnesses, showing that they were used for riding. Perhaps we should consider these along with the warrior faces discussed above – it is possible that the Iceni used horses in combat, and they may have been famous for their horsemanship. Perhaps the Iceni had many mounted warriors or knights – although it is interesting that no coins actually depict a rider on a horse, but only the horse itself. This is in contrast to other coins from LIA Britain, where riders and their mounts are depicted. However, horses had a number of uses as well as riding, and it is likely that they were used in a variety of ways.

The horse is without a doubt the most enduring symbol of the Iceni, and perhaps this symbolism links to the tribal "equine" name discussed in Chapter 2.

Boar

Green points out that the two most important wild animals to the Celts were the boar and the stag (Green 1986, 179). Although the stag is not shown, the boar is on many coins. Boars were also shown in large numbers on the coins of the Corieltauvi. It is likely that it is a boar which is depicted rather than a domesticated pig, as the fearsome hackles seem to indicate a wild beast. Additionally, wild boar differ from domesticated pigs in their skulls - the snout is more elongated in wild boar than in domesticated pigs. Wild swine also attain a greater size than domestic ones (Serjeantson 1996, 219). In Celtic society, the written Irish legends and law tracts from the early first millennium AD suggest that Celtic chiefs demonstrated power over their retainers through the feasting on wild boar and pigs. They played a complementary role to cattle, which were also prized as status symbols (*ibid,* 222). In Celtic iconography, the boar is depicted as a fearsome creature with a bristling mane. Prowess in this culture was apparently demonstrated by the hunting and slaying of the wild boar, and many legends about boars existed in these cultures (*ibid,* 222). Boar also had a sacred and supernatural significance for the Celts (Green 1986, 180), and were often cult-beasts in Roman-British temples.

Dog or wolf

The three Norfolk Wolf types appear to depict a large dog with its hackles raised. This creature is almost certainly a wolf or a domesticated dog. It is unlikely to be a boar or pig as the tail is very long. If a dog, it is surely likely to be a large hunting dog such as a deerhound; dogs bred specifically for hunting were mentioned as exports by Strabo (IV, 5, 2) writing in about AD 20, and large deerhound figurines have been discovered in Romano-British temple contexts. Dogs, along with bulls and horses, were amongst the most important of all domesticated animals in having a sacred significance to the Celts (Green 1986, 171). By contrast, wolves do not feature much in Celtic iconography. On balance, therefore it is perhaps likely that this creature is a fearsome dog, but I have not changed the name from the one which has been in common usage for many years.

Brooke was surprised that the Norfolk Wolf left no further trace upon the series, but in fact the Ale Sca coins also appear to depict a dog/wolf.

Imaginary creatures

The creature on the Bury A coin is almost certainly a ram-horned snake. This monster is primarily Gaulish although it does appear in British contexts, and is of course known from the Gallo-Belgic Xd quarter staters from Selsey (Chadburn 1995a). Depictions of this creature are known from Cirencester; Lypiatt Park, Gloucester; and Southbroom, Wiltshire. It perhaps most

famously occurs on the Gundestrup Cauldron where it accompanies Cernunnos, the stag-horned god. It is often a companion creature, but does appear on its own too. Green considers that its role is that of *prosperity* and *plenty*, as it combines the sacred Celtic symbols of fertility, healing and the underworld (Green 1986, 190-195). On the Bury A coin it accompanies not the usual gods such as Mars or Mercury or Cernunnos (ibid), but a bust, possibly that of a human female. (It is interesting that the unlikely horned snake is known from other cosmologies – the Iroquois of North America tell a traditional story of a bad-hearted creature and a shape-shifter, who alternates between a beautiful human form and that of a horned snake (Matthews 1997)).

Triplism

The number three seems to have had huge significance for the Iceni. Again and again we see symbols featuring three of something – for example, on the Triple Symbol types (nos 345 and 350) which feature a triangle and triskeles; the Anted silver types which all feature pellet triangles (nos 280, 285, 290, 295), the Anted, Ecen and Ece staters (nos 275, 310 and 360) which all feature three crescents, the Ece Ab and Ece Bb types (nos 370 and 375) which feature trefoils, and the Snettisham and Freckenham staters which feature pellet triangles and flowers. In fact, it is difficult to find Icenian coins which do not feature three of something in some way. The number three is known to have been a powerful symbol for many Celtic peoples, and the archaeological evidence from ancient peoples is supported by early Welsh and Irish myths (Green 1986, 208). Exactly what the number three signified is difficult to say,

but it seems likely that it had a symbolic importance to the Iceni. Or perhaps it had a less elevated meaning, similar to our own culture, where some people today consider it a lucky number.

Symbols

Numerous symbols are shown in the fields on Icenian coins, apparently including many cosmological symbols such as sun, moon and stars. The crescents which are such a feature of Icenian obverse coins may symbolise the waxing or waning moon. The wheels which are also such a feature may be solar symbols. Flowers are also apparent.

However, there are many others were interpretations are less easy, and these include pellet triangles, pellet rings, pellets, pellet crosses and so on. These may simply have been decoration in the "Celtic" fashion – although it is perhaps worth saying that the designs on the Icenian coins do not conform to what we would regard as classic late La Tene art, as for example seen on mirror backs.

Source images.

A number of Icenian coins seem to be derived from the images on other earlier coins, discussed below.

- *Norfolk Wolf types (Type nos. 20, 30).*

Like many other early British Iron Age coins, the Norfolk Wolf A and B types feature a highly degraded representation of the head of Apollo, originally taken from a gold stater of Phillip II of Macedon (359-336 BC), which was re-issued down to 294 BC.

The Wolf itself appears to be a peculiarly Icenian beast – it is not derived from anywhere else, nor does it appear elsewhere later (with the possible exception of the Ale Sca coins and the early silver wolf-horse types from south Lincolnshire). However, its decorated exergual line appears to have been derived from certain Gallo-Belgic E types.

- *Bury A (Type no. 110).*

The silver Bury A type is extremely similar to the gold Gallo-Belgic Xd quarter stater type (Mack 79, VA 78-1; Evans L 11, 12, 13; Simon Bean type Qc 4-1) found at Selsey in West Sussex. There are only six specimens are known of this type, all from Selsey; five are held by the BM. (However, another example may be known – see Rudd's catalogue of January 1998). Their exact relationship to the Icenian issues is therefore still a matter of conjecture. It is unlikely that these are Icenian issues, but Bean (2000) believes it is a British issue rather than a Gallic one.

- *Ece A (Types 365 and 370)*

The horse on the silver Ece A unit appears to be derived from the horse on a Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian coin of Cunobelin - VA 2101-1, a fact first noted by Allen (1970).

- *Prasto (Type no 200).*

The highly Romanised Prasto head is probably based on an earlier Julio-Claudian bust and not Nero, although he remains a possible source. Caligula (AD 37-41) is a more likely possibility, and it is even possible that this type depicts an emperor rather than representing Esvprasto. A full discussion is given in chapter 7 in the context of chronology.

- *Aedi (Type no. 410)*

The Aedi tablet could be based on Cunobelin examples on Cunobelin coins. It is a highly Romanised obverse.

- *Ale Sca (Type no. 253).*

The horse on the Ale Sca coins is very similar indeed to the horse on the Prasto coins. Interestingly, these two coins are also very similar to the horses on certain coins of Bodvoc (cf VA 1057-1), who is also presumed to be a Client

King. It would be interesting to see if these three coins had a common source – as yet unknown.

Lettering

The letters A, B, C, D, E, F, I, M?, N, O, P, R, S, T, and V are all used on Icenian coins. They are always in capitals. The letter U is not known although it is presumed that the letter V is pronounced U as in ESVPRASTO.

The letter D is always barred and would have been pronounced TH, the only exception being the D in the EDN coins where is appears to be a blundered legend.

There is a strange symbol under the boar on the CAN DVRO coins which may be a strange form of the letter A.

Discussion

The iconography on Icenian coins helps us understand what was important to them. Many symbols show strength and power, such as the dog/wolf, the boar, and the masculine faces possibly depicting warriors. Other symbols show fertility, prosperity and plenty (e.g. the short-horned head of type 180 and the ram-headed snake of type 110). The overall impression one gets from the series is that the Iceni wanted to show their strength and power through their coinage.

Specific pieces of regalia are also shown – torcs and diadems. These almost certainly have religious and/or social significance, symbols which would have been understood by the coin users.

LEGENDS

Icenian legends have been reviewed before by Allen (ed Nash 1980) and Mays (1992), but the likely meanings of the legends are discussed in more detail below. Most of them appear to be personal names, and in the Celtic rather than the Latinised forms. -OS was the usual Celtic termination and –VS was introduced later, for example in Gaul after the Roman Conquest (Allen *ibid,* 123-4). Thus we may have the personal names ANTEDI(OS), AEDI(OS), ESVPRASTO(S), SCAVO(S), DVRO(S) or CAMULDVRO(S), and ESICO(S). It is likely that some of the die engravers were illiterate, which is why the legends sometimes become blundered.

1. AESV

This is either an unknown personal name, or may be derived from the Gaulish divine name ESUS or a form cognate with this. The name ESU- or ESUS has been suggested as meaning "Lord" or "Master" or "Honour" (Ellis Evans 1967, 200; Green, 1986, 110). It may be compared with the EISV found on Dobunnic coins.

2. AEDI(C?) (O?)

This appears to be an unknown personal name. There is however, a possibility that the A and E form a monogram which could then be read ANTE as on other Icenian ANTED coins. If this is the case, then the legend should read ANTEDI(C?). The possible C could also be an O, perhaps making the name ANTEDIO(S). If this reading is correct, then this may be another coin of ANTED (or his descendant as it bears another legend), but interestingly, is far more Romanised in style that the others.

Another possibility is AEDIO(S). The D is barred, and pronounced TH. Another less likely possibility is that AEDIC (Aethic-) is a place name, such as the Ethica peninsula in Scotland (Chadburn 1991).

3. ANTEDI

This appears to be a personal name, also known from British Dobunnic coins in the form ANTED RIG, presumably "King Anted". The D is barred in both Icenian and Dobunnic examples – and would probably have been pronounced "th" giving us "Antethi". The ANTE element is represented as a monogram. This name is paralleled elsewhere - "Antedrigus" or "Antethrigus" are also known from Celtic Gaul (Ellis Evans, 1967, 246) where the -rigus element certainly means king or ruler. However, it appears that the full name of this ruler may be ANTEDI(OS), pronounced Antethios.

4. ANTED

A shortened form of 3 above.

5. ALE SCA

The ALE part of the legend might be derived from the Celtic for "other, second" which is seen in the root ALLO-, and in such names as ALLECINIUS, ALLECTIUS and ALLES. The word AILE in Old Irish normally means "other" (Ellis Evans, 1967, 132). So perhaps the legend is a personal name which may mean "Other" or "Secondary".

SCA does not seem to have any other parallels in Celtic literature. A variant type has been noted in trade, showing the legend ALFF or possibly ALIIFF and SCAVO (Chris Rudd List 70). This may give a fuller legend – perhaps ALII F or ALE/ALF F and SCAVO. SCAVO is not paralleled in Gaulish inscriptions, and may be a shortened version of a Celtic name such as SCAVO(S). The F may be an abbreviation of the Latin *filius*, a device known on a number of other British coins.

If so the full legend could be ALI- F SCAVO(S), or SCAVO(S), SON OF ALI-. This is particularly interesting as the ALE SCA coins have stylistic links to the PRASTO coins and were perhaps issued contemporaneously.

6. CAN- DVRO

There is a good possibility that this should be read as CAM not CAN – the legend is almost always off-flan and therefore difficult to read and on some dies it also looks as though there are more letters – perhaps an I or another N although these might be the rest of an M. CAMUL- occurs frequently as a

personal, divine and local or ethnic name in Britain and Gaul, most famously as CAMULODUNUM. If the legend reads CAN, then this is previously unknown. DVRO is also unknown although the prefix DV- is used frequently in Gaul and Britain. It perhaps might be Celtic name such as DVRO(S) or CAMULDVRO(S).

7. ECEN

The similarity with the tribal name ICENI has lead some to suggest that this is the tribal name (Robinson and Gregory, 1987, 12), and not a personal one. However, it is perfectly possible (see chapter 2 for numerous examples) that personal names and ethnic or place names can the very similar or the same, and I consider that ECEN is certainly a person, not a place or tribe. The idea that the authority to mint coins was that of the tribe rather than a ruler runs counter to our understanding of LIA society and other numismatic evidence from Britain. The full name may be something like ECEN(OS).

The full name is almost certainly not ECENI as has been suggested in trade, using the horse's forelegs for the I. If the moneyers had wanted to put the I, there would have been enough room, as there was on the ANTEDI coins.

However Ellis Evans also discusses the evidence in Gaul for the prefix EQU- which is also related to the Gaulish EP- as in Epona the goddess of horses and fertility. The Celtic EQU- can be equated with the Latin EQUUS, horse (Ellis Evans, 1967, 199). In my view it is not inconceivable that IC- or EC- relate to EQU-. If this is the case the ICENI and ECEN may indeed mean "horse". It is

interesting to note that even today our own "equine" (which originates from a Latin root) and ECEN are very similar words.

The meaning of ICENI has been interpreted by some (Robinson and Gregory *ibid*, 17; Mackie 1988) as "horse", so perhaps ICENI might have originally meant the people of the horse or kingdom of the horse. Robinson and Gregory cite the survival of a local word "ickeny" to describe difficult horses (*ibid*) as evidence of this. There are certainly huge numbers of horse-trappings and regalia from the Iceni territory to suggest they were very interested in horses. I conclude that ECEN may be a personal name (or the start of one), closely related to the tribal name.

8. ECE

Perhaps an abbreviation of ECEN, but which appears on its own right on a number of coins and on different denominations which are circulating at about the same time as the ECEN coins. As this appears to be a deliberate choice on three denominations, it is possible that ECE is a different person, or that perhaps the coins were produced by different mints. It is particularly difficult to understand the gold staters which are identical in design but which feature the deliberately legends ECEN and ECE, apparently circulating at the same time.

It would seem to be a coincidence if two rulers named ECEN- and ECE- were ruling at the same time in the same place. However, if the names were something like ECENOS (which were shown as ECEN on coins) and

ECEVALLAVNOS (which were shown as ECE on coins), the legends could make sense. We have seen how tribal names were often similar to the personal names of rulers in Chapter 2 (and perhaps seen in VEP COR F coins of the Corieltauvi). Although there is a degree of special pleading about this, perhaps the most likely explanation is that they are *not* one and the same person, and that ECE is *not* an abbreviation of ECEN.

If they are the same name, why ECEN chose to abbreviate his name on some coins and not others is something we cannot yet answer.

9. EDN

Almost certainly a blundered version of ECEN (with the C reversed). This is more than likely as – unlike all other Icenian coins – the D is not barred, showing it was probably a reversed C.

10. ED

Probably an abbreviation of EDN.

11. ESICO FECIT

ESICO is almost certainly a personal name, implied by the Latin "fecit" meaning "made me". However, it may be compared with the Celtic place names Aesica and Esica (Ellis Evans, 1967, 200). We have seen how personal names and place names are often the same or nearly identical in Chapter 2. Esico was in charge of manufacturing coins on behalf of ESVPRASTO, and

was clearly an important official in his court or government. It is likely that his full name was something like ESICOS.

12. SAENV

It is likely that this is a personal name, which may possibly relate to seno- in Gaulish, and sana- in Sanskrit (both of which mean old) (Ellis Evans, 1967, 375).

13. -SIA-

Part of a longer legend; it is not possible to say more.

14. SVB ESVPRASTO

This certainly means "Under Esvprasto" where the SVB comes from the Latin and the ESVPRASTO is Celtic. The latter name may be a compound one an partly derived from the Gaulish divine name ESUS or a form cognate with this. The name ESU- or ESUS has been suggested as meaning "Lord" or "Master" or "Honour" (Ellis Evans 1967, 200; Green, 1986, 110). It is therefore possible that ESV- is a title which means "Master" or "Honour" or "Lord" which could give a more detailed translation of the legend as "Under Lord Prasto". Ironically, this would give a very similar meaning of the legend to the one it has replaced i.e. "Under Lord Prasto" would replace "Under King Prasto" (Chadburn 2006). Although I remain open minded, it seems possible that ESVPRASTO is the King Prasutagus of classical sources. Finally, the letter A has no crossbar. The possible legend SVB RI PRASTO deciphered by Mossop (1979) does not seem to be correct. The correct reading is almost certainly not

RI PRASTO but ESVPRASTO as shown on more well-preserved coins. Perhaps the full name was something like ESVPRASTOS.

15. T

This appears to be an abbreviation of ANTED or a blundered legend.

Table 32: Legends on Icenian coins and their possible meanings.

WORD ON COIN	LANGUAGE	POSSIBLE MEANING/ NOTES
AEDIC	Celtic	Meaning unknown. Personal name?
AESV	Celtic	"?Master".A personal name.
ANTEDI	Celtic	Meaning unknown. A personal name.
ANTED	Celtic	Meaning unknown. Abbreviation of ANTEDI.
ALE	Celtic	"?Other", "?Second." Personal name
ALI F	Celtic Latin	Personal name with *filius* meaning son of (i.e. son of ALI)
CAN-	Celtic	Meaning unknown.
DVRO	Celtic	Meaning unknown, but DU or DV is a common Celtic prefix.
ECEN	Celtic	"?Horse". Probably a personal name.
ECE	Celtic	A possible abbreviation of ECEN?
EDN	Celtic	Blundered version of ECEN.
ED	Celtic	Abbreviation of EDN
ESVPRASTO	Celtic	"?Master/Honour/Lord Prasto". Probably a personal name, perhaps including a title.
ESICO	Celtic	Meaning unknown. Probably a personal name.
FECIT	Latin	"Made me/it"
SAENV	Celtic	Meaning unknown. A personal name?
SCA(VO)	Celtic	Meaning unknown. A personal name
-SIA-	?Celtic	Part of a longer word
SVB	Latin	"Under"
T	-	Probably a blundered version of ANTED.

WHAT DOES THE DIE VARIETY MEAN?

In the Icenian series, there are many more different die designs per coin type in the early coins than in the later ones. For example, there is much die variety in the Norfolk Wolves, the Freckenham series, the Bury series and the Early Face-Horse series. But by the time the silver Anteds were issued (in huge numbers), for example, many of the dies are virtually the same, with relatively few die varieties. This appears to show a desire or need for standardization which may imply a change in the function of the coins, and/or a change in the political will for a tighter degree of control over the issuing of coin types. The extraordinarily wide-spread use of the back-to-back crescent design in the silver Pattern-Horse series must denote a strong degree of political stability, authority and control over the coinage, as this is probably the most conservative of all British Iron Age coinages.

This lack of die variety in later coin types may mean that with the early types, there was a greater degree of artistic licence on what was engraved on dies, and that conversely with later types, where there are changes between dies, or die variety, then this is probably politically significant (as well as typologically). Such changes in design in later coins very probably mean something. Perhaps a typological change might denote a mint mark, or a new batch of coins from a different workshop, or even a different date of issue.

This is not to say that the die variety in early Icenian coins is not significant, as clearly the rich variety of dies could reflect political, economic as well as

artistic factors. It is, however, very difficult to say whether this might be the case.