The existence of a Romano-British temple at Harlow, Essex, in the Stort valley, has been known for many years. The site was partly excavated by Miller Christy in 1927. A full excavation of the temple and some of the ancillary buildings has now been financed and carried out during the seasons of 1962, 1963 and 1964 by the West Essex Archaeological Group under the direction of its Chairman, Dr. N. E. France, and its Honorary Secretary, Miss B. M. Gobel. It has been positively established that the temple had a pre-Roman phase. The coins of that phase, found during the excavations, well merit separate publication. I am indebted to Dr. France and Miss Gobel for permission to give this account of their finds, as also to the Harlow Development Corporation to whom, as owners of the site, the coins belong. I am also grateful to the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London for the excellent photographs I reproduce. (Pl. V).

The Celtic coins were not found together, but scattered over the site. The great majority were found stratified in a Belgic layer through which the foundations of the Roman temple were cut; a few were found in material disturbed or re-used in Roman times. It is probable that the coins, as a group, represent the remains of offerings or deposits at some shrine preceding the Roman temple on the site and spread over a considerable period of years. I shall not attempt to anticipate the excavators' report on the archaeological significance of the finds and will confine myself to the coins themselves, which are sufficiently remarkable.

In all 42 Celtic coins were found, to which may be added a single one found in the 1927 excavations, making a total of 43. No less than 11 of these were of gold and there were also 2 gold-plated forgeries. In addition there were 2 silver and 28 bronze coins, some in exceptionally fine condition. It is rare to find any gold coins in excavations in this country; to have found this proportion is positively unique.

In addition there are records of 1 silver and 11 bronze Celtic coins found previously at unspecified points in Harlow. Some of these may well have come from the temple area.

Only 2 of the gold coins are staters, nos. 1–2; they are of the common uniface type described as Gallo–Belgic E,2 Mack 27–27a.3 This type was undoubtedly first minted on the continent, but suspicions that similar coins were later struck in this country have been strengthened by the Haslemere Hoard.4 The Harlow coins are not from the same dies as any of the Haslemere coins, but the broken up form of pseudo-legend visible on no. 1 implies that they come late in the sequence. This means that the coins should probably be dated after Caesar's invasion of Britain.

1 Antiquaries Journal, VIII, 306.
2 References to this classification are to S. S. Frere, Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain, 1958, which includes a paper by myself on The Origins of Coinage in Britain, a Reappraisal. The find spots subsequently referred to are drawn from this paper.
3 References to coin types are to R. P. Mack, The Coinage of Ancient Britain, 1953, or second edition, 1964. The latter illustrates several Harlow coins, viz nos. 73a = my 13, 134a = my 9, 222a = my 22 and 274a = my 14.
Of the 11 quarter staters, 5, including one of the plated forgeries, belong to a group very well known from the finds at Selsey. The general description British QC includes several varieties; nos. 3–6 are similar to Mack 65 or 70, but the commoner variety at Selsey, Mack 71 or 76, is absent. Since it is clear that the Harlow group as a whole tends to be late, we may perhaps conclude that Mack 65 and 70 follow after Mack 71 and 76. The obverse dies of two of the Harlow coins, nos. 5–6, are breaking up. The horse on no. 7, a new variant, otherwise generally similar, shows a touch of naturalism with the implication of a relatively late date. Nos. 3–7 were presumably minted on the south coast, and they may be dated to the late third or early fourth quarter of the 1st century B.C.

The 6 remaining quarter staters, nos. 8–13, undoubtedly all belong north of the Thames, and probably to the last quarter of the century. Nos. 8–10, which include the other plated forgery, supply a missing coin which was to be expected, namely the quarter stater corresponding to the Whaddon Chase type of stater, British LA, Mack 133–135. The three examples all differ in detail, and the differences correspond approximately with the known varieties of the stater. A fairly extensive issue seems to be implied, and more specimens are sure to turn up later. Apart from the great hoard, which was confined to staters, the type is not a particularly common one.

The next quarter stater, no. 11, is a beautiful example of a known but scarce type, belonging to the Home counties north of the Thames, British LB, Mack 76. This quarter stater is one of the immediate successors of the Whaddon Chase type and we can now link it with another. Nos. 12–13 are two examples from the same pair of dies of a new quarter stater closely akin to No. 11, but with a different arrangement of mostly similar elements. The two specimens were found cupped one into the other, as, no doubt, they were originally deposited in the temple area.

The 2 silver coins are each of interest, though one, no. 15, is in poor condition. The obverse is obscure, but the reverse has a horse to the left with a feather beneath, like Mack 441, of which the only specimen recorded is from Icklingham, Suffolk. No. 14, however, which is in magnificent condition, is a new silver type, clearly corresponding to the well known bronze coins in the British LX group, Mack 273–4; one of these bronze coins has been found previously at Harlow. The connection between the silver and bronze obverses is unmistakable; but the ring and feather ornament below the horse on the reverse may provide some link also with no. 15. A similar ornament is incorporated in the obverse pattern of the British LX quarter stater, Mack 270. The Harlow silver coins, therefore, help to bring some unity to the difficult group provisionally classed together as British LX, which forms a bridge between the latest uninscribed and the earliest inscribed coins in the Home counties north of the Thames.

There are less novelties in the 28 bronze coins, which are, however, in exceptionally good condition. All are inscribed. Only 5 belong to the Tasciovanus–Verulamium group, less than might have been expected near the Lea Valley. Nos. 18–20 have Tasciovanus legends. Nos. 16 and 17 have Rues legends. Verulamium legends occur with both, on nos. 16, 17 and 19. A silver coin combining the Dias and Verulamium legends has also come from Harlow, as have bronze coins either with the Verulamium legend alone or no legend. Thus, though relatively few in number, the coins of this group found at Harlow are representative of the whole range and include examples of all known bronze legends. The prominence of coins with the legend Rues is noticeable, and one of these, no. 17, establishes for the first time beyond doubt that the reverse legend is VCM. No. 20 is a new example of Mack 175, a scarce type with the legend TASCI, best known hitherto from an example in the Hunterian Museum.
3 CELTIC COINS FROM THE ROMANO-BRITISH TEMPLE AT HARLOW, ESSEX

The most extensive series of coins from Harlow consists of the bronzes of Cunobelinus. There are 23 excavation coins, to which may be added 7 otherwise recorded, 30 in all. Analysis of these coins has led to some interesting and, I believe, so far unsuspected conclusions.

Cunobelinus' bronze coins fall into 3 groups. Firstly there are the coins, nearly all rare, which have a somewhat primitive appearance, often indistinguishable in general character from the coins of Tasciovanus. In addition to the abbreviated name of Cunobelinus a number of these have abbreviated Camulodunum legends. These may be listed as Mack 220, 223, 220, 232 and 233; others are Mack 245, which has a Tasciovanus legend on the reverse, and Mack 247 the reverse legend on which cannot yet be read. Mack 224, with the Camulodunum legend alone, is to be associated with the silver Mack 214, having the Cunobelinus legend alone. So far as find spots are recorded, these bronze coins occur indifferently at Colchester and elsewhere in Cunobelinus' territories.

The remainder of Cunobelinus' bronze coins are of types which show marked Roman influence on subject and treatment. They fall into 2 groups, those having a legend proclaiming Cunobelinus as the son of Tasciovanus and those with the mint name Camulodunum. What has emerged from studying the Harlow coins is that, with only minor exceptions, the coins with the Tasciovanus legend are found outside Colchester, while those with the Camulodunum legend are found at the capital itself. The coins characteristically found outside Colchester are Mack 242, 243, 244, 246, 248 and 249 (though Mack 242 and 248 are not positively scarce at Colchester). The corresponding coins characteristically found at Colchester are Mack 225, 250, 251, 252, 253 and 260. The same contrast is particularly striking between Mack 221, with a full Cunobelinus legend on the obverse, found outside Colchester, and Mack 230 with a full Camulodunum legend on the obverse, found at Colchester.

To this division there must be added two types with the Camulodunum legend, both of which have a gryphon on the obverse and a figure of Victory on the reverse. One of these, Mack 222, is found basically outside Colchester, the other, Mack 231, inside. Moreover, there is a variant of Mack 222, of which an example has been found in the Harlow excavations, no. 22, Mack 222a, the main difference of which is that it omits the Camulodunum legend.

No silver coins of Cunobelinus have been found at Harlow, but the three way split between the primitive types, those with Tasciovanus and those with Camulodunum legends is equally applicable and the distribution follows the same pattern. I have tried to see whether any comparable division can be traced amongst the gold coins, but have so far been unable to obtain any clear results.

No coin of Cunobelinus in any metal combines both the Tasciovanus and Camulodunum legends.

The Harlow coins well illustrate these divisions. Of the 23 excavation coins, only 5 have the Camulodunum legend. No. 21, Mack 229, belongs to the first group, while nos. 40–43, Mack, 251, 253 and 260a (2), are the sole representatives of the main group with this legend. One coin, no. 22, Mack 222a, only has the Cunobelinus legend. The remaining 17, nos. 23–39, Mack 221(1), 242(2), 243(2), 244(4), 248(4), 249(4), all have Tasciovanus legends as well. The 7 coins of Cunobelinus previously recorded from Harlow are all of types found in the excavations and exactly reproduce the pattern. Thus, out of the total of 30 coins of Cunobelinus found at Harlow, only 7 have Camulodunum legends, while 22 have Tasciovanus legends. Of those habitually found outside Colchester, only Mack 246 is missing.
I do not think these facts necessarily point to a conclusion that the coins of Cunobelinus were struck in two mints, but they do seem to indicate that it became the deliberate policy of Cunobelinus, through his coin legends, to emphasise outside the capital that he was Tasciovanus' legitimate successor, while inside Colchester that he alone was master. We cannot detect this division in what seem to be the earlier coins of Cunobelinus; nor do we understand the coinage of Tasciovanus himself and of Verulamium well enough yet to assess the significance of the various legends there. But it does begin to look as if there is a concentration of legends other than the name of Tasciovanus at Harlow, and this too may have some meaning.

We may now put together the story of the Harlow temple, so far as the Celtic coins found there can tell it. The finds of gold staters (Gallo-Belgic E) probably indicate that offerings were being made there by early in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. At that stage or soon after there appears to have been some link between Harlow and the kingdom of the Atrebates on the south coast (British QC), which later disappears. Next comes a clear link between Harlow and the Catuvellauni or their neighbours (British LA, LB, LX). From the start of inscribed bronze coinage in this country, it became the practice to make offerings of these coins, and this continued throughout the reigns of Tasciovanus (and associated names) in Verulamium and Cunobelinus in Camulodunum. Harlow was far enough from Colchester not to be dominated by the local currency of the capital, and lay in an area where Cunobelinus preferred to stress his continuity with the former master of Verulamium. If coins are any guide, therefore, despite the number of coins of Cunobelinus found, the associations of Harlow with Verulamium could well prove more intimate than those with Colchester itself.

Since this was written I have had the opportunity of studying 15 coins found in 1963–4 in excavations at Verulamium and comparing them with the 8 coins found in the Wheeler excavations of 1930–4. Of these 23 coins, 3 only were of the Tasciovanus period, one with the Tasciovanus legend (Mack 175), one with the Verulamium legend (Mack 179) and one with no legend (Mack 174). The 20 remaining coins were of Cunobelinus and of these only two had the Camulodunum legend (Mack 252). All the remainder had the Tasciovanus legend, (1 Mack 221, 5 Mack 244, 6 Mack 248 and 6 Mack 249).

It will be seen that this pattern is virtually identical with that of the bronze coins found at Harlow and reinforces some of the conclusions I have reached above. The commonest types at Harlow were also the commonest at Verulamium. It does now begin to seem probable that Cunobelinus coins with the Tasciovanus legend were minted at Verulamium, in which case the very large number of coin moulds which have turned up there in excavation might be as much the rubbish of Cunobelinus’ as of Tasciovanus’ mint.

Time has again slipped and the 36 bronze coins found in the 1965 excavations near the temple site are now available. They again repeat the pattern, as will be seen from the summary list below. There are no unpublished varieties, but the list includes types new to Harlow. A further publication may be worthwhile when the excavations are finally concluded.
GOLD, UNINSCRIBED

Staters, Gallo-Belgic E, Uniface Type
1. Mack 27, 6-09g., 10-5 s.g.
2. Mack 27, 6-10g., 10-9 s.g.

Quarter-staters, British QC, Selsey Types
3. Mack 65/70, 1-31g.
4. Mack 65/70, 1-31g., 13-1 s.g.
5. Mack 65/70, 1-26g., 11-5 s.g.
6. Mack 65/70, 0-64g., fragment missing, plated forgery, 7-1 s.g.
7. Variant of Mack 65/70 or 63/71; the locks of hair are inverted and the horse has a mane; 1-32g.

Quarter Staters, British LA, Whaddon Chase Types.
8. Compare stater Mack 133, 1-20g.
9. Compare stater Mack 134, 1-26g., 14-0 s.g., (Mack 134a).
10. Compare stater Mack 133?, 0-73g., plated forgery.

Quarter-staters, British LB, post-Whaddon Chase Types.
11. Mack 76, 1-23g., 13-7 s.g.
12. Variant of Mack 76, compare Mack 73; 3-petal flower below horse; 1-25g., 13-3s.g.
13. Same size as no. 12, 1-20 g., 12-5 s.g., (Mack 73a).

SILVER, UNINSCRIBED

New British LX Types
14. Obv. head right; rev. horse left, similar to Mack 274, with feather below; the silver coin corresponding to Mack 273-4; 1-14g., 7-6 s.g., (Mack 274a).
15. Obv. uncertain; rev. horse left, similar to Mack 441 with feather below; compare also no. 14; 1-36g.

BRONZE, INSCRIBED

Tasciovanus—Verulamium Group
16. Mack 189, 1-63g. \textit{RVII/}
17. Mack 190, 2-34g. \textit{VER/RVIN}
18. Mack 169, 2-63g. \textit{TAS/}
19. Mack 177, 1-26g. \textit{TASC/VIR}
20. Mack 175, 1-53g.; horse left on reverse. [\textit{TA}]/\textit{SCI}. The full legend is given by the example in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Camulodunum Legend
21. Mack 229, 2-32g. \textit{CAMV/CVNG}.

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Cunobelinus Legend only.

Cunobelinus—Early Type with Tasciovanus Legend
23. Mack 221, 2-52g. \textit{CVNOBELYN/TASC}.

Cunobelinus—Developed Types with Tasciovanus Legend
24–25. Mack 242, 2-43, 2-42g. \textit{CVNOBELYN/TASCIOVANI.F.}
26–27. Mack 243, 2-63, 2-02g. \textit{CVNOBELYNS/TASCIOVANI.F.}
28–31. Mack 244, 1-98, 2-30, 2-22, 2-08g. \textit{CVNOB/TASCIOVANTS}.
36–39. Mack 249, 2-18, 2-22, 3-00, 2-34g. \textit{CVNO/TASC}.
Cunobelinus—Developed Types with Camulodunum Legend
40. Mack 251, 2.37g. CVNOBELIN/CAM.
41. Mack 253, 1.20g. CVNO/CAM.
42. Mack 260, 2.01g. CVNO/CAM.
43. Mack 260, 2.41g. CVNO/CAM.
This is the specimen found in the 1927 excavations and now in the British Museum.

SUMMARY LIST OF COINS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS, 1965

BRONZE

Tasciovanus—Verulamium group
Mack 169, 175, 177

Cunobelinus—Camulodunum Types
Mack 204 (Æ core of forgery of a quarter-stater). 1
Mack 225, 250(2), 253(3), 260. 7

Cunobelinus—Types with Tasciovanus Legend
Mack 237 (Æ core of forgery of AR coin). 1
Mack 221, 242, 243(2), 244(8), 245, 246(2), 248(5), 249(4). 24

LIST OF COINS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED FROM HARLOW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Legend</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Tasciovanus’</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Mack 188</td>
<td>BM</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Mack 172</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>Verlamic/</td>
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<td>Mack 174</td>
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<td>Mack 190</td>
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<td>Vtr/rvei</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cunobelinus</td>
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<td>Mack 229</td>
<td>BM</td>
<td>Camv/Cyno</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Mack 242</td>
<td>Colchester M</td>
<td>Cynobelini/Tasciovanif</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Mack 243</td>
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<td>Cynobelinus/Tasciovanii F</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Mack 244</td>
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<td>Cynob/Tasciovantis</td>
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<td>Mack 248</td>
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<td>Cynobelini/Tascio</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Mack 249</td>
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<td>Æ</td>
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<td>British LX 21</td>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>Mack 273</td>
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(The above are the full legends; they are not all visible on the specimens from Harlow.)
CELTIC COINS FROM HARLOW TEMPLE