THE SAVERNAKE FOREST FIND OF ANCIENT BRITISH AND ROMAN COINS (1857)

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This hoard, discovered close to, if not within the suspected Belgic oppidum which lies to the south-east of Marlborough, was summarized by L. V. Grinsell in *VCH Wilts.*, 1, i, p. 104 and by Derek Allen in *The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal*, p. 291, hoard 23. It is no. 39 in Commander Mack’s listing of Ancient British coin hoards in *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (3rd edn., 1975), p. 173, where the summary is based on that by Derek Allen. The summaries by L. V. Grinsell and Derek Allen contrast in two respects. L. V. Grinsell suggests that other Ancient British coins recorded as having been found in the adjacent parish of Mildenhall may have come from the 1857 hoard. Derek Allen, using a brief reference to the find in the Ordnance Survey records, which states that it totalled over 100 coins and was discovered in 1875, has postulated that two separate hoards may have been discovered, one in c. 1856 and one in that year. Recently there has been an unfortunate tendency to state in print that the hoard was found in 1875 (only).

The purpose of this note is to summarize briefly the previously published sources for the hoard and to describe further sources; to confirm that one discovery only was made, and that in 1857, and to reassess as far as possible the contents of the hoard.

The discovery of the hoard was reported in the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* of 26 February 1857, p. 3, col. iii:

Discovery of Roman Coin in Marlborough Forest. A very large number of silver coins of the time of Julius Caesar have just been discovered by the labourers employed in digging sand at the forest brick kilns. They have been readily purchased of the men by lovers of antiquities in the neighbourhood.

This passage is clearly the source for the reference to the hoard by a speaker at a meeting of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society held at Marlborough in 1879 as ‘... many coins of Julius Caesar found at the forest brick kilns’. Specific information about the coins present appears first in the register of accessions to the Coin and Medal Department at the British Museum, which records the gift in December 1859 by O. H. Morshead Esq., whose address is given as the War Office, of two silver quinarii of Epaticcu of type Evans VIII, 13, which are described as having been ‘found at Savernake, Wilts. in 1857’. Owen Henry Morshead was a pupil at Marlborough College from 1854 to 1858.

John Evans’s *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (published 1864; with Supplement, 1890) contains three references to coins from the hoard. He mentions the two coins in the British Museum and four coins from the hoard at that time in his own collection—two further quinarii of Epaticcu of type Evans VIII, 13, an uninscribed base gold stater of type Evans D, 1 (Mack 62 = Derek Allen’s *British Mb*), and a very worn denarius of...
The Saverneke Forest find of Tiberius of type BMC 48. At a different place he refers to an example of the base gold stater from the hoard which was not then in his possession. It is unlikely that this is a second example of this coin as known to Evans: this page was probably written before Evans acquired his small group of coins from the hoard and was not revised before publication. At a later date Evans apparently acquired a third quinarius of Epaticcu of the same type from the hoard, but the circumstances of its acquisition are not known. A fourth quinarius of Epaticcu also existed in Evans's cabinet, but without provenance. It passed in 1919 to the Ashmolean Museum and subsequently by exchange into the collection of Commander Mack. There is a possibility that this coin is from the Saverneke Forest find but because of the uncertainty of this the coin is not listed as such below. The Supplement to Evans's book contains only a single reference to the hoard, recording that a second example of the base gold British Mb stater from the find was in the collection of the Revd. Charles Soames. Evans’s phrase, ‘two or three coins of this type’, may imply that he either knew of at least one further example from the hoard or suspected its existence.

Details about the discovery were first given in August 1879 in a paper read by the Revd. Charles Soames at Marlborough, subsequently published under the title 'Coins found near Marlborough'. The relevant passage is too well known to quote in full here. Briefly Soames records that 'some 23 years ago', i.e. in c. 1856, some men who were digging clay for a brickfield which was then worked at the top of Salisbury Hill on the Sarum road found a pot which contained 'a considerable number of coins': most of the coins fell into the hands of boys from Marlborough College, and as there was no school museum at that time they were not preserved there. Charles Soames states that he himself acquired two coins from the find which he does not, however, describe further. One of these was the base gold stater which has been mentioned above; Soames says that 'some' of these were found in the hoard, possibly taking his information from Evans. The second coin may be identified as the quinarius of Epaticcu, again of type Evans VIII, 13, which formed lot 338 in the sale of Soames's collection of coins at Sotheby's on 20 July 1903. Although no findspot is given for this coin in the sale catalogue, it is almost certain that it came from the Saverneke Forest hoard: the type clearly occurred in some numbers in that find and no other among the relatively few Ancient British coins in Soames's collection is, at our present knowledge of the hoard's composition, a likely candidate. The annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum shows that the coin was sold to Spink's. In his paper, Soames states only that 'several' examples of this coin were found in the hoard, but his uncertain number of years prior to 1861, and rector from 1861 until his death in 1894. He was a collector of coins (see further below), many of them found locally, published several papers in the Numismatic Chronicle and in WAM, and conducted excavations in Mildenhall. Some of his antiquarian papers are at present on deposit in the library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes, while others are in private hands, but they contain only a few, generalized, references to the various finds of Ancient British coins in the area of Marlborough.

1 J. Evans, Coins of the Ancient Britons (1864), p. 282. The denarius of Tiberius is not published in BMC.
2 Ibid., p. 80.
4 Op. cit., p. 438. See also p. 570 where he alludes to the Saverneke Forest hoard as 'the Epaticcus hoard' in referring to a different find of Ancient British coins from the same area. The Revd. Charles Soames was curate in charge at Mildenhall, the parish adjacent to both Marlborough and Saverneke for an uncertain number of years prior to 1861, and rector from 1861 until his death in 1894. He was a collector of coins (see further below), many of them found locally, published several papers in the Numismatic Chronicle and in WAM, and conducted excavations in Mildenhall. Some of his antiquarian papers are at present on deposit in the library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes, while others are in private hands, but they contain only a few, generalized, references to the various finds of Ancient British coins in the area of Marlborough.
5 WAM xix (1881), pp. 84–8.
information again appears to have been derived from Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons* rather than from personal knowledge of the hoard's contents.

It is unfortunate that the other accounts of the find are all general in nature and add relatively little information to the account given by Soames. The earliest which the present writer has been able to locate is in a manuscript preserved in the library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, entitled 'The Parish of Saint Mary, The Blessed Virgin, Marlborough' and written by the Revd. J. Wilkinson, M.A., at an uncertain date in the early 1860s. He records

About six years ago, a crock containing several hundreds of British and Roman coins was dug out of the clay by some brick makers, not in this parish, but at the top of the first hill out of Marlborough on the Salisbury Road on the right hand side, 100 yards off the road. Some were of silver, but most of copper. They were soon dispersed among the College Masters and boys for small sums of current coin.


Some five and twenty years ago there was a famous find of British coins, easily distinguishable from Roman by their ruder character and concave surface, on the west side of Isbury. Most of them fell into unappreciative hands, and their value was long unrecognized, though some of them proved to be of extreme rarity—one, an uninscribed copper coin with a bird on one side and on the other an unknown device, is the only known specimen of its kind.

F. E. Hulme elsewhere acknowledges the assistance given to him by Charles Soames in writing his book and cites as one of the sources of his information Soames’s paper, ‘Coins found near Marlborough’. He is, however, incorrect in stating that the uninscribed copper coin depicting on one side a bird came from the 1857 hoard, for Soames refers to the coin in his paper and disassociates it from his account of that discovery. ¹

The following two descriptions of the hoard were given by J. W. Brooke, by profession the borough architect and surveyor of Marlborough, but also an antiquarian and collector of antiquities and coins. ² In the Ordnance Survey Revision Object Name Book for Wiltshire xxix, S.W., p. 32, the publication of ‘British coins found A.D. 1875’ on O.S. 25" (1900) was authorized in March 1899. The hoard is described as found

In an old chalk pit (now filled up) at the brickworks north-west of Brown’s Farm. About 100 gold staters of Epaticcus, a very rare British prince, with others.

The second account appears in a letter dated 9 February 1938, published by Brooke in an uncertain Wiltshire or Berkshire newspaper.³

... in 1876 Joseph Hutchins, who worked a brickyard close by, unearthed a pot of over 100 British coins, gold and silver. No inquest was held. They were sold to College and Grammar schoolboys and the Rev. Charles Soames secured several which he showed to me. ‘The find’ provided several unique

¹ Ibid., p. 86. See further below p. 7 n. 2. The coin is from Central Gaul (Derek Allen, *The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal*, p. 279).
² Brooke’s 88 Ancient British and Gaulish coins were sold to Spink’s in December 1912 and some were advertised for sale in SNC January 1914, with one exception which went to Devizes Museum with a part of his extensive collection of locally found Roman coins. A few of his Roman coins are known to have been sold to Spink’s, and two lots, each comprising 1,000 Roman coins (presumably in poor condition) appear in the sale catalogue of part of his museum collection (Mark Jeans, Marlborough, 17 May 1917). As yet the present writer has not been able to discover how the remainder of his Roman coins and his English coins were disposed of.
³ Press-cutting in one of Brooke’s notebooks, preserved in the library of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society at Devizes.
specimens which linked up Epaticcus and Cunobeline with Tasciovanus, giving, as it were, a new page to history.

That Brooke is incorrect in stating that there was a discovery in 1875 or 1876 is shown first by the fact that had Charles Soames acquired any coins from such a find, or if he had had any knowledge of it at all, he would certainly have mentioned it in the paper which he read in 1879. Secondly, Brooke was himself a close friend of Charles Soames and must have known of Soames’s paper: nevertheless he speaks only of a single discovery of coins. This infers that he accepted that only one discovery of coins was made on Salisbury Hill and it follows that as the date of 1857 for the discovery is certainly correct, Brooke’s dating of it as 1875 or 1876 must be at fault.¹

Most of the detail given by Brooke corresponds sufficiently closely with the information given in the other accounts. Brooke’s statement, however, that the coins of Epaticcu were gold staters is certainly incorrect, for no other source infers that there were purer gold coins in the find. Clearly Brooke has amalgamated the silver quinarii of Epaticcu with the base gold British Mb staters. The mention of Cunobelin and Tasciovanus by Brooke should not be taken as showing that there were present in the find any coins of these kings or any of the gold staters of Epaticcu upon which he is styled ‘the son of Tasciovanus’. The phrase is almost certainly borrowed from the final paragraph of Soames’s paper, which in turn was taken from Evans’s demonstration that Epaticcu was the son of Tasciovanus and brother of Cunobelin.

The accounts above show that the coins from the hoard were disposed of quickly and without any reliable account of the discovery being made, so that it is next to impossible to make a reasonable assessment of its size and contents. There is no way of choosing between the two estimates for the total number of coins found. The Revd. J. Wilkinson’s figure of ‘several hundreds’ has in its favour the fact that he was writing only about six years after the discovery. But whether he was personally involved with the find or was merely quoting contemporary speculation is uncertain.

With regard to the Ancient British coins found, it is important to note that, although there are three separate if small known groups of securely provenanced coins from the find—those in the possession of O. H. Morshead, John Evans, and Charles Soames—nevertheless they are of two types only, that is silver quinarii of Epaticcu and British Mb staters. This would suggest strongly that these types must have predominated amongst the Ancient British coins. The base gold staters are clearly the ‘copper coins’ to which the Revd. J. Wilkinson refers in his manuscript. His account of the hoard infers that they predominated in it. They may also be identified as the concave coins described by F. E. Hulme, whose account again suggests that they were the chief coin present.

It is impossible to draw definite conclusions about the number of Roman coins that were present in the find. Most of the sources do not mention them at all while other references are suspect. The description of the hoard in 1879 as having comprised ‘many coins of Julius Caesar’ is, as suggested above, derived from the phrase in the newspaper account of the find, ‘many coins of the time of Julius Caesar’. This phrase itself need not allude to Roman coins at all and it is possible that the title to the extract ‘Discovery of

¹ Brooke may have merely inverted the last two digits of the date of the discovery in his rough notes at some stage, or he may have confused the find with the discovery of the two small finds of Ancient British coins at Mildenhall in 1874 (see further below, p. 7 n. 2).
Roman Coin in Marlborough Forest' was given to it by the newspaper's editor, misunderstanding what his correspondent had meant by the phrase. The Revd. J. Wilkinson is the sole writer who does refer to Roman coins as present in the find, which is confirmed by the denarius of Tiberius acquired by John Evans. As, however, the other sources omit any reference to Roman coins while it would appear likely that the hoard may have consisted primarily of British Mb staters, it is possible that the Roman coins formed a very small proportion of the whole hoard.

Three collections of coins formed by Wiltshire collectors included coins which may possibly have come from the Savernake Forest hoard. The first of these is a quinarius of Epaticcu, now in the Ashmolean Museum and from the collection formed by A. D. Passmore. Passmore, who lived at Wanborough, between Marlborough and Swindon, formed his collection between c. 1900 and 1957 and is known to have acquired many coins locally in central and north Wiltshire. Although the coin lacks a provenance, it may tentatively be assumed that it came from the Savernake hoard.

A quinarius of Epaticcu of type Evans VIII, 13 appears as no. 14293 in SNC January 1914 amongst Ancient British and Gaulish coins, some of which, if not all, derive from the collection formed by J. W. Brooke and sold by him to Spink's in December 1912. It is reasonable to suppose that it came from Brooke's collection. The coin's find spot is not given in the list. It seems likely that Brooke acquired it locally after memory of this had been lost, and that it too is a stray from the Savernake Forest hoard.

The third coin was in the collection of the Revd. (later Canon) E. H. Goddard of Clyffe Pypard, Wilts., in c. 1890, for the reverse was illustrated as fig. 4 on p. 16 of W. Plenderleath, The White Horses of Wiltshire (no date but c. 1890). It may be identified as the British Ma (Womersley type) stater in the British Museum, ex T. G. Barnett (1935), ex Carlyon-Britton (1913, lot 11) collections. This is the type upon which the British Mb staters are based. The coin is not altogether characteristic of the British Ma series as a whole. The tore in front of the horse is not found on these coins in general and the forms of the ears and the mouth of the animal differ from those normally found with British Ma coins. The base gold British Mb staters, however, always show a tore in front of the horse and the forms of the ears and mouth are close to those on this coin. This, coupled with the coin's appearance in a nineteenth-century collection in Wiltshire, suggests that the coin may have come from the Savernake Forest hoard. The contrary arguments are, however, strong. It is of much finer gold than the British Mb staters, weighing 77-8 gr./5.02 gm., and there is no suggestion in the accounts of the hoard that any coins other than of base gold (and silver) were present in it. Moreover, E. H. Goddard was the secretary of the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for many years and a staunch supporter of its museum in Devizes; if he had had any suspicion that the coin had been found in Wiltshire, he would certainly have presented it to that museum. It is safer, therefore, to disregard this coin.1

In 1958 Derek Allen suggested that a group of eleven British Mb staters which formed lots 1 and 2 in Glendinings sale of 21 February 1957 were probably from the Savernake Forest hoard.2 The coins were purchased by Spink's: two were subsequently in the

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1 Canon Goddard's collection of coins was sold at Glendinings on 26 April 1912, lots 1-22. It did not include this coin. The only Ancient British coin listed is a gold quarter-stater, type not given, in lot 5.

collection of Commander Mack\(^1\) while a possible third is in Leeds University Museum.\(^2\) A fourth coin is in Mr. H. R. Mossop’s collection (ex R. P. Mack collection, bought from Spink in 1965). A more recent description of the Leeds University coin states cautiously that it was ‘possibly ex Savernake Forest, Wilts., 1875, but more probably from a subsequent find’ but the reasons for this are not given. The 1957 sale contained an undue proportion of late Saxon coins from mints in Wessex and southern England—Wilton, Winchester, Southampton, Salisbury, and Exeter—and this, together with the presence in lot 207 of two Dorset books, suggests that the collector who had formed the collection lived probably in that county or at least in Wessex.

In view of our knowledge that the Savernake Forest hoard contained a substantial number of the British \(M_b\) staters, it would seem likely that this is indeed a further parcel from that find. Nevertheless, the fact as shown clearly by the Savernake Forest hoard, that major discoveries of Ancient British coins can go completely or almost completely unnoticed in print,\(^3\) shows that the ascription of the parcel to that hoard should be treated with caution. It should be noted that the sale included only one other Ancient British coin, a gold quarter-stater of type Evans E 2, which is Derek Allen’s British Qc.

More recently a smaller group of coins from the cabinet of a Midlands collector of coins, which was sold at D. W. Grey’s auction rooms at London on 16 September 1971, has been identified as from the hoard. It comprised a quinarius of Epaticccu (lot 162), of type Evans VIII, 14, a variant of type VIII, 13 with obverse legend reading \(EPAT\) for \(EPATI\), a British \(M_b\) stater (lot 157), and a quinarius of Caratacus (lot 163), which is now in the National Museum of Wales.\(^4\) There were no other Ancient British coins in the collection apart from these, while the billon Armorican stater in lot 153 is unlikely to have come from the hoard. Some or all of a small group of six Roman Republican and early Imperial denarii which are associated in the sale catalogue with the above Ancient British coins may very well come from the hoard, for the collection included very few Roman coins and the poor condition of five of them would not normally make them attractive to a collector. The six coins are as follows:

- **lot 161** Publius Calpurnius (rather than of L. Calpurnius Piso as stated in the sale catalogue)—fair
- **lot 161** L. Farsuleius Mensor (type uncertain)—fair
- **lot 161** coin described as of ‘Cornelius Lentulus’—fair
- **lot 160** Mark Antony, legionary series. \(LEG\ IV\)—fair
- **lot 161** Augustus (type C. 43)—better than fair
- **lot 159** Claudius and Agrippina Junior (type C. 4)—good fine but with some clipping and corrosion.

Without, however, a more positive indication that they do come from the hoard, they must be treated with considerable caution and have not, therefore, been included in the list of coins from the find at the end of this paper.

Although no other Ancient British or Roman coins are known today which certainly came from the hoard, the suggestion by L. V. Grinsell that seven Ancient British coins,
Although the means by which Soames acquired the Series of the Dobunni* of Derek Alton’s classes L and M. All three are now in the British Museum, having been purchased at the sale of Soames’s collection by Rollin and Fodrant as agents for Sir John Evans. Although the means by which Soames acquired the Marlborough College Museum coin are unknown

1 VCH Wilts. i. i, pp. 87 and 104.
2 In his paper, ‘Coins found near Marlborough’, Soames states that the first of these minor finds consisted of ‘two or three coins found near the same spot’ (WAM xix (1881), p. 86). He describes two coins, both of copper. The first, of Cunobelin of type Evans XII, 8, was published in Evans’s Supplement on p. 570, where it was said to have been found at Mildenhall in 1874 ‘within a mile of the Epaticcus hoard’. The second coin is from central Gaul and was also published in Evans’s Supplement on p. 479 and N 12 and is described as ‘found near Marlborough’. Both coins now are in the British Museum. Although Derek Allen states that the central Gaulish coin was found at Cunetio (i.e. Black Field in the parish of Mildenhall), this site lies about two miles from where the Savernake Forest hoard was found. It is more likely that the find spot was in or near the hill fort at Folly Farm, Mildenhall (known in the nineteenth century as ‘Upper Cunetio’), from where finds dating from the first century A.D. are now known.

The second small discovery was described by Soames in his paper as ‘There were three silver uninscribed coins found about the same time, one of which may be seen in the museum’. The museum to which he refers is that of Marlborough College and their coin is possibly that recorded as acquired in 1874 (Proceedings of the Marlborough College Natural History Society (1875), p. 18—‘British and Saxon Coins have recently been added to the Society’s collection’). That Soames originally acquired two coins only from the find is confirmed by a letter from Soames to John Evans preserved in the Beberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum. The coins are of the ‘Irregular Series of the Dobunni’ of Derek Allen’s classes L and M. All three are now in the British Museum, having been purchased at the sale of Soames’s collection by Rollin and Fodrant as agents for Sir John Evans. Although the means by which Soames acquired the Marlborough College Museum coin are unknown

(1) by exchange for other coins in his collection, it is not the only coin in his collection which appears to derive from that source. Soames appears to have acquired his two coins either in or after 1874 for he did not include them in a display of his coins in that year (WAM xxv (1875), p. 138). If the Marlborough College Museum coin was indeed that acquired in 1874, then the date of the small find’s discovery may be tentatively put as ‘probably late in 1874’, which accords well with what Soames states in his paper. The find-spot is far from certain. Evans’s Supplement, pp. 467 f., and the present tickets of the coins merely state that they were ‘found near Marlborough’. This phrase is clearly derived from the title of Soames’s paper ‘Coins found near Marlborough’, which deals largely with coins from Mildenhall describing also, of course, the coins from Savernake Forest. ‘Near Marlborough’ might equally mean several other parishes near that town in which Ancient British coins have been found. Soames’s notes on the history of the parish of Mildenhall preserved in the library of the Wiltsire Archaeological and Natural History Society, include a reference to unspecified, uninscribed Ancient British coins found there and it is reasonable to suppose in our knowledge of Soames’s collection of coins, that he is probably alluding to these irregular Dobunnic coins. They may, then, tentatively be assigned to that parish, but not necessarily to the site of Black Field/Cunetio.


4 D. F. Allen also cites an AE core of a British Rb quarter-stater in the British Museum as from Mildenhall (Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal, p. 203; Bagendon, p. 129 and pl. xxxii, no. 2). It is not mentioned in the various published records of coin finds from this site. Dr. J. P. C. Kent has advised me that he has been unable to locate the coin at the British Museum in order to determine its provenance from its ticket. It is safer, therefore, to disregard this coin here.
L. V. Grinsell's suggestion might also be extended to include Ancient British coins from the parishes of Marlborough and Savernake. From the former, two coins are listed by him in *V.C.H. Wilts.* i, i, p. 85. The silver coin of Cunobelin of unstated type is almost certainly a duplicated entry for the holed silver coin mentioned immediately above. The second coin is said to have been of copper of type Evans G, 7 (= Derek Allen's Lx 22 = Mack 274). Derek Allen suggests, however, that it may be incorrectly identified and is certainly wrongly provenanced and he has listed it under 'Aldbourne'.

From the parish of Savernake, three Ancient British coins are recorded apart from those from the Savernake Forest hoard. These are—a Gallo-Belgic Ab2 quarter-stater, found in Marlborough (i.e. Savernake) Forest before 1912; a possible discovery of a gold stater at Brown's Farm in 1885, and an unspecified gold coin from Pantawick found in or shortly before 1888. As, however, there is no evidence that the Savernake Forest hoard included any purer gold coins, these coins are unlikely to come from it.

Finally, with regard to the date when the hoard was concealed or lost, Evans dated the coinage of Epaticcu after A.D. 15 and suggested that the worn denarius of Tiberius could be dated 'hardly . . . before A.D. 20 or 25'. Derek Allen has proposed a date of 'well into the second quarter of I A.D.' for the coinage of Epaticcu and c. 25–30 for that of the denarius of Tiberius, and so for the concealment of the hoard as well. The almost certain presence in the hoard of a coin of Caratacus would suggest that the date for its concealment might be brought forward still further. Boon has suggested that the original issue of coins by Caratacus must have been a large one. That only one type of coin is as yet known for him suggests that the period of time during which he caused coins to be struck in his name was fairly short. The suggested dates of c. A.D. 35 (Allen) or c. A.D. 40 (Boon) for the date when he succeeded Epaticcu have much, therefore, to commend them. This suggests that the Savernake Forest hoard may have been concealed in A.D. 43 at the time of the Roman Invasion of Britain under Claudius. Without, however, more definite evidence we cannot be positive about this, and there is no reason why the hoard should not have been deposited on some other occasion between, say, c. A.D. 40 and 50.

The presence in the hoard of so many examples of the base gold British Mb stater raises a serious problem as the number suggests that they may have been struck relatively shortly before the concealment of the hoard. There is only one other example with a recorded findspot: this is that coin in the British Museum with a ticket recording that it was found at an unspecified date and under unrecorded circumstances at Marks Tey in Essex. Two, probably three, hoards are recorded as having been found at Marks Tey, and although all are badly recorded, they were clearly all concealed before the

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1 *Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal,* p. 191.
2 The coin is listed in *SNC* January 1914, and was clearly one of the coins from J. W. Brooke's collection, sold to Spink's in December 1912. If Brooke had believed that the coin came from the Savernake Forest hoard, he would have said so, but instead refers solely to coins from it in the collection of Charles Soames.
3 J. W. Brooke, op. cit. (supra, p. 6 n. 3), p. 146.
5 Derek Allen, 'The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins', *Archaeologia,* xc (1944), p. 25 n. 3.
7 For example, at the time of presumed hostilities which led to the expulsion of Verica from Britain, shortly before A.D. 43.
8 Marks Tey (1803) = Mack (*The Coinage of Ancient Britain,* 3rd edn. 1975), hoard no. 6, and Allen (*The Origins of Coinage in Britain; a Re-appraisal*), hoard no. 14. Marks Tey (1843) = Mack no. 19 and Allen no. 27. 'Five miles from Colchester' (1807) = Mack no. 8 and Allen—although he refers to it under hoard 27.
end of the first century B.C. If the coin was from one of these hoards then the base gold staters as a whole must be dated to about the last quarter of that century, or possibly a little earlier.

The base gold staters are variants of a similarly uniface stater in better gold, and although no example of this latter coin is published in Commander Mack's *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (1975), where the type (Mack 62) is described as of base gold, two examples are illustrated in *SCBI The R. P. Mack Collection* as nos. 59 and 60 and are there classed as of this type. As stated above, the Mack 62 staters as a group are to be related to the *British Ma* (Wonersh type) staters of type Mack 148, the distribution of which is centred on Surrey and Sussex. In *The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Re-appraisal*, Derek Allen classes Mack 147 as also of the Wonersh type: Commander Mack, however, dissociates Mack 147 from the type.

While there are clear points of difference between the Mack 62 staters (in both base and finer gold) and the Mack 148 staters, the points of similarity between the base gold staters and the Wonersh type stater in the British Museum from the T. G. Barnett, P. Carlyon-Britton, and the Revd. E. H. Goddard collections, mentioned earlier in this paper, suggest that we have here not two separate coinages or one coinage with a long life span, growing debased towards the end of its issue, but one with a relatively restricted life span, exhibiting a wide variation in style, detail of ornament, and metal content.

Derek Allen has dated the *British M* series to c. 35-20 B.C. The characteristic form of the sun above the horse relates it, however, to the inscribed gold staters of *Addedomaros*, whose *floruit* is put at 15-5 B.C.1 Coins of *Addedomaros* were also present in at least two of the hoards from Marks Tey, which further suggests that the two coinages may overlap. The *British M* series might then be brought tentatively down to nearer the end of the first century B.C.

If the base gold *British Mb* staters do date before the end of the first century B.C., then the Savernake Forest hoard may possibly be seen as a wealth hoard, with apparently a substantial element of coin which the depositor may have inherited from his father or possibly even grandfather. This would, of course, completely nullify the value of the denarius of *Tiberius* for dating purposes, for it may be associated with the *British Mb* coins rather than the coins of *Epaticcus* and *Caratacus* which were added to the others nearer in time to the concealment of the hoard. A further possibility is that the Roman coins in the hoard may represent a third group of coins added at yet another time.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The writer is grateful to the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for permission to publish here the relevant extracts from manuscripts in its library at Devizes; in addition for permission granted by the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division to quote from their records and by the Trustees of the British Museum to quote from the register of accessions to the Coin and Medal Department.

APPENDIX

LIST OF IDENTIFIABLE COINS FROM THE SAVERNAKE FOREST HOARD (1857)

Debased gold uniface staters, type Allen, British Mb (= Mack 62; Evans D, 1). (Weights are given in grains.)

   There is a die duplicate of this coin in Mr. H. R. Mossop’s collection, ex Garner (1960) but not certainly from the sale at Glendinings on 21 February 1957, or otherwise attributable to this hoard. Wt. 61-3.
   From the same die is the coin also in the B.M. said to have been found at Marks Tey, Essex, which weighs 74 grains. There is a third coin from the same die also in the B.M., purchased in 1873 from the Revd. Greville J. Chester, which weighs 69-3. The marginally higher weight of the coins from this die should be noted.
7. Die uncertain. Present location unknown. The Revd. Charles Soames’s collection and possibly one of the coins in lot 333 of the sale of his collection (Sotheby, 20 July 1903), purchased by Calvert. Wt. not recorded.
8–14. Dies not recorded. Seven coins in the sale at Glendining’s, 21 February 1957, lots 1 and 2. Purchased by Spink’s. Wts. not recorded.

Silver ‘quinarii of Epaticcu, type Mack 263 (= Evans VIII, 13).

The six coins listed below are all from different obverse and reverse dies.

   Two of the above three coins were acquired by Sir John Evans before 1864 and one after that date.

Die not identifiable.
7. Present location unknown. The Revd. C. Soames’s collection (Sotheby, 20 July 1903, lot 338), purchased by Spink’s. Wt. not recorded.
Silver 'quinarius' of Epaticcu, type Mack 263. Variant with obverse reading EPAT (= Evans VIII, 14).

Silver 'quinarius' of Caratacus, type Mack 265 (= Evans XX, 8).

Roman coins: Tiberius, denarius of type BMC 48.
1. B.M., ex Sir Arthur Evans (1919), ex Sir John Evans, who acquired it prior to 1864.