

COINAGE AND THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE CORIELTAUVI IN EAST MIDLAND BRITAIN

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IN the Iron Age, East Midland Britain was geographically quite different from its present-day configuration, and this difference has a direct bearing on our understanding of the region's archaeology in general and its coinage in particular.¹ Recent research suggests that a vast area around the Wash, and perhaps also the middle reaches of the river Humber, consisted of marshes, creeks, low islands or even open sea,² and much of the land at present below about 7m O.D. seems unlikely to have carried substantial Iron Age settlement. The East Midlands were virtually isolated from East Anglia, except by sea across the mouth of the Wash from the Norfolk coast around Snettisham to the south-eastern tip of the Lincolnshire Wolds. The Oxfordshire-Northamptonshire uplands extend northwards through Leicestershire and south Nottinghamshire, but in a corridor of higher ground narrowing to no more than a width of about 10 km through the Parts of Lincolnshire south of the river Witham traditionally known as Kesteven. North and east of the Lincoln gap, where the Witham cuts through the northward-running Jurassic limestone hills, is a discrete tract of land, formed of limestone and chalk, with the intervening valleys of the lower Witham and the river Ancholme, that comprises Lincolnshire's Parts of Lindsey. It is this region of Lindsey which plays a key role in the story of the East Midland Iron Age coinage.

We have no secure historical information about the East Midlands in the Iron Age, and only from 2nd century AD Ptolemy do we learn that hereabouts were people called the Corieltavi, whose chief *poleis* were at Leicester and Lincoln.³ Both places, of course, have seen intensive occupation from the late first century AD to the present day, and it is not surprising that only very recently has evidence begun to appear to contradict those who would attribute their foundations to the Romans. Neither site yet figures prominently in Iron Age archaeology, although both have recently produced traces of Iron Age settlement, including coins from Leicester.

The first unequivocal evidence for a major Iron Age settlement in the East Midlands came as recently as 1960, with the excavations of Margaret Jones at Old Sleaford, in Kesteven.⁴ The site is famed for the discovery of 4,290 fragments of pellet moulds,⁵ probably used in minting Iron Age coins and by far the largest such deposit in Europe. It is known also for elegantly fashioned pottery, found in a great complexity of ditches over a wide area, suggesting a

¹ This paper results from a lecture given to the British Numismatic Society on 26 April 1994.

² B.B. Simmons, 'The Lincolnshire Car Dyke: navigation or drainage?', *Britannia* 10 (1979), 183–96; B.B. Simmons, 'Iron Age and Roman coasts around the Wash', in *Archaeology and Coastal Change*, edited by F.H. Thompson (London, 1980), pp. 56–73; B.B. Simmons, 'Iron Age and Roman coasts around the Wash', in *Atlas of Lincolnshire*, edited by S. Bennett and N. Bennett (Hull, 1993), pp. 18–21.

³ For the name 'Corieltavi' rather than 'Coritani', see R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Non Coritani sed Corieltavi', *Antiquaries Journal* 63 (1983), 353–5 & further bibliography pp. 360–1, n.2; R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Roman Leicester, a corrigendum: for 'Coritani' should we now read 'Corieltavi'?', *Transactions of the Leicester Archaeological & Historical Society* 58 (1982–3),

1–5 and further bibliography; M.W.C. Hassall & R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Roman Britain in 1992. II: Inscriptions', *Britannia* 24 (1993), 318 & pl. 15B. For Lincoln, see J. May, 'Iron Age Lincoln?', in M.J. Darling and M.J. Jones, 'Early settlement at Lincoln', *Britannia* 19 (1988), 50–4. For Leicester, see P. Clay and J.E. Mellor, *Excavations at Bath Lane, Leicester*, Leicester Museum Publication 95 (1988); P. Clay, *Leicester before the Romans*, Leicester Museum Publication 95 (1988); P. Clay and R. Pollard, *Iron Age and Roman Occupation in the West Bridge Area, Leicester, Excavations 1962–1971*, Leicester Museum Publication (1994).

⁴ M.U. Jones, 'Sleford', *East Midland Archaeological Bulletin* 6 (1963), 5–6; S.M. Elsdon, forthcoming.

⁵ Correcting earlier counts, which omitted very small fragments.

settlement of wealth and importance. The settlement, however, now unfortunately lies beneath a housing estate; its exploration is difficult, and its Iron Age coin-list is short. Similarly at Ancaster, 10 km west of Old Sleaford, excavations encountered a sizeable Iron Age settlement, although here, with nineteen Iron Age coins now recorded, we are some way towards the number which could be thought amenable to generalization.

In parallel with the 1960s excavations at Old Sleaford and Ancaster came Derek Allen's work on the East Midlands coinage, culminating in his masterly study of 1963.⁶ Evans in 1890 had revised his opinion that the northern Iron Age coins belonged to the Brigantes, noting that find-spots suggested attribution to the Corieltauvi farther south.⁷ More provenanced coins allowed Allen to confirm their East Midlands origin, to reaffirm their attribution to the Corieltauvi, and to establish a classification and chronology, despite the availability then of no more than about 370 specimens. The number of recorded coins has now reached over 2,200, largely as a result of metal detecting, and it is a tribute to Allen's perspicacity that his 1963 interpretations for the most part still hold good.

The greater number of coins provides new scope for typological refinement of the series, and above all for the study of distributions and site-lists, where for the first time statistical methods can be attempted. It has to be understood, however, that the new coins are not always accompanied by the highest standard of recording. Whilst knowledge of the finders, dealers and collectors, numbering some hundred and fifty individuals, allows most coins to be recorded fairly confidently at least to parish or site provenance, and sometimes to field or part of field, the photographic records are often adequate for allocating coins only to types rather than to classes or individual dies. Similar criticism, however, can be levelled against the pre-1963 records, where provenances sometimes have to be taken on trust, where fresh weighings sometimes produce different results, and where photographs are often murky and inadequate for die-linking. Classification is made even more difficult by the frequency of coins struck from very worn obverse dies, and from dies substantially larger than the blanks, which often results in important details being off the flan.⁸ In addition, die axis measurements and metallurgical analyses are still too few to provide more than hints and pointers for future research. Many coins have disappeared through trade into unknown private collections, and only the chance of further sightings can improve some individual records. It follows that we are still a long way from establishing die-chains and studying die degradation, which would be the ideal starting point for reconstructing the development of the series.

A corpus and discussion of the new material requires extended publication in monograph form.⁹ This paper is chiefly confined to observations on the earliest coins and their distribution, together with suggestions as to how such distributions together with site-lists can be used as an integral part of the wider archaeological record in an attempt to reconstruct the historical geography of the East Midlands Iron Age. It draws upon records gathered over the last thirty years, until 1987 in collaboration with the late Henry Mossop, whose wide contacts greatly enhanced the data-base, and whose eye for die links, derived from his earlier work on Anglo-Saxon coins,¹⁰ initiated this area of study in British Iron Age numismatics on a wider basis than within individual hoards.

⁶ D.F. Allen, 'Brigantes or Coritani? To what tribe do the Yorkshire hoards belong?', *Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society* 52 no. 1 (1960), 10–19; D.F. Allen, 'Celtic Coins', in *Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age*, (Chessington, Ordnance Survey, 1962), pp. 19–24, pull-out, and map p. 30; D.F. Allen, 'The origins of coinage in Britain: a re-appraisal,' in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, edited by S.S. Frere (London, Institute of Archaeology, Occasional Paper no. 11, no date, but 1961); D.F. Allen, 'Celtic coins from South Ferriby', *Hull Museum*

Publication 214 (1963), 33–6; D.F. Allen, *Coins of the Coritani, SCBI* 3 (1963).

⁷ J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, (London, 1864, and Supplement, 1890).

⁸ B. Roth, 'A large hoard . . . at South Ferriby', *NC* ser. 4, 8 (1908), 51; C. de Micheli, 'The shape of the dies of the early staters of the Corieltauvi', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), 5–9.

⁹ J. May, forthcoming.

¹⁰ H.R. Mossop, *The Lincoln Mint c890–1279*, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970).

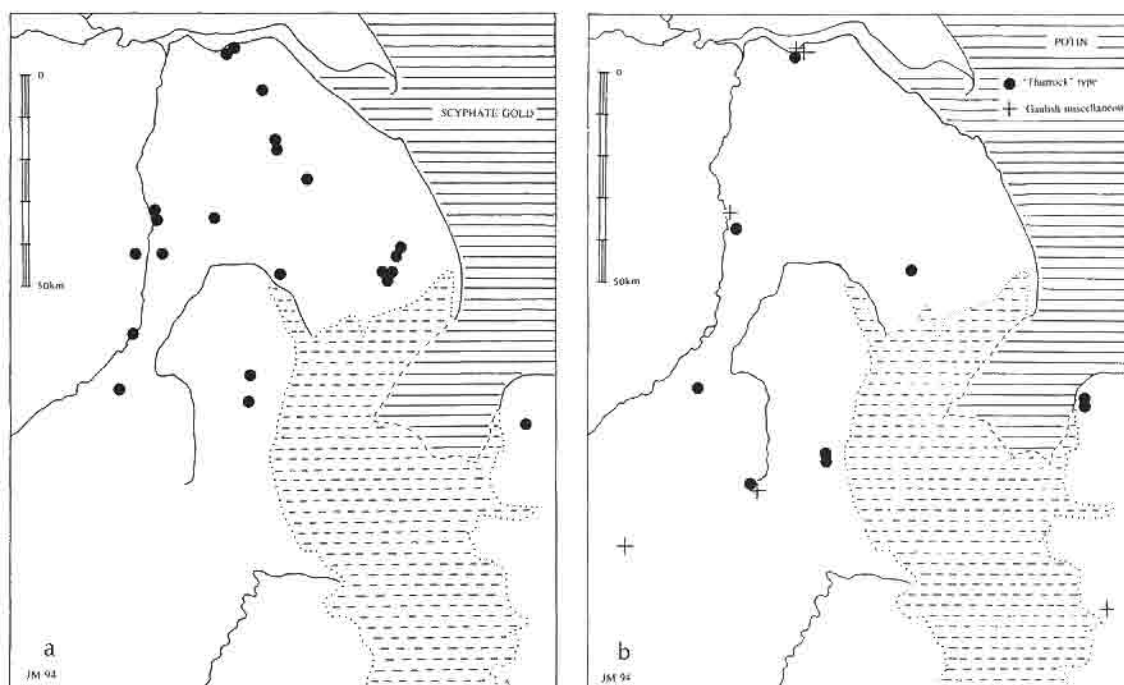


Fig. 1 East Midlands distributions of a: scyphate gold coins, b: early potin coins.

It has been commonly supposed that coinage in the East Midlands began with the appearance of gold staters derived from Gallo-Belgic imports, themselves ultimately derived from the Macedonian *philippus*. It is possible, however, that two other small groups of coins may be earlier. Attention has been drawn recently to an unusual type of scyphate gold coin (pl. 1, 16), weighing about 1.4 g.¹¹ Although the first find came to notice only in 1981, there are now records of twenty-eight. It has been suggested that they are quarter-staters accompanying the early staters,¹² and that view could be further strengthened by noting that their weight is similar to quarter-staters elsewhere, and to the earliest East Midlands silver coins, which could be regarded as their successors in a developing monetary system. That is to minimize the significance of their strikingly different designs, however, and also, more importantly, of their extremely cup-shaped form and thinness (which cannot really be appreciated from photographs), which would seem to make them more fragile and difficult to use than ordinary quarter-staters. It seems surprising that these awkward pieces should have been made at a time when the altogether easier-to-handle dish-shaped staters were in use. The fineness of the scyphate gold is variable, although generally comparable or slightly higher than that of the earliest stater Types A or C (fig. 4). Whatever their relationship to the staters, the scyphate gold nevertheless represents very early minting in the East Midlands – presumably pre-Caesarian, and perhaps a good deal earlier. Good evidence for their date, however, is at present lacking.

The distribution of the scyphate coins (fig. 1a) spreads thinly across the region. But it seems to differ from that of the staters in showing less concentration on the Wolds in Lindsey, and it has an interesting and unusual sprinkle along the river Trent. The distribution by itself at

¹¹ J. May, 'The earliest gold coinages of the Corieltavi?', in *Celtic Coinage: Britain and Beyond*, edited by M. Mays, BAR British Series no. 222, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 113–21.

¹² John Sills, lecture to the Celtic Coin Study Group, Nottingham, 1993.

present would not support a simple and contemporary two-denominational structure during the early East Midland gold period.

There is one further pointer to the very early use of coins in the East Midlands. There have been several recent finds of prototype or so-called 'Thurrock' type cast potin coins – with left-facing obverse bust and on the reverse a charging bull right, with or without the letters M A above it (pl. 1, 17). Hitherto thought confined to south-eastern Britain with no more than two or three outliers in East Anglia,¹³ we can now see another thin distribution across the East Midlands (fig. 1b). In marked contrast, there is a total absence at present of flat linear potin coins of the Kentish Class I types, and there are only two recorded examples of the later Kentish Class II types. Haselgrove's work in northern Gaul suggests that Allen's 1936 dating of these coins to the early first century BC or even the later second century BC was correct,¹⁴ and there seems no reason to believe that their appearance in the East Midlands was any later than their use elsewhere.

Allen derived the earliest struck gold staters in the East Midlands from Gallo-Belgic C types, which were current in northern Gaul and which were imported in some number into south-eastern Britain early in the first century BC. Of all the British derivatives of Gallo-Belgic C, the East Midland staters are arguably the closest in style, and although their weights and fineness are decidedly lower, near contemporaneity seems to be implied. Allen's explanation that there were invasions of Belgae from Gaul into the Humber region is, on various archaeological grounds, unlikely and certainly unproven, and there is not yet a single example of a Gallo-Belgic C coin from the region.

Archaeologists and numismatists have long argued about how to correlate the appearance of Gallo-Belgic coins in Britain with events known from history, with the early invasions *ex Belgio* mentioned by Caesar,¹⁵ competing for a simple answer with later Belgic preparations for the war with Rome.¹⁶ The answer, however, may not be so simple. The Gaulish coins, together with their British derivatives, form a very complex sequence of interrelated issues, not at all likely to have resulted from events like invasion or sudden emergencies. The best historical context, if one were needed, might be the hegemony during the high kingship of Diviciacus, intimated by Caesar and supposedly around 100 BC, which need not be nullified merely because the early British coins are unlike those of the Suessiones.¹⁷ Such a relationship, extending over a longer period, would at least allow political and economic associations between Britain and the continent a more appropriate time to develop such a complexity of issues. Archaeologists, however, been proved wrong so often when attaching archaeological data to historical events, that particularly compelling evidence is now felt necessary before such correlations can be happily accepted. In this period, moreover, we have

¹³ Tony Gregory, 'Three cast prototypes of Iron Age potin coins', *Norfolk Archaeology* 37 (1980), 341–3.

¹⁴ D.F. Allen, 'British tin coinage of the Iron Age', *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* (1936), pp. 351–7; D.F. Allen, 'British potin coins: a review', in *The Iron Age and its Hillforts*, edited by M. Jesson and D. Hill, (Southampton, 1971), pp. 127–48; C. Haselgrove, 'Archaeological evidence for the dating of Iron Age potin coinage: the case of Scheers 191', *Actes du XIe Congrès International de Numismatique* . . . Bruxelles, 8–13 Septembre 1991 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), Vol. II, pp. 11–20.

¹⁵ D.F. Allen in S.S. Frere, see note 6; W. Rodwell, 'Coinage, oppida and the rise of Belgic power in south-eastern Britain', in *Oppida in Barbarian Europe*, edited by B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley, BAR, Supplementary Series 11 (Oxford, 1976).

¹⁶ J.P.C. Kent, 'The origins and development of Celtic

coinage in Britain', *Actes du Colloque International d'Archeologie, Rouen* (Rouen, 1978), pp. 313–24; J.P.C. Kent, 'The London area in the late Iron Age: an interpretation of the earliest coins', *Collectanea Londoniensia: Studies presented to Ralph Merrifield*, (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Special Papers no. 2, 1978), pp. 53–8; J.P.C. Kent, 'The origins of coinage in Britain', in *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul. Some Current Problems*, edited by B. Cunliffe (London, Council for British Archaeology, Research Report no. 38, 1981), pp. 40–2.

¹⁷ Derek Allen's objection, pers. comm. For the most recent discussions of the earliest British coins, see A. Fitzpatrick, 'The roles of Celtic coinage in south east England', in *Celtic Coinage: Britain and Beyond*, edited by M. Mays, (Oxford, BAR, British Series no. 222, 1992), pp. 1–32 & pl. 1, and C. Haselgrove, 'The development of British Iron-Age coinage', *NC* (1993), 31–64.

no means of knowing the significance to Iron Age minds of the few historical events which interested the Romans, which happen to have been recorded by them, and which happen to have survived to our own day. All one can safely say is that archaeology, numismatics and history alike show that connexions between Britain and the continent were close from about the end of the second century BC. What caused them may always prove as elusive as in other periods of prehistory when continental relationships appear particularly close.

It is currently common in archaeology to divide Iron Age Britain into southern 'core' tribal regions, closest to continental influence and innovation, and an outer 'periphery' of people such as the Corieltauvi,¹⁸ conveying something of a diffusionist image of less advanced tribes in some way dependent upon more civilized ones. Geography and environment could well allow a more patchy scene in Iron Age Britain, and indeed there are some relatively backward-seeming regions in the south and more advanced enclaves elsewhere. The East Midlands would have been easily accessible from the continent, since the first landfalls are no more than a few days sailing from Gaul along the east coast. No doubt there were navigable creeks and inlets then as now around the Wash and along the Lincolnshire coast and Humber estuary, as well perhaps as landing places along the region's inland waterways.¹⁹ Allen's perception of close and direct connexions between the early East Midlands coinages and those on the continent, even without southern British intermediaries, need cause no disquiet.²⁰

Allen also suggested that the earliest East Midlands staters were themselves the prototypes for the earliest coins in the Catuvellaunian-Trinovantian area north of the Thames.²¹ That idea seems less plausible, but current work on the north Thames coins will perhaps shed further light on any such relationship.

Without much larger numbers of properly recorded coins, it is difficult at present to decide which criteria to use in classification. Traditional methods make use of differences which are more or less attractive to the modern eye, but we have no means of knowing that what seems numismatically useful today ever accorded with Iron Age perceptions and purposes. In general, the obverses of the East Midlands uninscribed staters appear less distinctive than the reverses. Derived from Gaulish and Greek Apollo heads, from the outset they have lost obvious human resemblance and seem merely conventional patterns. There are some differences of design which could be important, but for many types, obverse dies were often allowed to wear until they bore little or no trace of the design. By contrast, reverse designs have always seemed more significant. They retain recognizable horses, however stylized. Different symbols beneath horses on the Greek prototypes distinguish mints, and symbols similarly placed are also prominent on the derivatives. Moreover, reverse dies were always replaced before becoming severely worn or damaged, suggesting that their designs might have been particularly significant to Iron Age issuers or users.

Allen used reverse designs to distinguish two parallel series of early East Midlands staters, British H with a right-facing horse, and British I with a left-facing horse. His 1961 view, that British H is found mainly in Lincolnshire, while British I is more 'inland and north' of British H, and 'spread so far round the central area that they make contact with the northward probes of British A and B',²² is less obvious now with more coins on the maps, but the fundamental division remains attractive. We should follow Allen rather than Van Arsdell²³ when refining the classification of British H and I. Allen noted that both types show some coins with a pellet

¹⁸ B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 3rd edition (London, 1991), p. 546.

¹⁹ S. Pawley, 'Maritime trade and fishing in the Middle Ages . . . and 1500-1700', in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, n. 2 above; H. Irving, *The Tidal Havens of the Wash and Humber*, 3rd edition (St. Ives, Cambs., 1983.)

²⁰ See note 6, D.F. Allen, *Coins of the Corieltaui*, p. 10.

²¹ See note 6, D.F. Allen in S.S. Frere, 1961, p. 109.

²² See note 6, D.F. Allen in S.S. Frere, 1961, p. 108.

²³ R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989), pp. 215-23.

symbol below the horse, and others with a rosette similarly placed. The pellet types, which he called Corieltavian A and C, are closer to the Gaulish prototypes, and are likely to be older than the rosette types B and D. Furthermore, the mean weights of the pellets types are higher than the mean weights of the rosette types,²⁴ and they tend to have slightly larger flans, being c. 19mm rather than c. 17mm in diameter (pl. 1, 1 and 3–5).

The earliest type, British H or 'Corieltavian' Type A, remains rare in the East Midlands (fig. 2a), despite the flood of discoveries made recently all over the region by metal detectors. But for the fact that its derivatives are undoubtedly East Midlands types, the distribution of Type A at present is scarcely sufficient to define a core area at all. Type A is almost as frequent in East Anglia as it is in the East Midlands, and it is possible that the East Anglian distribution represents something more than insignificant outliers, as Allen tended to think.

Twenty-two Type A coins are known – eighteen gold, the rest gold plated. That plated coins were made from the very start of coining in Britain is suggested by the recent discovery of an obverse die for a Gallo-Belgic A stater said to have come from near Basingstoke.²⁵ It is no surprise to find that 18 per cent of the surviving East Midlands Type A staters are plated (fig. 3); the percentage is, of course, unlikely to represent the percentage of coins minted, since solid metal coins would often have been re-coined, while more plated or base metal coins would have been discarded.

The mean weight of the gold staters is at present 6.15g and the weight-range is from 6.25g to 6.02g. Three Type A staters analyzed recently²⁶ have a mean gold content of 44.5 per cent, higher than for any other East Midlands stater type (fig. 4). The finest coin, with 48 per cent gold, is atypical (pl. 1, 2; see below & n. 24), while the other two have around 42–3 per cent gold. If the former is to be included in the type, the mean fineness of c. 44.5 per cent supports Type A's claim to be the earliest of the East Midlands staters. Such generalizations, however, are probably premature. There are no die links, and judging from the variety of styles and details, Type A will fairly certainly be amenable to useful sub-division when more examples are known. Perhaps only then will a review of its metrology, metallurgy and distribution be more informative.

The right-facing horse with rosette coins, Type B (pl. 1, 3–5), with an overall mean weight of 5.94g, should be later than Type A, if weight reduction implies passage of time. With about thirty-six recorded coins, Type B can be more readily sub-divided. If the most conspicuous reverse symbols are taken as having significance for classification, Type B has at least seven classes. Several poorly-recorded specimens, however, suggest that there could well be more. There are only fifteen coins with recorded weights from the seven classes, which is too small a number for weight differences yet to be accorded much significance. Some classes may have mean weights of c. 6g, whilst others are markedly lighter. A single specimen, perhaps representing another class, is no more than 5.58g. Four Type B coins have been analyzed (fig. 4), showing a mean gold content of 42.77 per cent, slightly lower than the present mean for Type A. If substantiated by more analyses, the lower gold content would be consistent with a slightly later date. The distribution (fig. 2b) is insufficient to show any sub-regional groupings, but the broad mapping of Type B shows that it is firmly located in Lincolnshire, particularly in Lindsey, north of the Lincoln gap and east of the river Witham.²⁷ There are

²⁴ J. May, 'The order of the prototype gold staters of the Corieltavi,' *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), 1–4.

²⁵ Now in the British Museum, publication forthcoming. The die is difficult to identify, but a silicone impression taken by the writer while the die was still in trade, seemed to suggest Gallo-Belgic C, and it was so published by J. Williams, 'Ancient British forger's coin-die', *British Museum Magazine* 20 (Winter 1994), 20. Further study of the impression,

however, suggests that the die was hubbed from a small-flan Gallo-Belgic A stater (J. May, forthcoming).

²⁶ Dr M. Cowell, pers. comm.

²⁷ Joined clusters of symbols on this and subsequent maps indicate multiple single finds from one site. At this scale, the maps are not intended to be for precise recording, but for drawing attention to differing concentrations of finds within the region.

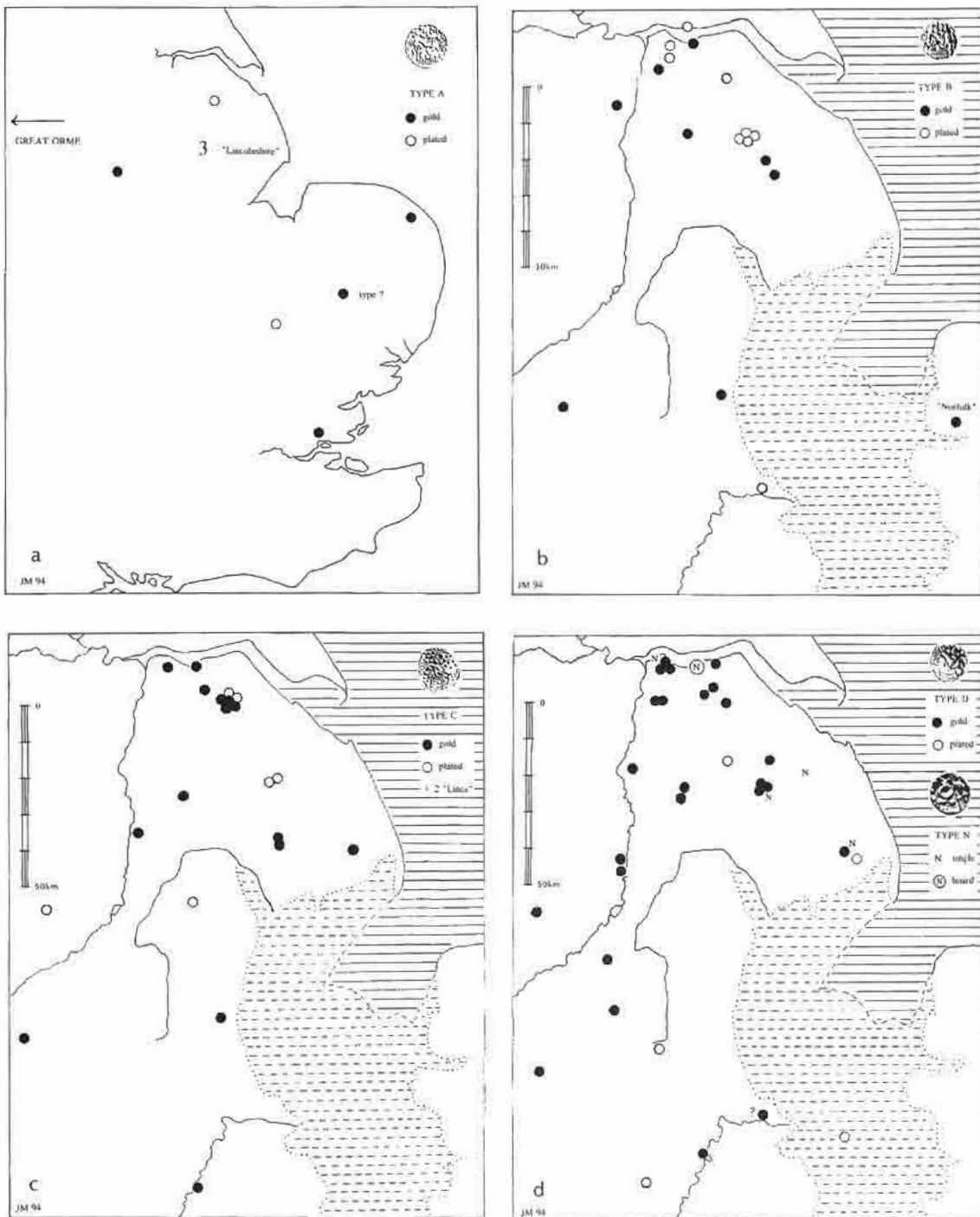


Fig. 2 Distributions of East Midlands gold staters, Allen Types A–D.

TYPE	GOLD	PLATED	PLATED
A	18	4	18 %
B	22	11	33 %
C	34	7	17 %
D	55	5	8 %

Fig. 3 East Midlands staters of Allen's Type A-D: percentages of gold to plated coins (excluding coins from hoards).

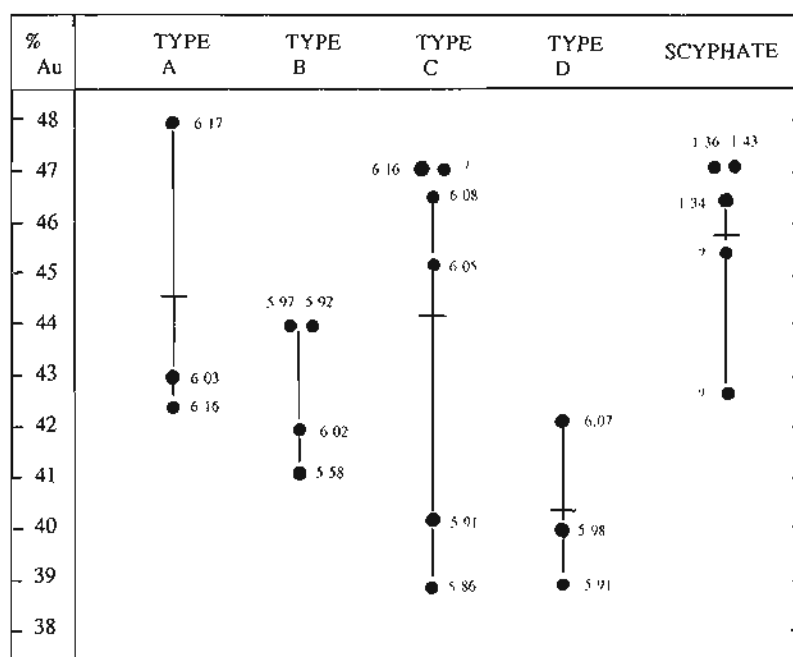


Fig. 4 Percentage gold content of early East Midlands gold coins; analyses to December 1994 (Cowell 1992; Northover 1992; Cowell pers. comm.). Weights against each coin in grammes.

concentrations in the Scunthorpe area, and on the Lincolnshire Wolds, but whether they have any implications for mint locations remains to be seen. Despite greater numbers, Type B occurs only very rarely outside the East Midlands, and there is only one find reputed to have come from East Anglia. Type B seems to have been a complex series, with perhaps a long history.

There are no other East Midlands staters with right-facing horses. All others have horses facing left, and as Allen showed, there was a long sequence of them, starting with early prototypes, which continued with simpler uninscribed and later inscribed types up to the Roman period. The earliest, Allen's Types C and D, echo the right-facing horse staters. Type C (**pl. 1, 6**) is a heavier group, with a flan size similar to that of Type A, and with a pellet below the horse. The mean weight is 6.07g, slightly lighter than Type A, although the heaviest coin at 6.22g compares with Type A's heaviest coin. The lightest, however, at 5.84g is markedly lighter than its Type A counterpart. Type C is not so clearly amenable to sub-division, despite there being forty or more coins on record, and unless we attach greater significance than elsewhere to patterns in the exergual areas, perhaps only two classes can be discerned, with nearly all coins belonging to the first. Six Type C coins have been analyzed (fig. 4), showing a mean gold content of 44.2 per cent, closely comparable with Type A. The range, however, is wide, and although there is clustering at the finer end of the range, two coins at least show markedly lower gold content, both being relatively light in weight. The distribution (fig. 2c) shows that Type C was also deposited mainly in Lindsey, modifying Allen's 1961 perspective of a more westerly and northerly distribution, but it nonetheless seems that the distribution is less concentrated, and that perhaps more coins circulated south and south-westwards. There are no finds recorded from East Anglia, nor from north of the Humber.

Coins of three types so far discussed have stylistic affinities, and perhaps without exception, the horses are without tails, like their Gaulish counterparts.²⁸ Minting could have started well before the mid-1st century BC, despite their gold content being significantly less than Gallo-Belgic C – or even Gallo-Belgic E, presumed to be the coinage of the Gallic War period.²⁹ Fineness could relate as much to local purposes and precious metal supplies as to the establishment of inter-regional standards, particularly if the coins were intended primarily for local use. Bi-facial striking, however, links them to the earlier Gaulish series, even though no Gallo-Belgic C stater has yet been found in the East Midlands. Some overlap with the uniface Gallo-Belgic E is likely, nonetheless, since crescent-and-dot patterns in some exergual areas could derive from the latter rather than from Gallo-Belgic C. Gallo-Belgic E is now well represented in the region (fig. 5a), although the majority of single finds are from Kesteven and south-westwards, rather than from Lindsey. Two or three small Lindsey hoards containing Gallo-Belgic E, perhaps significantly, do not include Corieltavian coins, and so cannot be related to the local sequence.

The last of the prototype staters of Allen's Type D (**pl. 1, 7–8**), with a reverse horse left and with a rosette below, are much more numerous, although of the hundred or more recorded, half are so far without good photographs, and their study is consequently made difficult. Nevertheless, at least five classes can be discerned, and there may well be more.

Class D1 (**pl. 1, 7**) is notable for its mean weight being slightly higher even than the mean weight for Type C – which could suggest broad contemporaneity rather than succession. The other classes, however, are decidedly lighter. Classes 1–4 have horses without tails, like Types A, B and C. Class D5 (**pl. 1, 8**) is the lightest and most numerous class; these horses do have tails, initiating a design feature that was to continue throughout the rest of the East Midlands

²⁸ An exception might be Plate 1, no. 2 (Allen's no. 1 in the Sylloge catalogue, see note 6).

²⁹ S. Scheers, *Traité de Numismatique Celtique: la Gaule Belgique* (1977), pp. 65–8.

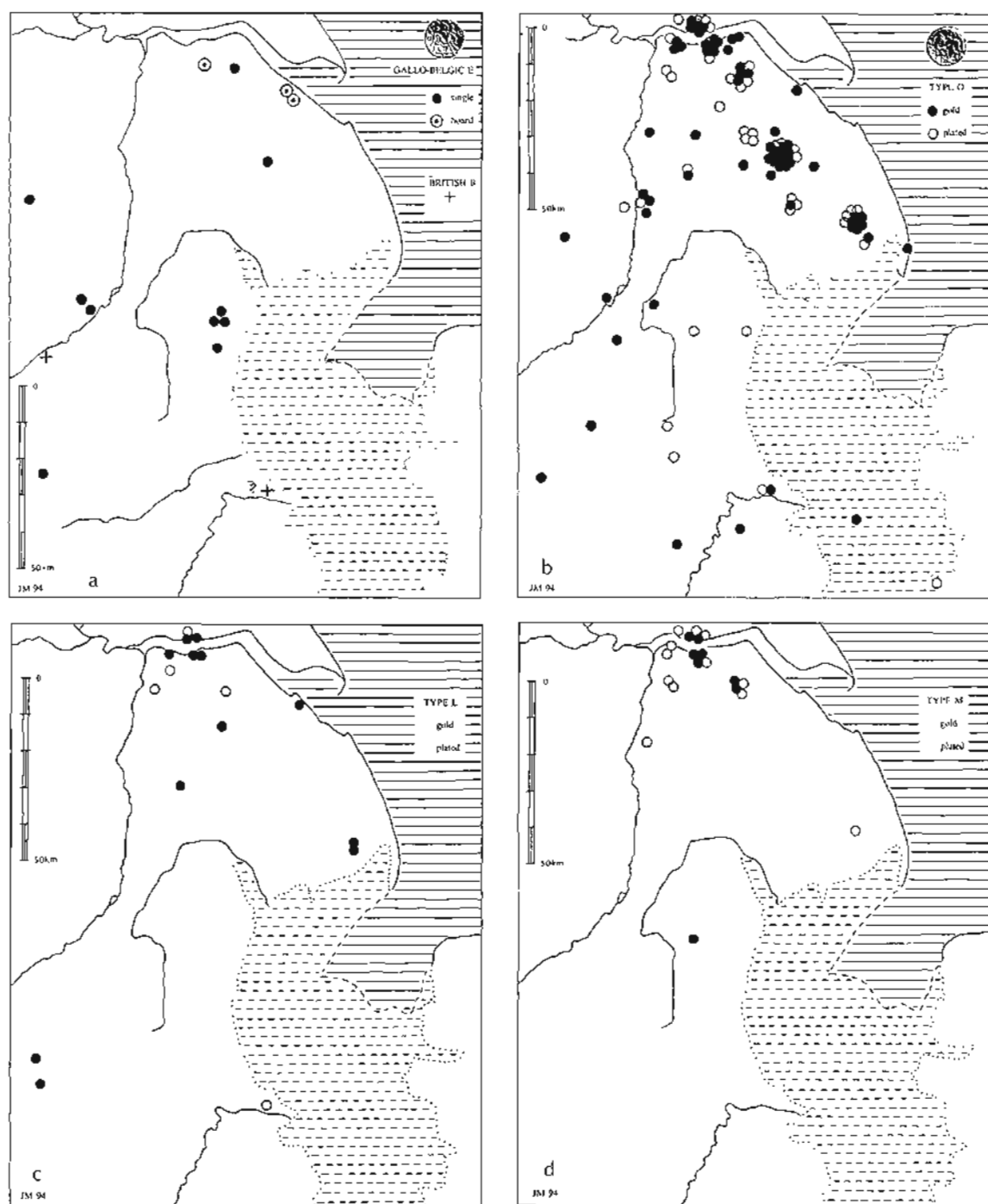


Fig. 5 East Midlands distributions of a: Gallo-Belgic E staters, b-d: East Midlands gold staters of Allen Types O, L and M.

gold series. Three examples of Type D have been analyzed, showing a mean gold content of 40.40 per cent, consistent with a generally later date. None of the high weight Type D1 coins has been analyzed, and the two lowest gold percentages are from D5 coins, which seem typologically late in the Type D series. The lightest of all the horse left/rosette staters are those with rather cruder and simpler horse designs, which Allen distinguished as Type N (**pl. 1, 9**), but which may simply be the latest versions of Type D. The great spread of weights of what we might now call Type DN, from 6.17g to 5.31g, could be taken to suggest a longer period of minting. Certainly the combined Type DN, with 121 examples recorded, outnumber all of the other East Midlands prototypes put together. The distribution of Type D (fig. 2d), like those of Types B and C, falls mainly in Lindsey, although the hint of stronger circulation in the southern part of the region may be no more than a reflection of the larger number of coins.

All of these early stater types include examples of copper coins with gold plating, and the incidence of plated coins, whether official token issues or unofficial deceptive forgeries, compares with the coinages of other regions of Britain from earliest times. Only the thin scyphate coins have not so far been found in plated form (although later, equally thin, East Midlands silver coins sometimes are). Figure 3 shows the percentages of plated coins similar for Types A and C, which might be expected if they were broadly contemporary. Type B has a much higher incidence of plated coins among surviving singletons. Type D, by contrast, seems to have been much less often plated, as if its period, its authority or its mint was better supplied with gold, or circumstances allowed better control over fraudsters.

The later coins of Type DN (fig. 2d) compare closely in style and weight with Allen's British K (or Types O and P), characterised by a star below the horse. Type P (**pl. 1, 14**) seems nothing more than Type O (**pl. 1, 13**) with worn or featureless obverse dies, and seems scarcely to merit typological distinction. Types N, O and P have hitherto been contrasted with the prototypes, and have been used to define a later period of minting in the first century BC. The association of all these types in the South Ferriby hoard has led to the hoard name being given to the whole range of staters. It is more convenient, however, to follow Allen's lettered type divisions.

Attempts have been made to sub-divide Types O and P,³⁰ but there are no obvious major differences of symbol or design arrangements, and it is debatable whether apparently minor distinctions, such as the number of rays in the stars below the horses, should be accorded class status rather than regarded merely as die variants. We are here faced again with the methodological problem of how to choose criteria for sub-division, and where, in a hierarchy above the individual die, one distinguishes between types, classes and mere variants.

What is evident, however, is that with over three hundred coins, both gold and plated, we now have by far the largest group of East Midlands staters, if comparative sizes of surviving samples are any guide, and either a prolonged period of minting is implied, or else circumstances that required a particularly large output of coins. Die-links are relatively rare among the single finds, as they generally are among the East Midlands series, and at present do not seem to help in distinguishing spatial or temporal groupings.

More clearly than ever before, the distribution (fig. 5b) shows a heavy weighting in Lindsey up to the Humber, and, interestingly, northwards into eastern Yorkshire. Numbers are sparse in the western areas of Lindsey, and even sites on the limestone producing large numbers of later coins in silver can scarcely compete with the sites on the Lincolnshire Wolds. The even thinner distribution southwards in Kesteven and Leicestershire is certainly not due to differential effort in recovery, but perhaps begins to strengthen an impression of a separate area in the Iron Age coming under influences emanating from Lindsey.

³⁰ R.D. Van Arsdel, note 19, pp. 223–6.

The Type N, O and P staters have been noted for a change in style from Types A-D, and many coins show design elements which are larger, clumsier and more widely-spaced. Reverses often show a gradual change from the slim, sinuous outlines of the body of a horse on the early staters, to a composition dominated by arrangements of crescents. The effect recalls the Snettisham style of British La Tène art commonest in the first century BC, although perhaps starting earlier with such pieces as the linch-pin from Eastburn in Yorkshire, dated by Stead to the third century BC.³¹ This art style is also to be seen in Lindsey, for example on the bit-ring from Ulceby near Kirmington³² and on the newly-discovered linch-pins from Tattershall Thorpe,³³ although neither find is easily datable.

Some of the heavier Type O staters, however, are not far removed stylistically from the prototypes, and could be earlier than the more simply designed Type O coins from the South Ferriby hoard. As for the symbols, Type D, in addition to the rosette below the horse, has a star in front of the horse, which is off the flan in most surviving examples and so scarcely remarked in the literature. Type O, with the star below the horse, has a rosette in front of the horse in those examples where this part of the die appears on the flan. The only essential design difference between the two types seems to lie in the juxtaposition of stars and rosettes. We might suppose, therefore, that early Type O staters were contemporary with some of the later prototypes, and continued to be minted in parallel with the later Type DN staters, both types showing progressive development from continental Gallo-Belgic towards a British Snettisham-like style. Whether minting was continuous or intermittent is less important than the impression of continuity of tradition.³⁴

Type OP accounted for the largest gold component in the South Ferriby hoard, and its mean weight of 5.41 grams appears significantly lower than that of the coins of Type D. From this point to the end of the East Midlands series, however, there is a remarkable degree of stability of weight, which can perhaps be best expressed as a graph (fig. 6). Taking the mean weight of each general type and dividing this figure into the commonly agreed weight of the Celtic pound of 309 grams,³⁵ it would seem that the earliest staters of Types A and C were minted at a standard of 50 to the pound of metal. That is a nice round number, and it is tempting to think that it is more than coincidental. Types B and D seem to have been minted at about 52 to the pound, and thereafter, almost every type of stater conforms to a standard of between 56 and 59 to the pound of metal.

The few anomalies are interesting. The less common South Ferriby stater, Type M (pl. 1, 12), seems to have been minted at 62 to the pound. Type M, together with Type L (pl. 1, 11), are both characterized by a whorl below the horse; they are also now commonly referred to as the Kite type and the Domino type, from the symbols over the horse.³⁶ Both types seem to stand aside from the main South Ferriby series in their rarity, and particularly also in their distributions (fig. 5c-d). Most have been found at or near the Humber crossing sites of South Ferriby and Old Winteringham, and on the corresponding north bank of the river at North Ferriby, suggesting for the first time sub-regional issues.³⁷

For the rarer types of early stater, little more can be said. Allen's Type E (pl. 1, 10), with a multi-arm whorl below horse left, remains unique, although its obverse now die-links with a Type D stater from Ulceby Cross. One new example of Allen's Type R also comes from

³¹ J.M. Stead, *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire* (London, 1991), pp. 44-7.

³² J. May, *Prehistoric Lincolnshire*, (Lincoln, 1976), p. 160, fig. 78.

³³ J. Owen, 'Iron Age linch-pins from Tattershall Thorpe', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 28 (1993), 68-9.

³⁴ The often-debated question of continuous or intermittent

minting in Iron Age Britain is meaningless without the quantification of these terms.

³⁵ See D.F. Allen in S.S. Frere, note 6, pp. 302-4.

³⁶ See R.D. Van Arsdell, note 19.

³⁷ The other anomaly comes at the end of the sequence, where the staters inscribed Volisios Dumnovellaunos seem to have been minted at about 67 to the pound of metal.

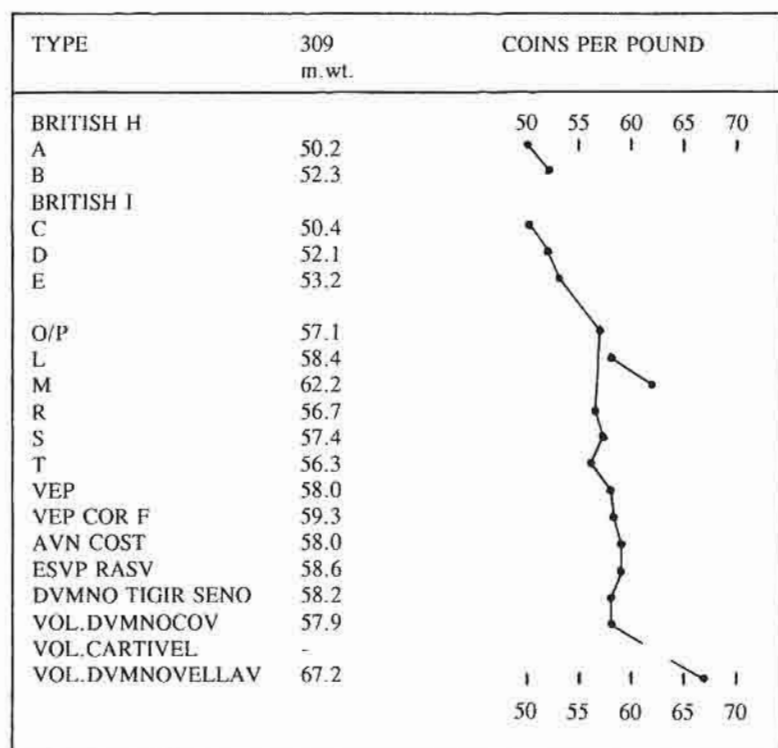


Fig. 6 Graph to show the approximate numbers of East Midlands gold staters minted from one Celtic pound of metal.

Ulceby Cross, although the horse's forelegs are curved in the manner of some later inscribed issues, rather than straight as in Allen's Type examples 300-2. No further specimens of Allen's Types S (pl. 1, 15) and T (with an obverse three-petal flower) have been recorded, although a modern forgery of the latter is known. Also modern forgeries are several pieces similar in style to Type D prototypes, but with wheels below the horse.

This is not the place to deal further with the typological details of the East Midlands coinages, although much of interest emerges from the uninscribed silver issues, which have now become rather common, and from the later inscribed coinages, where new readings of legends, and even a few new names, add to the complexities of the series in the first century AD.³⁸ More useful for the moment is to note that the evidence for the early development of coinage in the East Midlands agrees with the emerging evidence for large, rich, nucleated settlements, which are producing pottery and other metalwork closely similar to the earliest La Tène III material in Essex and Kent, and in northern Gaul.

³⁸ J. May, 'A new East Midland inscription', *Celtic Coin Bulletin* 1 (1991), 28-30.

The settlement at Old Sleaford was certainly flourishing in the first century BC, if not earlier.³⁹ A settlement at Ancaster is comparably early.⁴⁰ The limited scale of excavations at these sites, however, precludes a proper evaluation of their origins. A settlement at Kirmington, on the Lincolnshire Wolds, seems comparable, although the quantity of Iron Age artifacts is smaller.⁴¹ More informative is Dragonby, near Scunthorpe, where the excavation of no less than two acres of a 20-acre settlement is by some margin the most extensive so far on a major settlement of the British late Iron Age.⁴² This site produced a long and apparently continuous sequence of pottery, which seems to demonstrate the evolution of La Tène III styles from an indigenous tradition which thermoluminescence dating suggests began well before 100 BC, and which could as easily be third-century BC or earlier. Similar pottery from a ploughed-out 'hillfort' at Tattershall Thorpe was associated with charcoal dated by radiocarbon to around the fifth to fourth century BC.⁴³ Although much work needs to be done before this chronology can be properly substantiated, it appears that there was no abrupt cultural intrusion initiating a La Tène III-related phase at the East Midlands sites so far explored, which in turn raises doubts about invoking Belgic invasions to account for the introduction either of wheel-thrown pottery or indeed coinage into the region. It would be interesting, too, to see if similar results could be obtained at other major settlements or *oppida* in south-eastern Britain – although cost and commitment nowadays militate against appropriately extensive excavations.

In the East Midlands, however, it is most notable that Dragonby and Kirmington, which can be defined as major Iron Age settlements on archaeological grounds, and which are at present no more than ploughed fields with material to be collected from the surface, produce considerable numbers of Iron Age coins. If we use these sites as indicators, several other settlements in the region can be tentatively identified from similar quantities of coins (fig. 7), contrasting with large numbers of other sites which have produced few coins, despite extensive searching with metal-detectors. For the prolific sites, with forty to a hundred or more coins, we can at last begin to use statistical methods of analysis, not yet so much to postulate each site's history as to enable useful comparisons to be made from site to site. How many coins are needed for the statistics to be reliable is a matter of judgement, but by showing the totals for each site one can judge for oneself. It may be significant that the site-list for Ancaster of no more than nineteen coins seems to approximate to regional norms. Clearly the percentages can be revised as more coins are added to the totals. It is also worth questioning to what extent like is being compared with like. Allowance can be made, of course, for evidence eventually to show that not all sites are of the same size and status, and equally, the fortunes of sites can change in relation to each other as the decades pass, but the general spread of coins, as far as is possible to ascertain it, suggests that all of these sites were settlements similar to Dragonby, Old Sleaford and Ancaster. Two sites in Lindsey can be excluded since their dense and concentrated clusters of coins suggest that they were temples rather than settlements.⁴⁴

³⁹ J. May, note 26, pp. 176–8; S.M. Elsdon forthcoming.

⁴⁰ J. May, note 26, pp. 174–6; D.R. Wilson, forthcoming.

⁴¹ J. May, 'An Iron Age spout from Kirmington, Lincolnshire', *Antiquaries Journal* 51 (1971), 253–9; D.N. Riley, 'Roman defended sites at Kirmington. . .', etc., *Britannia* 8 (1977), 189–92; K.A. Leahy, 'Votive models from Kirmington, South Humberside', *Britannia* 11 (1980), 326–30; D. Jones and J.B. Whitwell, 'Survey of the Roman fort and multi-period settlement complex at Kirmington on the Lincolnshire Wolds: a non-destructive approach', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 26 (1991), 57–62.

⁴² J. May, note 26, pp. 182–91; S.M. Elsdon and J. May, *The Iron Age Pottery from Dragonby: a Draft Report*, University of Nottingham, Department of Classical and Archaeological Studies (1987); J. May, forthcoming.

⁴³ P. Chowne, M. Girling and J. Grieg, 'Excavations of an Iron Age defended enclosure at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 52 (1986), 159–88.

⁴⁴ Rothwell Top, near Caistor; the location of the other must for the moment remain confidential to protect it from indiscriminate metal detecting.

Numbers of coins	Earliest Corieltavi Types A-D Scyphate	Later 1st century BC	Early-Mid 1st century AD		% uninscribed	% inscribed
<u>LINDSEY</u>						
41	SOUTH FERRIBY ●	2	33	6	85	15
91	KIRMINGTON ●	8	63	20	78	22
121	LUDFORD	7	101	13	89	11
66	ULCEBY CROSS	5	49	12	63	37
16	HORNCastle ●		10	6	63	37
41	WINTERINGHAM	5	20	16	61	39
48	DRAGONBY ●	2	34	12	75	25
98	OWMBY	3	61	34	65	35
<u>SOUTH-EASTERN YORKSHIRE</u>						
77	NORTH FERRIBY REDCLIFF	1	47	29	63	37
<u>KESTEVEN-LEICESTERSHIRE</u>						
3	SLEAFORD ●	1	2			
19	ANCASTER ●		15	4	79	21
25	THISTLETON (incl.temple)		18	7	72	28
7	LEICESTER ●		4	3	57	43
652 settlement total						
● pre-Roman pottery or metalwork				mean	70.8	29.2

JM 94

Fig. 7 Table showing numbers of uninscribed and inscribed East Midlands coins from the probable major settlements in the region.

Figure 7 shows that the key excavated site at Dragonby, together with the other sites known to be major Iron Age settlements at Kirmington and Ancaster, have a remarkably similar ratio of uninscribed to inscribed coins – roughly three to one. Deposition – and by inference, occupation – in the first century BC is made likely by the fact that there is no discernible difference in wear between the earlier uninscribed coins and the later inscribed ones. By this criterion, it can be suggested that three other sites on the Lincolnshire Wolds, at Ludford, at South Ferriby (excluding the hoard coins), and at Ulceby Cross,⁴⁵ are all good candidates for being major settlements. Owmbly, also in Lindsey, and Thistleton, in what used to be Leicestershire/Rutland, have the same pattern, although excavations by E. Greenfield on part of the latter site failed to discover Iron Age occupation.⁴⁶ Old Winteringham is not far below, and observations that excavation at this site failed to reveal substantial Iron Age occupation could be countered by the fact that the principal concentrations of coins do not come from the field where the excavation took place. Surprisingly, North Ferriby, on the northern bank of the Humber and now better known as Redcliff, is similar to Old Winteringham, and while at both sites the ratios could be affected by more deposition at the end of the period or in early Roman times, there are enough uninscribed coins in unworn state to suggest early beginnings.⁴⁷

The figures are perhaps more vividly presented as a graph (fig. 8), where the three settlements with Iron Age material stretching back to the first century BC or beyond are grouped together, with the other possible settlements shown in ascending and descending order of the ratios.

It is less easy to suggest where the coins were minted, for the distributions of most of the main types of coins, as we have seen, show little evidence of clustering. The exceptions are the whorl type South Ferriby staters, Types L and M, whose distributions focus on the Humber around South Ferriby and Winteringham, and two other uncommon types which could be related to short minting episodes at the southern end of the Corieltavian region. Type Y (pl. 1, 18 and fig. 9a) is a South Ferriby style silver coin with left-facing horse, which at present seems to belong to the lower Nene valley around Peterborough, and the later inscribed silver coinage of LAT ISON (pl. 1, 19 and fig. 9b), which seems to lie farther north in Kesteven, could conceivably have been minted at Old Sleaford.

Old Sleaford, of course, produced the pellet moulds, one of which still contained a pellet of the right weight for a silver unit. The mould cavities conform to three sizes, and work is being done in Nottingham, as part of the Old Sleaford publication project, to relate these sizes to what are now known to have been five different Corieltavian denominations.⁴⁸ Leicester, too, has recently yielded pellet moulds, in late Iron Age contexts beneath the Roman town.⁴⁹ Minting need not, however, have been restricted to these sites. The late Henry Mossop photographed a fragment of what appears to have been a circular mould said to have been found at South Ferriby, although endeavours to verify the discovery have been fruitless. A similar, but rougher, piece of baked clay was found by the late Derrick Riley in the 1930s at Scotter, in Lindsey, although the site has produced no other evidence of Iron Age or Romano-British occupation, and analysis of the cavities failed to show traces of metal.

⁴⁵ In earlier publications by the writer referred to as 'near Spilsby'.

⁴⁶ Report for English Heritage forthcoming.

⁴⁷ But see S. Willis, *Britannia* forthcoming, on the excavations at Redcliff. Limited excavation here produced no substantial Iron Age occupation. Shifting settlement foci, however, suggested by coin deposition at Saham Toney, Norfolk (R.A. Brown, 'The Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Woodcock Hall, Saham Toney, Norfolk', *Britannia* 17 (1986), 1–58), warn against using negative evidence from small sample

excavations to argue positively for the absence of pre-Roman presence at Romano-British sites.

⁴⁸ In addition to the well-known gold staters, scyphate gold, silver units and half units, silver minims of VEP COR F have recently been identified by G.L. Cottam, *NCirc* Vol. 100, no. 9 (November 1992), 305.

⁴⁹ See note 3, P. Clay and J.E. Mellor, 1988.

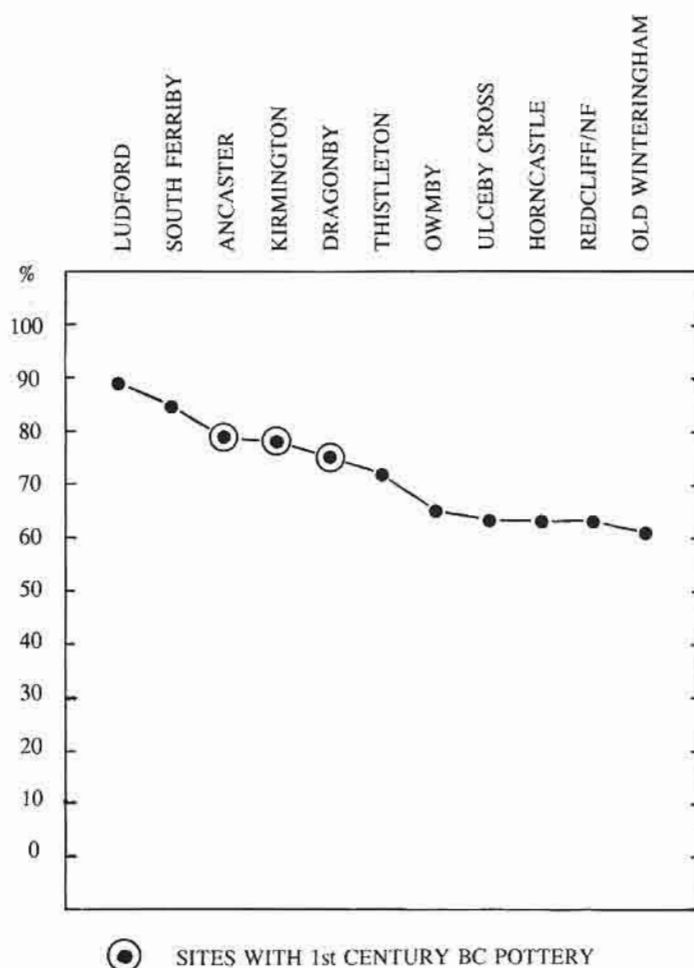


Fig. 8 Graph showing percentages of uninscribed to inscribed East Midlands coins from the probable major settlements in the region.

No pellet moulds are known from Lincoln, and at first sight the debris from Old Sleaford seems anomalous at a settlement assumed to be a minor one in the Roman period. The Old Sleaford moulds, however, belong to a short, very late phase in the Iron Age, and there is nothing to show that minting took place there throughout the late Iron Age. Nor is it known whether die engravers worked exclusively for one authority, or whether they moved from mint to mint reproducing similar quirks of design or craftsmanship in different sequences of issues.

Other East Midlands sites such as Owmbly and North Ferriby have yielded examples of silver ingots and gold pellets and blanks, all of appropriate weight for East Midlands coins,

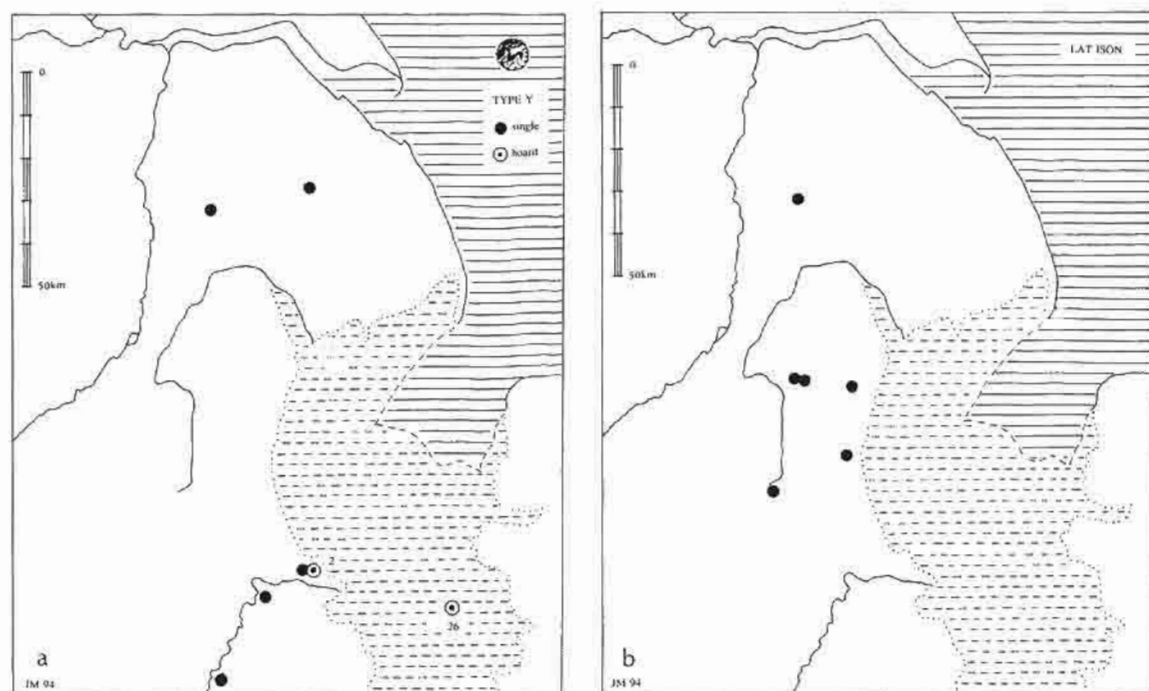


Fig. 9 East Midlands distributions of a: silver coins of Allen Type Y, b: silver coins inscribed LAT ISON.

but the contents of the Sutton Hoo purse,⁵⁰ for example, show that such items can have lives of their own, and are not to be taken as good evidence for mint sites. We have some way to go yet before these matters become clear, but it may well be that minting – as distinct from the authority to mint – may have been carried out at several sites, and that in the East Midlands, as perhaps in East Anglia, production may have been less centralized than in southern Britain.

Taking the major coin-producing sites in the region, adding to them the historically-adduced Corieltavian *polis* of Lincoln, and bearing in mind that several of these sites have, on excavation, produced unequivocal evidence of rich and extensive occupation beginning no later than the first century BC, it is possible to map fourteen sites in the East Midlands which could qualify as major nucleated settlements (fig. 10). These settlements are remarkably evenly spaced, c. 25 km being a common distance between them. The few anomalies could, of course, be due to particular local circumstances, such as ports or crossing places on the Humber shores, or coastal trade, which could account for the prominence of Old Sleaford, close to the shores of our now enlarged Wash. The argument might hold for Leicestershire too, although the numismatic evidence is much less encouraging, and the fieldwork, which is complicated by the presence of large, mostly unexcavated hillforts, has been less extensive. It might eventually be possible to sketch out a historical geography for the entire East Midlands.⁵¹ For the moment, however, the model seems more plausible for Lincolnshire alone.

⁵⁰ J.P.C. Kent, in R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, Vol. 1 (London, 1975), pp. 645–7.

⁵¹ See for example, J. May, 'Major settlements of the later Iron Age in Lincolnshire', in *A Prospect of Lincolnshire*, edited by N. Field and A. White, (Lincoln, 1984), pp. 18–22;

J. May, 'Coinage, settlement and society in the late Iron Age of East Midland Britain', in *Actes du XIe Congrès International de Numismatique... Bruxelles, 8–13 Septembre 1991*, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), Vol. II, pp. 7–10.

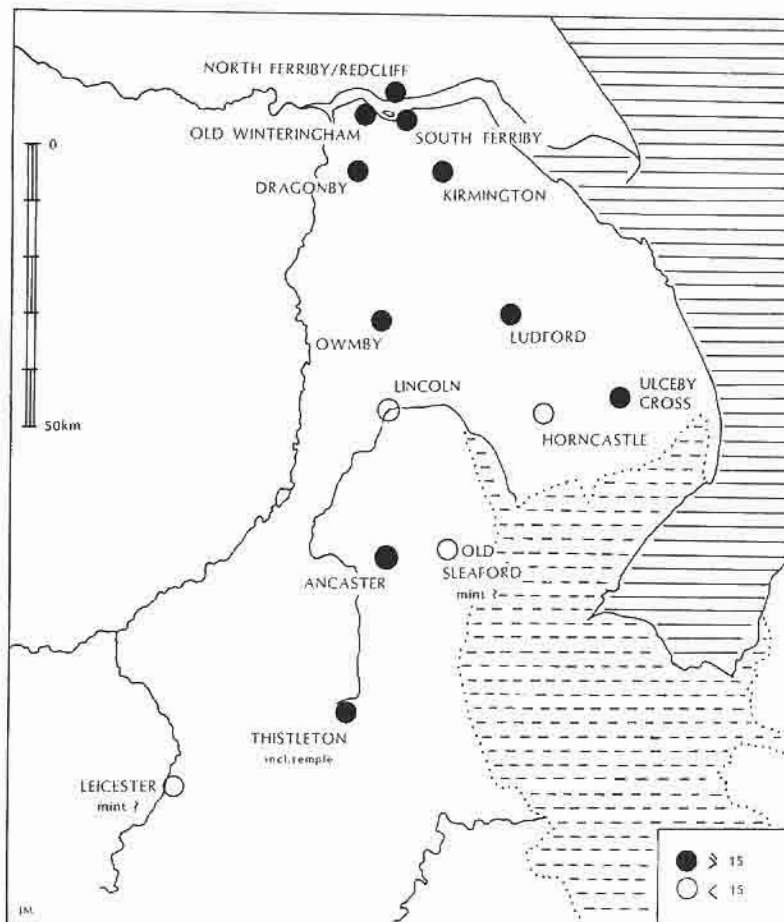


Fig. 10 Map of probable major settlements of the Corieltavi, derived from historical, archaeological and numismatic evidence.

and of course the present simplistic two-fold division into major and minor settlements would need to be modified as more information is obtained with regard to their size, wealth, status and date.

The extent to which the distributions of East Midlands coins reflect the territory inhabited by the Corieltavi is as difficult to prove here as elsewhere. The historical evidence, together with the two Corieltavi inscriptions⁵² and a Roman milestone inscribed *Ratae* near Leicester,⁵³ certainly allows such a correlation to be suggested, but whether the territory extended as far south as the spread of coins into the Nene valley remains problematic. The densest distributions of coin losses appear in Lindsey, while their thinness west of the river Trent can be correlated with a different cultural archaeology to suggest that the valley formed a boundary, political or economic. The distributions are likewise thin southwards towards Leicester, as if this region had also experienced a different pattern of development during the

⁵² *Tripontium* (Caves Inn) inscription: M.W.C. Hassall & R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Roman Britain in 1982. II. Inscriptions', *Britannia* 14 (1983), 349–50 & 356; R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Non Coritani sed Corieltavi', n. 3 above; R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Roman Leicester, a corrigendum: for 'Coritani' should we now read

'Corieltavi'?' n. 3 above. Thorpe-in-the-Glebe inscription: M.W.C. Hassall & R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Roman Britain in 1992. II. Inscriptions' *Britannia* 24 (1993), 318 & pl. 15B.

⁵³ Thurmaston milestone: *R.I.B.* 2244; F.J. Haverfield, 'Roman Leicester', *Archaeological Journal* 75 (1918), 29.

Iron Age, and are very weak westwards towards the zone later traversed by Watling Street. The scarcity of coins west of Leicester is puzzling if Ptolemy's *polis* had indeed been a major centre and a mint throughout the later Iron Age. The coin-list from Leicester itself, however, unlike that of any other possible major East Midlands centre, has a high proportion of coins from southern Britain,⁵⁴ again suggesting a different pattern of development by the end of the Iron Age. But again, such questions require a fuller examination of the later stages of the East Midlands coinages.

For the present, however, it seems likely that both numismatics and settlement archaeology suggest that the Corieltavi, far from being an obscure, peripheral or backward tribe as they are often portrayed, were a relatively advanced people. Lindsey may have been the primary area of development in the later Iron Age, with extension of influence or authority southwards into Kesteven, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire as far as the river Nene. Their major settlements were occupied by notables whose wealth and power may have been based on stock-raising on the chalk and limestone hills, rather than cultivation in the valleys, and who were abreast of developments towards the proto-urban society represented by the southern British *oppida*. Their coinage was as early and as advanced as any in Britain. Its stylistic conservatism might be better interpreted as evidence for political or economic stability, than as evidence of backwardness – in contrast to the south, whose more diverse coinages in the century before the conquest reflect the culturally disruptive proximity of Rome.

There is little evidence that the East Midlands coinage continued after the Roman conquest around AD 45, unless the coins of the Volisios series, which are rarely found much south of the Humber, represent refugee coinages at North Ferriby or elsewhere in Yorkshire. Newly developing Roman sites along the East Midlands sector of the Fosse Way, such as *Vernemeton* (Six Hills), *Margidunum* (East Bridgford), *Ad Pontem* (East Stoke) and *Crococolana* (Brough), have yielded hardly any Iron Age coins, despite massive searching by metal-detectorists, and it seems likely that shortly after the conquest, Iron Age coins had not only ceased to be minted in the region south of the Humber, but had even ceased to circulate.

⁵⁴ A. Fitzpatrick, pp. 131–4 in P. Clay & R. Pollard, n. 3.

KEY TO PLATE 1

1. Type A, unprovenanced, *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 3.
2. Type A, unprovenanced, *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 1.
3. Type B, Biscathorpe (Lincs.), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 4.
4. Type B, Bourne (Lincs.), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 6.
5. Type B, Waddingham (Lincs.), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 7.
6. Type C, unprovenanced, *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 13.
7. Type D1, Low Marnham (Notts.), unpublished Private collection.
8. Type D5, unprovenanced, *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 24.
9. Type N, Whitton (South Humberside), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 36.
10. Type E, West Hagbourne (Berks.), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 26.
11. Type L, unprovenanced, *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 35.
12. Type M, South Ferriby site (South Humberside), Allen 1963 no. 246. Private collection.
13. Type O, South Ferriby site (South Humberside), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 38.
14. Type P, South Ferriby hoard (South Humberside), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 62.
15. Type S, Watford (Herts.), *BM*. Allen 1963 no. 69.
16. Scyphate gold, Snettisham (Norfolk), *BM*. unpublished.
17. Early potin, Orston (Notts.), unpublished Private collection.
18. Type Y silver unit, unprovenanced, unpublished Private collection.
19. LAT ISON silver unit, Ancaster (Lincs.), *BM*. unpublished.

(Allen 1963 = *SCBI* 3).

