Reprinted from

THE BRITISH

NUMISMATIC JOURNAL

2010

Available online at http://britnumsoc.org/publications/Digital%20BNJ/2010.shtml

VOLUME 80

2010

BEFORE BOUDICCA: THE WICKHAM MARKET HOARD AND THE MIDDLE PHASE GOLD COINAGE OF EAST ANGLIA

JOHN TALBOT AND IAN LEINS[1]

The recent hoard of eight hundred and forty gold staters found near Wickham Market in Suffolk is the largest hoard of Iron Age gold coins to come to light since the discovery of the Whaddon Chase hoard in Buckinghamshire in 1849. The new find is comparable in size to the lower estimates of Whaddon Chase and is over three times larger than the 1996 Alton hoard.[2] It is, therefore, the largest and most completely recorded gold hoard of modern times. Although hoards of East Anglian coinage – the regional series from which almost all of the coins originated – are not uncommon, most are comprised of silver issues produced in the last decades of insular production and their deposition appears to be linked to the revolt of Boudicca in AD 60/1. The present hoard includes only gold, was deposited around forty years before the revolt and perhaps forms part of an earlier and hitherto unrecognised episode of hoarding activity. This paper includes a full analysis of the hoard, which is used to test the hypothesised structure and chronology of the middle phase of East Anglian coin production, proposed by one of the present authors, John Talbot, as part of a detailed study of the entire regional series.

Summary of the coins

In total 840 Iron Age gold staters were recovered from the site. All but ten are so-called 'Freckenham' staters, struck in the decades either side of the turn of the millennium. These, together with the five earlier 'Snettisham' staters, form part of the localised coinage tradition of Norfolk and parts of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, which is conventionally associated with the Iceni. The Iceni, who remain strongly linked to Boudicca, who famously led the revolt against the Romans in AD 60/1, are historically attested in the early Roman period but may have existed as a recognisable entity before Caesar's invasions in 55/4 BC.[3] The five remaining coins are broadly contemporary, but were issued in Lincolnshire and, thus, are associated with the Corieltavi (attested only after the Roman conquest). The content of the hoard is summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Summary of the hoard.

Region	*Attribution*	*Type*		*Quantity*
Lincolnshire	Corieltavi	'Ferriby'		5
East Anglia	Iceni	'Snettisham'		5
		'Freckenham'	EIS	55
			Irstead	188
			EBH	221
			BHB	366
Total				*840*

[1] The Wickham Market hoard was studied in detail by both authors. A catalogue and initial die study was completed by Ian Leins, a process aided by the existing die analysis provided by John Talbot. The article draws much from the longer-term research of Talbot into the coinage of Iron Age East Anglia. The structure, terminology and chronology of this regional coinage series, as well as the development of a new die technique, should be credited to John Talbot. The remaining interpretation of the hoard and its significance represents the work of both authors. We are grateful to Philip de Jersey, John Sills and Jude Plouviez for their advice and comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

[2] de Jersey has estimated Whaddon Chase at between 800 and 2000 coins (*pers. comm.*); see Cheesman 1998 on Alton.

[3] Ptolemy, *Geography* II. See Julius Caesar, *Gallic Wars* 5.12 for reference to the 'Cenimagni', who can perhaps be equated with the Iceni.

The Freckenham coinage has been further divided in the summary table (above) and catalogue according to the classification developed by John Talbot during his detailed study of the regional series, discussed in more detail below (see also **Pls 1–6**). While these types do not correspond exactly to those of earlier catalogues, being based on a full die study rather than a typological approach, a rough concordance with Van Arsdell's standard catalogue is provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Classification of Freckenham staters developed by John Talbot, with corresponding terminologies and references from the standard catalogue of Van Arsdell (1989).

Talbot	*Van Arsdell (1989)*		*Conventional name*
	Type numbers	*Type names*	
Early Irstead (EIS)	cf. 624–1; 624–4; 624–7	Middle Freckenham	Freckenham
Irstead	cf. 626–1	Late Freckenham	Freckenham
Early Boar Horse (EBH)	cf. 626–4; 626–7; 626–9; 626–12	Late Freckenham	Freckenham
Boar Horse B (BHB)	cf. 620–1; 620–7; 620–9	Early Freckenham	Freckenham
Not in WM hoard:			
Boar Horse C (BHC)	cf. 620–4	Early Freckenham	Freckenham

Circumstances of discovery

An initial find, comprising 788 coins and base and body sherds from a wheel-thrown pottery vessel, was made in March 2008 by a metal detector user searching on farmland near Wickham Market in Suffolk. The discovery was reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and Suffolk County Council Archaeology Service (SCCAS) under the provisions of the 1996 Treasure Act. It was subsequently delivered to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum to be recorded and catalogued.

A two-day excavation of the findspot was undertaken by SCCAS in October 2008 with the support of the British Museum and Suffolk County Council. Two adjacent trenches, both approximately 5 m by 5 m, were opened to the east of the spot where the main group of coins had been found. Forty-two coins were recovered from this area. A second small-scale excavation was carried out early in 2009 after illicit detecting at the site. This involved the removal of turf and topsoil from an area approximately one metre wide to the south and west of the earlier trench. A further ten coins were discovered during this process, taking the hoard total to 840.

The excavation suggested that the hoard was deposited immediately to the north-west of a small pit or posthole (0004) and to the west of two converging ditches (see Fig. 1). The western ditch (0008) included pottery of the first century AD; the eastern ditch (0010) ceramic material of both late Iron Age and Roman date. While the small pit and western ditch appear to have been broadly contemporary with the hoard, perhaps dating to the early first century AD, the eastern ditch is likely to be later, being open until at least the mid second century AD.[4]

The archaeological evidence is insufficient to allow detailed interpretation of the site and sheds little light on the reason for the hoard's deposition. That said, the proximity of the coins to a ditch (if it is contemporary with the hoard) may suggest that it was not buried at an isolated point away from human activity and thus may not have been deposited by an individual for safe-keeping, i.e. as a 'savings hoard'. Instead, it is possible that the hoard was buried within a domestic or ritual context. Further explanations for the hoard are offered below.

The assemblage of 840 coins and associated ceramic storage jar were declared Treasure at inquest in July 2009 and, at the time of writing, Ipswich Museum Service intended to acquire the find.

[4] J. Plouviez, unpublished excavation report 2009.

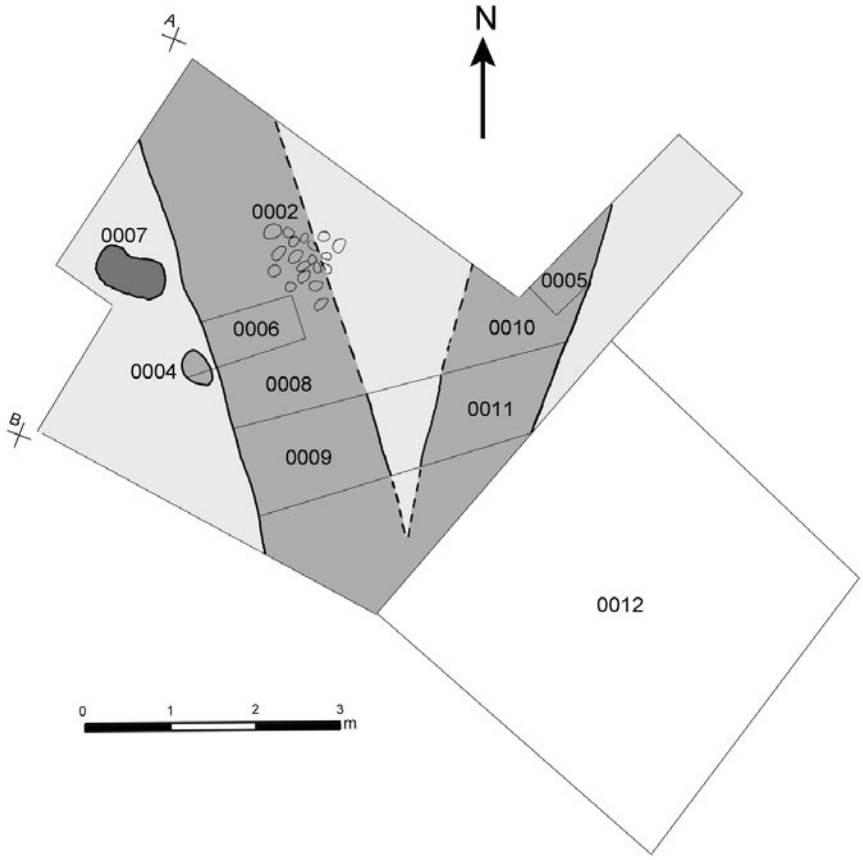

Fig. 1. Plan of the excavated features (courtesy of SCCAS). The main hoard was recovered from context 0007.

Previous work on the coinage of East Anglia

Over the past nine years John Talbot has undertaken a study of East Anglian Iron Age coinage (commonly and hereafter referred to as 'Icenian'), which has involved a die study of all 9,500 recorded specimens of this series. The scale of this study exceeds anything previously attempted within British Iron Age numismatics. It has produced a new technique for the die-analysis of Iron Age coinage and offers a context for understanding the mechanics of production, as well as the structure and chronology of the types of coinage found in the Wickham Market hoard.

Composite die technique

A common feature of British Iron Age die-struck coins is that the dies were significantly larger than the resulting coins, meaning that each individual coin reveals only a section of the design on the die used to strike it.[5] One of the by-products of Talbot's die-linking work has been the development of a new process of constructing composite images of the dies as an aid to the identification of coins. Composite images were produced by stitching together photographs of coins from the same die using a computer graphics program. The composite die images proved to be of great benefit to Ian Leins during his initial die study of the hoard, which has in turn

[5] Reverse die 11, on **Pl. 2**, for example, suggests the surface area of the die may have been at least twice as large as that of the coins.

added to these images. The large number of examples of some individual dies and the resulting likelihood of off-struck examples has enabled almost complete images to be obtained of a number of individual dies. Some illustrations combine elements from five or more individual coins. The results of this technique can be seen on **Pls 1–6**. The photographic die charts will greatly assist die identification and a very rapid analysis of future hoards and single finds of this type. For those seeking to use the technique, which is completed in Adobe Photoshop, brief notes are included in Appendix 2.

The structure of 'Middle Phase' Icenian coinage

Icenian coinage was struck in either gold or silver of varying levels of purity. It can be divided into three phases:

PHASE 1 (*c*.50–20 BC) – the earliest Icenian coinage was sub-regional or localised in terms of production and distribution. There were also no stylistic links between the gold and silver. The gold coins of this period include the British J or 'Norfolk Wolf' type stater, the silver comprises a range of early 'face/horse' types.[6]

PHASE 2 (*c*.20 BC–AD 20) – later series reveal clear denominational groupings, which sometimes incorporated all of the known denominations: gold staters and quarter staters, silver units and fractional units.

PHASE 3 (*c*.AD 20–50) – the final phase of Icenian coinage saw the introduction of inscriptions into much of the denominational coinage, with a marked reduction in the amount of gold being coined. The most common inscribed coinages are those bearing the legends ANTED or ECEN.

The coins in the Wickham Market hoard are all from the second or middle phase of the regional series. **Pl. 1** illustrates the main denominational groupings issued during this phase of production, showing an example of at least one stater and one silver unit for each of the major issues of coinage. The two most common quarter staters and an example of a fractional unit are also included. As **Pl. 1** demonstrates, the reverse design of the coins enables them to be linked into denominational groupings, whereas the obverse is specific to the denomination, often showing stylistic relationships to the obverses of other issues. The die study provided additional evidence to support the idea of these denominational relationships, such as the 'Irstead' silver units that were found to have been struck from an Irstead quarter stater die.[7]

As the summary reveals, the vast majority of the coins in the Wickham Market hoard are of the type usually referred to as Freckenham staters, named after the Suffolk village where a hoard was discovered in 1885. Other writers have recognised the need to separate these staters into different types (see Table 2).[8] John Talbot's research has allocated each denominational family a name currently in use for at least one of its components. As such, the various subtypes of Freckenham staters are usually identified by a name derived from their associated silver units. Three of these have been abbreviated for the purposes of this paper: Early Irstead stater to EIS, Early Boar Horse to EBH and Boar Horse B to BHB. The final Freckenham type stater, not present in the hoard, is the Boar Horse C or BHC.

Talbot's study has attempted to refine the chronology of the Icenian coinage. This is reflected on **Pl. 1**, where the types are arranged in chronological order from the relatively early Snettisham type through to the later BHC. The chronology has been determined by analysis of other hoards and in the case of the later issues, EBH to BHC, assisted by a methodol-

[6] Talbot 2006, 213–41.
[7] Talbot 2006, 213.
[8] See also Chadburn 1991.

ogy which compares relative presence of silver units in the Boudiccan revolt hoards to provenanced casual losses. The unusual circumstances of the Icenian hoards, which all contain the final issues of the region and which appear to mark the end of the circulation of the coinage, have given a valuable insight into the relative ages of the later coinages.[9]

The significance and impact of the hoard

Table 3 shows the extent to which the Wickham Market hoard has increased the number of Phase 2 Icenian staters available for study.

TABLE 3. The content of the Wickham Market hoard compared to total recorded examples of each type of Phase 2 Icenian stater.

Type	*Previous number known*	*No. in WM hoard*	*WM as percentage of total no. known*
Snettisham	69	5	7%
EIS	21	55	72%
Irstead	55	188	77%
EBH	112	221	66%
BHB	88	366	81%
BHC	50	0	0%
Total	*395*	*835*	68%

The various Freckenham types are arranged in chronological order in Table 3. It is only in respect of the very earliest type in the hoard, the Snettisham stater, that the Wickham Market hoard coins do not now account for the majority of the known examples. One of the surprising features of the hoard was that relatively few previously unrecorded dies were found. This is illustrated in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Numbers of known dies showing the impact of the Wickham Market hoard.

Type	*Total known dies*		*Dies represented in WM*		*Dies unique to WM*		*Dies missing from WM*	
	Obv.	*Rev.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*	*Obv.*	*Rev.*
Snettisham	8	17	2	4	0	1	6	13
EIS	6	13	6	11	2	4	0	2
Irstead	7	11	7	10	0	1	0	1
EBH	4	14	4	14	1	0	0	0
BHB	17	16	14	13	3	2	3	3
Total	*42*	*71*	*33*	*52*	*6*	*8*	*9*	*19*

Analysis of the hoard has generally supported Talbot's earlier work on the chronology of the coinage. One method of assessing the relative age of the content of a hoard is to calculate the number of coins per die for each type, with those that have the greatest number of coins per die theoretically being the most recent at the point of deposition. This calculation automatically adjusts for differences in issue size and is reliant upon the not unreasonable assumption that the content of the hoard is biased towards the coinages produced closest to its deposition. The resulting calculations for the Wickham Market hoard are set out in Table 5. This shows both the average number of coins per die, based on the total number of obverse and reverse dies within the hoard divided by two, and the average number of coins per reverse die. The latter measurement may be more reliable, as Iron Age moneyers sometimes used an obverse die for an exceptionally long period of production; with the effect of distorting statistics based upon comparative obverse die numbers.

[9] John Talbot, forthcoming.

TABLE 5. Average coins per die within the Wickham Market hoard.

Type	*Average coins per die*	*Average coins per reverse die*	*Average weight, g*	*Adjusted average weight, g*
Snettisham	1.67	1.25	5.58	5.60
EIS	6.47	5.00	5.52	5.57
Irstead	22.12	18.80	5.55	5.60
EBH	24.56	15.79	5.43	5.49
BHB	27.11	28.15	5.40	5.43

Table 5 clearly indicates the relative antiquity of Snettisham and EIS staters and suggests that BHB is the most recent coinage in the hoard, but it gives no clear indication as to which of the two remaining types, EBH and Irstead, was the earlier. Evidence from the late hoards and elsewhere suggests that EBH was generally later than Irstead, although there may have been a period of overlap. No attempt has been made to produce relative ages of the hoard content by examining circulation wear. Circulation wear is rarely obvious on Icenian coinage and demonstrably older coins are often found unworn in Icenian hoards. There is a general tendency among archaeologists and numismatists examining the 'degree of wear' on a coin to confuse die wear and circulation wear. Although a number of people have commented on the worn appearance of the Wickham Market hoard coins, there is no sign of wear consistent with an extended period of circulation prior to their deposition.

Table 5 also shows the average weight and an adjusted average weight for each of the Icenian types in the hoard. The adjusted average excludes from the calculation the heaviest 5% of coins and the lightest 30%, thus removing from the calculation distortion which may otherwise be created by the inclusion of damaged coins, forgeries or coins at the extremes of a normal statistical distribution. The coins have been weighed in an un-cleaned state but it is believed that the weight statistics will give a reasonable indication of the relative weight as the state of cleanliness of most of the coins in the hoard appears to be similar. The weights suggest that the three earliest types were issued to a common weight standard but that thereafter there was a modest decline in each of the two successive issues, resulting in BHB being some 3% lighter than the earliest issues.

The size of the hoard has provided an opportunity to assess whether the average weight of coins changed with time during the course of a single issue. The results of a preliminary study to examine the consistency of weights during the course of an issue are shown in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6. The average weight of sequential 'batches' of coinage.

Type	*Dies*	*Number of coins*	*Average weight*
Irstead	7	58	5.56
Irstead	8–9	34	5.52
Irstead	10–11	20	5.56
EBH	1–4	75	5.42
EBH	5–6	38	5.44
EBH	7–8	25	5.46
BHB	A–C	66	5.38
BHB	D–H	85	5.40
BHB	J–L	183	5.40

Table 6 shows the average weight per coin of three consecutive groups of dies in each of the three largest issues included within the hoard. The results of the analysis suggest that average weights were tightly controlled and reasonably consistent during the course of an issue, and that material changes in weight were not gradually introduced into the coinage but coincided with the introduction of a new type.

The hoard in its numismatic context

The content of the hoard strongly suggests that it was deposited towards the end of the production of BHB and prior to the introduction of BHC. Certain BHB dies are omitted from the hoard including dies Q and 14, the final dies in the small sequence shown as group II on **Pl. 6**. Dies R 15 and S 16 are also missing from the hoard and these dies have much in common stylistically with the BHC stater which followed BHB. In contrast all known EBH dies were represented in the hoard, as were all but one of the Irstead dies. The only Irstead die missing is die 6, which is known from only one example and may have been short-lived.

As part of his study of Icenian coinage, Talbot has developed a working hypothesis regarding the dating of the major coinages. There are few firm dates, but a number of Icenian issues are clearly closely related to those of Cunobelin and earlier leaders of groups immediately to the south of the area dominated by Icenian coinage. These clues have helped to provide some parameters, as have the Gallic Wars, the Roman conquest of AD 43 and the Boudiccan revolt in AD 60/1. The hypothesis suggests that the BHB coinage was issued in the first quarter of the first century AD.

Provided the Wickham Market hoard was deposited shortly after coinage ceased to be added to it, this indicates a deposition date of around AD 10–20. The other Icenian coin types which are present in quantity in the hoard are estimated to have been issued during the preceding twenty-five years or so, with the small number of Snettisham staters being somewhat older than this. Comments on the North Eastern (Corieltavian) and Icenian types are included below.

North Eastern 'Ferriby' types

The five uninscribed North Eastern staters (shown on **Pl. 6**) are broadly contemporary with the Icenian Snettisham and Freckenham staters. All are varieties of the so-called 'Ferriby' type but, interestingly, the sample includes a number of the more unusual sub-types within this coinage. One is of Van Arsdell's 'Sunflower type' (VA 809), which was probably amongst the earliest of the Ferriby types, still showing links to the earlier uninscribed North Eastern 'British I' coinage. There are two regular Ferriby staters (VA 811), one of Van Arsdell's 'Wheel Type' (VA 817) and one of a type referred to as 'Transitional type three' by the same author (VA 819). The latter type has a reverse die also used on the rare Trefoil stater (VA 821). The regular Ferriby type is much more common than the other types (accounting for over 80% of the coins recorded in the CCI) and thus the North Eastern staters are likely to represent the periodic flow of coins from the neighbouring region rather than a single group imported at one time. Alternatively, these coins may have been deliberately selected for their rarity.

Snettisham types

The five Snettisham staters, the oldest Icenian coins in the hoard, are shown on **Pl. 6**. Despite accounting for only 7% of the known examples, they include a coin struck from a previously unknown reverse die. There are 25 known dies for Snettisham staters (including 17 reverses) and these fall into three main die groups. Four of the Snettisham staters in the hoard are from a single die group, and three of these share an obverse die and two a reverse die. The fifth coin (cat. no. 10) has the previously unknown reverse die and the obverse die has not yet been identified. It appears from the die relationships that the Snettisham staters in the hoard may have been kept together since issue.

*Early Irstead (EIS) types (**Pl. 2**)*

The hoard has significantly increased our understanding of this early issue, increasing the number of previously known dies by 50%. **Pl. 2** shows that there are two separate die groups

making up this issue (a die group is a sequence of dies linked by sharing a common obverse or reverse with another die); however the number of known examples per die of this type is still low (see Table 5) and it may be that this coinage was produced in a continuous sequence, and there are links that remain to be discovered. The issue predates all other Icenian coinage in the hoard with the exception of the Snettisham staters and appears to represent a transitional stage between the Snettisham and Irstead types.

The EIS coinage seems to have been produced using only one obverse die at any one time, which suggests that it was issued gradually, probably over an extended period. Although there are few records of either the stater or the related silver unit and half-unit, the number of recorded dies from all denominations reveals that this was a substantial coinage. The earliest staters have a simple pelleted cross design on the obverse with a central ring and pellet. Several of the obverse dies continued in use with significant wear and damage and it is often hard to identify them; eight coins from the hoard remain with unidentified obverses. The final two obverses are characterised by the introduction of a new obverse design that came to dominate the later Irstead and EBH types. This retains the pelleted cross, but now has an arc in each quarter and a central rose-like design.

Six of the earliest reverse dies are unusual in having two small crosses and a pellet trefoil below the right facing horse. Prior to the discovery of the hoard only two of these dies were known. In subsequent dies this design was replaced by a wheel with either eight or four spokes. Towards the end of this sequence what had been two arcs over the horse's back, each containing two pellets, gave way to a continuous crescent shape containing a zigzag and pellet design evocative of the exergue of a Gallo-Belgic E stater. As such the reverse as well as the obverse shows a transition into the designs of the Irstead stater (**Pl. 3**) and it is possible that die links will eventually emerge that reveal a continuous sequence uniting the two types. Despite this, the EIS and Irstead coinages are treated separately in this paper, as the first issues of EIS appear to be much earlier than the Irstead, they have much lower survival rates and the related units are easily separated.

With the exception of the final dies, EIS dies are readily distinguishable from the Irstead coinage. Although the average weight of EIS staters is similar to that of the Irstead (see Table 5), metal analysis carried out in the past on these types suggests that the metal alloy of the former appears to be close to that of the Snettisham stater, with the gold content being slightly higher and the silver content lower in the Irstead staters.[10]

*Irstead types (**Pl. 3**)*

The Irstead stater is well represented in the Wickham Market hoard with all of the known dies present, except for one early reverse die. Stylistically, the earliest two reverse dies in the Irstead series are indistinguishable from EIS dies. EIS die 12 was clearly created by the same hand as Irstead dies 1 and 2, sharing detail such as the uncommon single line mane. The portrayal of the horse then becomes more typically 'Irstead', with obvious similarity to the quarter staters and units; a zigzag pattern is at that stage present in the exergue and a pellet-in-ring motif replaces the wheel below the horse on a number of dies.

The obverse design stays reasonably constant throughout the issue with little change from EIS dies E and F, except for there being a trefoil rather than quatrefoil central floral design and a slightly more complex central element from Irstead die D onwards. Die C is interesting as the field is divided by three pelleted lines rather than four, which matches the internal division of the central floral design, but this was a stylistic change that clearly did not gain momentum.

Pl. 3 shows that the Irstead stater is formed of three die groups. It is tempting to see this as a continuous sequence with missing die links that are yet to be found. There has to be doubt about this, however, as we have a high recovery rate of coins per die (see Table 5) and

[10] Hobbs 1996, 187ff.

whilst the hoard increased the number of known examples from 55 to 243, it only added a single new die and no new die links connecting the other dies. In the case of other types of Icenian coin, Talbot has found that the known corpus of coins is made up of separate die groups which share common characteristics, are found together in hoards and at major Icenian centres, but which sometimes have differing distributions for 'casual losses'. This suggests that on occasion the die groups may represent the production of different mint sites. Unfortunately, there are only five provenanced non-hoard records of Irstead staters, which is insufficient to assess whether the three groups of dies have distinct distributions. It may be relevant, however, that there are a number of distinct die groups of the closely related Irstead quarter stater and some of these appear to show distinctive sub regional distributions. It is interesting that the slightly anomalous die C may be somewhat more logical if it were to be the first die of a distinct sub-group. There appears to be no material difference in average weight between the Irstead stater die groups and available evidence of metal content is inconclusive.

*EBH types (**Pl. 4**)*

Although the Wickham Market hoard vastly increased the number of known EBH staters from 112 to 333 coins, no new reverse dies and only a single new obverse die were found amongst the hoard coins. Fourteen reverse dies were used in minting this type but almost all of the production was derived from only two obverse dies, both of which were used until they became badly flawed and well worn.

The EBH obverse has much in common with the preceding Irstead stater, with the only significant difference being the much larger central floral design. The two rare obverses in group II (dies C and D), have a simplified design with two facing crescents at the centre of the pelleted cross. They do not appear to have been used extensively as they are only known from a total of four coins. Notwithstanding their rarity, these dies appear important as they were the first Icenian staters to bear the facing crescents which feature prominently on the succeeding BHB stater and on the region's later gold and silver coinage.

The reverses are very easily distinguished from those of the earlier Irstead stater, showing a deeply cut horse with a spiked mane. The crescent design above the horse is also replaced by a pelleted rosette and pellet-ended open crescents, often referred to as torcs. Remarkably full images of some of these dies have been obtained from the hoard. The first two dies in group I have a pellet rosette sitting on a torc above the horse. In later group I and all group II dies this element of the design is replaced by a large wheel. All group I reverse dies and the first two group II dies have a small spoked wheel below the horse, which is replaced by a seven pellet rosette in the final four group II dies.

As with the Irstead stater, it is logical to read the coinage as a single chronological sequence following the order of the numbering and lettering used on **Pl. 4**. This assumes that either there are die links yet to be found between groups I and II or that the groups were not linked, as a new obverse die was created for the new reverses of group II, possibly after a lapse in production. The two die groups could also be separate sub-groups possibly representing production at two mint sites, but with similar design elements. Interestingly, there are two die groups making up the very closely related EBH silver unit coinage, and each group has a different pattern of sub-regional distribution. Although there are only two provenanced non-hoard die group II staters and six from die group I, the group II coins appear to exhibit a more westerly distribution. Non-hoard coins suggest that coins from die group II have a lower gold content than those from die group I. John Talbot has therefore suggested that these variations support the concept of separate mint sites, but that they are not definitive as a decline in purity is often read as an indicator of chronology and it is of course possible that any differences in distribution between the two die groups may represent the movement of people, political influence or trading patterns over time.

The adjusted average weight of the coins in the hoard is 5.5 g for group 1 and 5.48 g for group 2, a difference that appears too small to be significant; indeed the unadjusted average

weight for all coins in each group suggests that group 2 is marginally heavier at 5.44 g compared with 5.43 g for group 1.

*BHB types (**Pls 5–6**)*

BHB staters dominate the Wickham Market hoard, accounting for 44% of the coins and increasing the number of known examples from 88 to 454. Five new BHB dies were found in the hoard and many new die links. Six known dies were not represented in the hoard and it is likely that all of these postdate the most recent coins in the hoard, giving an indication of the relative date of deposition.

As can be seen in **Pls 5–6** there are two die groups and, in addition, two pairs of dies (R 15 and S 16) that are so far unlinked to either group. It is clear from an analysis of the die links shown on **Pl. 5** that in die group I at certain times at least two reverse and two obverse dies were being used simultaneously. This suggests more intensive production activity than in the cases of the other types considered above. Die group II is a separate sequence at more modest levels of production, with the few provenanced non-hoard examples appearing to have an easterly bias in their distribution.

All obverses have a design which uses two facing crescents. In group I there is always a triangle of pellets above and below the crescents and a horizontal line of pellets either side of them. In the early dies the lower part of the field below the crescents is raised, making the coin thinner in this area. There are lines in a V shape spreading out from the tips of the crescents. The earliest die group II obverses resemble EBH dies C and D but with a ring and pellet device in each corner. Die P has additional detail with thumbnail like crescents and decoration in the field. The final obverse die reverts to a typical group I type obverse.

The reverse dies of die group I have a star immediately below the horse. The upper detail is variable with the first four dies having a pelleted rosette as the principal element, which is then superseded by three or fewer pellets in a pellet ring. All have additional decoration. There are only two die group II reverses and both have pelleted rosettes as the principal design elements above and below the horse. The design below the horse on the group II dies, like the obverse dies M, N and P, shows continuity of design from the EBH group II dies. Two distinctive styles of horse's head were introduced with the BHB coinage. The earliest type is based around a figure of 8 as is shown clearly on die 1 on **Pl. 5** and particularly well on die 13 from group II (**Pl. 6**). The second type is formed with a pellet, a crescent and a rectangle, as is shown clearly on die 11. These heads were also used on the BHB silver units (see **Pl. 1**). Die 5 is anomalous in that the head appears to be depicted in a more naturalistic manner evocative of some of the earlier Icenian face horse units.[11] The gradual evolution of design in Icenian gold coin production is beautifully demonstrated by the reverses of BHB die group I. In the contemporaneous BHB silver units the design elements were much more tightly controlled and showed limited design evolution, with the exception of the two forms of head, despite the use of at least forty-seven dies.

The reverses of the pairs of dies (R 15 and S 16) which are so far not linked into any sequence are stylistically very similar to the BHC stater which appears to have superseded BHB (see **Pl. 1**). Indeed certain BHC staters appear to be by the same hand as that which produced these two dies.

Comparative hoard analysis

Icenian hoards are relatively common from the period of the Boudiccan Revolt, but earlier hoards are considerably rarer. A few gold stater hoards, which include similar types of staters to those in the Wickham Market hoard have been found, the best known of which came from

[11] Talbot 2006, 221, fig. 15.

Freckenham, Suffolk in 1885. Table 7 compares the content of Wickham Market, Freckenham (for which two estimates are included) and other relevant hoards.

TABLE 7. Hoards of similar composition to Wickham Market.

Type	*F: JT*	*F: HM*	*Little Saxham*	*'Hoard A'*	*North Norfolk*	*Wickham Market*
Snettisham	0	0	0	0	0	5
EIS	7	8	0	1	1	55
Irstead	11	26	1	10	2	188
EBH	29	49	0	18	5	221
BHB	2	1	1	0	1	366
BHC	0	0	5	0	0	0
Total	49	84	7	29	9	835

Freckenham (1885)

The hoard was first described by Montagu in 1886, the year after its reported discovery.[12] Initial reports suggested that it comprised eighty-four coins, although the author thought that the actual figure may have exceeded ninety, but catalogued eighty-four coins. The material is divided into four basic types, three of which were borrowed from the typology of Evans (1864) and can be equated with (in order) Talbot's BHB, EBH and Irstead types. The fourth type, at that time an unpublished variety, was part of Talbot's EIS coinage. This clearly suggested to Ian Leins a composition of at least eight EIS, twenty-six Irstead, forty-nine EBH and one BHB staters (Table 7, 'F: HM'). These figures, it should be noted, were either confused or amended without explanation by Evans (later repeated by Allen).[13]

John Talbot has attempted his own reconstruction and die study of the hoard, finding photographic records of at least forty-nine coins which emanate from it (Table 7, 'F: JT'). This includes forty-seven coins which are securely provenanced and an additional BHB stater recorded as being found at Freckenham in 1885, but not recorded as being from the hoard. The additional BHB stater may be one of the extra coins referred to by Montagu. In addition to the coins in the table, two additional staters now in the British Museum collection but originally owned by Montagu – one EIS and one Irstead – are recorded as probably being from Freckenham. It seems that all coins in the hoard which were perceived to be unusual can still be traced today, in contrast with the 'commoner' Irstead and EBH staters where little more than half can be found, presumably as a result of the leading collectors of the day retaining for themselves the rarer types with a note as to provenance. This should serve as a warning to anyone seeking to extrapolate the content of historic hoards based upon presently known coins.

The single BHB stater recorded and illustrated by Montagu is from dies A 3 and the additional BHB identified by Talbot is also from early BHB dies, B 4. EBH staters dominate the hoard with nine of the fourteen known reverse dies represented in the twenty-eight coins of which we have a photographic record. It is worthy of note that the final EBH die group II obverse dies C and D, and the reverses 13 and 14, are not represented in the photographic records, nor are the distinctive obverse dies C and D described by Montagu in his excellent written observations on the varieties in the hoard.

The presence of early BHB staters and the absence of the final EBH dies suggest an overlap in the production of these two types. As we shall see this is not supported by evidence from 'Hoard A' and the North Norfolk hoard, although these hoards have fewer recorded coins and the source data is much less reliable.

It is clear that the profile of the Freckenham hoard is different to Wickham Market, which appears to have closed some years later.

[12] Montagu 1886. His catalogue was based on the typology developed by Evans 1864.
[13] Evans 1890, 578–83; see also Allen 1960, 196.

Little Saxham (1990–6)

A scattered group of nine coins was found by a metal detector user searching in the parish of Little Saxham in Suffolk between January 1990 and May 1996. Seven of the coins were staters that are likely to have formed part of a single hoard or series of deposits, the other two (a gold quarter stater and part of a later inscribed **ANTED** silver unit) were some way from the nearest stater and are likely to be distinct deposits. The single Irstead stater is of late dies E 9 and the only BHB stater in the group is from dies J 10, which is towards the end of the main BHB sequence. The remaining coins are all BHC staters, making this clearly the latest of the hoards examined.

'Hoard A' (1994)

Hoard A is the least reliable data set. It appears that a hoard of over fifty staters was found in 1994 but was dispersed without being declared, and information about its provenance is contradictory. The CCI managed to record 29 coins which appeared in the trade at this time and are likely to be from this hoard. These include a full range of Irstead staters and ten of the fourteen EBH reverse dies including the very late die 14 in combination with the scarce die C. No BHB staters were recorded as being from the hoard. This hoard seems to have been deposited at a similar time as the Freckenham hoard.

North Norfolk (2000–2002)

This hoard is an accumulation of staters found in a village in North Norfolk, which was perhaps a scattered hoard. The small group of staters has a similar profile to Hoard A and Freckenham. It ends with a single BHB stater from the early dies B 2. The hoard includes a late EBH stater, in this case from dies B 14. The late EBH staters in Hoard A and North Norfolk combined with an early BHB stater in the North Norfolk hoard suggest that EBH and BHB were probably consecutive, which is contradictory in relation to the evidence from Freckenham. Unfortunately, neither Hoard A nor the North Norfolk hoard is adequately recorded and thus there has to remain doubt over the relative timing of EBH and BHB.

Analysis

The analysis of these hoards shows that three have a similar profile and are likely to have been deposited at approximately the same time, presumably in response to a specific set of circumstances. It is tempting to speculate that there may even have been a connection between the circumstances that led to their deposition and the change in coinage from EBH to BHB. The Wickham Market hoard, however, includes later coinage and the Little Saxham hoard was later still.

Hoards of Icenian gold or silver coinage are uncommon with the exception of those relating to the Revolt period. These hoards all contain the final issues of Icenian coinage. The rarity of earlier hoards makes the above grouping of hoards all the more significant. It is worthy of note that there are no records of gold hoards which appear to have been deposited during the production of EIS or Irstead staters, and only Hoard A above was conceivably deposited during the production of EBH staters, but if so this was towards the end of that issue. The proximity in time of all five hoards discussed above, and the absence of hoards from other periods, suggests that the Wickham Market and Little Saxham hoards may also have some connection to the circumstances that led to the deposition of the earlier three hoards.

The map (Fig. 2) shows the findspots of the four provenanced hoards. It reveals that three of the hoards are located towards the southern limits of the Icenian territory, as identified by the distribution of the regional coinage. This distribution perhaps points to the potential causes of their deposition. If, as has been suggested, the Wickham Market hoard was deposited in about AD 10–20, and the other four hoards were broadly contemporary, there is no historical evidence to explain the phenomenon (in the way that the Boudiccan revolt would appear

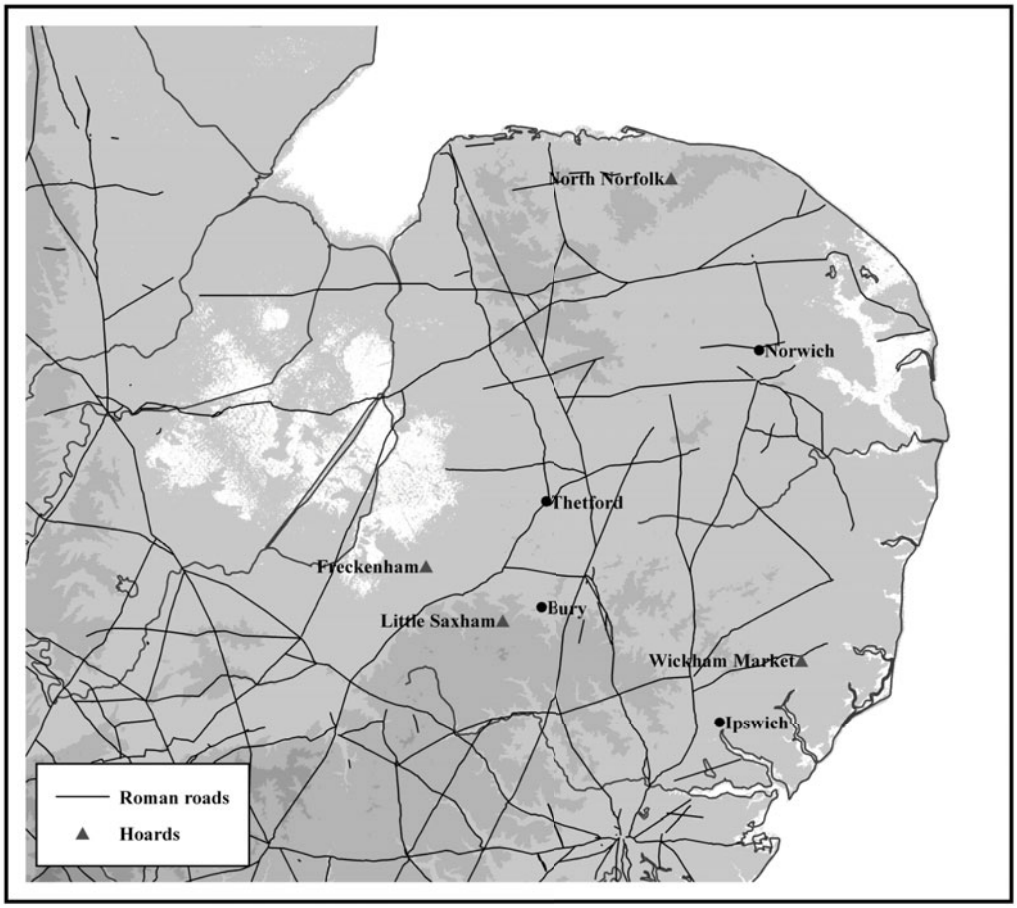

Fig. 2. Map showing the location of recorded Phase 2 Icenian hoards.

to explain the hoarding episode some forty years later). Interestingly, however, this period coincides with the early years of the reign of Cunobelin, who is thought to have ruled over the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni from around AD 10 until 40. The distribution of his coins suggests that his influence quickly spread over a number of previously distinctive groups until he dominated an area covering modern Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire and much of the Thames Valley. Thus, his influence spread right to the margins of the Icenian territory. The deposition of substantial gold hoards discussed above may reflect the re-negotiation of political power in this region in the first decades of the first century AD, conceivably involving open conflict.

Conclusions

The Wickham Market hoard is the largest hoard of British Iron Age gold coins to be discovered in more than 150 years. In spite of its size, the content derives from a relatively restricted group of issues from the middle phase of Icenian coin production (*c*.20 BC–AD 20). With the development of John Talbot's new technique for producing composite photographic die illustrations, the sheer quantity of material from a relatively restricted group of dies of four main types has enabled almost complete images to be created for many of the dies used in the production of these coins. This, in turn, has allowed the hoard to be subjected to an almost unprecedented degree of analysis. Definitive chronological sequences of dies can now be identified, so that the development of the design of the staters can be clearly established.

The overall analysis of the hoard, and in particular Table 5, serves to confirm the structure and chronology ascribed to this period of Icenian coinage by Talbot as part of his broader study of the region's coinage, outlined above. The earliest staters in the hoard are from the

Snettisham series. These were followed by EIS and then Irstead, which may have been issued at the same time as EBH. The latest coinage in the hoard is BHB. The analysis of the Wickham Market hoard, and its comparison with earlier die studies of the BHB coinage, suggests that the hoard was closed shortly before the end of production of BHB, probably towards the end of the first quarter of the first century AD.

None of the other hoards of the same phase include either Snettisham or North Eastern (Corieltavian) staters. The inclusion of the older Snettisham staters is perhaps unsurprising given the large size of the Wickham Market hoard and whilst the presence of Ferriby staters is unusual in an Icenian hoard, it is not uncommon for Icenian and Corieltavian coinage to have moved between each other's areas of circulation. The massive undeclared 'Bowl hoard' from Snettisham, dispersed in about 1992, also appears to have contained significant quantities of Corieltavian coinage. In the Wickham Market hoard, this material includes an unusual range of sub-types, suggesting that they may be the result of prolonged contact over an extended period or, more interestingly and more speculatively, the deliberate selection of varied types.

The Wickham Market hoard has also highlighted an episode of hoarding towards the end of the middle phase of Icenian coinage production the evidence for which is summarised in this paper. This episode differs from the hoards attributed to the Boudiccan revolt in that it only appears to involve gold coinage and seems to be focused primarily on the southern borders of the Icenian area. It may be coincidence, but at least four of the five hoards that relate to this period appear to close on or about the date of transition from one coinage to another. The date and the location of these hoards offer the tantalising possibility that they might reveal the link to a period of political uncertainty and re-negotiation that accompanied the rise of Cunobelin to the south.

An interesting by-product of the research into hoards of the same period has been the re-creation of the original contents of the Freckenham hoard by comparing contemporary descriptions of the coins with the die charts created from the current hoard. The authors have then been able to compare the original contents of the hoard with current records of coins known to originate from the hoard and, perhaps not surprisingly, have discovered that all the unusual coins in the hoard are still known whereas only a sample of the commoner types can now be traced. This has some relevance as there has been some confusion over the dating of deposition of the late hoards of Icenian silver units as a result of work by John Creighton, who assumed that the presently known content of antiquarian finds of late silver units reflected their original content and used this to demonstrate differences in the original age profile of the late hoards, particularly when compared to fully documented more recent hoards.[14] This work conflicts with recent work by John Talbot, who has found the Icenian content of those late hoards – for which full photographic records exist – to be homogenous.[15]

The authors believe that the focused quantity of material available in the hoard, particularly when fully cleaned, provides scope for much future research and for much more to be learned about die production, die wear, coinage production and the use of metals within coinage during this period of the late Iron Age.

APPENDIX 1. CATALOGUE

KEY

MD	Found by M. Darke using a metal detector, April 2008	MD (KL)	Found by K. Lewis using a metal detector, April 2008
MD add	Found by M. Darke, April to October 2008	EX SF	Recovered during excavation Oct. 2008 (SF = small find no.)
EX add	Recovered from topsoil by archaeologists, October 2008	(b)	Coin broken

[14] Creighton 1994, 326–327, see especially fig. 1.
[15] Talbot, forthcoming.

North East – CORIELTAVIAN (5)

Ferriby (5)

No.	*Type*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
1.	Ferriby type (V809–1 / BM 3146)	EX SF 1020	5.50
2.	Ferriby type (V811 / BM 3152)	MD add	5.53
3.	Ferriby type (V811 / BM 3152)	MD add	5.58
4.	Ferriby type (V817–1 / BM 3180)	MD add	5.38
5.	Ferriby type (V819–3)	EX SF 1003	5.64

East Anglian – ICENIAN (835)

Snettisham (5)

No.	*Type*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
6.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3360)	MD	5.53
7.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3360)	MD	5.61
8.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3365)	MD	5.58
9.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3375)	MD	5.62
10.	Snettisham type (cf. BM 3375)	MD	5.56

Early Irstead (55), cf. V624–1, 624-4, 624–7 and BM 3390–3395, 3399

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
11.	A	2	MD	5.53	39.	E	11	MD	5.46
12.	A	2	MD	5.53	40.	E	11	MD	5.73
13.	A	3	MD	5.38	41.	E	11	MD	5.61
14.	A	3	MD	5.60	42.	E	11	MD	5.72
15.	B	4	MD	5.54	43.	E	11	MD	5.69
16.	B	4	EX SF 1024	5.47	44.	E	11	MD	5.67
17.	B	5	MD	5.58	45.	E	11	MD	5.58
18.	B	6	MD	5.57	46.	E	11	MD	5.66
19.	B	7	MD	5.42	47.	E	11	MD	5.45
20.	C	9	MD	5.41	48.	E	11	MD	5.73
21.	C	9	MD	5.49	49.	E	11	MD	4.29
22.	D	8	MD	5.29	50.	E	11	MD (KL)	5.53
23.	D	8	MD	5.46	51.	E	11	EX SF 1010	5.62
24.	D	8	MD	5.49	52.	E	11	EX SF 1035	5.72
25.	D	8	MD	5.51	53.	E	12	MD	5.69
26.	D	8	MD	5.42	54.	E	12	MD	5.60
27.	D	8	MD	5.47	55.	F	12	MD	5.66
28.	D	8	MD	5.61	56.	F	12	MD	5.52
29.	D	8	MD	5.39	57.	F	12	MD	5.67
30.	D	13	MD	5.51	58.	Poor	8	MD	5.45
31.	D	11	MD	5.56	59.	Poor	13	MD	5.41
32.	D	11	MD	5.62	60.	Poor	13	MD	5.42
33.	D	11	MD	5.40	61.	Poor	13	MD	5.33
34.	E	11	MD	5.71	62.	Poor	13	MD	5.50
35.	E	11	MD	5.52	63.	Poor	13	MD	5.47
36.	E	11	MD	5.56	64.	Poor	11	MD	5.47
37.	E	11	MD	5.61	65.	Poor	11	MD	5.50
38.	E	11	MD	5.50					

Irstead (188), cf. V 626-1 & BM 3396-98, 3400-3404

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
66.	A	1	MD	5.48	160.	D	7	MD	5.54
67.	A	1	MD	5.57	161.	D	7	MD	5.64
68.	A	1	MD	5.65	162.	D	7	MD	5.50
69.	A	1	MD	5.57	163.	D	7	MD	5.62
70.	A	1	MD	5.54	164.	D	7	MD	5.64
71.	A	1	MD	5.62	165.	D	7	MD	5.52
72.	A	1	MD	5.45	166.	D	7	MD	5.45

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
73.	A	1	MD	5.52	167.	D	7	MD	5.52
74.	A	1	MD	5.61	168.	D	7	MD	5.62
75.	A	1	MD	5.58	169.	D	7	MD	5.63
76.	A	1	MD	5.55	170.	D	7	MD	5.49
77.	A	1	MD	5.53	171.	D	7	MD	5.63
78.	A	1	MD	5.75	172.	D	7	MD	5.62
79.	A	1	MD	4.34	173.	D	7	MD	5.76
80.	A	1	MD	5.65	174.	D	7	MD	5.39
81.	A	1	MD	5.74	175.	D	7	MD	5.60
82.	A	1	MD	5.52	176.	D	7	EX SF 1001	5.50
83.	A	1	MD	5.43	177.	D	7	EX SF 1009	5.64
84.	A	1	MD	5.59	178.	F	7	MD	5.52
85.	A	1	MD add	5.49	179.	F	7	MD	5.63
86.	A	2	MD	5.64	180.	F	7	MD	4.93
87.	A	2	MD	5.57	181.	F	7	MD	5.59
88.	A	2	MD	5.65	182.	F	7	MD	5.50
89.	A	2	MD	5.70	183.	F	7	MD	5.54
90.	A	2	MD	5.60	184.	F	7	MD	5.61
91.	A	3	MD	5.57	185.	F	7	MD	5.53
92.	A	3	MD	5.61	186.	F	7	MD	5.48
93.	A	3	MD	5.60	187.	F	7	MD	5.53
94.	A	4	MD	5.64	188.	F	7	MD	5.42
95.	A	4	MD	5.56	189.	F	7	MD (KL)	5.57
96.	A	4	MD	5.58	190.	F	7	EX SF 1022	5.59
97.	A	4	MD	5.62	191.	G	7	MD	5.66
98.	A	4	MD	5.63	192.	G	7	MD	5.59
99.	A	4	MD	5.54	193	G	7	MD	5.65
100.	A	4	MD	5.62	194.	G	7	MD	5.60
101.	A	4	MD	5.57	195.	G	7	MD	5.58
102.	A	4	MD	5.69	196.	G	7	MD	5.64
103.	A	4	MD	5.29	197.	G	7	MD	5.57
104.	A	4	MD	5.60	198.	G	7	MD	5.65
105.	A	4	MD	5.61	199.	G	7	EX SF 1018	5.33
106.	A	4	MD	5.38	200.	E	8	MD	5.61
107.	A	4	MD	5.58	201.	E	8	MD	5.43
108.	A	4	MD	5.67	202.	E	8	MD	5.54
109.	A	4	MD	5.60	203.	E	8	MD	5.38
110.	A	4	MD	5.63	204.	E	9	MD	5.50
111.	A	4	MD	5.56	205.	E	9	MD	5.52
112.	A	4	MD	5.39	206.	E	9	MD	5.52
113.	A	4	MD	5.53	207.	E	9	MD	5.56
114.	A	4	MD	5.45	208.	E	9	MD	5.40
115.	A	4	MD	5.50	209.	E	9	MD	5.61
116.	A	4	MD	5.68	210.	E	9	MD	5.34
117.	A	4	MD	5.66	211.	E	9	MD	5.62
118.	A	4	MD	5.72	212.	E	9	MD	5.55
119.	A	4	MD	5.52	213.	E	9	MD	5.44
120.	A	4	EX SF 1005	5.59	214.	E	9	MD	5.42
121.	A	4	EX SF 1019	5.66	215.	E	9	MD	5.54
122.	B	5	MD	5.48	216.	E	9	MD	5.57
123.	B	5	MD	5.65	217.	E	9	MD	5.62
124.	B	5	MD	5.33	218.	E	9	MD	5.59
125.	B	5	MD	5.57	219.	E	9	MD	5.64
126.	B	5	MD	5.58	220.	E	9	MD	5.61
127.	B	5	MD	5.57	221.	E	9	MD	5.56
128.	B	5	MD	5.71	222.	E	9	MD	5.55
129.	B	5	MD	5.55	223.	E	9	MD	5.58
130.	B	5	MD	5.68	224.	E	9	MD	5.48
131.	B	5	MD	5.60	225.	E	9	MD	5.72
132.	B	5	MD	5.67	226.	E	9	MD	5.22
133.	B	5	MD	5.53	227.	E	9	MD	5.71
134.	B	5	MD	5.58	228.	E	9	MD	5.54
135.	B	5	MD	5.49	229.	E	9	MD	5.58
136.	B	5	MD	5.61	230.	E	9	MD	5.46

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
137.	B	5	MD	5.54	231.	E	9	MD	5.52
138.	B	5	MD	5.59	232.	E	9	MD	5.36
139.	B	5	EX add	5.69	233.	E	9	EX SF 1033	5.52
140.	B	5	MD	5.41	234.	E	10	MD	5.60
141.	C	7	MD	5.48	235.	E	10	MD	5.54
142.	C	7	MD	5.62	236.	E	10	MD	5.46
143.	C	7	MD	5.64	237.	E	10	MD	5.55
144.	C	7	MD	5.55	238.	E	10	MD	5.52
145.	C	7	MD	5.63	239.	E	10	MD	5.52
146.	C	7	MD	5.75	240.	E	10	MD	5.61
147.	C	7	MD	5.66	241.	E	10	MD	5.44
148.	D	7	MD	5.37	242.	E	10	MD	5.56
149.	D	7	MD	5.57	243.	E	10	MD	5.57
150.	D	7	MD	5.49	244.	E	10	MD	5.67
151.	D	7	MD	5.56	245.	E	10	MD	5.78
152.	D	7	MD	5.55	246.	E	10	MD	5.50
153.	D	7	MD	5.43	247.	E	10	MD	5.54
154.	D	7	MD	5.38	248.	E	10	MD	5.59
155.	D	7	MD	5.67	249.	E	10	MD	5.59
156.	D	7	MD	5.58	250.	E	10	MD	5.52
157.	D	7	MD	5.62	251.	E	10	EX SF 1011	5.57
158.	D	7	MD	5.64	252.	E	10	EX add	5.58
159.	D	7	MD	5.55	253.	E	11	MD	5.50

EBH (221), Group I dies cf. V626–4, 626–7 and BM 3405, 3410–3419; Group II dies cf. V626–9, 626–12 and BM 3406–3409

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
254.	A	1	MD	5.46	365.	A	6	MD	5.29
255.	A	1	MD	5.49	366.	A	6	MD	5.32
256.	A	1	MD	5.58	367.	A	7	MD	5.57
257.	A	1	MD	5.42	368.	A	7	MD	5.31
258.	A	1	MD	5.58	369.	A	7	MD	5.47
259.	A	1	MD	5.48	370.	A	7	MD	5.66
260.	A	1	MD	5.41	371.	A	7	MD	5.51
261.	A	1	MD	5.55	372.	A	8	MD	5.46
262.	A	1	MD	5.53	373.	A	8	MD	5.69
263.	A	1	MD	5.52	374.	A	8	MD	5.41
264.	A	1	MD	5.34	375.	A	8	MD	5.61
265.	A	1	MD	5.47	376.	A	8	MD	5.57
266.	A	1	MD	5.53	377.	A	8	MD	4.20
267.	A	1	MD	5.53	378.	A	8	MD	5.67
268.	A	1	MD	5.51	379.	A	8	MD	5.44
269.	A	1	MD	5.54	380.	A	8	MD	5.36
270.	A	1	EX add	5.56	381.	A	8	MD	5.60
271.	A	2	MD	5.42	382.	A	8	MD	5.36
272.	A	2	MD	5.38	383.	A	8	MD	5.58
273.	A	2	MD	5.54	384.	A	8	MD	5.51
274.	A	2	MD	5.48	385.	A	8	MD	5.54
275.	A	2	MD	5.45	386.	A	8	MD	5.59
276.	A	2	MD	5.50	387.	A	8	MD	5.39
277.	A	2	MD	5.40	388.	A	8	MD	5.44
278.	A	2	MD	5.54	389.	A	8	MD	5.45
279.	A	2	MD	5.46	390.	A	8	MD	5.60
280.	A	2	MD	5.43	391.	A	8	MD	5.60
281.	A	2	MD	5.47	392.	B	9	MD	5.39
282.	A	2	EX SF 1036	5.48	393.	B	9	MD	5.40
283.	A	3	MD	5.56	394.	B	9	MD	5.67
284.	A	3	MD	5.43	395.	B	9	MD	5.45
285.	A	3	MD	5.50	396.	B	9	MD	5.28
286.	A	3	MD	5.63	397.	B	9	MD	5.25
287.	A	3	MD	5.38	398.	B	9	MD	5.31
288.	A	3	MD	5.48	399.	B	9	MD	5.42

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
289.	A	3	MD	5.60	400.	B	9	MD	5.48
290.	A	3	MD	5.61	401.	B	9	MD	5.37
291.	A	3	MD	5.51	402.	B	9	MD	5.44
292.	A	3	MD	5.42	403.	B	9	MD	5.50
293.	A	3	MD	5.49	404.	B	9	MD	5.59
294.	A	3	MD	5.14	405.	B	9	EX SF 1008	5.45
295.	A	3	MD	5.44	406.	B	10	MD	5.50
296.	A	3	MD	5.41	407.	B	10	MD	5.46
297.	A	3	MD	5.49	408.	B	10	MD	5.47
298.	A	3	MD	5.49	409.	B	10	MD	5.44
299.	A	3	EX SF 1042	5.49	410.	B	11	MD	5.41
300.	A	4	MD	4.98	411.	B	11	MD	5.49
301.	A	4	MD	5.38	412.	B	11	MD	5.40
302.	A	4	MD	4.65	413.	B	11	MD	5.19
303.	A	4	MD	4.68	414.	B	11	MD	5.33
304.	A	4	MD	5.07	415.	B	11	MD	5.53
305.	A	4	MD	4.93	416.	B	11	MD	5.42
306.	A	4	MD	4.79	417.	B	11	MD	5.13
307.	A	4	MD	5.47	418.	B	11	MD	5.36
308.	A	4	MD	5.39	419.	B	11	MD	5.42
309.	A	4	MD	5.58	420.	B	11	MD	5.23
310.	A	4	MD	5.56	421.	B	11	MD	5.39
311.	A	4	MD	5.58	422.	B	11	MD	5.53
312.	A	4	MD	5.49	423.	B	12	MD	5.32
313.	A	4	MD	5.21	424.	B	12	MD	5.42
314.	A	4	MD	5.39	425.	B	12	MD	5.45
315.	A	4	MD	5.55	426.	B	12	MD	5.49
316.	A	4	MD	5.54	427.	B	12	MD	5.28
317.	A	4	MD	5.57	428.	B	12	MD	5.61
318.	A	4	MD	5.53	429.	B	12	MD	5.36
319.	A	4	MD	5.28	430.	B	12	MD	5.58
320.	A	4	MD	5.49	431.	B	12	MD	5.33
321.	A	4	MD	5.27	432.	B	12	MD	5.29
322.	A	4	MD	5.46	433.	B	12	MD	5.45
323.	A	4	MD	5.48	434.	B	12	MD	5.56
324.	A	4	MD	4.96	435.	B	12	MD	5.47
325.	A	4	MD	5.51	436.	B	12	MD	5.51
326.	A	4	MD	5.43	437.	B	12	MD	5.52
327.	A	4	EX SF 1007	5.50	438.	B	12	MD	5.58
328.	A	4	EX SF 1016	5.44	439.	B	12	MD	5.54
329.	A	5	MD	5.45	440.	B	12	MD	5.44
330.	A	5	MD	5.23	441.	B	12	MD (KL)	5.42
331.	A	5	MD	5.48	442.	B	12	EX add	5.45
332.	A	5	MD	5.46	443.	B	12	EX add	5.49
333.	A	5	MD	5.52	444.	B	12	EX add	5.53
334.	A	5	MD	5.55	445.	B	13	MD	5.46
335.	A	5	MD	5.49	446.	B	13	MD	5.36
336.	A	5	MD	5.52	447.	B	13	MD	5.49
337.	A	5	MD	5.53	448.	B	13	MD	5.35
338.	A	5	MD	5.46	449.	B	13	MD	5.44
339.	A	5	MD	5.55	450.	B	13	EX SF 1012	5.47
340.	A	5	MD	5.28	451.	B	14	MD	5.49
341.	A	5	MD	5.59	452.	B	14	MD	5.48
342.	A	5	MD	5.50	453.	B	14	MD	5.41
343.	A	5	MD	5.52	454.	B	14	MD	5.48
344.	A	5	MD	5.58	455.	B	14	MD	5.53
345.	A	5	MD	5.36	456.	B	14	MD	5.46
346.	A	5	MD	5.45	457.	B	14	MD	5.51
347.	A	5	MD	5.43	458.	B	14	MD	5.49
348.	A	5	MD	5.45	459.	B	14	MD	5.49
349.	A	5	MD	5.40	460.	B	14	MD	5.42
350.	A	5	MD	5.50	461.	B	14	MD	5.48
351.	A	5	MD	5.48	462.	B	14	MD	5.50
352.	A	5	MD	5.38	463.	B	14	MD	5.43

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
353.	A	5	MD	5.43	464.	B	14	MD	5.42
354.	A	5	MD	5.51	465.	B	14	MD	5.39
355.	A	5	MD	5.57	466.	B	14	MD	5.32
356.	A	5	MD	5.43	467.	B	14	MD	5.55
357.	A	5	MD	5.41	468.	B	14	MD	5.40
358.	A	5	MD	5.49	469.	B	14	MD	5.58
359.	A	5	MD	5.35	470.	B	14	EX SF 1029	5.35
360.	A	6	MD	5.30	471.	B	14	EX SF 1031	5.30
361.	A	6	MD	5.41	472.	B	14	EX SF 1040	5.43
362.	A	6	MD	5.42	473.	C	14	MD	5.50
363.	A	6	MD	5.44	474.	D	14	MD	5.47
364.	A	6	MD	5.32					

BHB (366), Group I dies cf. V620–7, 620-9 and BM 3386–89, Group II dies cf. V620–1 and BM 3384

475.	A	1	MD	5.51	658.	J	10	MD	5.44
476.	A	1	MD	5.48	659.	J	10	MD	5.43
477.	A	1	MD	5.49	660.	J	10	MD	5.44
478.	A	1	MD	5.41	661.	J	10	MD	5.37
479.	A	1	MD	5.53	662.	J	10	MD	5.41
480.	A	1	MD	5.54	663.	J	10	MD	5.33
481.	A	1	EX SF 1043	5.41	664.	J	10	MD	5.42
482.	A	2	MD	5.52	665.	J	10	MD	5.40
483.	A	2	MD	5.37	666.	J	10	MD	5.46
484.	A	2	MD	5.48	667.	J	10	MD	5.43
485.	A	2	MD	5.38	668.	J	10	MD	5.40
486.	A	2	MD	5.52	669.	J	10	MD	5.34
487.	A	2	MD	5.45	670.	J	10	MD	5.43
488.	A	2	MD	5.45	671.	J	10	MD	5.39
489.	A	2	MD	5.52	672.	J	10	MD	5.38
490.	A	2	MD	5.54	673.	J	10	MD	5.36
491.	A	2	MD	5.33	674.	J	10	MD	5.55
492.	A	2	MD	5.47	675.	J	10	MD	5.50
493.	A	2	MD	5.36	676.	J	10	MD	5.48
494.	A	2	EX SF 1032	5.47	677.	J	10	MD	5.48
495.	A	3	MD	5.52	678.	J	10	MD	5.36
496.	A	3	MD	5.41	679.	J	10	MD	5.34
497.	A	3	MD	5.45	680.	J	10	MD	5.42
498.	A	3	MD	5.38	681.	J	10	MD	5.37
499.	A	3	MD	5.31	682.	J	10	MD	5.44
500.	A	3	MD	5.28	683.	J	10	MD	5.43
501.	A	3	EX SF 1004	5.23	684.	J	10	MD	5.42
502.	B	3	MD	5.52	685.	J	10	MD	5.42
503.	B	3	MD	5.48	686.	J	10	MD	5.47
504.	B	3	MD	5.53	687.	J	10	MD	5.42
505.	B	3	MD	5.41	688.	J	10	MD	5.39
506.	B	3	MD	4.85	689.	J	10	MD	5.44
507.	B	3	MD	5.53	690.	J	10	MD	5.44
508.	B	3	MD	5.44	691.	J	10	MD	5.40
509.	B	3	MD	5.44	692.	J	10	MD	5.47
510.	B	3	MD	5.40	693.	J	10	MD	5.55
511.	B	3	MD	5.50	694.	J	10	MD	5.40
512.	B	3	MD	5.44	695.	J	10	MD	5.44
513.	B	4	MD	5.40	696.	J	10	MD	5.41
514.	B	4	MD	5.41	697.	J	10	MD	5.49
515.	C	3	MD	5.37	698.	J	10	MD	5.33
516.	C	3	MD	5.36	699.	J	10	MD	5.36
517.	C	3	MD	5.43	700.	J	10	MD	5.38
518.	C	3	MD	5.45	701.	J	10	MD	5.48
519.	C	3	MD	5.38	702.	J	10	MD	5.42
520.	C	4	MD	5.50	703.	J	10	MD	5.43
521.	C	4	MD	5.49	704.	J	10	MD	5.40
522.	C	4	MD	5.34	705.	J	10	MD	5.35

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
523.	C	4	MD	5.37	706.	J	10	MD	5.47
524.	C	5	MD	5.39	707.	J	10	MD	5.43
525.	C	5	MD	5.25	708.	J	10	MD	5.39
526.	C	6	MD	5.34	709.	J	10	MD	5.51
527.	C	6	MD	5.31	710.	J	10	MD	5.47
528.	C	6	MD	5.33	711.	J	10	MD	5.52
529.	C	6	MD	5.46	712.	J	10	MD	5.41
530.	C	6	MD	5.46	713.	J	10	MD	5.28
531.	C	6	MD	5.34	714.	J	10	MD	5.34
532.	C	6	MD	5.26	715.	J	10	MD	5.34
533.	C	6	MD	5.39	716.	J	10	MD	5.41
534.	C	6	MD	5.16	717.	J	10	MD	5.41
535.	C	6	MD	5.50	718.	J	10	MD	5.45
536.	C	6	MD	5.49	719.	J	10	MD	5.41
537.	C	6	MD	5.35	720.	J	10	MD	5.45
538.	C	6	MD	5.41	721.	J	10	MD	5.37
539.	C	6	MD	5.22	722.	J	10	MD	5.43
540.	C	6	MD	5.42	723.	J	10	MD	5.51
541.	C	6	MD	4.39	724.	J	10	MD	5.40
542.	D	6	MD	5.39	725.	J	10	MD	5.42
543.	D	6	MD	5.30	726.	J	10	MD	5.49
544.	D	6	MD	5.38	727.	J	10	MD	5.43
545.	D	6	MD	5.54	728.	J	10	MD (KL)	5.46
546.	D	6	MD	5.45	729.	J	10	EX SF 1021	5.42
547.	D	6	MD	5.46	730.	J	10	EX SF 1026	5.42
548.	D	6	MD	5.50	731.	J	10	EX SF 1027	5.45
549.	D	6	MD	5.44	732.	J	10	EX SF 1034	5.39
550.	D	6	MD	5.35	733.	J	10	EX SF 1038	5.38
551.	D	6	MD	5.51	734.	J	10	EX add	5.47
552.	D	6	MD	5.45	735.	L	10	MD	5.26
553.	D	6	MD	5.39	736.	L	10	MD	5.32
554.	D	6	EX SF 1006	5.48	737.	L	10	MD	5.40
555.	D	6	EX SF 1014	5.35	738.	L	10	MD	5.39
556.	D	7	MD	5.38	739.	L	10	MD	5.35
557.	D	7	MD	5.51	740.	L	10	MD	5.42
558.	D	7	MD	5.38	741.	L	10	MD	5.38
559.	D	7	MD	5.35	742.	L	10	MD	5.33
560.	D	7	MD	5.32	743.	L	10	MD	5.36
561.	D	7	MD	5.47	744.	L	10	MD	5.37
562.	D	7	MD	5.40	745.	L	10	MD	5.29
563.	D	7	MD	5.43	746.	L	10	MD	5.47
564.	D	7	MD	5.43	747.	L	10	MD	5.42
565.	D	7	MD	5.44	748.	L	10	MD	5.34
566.	D	7	MD	5.42	749.	L	10	MD	5.40
567.	D	7	MD	5.47	750.	L	10	MD	5.41
568.	D	7	MD	5.36	751.	L	10	MD	5.40
569.	D	7	MD	5.28	752.	L	10	MD	5.33
570.	D	7	MD	5.34	753.	L	10	MD	5.34
571.	D	7	MD	5.33	754.	L	10	MD	5.47
572.	D	7	EX SF 1044	5.40	755.	L	10	MD	5.33
573.	D	7	EX SF 1030	5.43	756.	L	10	MD	5.40
574.	E	6	MD	5.41	757.	L	10	MD	5.43
575.	E	6	MD	5.47	758.	L	10	MD	5.31
576.	F	7	MD	5.45	759.	L	10	MD	5.38
577.	F	7	MD	5.41	760.	L	10	EX SF 1028	5.36
578.	F	7	MD	5.40	761.	L	10	EX add	5.36
579.	F	7	MD	4.99	762.	L	11	MD	5.24
580.	F	8	MD	5.40	763.	L	11	MD	5.41
581.	F	8	MD	5.33	764.	L	11	MD	5.45
582.	F	8	MD	5.40	765.	L	11	MD	5.30
583.	F	8	MD	5.28	766.	L	11	MD	5.41
584.	F	8	MD	5.53	767.	L	11	MD	5.36
585.	F	8	MD	5.41	768.	L	11	MD	5.37
586.	F	8	MD	5.40	769.	L	11	MD	5.26

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
587.	F	8	MD	5.41	770.	L	11	MD	5.42
588.	F	8	MD	5.34	771.	L	11	MD	5.40
589.	F	8	MD	5.46	772.	L	11	MD	5.40
590.	F	8	MD	5.34	773.	L	11	MD	5.40
591.	F	8	MD	5.27	774.	L	11	MD	5.41
592.	F	8	MD	4.46(b)	775.	L	11	MD	5.32
593.	F	8	EX add	5.33	776.	L	11	MD	5.46
594.	F	9	MD	5.30	777.	L	11	MD	5.45
595.	F	9	MD	5.39	778.	L	11	MD	5.36
596.	F	9	MD	5.55	779.	L	11	MD	5.33
597.	F	9	MD	5.45	780.	L	11	MD	5.41
598.	F	9	EX SF 1037	5.58	781.	L	11	MD	5.37
599.	F	10	MD	5.43	782.	L	11	MD	5.37
600.	F	10	MD	5.44	783.	L	11	MD	5.48
601.	F	10	MD	5.49	784.	L	11	MD	5.34
602.	G	8	MD	5.37	785.	L	11	MD	5.31
603.	G	8	MD	5.40	786.	L	11	MD	5.41
604.	G	8	MD	5.52	787.	L	11	EX SF 1017	5.43
605.	G	8	MD	5.36	788.	L	12	MD	5.43
606.	H	8	MD	5.44	789.	L	12	MD	5.36
607.	H	8	MD	5.41	790.	L	12	MD	5.42
608.	H	8	MD	5.29	791.	L	12	MD	5.39
609.	H	8	MD	5.39	792.	L	12	MD	5.32
610.	H	8	MD	5.40	793.	L	12	MD	5.40
611.	H	8	MD	5.43	794.	L	12	MD	5.37
612.	H	8	MD	5.26	795.	L	12	MD	5.44
613.	H	8	MD	5.41	796.	L	12	MD	5.41
614.	H	8	EX SF 1013	5.48	797.	L	12	MD	5.38
615.	H	8	MD add	5.29	798.	L	12	MD	5.34
616.	H	9	MD	5.35	799.	L	12	MD	5.38
617.	H	9	MD	5.46	800.	L	12	MD	5.36
618.	H	9	MD	5.32	801.	L	12	MD	5.06
619.	H	10	MD	5.51	802.	L	12	MD	5.48
620.	H	10	MD	5.43	803.	L	12	MD	5.42
621.	H	10	MD	5.25	804.	L	12	MD	5.45
622.	H	10	MD	5.49	805.	L	12	MD	5.29
623.	H	10	MD	5.39	806.	L	12	MD	5.32
624.	H	10	MD	5.51	807.	L	12	MD	5.38
625.	H	10	MD	5.33	808.	L	12	MD	5.39
626.	H	10	EX SF 1015	5.47	809.	L	12	EX SF 1041	5.41
627.	K	10	MD	5.38	810.	M	13	MD	5.38
628.	K	10	MD	5.41	811.	M	13	MD	5.34
629.	J	10	MD	5.40	812.	M	13	MD	5.42
630.	J	10	MD	5.42	813.	M	13	MD	5.36
631.	J	10	MD	5.40	814.	M	13	MD	5.36
632.	J	10	MD	5.52	815.	M	13	MD	5.40
633.	J	10	MD	5.35	816.	M	13	MD	5.40
634.	J	10	MD	5.44	817.	M	13	MD	5.32
635.	J	10	MD	5.39	818.	M	13	MD	5.42
636.	J	10	MD	5.32	819.	M	13	MD	5.45
637.	J	10	MD	5.47	820.	M	13	MD	5.27
638.	J	10	MD	5.52	821.	M	13	MD	5.38
639.	J	10	MD	5.38	822.	M	13	MD	5.31
640.	J	10	MD	5.48	823.	M	13	MD	5.29
641.	J	10	MD	5.49	824.	M	13	MD	5.39
642.	J	10	MD	5.38	825.	M	13	MD	5.45
643.	J	10	MD	5.38	826.	M	13	MD	5.37
644.	J	10	MD	5.41	827.	M	13	MD	5.43
645.	J	10	MD	5.45	828.	M	13	MD	5.38
646.	J	10	MD	5.40	829.	M	13	MD	5.39
647.	J	10	MD	5.44	830.	M	13	MD	5.42
648.	J	10	MD	5.43	831.	M	13	MD	5.20
649.	J	10	MD	5.40	832.	M	13	MD	5.39
650.	J	10	MD	5.25	833.	M	13	MD	5.42

No.	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*	*No.*	*OD*	*RD*	*Discovery*	*Weight*
651.	J	10	MD	5.41	834.	M	13	MD	5.40
652.	J	10	MD	5.44	835.	M	13	MD	5.42
653.	J	10	MD	5.46	836.	M	13	EX SF 1023	5.27
654.	J	10	MD	5.40	837.	M	13	EX SF 1025	5.35
655.	J	10	MD	5.40	838.	N	13	EX add	5.43
656.	J	10	MD	5.45	839.	P	13	MD	5.34
657.	J	10	MD	5.50	840.	P	13	MD	5.43

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON PRODUCING COMPOSITE IMAGES

The technique used to produce the composite images evolved from using a computer graphics program to resize digital images and overlay them to establish whether they were from the same die. In Adobe Photoshop, this is achieved by pasting the second image onto the same canvas as the first image. The upper image can be faded (using the 'opacity' function) until the underlying image can be seen. The upper image can then be rotated and resized as necessary. When the coins appear to be from the same die and are aligned one over the other, the upper image should be returned to an opacity of 100%. The 'background eraser' tool can then be used to cut through the solid upper image to ensure that there is exact overlay on the lower image at key points. The 'eraser' tool becomes an essential part of the production of composite images where many images can gradually be overlain, with periodic consolation of intermediate stages.

A few further comments on the technique may be helpful to anyone using it for the first time:

i) photographs of Celtic coins often incorporate an element of distortion as the original coin is usually more or less dished. This was not a problem in respect of the staters in the Wickham Market hoard as the dishing is modest. It can however be more problematic on some deeply dished silver units, and may make it impossible to key overlaying images exactly at the extremities of the image.

ii) where dies were used until they were worn out it is very valuable for identification purposes to produce a series of images showing the die at different stages of wear.

iii) scale is always a problem with digital images from different sources. The graphics programs make resizing relatively easy, but when taking photographs to use in this process the inclusion of a centimetre scale alongside the coin will make things much easier.

APPENDIX 3. THE CONTAINER

J. PLOUVIEZ

The complete base and twenty-three sherds, almost certainly from a single vessel, were recovered by the finders along with the gold coins. It proved possible to join fourteen of the sherds to the base to give about 70% of the lower half of a jar and to draw a profile of the vessel up to the widest point of the body.

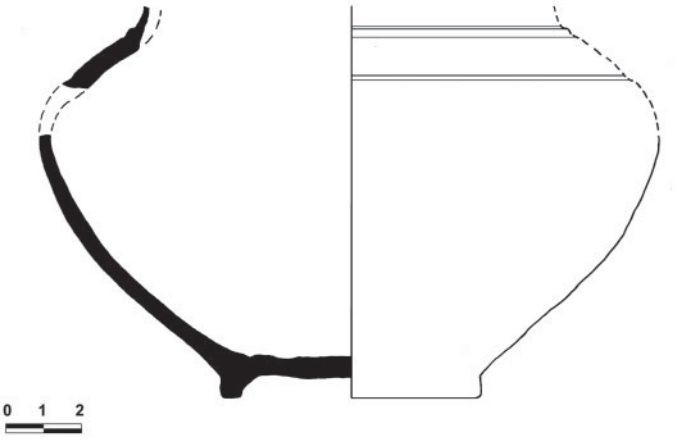

Fig. 1. Profile of the container of the Wickham Market hoard.

The fabric (examined in the hand with a ×10 lens at a fresh break) is dark grey and hard, with a narrow band oxidised to a red-brown on the inside below a consistently dark brown-grey internal surface. The external surface varies in broad patches from a light red-brown to dark brown-grey, probably indicating bonfire firing, with the

darker shades predominant. It contains frequent quartz sand grains and fine dark specks, possibly grog or natural clay pellets. The fracture section is rough and irregular.

The vessel is wheel-thrown. The form is a jar or wide–mouthed bowl. The base, 62 mm in diameter, has been turned to give a small footring. The walls thin at the widest part of the vessel and it probably fractured here first; very little of the upper half was recovered. However three sherds indicate a strong curve at the mid-girth, with an incised horizontal groove above. Another single small sherd indicates a plain band with double groove cordon above and the turn into the neck of the jar – these pieces have been used for the reconstructed version of the drawing, but the exact dimensions and organisation of the upper half remain conjectural as the reconstructed joins in the profile could prove entirely wrong.

The exterior surface is not in very good condition, probably suffering from chemical damage in the soil. It was certainly smoothed and possibly burnished on the lower part with a plain zone around the widest girth area.

Although some of the breaks were fresh, or fairly so, many were not. The evidence suggests that the pot may have been crushed and then dragged by ploughing, removing all of the rim and most of the upper part of the jar and spreading the contents. Fortunately however the base survived with the greater number of coins in or near to it, allowing the precise burial spot to be pinpointed.

Both fabric and form are similar to late Iron Age material elsewhere in south-east Suffolk, particularly at Burgh.[16] The form is a rounded version of the double cordon jar Cam 218 (generally similar to Cam 218A, the earliest variant and definitely pre-AD 43); this is group H at Burgh where it mainly occurs in the stratigraphically later group dated to about AD 25–50.

REFERENCES

Allen, D.F., 1960. 'The origins of coinage in Britain: a reappraisal', in S.S. Frere (ed.), *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (London), 97–308.
Allen, D.F., 1970. 'Coins of the Iceni', *Britannia* 1, 1–33.
Chadburn, A., 1991. 'Some observations on the Icenian uninscribed gold series', *Celtic Coin Bulletin* 1, 9–13.
Cheesman, C.E.A., 1998. 'Tincomarus Commi filius', *Britannia* 29, 309–15.
Creighton, J., 1994. 'A time of change: the Iron Age to Roman monetary transition in East Anglia', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 13, 325–33.
Evans, J., 1864. *Coins of the ancient Britons* (London).
Evans, J., 1890. *Coins of the ancient Britons. Supplement* (London).
Hobbs, R., 1996. *British Iron Age coins in the British Museum* (London).
Martin, E., 1988. 'Burgh, Iron age and Roman enclosure', *East Anglian Archaeology* 40.
Montagu, H., 1886. 'Find of ancient British gold coins in Suffolk', *NC* 46, 23–37.
Talbot, J., 2006. 'The Iceni early face/horse series', in P. de Jersey (ed.), *Celtic coinage: new discoveries, new discussion* (Oxford, BAR S1532), 213-41.
Talbot, J., forthcoming. *A new analysis of the late Icenian hoards*.
Van Arsdell, R.D., 1989. *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London).
Williams, J.H.C., 1998. 'Coin hoards: Little Saxham (addendum), Suffolk', *NC* 158, 290.

Website and other resources:
CCI (Celtic Coin Index), Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford and online at *www.finds.org.uk/CCI*.

[16] Martin 1988.