

Later Iron Age Coinage in Britain: Reconstructing Insular Social Structures and Systems of Value

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

By
Marta Fanello

School of Archaeology and Ancient History
University of Leicester

2016

Abstract

Title: **Later Iron Age Coinage in Britain:
Reconstructing Insular Social Structures and Systems of Value**

Author: **Marta Fanello**

This thesis compares numismatic and archaeological evidence from different regions of Britain in order to investigate the changes in systems of values that occurred in the late Iron Age and how these reflect transformations in endogenous social structures.

Coins began to be systematically imported into Britain from Gaul during the 2nd century BC. Local gold production began in the early 1st century BC, in conjunction with the development of new settlements forms and the intensification of relations with the Roman world. The chronology of the adoption of coinage was not uniform across Britain and different regional outcomes are visible in the use of metals and imagery. Different sets of data, including coins from excavated sites, hoards, and metal detector finds are studied in order to attain a wider understanding of patterns of distribution and deposition, and to identify regional trends and variations in the character and use of coins.

The thesis explores how the introduction of coins into Britain contributed to the development of diverse forms of authority, and fostered competitive processes based on local concepts of possession, status, and power. Social changes at the end of the 1st millennium BC are interpreted as a combination of the assimilation, selective reception or total rejection of continental traits, and endogenous transformations in the local systems of value.

Acknowledgements

Completing this project would not have been possible without the contribution of several people and institutions. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Colin Haselgrove for his endless support and encouragement. I also wish to gratefully acknowledge the support of the School of Archaeology and Ancient History of the University of Leicester in the form of a postgraduate studentship. A huge thank you goes to Oliver Harris for his comments and invaluable help with my work, and to Neil Christie, Andrew Fitzpatrick, Ian Leins, and Stefan Krmnicek for reading and offering advice on earlier drafts.

I owe a great deal to a large number of people: to Philip De Jersey for providing significant amounts of his unpublished materials, and to Adrian Chadwick, Julia Farley, David Holman, Tom Moore, Amanda Clarke, and Keith Parfitt for sharing information with me and answering my questions; to Mark Gillings for helping me with ArchGIS, and to Pippa Pearce from the British Museum, Helen Sharp from Harborough Museum, Wendy Scott from the Finds Liaison Office (Leicestershire), and Caroline Lyons from the Treasure Report. Many scholars provided me with advice and support on various levels before and during my PhD. Among them, I wish to thank Prof. Daniele Vitali, Katherine Gruel, Anna Booth, Anna Lewis, Niccolò Mugnai, Mary Harlow, Kate Parks, Lisa Brown, Carlos Martin Hernández, Frank Hargrave, Elizabeth Schech, Rachel Wilkinson, Rachael Sycamore, and Douglas Mitcham.

I would also like to thank the staff from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and the Celtic Coin Index (CCI) for producing the databases that were fundamental for this work: I am grateful to Roger Bland for granting me access to the online database, and to Dan Pett for his technical assistance. The Gallo-Belgic Pottery database represented an essential tool for integrating my research, and I wish to express my acknowledgment to Jane Timby and Val Rigby for creating and sharing this invaluable catalogue. Furthermore, I would like to thank the staff of the Heritage Gateway for making such amount of information about sites and material available and easily accessible, the staff of the Centre de Recherche de Bibracte (Glux-en-Glenne, France) for all their work and assistance during the time I spent there, and to Joëlle Cunnac, for allowing me access to the Centre de Documentation de Bibracte. In addition to the staff of the David Wilson Library in Leicester, I wish to thank the staff of the Département des monnaies et médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Senate House Library in London, and the British Museum.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to Rachel Godfrey, Selina Thraves, Sharon North, Lara Callaghan, and to all the staff of the School of Archaeology and Ancient History of the University of Leicester for being incredibly supportive, and to all my amazing friends and colleagues that made my years in Leicester funny and enjoyable.

I am deeply grateful to my mother Mariella, for her precious life-time teaching and encouragement and for believing in me.

Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of contents	iii
List of tables	vii
List of figures	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Late Iron Age coins in Britain: an overview	6
1.1 Defining coins	6
1.1.1 Researching ancient coins: summary of past and current approaches	6
1.1.2 Late Iron Age coins in Britain: a matter of nomenclature	8
1.2 The introduction of coinage into Britain	9
1.2.1 Early imports	10
1.2.2 Gallo-Belgic series	11
1.2.3 Local production: cast bronze	13
1.2.4 Local production: early struck coins	14
1.2.5 The development of inscribed coinage	16
Chapter 2. Coins, value, and society: the theoretical framework	30
2.1 Theoretical frameworks for the study of coins and society in late Iron Age Britain	30
2.1.1 Invasionist and tribal models (c. 1850-1950s)	30
2.1.2 From New Archaeology to contemporary trends (c. 1960s-present)	33
2.1.3 New models for reconstructing Iron Age British society	36
2.2 De-tribalising late Iron Age Britain	38
2.3 Theoretical frameworks for the study of coins and value	40
2.3.1 Defining value	40
2.3.2 Portable objects and individuals	42
2.3.3 Coins and money	42
2.4 Research questions	44

Chapter 3. Methodology	45
3.1 The case studies: sample Areas A-D	45
3.2 Selecting Areas A-D	52
3.2.1 Similarities	53
3.2.2 Differences	54
3.3 The data	58
3.3.1 Summary of numismatic finds from Areas A-D	58
3.3.2 Sources and tools for data collection	63
3.3.3 The Database	65
3.3.4 Existing systems of concordances	66
3.3.5 The Table of Concordances	67
3.4 The treatment of data	68
3.4.1 Site-finds	68
3.4.2 Area-finds	70
 Chapter 4. Late Iron Age coins in context	 71
4.1 Excavated coins from Areas A-D	72
4.2 Coins from settlements in Areas A-D	74
4.2.1 Area A	76
4.2.2 Area B	90
4.2.3 Area C	96
4.2.4 Area D	105
4.3 Coins from major ritual sites	111
4.3.1 Area A: Harlow	112
4.3.2 Area B: Hallaton	114
4.3.3 Area C: Hayling Island	117
4.3.4 Area D	119
4.4 Distribution and deposition of site-finds	121
4.4.1 Coins from burials	130
4.5 The evidence of area-finds	133
 Chapter 5. Practices of coin deposition: interpreting the social functions of hoards	 147
5.1 Introducing coin hoards in late Iron Age Britain	147
5.1.1 Evaluating hoards	148
5.2 Hoards in Areas A-D	149
5.2.1 Small deposits of gold	153
5.2.2 Large deposits of gold	154
5.2.3 Silver	157
5.2.4 Bronze	158
5.2.5 Mixed coin hoards	159

5.3 Hoarding practices in East Anglia	160
5.4 Patterns of deposition in Areas A-D	163
Chapter 6. Coins in movement: connectivity and circulation in Areas A-D	170
6.1 Territorial features of Areas A-D	170
6.2 Long-distance interactions and cross-Channel networks	174
6.2.1 Continental ceramic and numismatic imports in Areas A-D	177
6.2.2 Gaulish coins	179
6.2.3 Gaulish fine wares and Dressel <i>amphorae</i>	180
6.3 Connectivity in Areas A-D	182
6.3.1 Coins in movement	186
6.3.2 Patterns of distribution of non-local coins	188
Chapter 7. Portable objects and embodiment of value: the social meaning of coins	195
7.1 Precious and base metal coins	195
7.1.1 Gold	195
7.1.2 Cast bronze	197
7.1.3 Silver	197
7.1.4 Copper alloys	198
7.1.5 Identifying coin functions	199
7.2 The socially embedded value of coins	201
7.3 Coins and individuals	203
7.3.1 Portable objects and individuals in Iron Age Britain	204
7.3.2 Coin possession and ownership	205
Chapter 8. Coins and dynamics of social competition	208
8.1 Defining forms of competition in late Iron Age Britain	208
8.1.1 Propaganda	210
8.2 Conveying the message	211
8.2.1 Colour and individual status	211
8.2.2 Imagery: standardisation and variety	215
8.2.3 Universal symbolism	217
8.2.4 Local symbolism	219
8.2.5 Management of goods and territorial control	221
8.2.6 Emphasis on individuals	224
8.2.7 Legitimacy	227
8.2.8 Familial ties	231
8.3 Local forms of propaganda	239
8.4 Spreading the message	248

Chapter 9. Processes of change and social dynamics in late Iron Age Britain	252
9.1 Long-term processes of social differentiation	252
9.1.1 The rise of hillforts in southern Britain	252
9.1.2 Middle Iron Age evidence of social differentiation	254
9.1.3 The development of nucleated settlements	256
9.1.4 Late Iron Age evidence of social differentiation	257
9.2 Defining individual status and power	258
9.2.1 Portable objects and status: the case of torcs	259
9.3 Coins, authority, and society	261
9.3.1 Early coin production and emerging forms of authority	261
9.3.2 Inscribed coins and new dynamics of power	263
9.3.3 The evidence from Areas A-D	264
9.3.4 Local forms of power	267
9.4 Defining the social climate	269
9.5 British communities and the Continent: the evidence of coins	271
9.5.1 Sense of community and belonging	272
9.5.2 Insular attitudes towards external elements	274
 Conclusions	 277
 Appendices	 291
 Bibliography	 292

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Development of Iron Age British coinage	20
Table 1.2: Late Iron Age British coin types	22
I. Gallo-Belgic series	22
II. Kentish potin	22
III. Early British production	23
IV. Late British production and inscribed issues	24
Table 1.3: List of legends displayed on late Iron Age British coins	27
Table 1.4: Metrology of late Iron Age British coinage	29
Table 2.1: Coin-using tribes of late Iron Age Britain	32
Table 2.2: Dynastic relations in Southern and South-Eastern Britain	35
Table 3.1: Site evidence from Areas A-D	53
Table 3.2: Density of occupation in Areas A-D	55
Table 3.3: British coin finds from Areas A-D	59
Table 3.4: Distribution of data from Areas A-D	60
Table 3.5: Limits of evidence	64
Table 4.1: Excavated coins in Areas A-D	72
Table 4.2: Site-finds, stratified finds, and area-finds 1-10 per site in Areas A-D	73
Table 4.3: Average of finds per type of site in Areas A-D	74
Table 4.4: Stratified coins from features dating up to c. AD 70	125
Table 4.5: Area-finds in Areas A-D	134
Table 5.1: Hoards in Areas A-D	151
Table 5.2a: Composition of hoards per type in Area A	165
Table 5.2b: Composition of hoards per type in Area B	166
Table 5.2c: Composition of hoards per type in Area C	167

Table 5.2d: Composition of hoards per type in Area D	168
Table 6.1: Proportion between site prominence and coin production in Areas A-D	172
Table 6.2: Principal cross-Channel ceramic imports in late Iron Age Britain	176
Table 6.3: Imports from principal sites in Areas A-D	178
Table 6.4: Gaulish coins from Areas A-D	180
Table 6.5: List of features linked to connectivity in Areas A-D	184
Table 6.6a: Connectivity in Areas A-D	187
Table 6.6b: Levels of connectivity in Area B	188
Table 6.7: Proportion between excavated local/non-local coins in Areas A-D	189
Table 6.8: Non-local coins from excavated settlements from features dating up to c. AD 70	190
Table 7.1: Quantity of issues per metal in phases 1-5 and 6-9	199
Table 7.2: Visual representation of the value of British coins	203
Table 8.1: Frequency of iconographic motifs in Areas A-D	216
Table 8.2: Roman prototypes	229
Table 8.3: Distribution and deposition of most common legends in Areas A-D	233
Table 8.4: General distribution of types in Areas A-D	245
Table 8.5: Levels of mobility of coin-groups in Areas A-D	249
Table 9.1: Classification of social formations	273

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Example of Flat Linear I potin coin showing the sprue	13
Figure 1.2: Typological evolution of late Iron Age British uninscribed coinage	21
Figure 2.1: The tribes of late Iron Age Britain	32
Figure 2.2: Haselgrove's regional late Iron Age regional coin groups	39
Figure 3.1: Iron Age coin findspots in Britain	45
Figure 3.2: The location of Areas A-D	47
Figure 3.3a: Map of Area A	48
Figure 3.3b: Map of Area B	49
Figure 3.3c: Map of Area C	50
Figure 3.3d: Map of Area D	51
Figure 3.4: Excavated coins in Areas A-D	61
Figure 3.5: Area-finds in Areas A-D	62
Figure 3.6: Coins from hoards in Areas A-D	62
Figure 4.1: Plan of St Albans	78
Figure 4.2: Plan of the Braughing complex	80
Figure 4.3: Plan of Baldock	83
Figure 4.4: Plan of Colchester	85
Figure 4.5a: Plan of Elms Farm, Heybridge	88
Figure 4.5b: Elms Farm, Heybridge	89
Figure 4.6: Plan of Stonea	93
Figure 4.7: Plan of Thetford	95
Figure 4.8: Plan of late Iron Age Silchester	98
Figure 4.9: Plan of Winchester area showing Oram's Arbour and St Catherine's Hill ditches	99
Figure 4.10: Plan of Chichester	101

Figure 4.11: The Chichester hinterland	102
Figure 4.12: Plan of Westhampnett	104
Figure 4.13: Plan of the area including Bagendon and Ditches	106
Figure 4.14: Plan of Roman Cirencester	108
Figure 4.15: Areas of ditches at Abingdon	110
Figure 4.16: Plan of Harlow	113
Figure 4.17: Plan of Hallaton	116
Figure 4.18: Plan of Hayling Island	118
Figure 4.19: Distribution of metals at excavated settlements	123
Figure 4.20: Distribution of stratified gold and cast bronze coins at excavated settlements in Area A	127
Figure 4.21: Distribution of stratified silver coins at excavated settlements	127
Figure 4.22: Distribution of stratified bronze coins at excavated settlements	127
Figure 4.23: General distribution of stratified coins per type	128
Figure 4.24: Frequency of stratified coins from post-AD 70 features	129
Figure 4.25: Distribution of area-finds in Areas A-D (per metal)	133
Figure 4.26: Distribution of area-finds in Areas A-D (per type)	133
Figure 4.27a: Coin distribution in Area A during phase 4-6	139
Figure 4.27b: Coin distribution in Area A during phase 7-9	139
Figure 4.28a: Coin distribution in Area B during phase 4-6	140
Figure 4.28b: Coin distribution in Area B during phase 7-9	140
Figure 4.28c: Coin distribution in the Nene valley (phases 7-9)	141
Figure 4.29a: Coin distribution in Area C during phase 4-6	142
Figure 4.29b: Coin distribution in Area C during phase 7-9	143
Figure 4.30a: Coin distribution in Area D during phase 4-6	144
Figure 4.30b: Coin distribution in Area D during phase 7-9	144
 Figure 5.1: Map of hoards in Area B and East Anglia	 162
 Figure 6.1: Sites with coins from Areas A-D	 186
Figure 6.2: Distribution of non-local types per site in Areas A-D	189

Figure 6.3a: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area A	191
Figure 6.3b: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area B	191
Figure 6.3c: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area C	192
Figure 6.3d: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area D	192
Figure 8.1: Visual perception of pure and debased gold	213
Figure 8.2: Examples of iconographic motifs on late Iron Age British coinage	217
Figure 8.3: Distribution of coins with legend <i>Calle(va)</i> , <i>Camulodunum</i> , and <i>Verulamium</i>	223
Figure 8.4: Stylistic differences between silver W81 and EA81 coins	225
Figure 8.5: Examples of the tablet motif	226
Figure 8.6: Distribution of coins inscribed <i>Epatticus</i> and <i>Eppillus</i>	235
Figure 8.7: Distribution of coins inscribed <i>Tincomaros</i>	236
Figure 8.8: Distribution of coins inscribed <i>Verica</i>	237
Figure 8.9: Distribution of coins inscribed <i>Cunobelinus</i>	238
Figure 8.10: Distribution of iconographic motifs in Areas A-D	240
Figure 8.11: Frequency of legends in Areas A-D	242
Figure 8.12: Association of legends and iconographic motifs in Areas A-D	243
Figure 8.13: Diffusion of coin imagery on early uninscribed coins in Areas A-D	244
Figure 8.14: Diffusion of coin imagery on inscribed coins in Areas A-D	244

Introduction

This thesis investigates late Iron Age British coins as a means of reconstructing insular social dynamics and the transformations occurring in local systems of value shortly before the Roman Conquest.

The introduction of coinage in Britain is part of a wider phenomenon: the earliest forms of coinage in the Mediterranean world appeared in Asia Minor (Ephesus) around the 8th-7th century BC, followed by the production of local issues in Greece around the 6th century BC. Whilst coinage was introduced in Massalia from the following century, plausibly as a result of Greek colonization, and rapidly expanded throughout Gaul, it was not until the end of the 4th century BC that early forms of non-coined currency (*aes signatum* and *aes rude*) made their appearance in central Italy, leading to the production of the first Roman bronze coins (*aes grave*). Early gold and cast bronze imitations of Greek coins reached Britain via Gaul during the 3rd century BC, and the import of issues from northern Gaul became systematic from the following century, which is indicative of well-established cross-Channel interactions. Important social and ideological transformations in Britain led to the inauguration of cast bronze coinage in Kent in the 2nd century BC and struck gold coins in southern Britain at the beginning of the 1st century BC. The first Chapter of this thesis provides an overview of the development of coinage in late Iron Age Britain, including a short summary of past and current approaches to the study of ancient coinage.

Coincident with the introduction of coins, new forms of nucleated settlements and ritual structures made their appearance in Britain, whilst an increase of material imports from the Continent (including luxury items such as fine wares and wine *amphorae*) suggests an intensification of cross-Channel interactions. At the time of the Gallic War (58-50 BC), the first documented encounter between Britain and the Roman world took place as a consequence of Caesar's invasion of the island (55-54 BC): this event was reported by Caesar in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (books

IV-V), which also includes a description, albeit biased, of insular communities and customs. The end of the conflict was followed by the introduction of gold, silver, and copper alloy issues in south-eastern Britain, and the development of inscribed coinage and novel iconographic styles, partly imported from the Roman world.

The process described above was not as uniform as it may look: it did not occur at the same time across the island, and several significant distinctions are visible at the regional level. Communities in eastern and south-eastern Britain (principally Essex, Hampshire, and Hertfordshire) were first to come in contact with the Continent and to adopt foreign imports, developing sophisticated coinages and, possibly, new social dynamics, while further to the north and west (e.g. East Anglia, Northamptonshire, and the Cotswolds) innovations and changes at the social level, including the production of coins, were slowly adopted. In contrast, the south-western regions (namely Devon and Cornwall), Wales, northern Britain and Scotland were less affected by external innovations and never developed local coinages.

The assimilation or rejection of external traits has long been interpreted through the lenses of migration and diffusion theories, according to which continental material and cultural innovations reached southern and south-eastern Britain (Cunliffe's 'core' area) and gradually spread to peripheral regions. These models have been frequently put into question, and attention has been recently drawn to different aspects, including long-term processes of change and interaction, and economic aspects. The second Chapter presents a survey of the theoretical frameworks and cultural models that aim to explain the social transformations taking place in Britain during the 1st millennium BC.

The key research questions of this thesis, set out in Chapter 2, aim to provide a wider understanding of the processes which resulted in receptive attitudes to external influences in certain territories and conservative attitudes in others. In particular, the introduction of coinage in the late Iron Age will be linked to the establishment of new ideas of value arising from pre-existing systems and the

impact of endogenous social transformations and changing dynamics of power and competition will be explored. Addressing the social role of coins entails the comprehension of a series of theoretical issues that are summarised in Chapter 2: these involve the study of ancient economy, the passage from coinage to monetization, the definition of the concept of value, and the relationships between portable objects and individuals.

In order to draw conclusions about different developments in different regions, this project focuses on analysis of the numismatic evidence from four case studies in south-eastern, central, southern, and western Britain, characterised by diverse coin traditions and archaeological evidence. As it emerges, no case study has been selected within territories that lack substantial numismatic evidence: though not denying the importance of areas devoid of coins, it is important to stress that their inclusion in this project would have required larger sets of data consisting of diverse typologies of portable artefacts, a different methodological approach (e.g. analysing the distribution and deposition of non-coin metalwork), and an evaluation of similar and/or divergent systems of value. However, it must be remarked that the comparison between coining and non-coining areas may produce significant results that could fruitfully contribute to the current research and, for this reason, it would be a key subject for prospective studies.

In Chapter 3, the criteria for the selection of the study areas are discussed, and coin finds from each area are classified and summarised; finds are also listed in the Database (Appendices I-IV), which contains further details about individual findspots. Although much material remains unpublished or is not easily accessible, the elaboration of new methods of survey and excavation has enabled the production of accurate records that allow large amounts of information to be compared. Chapter 3 also contains a description of the tools applied for collecting information (e.g. site reports and the *Portable Antiquities Scheme*; systems of concordances), and the methodology adopted in this thesis for the analysis of different sets of numismatic data (e.g. excavation *contra* scattered finds).

In the second part of this project, coin finds will be placed in their archaeological context. Chapter 4 investigates finds from major settlements and ritual sites identified in study areas; the analysis focuses on the practical and symbolic functions performed by different coin-series/types in specific contexts, and on the identification of forms of structured deposition. The evidence of coins from burials, albeit meagre, will also be assessed. The discussion benefits from the integration of area-finds, mostly resulting from metal detecting. These provide additional insights into the main distribution and circulation trends. In Chapter 5, deposition patterns are further explored through the analysis of hoarding practices and their social significance. In Chapter 6, analysis focuses on comparing the study areas in terms of territorial features, traces of centralisation and exploitation of local networks, and the extent of cross-Channel interactions as reflected by continental imports (with a focus on Gaulish coins, wine *amphorae*, and Gallo-Belgic ware). The level of connectivity of each study area will be determined in order to evaluate its impact on the diffusion and circulation of coinage.

The third part of this thesis investigates the role of coins in fostering processes of social change between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD. As coins show recurrent patterns of distribution (e.g. near settlements or ritual sites) and are sensitive to political and economic change, analysing the social role they performed in specific contexts, transactions and spheres of exchange is a promising avenue for research (Howgego 2013, 13). Chapter 7 begins by considering differences between the social functions of coined metals in late Iron Age Britain and attempts a re-definition of the value of local coinage based on intrinsic features (such as weight and composition) and additional elements (e.g. colour, imagery). Subsequently, the relationship between coins and individuals is addressed, with an emphasis on the concept of possession and ownership, and the impact of personalisation following the introduction of inscribed issues is emphasised. As a means to explore the role of coins within local competitive processes, the eighth Chapter goes on to consider forms of 'armed or conceptual' competition that may have taken place in late Iron Age Britain, and the manipulation of propagandistic devices (e.g. the use of coin imageries, the addition

and transformation of legends, and the manipulation of colours) that allowed to convey messages and foster social achievements at the local level.

As already emphasised, despite their proximity, neighbouring communities did not necessarily share similar social organisations or forms of power. This is demonstrated by the archaeological and numismatic evidence discussed here. For long, Iron Age Britain was interpreted as a periphery of the Roman world, and the impact of continental influences has been considered as crucial in determining social change. Conceivably, several social traits developing at the end of the late pre-Roman period may have been rooted in the past. Chapter 9 attempts a reconstruction of long-term processes and of the transformations of local systems of value that were at the base of competitive dynamics during the middle to late Iron Age transition up until the early 1st century AD. The discussion of hierarchical-egalitarian-heterarchical social models that have been applied to late Iron Age Britain is expanded through the definition of different forms of status and power, and the identification of emerging authoritative entities lying behind the local production of early uninscribed coinage. In addition, the new social arrangement that coincided with the introduction of coin inscription at the end of the 1st century BC is discussed, with an emphasis on the Roman influence that led to the creation of 'client-kingdoms' in southern and south-eastern Britain. Drawing on the analysis undertaken in Chapters 4-8, the evidence of alternative forms of power and social organisation in the regions where client-kingdoms have not been identified is assessed. The final Chapter also contributes to the debate about 'colonial encounters', with a focus on larger social formations (or communities) and the development of a collective sense of belonging: the reception, rejection and/or reprocessing of continental influences, mirrored by coinage, is interpreted as a means of coping with processes of self-definition and social reproduction at the community level. The Conclusion summarises the findings presented in this thesis and identifies a number of key issues requiring further research.

Chapter 1

Late Iron Age coins in Britain: an overview

This chapter introduces the subject of this thesis (1.1) by defining what a coin is, and discussing the principal approaches to the study of ancient coins (1.1.1) and the issues of nomenclature related to late Iron Age British coinage (1.1.2). The second section (1.2) outlines the introduction of early forms of currency into Britain up to the systematic import of gold from Belgic Gaul by the 2nd century BC, followed by the start of local production and the development of inscribed issues by the mid-1st century BC.

1.1 Defining coins

A coin is typically defined as a round-shaped piece of metal produced by an issuing authority (Kim 2001, 8), subject to variations in weight and size, and frequently bearing marks, images and/or legends on its surface. After the first appearance of early coined metals in 8th century BC in Asia Minor, this phenomenon rapidly spread across the Mediterranean world (see Introduction), experiencing transformations in form, value and patterns of use. Although coins have principally been adopted as tools of exchange, in contrast to most artefacts, they are able to integrate materiality, images, and texts (Haselgrove and Krmnicek 2012, 245), and are entangled in practical, ritual, and symbolic spheres of activities. For this reason, assessing numismatic evidence requires the adoption of archaeological, historical, anthropological, and socio-economic perspectives.

1.1.1 Researching ancient coins: summary of past and current approaches

Although the first attempt of synthesis of the history of coinage in the ancient world has been attributed to Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* XXXIII.132; Barelló 2006, 190), during the Renaissance (e.g. De Budé 1522; Goltz 1579) numismatic studies principally consisted of antiquarian descriptions of Roman coinage, with little or no attention to historical and theoretical implications. Similarly, an antiquarian interest in ancient

British coinage developed by the 16th century (Camden 1586) whilst Linnaeus' (1707-1778) taxonomy boosted attention to typological and chronological classifications (Pettingal 1763; Stukeley 1776). Early metrological and metallurgical studies were conducted on Roman bronzes by the numismatists Klaproth and Imhoof-Bloomer (Arslan 2005, 34; Barrandon and Picard 2007, 19); by the 20th century, the development of archaeometallurgy led to the introduction of new analytical methods such as the XRF and NAA (Ambrosino and Pindrus 1953; Barrandon and Beauchesne 1986; Botré *et al.* 1993; Kusaka 1959; Ponting 2003). Progress in scientific techniques has encouraged the development of larger perspectives, including the social implication of casting and striking techniques, the reconstruction of trade networks and material supply, the question of issuing authorities, and the scale of production (Alföldi 2004; Barelló 1993; Buttrey 1993; Caccamo Caltabiano 2004; Esty 1986; Nick 2009). The possibility of calculating average levels of die outputs and the rate of coin-loss (Casey 1986; Howgego 1995, 23; Lockyear 2000; Reece 1987, 1995) has allowed scholars to tackle issues of circulation. Nonetheless, pre-Roman north-western European coinage was long interpreted as a mere imitation of its Mediterranean counterparts, and the dating of coins mainly relied on historical texts (e.g. Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* in Colbert de Beaulieu 1952; Wellington 2006, 81) or comparisons between art, architecture and iconography (e.g. Donaldson 1966).

The systematic recording of coin provenances started from the 19th century (e.g. Evans 1864); however, notwithstanding Mommsen' (1850) advocacy of documenting the archaeological contexts of coin finds, details about stratification and material associations were long neglected. By the 1980s-1990s, the development of chrono-stratigraphy directly challenged previous typological assumptions (Brunaux and Gruel 1987; Casey and Reece 1988; Fürger-Gunti and von Kaenel 1976; Lambot and Delestrée 1991). Gradually, Iron Age numismatic studies have adopted systematic methods of assessment based on archaeological investigation (Curteis 2006; Haselgrove 1987a; Krmnicek 2009; Luley 2008; Wellington 2006); at the same time, socio-economic and anthropological perspectives were integrated (e.g. Aarts 2005; Aarts and Roymans 2009; Kemmers and Myrberg 2011; Nash 1978; Roymans 1990) and led to the development of interdisciplinary approaches. As discussed in greater

detail in Chapter 2, these have been crucial for the comprehension of the social role of ancient coins and are included in the theoretical framework of this project.

1.1.2 Late Iron Age coins in Britain: a matter of nomenclature

One of the problems linked to the study of late Iron Age coins produced in Britain concerns terminology. With few exceptions adopting the definition of ‘British coins’ (e.g. Henig 1972; Willet 1879) or tribal classifications (e.g. Atrebatian coins, Bean 2000; Icenian coins, Chadburn 1991a-b; Talbot 2006), several thematic studies, site reports and catalogues (e.g. Boudet 1987; De Jersey 1993, 1999, 2006; Goodburn 1986; Haselgrove 1978; Scheers 1977; Van Arsdell 1989; the Celtic Coin Index, see 3.3.2), have long applied the label of ‘Celtic’ to indicate Gaulish and British coins, but the use of this term in archaeology and ancient history is open to debate.

The term ‘Celts’ is attested in numerous ancient texts (e.g. *κελτοί*, Herodotus; *κελταί*, Strabo; *γαλαταί*, Pausanias; *celtae*, Livy; Demandt 2003, 9), and it usually designates most non-Greek and Roman communities inhabiting the north-central European regions that coincide with the areas of diffusion of Hallstatt and La Tène material culture (e.g. De Jersey 1999, 215, note 1; Randsborg 1992; Szabò 2010; Wells 1999), peoples settled in western Europe and the Iberian peninsula (e.g. Koch and Cunliffe 2013), or the Galatians inhabiting Anatolia. In the wake of Frére’s (1960, 92) statement that ‘the treatment of each tribe depended upon its initial attitude to Rome’, these peoples have long been investigated in the light of comparative processes built upon the opposition with Classical models (Hill 1995a, 49; Roymans 2004; Said 1978). Furthermore, the analogies between north European communities described by the ancient authors (e.g. Caesar, Strabo) and the Irish Medieval social order as reported by historical accounts and sagas (Kruta 2003, 62-63) led to the definition of the Celts as a unique ethnic group characterised by common language, social organisation (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Miller *et al.* 1989; Morse 1996; Renfrew 1986) and decorative styles (Megaw and Megaw 2005).

It must be emphasised that the 'Celtic label' was widely applied during the 19th century (Daverio 1998; Thruston 2009, 348) as the result of a Romantic and patriotic trend adopted by literature and the arts. At present, however, no archaeological evidence is able to associate sets of material assemblages to specific communities, whilst data-based research and archaeological information are pre-eminent over historical and social analogies (Hill 2011, 245). Furthermore, written sources often supply limited and biased outlooks that are the result of later manipulation, political propaganda and personal opinions (e.g. Caesar). For this reason, the Celtic label has been rightly criticised as the result of a 'mishmash of information' (Collis 1995, 76) and a modern concept with political connotations (Collis 2003, 160; James 1999, 19; Megaw and Megaw 2005; Sharples 2011, 674; Sims-Williams 1998). The definition of 'Atlantic people' recently introduced by Cunliffe (2001) may sound more neutral and appropriate since it only focuses on geographical criteria.

Similarly, in the field of numismatics, some scholars started to systematically apply geographical nomenclatures, like 'ancient British' and 'Gaulish', which seemingly provide less biased research frameworks (e.g. Cottam *et al.* 2010; Curteis 2001; Delestrée 1996; Leins 2012; Martin 2011; Sillon 2015; Sills 2003; Van Arsdell and Northover 2004), and also the adoption of tribal labels has been challenged (2.2). In this work the nomenclature 'late Iron Age British coins' is adopted to indicate issues produced and circulating in Britain by the early 1st century BC until shortly after the Claudian invasion (AD 43).

1.2 The introduction of coinage into Britain

Ancient British numismatics has been the subject of a number of comprehensive works and catalogues (e.g. De Jersey 1993; Cottam *et al.* 2010; Hobbs 1996; Van Arsdell 1989) as well as many thematic studies: e.g. Gallo-Belgic gold coins and their early British derivatives (Sills 2003), East Anglian issues (Chadburn 1991a, 1991b; Dennis 2006; Talbot 2006), Kentish cast bronze (Holman 2000), North-Eastern coin-series (Allen 1963; Farley 2012; Leins 2007, 2011), the South-Eastern and Southern groups

(Bean 2000; Creighton 1995, 2000; Haselgrove 1987a; Kretz 2006), and Western coinage (Allen 1961; Mays 1987; Van Arsdell 1994). The following overview, schematised in Table 1.1 and Figure 1.2, integrates the classification systems proposed by Allen (1961) and Haselgrove (1987a), and in Table 1.2 specific issues are identified by ABC numbers (see Cottam *et al.* 2010). The Table 1.3 lists all coin inscriptions identified in Britain and, when available, details of historical sources mentioning these names or similar ones (including examples from the Continent) are provided.

1.2.1 Early imports

Although no evidence of ‘units of value’ is recorded in prehistoric Britain, practices of measurement are attested since at least the middle Iron Age (Cunliffe 1977, 214), and principally consisted of well-made stone weights and ceramic salt containers. From the mid-3rd century BC, there is evidence of the deposition of iron bars from a large number of sites (Hingley 2007, 34), even though few specimens are from well-dated contexts. On the basis of Caesar’s (*BG* V.12) mention of *taleis ferreis ad certum pondus* used as currency amongst British communities, these iron objects have been interpreted as proto-money characterised by portability and standardisation. Although detailed typologies have been constructed (e.g. Crew 1994), there is still much uncertainty over the sources and functions of iron bars (Hingley 2005; Seaford 2004), as well as the relationship between their disappearance from the archaeological record at the end of the 1st millennium BC and the increasing adoption of coinage.

The earliest coins to enter Britain during the 3rd century BC were gold staters from Picardy (Haselgrove 1993, 35) that derived from issues of Tarentum and Syracuse; between the 3rd and 2nd century BC, commodities could reach Armorican coasts via Massalia and Gaulish rivers, mainly the Rhone and Loire. By the end of the 2nd century BC, Mediterranean goods were exported to southern British ports, such as Hengistbury Head and Mount Batten, whilst north-eastern France and Belgium were linked to Kent and the Thames, and Massiliote cast bronze occurred in Kent and the Thames basin. By

the 1st century BC, Armorican silver billon¹, likely adopted as trade items (Cunliffe 1981, 31), spread along the south-western coast of Britain; cross-Channel contacts and Atlantic trade involving north-western Gaulish communities were attested by a hoard from Le Catillon (Jersey-11) containing about 800 Gaulish issues and a small percentage of British coins (Colbert de Beaulieu 1957; Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987). Further evidence of long-distance relations is provided by scatters of Carthaginian coins found in Kent, possible Danubian issues in Dorset, and Insubrian *drachmae* from northern Italy in Cornwall.

1.2.2 Gallo-Belgic series

Phase 1-5: mid-2nd century BC – mid-1st century BC

The gold stater of Philipp II of Macedon (O/: head of Apollo, R/: horse, c. 8gr) widely circulated in the Mediterranean area since the 4th century BC. The Gaulish production of stylised imitations of this issue, generally known as Allen's Gallo-Belgic² A issues (see Table 1.2, I; Haselgrove's SE1, 2, 3), started in the Somme valley in the early or mid-2nd century BC (Boudet 1987; Haselgrove 1992, 126; Scheers 1977, 44; Van Arsdell 1989, 2). Early systematic imports of coins from Belgic Gaul have been recovered from several British hoards (e.g. Lincolnshire: Ulceby; Hampshire: Whitchurch; Norfolk: Sedgeford and Snettisham; Suffolk: Ipswich). According to the wear levels, these issues were deposited after prolonged circulation. Although Gallo-Belgic coins were long attributed to waves of migrations from north-eastern Gaul (Allen 1960, 100; Blanchet 1905; La Tour 1892), there is no certain historical record of massive movements of people originating from Belgic Gaul; these objects are now therefore interpreted as prestige gifts between tribal leaders or the result of mercenary payments (Crawford 1985; Nash 1987, 16; Sills 2003).

Gallo-Belgic (GB) A coins, characterised by metal purity (c. 80% of gold), were systematically imported to Britain and mainly circulated in the south-eastern regions, including Kent and the Thames valley, although finds are known from hoards as far

¹ Silver and copper alloy.

² Hereafter GB.

afield as Cornwall (Carn Brea), and Norfolk (Snettisham); these have also been interpreted as later 'flight hoards' deposited as a consequence of Caesar's campaigns (Cunliffe 1995, 120). During the 2nd century BC, GB B (S1) specimens, characterised by chisel marks on the reverse and associated with series originating in the region of the Seine-Maritime (Scheers n°10), also spread to the north and south of the Thames. In contrast, findspots of GB C (SE4), the successor of GB A, are numerous in Gaul but sporadic in Britain, with clusters in Kent. The series, which dates to the late 2nd century or early 1st century BC (Burnett 1995; Delestrée 1996; Haselgrove 1987a, 80; Sills 2003), was characterised by weight reduction (from 8 to 7gr., see Table 1.4) and gold debasement through gradual addition of silver and copper (2:1) which may reflect an advancement of technological expertise. Slightly later GB E (SE5, blank on the obverse), GB D (SE4-5; Scheers n° 13) and GB F (S5; Scheers n° 26) issues spread from Pas de Calais to south-eastern Britain; these often occur in hoards (e.g. GB E in Kent, Essex, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk; GB D in Norfolk), and were probably used as emergency currencies at the time of the Gallic War (De Jersey 1993, 19; Haselgrove 1984c; Scheers 1977). Because of the large amounts of precious metal looted by the Caesarian army, the production of gold coins in Gaul suddenly decreased after the mid-1st century BC.

Within the Netherurd hoard (Scotland), four gold torcs were deposited in association with about 40 gold specimens known as globules à la croix (GB X, Scheers n° 15), likely originating to the south of Paris (Haselgrove 2009a, 183). Their presence in Scotland, however, may be the result of insular intra-communities contacts, and the hoard may have been deposited at the time of Caesar's invasion. A number of sub-types have been identified (Sills 2003, 160): these include GB XC1-1 or 'pseudo-mussels coins' characterised by plain obverse and a dome on the reverse, the 'Crescent type' (Scheers n° 11), and 'Ringwood quarter staters', probably produced in southern Britain.

Die studies imply that most Gallo-Belgic coins found on the island were struck in Gaul (Leins 2012, 22). Nonetheless, actual dies recorded in Britain outnumber those found on the Continent (Sillon 2015; Williams *et al.* 2007, 364). These came respectively from Basingstoke and Alton in Hampshire (Ainsworth and May 2003; May 2006; Williams *et al.* 2007) and Bredgar in Kent (Sillon 2015, 175; recorded by the PAS) and have been

linked to the production of GB A types; the Alton type, in particular, showed traces of prolonged use. The numbers of die are very small at present to account for conclusive evidence, and no contextual information can be provided; however, on the basis of the distribution maps of Gallo-Belgic coins and the impact they had on the production of British issues, early attempts of local imitations cannot be excluded (discussed in 9.3.2).

1.2.3 Local production: cast bronze

The earliest production of British coinage took place in the early 2nd century BC (Phase 1). It consisted of 'potin'³ issues known as Thurrock or Kentish Primary types (Mack 1953; Van Arsdell 1989) that were produced in the region corresponding to modern Kent and spread to the north of the Thames and up to Lincolnshire (Haselgrove 2006b, 19). Cast bronze coins, based on Massiliote prototypes, were mass-produced by pouring metal within blocks of clay moulds that were successively cut in single pieces, as visible from residual joining portions (sprue, fig. 1.1) on the edges of coins.

Figure 1.1: Example of Flat Linear I potin coin showing the sprue (not to scale; image from Cottam et. al. 2010)

By the late 2nd-early 1st century BC (Phase 2-3), issues known as Flat Linear I and II were introduced and spread to the south and north of the Thames. Although the production of these types apparently ceased around the mid-1st century BC (Phase 5-6), finds from later contexts at a number of sites (e.g. Braughing, Canterbury) may indicate that they

³ A copper alloy with high percentages of tin.

remained in circulation until the Roman Conquest. The multiplication of findspots in the last fifty years has enabled Holman (2000, 2005) to formulate a new classification linking different varieties of potin issues to specific regions. As evidence continues to emerge from excavations (e.g. Folkestone, Kent), such questions are far from being settled and British cast bronze is at the centre of a debate about chronology and functions that will be outlined in Chapter 7 (see 7.1.2).

1.2.4 Local production: early struck coins

After the initial sporadic introduction of continental coins into Britain during the 3rd century BC, Massiliote bronze, Gallo-Belgic gold, and silver Armorican issues were regularly imported and led to the local production of cast bronze issues up to the mid-1st century BC.

Phase 4-6: c. 80-20 BC

Around 80-70 BC, GB imports apparently represented the metal sources for the production of the first insular gold coins (British A; E4, S4) (Cowell 1992; Northover 1992) in south-eastern Britain. Early British gold staters and quarter staters mostly replicated iconographic motifs on Gallo-Belgic issues: these principally consisted of abstracted patterns and stylised reproductions of the Apollo head/horse motif. Although British A coins are largely absent from the areas of diffusion of GB A-B, a divide is visible in the distribution of the 'northern variant' (E41) circulating in Essex, Hertfordshire, and the Chilterns, and the 'southern variant' (S41), spread along the southern coast, in Hampshire and Sussex (Leins 2012, 81 and 87). British B (SW4), C, and D (S4) types are found in Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset, and Wiltshire; their association with unworn GB E staters within the Whitchurch hoard supported an early 1st century BC chronology (Haselgrove 1993, 40). These types were followed by British E, F, and G (all E4) issues, circulating in the southern and south-eastern regions, and the more recently identified Ingoldisthorpe stater (Cottam *et al.* 2010; Sills 1997, 2000); however, there is no general agreement yet on how these issues fit into the detailed chronological sequence.

The production of uninscribed gold staters (British J-N; EA5-7) in the region now corresponding to Norfolk, Suffolk, and parts of Cambridgeshire only started by the second half of the 1st century BC; in fact, earlier British issues were hardly recorded within these regions. First East Anglian gold series were short lived and characterised by the replication of abstracted designs; however, silver issues displaying local iconographic types, including the boar and the crescent, were soon introduced (Talbot 2006, 235). Further gold production includes British H (NE5, 6, 7), British I, the 'Gold Scyphate', and British K ('Kite/Domino' and 'South Ferriby' types); these circulated in what numismatists have termed the north-eastern regions, comprising Lincolnshire, Humberside and adjacent areas of the east Midlands. New chronologies, placing the introduction of the 'South Ferriby' before the 'Kite type', have recently been proposed by Leins (2007, 2012) and Farley (2012, 37). Silver North-Eastern issues featuring a boar on the obverse started circulating in the East Midlands and Yorkshire by the end of the 1st century BC (Haselgrove's phase 6).

New types (British La, Lc, Lx-Ly; E5, 6, 7; SE6, 7), derived from British H-I, were introduced around the mid-1st century BC in Bedfordshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Kent. While the British Lb types may be the prototype of the British MA (E6) and N (EA6, 7), the distribution of silver and bronze Lx issues matches that of later E71 coins inscribed Tasciovanos, suggesting their typological derivation. British L coins introduced more realistic and distinctive representations of the horse, which influenced the iconography of inscribed gold during the following phases 7-8. The production of British O (SE4) in Sussex and British P (SE5) in Kent was influenced by GB D coins, while British Q-R (S5-6, W6) developed from GB F in the later 1st century BC and spread into the Cotswolds and the Severn Valley. Findspots of late gold and silver Western coins (phase 6-9) mostly preserved abstract and stylised iconographic motifs, and occur from the Kennet valley up to Wiltshire and Oxfordshire (Leins 2012, 154); small irregular silver series, clustering in modern Wiltshire, were characterised by a two-tailed horse on the reverse.

The start of local striking coincided with further weight reductions (stater: from c. 6.5gr down to 5.80gr) and controlled gold debasement that brought about a gradual

shift from yellowish to reddish issues (Creighton 2000, 37-40; Farley 2012, 179; discussed in 7.1.1 and 8.2.1), between the later 1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD (phase 7-9). Other innovations during this period included the development of tri-metallic series, the adoption of inscriptions, and the proliferation of new iconographic designs (see 8.2).

1.2.5 The development of inscribed coinage

Notwithstanding the meagre evidence for indigenous writing in Britain (Williams 2006, 5), isolated Latin letters appeared on British coins from the mid-1st century BC, and gradually developed into longer inscriptions, showing a range of distinctive features. Interestingly, while the Greek alphabet was adopted in central Gaul in the 3rd century BC (Gruel and Haselgrove 2006), it was never used in Britain. However, some British peoples probably came into contact with this alphabetic system: the use of a Greek character (θ , *theta*) on Addedomaros' issues (SE73) may be ascribed to a lack of distinction between different scripts and orthographies. Similarly, the evidence suggests that the Greek suffix *-os* for personal names was adopted up to phase 7 (e.g. Tasciovanos), whilst the Latin ending *-us* was introduced in phase 8 (Kretz 2006, 183).

Phase 6-7: c. 50 BC-AD 10

The first inscribed coins were minted in pre-Roman Britain in the mid-1st century BC. The type, mainly circulating in southern Britain, was struck in gold and bore the legend COMMIOS (S63) associated with a stylised head/horse iconographic motif: the name refers to a Gallic leader mentioned by Caesar (see 8.2.6). Thereafter, legends multiplied and are found on both precious and base metals types. Most inscriptions on pre-Roman British coins are generally interpreted as personal names.

The S63 type was followed by coins inscribed TINCOMAROS/COMMI.F (*Commii filius*, S7) spread in the southern regions, while series inscribed DVBNVOLLAVNOS circulated separately in Kent (SE71) and Essex (SE72): these were perhaps related to two distinct individuals (Rodwell 1976; Van Arsdell 1989), although the differences in weight and style do not support such a theory (Fitzpatrick 1992). ADDEDOMAROS' coinage (SE73),

struck in gold, silver, and bronze had a similar distribution and iconographic style, characterised by the head or a geometric pattern on the obverse, and a horse on the reverse. The most common legend circulating throughout the south-eastern regions from c. 20 BC read TASCIOVANOS (E711-3): this series was struck in gold, silver and bronze and the inscription is characterised by a number of variants, including TASCIO/VER (E712) and TASCIO/RICON (E713). This legend was typically associated on the obverse with geometric patterns already visible on Gallo-Belgic coinage, or head/horse motifs; on the reverse, however, Classic or Romanising motifs (e.g. sphinx, eagle, Victory) are often adopted. On silver and bronze circulating in Kent, the legend TASCIO/SEGO (SE74) has been reported, and further issues inscribed DIAS (E72, struck in silver and bronze), RVIS (E73, struck in bronze), and ANDOCO (E75, produced on a tri-metallic basis) clustered in Hertfordshire.

Phase 8-9: c. AD 10-70

The type inscribed CVNOBELINVS/CAMVLODVNM (E81-2) was produced on a tri-metallic basis from the early 1st century AD; the coin, often displaying an ear of barley on the obverse, is extensively reported not only from south-eastern Britain but also from other regions (e.g. the Midlands). In contrast, the sub-type CVNOBELINVS/TASCI.F (or TAS.F) (E83) was exclusively struck on bronze, and it principally circulated in Hertfordshire. The contemporary series inscribed VERICA, clustering in Hampshire, has two variants: VERICA/REX (S81) struck on gold and silver issues, and VERICA/COMMI.F (S82) produced on a tri-metallic basis. Verica's coinage often displayed a vine-leaf motif on the obverse of gold staters. The following tri-metallic type was inscribed EPPILLVS/CALLE (SE81) and EPPILLVS/COMMI.F (SE82). Further issues inscribed EPATICVS (S91) circulated throughout the southern regions, and were often accompanied by the legend TASCI.F on the obverse and Romanising imagery. Less common and limitedly distributed southern types were those inscribed CARATACVS (S93) and CRAB (S94); the latter has been recently re-attributed to communities inhabiting the Isle of Wight (Cottam *et al.* 2010, 77), but it is equally possible that it was produced in southern Britain for transactions taking place between communities settled along the coast.

In East Anglia, the first inscribed gold stater (c. 20 BC-AD 10) displayed the legends CANS DVRO (EA72) and it was followed by the type inscribed ANTED (EA81); both types adopted the boar/horse motif. Subsequently, types reading ECEN/ECE (EA91), and SAENV or AESV (EA913) developed. Late EA coins displayed typical crescent patterns on the obverse that make them easily recognisable. The types inscribed SVB RII PRASTO ESICO FECIT OR SVB RI(CON) PRASTO ESICO FECIT (EA94) (Mossop 1979, 259) can be ascribed to the same period. This legend, possibly visible with the variant IISVPRASV on NE82 coins, may be interpreted as a late issue dating c. 40 AD (Cottam *et al.* 2010, 99) or 43-61 AD (Haselgrove 1993, 45). Similarly, coins inscribed ALE SCA (EA72) have been recently re-assessed as the last in the series, according to their stylistic similarities to Roman models (Cottam *et al.* 2010, 86).

It must be noted that the large number of uninscribed coins from early Roman sites may suggest a shorter chronology for the North-Eastern inscribed series (Williams 2000; Leins 2007), starting c. 10-40 AD and generally depicting geometric patterns on the obverse and a horse on the reverse. The earliest inscribed issue was struck at the standard weight of Southern coinage. NE8 staters rapidly debased as legends multiplied, leading to three sub-divisions (Leins 2012): a Southern group (TATISOM: NE93), a Central group (AVN COST: NE81; IISVPRASV: NE82; VEP/VEP CORF: NE83) and a Northern group (DVMNOCO TIGIR SENO: NE91; VOLISIOS DVMNOCOVEROS/DVMNOVELLAUNOS/CARTIVELAUNOS: NE9). Coins minted in the Western region in the early 1st century AD displayed the legends ANTEDRIG (W7), EISV (W8), COMVX/INAM/CATTI (W91), and BODVOC (W92). These coins were struck in gold and silver, and were characterised by head/horse patterns or, in some cases, a geometric pattern on the obverse. The sudden introduction of Roman coinage at the time of the Conquest (AD 43-61) led British coin production to an end (Howgego 2013, 23).

This thesis will explore how the value and the social functions of insular coinage changed through time, with an emphasis on the distinction between early uninscribed and late inscribed issues. Having described the development of local British coinage, all classifications provided in this chapter must be placed within wider theoretical frameworks, which will be the subject of the second Chapter.

**Table 1.1: Development of Iron Age British coinage
(after Haselgrove 1987a; Creighton 2000)**

Period I			
	Phase 1 - Early-mid 2nd BC	Phase 2 - Mid-late 2nd BC	Phase 3 - early 1st BC
E	earliest systematic gold imports of GB A, B (pre-Tayac); production of Kentish Primary potin	later gold imports of GB A (post-Tayac)	
SE		latest gold imports of GB A, C; decrease of gold; production of Flat Linear potin cl. I	
S			
NE			
EA			
SW/W	imported Armorican silver (ST1)	imported Armorican silver (ST2)	uninscribed gold, Armorican Gaul imports (ST3)
Period II			
	Phase 4 - c. 80-60 BC	Phase 5 - c. 70-40 BC	Phase 6 - c. 50-20 BC
E	gold imports of GB C and DC, production of British A, B, C, D, F, G, O; production of Flat Linear potin cl. I/I	gold imports of GB D, E, F; production of British gold derivatives of LA, QA, QB; Production of Flat Linear potin cl. II	British Q, L, M; earliest British struck bronze; limited silver; latest potin
SE			Earliest inscribed coins (Commios)
S			
NE		British I	British N; Scyphate staters
EA		British J	British F, G, H, I
SW/W	British B and silver Armorican type (ST4)	Imported silver	British R (W6); Hod Hill type (SW6)
Period III			
	Phase 7 - c. 20 BC-AD 10	Phase 8 - c. AD 10-40	Phase 9 - c. AD 30-70
E	Early inscribed coins: TASCIO/VER, TASCIOVANOS, TASCIO/DIAS, TASCIO/RVIIS, TASCIO/SEGO, TASCIO/ANDOCO	Inscribed issues: CVNO/CVNOBEL, CAMV/CVNO, CVNO/TASCI.F, CVNO/AMMINVS	
SE	Early inscribed coins: DVBNOVELLAUNOS, ADDEDOMAROS	Inscribed issues: EPPILLVS/CALLE(VA), EPPILLVS/COMMI.F	
S	Early inscribed coins: TINCOMAROS	Inscribed issues: VERICA/COM.F-COMMI.F, VERICA/REX	Latest inscribed: TASCI.F/EPATICCVS, EPATI, CRAB
NE	Uninscribed gold (South Ferriby) and silver (Prototype Boar/Horse)	Uninscribed (Kite type, Domino type, South Ferriby) Inscribed: AVN COST, IISVP ASV, VEP CORF, VEP	Latest inscribed: DVMNOCO TIGIR SENO, VOLISIOS DVMNOC, VOLISIOS DVMNOVELL, VOLISIOS CARTIVEL, DAT ISO
EA	British N uninscribed Inscribed: ALE SCA, CAN DVRO	Uninscribed (Face/Horse type) Inscribed: ANTED	Latest inscribed: ECEN, ECE, SAENV, AESV, SVB, RIIPRASTO ESICO FECIT
SW/W	Uninscribed silver, late Hod Hill type	Inscribed: ANTED, EISV	Mixed legends: CAMVX, CATTI, CORIO, INAM, BODVOC; cast SW coins

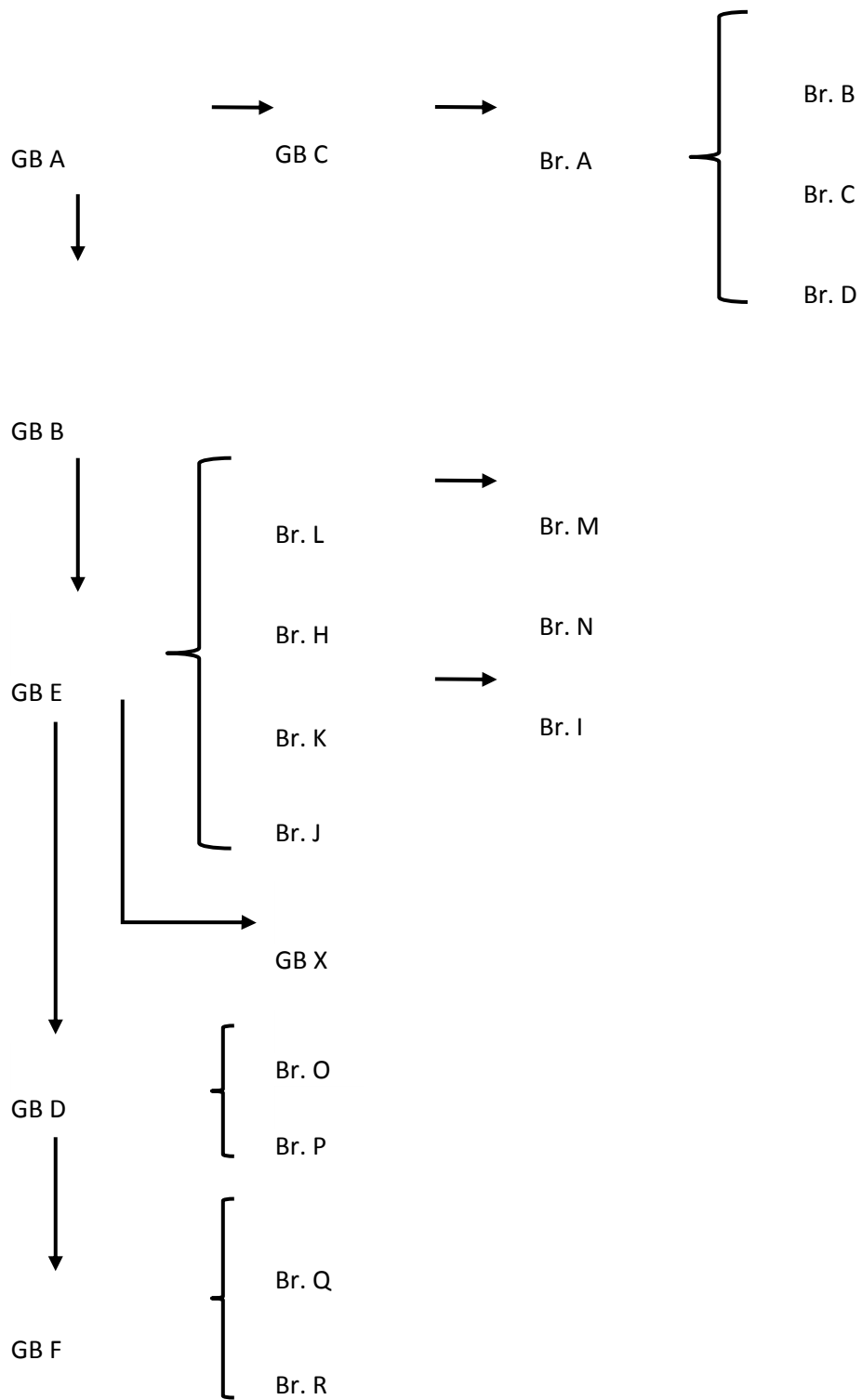


Figure 1.2 (Scale 1:2): Typological evolution of late Iron Age British uninscribed coinage (images after Cottam et al. 2010, modified by author).

Table 1.2: Late Iron Age British coin types

(Images after Cottam *et al.* 2010, modified by author. ABC number given in brackets. Image of Philippus' stater after Barelo 2006, 71. Coins are reproduced at approximately actual size).

I. Gallo-Belgic series

Philippus' stater Av

GB A; SE1-3 Av (4)

GB B; S1 Av (10)

GB C; SE4 Av (13)

GB DC; SE4 Av (533)

GB E; SE5 Av (16)

GB F; S5 Av (22)

GB Xb (19)

II. Kentish potin

Class A; PI (147)

Class B-L; Flat Linear I (150)

Class M-P; Flat Linear II (174)

III. Early British production

Br. A; E41, S41 Av (482)

Br. B; SW41 Av (746)

Br. B; SW4-6 Av (2154)

Br. B; SW4-6Ar (2163)

Br. C; S41 Av (518)

Br. D; S41 Av (755)

Br. G; SE41 Av (2329)

Br. H; NE5-6 Av (1716)

Br. H-I; NE6 Ar (1791)

Br. J; EA5-6 Av (1393)

Br. K-L; NE6-7 Av (1761)

Br. L; E5-6 Av (527)

Scyphate; NE6-7 Av (1770)

Br. MA; E61 Av (2240)

Br N; EA6-7 Av (1432)

Br. O; SE42-3 Av (2205)

Br. O-P; NE7 Av (1743)

Br. P; SE5 Av $\frac{1}{4}$ (192)

Br. Q; S5-6 Av (485)

Br. QC; S6 Av (611)

Br. R; W61 Av (2003)

IV. Late British production and inscribed issues

*COMMIO*S; S6 Av (1022)

*COMMIO*S; S6 Ar (1037)

TINCOMAROS; S7 Av (1049)

TINCOMAROS; S7 Av (1061)

TINCOMAROS; S7 Ar (1106)

DVBNOVELLAVNOS; SE7 Av
(2389)

DVBNOVELLAVNOS; SE7 Ar
(2398)

ADDEDOMAROS; SE7 Av (2517)

ADDEDOMAROS; SE7 Ae (2541)

VOSENOS; SE7-8 Av $\frac{1}{4}$ (360)

VOSENOS; SE7-8 Ar (363)

TASCIOVANOS; E71 Av (2553) *TASCIOVANOS*; E71 Av $\frac{1}{4}$ (2586) *TASCIO / VER*; E71 Ar (2622)

SEGO; E74 Ar (447) *ANDOCO*; E75 Av (2715) *VERICA*; S8 Av (1193)

VERICA; S8 Ar (1220) *EPPILLVS*; S8 Ae (411) *CVNOBELINVS*; E81 Av (2771)

CVNOBELINVS; E81 Ar (2846) *CVNOBELINVS*; E81 Ae (2921) *CVNOBELINVS*; E82 Av (2774)

CVNOBELINVS; E82 Av (2801) *CVNOBELINVS*; E82 Av (2804) *AMMINVS*; E85 Ar (456)

AVN COST; NE81 Ar (1935) *VEP CORF*; NE83 Ar (1878)
II SVPRASV; NE82 Av/Ae (1917)

Anted; W81 Ar (2072) *Eisv*; W82 Av (2078) *Anted*; EA8 Av (1639)

ANTED; EA8 Ar (1645)

EPATICCVS; S92 Ar (1346)

EPATICCVS; S92 Av (1343)

CARA; S93 Ar (1376)

VOLISIOS NE92 Ar (1983)

DVMNOCO NE91 Av/Ae (1971)

SW 91 Cast Ae (2196)

ECEN face/horse; EA8-9 Ar
(1567)

ECEN boar/horse; EA91 Ar
(1705)

ECEN pattern / horse; EA91 Ar
(1693)

SAENV; EA913 Ar (1657)

SVB RI/ESICO; EA94 Ar (1711)

BODVOC; W92

Av (2039)

Table 1.3: List of legends displayed on late Iron Age British coins

Legend	Issue	Ancient Source (attesting a similar name)
ADDEDOMAROS	SE73, SE74, SE62, SE61 – ABC 2508-47	
AGR	ABC 2999-3005	
AESV	ABC 1702	
ALE SCA	EA72 – ABC 1705-08	
AMMINVS	E85 – ABC 456-71	(Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 44)
ANDOCO	E75 – ABC 2715-36	Andecomborius, legate of the Remi, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> II.3)
ANTED	EA81, W81, W71 – ABC 2066-72/1633-48	Antistius Reginus C., legate of Caesar, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> VI.1, VII.83, 90)
ATT	ABC 1926	
AVN COST	NE81 – ABC 1929-53	
BODVOC	W92 – ABC 2039-45	Boduognatus, chief of Nervi, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> II.23)
CAMVLODVNVM	E75, E82	Camulogenus, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> VII.57, 59, 62)
CANS DVRO	EA72 – ABC 1630	
CARATACVS	S93 – ABC 1376-82	(Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> XXII.33-7); Caratacus was probably one of the rulers that surrendered to Claudius, (<i>CIL</i> VI, 920), (Mays 1992, 73)
CARTIVEL	NE92 – ABC 1989-92	
CAT/CATVS	ABC 1845-48 and 2766 ABC 1944-47	
CATTI	ABC 2057	
COMMIO	S63, S66 – ABC 1019-46	Commios, king of the Atrebates, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> IV. 21, 27, 35; V. 22; VI.6, VII.75, 76, 79; VIII.6-7-10-21-23-47-48)
COMVX	W91 – ABC 2054	
CORIO	W71, W91 – ABC 1854-63, ABC 2048-51	
CRAB	S94 – ABC 1385-88	
CVNOBELINVS	E81, E83, E82 – ABC 2771-2993	(Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 44)

Table 1.3: List of legends displayed on late Iron Age British coins (cont.)

Legend	Issue	Ancient Source (attesting a similar name)
DAT ISO/LATISON	NE93 – ABC 1956-68	
DIAS	E75, E72 – ABC 2739-51	
DVBNOVELLAUNOS	SE72, SE71, SE73 – ABC 3008, 297-354, 2389-2416	<i>Res Gestae</i> , 32
DVMNO	ABC 1995-98	Cogidumnus, (Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> , XIV); Dvmnacvs, chief of Aedui, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> I.3-9, 18-20; V.6-7, VIII.26-27-29-31)
DUMNOCOVEROS TIGIR SENO	NE91 – ABC 1980-86, ABC 1971-77	
ECEN	EA91	Cenimagni, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> V.21); (Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , XXII.31-2)
EISV	W82 – 2075-84	
EPATICCVS	S91, S92 – ABC 1343-73	
EPPILLVS/VOSENOS	SE72, SE81, SE82 – ABC 357-66; 1145-78; 384-429	
ESVP ASV	NE82 – ABC 1711, 1917-23	
INAM	W91 – ABC 2026-63	<i>Iniannuetitius</i> (Caesar, <i>BG</i> V.20)
RVIIS	E73 – ABC 2754-63	
SAENV	EA91 -ABC 1699	
SAM	BMC 635, ABC 369-81	
SEGO	E74, E71 – ABC 447-453	Segontiaci, people of southern Britain, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> V.22); Segovax, king of Cantium, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> V.21-22); Segusiavi, people, (Caesar, <i>BG</i> I.10; VII.64-75)
SOLIDV	E84 – ABC 474-77	
SVBRIIPRASTO	EA94 – ABC 1711, 1917-23	(Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , XIV.29-38)
TASCIOVANOS	E71, E72, E75 – ABC 2550-2712	
TINCOMAROS	S71, S72 – ABC 1049-1142	<i>Res Gestae</i> , 32
VEP /VEPO/VOSENOS	NE83 – ABC 1851-1914	
VERICA	S81, S82 – ABC 1181-1340	Bérikos, Dio, (<i>Historia Romana</i> LX.19)
VOLISIOS	NE92	(see DVMNO)

Table 1.4: Metrology of late Iron Age British coinage
(after Van Arsdell 1989; Bean 2000; highest and lowest weight highlighted)

Coin Groups and Phases	Av	Av%	Ar	Ae/ Cast Ae	Stater average gold content	Potin average bronze content
	Grams				%	
E4-6	6,4-5,4	1,2-1,3	1,5-0,5		48,97-36,24	
E7-9	5,5-5,4	1,3	1,3-0,9	1,3-2,5		
EA5-6	6,1-5,4		1,1		39,44-22,93	
EA7-9	5,4-5,6	0,9	0,7-0,2	1,2		
NE5-6	6,2-5,4		1,3-1,4		46,89-31,46	
NE7-9	4,9-5,6		0,8-1,3			
P cl. I				1,4-3,4		76,62-61,52
P cl. II				1,2		
S1	7,8	1,9			58,28-27,42	
S4-6	5,1-6,4	0,8-1,3	1-1,5	0,8		
S7-9	5,1-5,3	1-1,3	1-1,4			
SE1-3	7-7,8	1,7-2			48,97-36,24	
SE4-6	5,4-6,6	1,2-1,5	0,9-1,2	1,9		
SE7-9	4,6-5,5	1,1-1,4	0,6-1,4	1,3-2,2		
ST			0,4-1,2			
SW4-6	6,1		5,9-5		55,72-0,05	
SW7-9			4,1	2,2		
W6	5,6			1,2	48,12-40,51	
W7-9	5,4-5,5		0,9-1	1,2		
WS6	4,6-4,8		1,1-1,3			

Chapter 2

Coins, value, and society: the theoretical framework

This chapter defines the principal theoretical issues and key terms that form the basis of this work. In the first two sections (2.1, 2.2) past and current approaches to the study of late Iron Age British coins and society and the debates about the adoption of tribal frameworks are discussed. The second part (2.3) outlines the theoretical framework for the study of coins as values, with a focus on the definition of 'embedded value', the distinction between coins and money, and the relationship between portable objects and individuals. The key research questions of this thesis are set out in section 2.4.

2.1 Theoretical frameworks for the study of coins and society in late Iron Age Britain

2.1.1 Invasionist and tribal models (c. 1850-1950s)

Following major Iron Age discoveries at Hallstatt, Austria (1846) and La Tène, Switzerland (1857), a common European cultural horizon developed in the 19th century: this was based on the comparison between similar artefacts by Reinecke (1872-1958) and Déchelette (1862-1914) (e.g. Désor 1874; Montelius 1903), and the formulation of the concept of 'archaeological culture' (Kossinna 1911). These theories informed successive archaeological research streams aimed at explaining cultural and material transformations in Europe and Britain during the 1st millennium BC (Abercromby 1912; Childe 1958; Peake 1922; Hodson 1964); as a consequence, the discovery of two cemeteries yielding continental traits at Aylesford and Swarling in Kent was interpreted as the result of movements of people from Belgic Gaul (Bushe-Fox 1925). European colonial encounters in the 19th century (Shennan 1989; Trigger 1989) led to the widespread adoption of the terms 'tribe/tribal' in archaeology and

anthropology to indicate social systems and assemblages of people sharing territoriality, material culture, forms of subsistence and purposes (Fried *et al.* 1968; Goldenweiser 1922; Kroeber 1962; Nadel 1951; Steward 1955; Wells 2001); in this light, artefact distributions were used to suggest tribal formations in specific regions. Successively, Hawkes' (1959) formulation of three phases of continental invasions into Britain (Hallstatt, La Tène I, La Tène II-III), provided a chronological and geographical framework to explain changes during the Iron Age; this model, known as the ABC, was long adopted to account for the similarity between insular and continental artefacts.

This invasionist models also influenced early numismatic studies by Akerman (1846, 1849) and Evans (1864), which demonstrated the derivation of Gallo-Belgic coinage from gold staters of Philip the Macedon (Collis 2003, 76). Subsequently, the drawing of distribution maps and detailed typological assessments (Allen 1944, 1960; Brooke 1928, 1933) led to the attribution of early uninscribed gold issues found in Britain to the Gallo-Belgic series (see 1.2.2). Drawing on the ABC model, Allen's approach combined ancient literary sources and numismatic evidence to explain the systematic introduction of coinage into Britain during the 2nd century BC as the result of migrations from Belgic Gaul; furthermore, stylistic and regional variations were adopted to attribute coherent insular coin-groups to specific territories and tribes (fig. 2.1). Similarly, on the basis of written sources (e.g. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, II; Tacitus, *Annales*, XII), tribal subdivisions have been applied to the regions where no evidence of coin-production has been found (e.g. Dumnonii in the south-west; Silures, Demetae, Cornovii in Wales; Brigantes and Parisii in the north-east; Votadini and Novantae in Scotland). It must be remarked that since Allen's evaluation, Iron Age British tribal nomenclatures were long adopted (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989; Cottam *et al.* 2010; Table 2.1), while the recent development of de-tribalising approaches are discussed in 2.2

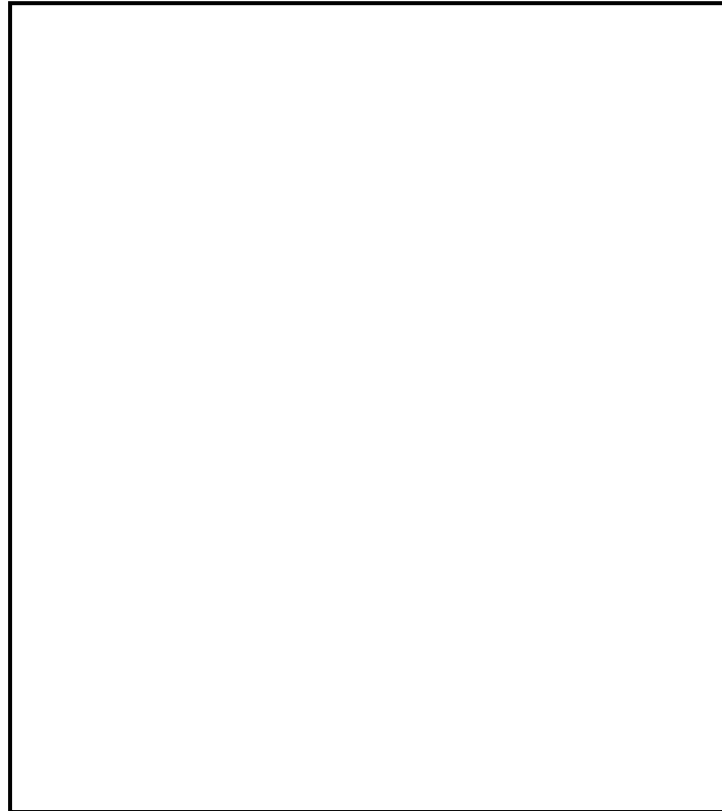


Figure 2.1: The tribes of late Iron Age Britain (from Cottam *et al.* 2010, 8).

Table 2.1: Coin-using tribes of late Iron Age Britain

Area	Region	Tribe
Southern England	Berkshire, Hampshire, Sussex	Atrebates/Regini (BG II.16; IV.21)
	Isle of Wight (inscribed CRAB)	Vectuarii (Cottam <i>et al.</i> 2010, 77)
South-Eastern England (south of the Thames)	Kent	Cantii (Caesar, BG V.22 mentions 'kings of Cantium' but not a tribal name)
South-Eastern England (north of the Thames)	Essex, Hertfordshire	Trinovantes/Catuvellauni (BG V.20)
Eastern England	Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk	Iceni (Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , XXII.31; Suetonius, <i>Nero</i> , 18)
East Midlands/southern Yorkshire	Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, southern Yorkshire, Lincolnshire	Corieltauvi/Coritani (Tomlin 1983)/(Ptolemy, <i>Geographia</i> , II.3; Leins 2012)
South-Western England		Durotriges (Mays 1987; Cottam <i>et al.</i> 2010, 107-9)
Cotswolds/Severn Valley		Dobunni (a reference to the 'Bodunni' in the context of Roman invasion can be found in Dio, <i>Historia Romana</i> LX.20.2, albeit it offers no decisive evidence about their size or location).

2.1.2 From New Archaeology to contemporary trends (c. 1960s-present)

With the development of the New Archaeology and processualist streams (Binford 1962; Clarke 1972; Flannery 1967; Willey and Phillips 1958), invasionist theories and tribal models were widely criticised as rigid and artificial frameworks obscuring meaningful variations (Cohen 1985; Díaz-Andreu 1998; Eriksen 2002; Hodder 1989; Jones 1997, 54). The new tendencies developing in British archaeology by the 1960s envisaged more complex social processes and aimed at explaining changes in terms of settlement patterns, modes of production, social relations, and economic factors rather than mere movement of people (Collis 1997).

The 'core-periphery' model of the 1980s (Cunliffe 1981, 1995; Haselgrove 1982, 1984b) focused on the relations between internal mechanisms of change and external interactions to explain cultural transformations occurring in Britain at the end of the 1st millennium BC. According to the model, most innovations, including the introduction of ceramic imports, coinage, and cremation rites from Gaul, reached south-eastern British regions throughout repeated cross-Channel trade interactions and gradually spread to the northern and western regions. Notwithstanding the influential role of Cunliffe and Haselgrove's interpretation, the core-periphery model has recently been criticised. Invasionist theories are still credited, in particular in the field of linguistic studies (Dunham 1989; Villar 1997, 449; Wilkes 2007), but the archaeological record does not adequately support cross-Channel trade as the primary cause of social change in Iron Age south-eastern Britain (e.g. Fitzpatrick 2001). More recent formulations emphasise the importance of endogenous 'transformation factors' (Schiffer 1976) and local forces (e.g. Barrett *et al.* 2011, 439; Collis 2007; Fitzpatrick 2001; Hill and Cumberpatch 1995; Sharples 2010). In addition, it has been stressed that the fragmentation of Iron Age British societies in several regional realities requires broader and more flexible frameworks of investigation. Hence, recent approaches have seen a shift towards the analysis of less investigated and 'peripheral' regions (Haselgrove 1999; Moore 2006; Olivier 1996; Webster and Cooper 1996) and of internal forms of competition, warfare and social reproduction (e.g. Carman and Harding 1999; Craig *et al.* 2005; James 2007; Osgood *et al.* 2000; Parker Pearson and

Thorpe 2005), with the impact of foreign groups on British social developments seen as confined to the late pre-Roman period (Creighton 2000, 2006; Hill 2007).

In Creighton's (2000, 2006) model, equestrian groups competing for the control of trade routes, slaves, and precious materials during the 2nd century BC were at the base of social transformations that led to the emergence of small elite formations in Iron Age Britain. At the time of the Gallic War (mid-1st century BC), military and diplomatic contacts and the movement of hostages between Gaul, Britain and Rome fostered the development of cross-Channel high status individual relationships up to the Augustan period. Local rulers and their heirs were considered as Roman client or friendly kings (e.g. Braund 1984; Fitzpatrick 1989) who were possibly educated in Rome (*obsides*; Creighton 2000, 89; Strabo, IV.5.3) before accessing power on the island. Such a friendship is further confirmed by the evidence of late rulers seeking refuge in Rome at the time of insular conflicts (Dubnovellaunos and Tincomaros in *Res Gestae*, 31; Berikos/Verica in Dio LX.19.1; Adminius in Suetonius, *Caligula*, 44). As a consequence of recurrent interactions, prominent British individuals played active roles in the diffusion of Roman ideologies and values (Woolf 1997, 347); these were reflected by changes in the treatment of local coinage, corresponding to the introduction of silver and bronze issues, the debasement of gold, and the adoption of Romanising iconographic models. Dynastic relations and specific functions are uncertain: what clearly emerges in south-eastern Britain between the late 1st century BC-mid 1st century AD is a picture of elite groups and/or individuals constantly struggling for supremacy or peacefully sharing power (see Table 2.2; further discussed in 9.3.4).

**Table 2.2: Dynastic relations in Southern and South-Eastern Britain
(according to Creighton 2000)**

	c. 50-20 BC	c. 20 BC-AD 5	c. AD 5-40
north/ south of the Thames	Commios (first inscribed issue)	Tasciovanos	Epaticcus/ Cunobelin (both claimed to be sons of Tasciovanos)
south of the Thames/ Kent		Tincomaros/Eppillus/Verica (they claimed to be sons of Commios)	Verica's and Tincomaros flight to Rome (<i>Res Gestae</i> 32; Dio, <i>Roman History</i> LX.19.1)
Essex		Addedomaros/Dubnovellaunos (same individual than Dubnovellaunos in Kent according to Nash 1987, Rodwell 1976, and Van Arsdell 1989)/ Tasciovanos regained control	
Kent		Dubnovellaunos (a different individual than Dubnovellaunos in Essex according to Fitzpatrick 1992)/ Vosenos/Eppillus ('victory type' on Eppillus' coins possible evidence of military victory) Tasciovanos gained control	Cunobelin/ Adminius (according to Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> , 44, Amminius was banished by Cunobelin and surrendered to Rome)

In contrast, Sharples' (2010) study of Wessex emphasised the importance of internal competitive processes based on the management of resources and on recurrent interactions between large non-elite groups aimed at cooperation and exchange. Even though social differentiation is not denied, Sharples' reconstruction has challenged previous interpretations of hillforts as 'elite residences' (e.g. Cunliffe 1995), and emphasised egalitarian forms of aggregation related to earthwork construction in middle Iron Age Wessex. Long-term cross-Channel relationships, the introduction of coinage, and the encounter with the Roman world in the 1st century BC led to the re-organisation of exchange networks, which caused the decline of hillforts and the rise of *oppida*, linked to more complex forms of social interaction.

2.1.3 New models for reconstructing Iron Age British society

In order to attempt a reconstruction of social dynamics in late Iron Age Britain, it is worth emphasising that, in more general terms, the concept of society and social structure has been defined as a process involving individuals, actions and interactions, and different spheres of activity (Graeber 2001, 61; Mann 1986; Thomas 1996). Old theoretical approaches to social models long focused on the passage from simple/levelled to complex/stratified forms of interaction and aggregation as a result of the gradual adaptation of human groups to the environment (Fried 1967; Gibson and Geselowitz 1988; Johnson and Earle 1987; Service 1962; White 1959). These approaches led to the categorisation of 'segmentary societies' as opposed to 'chiefdoms'. Segmentary societies are simple formations characterised by equality in the distribution of resources and power, reciprocity, and endemic competition for the achievement of wealth. Chiefdoms (or ranked societies), on the contrary, consist in hierarchical and pyramidal relationships, established territorial cohesion, and competition between restricted groups for the monopoly of resources, commodities, and local or supra-local networks (Dupre and Rey 1973; Ekholm 1978; Roymans *et al.* 2012, 27); within chiefdoms, forms of reciprocity and redistribution were adopted. Examples of chiefdoms were linked to the development of pre-Roman coinage in Gaul (Nash 1987) and to early forms of centralisation dependent on the management of prestige goods in Mesoamerican societies (Boutilier 1989; Champion 1989; Kohl 1987; Wilkinson 1987; Schortman and Urban 1994, 403). Hierarchical systems may frequently lead to paramount kingdoms (Haselgrove 1988a, 75), the institutionalisation of leadership, and primitive states (Brun 1995, 20).

For long, even the reconstruction of Iron Age British social structures has primarily focused on the opposition between hierarchical/triangular vs levelled/egalitarian models (Hill 2011, 242-244; Hingley 2011, 629, see 9.4). A distinction has been assumed between middle Iron Age hierarchical societies associated with hillforts (e.g. Cunliffe 1981, 1984) and levelled societies linked to the brochs identified in Scotland (e.g. Armit 1999, 2003; Hingley 1992, 1995). Similarly, the core-periphery models and some more recent evaluations (e.g. Creighton 2000; Haselgrove 1982; Millett 1990;

Cunliffe 1995) described social dynamics as a passage from levelled to stratified relationships, whereas the lack of evidence for elite residence, central authority or stratification may suggest egalitarian relationships (Hill 1995a; Sharples 1991; 2010).

Attempting to define these terms is not straightforward: the concept of hierarchy is generally associated to forms of social differentiation and it implies exclusive or predominant management of resources (Collis 2011, 224), including land ownership, monopoly of production and exchange, economic or military rule, control of ideology, knowledge and information. However, the idea that social complexity necessarily coincides with 'hierarchy' and 'vertical/triangular' relationships was gradually challenged (McIntosh 2005; Pauketat 2007). New 'heterarchical' models have been developed (Crumley 1995; Ehrenreich *et al.* 1995; Small 1995, 72), which envisage 'horizontal' and intersecting manners of managing power. The term 'heterarchy' was first applied to cognitive sciences (McCulloch 1945) to describe links between unranked and parallel elements and their potential combinations. Heterarchical relationships are quite flexible and can reflect unstable conditions (Brumfield 1995, 127) where no well-established or absolute forms of pre-eminence are detected: in these circumstances, *status quo* is generally achieved and maintained by means of constant competition, the ability to promptly react to external *stimuli*, and re-adaptation to changing situations.

Through the analysis of the numismatic evidence from different study areas (defined in 3.1, 3.2), this project will attempt a reconstruction of dynamics of power that took place in Britain between the late 2nd century BC and the early 1st century AD, in order to identify whether hierarchical, egalitarian, heterarchical or alternative social models can be applied, and to what extent.

2.2 De-tribalising late Iron Age Britain

In the past, the distribution of pre-Roman coins were used to infer the existence of tribal formations or centralised polities in central Gaul (Nash 1987) and Britain (e.g. Allen 1960; Mack 1953; Van Arsdell 1989). These tribal frameworks relied on the idea that the Roman provincial administrative system in Britain was built on pre-existing internal divisions (Moore 2011, 336); however, the cultural identities expressed in post-Conquest contexts do not necessarily mirror pre-Roman Iron Age groupings. Even though E. Cary (1924, translation of Dio, *Historia Romana* LX.21.4) translated the Greek βασιλειον (royal palace) referred to *Camulodunum* as ‘tribal capital’, the term ‘tribe’ never occurred within ancient sources. In the Classical world, different definitions existed for social assemblages composed of individuals linked by ethnic, political or cultural ties, such as *trittus* (for Greek uncivilised people; Dole 1968, 90) or *civitates* (e.g. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, III.3). Describing Gaul, Caesar (*BG* II.28) used terms like *gens* and *nomen* for large groups characterised by kinship and lineage connotations, and *nationes*, *pagi*, *partes*, and *factiones* (*BG* VI.11) to indicate smaller and/or conventional subdivisions. Ancient authors’ mappings and nomenclatures were often the result of biases and selection, and were easily manipulated to fit Roman literary tropes; for this reason, more flexible frameworks should be adopted when approaching social formations (see 9.4).

The post-Processual approaches adopted in the 1980s-90s (e.g. Bevan 1999; Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997; Hill and Cumberpatch 1995; Jones 1997) put an emphasis on contextual analysis of similar artefacts rather than ethnic attributions. As a consequence, some numismatists have set aside tribal pre-conceptions and focused on spatial distribution (e.g. the transect analysis in Kimes *et al.* 1982; Bevan 2012) and stylistic features (Leins 2008, 2012; Papworth 2008; Sellwood 1984). Being largely functional from a descriptive point of view, the tribal model is not easily dismissed (e.g. Bean 2000; Cottam *et al.* 2010; Talbot 2006), albeit it is warily adopted only where correspondences with Classical texts are found. New ‘detribalised’ approaches were based on mathematical models and the use of GIS mappings as a tool to identify broad

regional and stylistic patterns. To some extent, new results confirmed the size and shape of pre-existing ‘tribal’ circulation pools (fig. 2.2).



Figure 2.2: Haselgrove’s regional Iron Age coin groups (after Cottam et al. 2010, 8) (Legend: E: Eastern group; EA: East Anglian group; NE: North-Eastern group; SE: Southern/South-Eastern group; SW: Southern/South-Western group; W: Western group; P: Kentish potin)

Since several tribal names are reported by ancient authors (Table 2.1), the evidence of territorial social formations cannot be denied; yet, assigning coin-groups to large territories inhabited by specific communities does not necessarily imply the use of tribal nomenclatures, therefore a de-tribalised approach is adopted in this thesis.

2.3 Theoretical frameworks for the study of coins and value

One of the principal aims of this project is to investigate the practical and symbolic value of coins in late Iron Age Britain, and whether changes in the use and perception of coins through time could be seen as indicators of transformations in the local system of values. Understanding the social meaning of coins principally involves the comprehension of their archaeological and historical significance as **embodiment of value, portable objects** attached to individuals, and **monetised items**.

2.3.1 Defining value

In general terms, attempting a 'definition of value' is complicated: value consists of enduring cultural concepts that result from a combination of elements/actions and their relations with the social context. Furthermore, values can affect individual and collective choices, and act as the drivers of action and interaction (Keeney 1996; Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 2006): as a consequence, values are generally ordered by importance (Jowett and O'Donnell 2012, 36; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987, 551) and group together to form 'sets or systems of common values'.

In the field of ethics the idea of 'value' is generally attached to the right/wrong opposition, and in linguistic and social sciences value is connected to practices of measurement and comparison/proportion between different things, words, or concepts (De Saussure 1966; Polanyi 1957; Robbins and Akin 1999). Economic definitions of the term attempted by Marx's (1859) outlined a distinction between intrinsic value and exchange-value: the amount of human labour required to produce commodities can enable comparison and exchange, but it also generates individual alienation and exploitation. In opposition, in modern economics and social studies valuable usually coincides with the idea of good and desirable (Graeber 2001, 3), and is entailed in theoretical debates concerning reciprocity as the driving force of social relationships. In opposition to barter, which is a chronologically circumscribed relation (Graeber 2001, 255) aimed at acquiring and returning goods, reciprocity is a socially embedded process based on timeless and mutual exchange and trust, aimed at

building meaningful relationships between things and individuals (Carrier 2005; Dietler 1999; Douglas 1970, 2005; Polanyi 1944, 1957; Maurer 2006; Mauss 1966; Rowlands 1973).

The concept of value is fundamentally important for the comprehension of forms of exchange in antiquity, and it substantially overlaps with the formalist vs substantivist debate. Formalist approaches apply modern terminologies to ancient economic systems and consider any form of exchange as circulation and trade (Morley 2007b, 11). In such a system, reciprocal transactions create relationships between things and transform goods in commodities ('commoditisation' in Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986); it follows that the idea of value is linked to personal profit, and 'economising' is the main driver of actions (Burling 1962). In contrast, the substantivists emphasise differences between ancient and modern economies (Polanyi 1944; Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson 1957): in particular, the concept of 'embedded economy' describes different forms of exchange in accordance with specific contexts and chronological, geographical, and social variables (Bloch and Parry 1989, 25), denying concepts like fiduciarity or credit in antiquity. One of the key contributions of substantivism to the economic debate is owed to ethnographic studies conducted in Africa and America (Bohannon and Dalton 1962; Haselgrove and Krmnicek 2012, 236) which led to the formulation of the concept of 'sphere of exchange' based on the distinction between short-term or commodity exchange and long-term or gift-exchange. Similarly, the difference between 'market place', which is the material location of transactions, and 'market principles' has been outlined (Barth 1969; Dietler 1999). While commodity-exchange is impersonal, chronologically and geographically circumscribed, and regulated by personal profit, gift-exchange is flexible and not circumscribed or based on profit. Furthermore, as the gift is 'inalienable' i.e. never conceptually detached from the giver, gift-exchange generates expectations and creates bonds between individuals (Mauss 1966; Dalton 1965). Because of their rarity and material or symbolic significance, some 'sacred/special' goods never enter processes of exchange (Godelier 1999; Sharples 2010, 92). In conclusion, in embedded economies, the idea of value is not only a matter of desirability and personal profit, but arises from a combination of intrinsic qualities of objects, actions they perform, and relationships they create.

Recognising the role of coins as ‘embedded values’ is fundamental for addressing the functions they performed in different contexts and spheres of exchange, as will be explored in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

2.3.2 Portable objects and individuals

The value of commodities and objects such as coins primarily rests on rarity, expenditure (the amount of work required to produce or obtain a good), circulation, and context (Rahmstorf 2016). Secondly, value can be enhanced or affected by a number of elements including methods of production, level of uniqueness and rarity (Fajans 1993), forms of exchange and use in specific transactions, the ability to accumulate history, and the association with prominent owners (Godelier 1999; Graber 2001; Mauss 1966). It must be emphasised that the term ‘owner’ does not necessarily coincide with possessor or user. Possession and ownership are complex and strongly related concepts that have principally explored in the field of economics and law (Honorè 1961; Wall 2015), in philosophy (Heller 1990; LeFevre 1996; McGregor 2009; Monaghan 2013), and linguistics sciences (Haiman 1983; Langacker 1987; Velazquez-Castillo 1996). Although both terms rest on the distinction between alienability/inalienability (Bourdieu 1977; Graber 2001, 78; see 2.3.1), there is a major distinction to highlight; possession is ensured by physical contact between object and owner whilst ownership is a more abstract concept that implies a series of object/owner relationships (e.g. involving the right to use or exchange objects) and that can be ensured by claims and public recognition (LeFevre 1996, 55). These concepts are crucially important for understanding issues of coin ownership and personalisation that will be examined in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

2.3.3 Coins and money

The Greek and Latin counterparts of the word ‘coin’ are respectively νόμος (law; see Aristotle, *Etica Nicomachea V*, 1133 a-b) and *nūmus*: both terms likely rooted into the indoeuropean *nem-* (counting) (Barello 2006, 13) and clearly emphasised the conventional and legal value of currency. However, since diverse items are able to

perform money functions (such as cattle or ingots), not all coins i.e. stamped pieces of metal are money and *vice versa*. The word 'money' is the equivalent of the Latin *pěcūnĭa* (wealth) deriving from It. *pěcŭs* > en. cattle (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V.17), which suggests a link between early forms of monetisation and mobile wealth; this is also emphasised by the fact that the first Roman currency (*aes signatum*, 3rd century BC) displayed an ox on its surface.

While early forms of monetisation were recognised from the Neolithic and consisted of 'valuable substances', the introduction of systems of measurements and weights allowing standardisation represented the fundamental step towards the emergence of the idea of 'money' (Rahmstorf 2016). During the 6th century BC, the processes leading from oligarchic societies to the rise of the city-state in Greece (Descat 2006; Kurke 1999; Seaford 2004; von Reden 2003) probably enabled a shift from special purpose and socially embedded exchange, characterised by irreplaceable forms of wealth, to depersonalised reciprocal transactions and substitutability of commodities (Gilbert 2005; von Reden 2010; Weatherford 1998). Therefore, the shift to 'monetisation' originates not only from economic needs but from the 'cognitive structures' of society (Aarts 2005, 21): individuals rationally invested specific portable objects such as coins with new standardised functions as measure of value, storage of wealth, and medium of exchange and comparison between things (Lo Cascio 1996, 274; Polanyi 1957; von Reden 2003). Generally, the value of monetised objects is pre-determined and not affected by the nature of transactions; in addition, money is impersonal and cannot accumulate history. However, exceptions exist: e.g. illegal transactions or forms of inheritance can produce sums of money having negative or positive significance, whilst single coins or notes do not impact on symbolic value. Furthermore, money has a magical connotation (Graeber 2001, 94) as it can virtually turn into anything. It follows that money results from a combination of materiality, symbolic aspects and social context (Gilbert 2005, 361; Maurer 2006, 17).

At a general level, the introduction of coinage does not necessarily point towards a moneyed economy (Kim 2001, 12); however, it is a complex social process and it may be a symptom of the transformation of local systems of value. The distinction between

coin/object and money/concept has recently been defined as the discrepancy between 'material processes' and the position that objects occupy 'in order to participate in different regimes of value and meaning' (Domínguez Rubio 2015): in the subsequent chapters, the possibility that Iron Age British coins may have invested of a number of money functions is also considered.

2.4 Research objectives

In summary, this thesis analyses numismatic and archaeological data from different areas of late Iron Age Britain to address the following issues:

- To identify and explain diverse patterns of coin use, distribution and deposition.
- To recognise elements that may have enhanced the role of coins as 'embedded value' and fostered or prevented coin development and circulation.
- To investigate the relationship between coins and individuals and the social meaning of early uninscribed and later inscribed coinages.
- To explore the character of early 'monetisation' in specific areas and/or contexts and the transformation of local systems of value that underlay competitive processes.
- To link the development of local coin production to long-term processes of change.
- To identify regional forms of power and authority reflected by coin iconography and inscriptions, and the complex relationships that inferred endogenous social changes.
- To propose a model for the understanding of insular social dynamics that transcends existing hierarchical/egalitarian oppositions.

Having defined the aims and theoretical frameworks for the study of the social role of coinage in late Iron Age Britain, the definition of case studies and the methodology adopted will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter begins by introducing the four case-studies examined in this thesis (3.1) and explaining the criteria for their selection (3.2). Section 3.3 lists coin finds from the study areas and illustrates how numismatic data have been collected, checked and organised within a purposely-created Database. The final section (3.4) discusses the treatment of specific sets of data.

3.1 The case study: sample Areas A-D

More than 40,000 finds of Iron Age coins are now recorded throughout Britain. Most finds (fig. 3.1) concentrate to the south of a line running from the rivers Severn and Trent to the north-east. Conversely, numismatic finds are rare or absent from Wales (less than 30 occurrences), Devon, Cornwall, northern Britain, and Scotland, and none of these regions has been included in this work (see pp. 2-3).

Figure 3.1: Iron Age coin findspots in Britain (from Leins 2012, 3)

Since there are too many coin finds to study the archaeological context of them all in detail, a sample-based approach must be used. In order to investigate coin use and deposition across the coin-rich areas of Britain, four Sample Areas (fig. 3.2) were selected as follows:

- **Area A** (fig. 3.3a), in south-eastern Britain, extends for approximately 3000km², including parts of modern Hertfordshire and Essex. Its south-western border is located along the valleys of the rivers Colne and the lower Ver, and it stretches further north towards the Chilterns, drained by the rivers Gade, Bulbourne, and Stort. The Area, crossed south-north by the upper Lea, extends to the Boulder Clay and the Cam valley to the north-east, while its natural southern edges are formed by the Blackwater estuary and Epping Forest.
- **Area B** (fig. 3.3b), in central eastern Britain, extends over a territory of about 5700km². To the east, from western Norfolk to southern Lincolnshire, it is bounded by the coast; to the south, by the wetlands of the Isle of Ely, while the districts of Melton and Harborough (eastern Leicestershire) and Northamptonshire up to the Nene valley form the western border. The large wetland region of the Fens up to Norfolk represents the central part of the Area. The landscape is dominated by river valleys and waterways flowing into the Wash, namely the Great Ouse, the Nene, the Welland and the Witham.
- The territory of south-central Britain corresponding to **Area C** (fig. 3.3c) covers approximately 2800km² and includes two thirds of Hampshire and fringes of West Sussex. The region is morphologically characterised by chalk ridges, known as the South Downs, which stretches towards the Weald; the forested Hampshire Basin and the Hampshire-West Sussex Coastal Plain region form their southern boundary. The rivers Test and Itchen running along the western boundary are the main rivers in the south of the area (Dacre and Ellison 1981, 147); a similar function is performed to the north by the river Kennet, which is a tributary of the Thames.
- **Area D** (fig. 3.3d), in south-western Britain, extends for 3900km² from the southern edge of the Cotswolds and western Oxfordshire up to Gloucestershire, the Avon valley and the Forest of Dean, and includes northern

parts of Somerset and Wiltshire. To the west, the Bristol Channel and the estuary of the river Severn delimit the territory, while numerous hills cross the region, notably the Mendips and the Blackdown Hills, interspersed by the wetlands of the Somerset Levels. The Cotswolds are crossed by numerous waterways flowing into the upper Thames, mainly the river Churn, Coln, Leach and Windrush. The Vale of the White Horse, crossed by the river Ock, stretches from the Berkshire Downs towards the confluence of the Kennet and the Thames to the east.

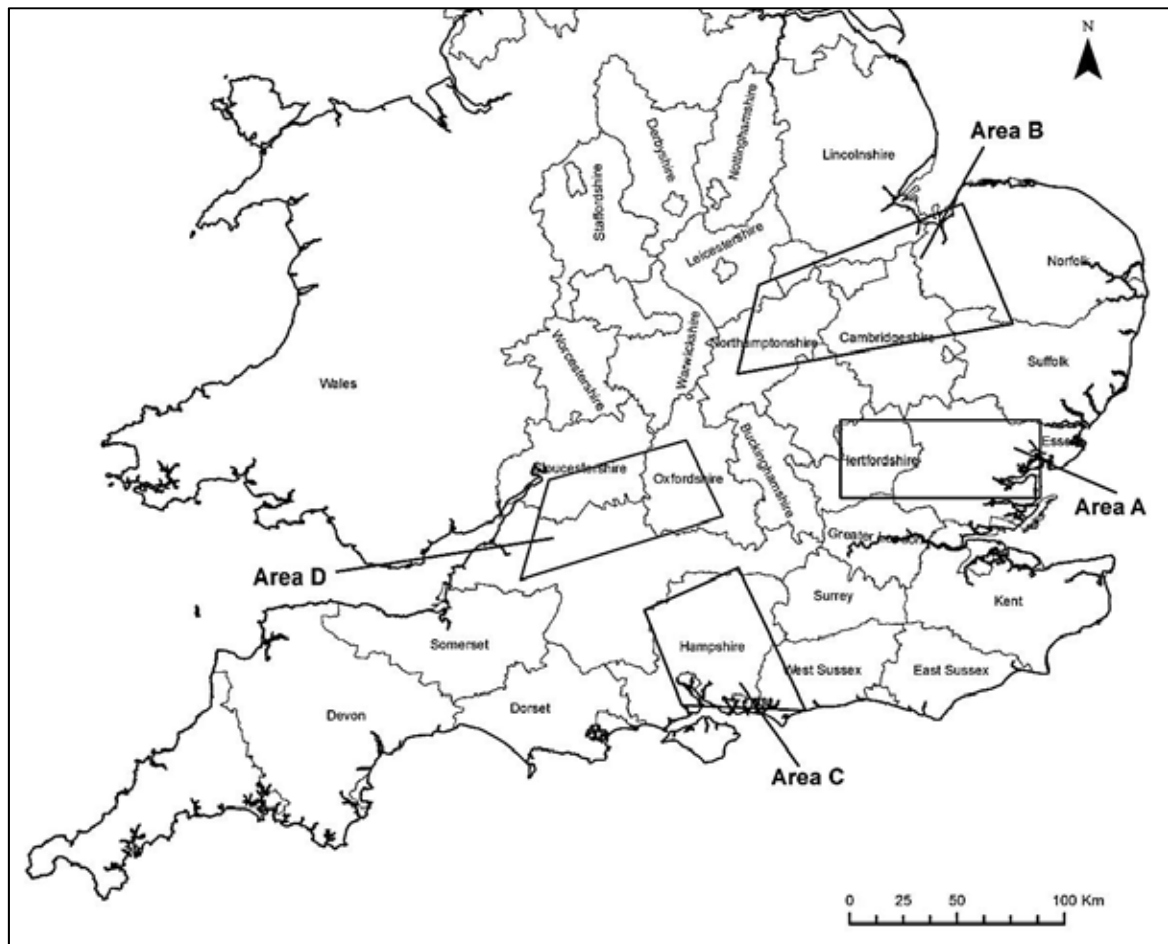


Figure 3.2: The location of Areas A-D (image: author)

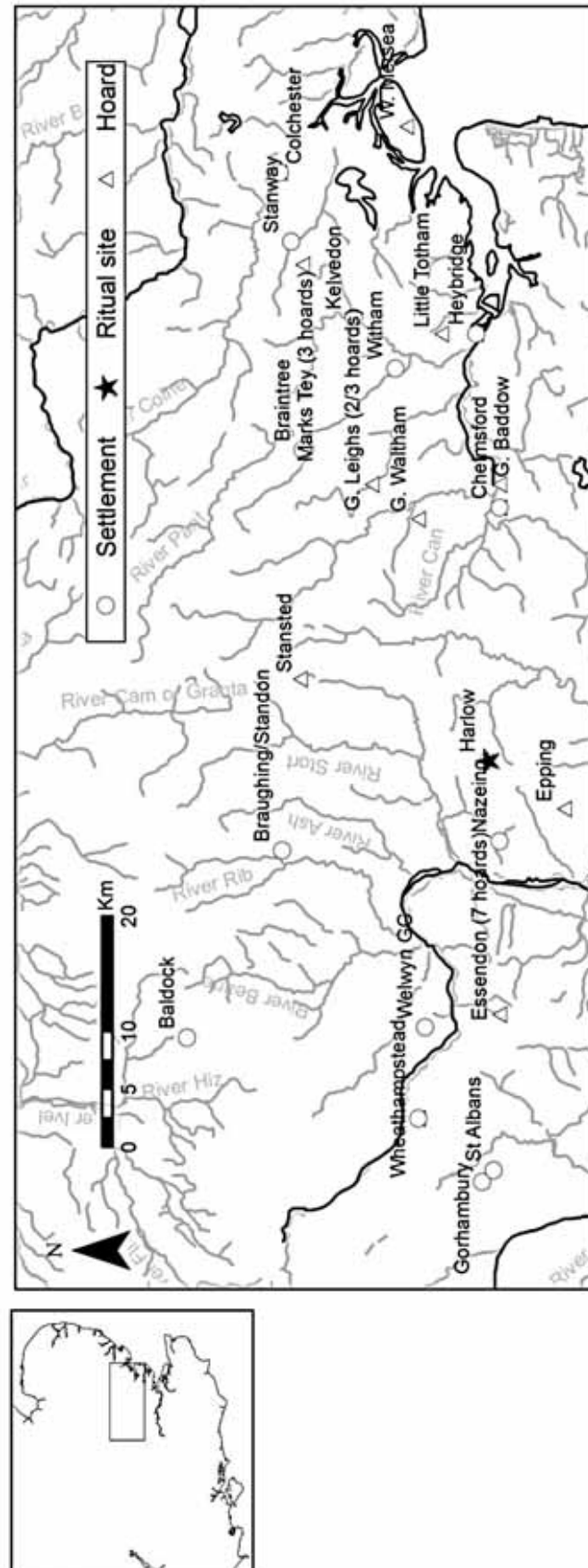
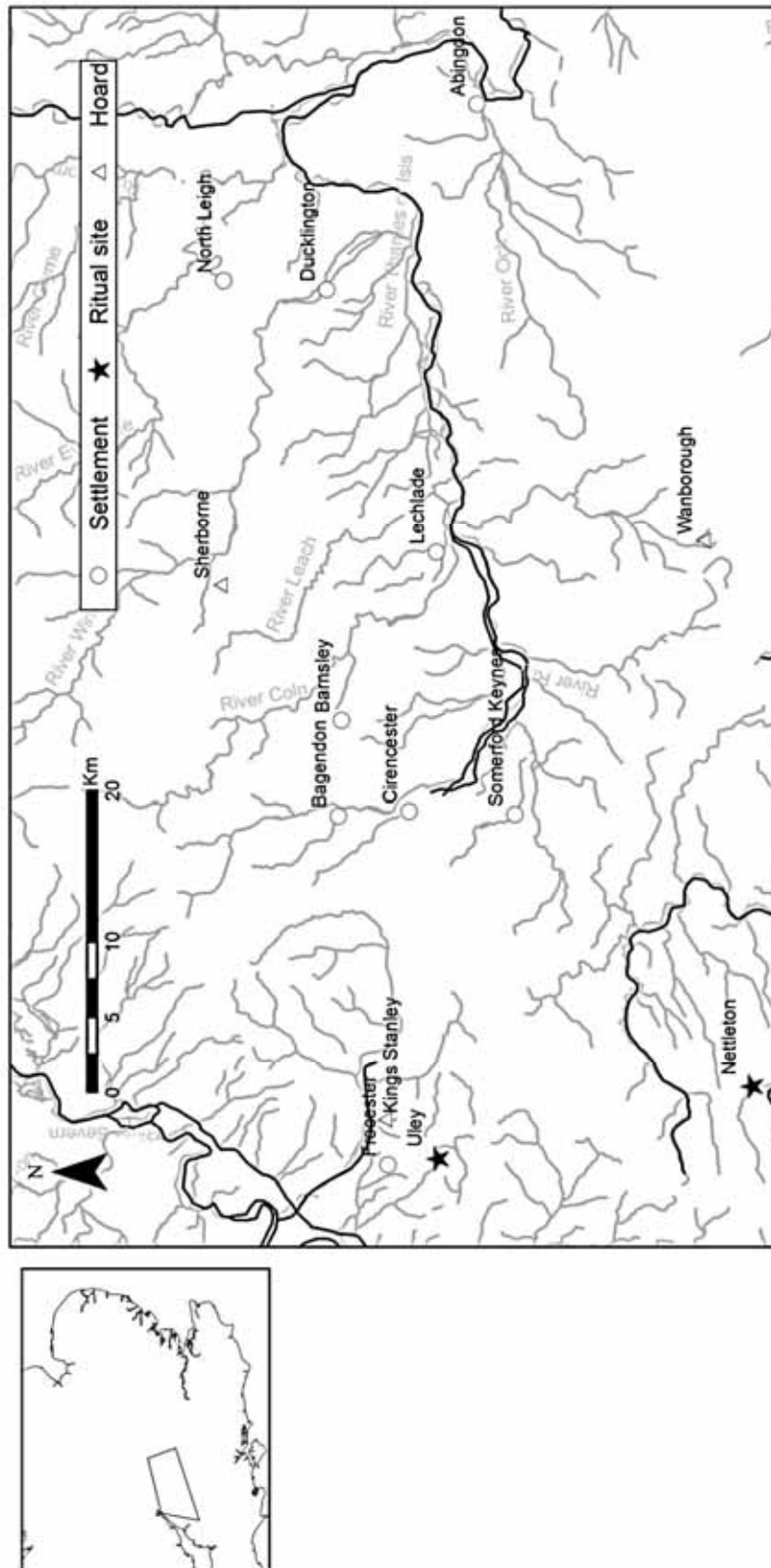


Figure 3.3a: Map of Area A (image: author)



3.2 Selecting Areas A-D

At the outset, it must be emphasised that ideal and universally valid case studies do not exist. Selection is always hazardous, as it implies leaving out a certain amount of potentially useful data, and results are in most cases unpredictable. Furthermore, selection is generally linked to time and feasibility, and it does not imply that unselected data could not produce valuable results. In Britain, several regions not included in this work have yielded extensive numismatic and archaeological evidence, such as Kent and Sussex, where future studies may fruitfully contribute to the research.

Areas A-D are different in terms of shape and size and do not correspond to well-established tribal areas or modern regions. In fact, an approach privileging similar sizes and shapes may have disregarded important territorial features: e.g. the Fenland was sparsely inhabited during the Iron Age. Hence, to fulfil the selection criteria and produce equivalent results, Area B must be significantly larger than Areas A, C, and D. This method allowed me to set aside tribal (see 2.2) and regional biases and to integrate diverse and overlapping contexts. Since this thesis deals with coin use and distribution, Areas A-D were selected according to the quality and extent of the available evidence and on the basis of specific criteria and common features: these include traces of long-term exploitation and social differentiation, presence of prominent sites and/or nucleated settlements, and adequate numismatic evidence.

The tools adopted for collecting, selecting, and evaluating the archaeological and numismatic evidence from Areas A-D are discussed in 3.3.2.

3.2.1 Similarities

Areas A-D cover territories that extend from a minimum of 2800km² (Area C) to a maximum of 5700km² (Area B). All displayed signs of long-term occupation and exploitation: as Table 3.1 shows, a large number of sites dating to the Iron Age/early Roman period have been identified and/or excavated within the limits of each Area (the list of sites is found in Appendices I-IV, Spreadsheet 2).

Table 3.1: Site evidence from Areas A-D

Area (n° of excavated LIA-ER sites)	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Enclosed/Unenclosed settlement	33	44	23	28
Early roman settlement/Villa	14	9	17	23
Ritual site	2	2	3	3
Hillfort	-	-	2	1

Early (c. 800-400 BC) and middle Iron Age (c. 400-150 BC) activity is represented by field systems, ditches, and prominent forms of settlement, such as hillforts (e.g. Area A: Pitchbury; Area B: Hunsbury; Area C: The Trundle; Area D: Uffington, Segsbury Camp). The development of early villas and towns in these areas (e.g. Area A: Colchester; Area C: Silchester; Area D: Bagendon) testifies continuity in occupation in the Roman period. All four areas are characterised by the presence of numerous navigable rivers that may have encouraged transport and exchange: during the late Iron Age (c. 150 BC-AD 43) increase in population, territorial expansion, and exploitation of waterways favoured the establishment and management of local communication routes and the development of prominent settlements in favourable riverside positions (e.g. Area A: St Albans; Area B: Duston, Thetford; Area C: Silchester, Winchester; Area D: Abingdon) or in coastal locations (e.g. Area A: Colchester; Area C: Chichester/Selsey). Many of the sites listed above have been well investigated, and have revealed traces of domestic occupation (e.g. round and/or rectangular houses and pottery), intra-regional or continental imports (from Italy and Gaul), and evidence of internal or adjacent zones designed for differentiated activities, such as production,

rituals, and funerary practices. Furthermore, finds of clay moulds related to coin production have been reported from each area.

Similarly, the location of ritual sites took advantage of prominent places, such as riverside areas (Area A: Harlow), hills and slopes (Area B: Hallaton), coastal hills (Area C: Hayling Island), and proximity to springs or water ways (Area D: Bath, Nettleton). The most prominent ritual evidence within Area B is represented by the Hallaton shrine (Score 2011). Inclusion of this site may look arbitrary, because of its marginal position beyond the river Welland, but the huge number of excavated Iron Age coins (>4900) offers some compensation for the paucity of evidence for coins from religious contexts elsewhere within Area B. Nevertheless, including so many finds from a single location will deeply affect the overall picture in regard to excavated coins, and all analyses undertaken in this work will take such impact into account.

Crucially, all Areas have yielded Iron Age coin finds either from excavation and metal detector search; these are described in greater detail in Chapter 4.

3.2.2 Differences

Since the study areas will be used as a basis for analysing and comparing patterns in the evidence and identifying similar/opposite coin treatments, they must not only share common features but also be broadly representative of differences both in the character of coinage issued and used within a wider zone and in the rest of the late Iron Age archaeological record.

Firstly, Areas A-D are characterised by divergent developments at the local level during the middle-late Iron Age transition. In Wessex and western Britain (corresponding to parts of Areas C and D) hillforts were long-maintained and in some cases showed evidence of continuous/discontinuous occupation from the 6th to the 1st century BC. In the south-eastern and central regions the phenomenon was less prominent: most hilltop settlements were abandoned by the 2nd century BC in favour of valley bottom

and riverside positions (see 9.1). This has important implications for reconstructing social processes at the beginning of the late Iron Age (discussed in Chapter 9).

Secondly, the number of late Iron Age settlements and ritual sites identified and/or investigated in Areas A-D is suggestive of different levels of density of occupation (see table 3.2). At face value, Areas A, C, and D appear more densely settled than Area B during the late Iron Age, but the latter area includes a large expanse of thinly settled wetland. Outside the Fenlands, the density of Iron Age sites in Area B may not have been very different to the other areas.

Table 3.2: Density of occupation in Areas A-D

	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Surface of the area	3000 km ²	5700 km ²	2800km ²	3900 km ²
LIA-ER sites included in analysis	49	55	45	55
Density (sites p/100 km²)	1.6	0.9	1.6	1.4

However, we must remember that site numbers in Areas A-D may not reflect actual settlement patterns, but rather the intensity of archaeological fieldwork. The regions corresponding to Areas A and C have been the subject of extensive investigations that included the excavation of major nucleated settlements e.g. St Albans (Hertfordshire, e.g. Hunn 1980; Niblett 1993, 2001), Colchester (Essex, e.g. Crummy 1984; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Hawkes and Hull 1947), Silchester (Hampshire, e.g. Boon 1969; Clarke and Fulford 1998; Fulford and Timby 2000), and the Chichester/Fishbourne complex (West Sussex, e.g. Down 1971-1990; Rudkin and Manley 2005). An abundance of waterways in these areas and a long-shoreline provided favourable conditions for Iron Age exploitation, and these sites performed the role of central places within pre-Conquest settlement patterns and in the Roman province. As will be discussed in detail in 9.1.4, evidence of social differentiation is apparent within Areas A and C, mainly in the form of wealthy burials yielding precious objects and fine wares imported from the Continent (e.g. Folly Lane near St Albans; Lexden near Colchester; Westhampnett near Chichester; Mount Bures).

Major occupation sites have been excavated in Area B at Thetford (Norfolk, Gregory 1991) and March/Stonea (Cambridgeshire, Jackson and Potter 1996). In the Nene and Welland valley, continuity in exploitation is demonstrated by the development of Iron Age hillforts (e.g. Hunsbury), field systems (e.g. Higham Ferrers, Mudd 2002) and early Roman towns (e.g. Water Newton, Tann 2001); even though extensive sites have been identified (e.g. Stanwick), none of the numerous settlements along the southern edge of river Nene (e.g. Duston, Weekley) show substantial levels of complexity or high status occupation at the end of the 1st century BC, and some held quite marginal positions (Kidd 2000, 12). To the east of the Nene valley, the zone up to the river Ouse is characterised by abundant wetlands. Agricultural exploitation and the organised use of land are attested by pits, ditches (e.g. Buckden, Earith, Godmanchester, Littleport) and traces of field systems and crop marks (e.g. Huntingdon), but during the Iron Age the area was not densely inhabited. By the middle-late Iron Age transition, increase in population, territorial expansion, and exploitation of water ways are seen (Willis 2006), but little evidence of centralisation. Although the Midlands and the Fens have been the subject of extensive archaeological investigations (e.g. Cambridgeshire: Evans *et al.* 2008; Jones 2006; Leicestershire: Cope-Faulkner 1997, 1999; Thomas 2010; Norfolk: Evans 2003; Silvester 1991; Northamptonshire: Upson-Smith 2005, 2006), central Britain has long been considered as a zone of transition (Taylor 2006, 137) between the so-called 'core' south-eastern regions and less developed territories to the north and west, which has resulted in a lack of adequate synthesis or social modelling.

The Iron Age settlement pattern of the Cotswolds and Avon valleys was characterised by clustered and isolated enclosures (e.g. Frocester, Somerford) along the rivers Churn, Leach, and Windrush (Hingley 1984; 1999). More recently, the presence of well-connected field systems and landscape organisation throughout the Cotswolds has been stressed (Moore 2006; 2007, 48) along with the development of long-distance networks based on the exploitation of the Malverns and Mendips quarries. The upper Thames floodplain showed the development of small and short-lived farmsteads (Booth and Simmonds 2005, 353; Hey 2007, 162-3), and integrated open and enclosed settlements suggesting increasing population and new systems of land management and boundary definition. However, most investigated sites included in this thesis date

to the early Roman period; in many cases only summary excavation reports are available (Frere *et al.* 1987, 1989), and final reports are unpublished and not always easily accessible. The best investigated late Iron Age focus in the Severn-Cotswolds (Area D) is at Bagendon (Gloucestershire, e.g. Clifford 1961; Trow *et al.* 2009). Extensive excavations have also taken place at Cirencester (e.g. Wachter and McWhirr 1982), but no Iron Age site shows clear evidence of centralisation. Roman shrines and/or ritual complexes are known, as at Nettleton (Wedlake 1982), Frilford (Kamash *et al.* 2010), and pre-Roman ritual evidence has been argued for Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993), but there is no certain evidence of prominent pre-Roman communal foci comparable to those identified in other study areas.

In Areas B and D, traces of long-term exploitation are scant, while the evidence is fragmentary and often geographically and/or chronologically restricted. The lack of adequate archaeological data in these areas makes it difficult to determine the function of settlements within the late Iron Age social landscape and, at present, there is no conclusive evidence of sites playing a prominent role before the Roman invasion, nor did clear traces of social stratification (e.g. high status burials) emerge. However, processes of social differentiation can be identified throughout the artefact and numismatic evidence. As we will see in 4.1 most pre-Roman coins in Areas B and D lack evidence of stratification or contemporary context of use and deposition; for this reason, hypotheses need to be drawn on the basis of later evidence or general patterns of distribution.

Significantly, at the numismatic level, further differences can be observed, not only in terms of quantities, distribution, deposition, and recovery details but also in terms of typology and chronology. Each study area is part of larger territories that displayed divergent coin traditions during the late Iron Age: for this reason, the boundaries of Areas A-D were selected to include zones of intersection or overlapping coinages. Area A, C, and the western part of D respectively correspond to the core of production and circulation of the Eastern, Southern and Western series (see 1.2.4 and figure 2.2). While the numismatic evidence from Area A was substantially uniform, evidence of 'non-local coinage' was identified, mainly consisting of South-Eastern issues, East

Anglian coins clustering along the eastern border, and cast bronze coins from Kent. In Areas C and D, evidence of South-Western coinage, principally circulating in Dorset, has been identified; furthermore, areas of intersection between local and Eastern coinage emerged in the Kennet valley near Silchester and the upper Thames valley; however, Eastern coins hardly reached Bagendon, the Cotswolds and the upper Avon valley. Noticeably, Area B seems to stand out as a combination of two distinct but adjoining circulation pools encompassing the North-Eastern group to the west and East Anglian coinage to the east. The region around the rivers Nene and Welland, in particular, yielded substantial amounts of North-Eastern, Eastern, and South-Eastern issues. The picture is indicative of intra-community interactions and different patterns of circulation that will be discussed in 6.3.

Given the similarities and differences between Areas A-D, these regions represent valid case studies for the comparison of diverse practices of coin use and deposition, which will contribute to the reconstruction of divergent or analogous social processes taking place during the late Iron Age.

3.3 The data

3.3.1 Summary of numismatic finds from Areas A-D

Areas A-D yielded 13768 late Iron Age coins, either as the result of archaeological investigation, metal detector search, surface surveys or casual finds; as already stated, all Areas differ in size, type of evidence, and amount of coin finds. The Table 3.3 shows the impact of chronological and typological variations on the total record: gold, silver, and cast bronze issues dating to phase 1-3 almost exclusively cluster in Areas A and C, and most gold finds consist of Gallo-Belgic imported staters and quarter staters. Following the start of local production (phase 4), there is an increase of coin use and circulation in all Areas with peaks in Areas A and C, whilst the amount of finds from Area D is not substantial. From phase 7, the production and diffusion of struck bronze started in south-eastern Britain. Gold, silver, and bronze types circulated in all Areas, whilst cast bronze disappears from the record. During the late phases, the

development of regional coin-series is reflected by distinct distributions (highlighted in grey in the Table below).

Table 3.3: British coin finds from Areas A-D

Group	Metal	Phase 1-3				Phase 4-6				Phase 7-9			
		A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
E	Av					119	22	15	5	277	95	5	21
	Av/Ae					2	1	4	1	9	4	5	4
	Ar					17	12	1		183	33	2	10
	Ae					1	1			1891	99	21	39
EA	Av					6	57			4	13		
	Av/Ae					1	4			2			
	Ar						82			359	6355	5	1
	Ae					4	1			1	8	1	
NE	Av					3	10				46		1
	Av/Ae					1	2			7	6	5	4
	Ar						5	2		5	4722		1
	Ae					9	1				2		
P	Cast Ae	61	11	14		69	4	1					
S	Av	11		1		147	15	212	25	3		351	5
	Av/Ae					1		12	1			16	
	Ar			26	3	1		75	1	1	2	194	15
	Ae							3		1		14	1
SE	Av	98	5	2		174	36	137	5	104	11	22	1
	Av/Ae					10	3	11	1	5	3	2	
	Ar					16	2	5		28	2	19	4
	Ae					7				152	18	4	9
SW	Av					1		137	2		1		
	Av/Ae							8	1	13		65	2
	Ar					3		30	24			9	
	Ae											19	
W	Av					1			5		1		78
	Av/Ae		1						2			2	5
	Ar						1	1	21	4	12	5	188
	Ae							2		3	1	4	10
Total		170	17	43	3	593	259	656	94	3052	6355	770	399

In order to better appreciate patterns of circulation and deposition, data in Table 3.4 are organised in three categories according to the circumstances of discovery: coins from excavation, area-finds, and hoards.

**Table 3.4: Distribution of data from Areas A-D
(including unidentified issues)**

	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Surface	3000 km ²	5700 km ²	2800 km ²	3900 km ²
N° of provenances	155	138	115	113
N° of excavated sites	55	59	46	53
N° of sites with coins	16	11	8	14
N° of LIA coins recorded	4354	6871/1928*	1946	594
N° of coins from excavation	1102	5014/71	264	79
N° of stratified coins	704	3338/9	176	41
N° of hoards	22	10	15	5
N° of hoarded coins	613	978	562	73
N° of area-finds (accuracy 1-10)	128	85	87	33
N° of area-finds (accuracy 100-1000+)	2417	782	1022	391
*with/without Hallaton				

From a general perspective, Area A is characterised by a high concentration of finds (>1 coin per km²), yielding more than 4300 coins across c. 3000km²; conversely, Area C (1946 coins per c. 2800km²) and D (594 coins per c. 3900km) show lower concentrations (respectively c. 0.60 and c. 0.15 finds per km²). Despite its bigger surface (c. 5700km²), Area B with c. 0.18 finds per km² (1928) is not that different from Area D, rising to c. 1 find per km² when data from Hallaton are included.

As shown in figs 3.4, excavated coins from Area A represent a significant part of the total record, and Eastern issues definitely stand out in terms of quantity (c. 74% of finds from at least thirteen sites). The PAS also records thousands of area-finds (fig. 3.5), mostly consisting of bronze E, EA, and SE issues, of which only a minor percentage (c. 4%) has been accurately located. In contrast, the number of excavated coins in Areas B (71) and D (79) is small, which may be due to a lack of investigation. Whereas in Area B these mainly consist of E, NE, and SE types, namely from the Nene valley, the highest percentage of area-finds (c. 63%) is composed of silver EA issues widely spread

between the Fens and Norfolk, even though spatial details are rarely accurate. More consistently, in Area D, most excavated coins (c. 83%, largely from Bagendon) and area-finds (>50%) are W issues. More than 250 coins, mostly belonging to the S group (c. 39%), were reported from the excavation of at least eight sites in Area C. The bulk of area-finds equally consist of S issues (c. 45%), principally collected from the Coastal Plain and the Itchen valley.

Coins from hoards (fig. 3.6) in Areas A, B and D account for c. 12-14% of total finds; in Area A, more than 80% of hoarded coins are gold E, S and SE issues, while in Area B and D the highest percentages are represented respectively by silver EA issues (c. 90%) and gold W coins (more than 85%). Hoarded coins, mainly gold SE or SW staters, account for almost 30% of finds.

The distribution and deposition patterns of the coins listed in this section will be analysed and discussed in 4.4 and 4.5.

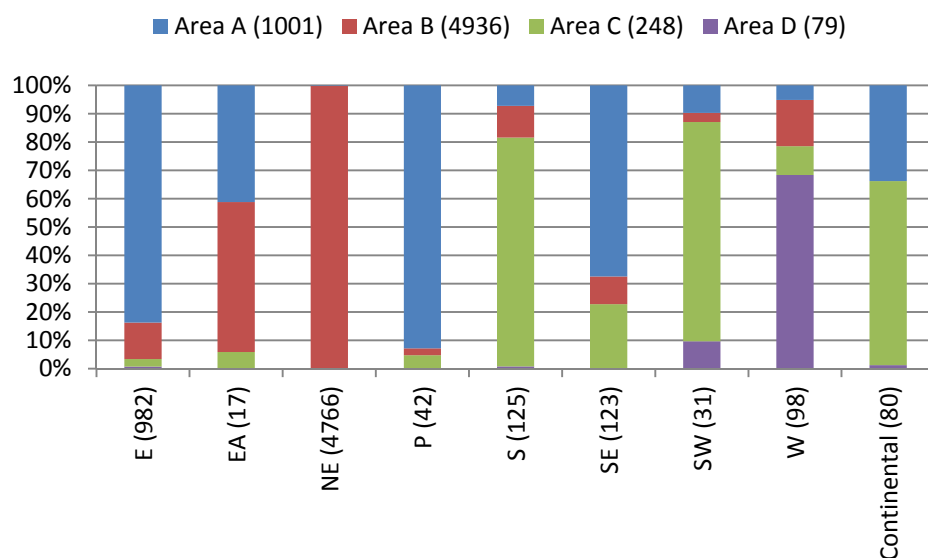


Figure 3.4: Excavated coins in Areas A-D (numbers in brackets refer to identified types; ritual sites not included)

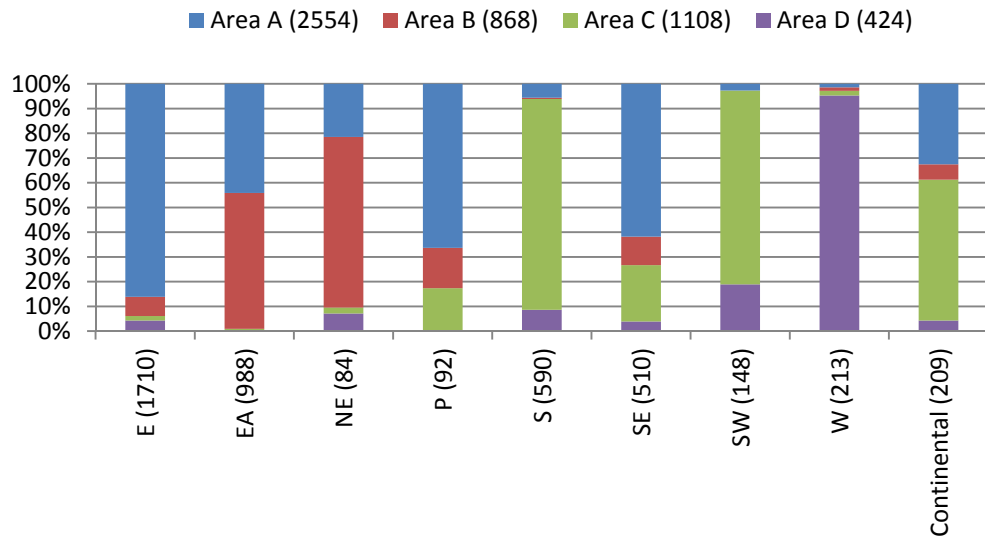


Figure 3.5: Area-finds in Areas A-D (numbers in brackets refers to identified types)

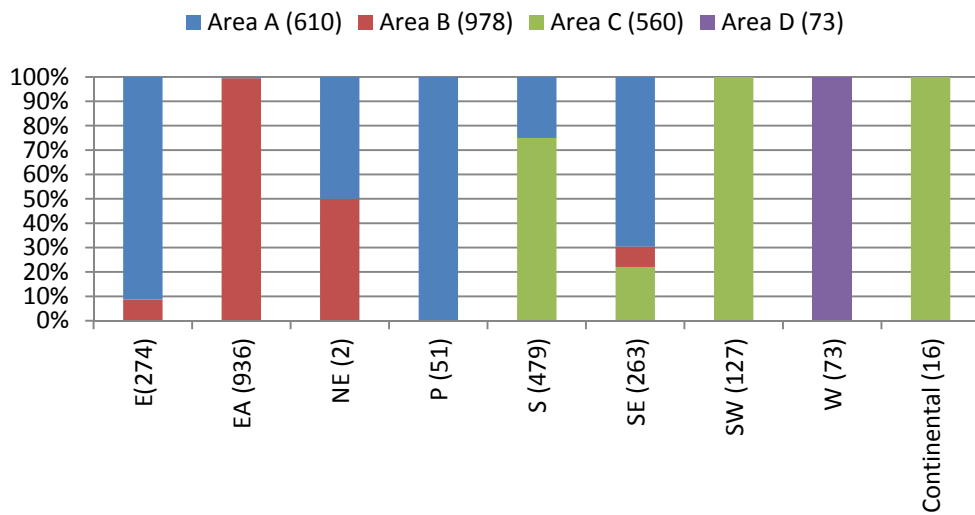


Figure 3.6: Coins from hoards in Areas A-D (numbers in brackets refers to identified types)

3.3.2 Sources and tools for data collection

Coin finds in Britain have been recorded since the 1850s, but the first purposeful arrangement was undertaken by D. Allen and S. Frere in the 1960s, with the creation of the *Celtic Coin Index* (CCI) recording c. 10,000 provenances. Although this database was constantly improved and added to over the next 50 years, the development of metal detecting techniques enhanced the rate of discovery and rendered updating more and more complicated. By the 1990s, computerization of the CCI (<http://www.finds.org.uk/CCI/>) under the guidance of P. De Jersey allowed rapid upgrade and made records widely accessible. In 1997 the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (PAS) (<http://finds.org.uk/>) was launched to record all findspots of coins and other portable artefacts (e.g. brooches, buckles and loom weights) recovered by metal detector in Britain and Wales and dating from the prehistoric period to the post-Medieval era; since March 2012, the scheme incorporated the CCI and the *Cardiff University Iron Age and Roman coins of Wales catalogue* (IARCW). Currently, the PAS holds more than 40,000 Iron Age coin-records and provides guidelines, established by the Government (Treasure Act), about identifying, reporting and recording public finds. On the PAS, each coin-entry includes the following information (when available): spatial details (including region and parish of discovery and NGR number); method and date of discovery; wear status; numismatic data (including metal alloy, weight, thickness, axis, iconography, and legend); black and white or colour image; chronology; catalogue number (according to Allen, Mack, van Arsdell, the BM or the ABC system, see 3.3.4); holding information (museums or private collection). Occasionally, because of amateur recording or data loss, specific details are not recorded. It is worth mentioning that, at present, more than 1000 finds not (or partially) held by the PAS are provisionally found within the IIA CF (Inventory of Iron Age Coin Finds) compiled by Leins (2012).

The PAS has been fundamental for this work, as it allowed me to collect preliminary information about findspots of Iron Age coins from the study areas. Site reports, museum catalogues, and earlier lists, including the *Gazetteer of findspots of Celtic coins in Britain* (Allen 1960; Haselgrove 1978, 1984a) were useful for collecting

information about excavated coins, and for double-checking and comparing data. Nonetheless, integrating post-1990s information is at times difficult: printed sources include the annual round-ups of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the *Gazetteer of findspots of Dobunnic coins* (De Jersey 2003), and the *Treasure Annual Report* publications (issued until 2009). In addition, lists of Gaulish coins found in Britain were compiled by De Jersey (1993, 1999). Information about individual archaeological sites was collected and integrated through the Heritage Gateway (www.heritagegateway.org.uk).

Since data collection principally draws on the integration of published and digital reports that often show discrepancy, whilst records are constantly upgraded and new finds constantly come to light, the dataset I produced may be subject to amendments. Furthermore, the numismatic and archaeological evidence included in this research is restricted to the limits of Areas A-D. As Table 3.5 shows, due to the lack of information or the fragmentary nature of data, assessing coin use and circulation in the ancient world can be difficult, and various elements can affect results.

Table 3.5: Limits of evidence
(adapted from Collis 1988, 191, table I)

Unobservable data	
SAMPLE	SELECTION PROCESS
All coins minted	Access to raw materials, <i>propaganda</i> , extent of power
Coins circulating in an area	Exchange levels, connectivity
Coins circulating on a site	Character of site, date of site, site hierarchy
Total coins lost/deposited	Activity on site, value of coins
Observable data	
SAMPLE	SELECTION PROCESS
Total coins discovered	Intensity of excavation and collection, chance
Total coins from a site	Nature of activity, date of occupation
Total coins from a feature	Date of feature, function of feature

3.3.3 The Database

All finds from Areas A-D discussed in this work are listed in a customised Excel Database (included on a CD), which consists of four Appendices (I-IV). Each Appendix incorporates four different thematic spreadsheets: 1. Coins; 2. Gallo-Belgic pottery; 3. Site evidence; 4 Bibliography. For each record, Spreadsheet 1 lists (when available): spatial data, findspot information, and numismatic details.

Spatial data indicates region of discovery, parish and geographic coordinates. Findspot information includes quantity and type of finds (e.g. stray finds, hoard), method of recovery (e.g. excavation, metal detector) and data source (e.g. PAS, Bibliography) plus any additional detail about contexts, stratigraphy (when available) and hoard content. The information collected through the PAS generally matches data from other sources (e.g. Fingringhoe, Area A, Appendix I, refers to PAS and Haselgrove 1987a), as indicated by the column 'Coin source' in Spreadsheet 1. Occasionally, there is no direct correspondence (e.g. Wheathampstead, Area A), or data from site reports and/or catalogues are divergent from the information held by the PAS (e.g. Gorhambury, Area A, only refers to bibliographic tools). This is due to a lack of record or identification, the use of different parish/district names, or recording mistakes that are uneasy to detect. In the column 'Position', coins from excavation are labelled as 'S' (stratified) and 'U' (unstratified), while 'H' is for hoarded finds; for metal detector finds, the level of spatial accuracy (see 3.4.2) of findspots is provided. Numismatic data includes metal, denomination, typology, and chronology of each coin. For British issues, Haselgrove's (CH) classification is generally adopted and occasionally integrated by De Jersey (DJ). For Gaulish issues, Scheers or LaTour (S/LT) numbers are provided. Additional details about continental coins are listed in the column 'Notes'; the two final columns are reserved for rulers or mint-place indications.

Spreadsheet 2 of each Appendix lists all sites yielding Iron Age coins and other traces of Iron Age and/or early Roman evidence from Areas A-D. The list of relevant bibliographical sources is found in Spreadsheet 4, which refers to the main Bibliography of this thesis. The Database also includes a summary of imported pottery

from excavated sites (Spreadsheet 3); these data were collected through the *Gallo-Belgic pottery database* (<http://gallobelgic.thehumanjourney.net/>) and draw attention to significant *in situ* associations with Iron Age coins. Reflecting the chronological and thematic limits of this research, no systematic information about pre-Iron Age or early/post-Roman evidence was collected.

3.3.4 Existing systems of concordances

Over the years, numerous classifications of Iron Age British coins have been proposed by Evans (1864), Mack (1953, 1964, 1975), Allen (1960), Haselgrove (1987a), Van Arsdell (1989), De Jersey (1993), Hobbs (1996), and Cottam *et al.* (2010). They will be here briefly summarised.

Evans' (1864) (Ev.) and Mack's (1975) (M) works draw on alphanumeric systems indicating typologies (e.g. Ev. B6 = M29 indicates a South-Thames uninscribed gold stater) and are organised in Plates according to geographical/tribal criteria. Uninscribed issues lack regional designation, while Mack incorporated some of Allen's A-R types into his tribal groupings. Allen's (1960) classes adopt an alpha-numerical system and distinguish between coins imported from Belgic Gaul and Armorica (GB A indicates early imported gold staters) and issues produced in Britain (British A refers to early uninscribed gold struck in eastern Britain; British A2 to uninscribed gold staters struck in southern Britain).

Van Arsdell's (1989) (VA) catalogue is based on tribal nomenclatures and it employs numerical codes: e.g. VA 0914-01 = Corieltauvian J unit bearing the legend AVN Cos. Although van Arsdell's classification was criticised and is rarely used by specialists for not being adequately supported by archaeological evidence, his system is frequently adopted by site reports and museum displays (Leins 2012, 24)

The alphanumeric system proposed by Haselgrove (1987a) includes geographical details, nine chronological phases, and coin-series/classes based on iconography and legends: e.g. E71.3 indicates gold staters (series 1) produced in Eastern Britain, dating

to phase 7 (c. 20 BC-AD 10) and inscribed TASCIO RICON. De Jersey's (in Cottam *et al.* 2010) new chronological phasing and classification draw on Haselgrove's system, but expanded it by adding phase 10 (post-AD 43) and featuring new subdivisions, as the Kentish, north-Thames, Solent or East Wiltshire groups.

The British Museum catalogue of British Iron Age coins (BMC) compiled by Hobbs (1996) combined a geographical perspective with a numerical system (e.g. BM3269 = north-eastern Corieltavian gold issues inscribed EsvP Asv), while the most recent catalogue is the ABC (Ancient British Coins) proposed by Cottam *et al.* (2010). The ABC arranged coins in regional/tribal divisions which include at least 400 previously unrecorded types and a new tribe (Vectuarii, Isle of Wight) and combine a numerical/descriptive approach: e.g. ABC2610/Tasciovanos' warrior.

Most alphanumeric systems (e.g. Evans, Mack, Van Arsdell or the ABC) do not provide spatial or typological information or only distinguish between imported and local coins (e.g. Allen); furthermore, tribal nomenclatures (e.g. Van Arsdell, ABC) strongly affect interpretations. Haselgrove's system does not classify individual types and is rarely adopted within published reports; however, its broad geographical and nine-phase chronological perspective is quite flexible and neutral, and the most appropriate for the purposes of the present work, which deals with coin-groups rather than single issues.

3.3.5 The Table of Concordances

Since the use that archaeologists and numismatists make of catalogue numbers is not uniform, data are often difficult to manage, compare and integrate without consulting a table of concordances. Although Van Arsdell's table includes Allen and Mack's systems, and the ABC integrates VA, BMC and Spink¹ numbers, both tables only provide partial information. The Table of Concordances proposed in this work (Appendix V, included on CD) incorporated all cataloguing systems: the first five

¹ Spink & Son is a British firm and publisher dealing with auctions and the collection of coins and medals.

columns start with Haselgrove's classification system, and include geographical attribution, chronological phase, series and class of each coin-type, followed by metal, denomination, average weight, description, and legend. The following columns report the ABC number, Allen, Evans and Mack types and numbers, Van Arsdell's codes and tribal names, BMC catalogue numbers, and De Jersey's geo-chronological groupings. The last columns are reserved for Scheers and La Tour's entries referring to imported Gaulish issues, and for obverse/reverse iconographic descriptions and legends. This comprehensive tool has been crucial for managing the large amount of numismatic information collected from different site/hoard reports, essays, research papers, and online catalogues, and a digital version of the Table could be helpful for prospective research in the field of late Iron Age British numismatics.

3.4 The treatment of data

Since site-finds, area-finds and hoarded coins have different features, they also require different perspectives of analysis. This section will outline the approach to site-finds and area-finds adopted in Chapter 4, while hoards are discussed in 5.1.

3.4.1 Site-finds

At present, few systematic analyses of context and stratification of numismatic finds have been conducted in north-western Europe (e.g. Aarts and Roymans 2009; Brunaux and Gruel 1987; Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005; Krmnicek 2009; Nick 2009; Wellington, 2005, 2006). Similar studies in the field of late Iron Age British numismatics mainly focused on the south-eastern regions and the Midlands (Curteis 2001, 2006; Haselgrove 1987a), which led to the identification of a series of distribution patterns: gold coins are generally associated with hoard depositions or isolated finds from the landscape, while bronze principally clustered within settlements in south-eastern, southern and central Britain. The treatment of silver is more varied: it clustered within ritual sites in southern Britain, or in the proximity of settlements and early Roman foundations in the south-western and south-eastern regions, while silver coins have

been principally recorded from settlements and hoards in central Britain. Numismatic finds from well-defined contexts may be indicative of interactions, economic transactions, or ritual offerings, and enabled chronological and functional evaluations. Therefore, occurrences of precious coins and assemblages from religious sites are generally seen as the result of deliberate ritual actions, while base metal coins from settlements have been interpreted as casual losses related to ordinary and daily transactions (Casey 1986; Collis 2011; Nash 1987). However, these assumptions have been recently challenged, and the possibility that even numismatic finds from settlements may be the result of deliberate forms of depositions has been envisaged (Curteis 2006; Webley 2012; Wigg-Wolf 2011, 311).

It must be emphasised that, in the absence of contemporary artefacts and/or structures, the presence of coins from the interior of a site is not sufficient to account for *in situ* activities (Moore 2006). Nonetheless, even when no obvious relationships between coins and the rest of archaeological evidence is visible, numismatic finds must not be underestimated: scattered pre-Roman coins from sites that show traces of Bronze Age to middle Iron Age activity may be the result of later losses or disturbance, but they may equally suggest a potential for late Iron Age-early Roman developments and a need for further investigation. Similarly, Iron Age coins from Roman sites may suggest pre-Conquest phases of exploitation or witness that they were not suddenly discarded after the mid-1st century AD (Curteis 2006, 68).

Given the large amount of data discussed in this work, providing details about the stratification and association of single coins is not possible; however, throughout the contextualization of excavated coins from Areas A-D, Chapter 4 aims to contribute to the picture of regional variations in the distribution and deposition patterns of late Iron Age British coins outlined above.

3.4.2 Area-finds

In Britain, thousands of pre-Roman coins recorded by the PAS and by published *Gazetteers* came to light from the environs of excavated sites or not investigated locations as the result of metal detector search, and high concentrations of stray finds have been recorded in coastal positions (Haselgrove 2007). In Areas A-D, 'area-finds' account for c. 37% of total coins recorded (see 4.1, 4.5). Most of them cannot be exactly located, and the lack of adequate spatial details is particularly challenging when data are used to produce ArcGIS distribution maps, as different assemblages tend to overlap. In order to contain the effects of imprecision, specific indications are provided for individual entries within the Database (Appendix I-IV, Spreadsheet 1, column 'Accuracy'). Levels of accuracy reported by the PAS and ranging from 1km² (exact coordinates) to 1000+km² (generic location) represent margins of error for spatial coordinates of finds.

The distribution of area-finds, when in contrast with the excavation evidence, may question current interpretations and encourage further investigation. Finds with accuracy 1-10km² (c. 6% of all area-finds included in this work) can be assigned to investigated late Iron Age or early Roman sites, confirming or challenging existing interpretations and distribution patterns. On the contrary, finds with accuracy 100-1000 (c. 93%) cannot be adequately located and only provide information about regional/supra-regional patterns of distribution. In the next chapter, indications about the levels of accuracy of area-finds integrated in the discussion are provided.

Research methods and tools have been set up in this chapter, and issues of data collection and assessment discussed. Chapters 4 and 5 will examine coin use, circulation, and deposition in Areas A-D, focusing on major and/or better investigated settlements and ritual sites, the distribution of area-finds, and the content and function of hoards.

Chapter 4

Late Iron Age British coins in context

No evaluation can be made of the social role of coins in pre-Roman Britain without considering the context in which they moved and were used (Aarts 2005; Gosden 1997, 305; Gruel 1987, 8-13). The term 'context' is a multifaceted one, which generally refers to the physical background, geo-spatial data, stratification and association of finds. In this chapter, sets of data listed and summarised in Chapter 3 are placed in their archaeological context and, in order to produce valid results, material contexts are related to their spatial, chronological, social and cultural matrix. In addition, 'afterlife contexts' coinciding with coin loss, re-use and/or re-deposition, as well as 'critical contexts', consisting in previous studies and typological assessments (Myrberg 2009, 158), are considered. Section 4.1 outlines the main trends of distribution of excavated coin in Areas A-D, and the subsequent sections describe the numismatic evidence from major excavated settlements (4.2) and ritual sites (4.3). Bearing in mind that scattered finds are generally the result of metal detector search and lack adequate recording information, nor are they directly linked to specific sites, well-located area-finds are compared to the main excavated assemblages in order to outline discrepancies or similarities. In the final sections, regional trends of distribution and deposition, and the role performed by coins in different contexts and types of sites are analysed (4.4); the discussion is further integrated by the evidence of not-accurately located area-finds (4.5).

4.1 Excavated coins from Areas A-D

A large number of the coins recorded in Areas A-D (5891, c. 43% of total) were found in excavation from the interiors or in proximity to archaeological sites dating to the Iron Age and/or the early Roman period. In Areas A, C, and D, only some 10-20% of total finds are the result of archaeological excavation whilst in Area B more than 80% of excavation finds come from Hallaton; when this site is omitted, the percentage drops to c. 4%. Regrettably, the lack of stratigraphic records that affects late Iron Age British numismatic studies (Luley 2008, 175) is mirrored by the data collected in this work (Table 4.1): in particular, stratified finds in Areas A and C account respectively for c. 57% and c. 70% of total, but only for c. 11% in Area D and c. 6% in Area B (c. 66% when Hallaton is included). This could prevent a full understanding of the circulation and deposition patterns within certain zones; however, useful conclusions can be drawn by comparing and integrating trends recognised in different sites and regions.

Table 4.1 Excavated coins in Areas A-D
(numbers in brackets include coins from major ritual sites)

	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Excavation	835 (1102)	71 (5014)	101 (264)	79
Stratified	491 (704)	9 (3338)	61 (176)	41
Unstratified	342 (398)	62 (1676)	38 (86)	38
Area finds 1-10	128	85	87	33
Area finds 100-1000	2417	782	999	391

Table 4.2 quantifies coins from excavated sites in each Area: as visible, various nucleated or open settlements yielding coins have been identified, and at least one major religious site has been recognised in Areas A, B, and C. Hence, the amounts of issues recovered suggests that major nucleated settlements and ritual complexes represented the most common context of coin use and deposition.

**Table 4.2: Site-finds (s.f.), stratified finds (str.f.), and area-finds (a.f.)
with accuracy 1-10 (A.f.) per site in Areas A-D**
(* major LIA settlement complex, ** major LIA ritual site, ***burial site)

Area A				Area B			
Site	s.f.	str.f.	a.f.	Site	s.f.	str.f.	a.f.
Baldock*	84	67	8	Ashton	2	2	
Braintree	4	4		Brigstock	1	1	
Braughing*	184	147	27	Duston*	20		
Chelmsford	2			Hallaton**	4943	3329	1
Colchester*	310	168	3	Oundle	13		
Gorhambury	18	16		Raunds	18		
Harlow**	267	213		Thetford*	2		
Heybridge	155	24		Wakerley	1		
Kelvedon	15	12	3	Weekley	8		
Nazeing	1	1		Stonea*	4	4	
St Albans*	58	46					
Welwyn G.C.***	1	1	1				
Witham	Several (no further details)		20				
Area C				Area D			
Site	s.f.	str.f.	a.f.	Site	s.f.	str.f.	a.f.
Chichester*	19	18	85	Abingdon*	5	3	
Hayling Island**	163	115		Bagendon*	39	34	
Hurstbourne P.	1	1		Barnsley	1		1
Rowlands C.	2	1		Bath	15		
Silchester*	68	33	1	Camerton	4	4	
Westhampnett***	1	1		Cirencester*	1		
Winchester*	3	2		Ducklington	1		
				Frocester	2		
				Lechlade	1		
				Nettleton	2	2	
				North Leigh	1		1
				Somerford	5		
				Uley	4		

The integration of well-located area-finds may reverse some of the major trends suggested by excavated coins. Finds with good levels of accuracy (1-10) have sporadically been found, with clusters in the environs of Braughing, Bures Hamlet, and St Albans in Area A, in the Coastal Plain within Area C, and along the rivers Thames, Ock and Windrush, near the eastern border of Area D; yet, zones of low density can be recognised nearby Colchester, (Area A), Silchester and the Itchen valley (Area C), Bath, and Camerton (Area D). It is also worth emphasising that according to the ‘mean of finds per type of site’ adopted in Roman numismatic studies (Reece 1996; Walton 2012), the concentration of coins is extremely high within ritual foci (Table 4.3) where cumulative deposition probably took place. Whilst

the evidence from Harlow (Area A) and Hayling Island (Area C) only slightly affect the overall picture, data from Hallaton largely impact on total finds in Area B. In contrast, no similar pre-Roman cumulative deposits have been identified within the limits of Area D.

Table 4.3: Average of finds per type of site in Areas A-D

	N° of exc. settlements	Mean of coins from settlements	N° of exc. ritual sites	Mean of coins from ritual sites
Area A	12	67.8	1	267
Area B	9	7.8	1	2470
Area C	6	16.8	1	157
Area D	10	7.9	-	-
Tot.	40	25.6	3	1341

In the next sections, the development and characteristics of Iron Age settlements and ritual complexes are briefly outlined, and coins from these sites are discussed in greater detail. Further information about excavated coins and their stratification and provenance are found in Appendices I-IV, Spreadsheet 1.

4.2 Coins from settlements in Areas A-D

One of the most prominent features of the late British Iron Age consisted in the rising of newly established settlements that gradually evolved towards centralisation during the 1st century BC. However, this phenomenon was not restricted to Britain. In north-western Europe, between the 7th-6th century BC and the 2nd century BC, notwithstanding the persistence of small dispersed farmsteads and seasonally occupied sites, important transformations led from dispersive forms of settlement to aggregation (Collis 1981). Similarly, the early-middle British Iron Age was characterised not only by dispersed open settlements, farmsteads and isolated households, but also by the development of early enclosures, agglomerations of open settlements (e.g. in East Anglia and the Midlands) and/or nucleated hilltop centres known as hillforts (principally in Wessex). By the end of the middle Iron Age, in coincidence with the

abandonment of hillforts and increasing contacts with the Mediterranean world, new forms of nucleated settlements or *oppida* developed, not only in the vicinity of existing sites (Pitchbury near Colchester) but also in previously unexploited coastal or riverside locations (Creighton 2000; Cunliffe 1995; Haselgrove 1982; Wells 1995).

Enclosed *oppida* are defined as large settlement areas (>ten hectares) protected on all sides by natural or artificial defences; they likely functioned as communal centres characterised by traces of trade, exchange and coin minting activities. Larger settlements surrounded by discontinuous lengths of linear earthworks possibly controlled networks and routes, and are defined as territorial *oppida* (Haselgrove and Millett 1997; Woolf 1993). In terms of layout and functions, some of them (e.g. Colchester and St Albans) can be warily paralleled to continental *oppida* (Colin 1998; Dehn 1962; Fichtl 2000). At present, however, no agreement on the meaning of earthworks and dyke systems has been found in the European (Köhler 1995; Thruston 2009, 363; Woolf 1993) or British scholarship (Collis 1995; Haselgrove 1995, 2001; Pitts 2010), and it is likely that different earthworks served different functions; in some cases (e.g. Wheathampstead, Area A) ditches are interpreted in terms of zoning, land division, or symbols of high status rather than defence. Even though numerous open settlements were identified in Areas A-D, most of the complexes discussed in detail in this work showed evidence of dyke systems and internal differentiation related to agricultural, industrial, funerary, or religious functions (e.g. Bagendon, Braughing, Chichester, Colchester, Silchester, and St Albans) and some of them were mentioned by ancient texts (e.g. *Camulodunum*: Cassius Dio, Ptolemy; *Verulamium*: Tacitus).

The next sections (4.2.1-4.2.4) describe the evidence of coins from excavated settlements; each section is followed by a brief synthesis of the main features and trends identified in Areas A-D that will be examined and compared in section 4.3.

4.2.1 Area A

Excavated coins from settlements in Area A are recorded at Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Gorhambury, St Albans, Heybridge and, in minor proportions, at Braintree, Chelmsford, Kelvedon, Nazeing, Welwyn, and Witham.

The earliest excavated late Iron Age evidence within the Ver valley consisted of a 1st century BC linear ditch from **Wheathampstead** (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936), c. 10km to the north of St Albans. Wheathampstead is characterised by diverse land use, traces of metalworking in the form of copper alloy and silver debris, and a substantial but discontinuous surrounding earthwork (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 287; Sharples 2010). The numismatic evidence only consists of a gold and silver hoard from the vicinity of the site, and one bronze E713 unit reported from a ditch terminal in the earthwork, which may be associated with cross-boundary or foundation rituals; furthermore, the evidence of metalworking has been connected to votive activities (Curteis 2001).

The site at **St Albans/Verulamium** (Bryant and Niblett 1997; Haselgrove and Millett 1997; Hunn 1992; Neal, Wardle and Hunn 1990; Niblett 2001; Stead 1969; Stead and Rigby 1989; fig. 4.1) is mentioned by Tacitus (*Annales*, XIV.33) and by the legend on E71 coins (inscribed TASCIOVANOS/VER/VERLAMIO/VIR), first interpreted as a mint record (Camden 1586). Initially, the earliest occupation focus was identified at Prae Wood (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936), because of the presence of Arretine and south Gaulish samian ware and mid-1st century BC ditches; the limited amounts of coins and ceramic imports do not support such a dating, and the only bronze E83 (CVNO/TASCI.F) unit recovered from a post-Conquest road may be an early Roman loss (Haselgrove 1987b, 436). To the west of Prae Wood, late 1st century BC enclosed structures have been uncovered at Gorhambury; two bronze E71 units came to light from the main ditch, while several other coins from rear Enclosure B included a Belgic unidentified bronze coin associated with native pottery, and 13 bronze E83 units. Furthermore, the presence of four gold E71 staters may be consistent with the evidence of circular structures identified as a shrine (Curteis 2006, 72), whilst a number of rectangular and

round houses could suggest a small high status/productive settlement (Hunn 1992, 64), identified as a villa.

A substantial dyke system (Beech Bottom Dyke) developed along the eastern edge of the area from the mid-1st century BC, and possibly marked a territorial defensive boundary (Bryant 2007, 72). To the south, linear ditches and enclosures representing the core of the pre-Roman *Verulamium* were superseded by the early Roman *forum/basilica* complex. More than 50 coins came to light from excavations at St Albans, c. 35% of which being stratified. Surprisingly, c. 20% of these were E71 issues, whereas more than 50% were later coins, principally identified as E83 types (inscribed CVNOBELINVS/TASCI.F); these clustered within the Roman *Verulamium*, the pre-Roman funerary area at Verulam Hills, and the Roman temple, to the west of St Michael's enclosure. At least 20 coins have been reported from the core of the Roman town and the areas to the north and south of the *forum*; most coins are E7-8 issues, and some of them came from the early occupation levels of pre-Conquest buildings (e.g. *insulae* XVI, XVII, XIX). One silver W unit has also been identified (*insula* XIII, AD60-70). Very few coins were recorded from primary contexts, including one bronze E7 unit from the *cella* of the Roman temple, while the presence of mould slabs is suggestive of small-scale minting activities (Niblett 2001, 43), perhaps associated with rituality. Amongst 120 area-finds were collected from the region between St Albans and Wheathampstead, but only c. 20 coins nearby St Michael hold adequate spatial accuracy, and identified pieces are chronologically and typologically consistent with the assemblages from excavation.

The numismatic evidence supports an early 1st century AD flourishing at St Albans, and the evidence from the King Harry Lane cemetery seems to further confirm this interpretation: here, more than 400 graves (mostly cremations) were identified and dated to the late 1st century BC – mid-1st century AD. Some of the burials featured high status grave goods, including Gallo-Belgic pottery, Gaulish samian ware, and Dressel 2-4 *amphorae*; a small group of bronze E73 (RVIIIS) units was also reported (see 4.4.1). Interestingly, only one unstratified bronze E83 coin has been found within the cemetery (Area W), while the absence of E73 specimens on site seems to imply that

these types had been purposely selected for deposition in burial. Further funerary evidence came from Folly Lane, on the opposite side of the river Ver, where a 1st century AD high status burial was uncovered within a large rectangular enclosure: the grave contained a number of local vessels, Gallo-Belgic and samian ware, Dressel 2-4 *amphorae*, as well as a set of horse harness, parts of a vehicle, a decorated chair, a firedog, and a chain mail; this assemblage may be associated to a prominent individual, possibly having some military function. The coin evidence near this burial only consisted of two E83 units from post-Conquest features.

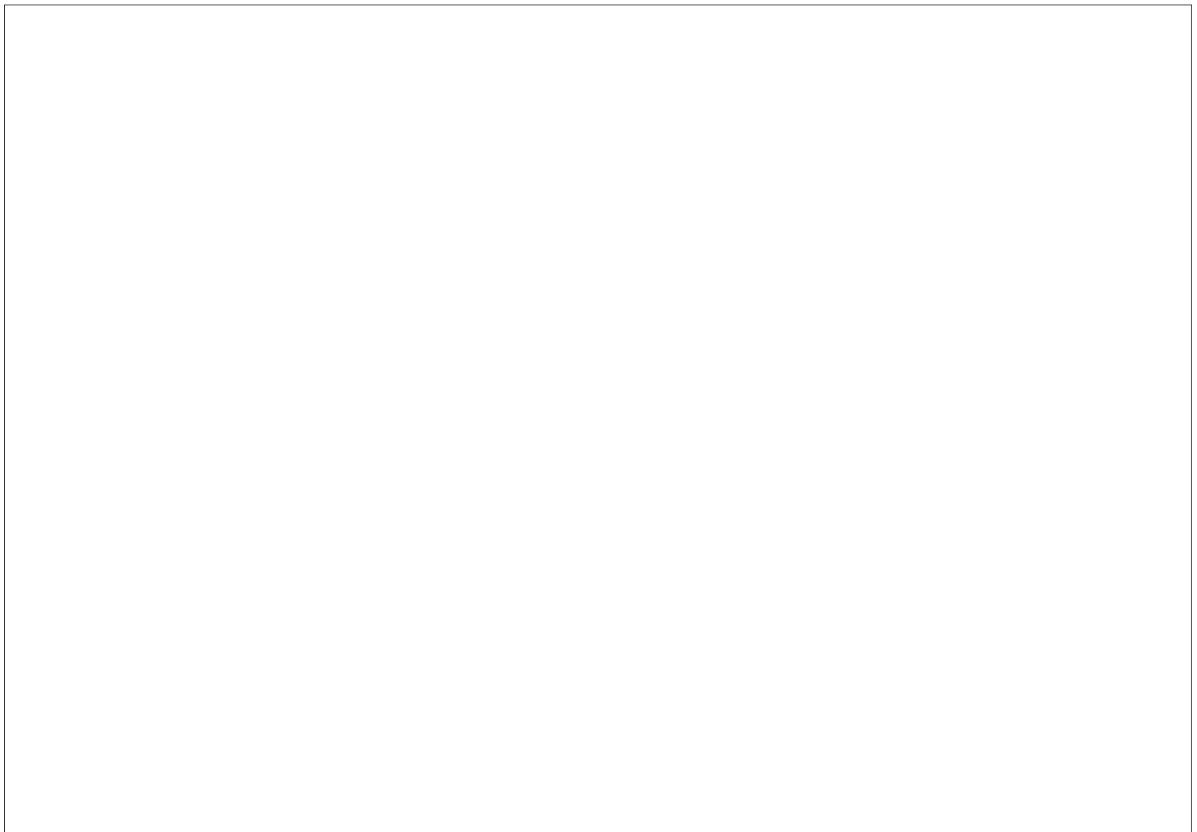


Figure 4.1: Plan of St Albans (from Bryant 2007, 70)

The site at St Albans displayed élite traits as the evidence of rectangular buildings, the presence of a wealthy early Roman burial, and the late development of a Roman *basilica*, and has been interpreted as a 'seat of power' (Haselgrove 1987b, 494; Hill 2007, 31), linked to the emergence of elite groups and prominent individuals in the

south-east. However, the lack of evidence for non-locally produced coins and the limited amount of imports may suggest it held a peripheral position, and was not involved in intra-community interactions and negotiations beyond the Ver valley.

On the banks of the river Rib, a c. 3ha univallate enclosure, possibly dating to the Iron Age, overlooking Puckeridge has been identified at Gatesbury Wood, and mid-1st century BC occupation foci were investigated over a c. 200ha area between **Braughing** and **Puckeridge** (Partridge 1980, 1981; Potter and Trow 1988; fig. 4.2). The evidence is complex, with 180 late Iron Age coins – of which 132 are stratified – from several locations (including Ermine Street, Gatesbury Track, Skeleton Green, Station Road, and Wickham Kennels). Three bronze E83 units and one potin issue were recovered from a linear ditch associated with a burial at Station Road, and two potins came from a ditch and the bottom of a pit at Gatesbury Track.

The highest concentration of coins (c. 31%) was found at Skeleton Green, to the south-west, where early traces of inhabitation consist of 1st century BC palisades and a number of possible domestic structures. The coins mainly consist of bronze E7 units, two of which possibly being from primary contexts at the bottom of pre-Conquest pits; similarly, one copper alloy NE7 coin has been located from a similar feature, while most finds generally came from upper surface levels. Albeit the emergence of an early Roman road system, issues dating to phase 8 only represent c. 16% out of total, possibly indicating that activities at Skeleton Green declined shortly before the Conquest. The presence of at least ten Gaulish coins, four of which from pre-Conquest contexts, may indicate early developments to this part of the complex.

After the Conquest, the main occupation focus shifted along Ermine Street (site D) towards Ware (Bryant 2007, 64), and evidence of a Roman town has been identified at Wickham Field. Further traces of activity in the form of a ditch set parallel to the southern edge of Wickham Hill were identified at Standon. At the end of the 1st century BC, occupation moved to the southern bank of the river Rib, possibly in coincidence with some political change. Several coins came to light from different

parts of the Ermine Street, principally consisting of bronze E7-8 units from post-Conquest surface levels, with the exception of one E71 from a pre-Roman pit.

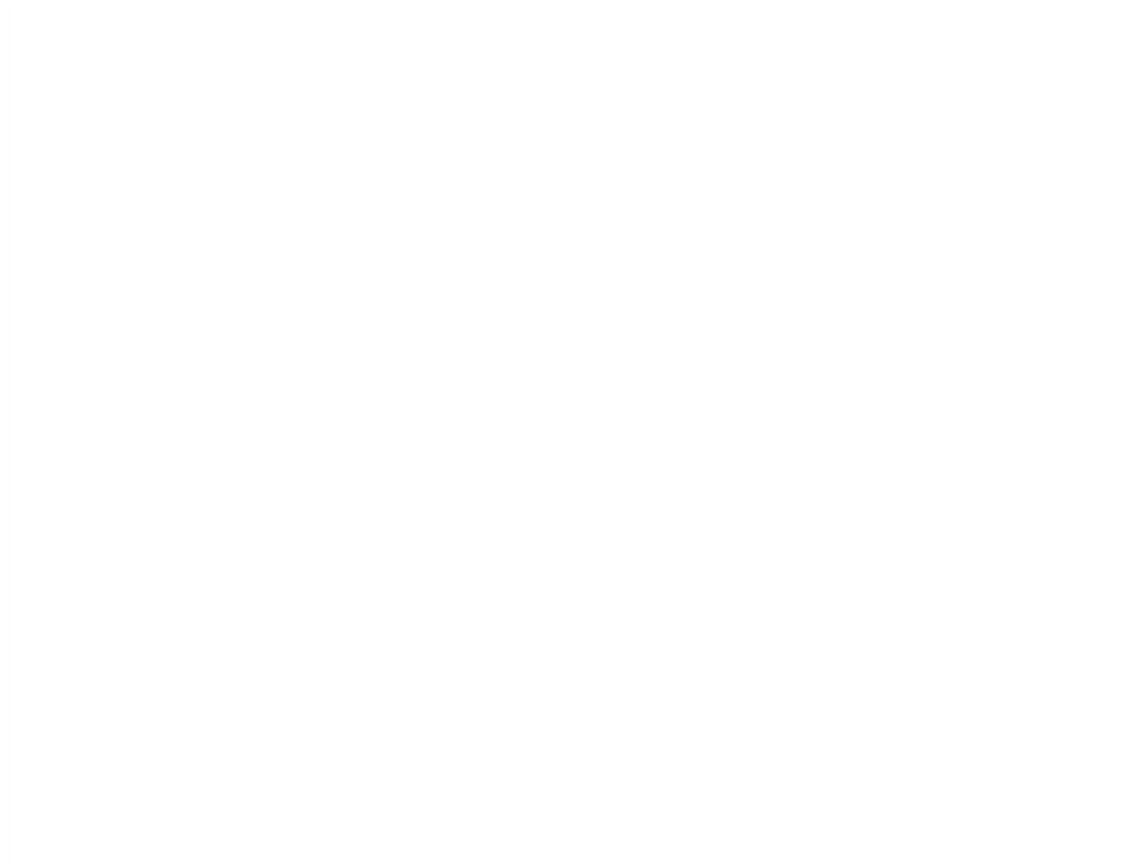


Figure 4.2: Plan of the Braughing complex (from Bryant 2007, 63)

It is worth noting that the PAS records 223 coins under 'Braughing' and 220 as 'Standon/Puckeridge': a cross-check I conducted onto PAS/CCI data did not identify any duplicates and these may be considered as distinct assemblages from different parts of the complex. However, given the lack of further details, and the fact that the site at Puckeridge is frequently labelled as 'Braughing', it cannot be ruled out that these entries are in fact the result of duplication. A number of area-finds (27, acc. 10) from Puckeridge do not clash with the excavation evidence, consisting of E7 and few E83 and SE7 issues. In contrast to Baldock (discussed below) where bronze E83 units are particularly common, the excavation evidence from Braughing accounted for equal

amounts of E81-82 (CVNO/CAMV) and E83 issues, as well as one bronze E85 unit (AMMINVS) and one bronze SE82 unit (EPPILLVS). These finds may be suggestive of continuity at the Braughing/Puckeridge complex up to the mid-1st century AD.

The discovery of over 2000 mould fragments (Landon 2009), possibly related to the production of E coins – according to the size and shape of the moulds – makes a case for the largest British, or even north-European, pre-Roman mint. Interestingly, several base metal coins found at Braughing are unworn (Curteis 2001, 180), which may suggest they were freshly struck when lost or deposited on site. Defining the nature of Braughing is not uncomplicated: the evidence of Gallo-Belgic pottery, samian ware, and Dressel 1 *amphorae* from all excavated sections, and the presence of a large mint are suggestive of an economic or administrative centre (Niblett 2001, 33). Because of its large and heterogeneous numismatic assemblage and its strategic position along the Icknield Way, the river-based settlement at Braughing/Puckeridge may be particularly central and prominent within the area and it was possibly the major south-eastern British pre-Roman entrepôt (Bryant 2007, 78) before the rise of Colchester.

Major excavations at **Baldock** (Bryant and Niblett 1997; Burleigh 1995; Fitzpatrick-Matthews and Burleigh 2010; Stead and Rigby 1986; fig. 4.3) revealed more than 80 late Iron Age coins, out of which c. 58% were stratified from areas of funerary activity at Upper's Wall Common and Walls Field. Two burial enclosures and a hollow containing cremations and inhumations associated with metal debris and personal objects were excavated at Upper's Wall Common: one silver and one bronze E75 (ANDOCO) units, one bronze E71 unit, and four bronze E83 units (Goodburn 1986; 2010, 126) were deposited within the funerary hollow, perhaps as ritual offerings (Curteis 2001, 164). Several additional stratified coins came to light from different zones of Upper's Wall Common: these include two bronze E83 units from a pre-Conquest pit (BAL2), one similar find from the terminal of a post-Conquest ditch, and one silver E6 unit from the top of an enclosure ditch (BAL8), which however is not certainly dated.

Additional mortuary evidence emerged at Walls Field (site A), to the south of Upper's Wall Common, where two ditched circular buildings were interpreted as part of a

shrine: eight well-located scattered finds are known from the vicinity of this site, and they principally consist of bronze E7-8 issues, not contrasting with the excavation assemblage. However, area-finds also include one gold SE7 stater and one gold EA6 stater, possibly related to the presence of a shrine. Additional unstratified bronze E82 units were recovered at Clothall Road (Site D, 1968-70), to the north-east of Clothall Common, where a network of ditches has been identified. Similarly, one unstratified bronze E83 unit has been found near The Tène (Site K, 1970; Burleigh 1995, 103): the evidence here consisted of a cremation grave containing at least one Dressel 1 *amphora* and feasting items, including two firedogs, bronze vessels, and a bronze cauldron.

Even though most finds from Baldock are associated with ditches and pits, many are from secondary contexts or belong to post-Conquest features; with the exception of the finds from the funerary hollow, no certain hypotheses can be drawn about their function. However, the assemblage is characterised by uniformity in terms of chronology, denominations and types: it principally consisted of bronze and silver E71 and E83 units, and small quantities of E73, E75, SE73 (DVBNOVELLAVNOS), and SE74 (ADDEDOMAROS) issues. It is possible that Upper's Wall Common and Walls Field were concurrently exploited between the early 1st century BC and the mid-1st century AD, as visible by the influx of phase 7-8 issues. This may be confirmed by the presence of imported Dressel 1 and 2-4, Gallo-Belgic pottery and samian sherds on site, the emergence of a Roman road system, and the presence of crucibles used for the production of brass. The lack of non-local coins from the site, with the exception of one copper alloy SW8 unit from the layer of a pre-Conquest ditch, may indicate that Baldock only held prominence within the Chilterns.

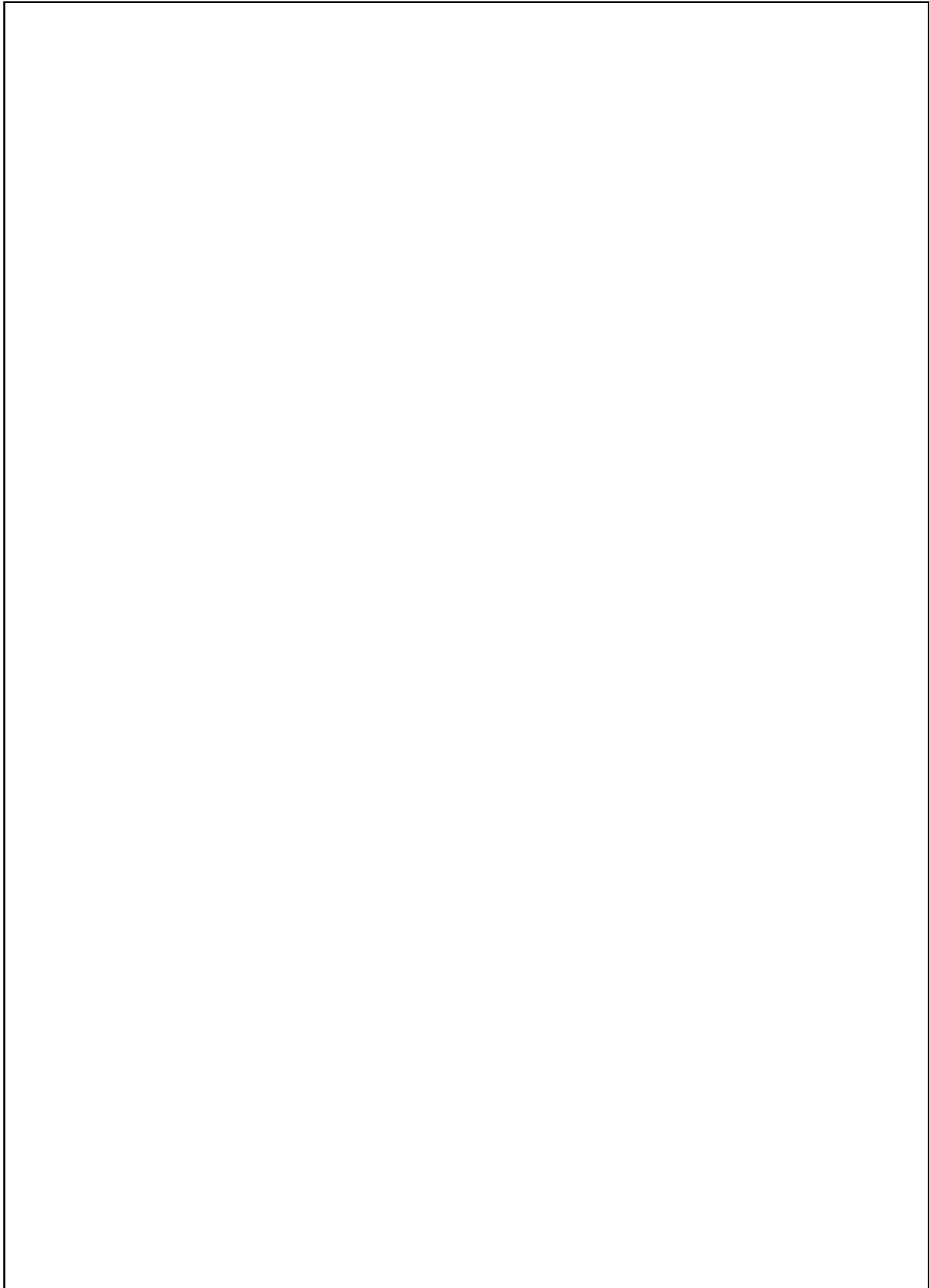


Figure 4.3: Plan of Baldock (showing the areas described in the text; after Burleigh 2007, 35; Curteis 2001, 157)

By the early 1st century AD, the complex identified at **Colchester/Camulodunum** (Crummy 1984, 1992; Crummy *et al.* 2007; Foster 1986; Hawkes and Hull 1947; Hawkes and Crummy 1995; fig. 4.4) flourished at the centre of a coastal region crossed by the rivers Colne, Chelmer, and Blackwater. The favourable position and the long shoreline rendered the location of Colchester particularly suitable for the development of local relations as well as cross-Channel commerce with Gaul, the lower Rhine territory, and the Roman world (Pitts 2010, 55). *Camulodunum* is mentioned on E82 coins inscribed CVNO/CAMV, which were probably locally struck; the different composition of E83 types (Clogg and Haselgrove 1995), mostly circulating in the Chilterns, may indicate the existence of different places of production controlled by issuing authorities based at Colchester.

The earliest occupation focus developed by the 1st century BC at Gosbecks (c. 4km to the south-west of Roman Colchester), between the Colne and Roman rivers; the site was delineated by a dyke system, presumably used for the management of resources and livestock (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 3). By the late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, occupation moved to Sheepen, further north-east, and the evidence accounts for a system of track ways leading from Gosbecks to Colchester, and a new dyke system incorporating the Lexden, Gryme, and Kidman dykes. A reference to this massive dyke system may be found in the suffix *-dunum*, possibly meaning 'hill/fortified height' (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 6). A middle Iron Age hillfort at Pitchbury, 7km to the north-west of Sheepen, was not incorporated into the system, and it is possible that the new landscape organisation was established on morphological protective boundaries represented by the river valleys.

Excavations at Colchester produced more than 300 coins, more than half being stratified from different investigated areas at Sheepen (Regions I-VI). Most issues (c. 230) were bronze E71, SE71-2, E83, and a larger quantity (c. 60%) of E81-82 coins. The quantity of coins from Region I (73 of which 36 were stratified) is unsurprising, as most early activity at Sheepen focused within the northern section (I, II, and IV); even though some findspots may be the result of post-Conquest ritual activities (Haselgrove 1987b, 487), the record includes primary deposits of bronze E82 units from the bottom

of pits in the south Temple and Temple Areas, and a number of similar finds associated with the *cella*. In Region I, a few Gaulish coins (inscribed GERMANVS INDVTI[LLI L]) and significant quantities of south Gaulish samian ware, Arretine ware, and Dressel 1 and 2-4 *amphorae* were also found. Similarly, most of the coins from Regions II and IV are bronze E82 units, and most of them are from secondary contexts.



Figure 4.4: Plan of Colchester (showing the areas described in the text; from Millett 1990, 29, fig. 22)

In contrast, south-western regions (III, V, VI) showed scarce evidence of pre-Conquest activity; except some clay slab moulds from region VI, coins were almost absent and predominantly Cunobelin's late types, whilst a few late silver E8 and EA7-8 units, and some finds dated to phase 6 came to light from region III. With few exceptions (e.g. one Gaulish coin from the fill of a pre-Roman ditch), most finds from late 1st century AD features in Regions III, V, and VI were residual or the result of agricultural disturbance. Excavations at the Fortress and *colonia* only yielded few E82-3, EA83, and NE83 (VEP) issues, generally from post-Conquest levels, and similar evidence came from an area to the south-east of Sheepen, where 28 stratified and unstratified E8 units were collected, mostly from post-Conquest/late Roman features.

To the south-west of Sheepen, two funerary areas were located at Stanway and Lexden, both including high status graves mostly dating to the late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD (Crummy *et al.* 2007, 1). At Stanway, one of the graves, placed at the centre of an enclosure, particularly stand out because of its unusual assemblage, including a shield, a spear and a number of feasting items (e.g. Roman pots deliberately broken and a *patera*), which led to interpret it as a 'warrior burial'. Whilst four bronze E81-2 units were stratified from the ditches of enclosures 1 and 4 at Stanway, no coin evidence has been reported from the cremation cemetery at Lexden. Here, the most prominent burial was covered by a barrow/*tumulus* and it contained the cremated bones of an adult male, which has been identified as a powerful local leader, possibly such as Cunobelin or Addedomaros (Creighton 2000, 183; Foster 1987, 234; Hunter 2005, 53; Mays 1992, 68b; Rodwell 1976). The association mainly draws on the rich assemblage of pre-Conquest Roman goods from the grave, including fragments of Dressel 1B *amphorae*, silver cups, a *sella curulis* (a Roman ceremonial seat), a chain mail, and a silver medallion of Augustus copied from a late 1st century BC *denarius*. Similar medallions depicting the Emperor were frequently offered by Rome to recognised local chiefs in northern and central Europe (Haselgrove and Krmnicek 2016, 5). As already noticed at Folly Lane and Stanway, many of the objects seemed to be deliberately broken. The grave was dated to c. 10 BC, which could be too early in relation to Cunobelin, and very few coins of Addedomaros are known from the area; as there is no conclusive evidence for identification, both interpretations may be

rejected. Nonetheless, the grave certainly relates to a wealthy and prestigious individual having links with Rome and likely performing prominent social functions.

Despite the extensive evidence at Colchester, the PAS only reported 75 area-finds from the site environs, and none of them was accurately located. As Colchester has been extensively investigated, the lack of scattered bronze E8 units in large amounts from the surrounding region is fairly unexpected and cannot be attributed to inadequate examination; it is possible that the bulk of base-metal finds on site was the result of casual losses or deliberate depositions linked to activities taking place within the boundaries of the settlement. It must be noted that while the assemblage from excavation is dominated by E8 types, unstratified finds are more varied and included non-local types, e.g. one silver W9 from near Lexden, one silver SW6 stater from Region I, two silver SE6 and EA73 coins from Region III, and one silver EA72 unit from Region IV. It is possible that non-local issues were not frequently adopted in structured forms of deposition taking place within the settlement; for this reason, they may be the result of casual losses and sporadically come to light from dated contexts.

In connection with the flourishing of Colchester, a network of early Roman roads and sites developed within the hinterland of the Blackwater estuary and along the river Chelmer. A 20ha unenclosed settlement was investigated on the western side of **Heybridge** (Atkinson and Preston 1998, 2015; Bedwin 1992; Bennett and Havis 2008; figs. 4.5a, 4.5b) and was possibly identified as a port of trade. The excavation revealed evidence of pre-Roman track ways (areas F, H, K, and L) and pre-Roman/early Roman pits, gullies and post-holes (areas D, G, and Q); in addition, a circular structure yielding miniature pottery and leading to a Roman temple has been identified (areas I-J), as well as a small ditched cremation burial cemetery and votive pits yielding continental pottery (areas E and M), that possibly account for high status occupation. Interestingly, more than 150 Iron Age coins were found (Hobbs 2015), 25 of which were stratified: most numismatic finds were bronze E82 units (c. 52%) evenly distributed from layers and pits within all excavated sections, with few specimens – including one silver EA73 unit – from the fill of post-holes and pits dated to the early 1st century BC in Areas H-J-K-M. Few Flat Linear I and II potins from similar features were reported from Areas E-F,

as well as a hoard of gold staters; since a ritual area has been recognised within areas F-K, the numismatic evidence is not in contrast with episodes of votive deposition taking place on site between the early 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.

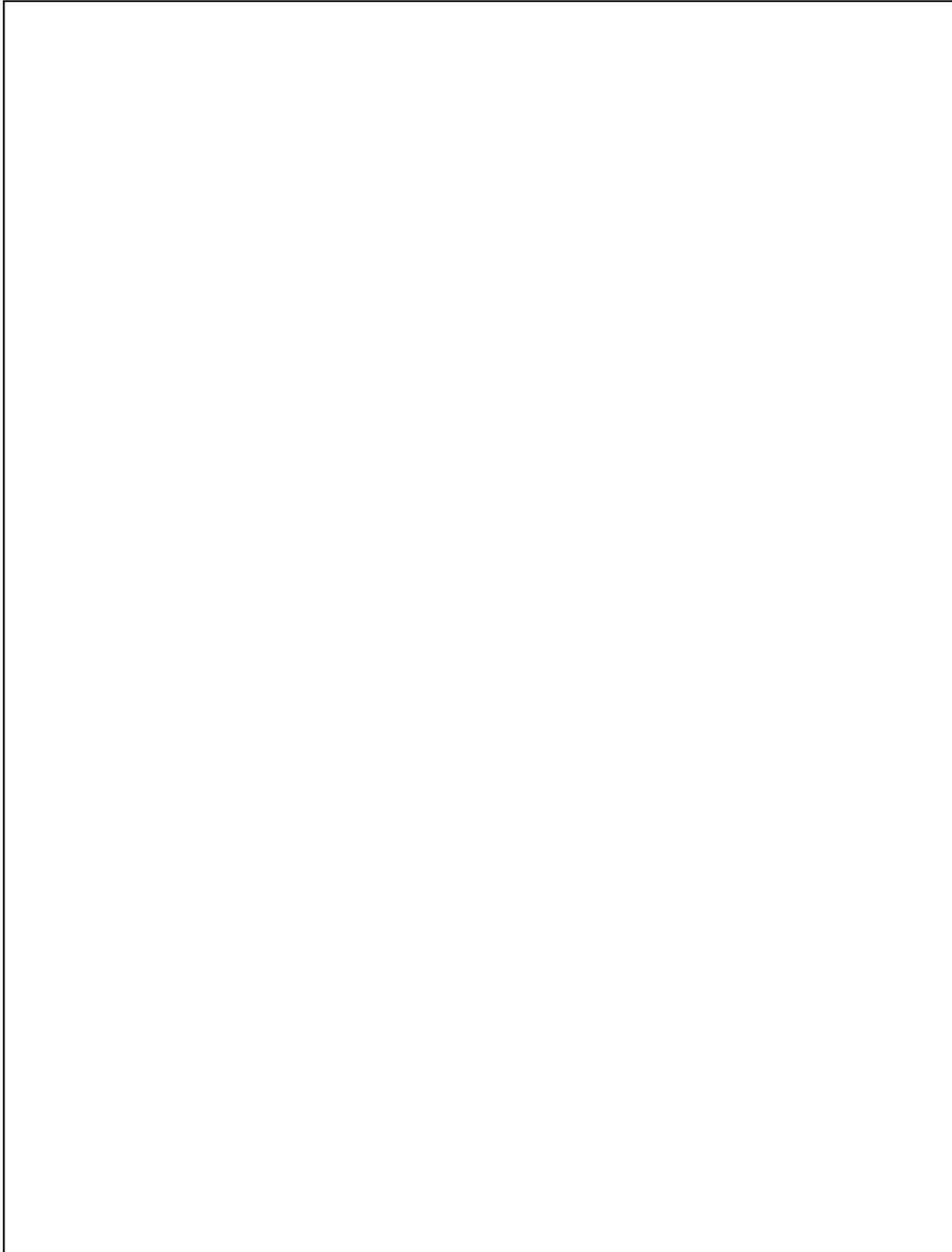


Figure 4.5a: Plan of Elms Farm, Heybridge (from Atkinson and Preston 1998, 87)



Figure 4.5b: Elms Farm, Heybridge: areas mentioned in the text (from Atkinson and Preston 1998, 93)

After the Conquest, the site at Heybridge apparently declined perhaps following the establishment of a new road system gravitating around a Roman settlement and a religious complex identified near **Chelmsford**. A deposit of gold staters (25 gold E8, SE7, and S5-7 staters) was found in the vicinity of the area (see 5.2.2) while two silver W7-9 units were unstratified and possibly the result of post-Conquest losses. The amount of residual Iron Age silver issues from other early Roman settlements is currently insufficient to formulate valid hypotheses. Only one silver E83 unit was found from the floor of a building over a 1st century AD layer at **Braintree** (Fountain Inn); in addition, one silver SE73 unit and one Flat Linear II potin were found from the vicinity of a series of enclosed Roman masonry structures and a cremation burial (Drury 1976, 125-126); all these coins were residual and cannot be certainly associated with the excavated evidence. A small coin assemblage from the Roman Fort and Town area excavated at **Kelvedon** (Rodwell 1988; Sealey 2007) includes bronze E82 units from post-Conquest contexts, six Flat Linear I potins – one possibly being from a primary context within a later ditch to the south of the Fort – an early gold SE stater, and a bronze issue from Belgic Gaul (Scheers n° 190), while well-located area-finds include two gold SE5 and SE7 staters. A mortuary area has also been identified near Kelvedon

yielding several 1st century BC-2nd century AD graves containing Gallo-Belgic and samian pottery, and a burial containing weapons (Hembrey 2001; Stead 1996); however, no evidence of pre-Roman coins from the cemetery has been found, and the gold coins listed above cannot certainly be linked to funerary activities.

The main trends identified in Area A can be summarised as follows: (1) evidence of at least three major settlements yielding prominent functions and a number of minor sites developing important roles (2) substantial amounts of coins from settlements, possibly linked to ordinary transactions or ritual activities (3) traces of social stratification represented by the burial evidence.

4.2.2 Area B

Small amounts of excavated coins from settlements in Area B are recorded at Ashton, Brigstock, Duston, Oundle, Thetford, Wakerley, Weekley, and Stonea. As already emphasised, the archaeological and numismatic evidence in the Area is fragmentary and does not offer the possibility of consistent reconstructions.

Within the western section of the Area, drained by the rivers Welland and Nene, a number of sites linked to the management of iron ores and metal working activities developed from the early Iron Age (e.g. Braceborough, Wakerley, Water Newton; Mattingly 2006, 506), as well as a series of enclosures and hillforts (e.g. Breedon Hill, Rainsborough, Wootton Hill). Amongst these, Hunsbury displayed evidence of manufacturing activities and high status, and possibly held prominence within the Nene valley (Fell 1936, 60-91; Knight 1984, 187; Kidd 2000, 11). The 1st century BC abandonment of Hunsbury coincided with the flourishing of a late Iron Age settlement and funerary area at **Duston** (Curteis 1996; Haselgrove 1984a), along the northern edge of the river Nene. Here, not much evidence has remained, with the exception of enclosures and a cremation burial yielding *terra nigra* pottery and post-Conquest Roman coins; however, Duston lacked traces of prominent or central functions during the late Iron Age. Pre-Roman coin finds consist of 16 unstratified bronze and silver E71, E75, and E81-82 issues; the lack of stratification prevents from formulating hypotheses

about their functions within the settlement. The presence of four silver W8-9 issues is unusual in this area and may be due to their substitutability with silver SE units (Curteis 1996, 32) or the result of local interactions with people using W coins.

To the north-west of this region, a settlement enclosing a penannular gully and a ditched road has been excavated at **Weekley** (Dix and Jackson 1987), where the artefact evidence accounted for sherds of *terra nigra* ware and unstratified Iron Age coins including one silver E71 unit, one copper alloy NE8 stater, and few bronze E71 and SE74 units. Further evidence was recorded from the vicinity of a pre-Roman site at **Oundle** (Cope-Faulkner 1997) and it consisted of five gold, silver and bronze E71 issues, five early gold and silver E, SE and 5-6 issues, one copper alloy NE8 stater, and one bronze E8 unit; most finds lack certain recovery details. The lack of structural evidence from this location does not allow adequate discussion, but the evidence of precious coins may account for a ritual interpretation of the site (Curteis 1996, 30). A 1st century AD enclosed gully was excavated at **Ashton** (Ivens 2005), c. 3km to the east of Oundle, where evidence of metalworking, Gallo-Belgic and Lyons ware, as well as two bronze E71 units came to light, one from the floor level, and the other from a ditch dating to the early/mid-1st century AD. A circular Roman shrine was identified at **Brigstock** (Greenfield 1963), c. 11km to the south-east: here, one gold NE71 stater was found in excavation from the floor of the temple, and it may suggest episodes of votive deposition. The riverside location of these sites and the nature of the archaeological evidence so far collected, even though fragmentary, may indicate an early Roman ritual focus. Similar evidence, consisting of seven circular houses and a four post-structure, was identified from an enclosed settlement at **Wakerley** (Gwilt 1997; Jackson *et al.* 1978, 115), along the edge of the river Welland; only one unstratified silver NE7 unit was found, and no further evidence can support the hypothesis of religious activities.

A number of Iron Age cremation burials adjacent to an oval Bronze Age barrow were identified at **Raunds** and an extensive late Iron Age rural settlement at **Stanwick** was superseded by a Roman villa (Harding and Healy 2011, xxiv). The Raunds/Stanwick complex yielded a number of unstratified bronze E71, E83, and SE74 units. The coins

are possibly the result of market activities and small transactions, and are consistent with similar assemblages recorded from other pre-Roman settlements later developing as villas (e.g. Gorhambury, Area), suggesting that the site at Stanwick may have developed a central role to some extent. Within the area there are traces of pre-Roman circular buildings, possibly having ritual functions. One gold NE6 stater, one gold SE82 (EPPILLVS/COMMI.F) quarter stater, and one Flat Linear I were unstratified and cannot be directly related to the evidence; however, the recovery of gold in the vicinity of areas yielding ritual character has already been noted (e.g. Oundle). It must be stressed that the PAS reports 21 coins from Raunds, seven of which from the environs of Stanwick: as they lack spatial accuracy, it is not possible to ascertain whether these coins were related to the complex. It is equally possible that some of these entries duplicate excavation data (see Appendix II, Spreadsheet 1, Raunds). Well-located area-finds principally consist of small amounts of gold SE4-5, E6-7 staters, four silver E71 units, and few NE and EA7 units, while neither cast bronze or copper alloy issues have been found, which is in contrast with the evidence from excavation.

To the east of Nene valley, the major unenclosed settlement dating to the end of the 1st century BC has been recognised between **March** and **Stonea** (Jackson and Potter 1996; fig. 4.6), within the southernmost part of the Fens, known as the Great Levels. Excavation in Estover, March, revealed a circular middle Iron Age enclosure that was superseded by a late Iron Age-early Roman drove way and a substantial earthwork yielding evidence of post-Conquest ceramic material. At least three deposits of silver EA units (March I, Field Baulk, and West Fen, all discussed in 5.2.3) were recorded from this area. To the north-east of March (Stonea Grange), a late Iron Age ditch enclosing two small gullies has been identified, where sherds of samian ware came to light. By the 1st century AD, an early Roman settlement developed at Stonea. The site was probably preceded by a 2nd century BC ritual focus at Stonea Camp, further south-west. Traces of a processional way (*cursus*) and a Bronze Age barrow in the vicinity may be indicative of an early religious function for the area. Two silver EA7 units were found stratified respectively from a 3rd century AD context (pit), and from the northern wall of a Roman tower in the vicinity of a Roman temple and domestic buildings to the north-east of Stonea Camp; given its position, the coin from the wall was possibly

deliberately deposited, which may indicate continuity in the performance of ritual activities linked to the protection of boundaries.

Figure 4.6: Plan of Stonea (from Jackson and Potter 1996, 29)

Additional finds (16 silver EA7-9 units) from the area were interpreted as part of at least two dispersed hoards. Even though inadequate records and limited structural evidence allow little interpretation, the hypothesis of religious and commercial activities at March/Stonea (Chadburn 1996, 274; Philpot and Potter 1996, 43) is not unconvincing. Although the lack of base metal coins in significant amounts may rule out a 'market place', and the evidence of stratified coins accounts for votive depositions taking place during the Roman period, it is also possible that silver EA issues were adopted in ordinary transactions during the early 1st century AD, as the evidence of hoards may suggest (discussed in Chapter 5). Arguing in favour of high status or centralised functions for the Stonea complex is much more complicated.

The eastern border of Area B, corresponding to parts of north-western Norfolk, is drained by the Great Ouse, which is the main navigable river of East Anglia and is characterised by the presence of important ancient communication routes running south-north: the Icknield Way and the Peddars Way. These routes likely enabled internal transportation and access to raw material sources (Lyons 2004, 58) and possibly favoured the development of salt production sites and mining complexes during the Roman period (Gurney 1986; Gurney and Hoggett 2010). To the east of the Ouse, **Thetford**, at the confluence between the rivers Thet and Little Ouse, has been identified as one of the most prominent pre-Roman nodal points for communication and transport (Andrews and Penn 1999; Gregory 1991, fig. 4.7). The principal evidence consisted of a large system of multivallate enclosures at Fison Way, to the north-east of a mound, while subsidiary enclosures showed traces of metalworking and possibly cloth weaving (Bryant 2007, 70). The ditches encompassed a number of east-oriented circular buildings dating to the 1st century AD. The lack of domestic evidence, the presence of circular structures associated to an elaborate entrance, and the artefact assemblage, including Dressel 2-4 *amphorae*, south Gaulish samian ware, Roman military items, coins and jewellery (Lawson 1986, 67) may argue for a ceremonial complex (Curteis 2001, 137-138).

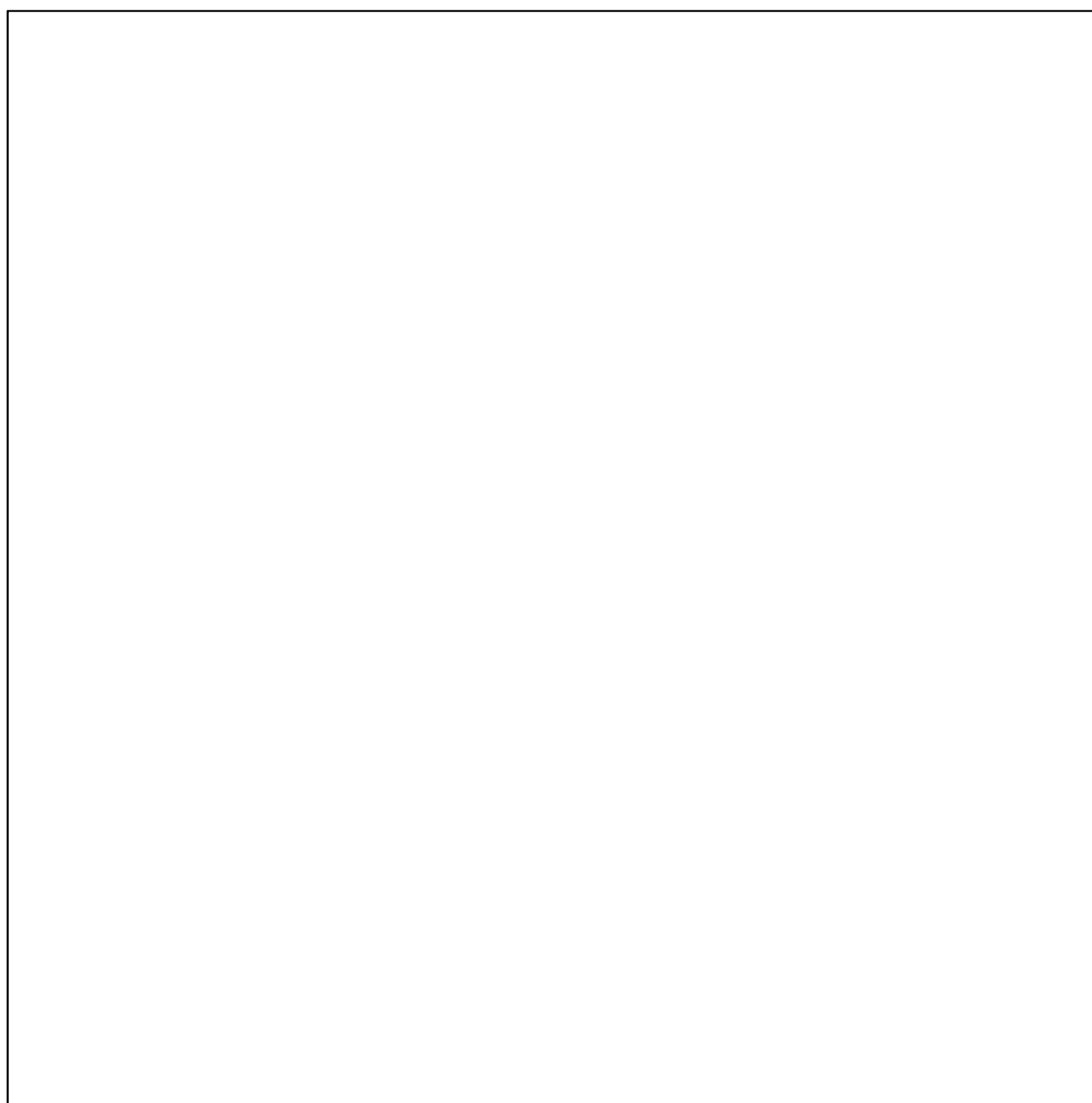


Figure 4.7: Plan of Thetford (from Gregory 1991, xiv)

The most noteworthy find at Thetford comprised over 100 fragments of pellet moulds (Fison Way, ditch of Enclosure 23), possibly used for the manufacture of silver EA coins (Gregory 1991, 139). However, investigation at Gallows Hill (to the north of Fison Way) only revealed two stratified coins: one bronze E81 unit and one silver EA91 unit from the outside ditch of enclosure 25, the latter possibly being from a grave (see 4.4.1). Although two further coins were located by metal detectors in the inner part of the enclosure, this small coin assemblage is in sharp contrast with the presence of a mint suggested by the moulds. The lack of silver EA issues in significant quantities from Thetford in comparison to the large amount of similar area-finds recorded from the

site environs (see 4.5) may suggest that these types were deliberately not adopted in ordinary transactions performed within the settlement. In addition, given the restricted evidence of E8 coins from the region, it is significant that one bronze specimen was found in excavation. Probably, this coin was incorporated in local practices of deposition within the boundaries of the settlement. As emphasised above, because of its location, Thetford may have held strategic and/or territorial importance. The evidence of high status artefacts, local and cross-channel contacts, minting and ritual activities, support the hypothesis of a productive and distributive site (Gregory 1991, 197). Like the other sites identified within Area B, the function it performed within the social landscape, however, is not easy to determine.

The principal trends identified in Area B account for (1) no conclusive evidence of prominent sites but a number of settlements may have developed central roles (2) little numbers of coins from settlements frequently associated to structured forms of deposition (3) no substantial evidence in support of social differentiation.

4.2.3 Area C

Coins from excavation in Area C are reported from Chichester and Silchester; other minor settlements and funerary sites, including Hurtsbourne Priors, Rowlands Castle, Westhampnett, and Winchester only yielded up to 3 coins.

The most prominent late Iron Age nucleated settlement in Area C lay at **Silchester/Calleva** (Boon 1969; Clarke and Fulford 1998; Fulford 1985, 1993; Fulford and Timby 2000; <http://www.reading.ac.uk/silchester/town-life/>; fig. 4.8). Unlike many contemporary *oppida*, Silchester did not develop on a riverside position but it was located near several springs (Boon 1974, 85). Furthermore, proximity to the Thames made it easily accessible. Excavation on site identified a 1st century BC inner ditch enclosing an area of 32ha; this was possibly surrounded by a continuous external ditch, of which only one side is currently visible (Sharples 2010, 86). The north-eastern section of the Inner Earthwork yielded one gold plated S5 stater, one bronze SE71 unit from the fill of a late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD pit, and one silver NE6 coin

from the upper filling of ditch. Other finds include one bronze E83 unit from a pit located outside and to the south of the Inner Earthwork and a gold SE5 stater (lacking stratification details) from Mortimer West End, outside the boundaries of the settlement. One unstratified gold S6 stater has been reported from the south-west of the earthwork, and one gold SW4 stater has been located 'near Silchester' (according to excavation report). The evidence of gold and silver coins from boundary positions is consistent with foundation ceremonies and/or practices of marking boundaries.

The *forum/basilica* of the Roman town was built over a major nucleus of late Iron Age occupation comprising roundhouses, gullies and pits. These were later superseded by rectangular structures and metalled streets. Excavation in *Insula IX* revealed further evidence of pre-Conquest and early-post Conquest occupation, with a rich artefact assemblage composed of Dressel 1 *amphorae*, Arretine and Gallo-Belgic pottery, and samian ware. At least 20 fragments of coin moulds suggest the presence of a mint and the size of the moulds seems suitable for the production of local silver S coins (Fulford and Timby 2000, 414 and 554). The numismatic evidence from the *forum/basilica* site consists of 27 excavated and stray finds including few S7-8 issues, one gold E5 stater, one bronze E73 unit, one bronze E75 unit, one bronze E82 unit, one silver NE6 unit, two SE7 issues, one copper units inscribed SA, possibly from Kent, and six silver and bronze Gaulish issues. Such a varied assemblage may be indicative of a ritual gathering place or a market centre; only few coins, however, hold stratification details (e.g. one silver S72 unit and one silver S81 from the infill of a ditch beneath the *basilica*, and one silver S6 unit from the fill of a well), and mostly come from contexts dating to the second half of the 2nd century AD. Furthermore, one Gaulish potin (Scheers n° 690) and one gold S6 stater have been found in the vicinity of *insulae XXXIV* and *XXII*, and one stratified Gaulish coin (Scheers n° 409) has been recorded from the south-east of Silchester; however, these finds lack additional details to account for their function. The site, holding a prominent position, was mentioned on SE81 coins reading CALLE (the regional distribution of all types with this legend is discussed in 8.2.5); surprisingly, only one SE81 issue has been recovered on site. In comparison to other contemporary *oppida* (mainly Braughing and Colchester), at present the site lacks traces of a funerary area, as well as conclusive evidence of centralisation.

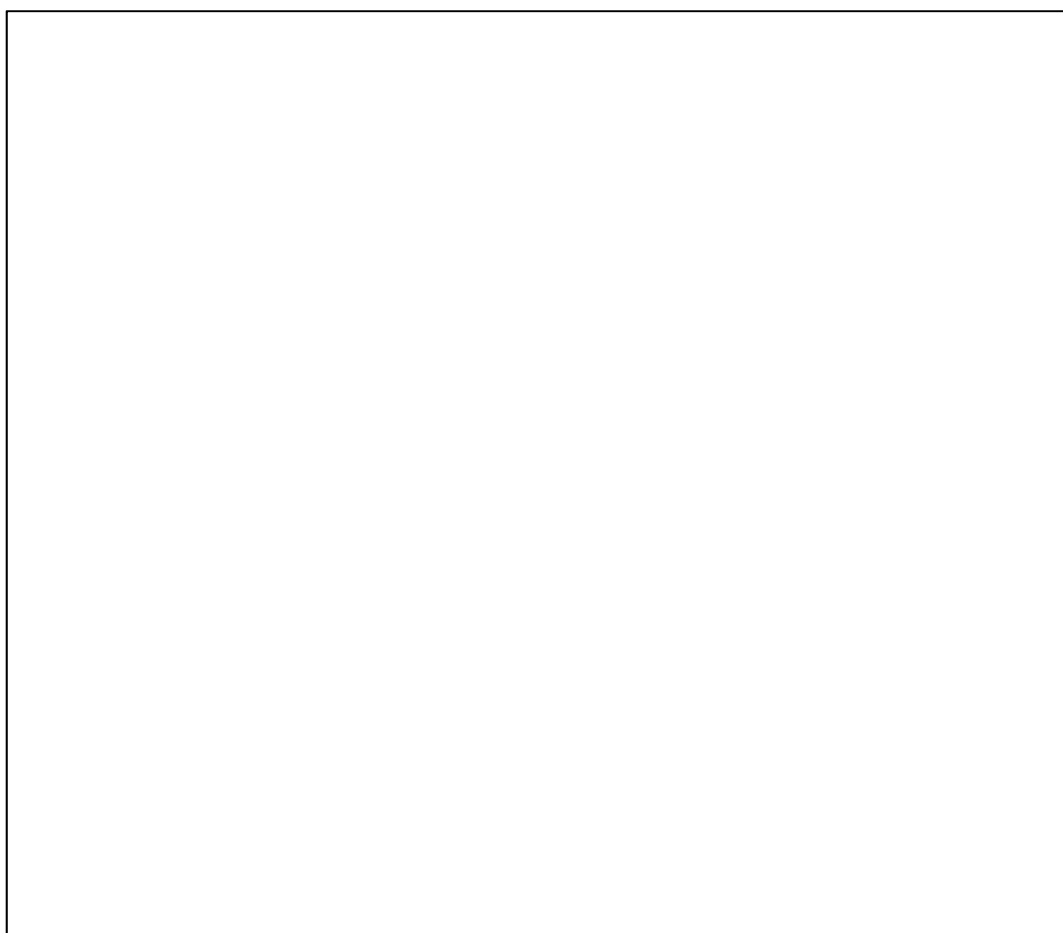


Figure 4.8: Plan of late Iron Age Silchester (from Fulford and Timby 2000, 6)

Late Iron Age occupation to the west of the Itchen includes a series of enclosures near **Winchester**, extending between Oliver's Battery (Perry 1973, 41) and Oram's Arbour (Whinney 1994; Qualmann *et al.* 2004; fig. 4.9): the Oram's Arbour ditch encompassed a 20ha area with traces of occupation from the middle Iron Age, perhaps overlapping in date with the hillfort at St Catherine's Hill on the eastern side of the river. Interestingly, one local silver minim (ST1) and one bronze unidentified unit were recovered from outside the southern defences of Orams' Arbour (Assize Court), at the level of 2nd century AD streets. In addition, one fragment of coin mould was recovered from Cathedral Green, Winchester, where the Roman *forum/basilica* was built (Rogers 2011, 60); one copper alloy SW81 unit was also reported from the fill of a Medieval pit in the same area. Although traces of minting activities within the core area of pre-Roman settlements (e.g. Area A: St Albans; Area B: Thetford; Area C: Silchester) are not

unusual, the evidence from Winchester is too meagre to certainly account for the presence of a mint.

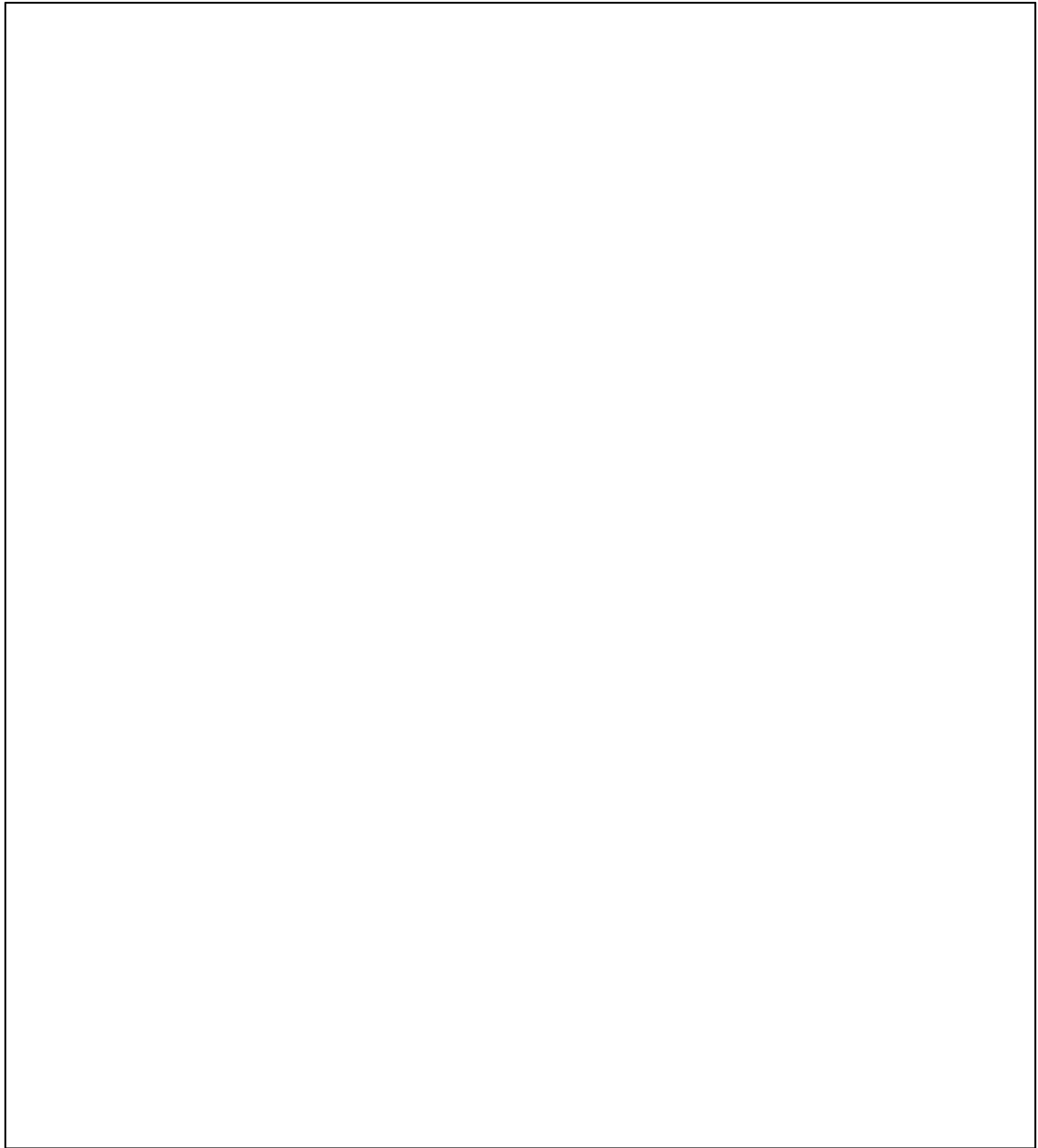


Figure 4.9: Plan of Winchester area showing Oram's Arbour and St Catherine's Hill ditches (from Qualmann et al. 2004, 3)

Because of its favourable riverside position, the site at Winchester possibly played a prominent role for high status transactions and ordinary trade activities up to the end of the 1st century BC, when it declined in connection with the rise of Silchester (Ford and Durrani 2012, 36) or Chichester. In addition, while most hillforts went out of use at the beginning of the late Iron Age (Cunliffe 1995), the persistence of the local hillfort system up to the pre-Conquest period is suggestive of stable forms of territorial control over the Itchen valley (see 9.1). The site was possibly part of a large complex that included a system of middle Iron Age enclosure and track ways, and a cremation burial cemetery at Owslebury, further south-west. Although late pre-Roman structural evidence is scant, a rich assemblage of local and imported pottery was found, which included Dressel 1 *amphorae*, Gallo-Belgic pottery and central Gaulish fine ware, suggesting occupation up to the late 1st century AD (1997, 106-107). Remarkably, a small coin assemblage has been recovered from Bottom Pond Farm, including two S81 silver minims from the lower fill of a pit and ditch, one SE5 gold from a pit, and one Flat Linear II potin from the top fill of a gully, all features dated to the mid or late 1st century AD; although these may look like votive deposits, the evidence is insufficient to formulate plausible hypotheses.

The middle Iron Age settlement pattern within the hinterland of Area C was dominated by hillforts (e.g. Cissbury, Singleton, Trundle); in contrast, the Coastal Plain was not intensively exploited, and few middle Iron Age sites were identified (Birdham: Stevens 1999; Bosham: Gardiner and Hamilton 1997; Odiham: Morris 1986). Many 'developed hillforts' remained in use up to the late Iron Age, and only declined after the emergence of new settlements along the Hampshire-West Sussex Coastal Plain. By the 1st century BC a small banjo enclosure developed at Goodwood (Carne's Seat) and, to the west of this site, a territorial *oppidum* emerged, whose exact location and function is still controversial (Magilton 2003, 156). The site, extending from **Chichester** (Down *et al.* 1971, 1990; Manley 2008; Rudkin and Manley 2005; fig. 4.10) to the Selsey peninsula was delimited by a series of discontinuous banks and ditches flanked by river valleys (Aldsworth 1987, 41) known as the Chichester Entrenchments. This group of dykes, possibly dating to the end of the 1st century BC, run southwards up to Sidlesham and Hunston Common and later enclosed the early Roman town and the palace at

Fishbourne (described below). Several rural sites identified in proximity to the Dyke may point to the development of dependent satellite farmsteads (Gardiner and Hamilton 1997, 89).



Figure 4.10: Plan of Chichester (from Manley 2008, 96)



Figure 4.11: The Chichester hinterland showing the coastal distribution of coins (from Fitzpatrick 1994, 109)

Pits and cremation pyre from a ditch have been excavated at Selsey to the north of Chichester Road, but no evidence of productive or ceremonial activities is visible and domestic occupation is represented by the remains of one building, scattered debris, sherds of local and Roman pottery and *amphorae*, as well as Roman coins (Aldsworth 1987, 49). Remarkably, large quantities of late Iron Age coins were collected along the coastline (see fig. 4.11), from West Wittering to Bognor: these include hundreds of gold E, S, SE, and Gaulish pieces from Aldwick Beach, Elmer Beach, Selsey (Allen 1960; Willett 1879; and Bean 2000, 277 attributed some of the finds from Selsey to Wanborough, Surrey) and interpreted as dispersed hoards or multiple deposits resulting from long-term occupation. Interestingly, the evidence also included an

undated gold ingot, perhaps used as a coin blank and fragments of coin moulds were found at Boxgrove, which may suggest the development of pre-Conquest minting activities within the area (Bedwin 1983, 43; Rudkin and Manley 2008, 44; Sharples 2010, 81). However, the absence of substantial numismatic evidence from excavation makes further interpretations difficult.

The main nucleus of occupation in the area was represented by a short-lived late Iron Age centre to the north of Selsey, rapidly superseded by Roman urban developments. Early occupation is attested by three round huts at Eastgate (Magilton 2003), with traces of roads and ditches; to the north-western section of the town (Chapel Street), a series of timber buildings were excavated yielding evidence of military items, which may support the hypothesis of a military garrison established at the time of the Roman invasion. Extensive re-planning took place by the end of the 1st century AD, with the establishment of a grid pattern and the re-modelling of timber houses. As already noted, a palace/villa was built at Fishbourne, to the west of Chichester: here, a ditch dated to the early 1st century AD, large amounts of samian and Arretine ware, and Dressel (1, 2-4, 20) *amphorae* witness pre-Roman occupation on site. Some 18 excavated coins were recorded from Chichester. These were silver S7 (inscribed TINCOMAROS), S8 (VERICA), and S9 (EPATICCVS) issues, or bronze E8 units generally from post-Conquest occupation layers in the North-West Quadrant (and one silver S7 minim from the north-East Quadrant). In addition, one bronze E82 unit and one copper alloy SW91 stater were reported from two Roman pits in Tower Street. One unstratified gold S7 stater has also been found from Pallant.

To the east of the Chichester earthwork, the large cremation burial cemetery at Westhampnett yielded evidence of a series of pyre sites and at least four shrines (Creighton 2000, 190; Fitzpatrick 1997, 2007; fig. 4.12). About 160 unurned cremation burials were identified, frequently accompanied by handmade pots or metalwork; however, in contrast with the evidence from Chichester, no imported pottery or Dressel 1 *amphorae* are known from the graves.

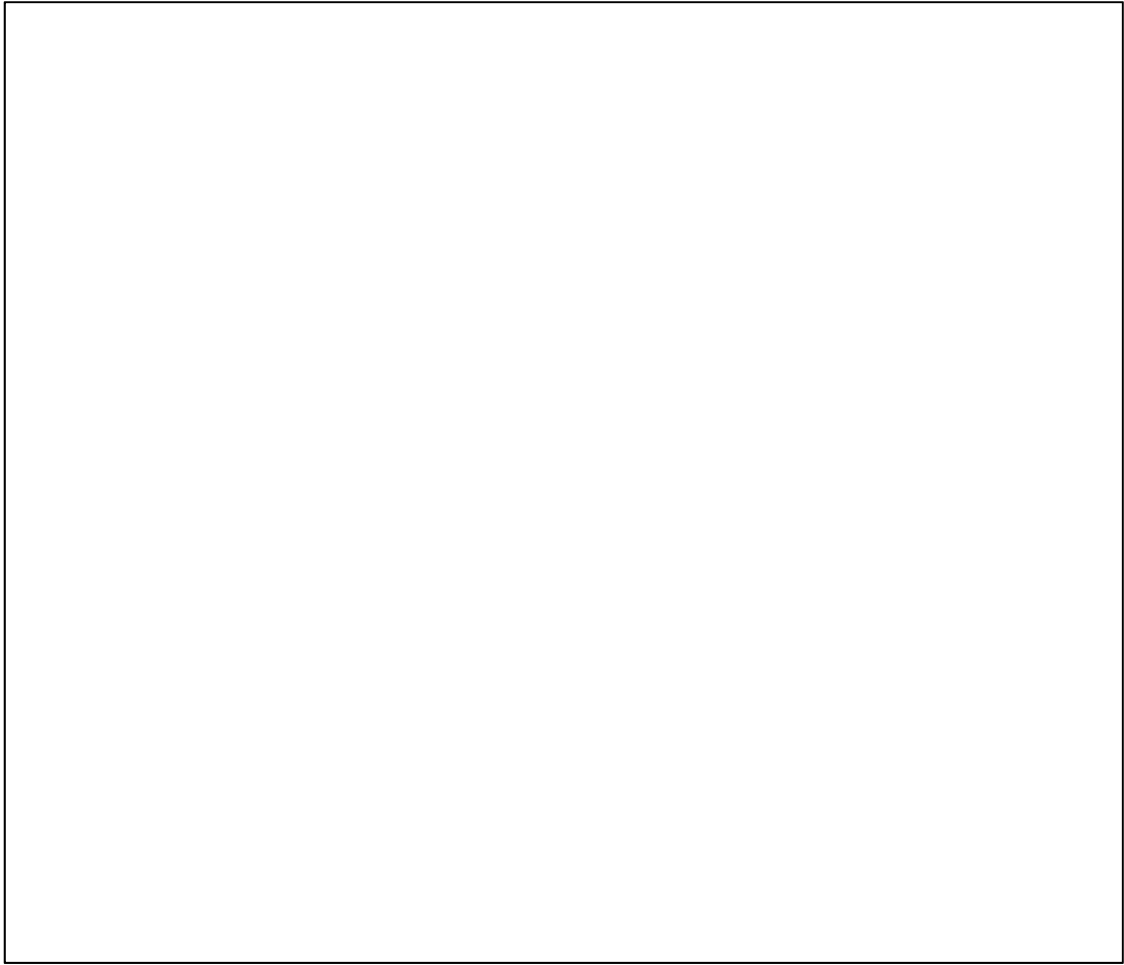


Figure 4.12: Plan of Westhampnett (from Manley 2008, 90)

The cemetery, possibly providing a funerary focus for more than one settlement (Hamilton 2007, 87), was dated to the early 1st century BC. Significantly, one gold SE4 quarter stater was found in a grave (20493), representing the earliest certain evidence of funerary practices involving the use of coins and sporadically observed elsewhere (e.g. Area A: King Harry Lane, St Albans; Upper's Wall Common, Baldock, see 4.4.1). The evidence of a linear earthwork, internal differentiation, high status and cross-Channel relationships outlined above suggest that the Chichester/Selsey complex held a prominent and central function within the social landscape before and after the Roman Conquest.

The patterns identified in Area C suggest that (1) at least two settlements developed prominent functions shortly before the Conquest (2) the evidence of coins from

settlements is widespread, albeit assemblages are not always substantial (3) traces of social differentiation are reflected by the extent of imports and the burial evidence.

4.2.4 Area D

Small amounts of coins from excavation have been reported from a number of sites in Area D; these principally include Abingdon, Bagendon, Camerton, and Cirencester. Few additional finds (generally 1-2 per site) were reported from a number of minor locations, such as Barnsley, Ducklington, Frocester, Lechlade and Somerford Keynes.

The Cotswolds Hills cover a 6000 km² surface between Gloucestershire and southern Warwickshire and the present work focuses on the section between the Severn estuary and the river Churn. The major and best investigated focus of occupation is represented by an extensive site (up to 200ha) at **Bagendon** (Clifford 1961; Courtney and Hall 1984; Moore 2006; Trow 1982, 1988; Trow *et al.* 2009; fig. 4.13). The complex, at the entrance of a dyke system within the river Churn valley, included a large Iron Age enclosure within the area known as 'Ditches' (North Cerney), extending southwards up to Barley Slad; beside the dyke system, an isolated burial has been located at Lynches, and two rectilinear enclosures were identified at Middle Duntisbourne and Duntisbourne Grove, to the south-west of Ditches (Mudd *et al.* 1999).

The first phase of occupation at Ditches, dating to the 1st century BC, was characterised by the construction of the Outer and Inner Enclosure. The identification of a series of storage pits and a hoard of currency bars, and a number of early Roman artefacts may suggest continuous occupation on site from the 1st century BC up to the mid-1st century AD (Trow *et al.* 2009, 45); this is confirmed by the artefact assemblage including Gallo-Belgic pottery, south Gaulish samian ware, and Dressel 20 *amphorae*. Fragments of clay moulds linked to the production of gold and silver coins and metal slags were collected from various locations at Ditches (including the Inner Enclosure), potentially attesting metalworking and coin minting on site; in addition, over 100 coin moulds are reported from Bagendon (Clifford 1961, 144). The recovery of an additional

coin mould from Wycomb (Timby 1998, 321) may suggest that minting activities were more widespread than visible.

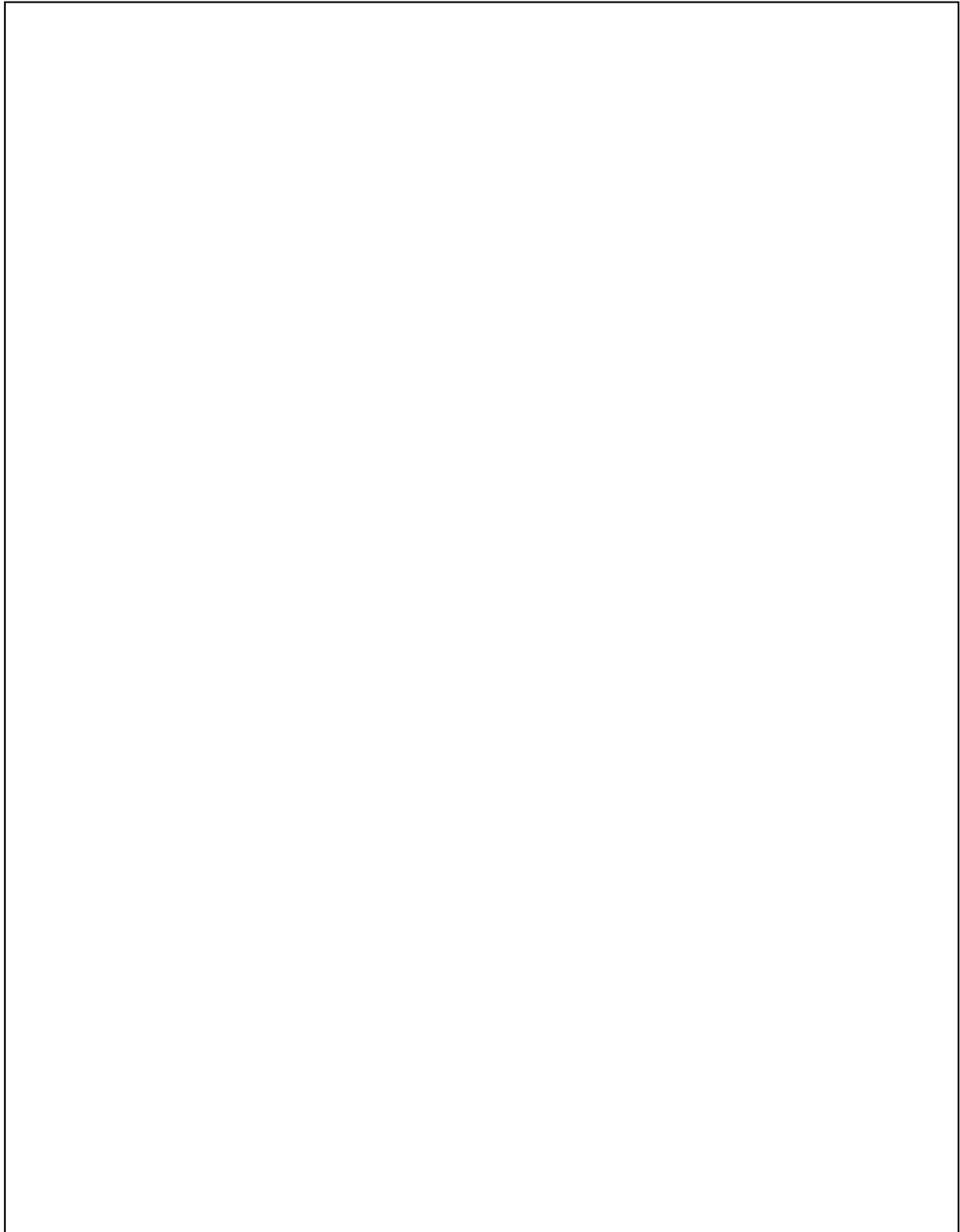


Figure 4.13: Plan of of the area including Bagendon and Ditches (from Trow et al. 2009, 3)

The numismatic evidence from the complex consists of some 40 late Iron Age coins (Clifford 1961, 115; Sellwood 1988a; Haselgrove 2009c), including excavation and scattered finds, mainly silver W7 units (c. 60%). At least 9 coins were stratified from 1st century BC levels at Bagendon, including one copper alloy SW6 specimen, while c. 20 issues were from early Roman features, and include one silver S91 unit; unfortunately, no further details about their position is available. In addition, four stratified coins have been found from Ditches; they consist of one silver W71 unit from the make-up of Structure 1, two silver W81 (ANTED) units from the fill of the Inner enclosure ditch, and one silver W82 (EISV) unit from the fill of a pit. One unstratified bronze E71 unit has also been recovered. Notwithstanding the evidence is meagre, the position of stratified coins at Ditches seems to follow the same trend already highlighted elsewhere (e.g. Area A), with coin deposition from pits and ditches near the main earthworks of the settlement, or surrounding enclosed structures from the interiors of sites.

Because of its size, the earthwork at Ditches could be interpreted as a late hillfort; however, because of the lack of apparent defensive functions, this monumental system of enclosures was probably aimed at symbolically defining territorial boundaries. By the 2nd century AD, the site was superseded by a Roman villa at **Barnsley Park** (Fowler *et al.* 1985, 73), to the south-east; as a consequence, the entire complex may be interpreted as a long-term elite residence (Holbrook 2008, 312). One unstratified silver W7 unit from the villa may be a post-Conquest loss, or the result of re-use of local silver during the Roman period.

Significantly, Bagendon developed at the periphery of key trade-routes between the Severn-Cotswolds and the upper Thames valley (Holbrook 2008, 305; Moore 2007, 53) and had a potential for centralisation; however, the Conquest may have halted or masked the flourishing of this site that was superseded by early Roman developments at **Cirencester/Corinium** (Erskine 1995; Holbrook 2008; Wachter and McWhirr 1982; fig. 4.14) some 5km to the south. The site lay on the western bank of the river Churn, and was crossed by the newly established Fosse Way. Evidence of pre-Roman occupation beneath the walled town is rare: the Beeches and Kingshill to the south-east showed

evidence of Bronze Age ring ditches and enclosures (Biddulph and Welsh 2011; Holbrook 2008, 305); a rectilinear enclosure adjacent to Tar Barrow was interpreted as a ceremonial monument, and a small cremation and inhumation cemetery was excavated at Old Tetbury. The only coin found in excavation was an unstratified bronze E73 unit, possibly being a Roman loss, and a similar find came to light from South Cerney, further west. The recovery of a well-located silver W92 (Bodvoc) unit from the vicinity of the site could equally be a Roman loss. The lack of stratification does not permit to highlight meaningful patterns of use.

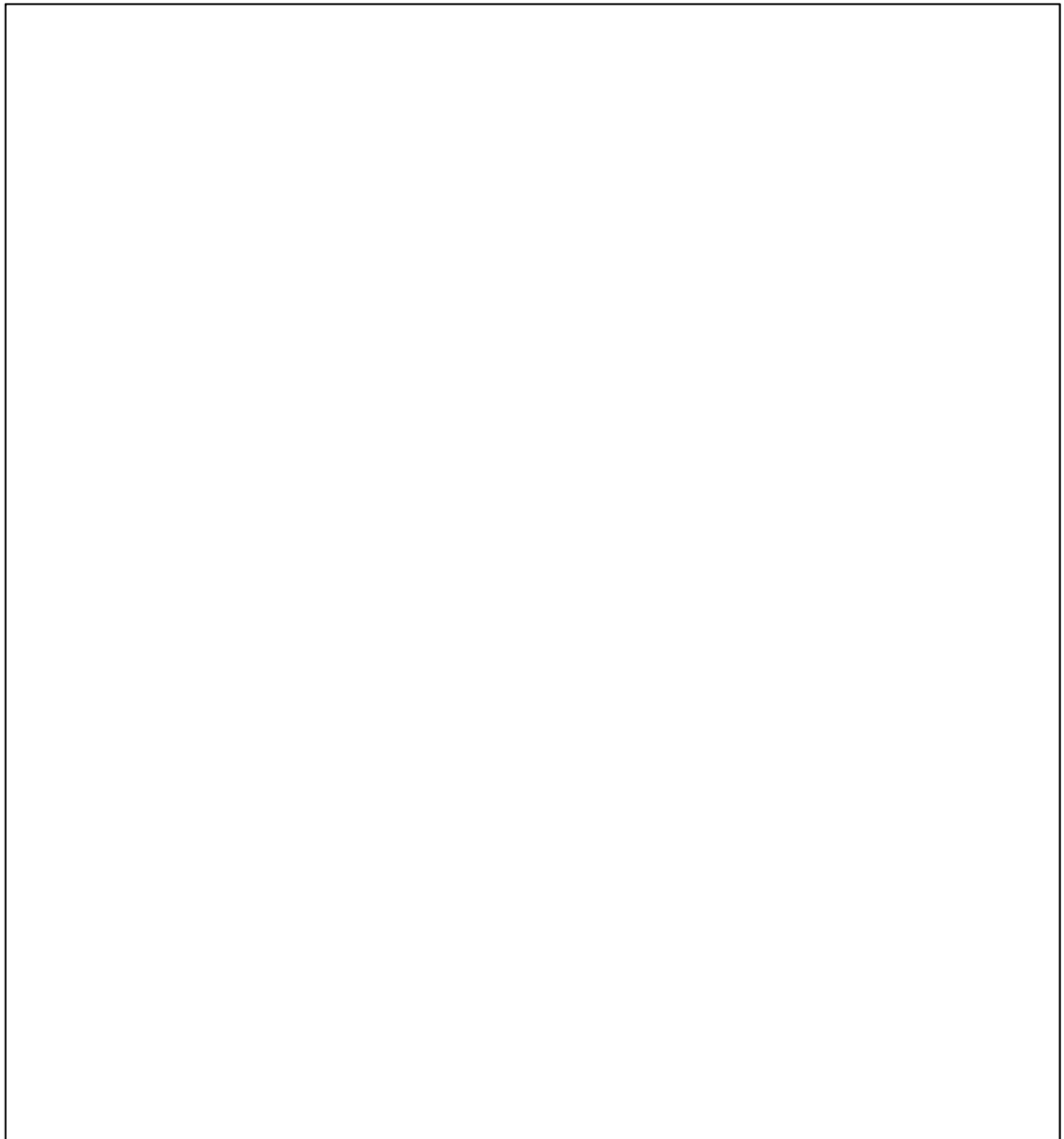


Figure 4.14: Plan of Roman Cirencester (from Holbrook 2008, 30)

Roman *Corinium* was part of a densely exploited region, where other sites yielding late Iron Age coins were identified. To the south of Cirencester, a late Iron Age settlement developed at **Somerford Keynes** (Frere *et al.* 1986, 1987; Glass 1991; Vallender 2008), where the evidence included a penannular ditch surrounded by a smaller enclosure, as well as a series of unenclosed roundhouses. In addition to early Roman coins and metalwork five unstratified silver W71 units and one copper alloy WS6 stater were recovered from the site. One further stray silver W6 unit and one gold S6 quarter stater were also found at Ashton Keynes (Coe *et al.* 1991; Jones *et al.* 2008); this site yielded evidence of sherds of Dressel 1B *amphorae* and Roman coins. Notwithstanding the absence of adequate structural evidence, the presence of Bronze Age funerary activity to the north of Ashton and Somerford (Shorncote; Glass 1991, 42) and the evidence of early precious coins may imply that the area had been exploited long before the late pre-Roman period. Further west, two unstratified silver W7 units were found in excavation at **Frocester** villa, along with 1st century AD Gallo-Belgic pottery, south Gaulish samian ware, and Dressel 2-4 and 20 *amphorae* (Price 1990); the site also revealed a ditch enclosing up to six roundhouses and traces of bronze and ironworking. The coin finds are plausibly early Roman losses.

As already emphasised, the evidence from the Cotswolds is not substantial. Similarly, no evidence of large scale later pre-Conquest activity has been recognised in the Avon valley, as confirmed by the paucity of early ceramic imports and numismatic finds. The late Iron Age-early Roman evidence at the **Camerton** plateau (Lawes 2008, 2009; Wedlake 1951), between the rivers Cam and Wellow, includes a circular hut surrounded by a series of post-holes and a number of timber structures, as well as sherds of *terra nigra* and south Gaulish samian ware. Two stratified silver W7-8 units were recovered from the ditch of Barrow II in association with early Roman pottery. These coins may be the result of episodes of loss or deposition (Haselgrove 1987a, 233; Moore 2006, 200) dating to the early Roman period. The discovery of a hoard containing late Iron Age and early Roman metalwork (mostly military fittings, weapons and tools) nearby Camerton is consistent with the presence of an early Roman fort on site (Jackson 1990).

Within the upper Thames valley, coinciding with the eastern section of Area D, the most extensive late Iron Age evidence has been identified at **Abingdon** (Allen 1997, 2000; Brady *et al.* 2008; Devaney and Wood 2008; Lambrick and Robinson 2009; fig. 4.15), at the confluence between the rivers Thames and Ock.

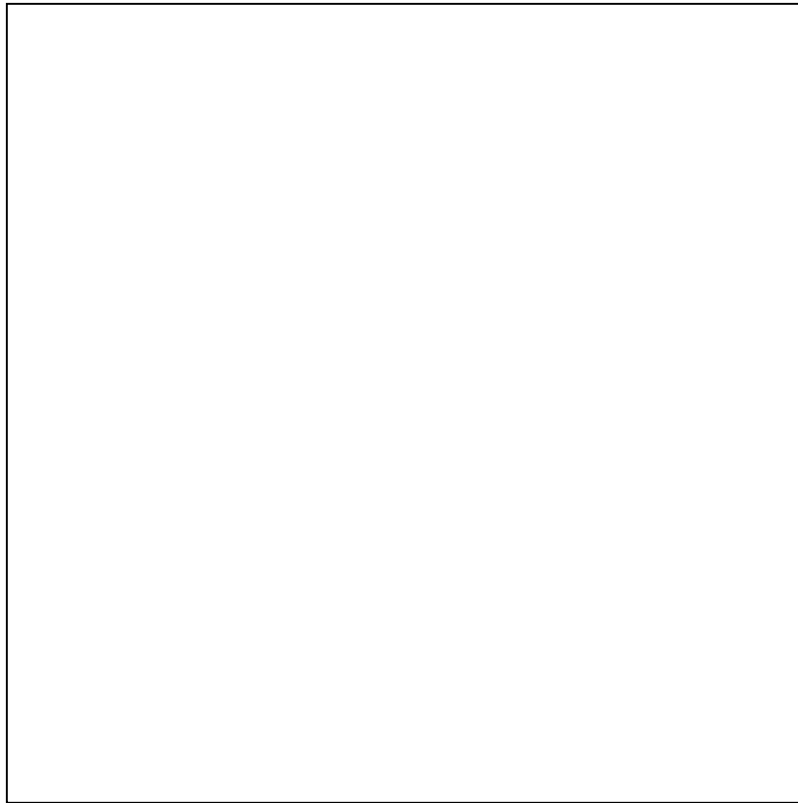


Figure 4.15: Areas of ditches at Abingdon (from Devaney 2007, 76)

One bronze E73 unit was reported from a penannular ditch enclosing a circular building (Thrupp House), to the east of The Vineyard, and one bronze E83 unit came to light from the top fill of a post-Conquest pit at a nearby enclosed farm at Barton Court Farm. One additional E83 coin was identified within a post-Roman context at The Vineyard, where Gallo-Belgic pottery, Gaulish ware, and traces of Dressel 20 *amphorae* were also located, as well as one unstratified silver SW6 unit. The site at Abingdon, enclosed by enormous ditches, possibly having defensive but also symbolic or ceremonial functions (Curteis 2001, 204), displayed traces of continuity from the middle Iron Age to the early Roman period and has been interpreted as a river-based

market place (Allen 1997, 48). The late Iron Age coin evidence is not adequate to account for centralisation or trade activities, even though the bronze unit from the circular building at Thrupp House may recall patterns of structured deposition already identified elsewhere (e.g. at Baldock, 4.2.1).

In summary, in Area D: (1) some settlement may have played a central role to some extent but no site has developed as a prominent place before the Roman Conquest (2) with the exception of Bagendon the evidence of coins from settlements is meagre (3) little traces of social stratification has been recognised.

4.3 Coins from major ritual sites

During the 1st century BC, although ritualised practices may have taken place on settlement sites (Chadwick 2012), the evidence in Britain accounted for an increasing differentiation of spheres of activities (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 31), witnessed by the emergence of sites designed to religious practices. These principally clustered in the southern and south-eastern regions and were characterised by enclosed circular or rectangular structures, in some cases surrounded by votive pits. Likewise several contemporary sanctuaries in north-eastern Gaul (Wellington 2005, 316) or the Lower Rhine region (Gerritsen and Roymans 2006), these sites developed in coastal or other prominent positions, such as hills and overlooking slopes. Some of them developed as Roman temples and showed traces of continuity in exploitation up to the late Roman period (Smith 2001). British ritual sites frequently acted as focal points attracting large groups of people and, as the result of votive deposition, yielded hundreds of late Iron Age coins. Sacred offerings at shrines are the result of subjective choices, but were also pre-determined by the existence of relevant structures: recollection of deposited objects could take place at sanctuaries, but the nature of these sites made prospective individual recovery of personal objects difficult.

The evidence from three major ritual sites is described and compared in this section: Harlow (Area A), Hallaton (Area B), and Hayling Island (Area C); as no major late Iron

Age religious focus yielding coins has been identified within Area D, section 4.3.4 will consist of a summary of the pre-Conquest and early Roman ritual evidence associated with the presence of few scattered well-located or excavated pre-Roman coins.

4.3.1 Area A: Harlow

Although evidence of ritual associated with settlement sites is not infrequent in south-eastern Britain (e.g. Baldock, Heybridge, 4.2.1), the most significant religious complex in the area developed at Harlow (Bartlett 1988; France and Gobel 1985; Haselgrove 1989a; fig 4.16), on a prominent position on the hill of Stanegrove and in proximity to the river Stort. The earliest evidence was represented by a ditch yielding two Bronze Age cremation urns. After a gap in occupation during the early-middle Iron Age, the evidence includes a 1st century BC penannular gully oriented to the south and associated with pits and post-holes, whilst a circular structure developed to the north-east (pre-Temple phase). The complex remained in use until the Flavian period, when a stone temple comprising a *cella* and ambulatory was built to the north of the early gully. A second occupation focus was recognised at Holbrooks (Conlon 1973), to the left of Harlow. Excavations here identified at least four structures and a building with traces of mosaic floors, Roman pottery and metalwork: 35 bronze E7-8 and SE7 coins, and one silver SE6 unit came to light from this site, together with bronze jewels and miniature items assigned to the 1st century AD. The complex may be interpreted as a manufacturing centre or a high status settlement linked to Harlow (Haselgrove 1989a).

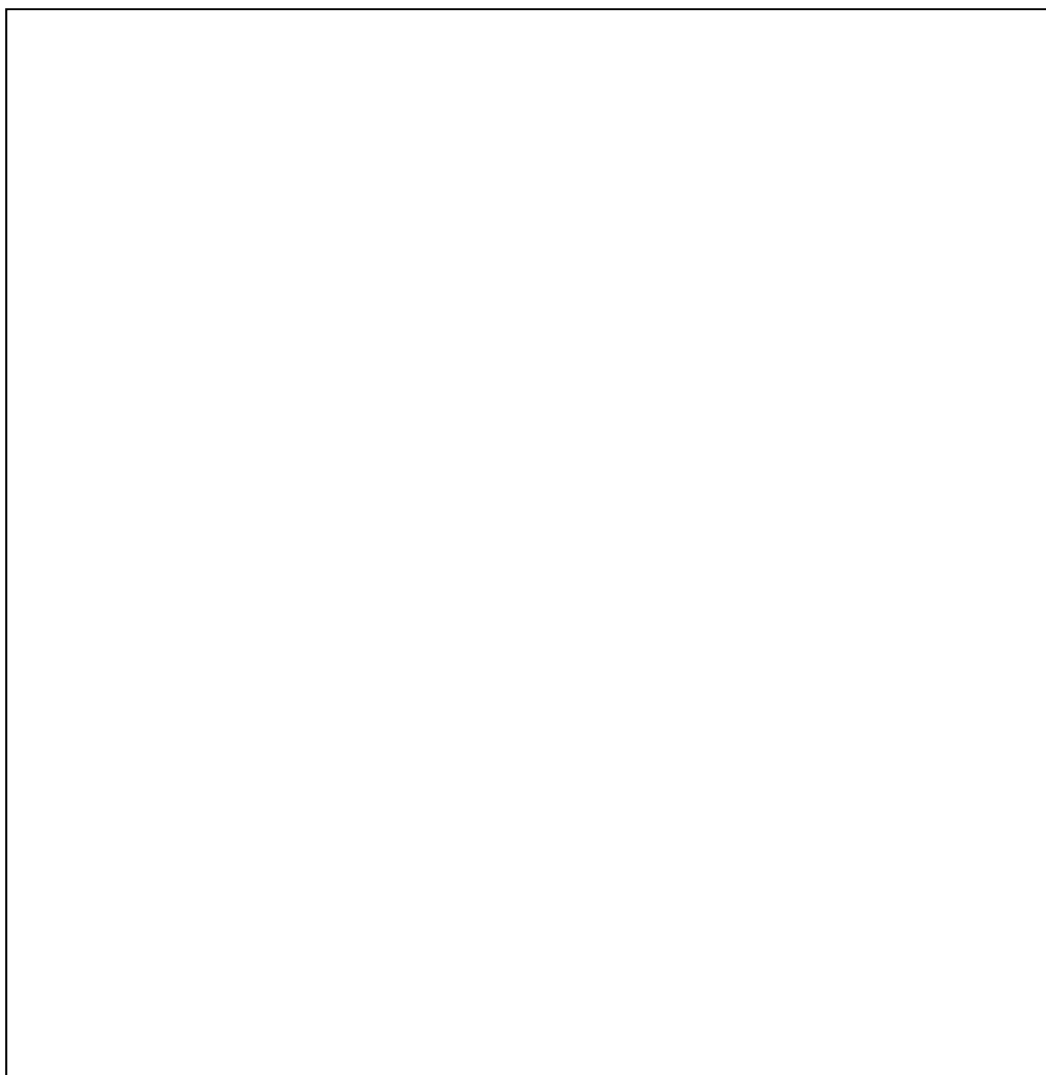


Figure 4.16: Plan of Harlow (from Haselgrove 2005b, 409)

At Harlow, 267 pre-Roman issues were recorded, most (213) stratified and largely from the East and West Range of the Stone Temple; the rest of the artefacts include bronze jewellery, toilets sets, military fittings and miniature swords, all indicative of votive deposition. Whereas several finds from the East Range came from pre-Temple and Temple contexts, most coins are from the West Range of the Stone Temple, with the highest concentration (93) from the post-Temple phases and from secondary contexts. The majority of excavation finds consist of bronze E units: c. 19% of these included E71 issues and some specimens of E72, E73, and E75, while c. 68% consist of E8 units, with a prevalence of E83. Since some of the coins were in particularly good conditions, it is possible they went out of circulation shortly after minting (Haselgrove 2005b, 412).

Silver and bronze SE7 issues also occur, although in minor percentages (c. 5%). In addition, one silver NE7 unit and one copper alloy SW8 stater were recorded from disturbed upper levels in the West Range. Notwithstanding the incidence of bronze types, at least fourteen gold coins were recovered from the *cella*. These consist of S5, E5-6 quarter staters, and one SE5 stater, and include one S51 quarter stater from a likely votive pit dated to the pre-Temple phase. Other similar finds have been reported from the Temple and post-Temple phase: these are, however, the result of disturbance from the previous levels. In addition, one gold E82 stater was identified from a surface level in the East Range; being the only gold occurrence dating to the early 1st century AD, this find may further emphasise that the use of gold in ritual activities was chronologically restricted to the 1st century BC. The rising availability of Roman coins after the Conquest may have produced a decline in the deposition of local issues (Haselgrove 1987b, 385). The large number of Iron Age coins and the evidence of continuity in use up to the Roman period suggest that the Harlow ritual complex may have acted as a central gathering place and focus of social cohesion for local communities during the Iron Age.

4.3.2 Area B: Hallaton

The most notable evidence of coins from a ritual site in central Britain comes from Hallaton (Score 2011; fig. 4.17). As already pointed out, this site lies on a marginal position along the north-western edge of Area B. However, the site has been included within this work as it revealed the biggest deposit of late Iron Age and Roman coins (up to 5200 finds in total) recorded from an excavation in Britain (Williams and Hobbs 2003, 55; Score 2011), hence balancing the lack of ritual evidence in the Fens and along the course of the Great Ouse. The first phase of occupation is represented by a Bronze Age ditch and a barrow that yielded broken copper alloy objects and may be indicative of early ritual functions. The earliest Iron Age features are a pit containing fragments of pottery and a curvilinear gully, comparable to those excavated at Harlow (Score 2011, 17). Sherds of local pottery, silver and bronze objects and a dog skeleton were recovered from the eastward entrance of a boundary ditch developing during the following phase.

More of 4900 Iron Age coins came from the site, and c. 3300 of them were stratified from different features. In particular, the fill of the ditch and the entranceway dated to the early half of the 1st century AD, yielded respectively 140 and c. 2000 E7-8 and NE7-9 coins. To the east, a linear gully and a small pit were located: these yielded parts of a Roman helmet and a number of hoards containing at least 1142 coins, including E8, EA9, NE-9 issues, as well as one silver S8 unit and few silver W7-8 unit. Additional finds from scattered pits include late Iron Age and Roman metalwork and pottery sherds dated between the 1st and 4th century AD. As visible, more than 90% of the coins belong to phase 8-9, and small percentages are assignable to phase 1-3 and 4-6 (c. 3%). The incidence of gold and bronze types is restricted in comparison to the amount of silver coins. To the north-west of the site, an enclosed early Roman settlement was also identified. Presumably, deposition on site took place between the mid-1st century BC and the 4th century AD, with a peak shortly after the Conquest (Leins 2011, 40), and several issues preceding phase 8 may be residual. After a gap during the 2nd-3rd century AD, it is possible that ritual activities at Hallaton were revived by the late Roman period.

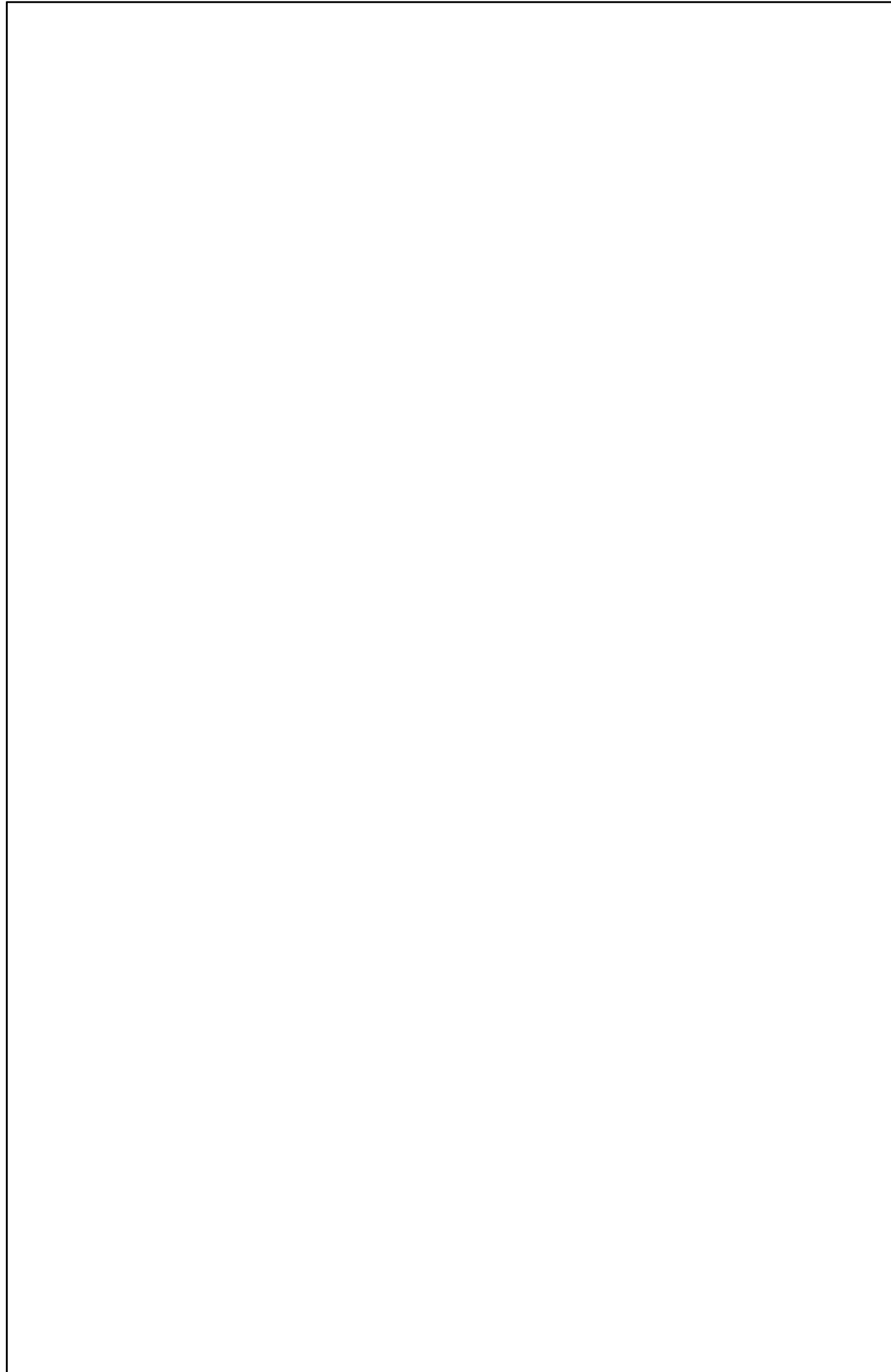


Figure 4.17: Plan of Hallaton (from Score and Browning 2010, 148)

Because of its position, Hallaton probably acted as a central religious focus within the Nene and Welland valley. The evidence of multiple hoards within a single location may recall the evidence from Essendon, Marks Tey (Area A, see 5.2.2), Snettisham (Area B, 5.3), and Selsey (Area C, 4.2.3). The extensive amount of depositions, likely taking place within a short period during the early 1st century AD (Haselgrove 2011), may suggest that hoarding at Hallaton was not the result of a long-term process, but it took place under threatening conditions linked to the Roman invasion and leading to the removal of local silver coins from circulation.

4.3.3 Area C: Hayling Island

At Hayling Island (Briggs *et al.* 1992; Downey, King and Soffe 1977; King and Soffe 1994, 2001; Haselgrove 2005b; fig. 4.18), some 10km to the south-west of Chichester, an east oriented circular timber structure, enclosed by a square palisade or courtyard, was erected by the late 1st century BC. The building, interpreted as a shrine, perhaps replaced an earlier sacred structure where Gaulish coins have been found (Briggs *et al.* 1992, 36). The circular shrine apparently declined during the late pre-Conquest period, and new ritual activities and offerings took place again by the mid-late 1st century AD, when a larger stone temple with *cella* and *temenos* was constructed. The rest of the artefact assemblage included ritually damaged jewellery and weapons, currency bars, sherds of south Gaulish samian ware, Dressel 1 *amphorae*, and large amounts of Roman coins (Haselgrove 2005b, 388). The proportion between Republican and early Imperial issues (respectively c. 70% and c. 30%) seems to imply that the bulk of deposition took place shortly before the Conquest (De Jersey 1997, 89).

More than 160 Iron Age coins were excavated and c. 115 were stratified, principally from the layers and pits in the proximity of the circular structure, or within the eastern part of the enclosure ditch. Amongst stratified issues (c. 70% out of total), the highest percentage (c. 36%) came from phase II contexts (pre-AD 69), while issues from phase III-IV (late 1st century AD) account for c. 26%. The coins from phases VI (2nd century AD) to VIII (Saxon period) had clearly been disturbed from earlier levels. However, the final excavation report has not yet been published. Iron Age coins mostly consist of S (c.

31%) types, although several finds belong to the SE, SW and W groups; most finds date to phases 4-6 (c. 32%) and 7-9 (c. 30%), whilst only c. 6% out of the total dated to phase 1-3. Interestingly, silver and bronze issues outnumber gold; similar proportions have already been noted at Harlow (for bronze) and Hallaton (for silver).



Figure 4.18: Plan of Hayling Island (from Haselgrove 2005b, 385)

The high incidence of gold plated issues may suggest several early precious coins had been subject to recovery (Haselgrove 2005b, 417). Continental issues, mainly from northern Gaul and Armorica, account for c. 18% of stratified finds. At least three-quarters of all Armorican issues from Hayling Island were of pre-Caesarean date (Haselgrove 2005b, 394). In addition, ten Danubian silver units (inscribed Kapostal, BMC I, 87-90) and two hoards containing bronze units from north-central Gaul (LT XXVIII 7034; LT XIX 6088) have been found along the coast in the vicinity of the temple; because of their position, these could be interpreted as votive deposits (see 5.1.1). The numismatic evidence from the shrine at Hayling Island not only suggests that the site acted as a religious focus for several communities, but also emphasises the existence of relationships between the people inhabiting the Coastal Plain region and Gaul at the end of the 1st millennium BC.

4.3.4 Area D

As already noted, Area D lacks convincing evidence of central late Iron Age ritual sites. For this reason, in order to recognise patterns of votive deposition, this section will focus on three early Roman ritual structures excavated in the Area that yielded some evidence of late Iron Age coins: Bath, Nettleton, and Uley.

To the north of Camerton, a ritual structure consisting of a temple precinct and *portico* in proximity to a water spring was excavated at **Bath/Aquae Sulis** (Ellis 1995; Frere et al. 1987); at least 100 Roman coins dating to the 3rd-4th century AD were deposited within the temple. The investigation also revealed twelve unstratified silver W7-8 units, plus one bronze E8 unit and one silver Gaulish minim (De Jersey 1999, 195) that have been interpreted as residual depositions (Sellwood 1988b, 279). To the west of the precinct, a 1st century BC road has been identified (Frere *et al.* 1986, 342), possibly indicating pre-Roman exploitation of the area. Traces of enclosures and land organisation at **Nettleton Scrubb** (Wedlake 1982), to the north of Bath, are visible from the Bronze Age. Here, a circular Roman temple, dedicated to Apollo *cunomaglus* (protector of dogs), was erected along the river Avon and in proximity to a spring, and pre-Roman pottery was found to the south of a small plateau. One silver W7 unit was

recovered from the ditch of an early enclosure, and one similar find came from the east of the Roman shrine. Despite the lack of pre-Conquest structures, the numismatic evidence from this site may imply similarity with pre-Roman practices of votive deposition identified elsewhere: in fact, coins from liminal positions or the eastern side of British Iron Age shrines are not unusual (e.g. Harlow and Hayling Island; Haselgrove 2005b, 388). Notwithstanding the lack of substantial evidence, it may also be suggested that the Roman temple superseded a pre-existing focus. Similarly, four unstratified gold and silver W6-9 issues were recorded nearby a late Iron Age votive structure at West Hill, **Uley**, c. 30 to the south-west of Bagendon. This structure was superseded by an early Roman temple, possibly associated with the cult of Mercury (Woodward and Leach 1993, 266); the complex developed outside a c. 13ha hillfort, and two currency bars were found from votive pits to the east of this area.

It is worth mentioning that a Roman ritual focus was also identified between **Frilford** and **Marcham** (Frere *et al.* 1987; Gosden and Lock 2003; Kamash *et al.* 2010), c. 6km to the west of Abingdon. The main evidence from this site consists of a circular structure interpreted as an *amphitheatre* (at Marcham) and a stone temple further south-west; the artefact assemblage from the site, including miniature weapons, miscellaneous metalwork of Roman date, and Roman coins spanning the 1st-4th century AD, is indicative of a ritual complex. Interestingly, further excavations revealed an area of Iron Age activity to the south-west corner of the temple consisting of a complex of ditches and circular pits, a posthole structure (site A), and a roundhouse (site B); these structures have been interpreted as non-domestic, suggesting continuity in ritual practices up to the Roman period. Further south (site C), a penannular ditch enclosing a pit and numerous post-holes was superseded by a Roman circular building. The area yielded a large assemblage of well-made local pottery, but no evidence of votive deposition of Iron Age coins is attested at Frilford/Marcham. Few gold and bronze E coins from the area were the result of unsystematic metal detector search; since they lack accurate location, these coins cannot contribute to the interpretation of the site.

In summary, with the exception of Frilford, the sites described above lack substantial evidence of late Iron Age structures, which may exclude that they represented focal religious places before the Conquest. As the evidence from Frilford seems to imply, pre-Roman ritual activities may have taken place but it is possible that they did not incorporate the deposition of coins. Small numbers of coins from Nettleton, Bath, and Uley may likely be the result of episodes of deposition occurring during the Roman period; however, most of them lack stratification details. As emerged from the description of ritual zones in Areas A, B, and C, the choice of locations in proximity to water (e.g. Bath, see also Hayling Island), the association with the cult of dogs (e.g. Nettleton, see also Hallaton), the evidence of coin deposition in ditches, and the recovery of unstratified scattered gold (e.g. Uley) are recurrent Iron Age patterns: these may indicate that the superimposition of post-Conquest elements disguised pre-existing traces of ritual activities in Area D.

4.4 Distribution and deposition of site-finds

The largest coin assemblages discussed in this chapter came from settlements excavated at Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Heybridge, St Albans (Area A), and Silchester (Area C), and ritual sites investigated at Harlow (Area A), Hallaton (Area B), and Hayling Island (Area C). Other major settlements, such as Stonea and Thetford (Area B), Chichester (Area C), Abingdon and Bagendon (Area B), only yielded little amounts of coins. Additional small assemblages or isolated stratified finds were located within minor sites (e.g. Area A: Nazeing; Area B: Ashton; Area C: Hurstbourne Prior; Area D: Camerton). It must be reminded that, given the low amount of stratified finds and the lack of a tri-metallic coin system, assessing the evidence from Area B and D is generally more complex.

Looking at typologies, the E group, produced in the south-eastern regions by the early 1st century BC, definitely stand out in terms of quantity and wide distribution in Area A, while the impact of other groups (namely the SE series) is more restricted. In Area B, the evidence principally accounts for EA coins, not common from settlements, and NE issues clustering within the Nene valley: however, it must be remembered that meagre

quantities have been collected, and several sites also yielded small amounts of E and SE coins. Most of the coins reported from excavated sites in Area C are locally struck S issues, and it is also worth emphasising that significant quantities of Gaulish coins (c. 17% out of total finds) are reported from this Area. As visible, whilst the E and SW series are sporadically recorded in Area D, most excavated coins are W issues. Remarkably, in Areas A-C, non-locally produced coins generally clustered within ritual sites, which acted as gathering places attracting large groups of people. Because of the lack of major pre-Roman religious areas, no similar patterns can be outlined in Area D; however, the only occurrence of an excavated Gaulish coin has been reported from Bath.

As shown in the graph below (fig. 4.19), the presence of gold coins in settlements is very limited, and generally restricted to specific zones: few occurrences, mostly unstratified, have been recorded from the *forum/basilica* area at Silchester, from Braughing, and Heybridge. Similarly, as in most European Iron Age sanctuaries (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005), little amounts of gold are known from the religious sites (13 and 14 coins respectively from Harlow and Hayling Island), and often consist of early issues (phases 3-6). There is nothing to suggest that any of the gold pieces found at or near shrines was deposited at the time of the Conquest, following the impact of the Roman system: in fact, gold issues were fairly rare during the 2nd and early 1st century BC. In contrast, the largest assemblage of stratified gold coins from a temple consist of 68 E8 and NE7-8 staters and quarter staters deposited at Hallaton; this group also include three S5 and one SE3 quarter staters that may have been deposited shortly before or after the mid-1st century AD. Noticeably, like gold, cast bronze from excavation is only attested in Area A (e.g. Area F-H-K at Heybridge) and was never found in ritual sites, which may imply it was deliberately excluded from votive deposition at sanctuaries. However, Hayling Island has yielded several Gaulish cast bronze coins, suggesting that imported potin possibly had a different function. Like gold, it is not unlikely that cast bronze initially deposited at sanctuaries may have been retrieved. Nonetheless, identifying meaningful variations in the treatment of potin I and II or similarities with the patterns of distribution of gold and other metals is difficult. In contrast, a hoard of potin issues was uncovered at Stansted (Area A, see

5.2.4), and early Kentish potin was found in association with gold at Snettisham (Norfolk). Further considerations on the distribution and role of cast bronze and on the treatment of gold and potin in late Iron Age Britain will be made in sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2.

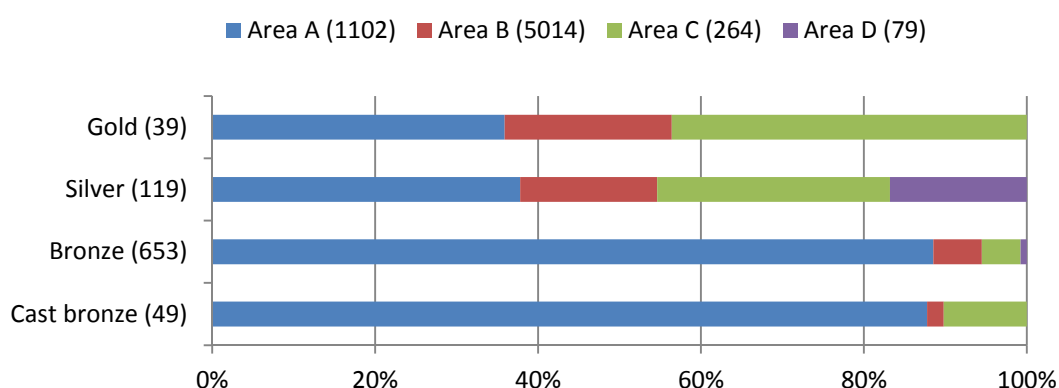


Figure 4.19: Distribution of metals at excavated settlements

The bulk of evidence from excavation principally consists of coins struck in bronze/copper alloy (more than 80% out of total finds) and silver during phases 7-8. In particular, the cumulative deposit from Harlow consisted of significant quantities of bronze issues, c. 50% of the coins from Hayling Island were local or Gaulish copper alloy and bronze types, and c. 90% of finds from Hallaton are silver. Bronze and silver coins not only came from ritual sites, but also from the interiors of settlements (e.g. Area A: Baldock, Colchester; Area B: Duston, Thetford, Wakerley, Weekley; Area C: Chichester, Silchester; Area D: Bagendon), and, to a lesser extent, from funerary complexes in Area A (e.g. Area A: Upper's Wall Common, Baldock, and King Harry Lane, St Albans). As already emphasised, struck bronze was not produced in the north-eastern, East Anglian, and western regions, and the few bronze types recovered from sites clustering along the river Nene (e.g. Duston) and from the upper Thames valley (e.g. Abingdon) were imported from the south-east: for this reason, highlighting significant differences in the local treatment of metals is more difficult.

For long, most Iron Age coins found in settlements have been linked to the performance of daily transactions (Collis 2011; Nash 1987; see 3.4.1); however, as the evidence collected from Areas A-D seems to confirm, episodes of structured and deliberate depositions are not uncommon. Table 4.4 summarises the evidence of stratified coins from contexts dating from the late Iron Age up to the early post-Conquest period (c. AD 70). Information about stratified coins from post-Conquest features is found in Appendices I-IV, Spreadsheet 1. From a general perspective, albeit quantities are small, coins have been frequently recovered from pits and domestic or ritual enclosure ditches, and in few cases (e.g. Skeleton Green at Braughing and Kelvedon) from primary contexts. However, the comparison between Areas A-D permits to identify some distinct patterns.

Table 4.4: Stratified coins from features dating up to c. AD 70

Area	Site	Feature	Quantity	Type	Metal
A	Baldock	Burial	3	E75	AE, AR
A	Baldock	Ditch	2	E71	AE
A	Baldock	Ditch	1	E8	AE
A	Baldock	Ditch	1	SW8	AE
A	Baldock	Pit	1	E75	AE
A	Baldock	Pit	3	E8	AE
A	Baldock	Pit	1	SE7	AE
A	Baldock	Road	1	P cl. I	
A	Baldock	Road	1	SE7	AE
A	Braughing	Ditch	1	E71	AE
A	Braughing	Ditch	2	E8	AE
A	Braughing	Ditch	3	P cl. I	
A	Braughing	Layer	8	E71	AE
A	Braughing	Pit	1	E71	AE
A	Braughing	Pit	2	E72	AE
A	Braughing	Pit	2	E82	AE
A	Braughing	Pit	2	P	
A	Braughing	Pit	1	NE7	AV r
A	Braughing	Road/Topsoil	1	E8	AE
A	Braughing	Road/Topsoil	1	P cl. I	
A	Colchester	Ditch	11	E8	AE
A	Colchester	Ditch	1	GI	AE
A	Colchester	Layer	1	SE7	AE
A	Colchester	Pit	7	E8	AE
A	Gorhambury	Ditch	1	E7	AE
A	Gorhambury	Ditch	2	E8	AE
A	Gorhambury	Floor	1	E7	AE
A	Gorhambury	Layer	1	E7	AE
A	Gorhambury	Layer	1	E8	AE
A	Heybridge	Ditch	1	E8	AE
A	Heybridge	Ditch	3	P cl. I	
A	Heybridge	Layer	4	E8	AE
A	Heybridge	Layer	1	GI	AE
A	Heybridge	Layer	2	P cl. I	
A	Heybridge	Pit	4	E8	AE
A	Heybridge	Pit	2	NT	AE
A	Heybridge	Topsoil	2	E82	AE
A	Heybridge	Topsoil	1	P cl. I	

Table 4.4: Stratified coins from features dating up to c. AD 70 (cont.)

Area	Site	Feature	Quantity	Type	Metal
A	Kelvedon	Ditch	2	E8	AE
A	Kelvedon	Ditch	2	P cl. I	
A	St Albans	Ditch	3	E7	AE
A	St Albans	Layer	1	E8	AE
A	Wheathampstead	Ditch	1	E7	AE
B	Ashton	Ditch	1	E7	AE
B	Ashton	Floor	1	E7	AE
B	Thetford	Ditch	1	E8	AE
B	Thetford	Ditch	1	EA9	AR
C	Chichester	Sealed deposit	1	E82	AE
C	Chichester	Layer	1	S72	AR1/4
C	Owslebury	Ditch	1	S8	AR1/4
C	Owslebury	Pit	1	S8	AR1/4
C	Silchester	Pit	1	E8	AE
C	Silchester	Pit	1	SE7	AE
D	Abingdon	Ditch	1	E73	AE
D	Abingdon	Pit (post-Conquest)	1	E8	AE
D	Bagendon	Ditch	3	W8	AR
D	Bagendon	Pit	1	W8	AR
D	Nettleton	Ditch	1	W7	AR

Primarily, cast bronze was reported only from ditches in Area A (fig. 4.20), and in one case (Witham) from a sealed deposit within a pre-Conquest earthwork, while gold has almost exclusively been found in Iron Age pits underneath the temple *cella* at Harlow (Area A), and post-Conquest pits from Owslebury and Hurstbourne Priors (Area C); furthermore, one gold coin was found from the floor of a Roman shrine at Brigstock (Area B). Notwithstanding these finds are rarely from primary contexts, an association between the presence of gold and ritual activities can be highlighted up to the Roman era. Interestingly, one early gold stater was also placed within a cremation burial at Westhampnett (Area C, discussed in 4.4.1). In contrast, bronze was commonly associated with ditches, pits and burials (Upper's Wall Common and King Harry Lane) in Area A (figs. 4.21, 4.22), but exclusively with ditches in Area B (Thetford) and D (Abingdon), and with pits in Area C; equally, silver only came from pits and a funerary

context (Upper's Wall Common) in Area A, and only from ditches in Area B (Thetford; the possibility of a silver coin from a grave is discussed in 4.4.1).

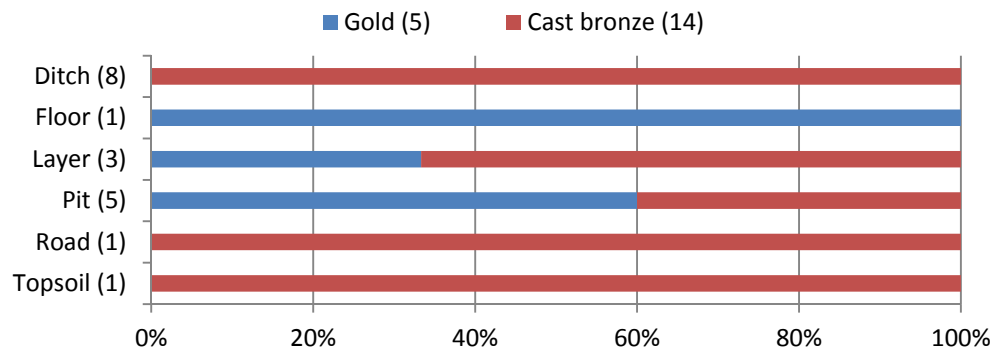


Figure 4.20: Distribution of stratified gold and cast bronze coins at excavated settlements in Area A

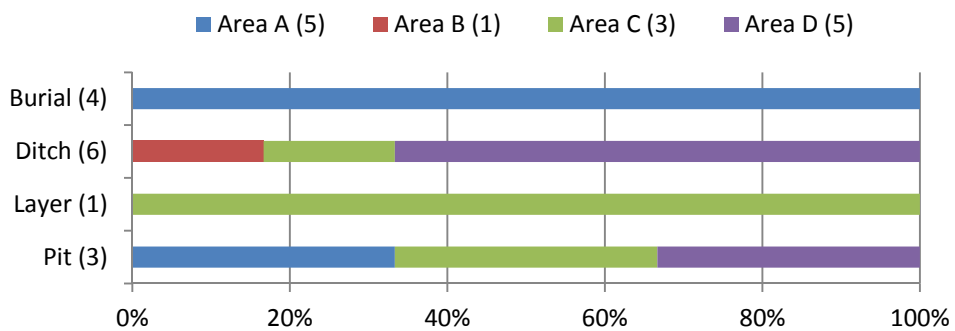


Figure 4.21: Distribution of stratified silver coins at excavated settlements

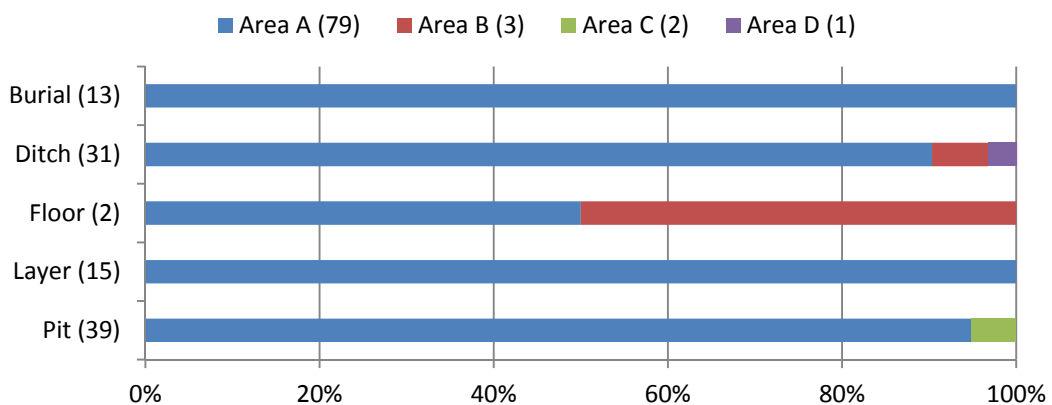


Figure 4.22: Distribution of stratified bronze coins at excavated settlements

Furthermore, examples of silver issues in liminal positions are known from Hallaton (Area B) Bagendon, and Nettleton (Area D), and similar occurrences in gold and bronze came to light at Silchester (Area C); these examples may likely be the result of foundation ceremonies or cross-boundary rites that also apply to other artefacts e.g. iron currency bars (Hingley 1990, 205; Sharples 2010) were often deposited in enclosure ditches and/or pits in settlements and hillforts, possibly as votive offerings aimed at protecting sites and communities (Haselgrove 2010, 30), and it cannot be excluded that coins performed similar functions. Looking at typologies, it can also be noted (fig. 4.23) that whereas E8 issues were commonly recovered from different contexts, E7 coins are common from ditches and enclosures and rare from pits and, on the contrary, S7 and SE7 coins are rare from ditches; similarly, stratified silver EA9 and W7-8 units were predominantly found from ditches, but recognising similar patterns for other coin-series is not possible, given the lack of adequate amounts of evidence.

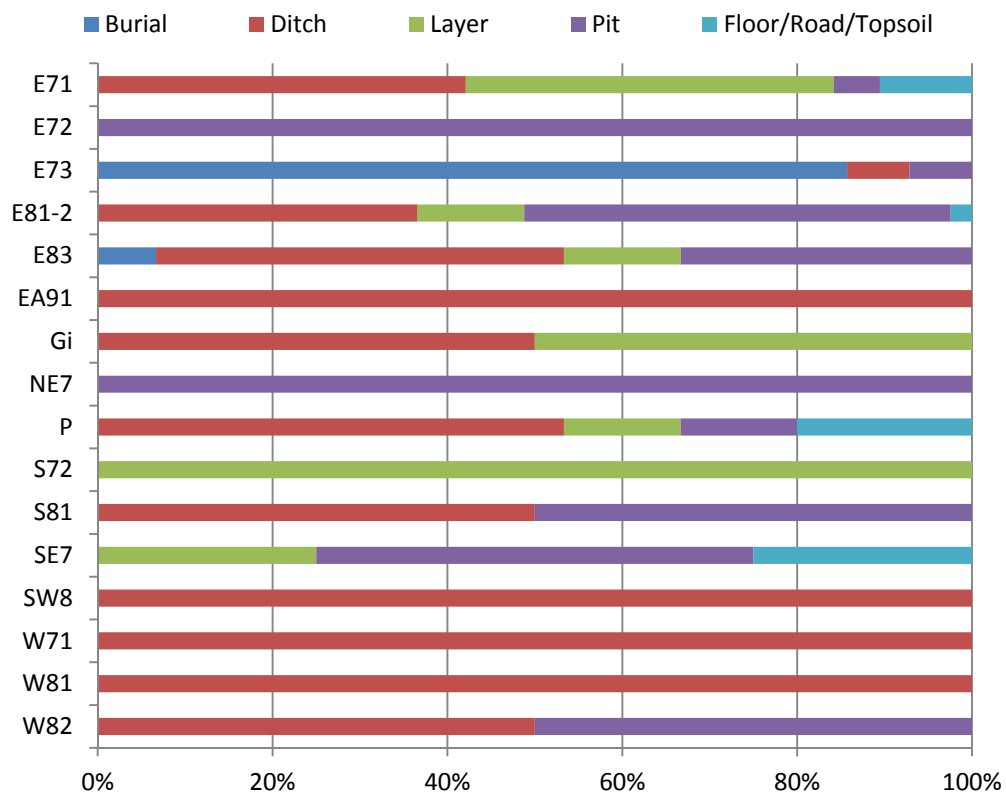


Figure 4.23: General distribution of stratified coins per type (from features dating up to c. AD 70 in all Areas).

Interestingly, most coins from the upper layers were collected within Areas A and C (fig. 4.24); since E, S and SE7-8 types were widely spread and probably performed several functions in different transactions, they could enter the archaeological record through deliberate deposition, casual loss, discard, later disturbance or other ways. Conversely, the fact that the coins from Areas B and D were principally found in small numbers from ditches and pits, with rare occurrences from floors or surface levels, seems to indicate several episodes of deliberate deposition: as discussed in 8.4, restricted functions may have limited their use and diffusion. Coins from post-Conquest contexts in Areas A and C show similar trends, which may further strengthen the possibility that several issues entered the archaeological record as a result of structured forms of deposition rather than casual loss.

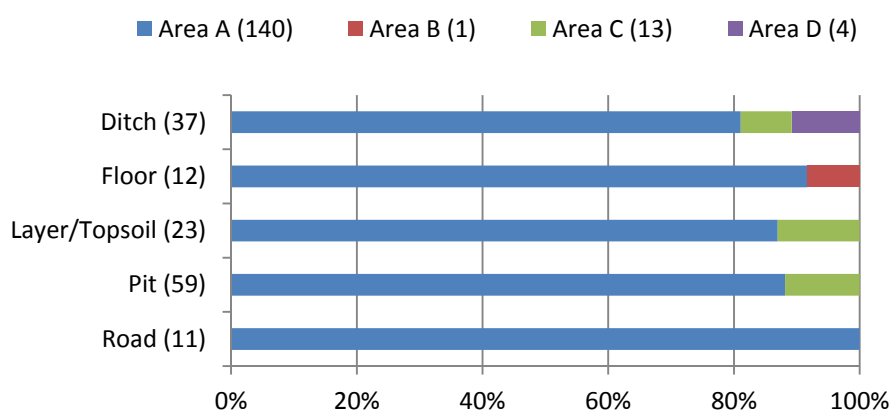


Figure 4.24: Frequency of stratified coins from post-AD 70 features

In summary, different metals and types may have been deliberately selected for deposition, because of dissimilar symbolic values (discussed in 7.1): the evidence in support of this hypothesis is not uniform, and more analysis from excavated settlements outside Areas A-D is required.

4.4.1 Coins from burials

One of the most evident patterns outlined in section 4.3 is the absence of coins from burials. This trend is not restricted to Areas A-D, but is typical of the whole funerary evidence in late Iron Age Britain, and it deserves further consideration.

Firstly, coin deposition in graves, although sporadic, is part of a wider Iron Age trend that saw the introduction of different mortuary practices into Britain. Whereas between the Bronze Age and the middle Iron Age the only evidence of formal burials consisted of few scattered inhumations and/or cremations across Britain, from the late 4th-early 3rd century BC diverse regional practices developed (Whimster 1981; Fitzpatrick 2007); however, during the 2nd century BC, the practice of placing accompanying goods within inhumation graves was largely restricted to East Yorkshire (Arras culture; Stead 1979; Giles 2012) and the south-west (cist inhumation burials). By the late 1st century BC, a new cremation rite characterised by urned burials was introduced in the south-eastern regions (Aylesford culture, Birchall 1965; Carver 2001). Some of the richest graves, known as Welwyn type burials (Foster 1987; Stead 1967) and dating to the 1st century BC, principally clustered in the regions corresponding to the western part of Area A, in the vicinity of St Albans (e.g. Baldock, Welwyn Garden City, Welwyn A and B, Hertford Heath). Other wealthy Welwyn type burials are found from the vicinity of Colchester, and date to the late 1st century BC- 1st century AD (e.g. Lexden, Folly Lane, and Stanway). The Welwyn type graves were unurned and contained rich assemblages, including imported pottery and wine *amphorae* and luxury items (such as a medallion of Augustus from Lexden), but also buckets, brooches, and feasting metal objects, such as cauldrons and firedogs, or, in some cases, glass or silver cups; all these objects not only indicate trade and a system of prestige exchange, but also the local knowledge of Roman customs (Woolf 1998).

While personal and/or precious objects (e.g. vessels, swords, jewels, and mirrors) were placed in graves because of the meaning they may embody in the afterlife or their association with the dead, the practice of ritually placing coins in burials was aimed at securing protection for the dead (i.e. *oboloi*). This habit developed in Greece by the 5th

century BC and spread across the Mediterranean world and Iron Age Europe, with variations in terms of materials and places of deposition (Grinder-Hansen 1991, 214; Polenz 1982). At present, only four episodes of funerary coin deposition are recorded in Britain, as follows:

- Westhampnett (West Sussex, Area C; see 4.2.3): one gold SE42 quarter stater from an unurned cremation burial
- Baldock (Hertfordshire, Area A, see 4.2.1): one silver and one bronze E75 (Andoco) units, one bronze E71 (TASCIOVANOS) unit, and four bronze E83 (CVNO/TASCI.F) units from a hollow containing cremations and inhumations; although the coins are not linked to specific individual graves, they were likely deposited as ritual offerings
- King Harry Lane (Hertfordshire, St Albans, see 4.2.1): ten bronze E73 (RVIIS) units placed in a grave from a cremation burial
- Mill Hill, Deal (Kent, outside Areas A-D; Parfitt 1997): one bronze SE82 (EPPILLVS) unit from an inhumation grave is interpreted as a ritual offering. Because of the lack of other artefact evidence, this individual burial has not been certainly dated; while it could be post-Roman (Saxon), similar burials in the cemetery have been firmly dated to the Iron Age.

The evidence summarised above is limited and subject to biases, since only two/three of the burials described yielded evidence of coins that were certainly associated with a specific grave, and were deposited during the late Iron Age. For this reason, no systematic pattern of funerary deposition can be outlined. Nonetheless, from the early 1st century BC (Westhampnett) to the mid-late 1st century BC (Baldock and King Harry Lane) a shift from gold to silver and bronze in funerary depositions is reflective of the changes in managing resources and it may also indicate the emergence of forms of 'fiduciarity', with base metals equalling gold in ritual practices (discussed in 7.1.4). It is possible that precise amounts of coins were required in high status burials, and quantities may point to the development of systems of equivalence where groups of ten bronze coins (King Harry Lane) equalled the value of one gold stater or quarter stater (Westhampnett). Similarly, the evidence from Baldock could indicate that six

bronze units equalled one silver coin. Although this theory is far from being confirmed, the content of several hoards has shown that similar numerical patterns were not unusual (discussed in 5.4) and may held some significance. Furthermore, the types collected from the grave at King Harry Lane were E73 issues; since these coins are not as common at St Albans as E71 specimens, their placement within the grave may suggest they were purposely selected for funerary deposition. In addition, one silver EA91 unit has been reported 'from the grave 30097' (Gregory 1991, 119) within Enclosure 25 at Gallows Hill, Thetford (Area B); it must be stressed that, even though a similar find may imply that the practice of placing coins in burials was more widespread and common than the evidence suggests, no traces of bone have been found from the 'grave', and this feature could be part of a complex of grave-shaped pits with votive but no funerary functions.

That being said, the limited evidence of coins in funerary contexts may be meaningful. Coins from hoards and sanctuaries could be recovered at any point in time subsequent of the act of deposition and isolated gold coins could have been traced, re-collected (see 5.1) or casually found. In contrast, objects from graves were less subject to deliberate or accidental recovery, which may have limited the practice of placing coins in burials.

4.5 The evidence of area-finds

The distribution of area-finds recovered from Areas A-D basically mirrors the trends from excavated sites, mainly consisting of bronze (Area A) and/or silver (Areas B, C, D) coins dating to the phase 7-8 (fig. 4.25, 4.26); the impact of bronze on Area A is not surprising, since most copper alloy issues were produced in the south-eastern regions.

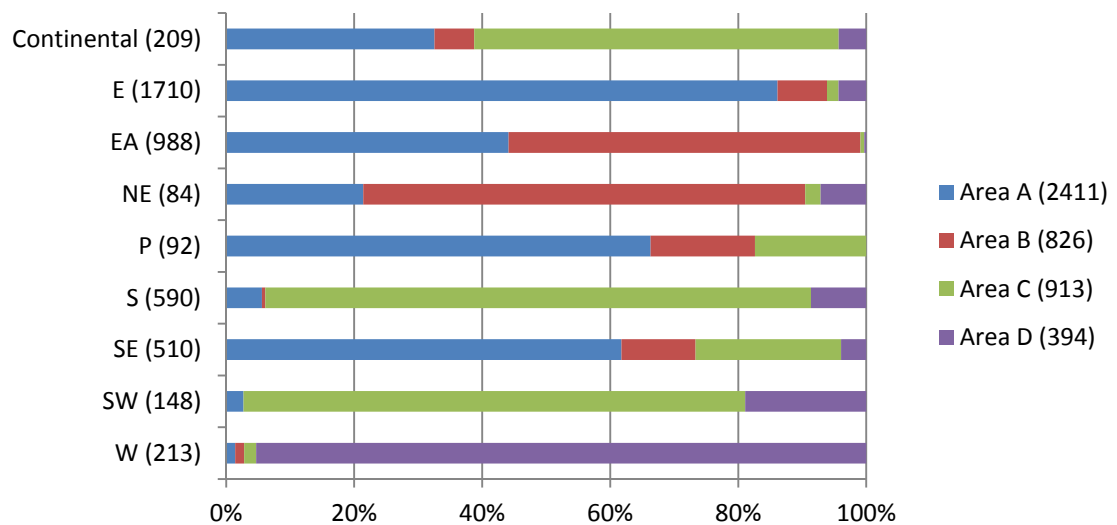


Figure 4.25: Distribution of area-finds in Areas A-D (per metal)

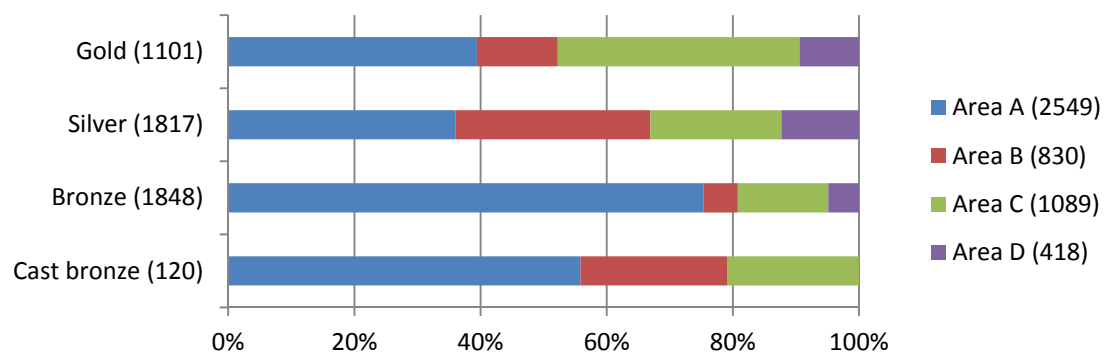


Figure 4.26: Distribution of area-finds in Areas A-D (per type)

Nonetheless, a number of variations can be noted. Firstly, different amounts of stray finds have been recorded in different regions, with the highest concentrations in Areas A and C. Even though the quantity of area-finds in each Area is directly proportional to the data from excavation, figures are not always balanced; in fact, the proportion between site-finds (ritual sites not included) and area-finds is c. 1:10 in Areas B, C, and c. 1:6 in Area D, whilst is c. 1:3 in Area A (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Area-finds in Areas A-D

	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
Excavation (ritual sites not included)	835 (1102)	71 (5014)	101 (264)	79
Area finds 1-10	128	85	87	33
Area finds 100-1000	2417	782	999	391

This does not only imply a lack of archaeological investigation outside the south-eastern area, but it also seems to indicate that a meagre percentage of all the coins put in circulation was used, deposited or lost within settlements, and that the volume of production of coin-series circulating in Areas B, C, and D (EA, NE, S, W) was lower than those produced in Area A (E). However, these data must be treated with caution: in fact, whilst including ritual sites (data in brackets) does not crucially affect the results in Areas A, C, and D, the evidence from Hallaton shows the proportion in Area B to be c. 6:1. It follows that stray finds do not always reflect original patterns and can be subject to misrepresentation.

At the local level there are more differences to highlight. Principally, very small quantities of scattered cast bronze issues were recovered; the largest amount is reported from Area A, where it account for only c. 3% of total finds, but finds apparently drop beyond the line of the upper Chelmer. Few additional scattered specimens of Flat Linear cast bronze are known from Areas B and C, while in Area D potin is completely absent.

Gold and silver E4-6 issues mainly clustered near the rivers Stort and Can (fig. 4.27a), to the north-west of Harlow, or near major settlements (e.g. Braughing, Baldock), while gold, silver, and bronze E7 issues circulated along the rivers Lea and Ver, and are rarely found to the east of the river Stort (fig. 4.27b). Gold and silver SE7 types have a similar distribution but do not cluster in the Lea/Ver valley, whilst bronze is more widely spread in the Chilterns. Furthermore, E coins spread in the Nene valley (fig. 4.28a-b), in the South Downs and the Itchen valley, and in the upper Thames valley, especially in the vicinity of Abingdon. The S series principally spread along the Coastal Plain and in the South Downs up to the upper Thames valley from phase 4 onwards (fig. 4.29a), with peaks during phase 7-8 in the upper Test area and the regions surrounding Chichester and Hayling Island (fig. 4.29b). However, very few well-located area-finds have been recorded from the vicinity of known sites. The occurrence of similar quantities of E7 and S7 issues at Silchester (see 4.2.3) not only could be indicative of trade activities, but it may suggest the lack of exclusive forms of hegemony and control over Silchester (Sharples 2010, 88). The circulation of coin groups outside their main territory of origin will be further discussed in 6.3.2.

By phase 8, the quantity of SE coins circulating in the southern and south-eastern regions decreased, and large quantities of E8 types, especially bronze units, spread from the Lea valley to the Blackwater estuary as well as outside the boundaries of Area A up to Silchester. As discussed in 4.2.1, excavated coins from St Albans mostly consist of a higher percentage of E83 (c. 57%) than E7 (c. 38%), while scattered finds from the surrounding region apparently reverse this trend (E7: c. 40%, E83: c. 2%). Similarly, in contrast with the data from excavation, low percentages of bronze E83 units were collected from the territory surrounding Colchester. In reverse, the amount of finds collected by metal detector in the environs of Harlow account for up to 780 finds, the highest percentage of which (c. 90%) is represented by bronze E83 units (c. 600 entries recorded by the PAS); even though these coins lack accuracy and are widely spread across the area, quantities imply that most findspots are losses linked to votive deposition taking place at the ritual site.

EA issues principally circulated along the eastern part of Area B (fig. 4.28a) and, at a more general level, in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. Amongst well-located area-finds, a group of twelve silver EA81 units from Oxborough may be interpreted as the result of a single episode of deposition. Interestingly, it can be emphasised that the numismatic evidence recovered in excavation at March/Stonea (hoarded or stratified silver EA8-9 units) is not mirrored by the area-finds from the surrounding region. These include gold and silver EA6-7 issues, a number of gold, silver and bronze non-local coins (e.g. E73, SE4, W82) as well as occurrences of Flat Linear potin. Although bronze coins reached the area, they were apparently not adopted in settlements; quantities are however small to support certain interpretations. Similarly, many area-finds reported from the environs of Thetford include gold (EA6-7, E82, SE73) and bronze coins (E73, SE73, one unit from Central Gaul). Since Area B only includes a minor portion of the full circulation pool of EA series, the pattern highlighted here may be distorted; however, the lack of significant quantities of late EA finds from the major site at Fison Way, Thetford, is surprising, while the presence of one silver EA9 and one bronze E81 unit from an enclosure ditch may suggest that these issues shared similar value or function.

In general, EA8-9 issues have rarely been recorded to the west of the Fenland and outside Area B (fig. 4.28b), with the exception of few occurrences from the southern Coastal region (near Portsmouth, Area C), from near Baldock and Braughing, and the eastern part of Area A. In particular, it is worth underlining here that almost 350 silver EA8-9 stray units were found near Bures Hamlet (Area A). This find is not entirely unexpected, as the parish lies on the boundary with East Anglia. The large amount of silver coins from Bures Hamlet could be the result of a scattered hoard or multiple depositions, maybe linked to a series of late Iron Age ditches investigated at Mount Bures (c. 4km southwards) (Fawn 1982) and interpreted as a settlement. Noteworthy, a wealthy late Iron Age burial is also known at Mount Bures (Lewis and Ranson 2011; Stead 1967), containing Roman pottery and Gallo-Belgic ware, as well as a number of objects relating to feasting activities, such as firedogs and a tripod. Consequently, the hypothesis of a late pre-Roman ritual place on the west bank of the Stour may be put forward.

During phase 8, because of a drop of E-SE issues, Curteis (2001, 203) suggested that North-Eastern communities possibly took control over the upper Nene region: to the north of Titchmarsh and Weekley, mixed assemblages of E and NE issues are more frequent (fig. 4.28c). However, the main circulation of the NE series lay beyond the western boundary of Area B, from Leicestershire up to Yorkshire (Leins 2012, 194) and with few exceptions, these types rarely crossed the river Nene towards the east: as a matter of fact, the numismatic evidence so far collected along the course of the Nene may suggest the Hallaton shrine lay in the proximity of a community boundary that was under the control of North-Eastern people before the Conquest. The impact of NE8 issues on coin assemblages recovered from the Nene valley is restricted to account for territorial hegemony and superimposition, and it may rather be due to geographical contiguity with their area of origin. In addition, at present no significant quantities of NE area-finds were recovered from the territory surrounding Hallaton, not only within the limits of Area B but also outside the western boundary. The discrepancy between area-finds and excavation data may either be the result of a lack of investigation or the proof that no territorial hegemony was established; it can also further support the hypothesis that most NE coins were removed from circulation under the threat of the Roman invasion (see 4.3.2), making patterns of distribution difficult to detect.

The numismatic evidence in Area D suggests a clear cut separation between the circulation pools of W and E coins (Sellwood 1984). Whilst early gold and silver W4-6 coins were infrequent, and they mainly clustered in the upper Thames area (fig. 4.30a), from phase 7 the bulk of circulation of this type shifted towards the Cotswolds up to the upper Avon valley (fig. 4.30b), and included not only silver units but also gold staters, hence contrasting with the excavation patterns highlighted at Bagendon (see 4.2.4). Similarly, while one bronze E73 issue has been recorded at Cirencester, area-finds do not include similar types. Other poorly recorded area-finds were collected from the hinterland between Swindon and Wanborough, further west, and principally consist of late gold and silver W issues, and few late silver S coins, while the E group is again underrepresented. Few area-finds can be exactly located; while eight gold unidentified staters found near Grove (Oxon) are labelled as a hoard in the PAS, stray

finds rarely occurred from the vicinity of investigated sites (e.g. Cirencester and North Leigh); although these include a number of silver W issues, other typologies are also represented (E, S, SE, and SW coins). It must be remembered that most area-finds lack essential spatial details, which complicates the attempt to formulate hypotheses about their function; however, from phase 7-8, a series of interactions linked to trade activities and likely aimed at territorial control between Western, Southern and Eastern communities can be inferred in Areas C and D.

One of the most interesting patterns concerns the distribution of gold area-finds. Gold is sporadic from excavated settlements and ritual sites (Area A: c. 3% of all excavated finds, Area B: 2.8%, Area D: no records), with the exception of Area C (c. 10%), but it largely impact on the amount of area-finds (Area A: c. 17%; Area B: 18%; Area C: 13%), the most interesting variation being represented by the Area D (c. 26%). This seems to imply that gold coins were never or rarely adopted for transactions performed within the limits of settlements. The systematic occurrence of gold in hoards (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2) and the number of isolated gold coins may suggest they were not casual losses but were symbolically deposited as a means to protect or mark boundaries, or used as ritual cross-boundary tolls. Following a separation of the spheres of activities during the 1st century BC (Hill 1995), scattered gold may have entered the archaeological record as the result of high status, long-term or prestige transactions that were performed in 'neutral' places located outside occupation areas and not associated with ordinary activities.

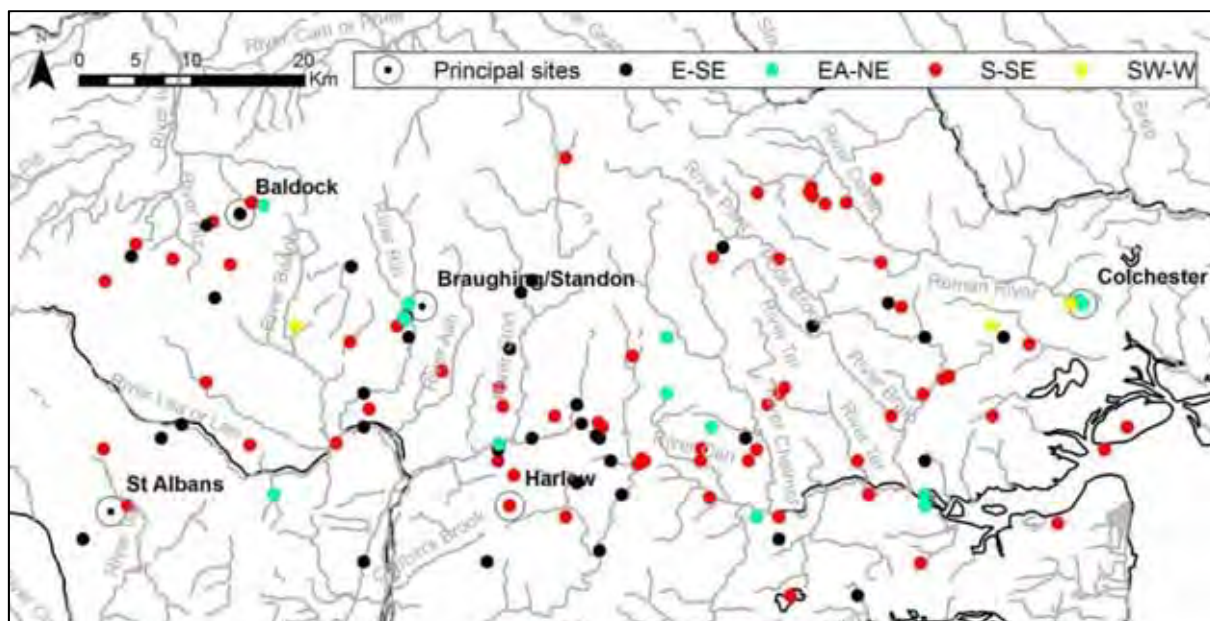


Figure 4.27a: Coin distribution in Area A during phase 4-6 (image: author)

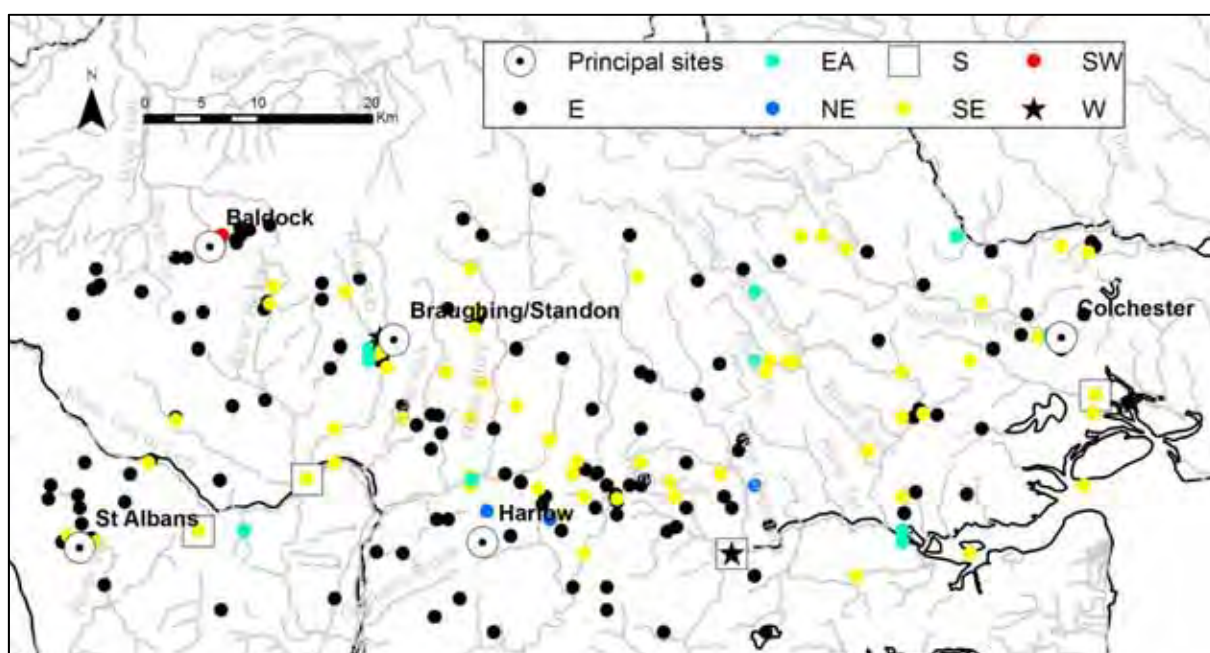


Figure 4.27b: Coin distribution in Area A during phase 7-9 (image: author)

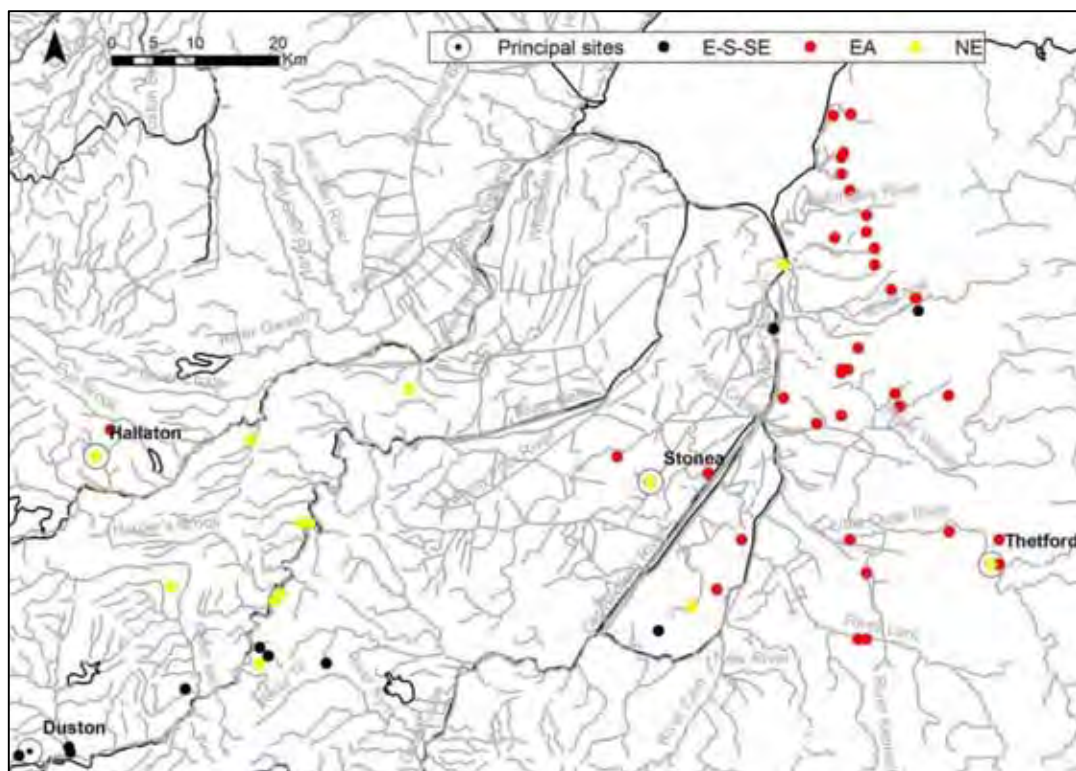


Figure 4.28a: Coin distribution in Area B during phase 4-6 (sporadic occurrences of SW types not included) (image: author)

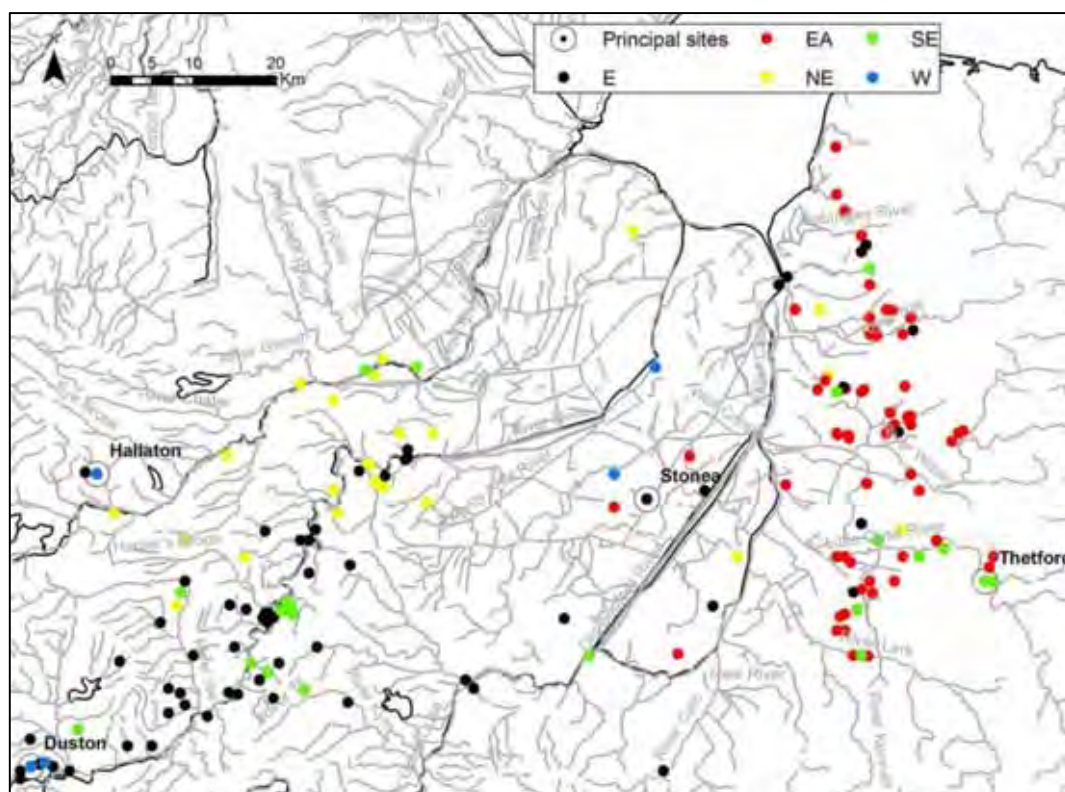


Figure 4.28b: Coin distribution in Area B during phase 7-9 (sporadic occurrences of S and SW types not included) (image: author)

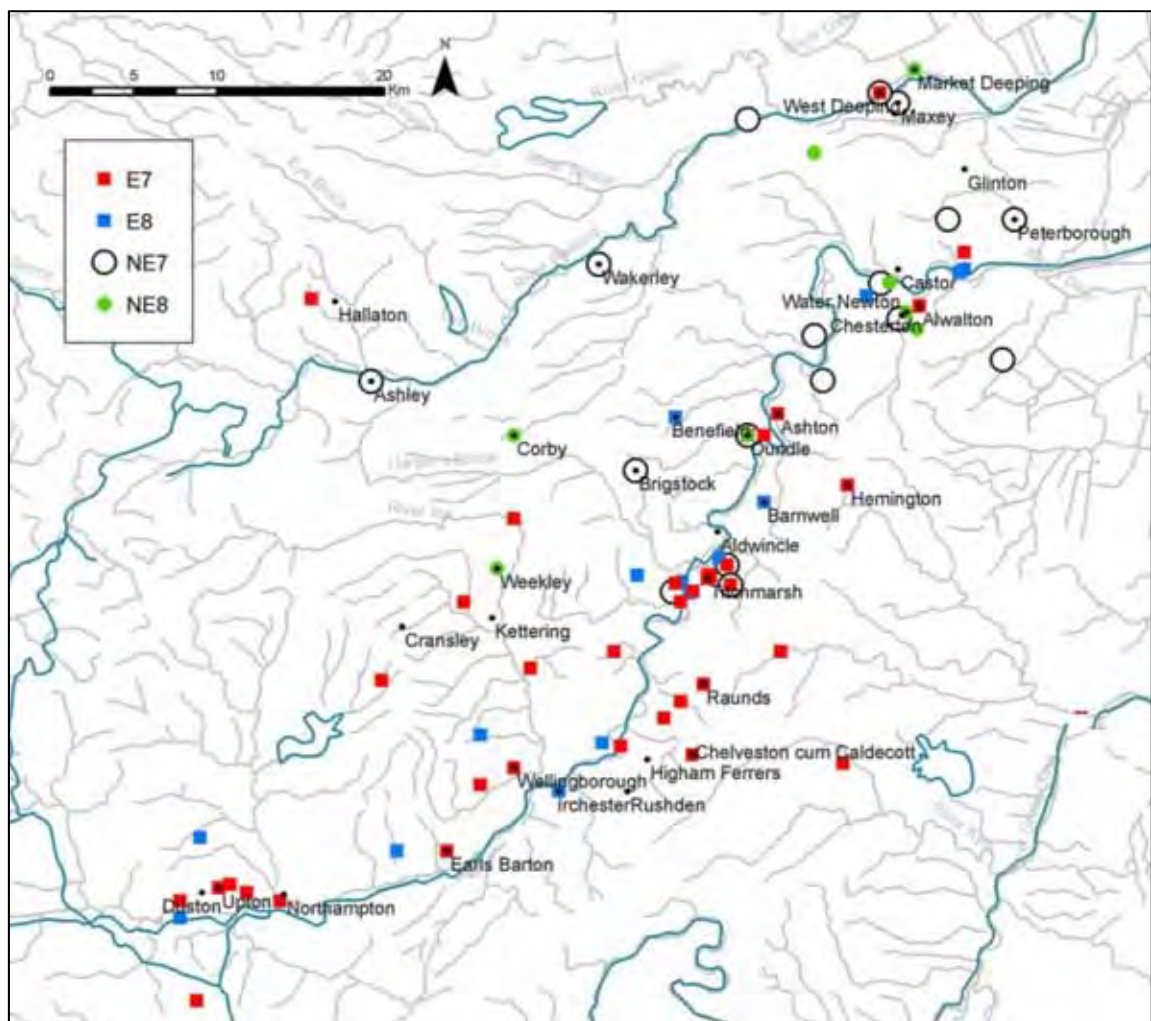


Figure 4.28c: Coin distribution in the Nene valley (phases 7-9) (image: author)

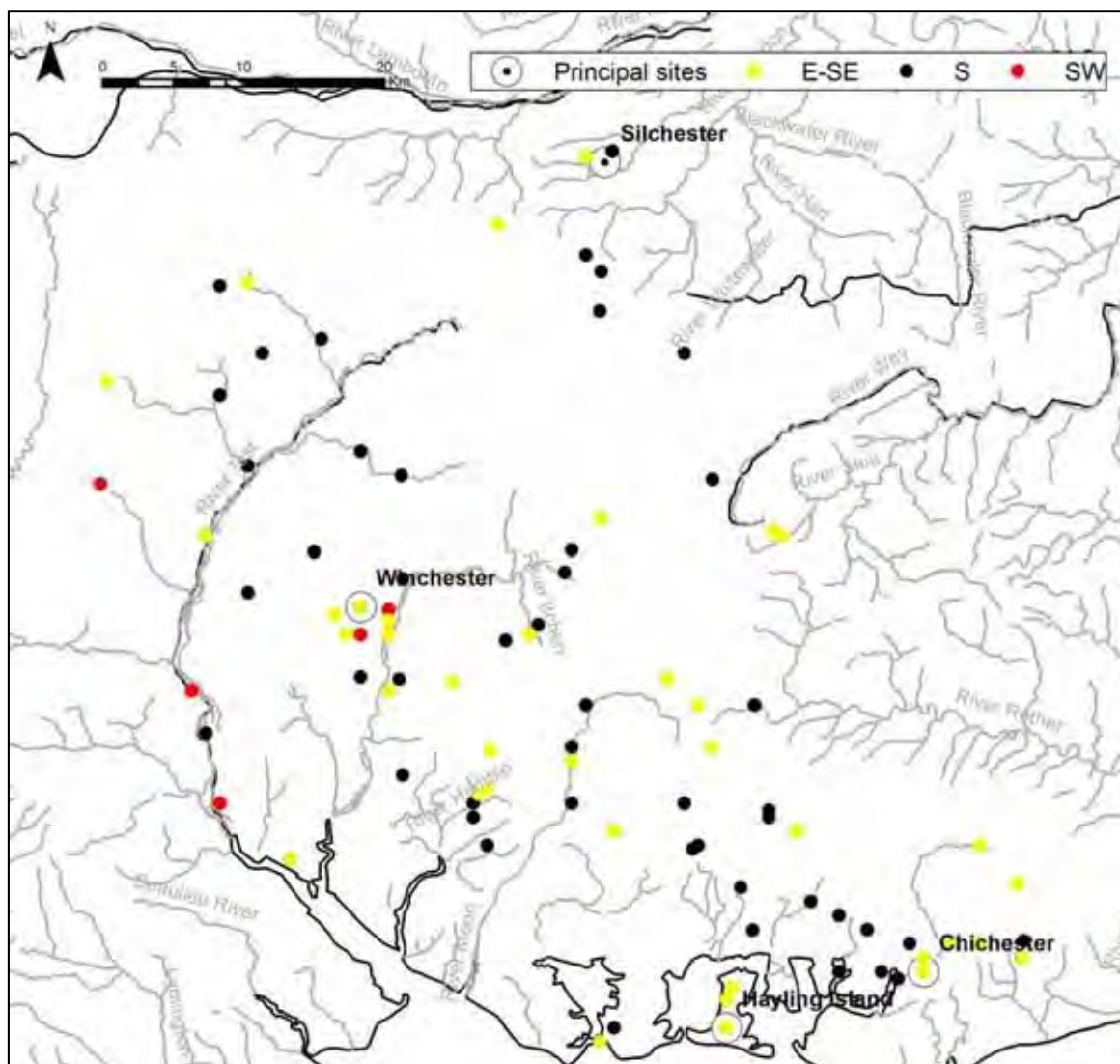


Figure 4.29a: Coin distribution in Area C during phase 4-6 (sporadic occurrences of W types not included) (image: author)

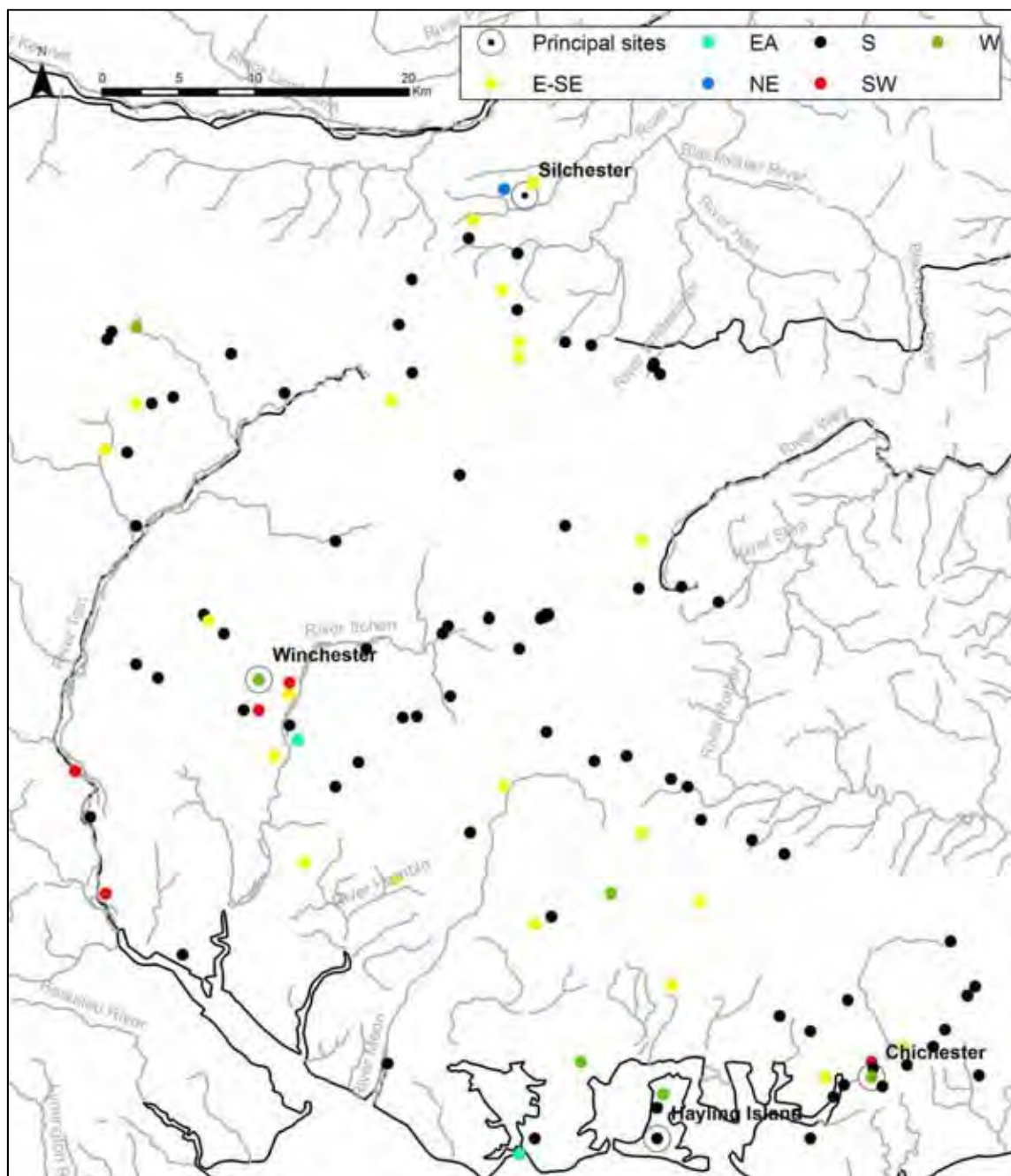


Figure 4.29b: Coin distribution in Area C during phase 7-9 (image: author)

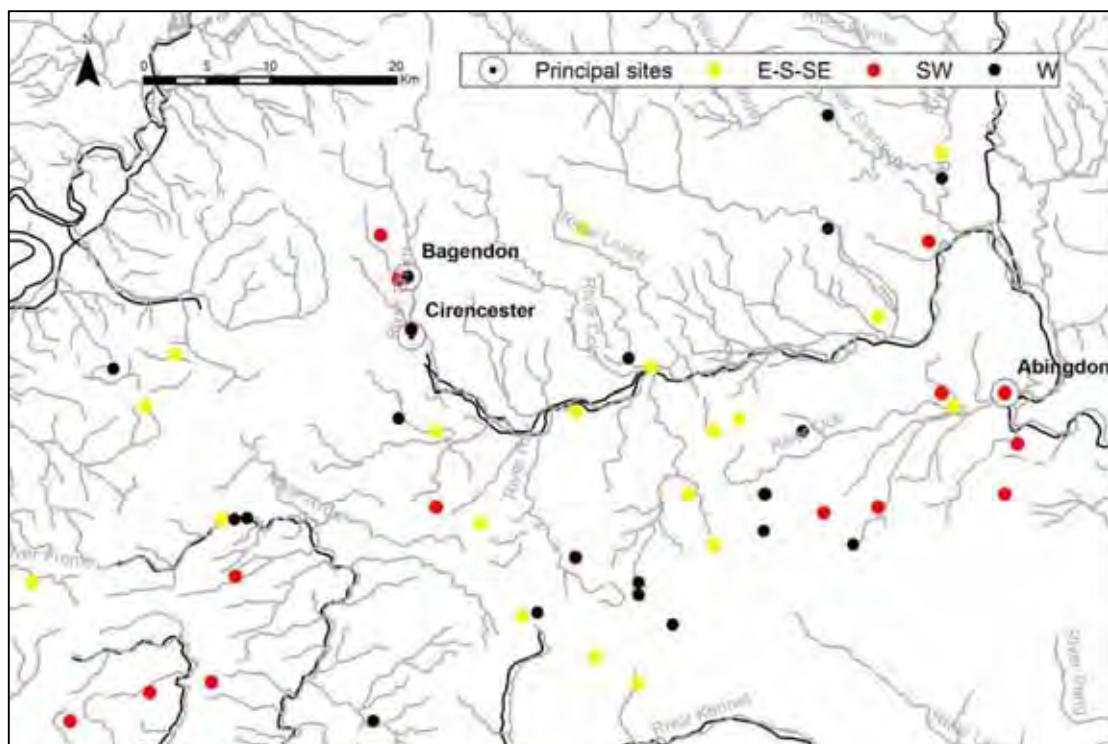


Figure 4.30a: Coin distribution in Area D during phase 4-6 (image: author)

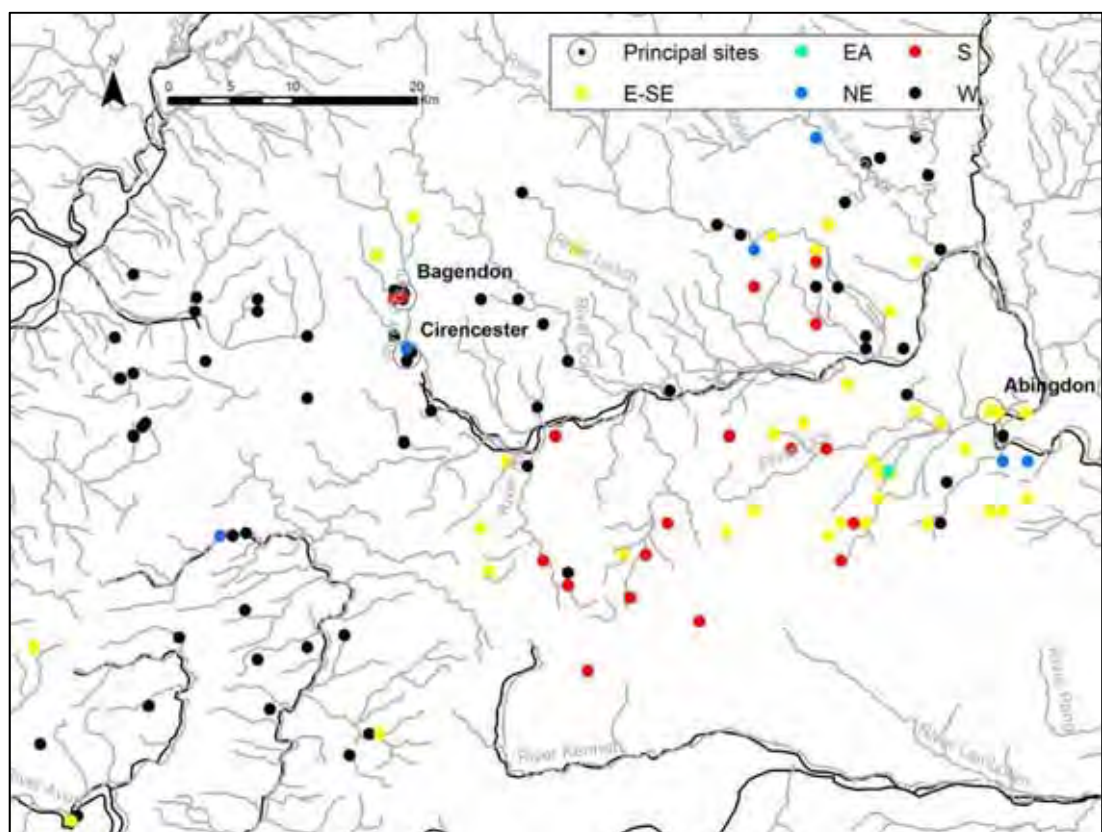


Figure 4.30b: Coin distribution in Area D during phase 7-9 (sporadic occurrences of SW types not included) (image: author)

Several variations in the treatment of local coinage have been identified in Areas A-D. In particular, differences concern the distribution and deposition patterns of specific metals and types:

- Gold is rare from settlements and ritual sites, whilst scattered and isolated specimens have been frequently recovered (all Areas).
- Bronze and silver issues are common from settlements (Area A, C) and shrines (Areas A, B, C); since bronze was exclusively produced in the south-eastern regions, its impact on Area A is not unexpected.
- Kentish cast bronze is principally attested in Area A (which is close to the area of origin of potin) and its distribution is restricted to settlements.
- E issues are widespread and largely circulated outside their area of origin (Area A).
- The circulation of S and SE issues is more restricted and often overlaps with that of E coins.
- EA, NE, and W series have limited circulation, almost exclusively clustering within their areas of origin (respectively Area B and D).
- Ritual sites generally yielded substantial amounts of local and non-local coins, while assemblages from settlements are generally smaller but more uniform in terms of typologies, mainly including local issues.
- The evidence of coins from burials is extremely limited.
- The distribution of coins in specific contexts and features implies that forms of deliberate and structured deposition took place in all Areas.
- Area-finds are generally consistent with assemblages from excavation, but in some cases differences have been identified (e.g. lack of E83 coins nearby St Albans and Colchester) or interesting patterns that may imply a need for further investigation (e.g. large amount of EA finds near Bures Hamlet).

The evidence of diverse practical and symbolic functions may reflect a diversification of the social meaning of coinage at the local level. The next chapter will expand the analysis undertaken in this section, by integrating the evidence of hoarded coins.

Chapter 5

Practices of coin deposition:

interpreting the social functions of hoards

In the first section of this chapter (5.1), hoarding practices in late Iron Age Britain are briefly introduced, and a method for evaluating and classifying hoards is outlined. Section 5.2 provides a description and an assessment of c. 52 hoards recovered in Areas A-D, and section 5.3 integrates the evidence of hoarding practices in East Anglia. In order to further contribute to the analysis undertaken in Chapter 4, the final section (5.4) will focus on a number of issues related to the interpretation of the social function of hoards, according to their size, content, and place of deposition.

5.1 Introducing coin hoards

Coin hoards were not an isolated phenomenon in Britain, but they were part of a long-term process involving different objects, materials, and purposes. The practice of hoarding bronze metalwork in Britain, attested by the 3rd millennium BC (Haselgrove and Hingley 2006), was followed by the deposition in settlements of iron objects and currency bars – principally in the southern and south-eastern regions – that took place during the early-middle Iron Age. The deposition of gold and silver artefacts and coins started between the 3rd and 2nd century BC and clustered in proximity to water ways and settlements. By the mid-1st century BC, a differentiation in the regional practices of deposition is noticeable, accompanied by the diffusion of composite hoards, varying in terms of quantity and typology of coins.

In Paulus' *Digestum* (XLI.31.1) coin hoards are described as long-term depositions of wealth (*pecuniae*) whose possessor turns out to be unknown. More specifically, late Iron Age coin hoards are defined as a group of two or more gold/silver coins, or at least ten base-metal coins (De Jersey 2014, 1), that were deliberately deposited together. Noteworthy, even though hoarding is considered as a 'deliberate act', it does not always involve a voluntary choice, being the result of forced situations,

contingency and/or crisis (Grierson 1975, 130); similarly, the selection of objects and places is not subjective but it is influenced by availability, accessibility, and symbolism. In contrast, whilst stray finds are generally interpreted as the result of loss and are proportional to the quantity of issues put in circulation, isolated precious coins are more likely to derive from scattered hoards or to be the result of intentional 'single' depositions linked to specific practices (e.g. foundation ceremonies) (Göbel *et al.* 1991; Haselgrove 1987b, 483; Roymans 2004; Priest *et al.* 2003). It follows that repeated intentional actions and long-term activities can produce multiple deposits.

5.1.1 Evaluating hoards

The classification and assessment of coin hoards must take into account:

- Content: whether exclusive (e.g. only gold coins) or mixed (e.g. gold and silver; coins and torcs).
- Place of deposition: in proximity to settlements, ritual spaces, water ways, and in the landscape; several isolated hoards may have been deposited in proximity to structures that are no longer visible because of a lack of investigation or later disturbance, or nearby 'natural' features having symbolic significance.
- Sequence: deposits are chronologically circumscribed or are the result of long-term accumulation which allow chronological seriation (Creighton 1994, 326).

Although ancient hoards have long been interpreted in terms of saving vs. votive, it must be emphasised that the dichotomy between ritual and non-ritual/ordinary actions was not always significant or neatly perceived in the past (Bradley 2003, 2005; Brück 1999; Chadwick 2012; Morley 2007b). Deposits and offerings may well be the result of a combination of purposes and needs:

- Transaction deposits were aimed at long-term and/or prestige exchange and at obtaining protection or good fortune from supernatural powers

(Bloch and Parry 1989, 25). These hoards usually contain precious issues and are concealed in proximity to ritual areas and the vicinity of water ways; even though future recovery is not envisaged, it may be possible under certain circumstances (e.g. war or crisis).

- No-transaction deposits, aimed at saving, storing and accumulating wealth within a 'neutral zone' (Aarts 2005, 13); this practice also includes emergency hoards (Roymans *et al.* 2012, 19). These deposits, containing either precious or base metal issues, may have been concealed as the result of ritualised actions, but they were subject to recovery and were generally located near settlements and religious complexes.
- Pre-transaction deposits usually contain a significant amount of freshly struck/unworn issues that were deposited, often nearby their places of production, before entering circulation.
- False-transaction deposits: in some cases, votive hoards were a mere expedient to conceal large amounts of goods in view of future recovery; these deposits usually took place in the proximity of easily accessible locations or private sanctuaries.

It follows that any conversion from the short-term to the long-term sphere of exchange was desirable, while the reverse is the result of unavoidable choices (Farley 2012, 7). In the next section, the classification of hoards outlined above will be applied to deposits identified in Areas A-D.

5.2 Hoards in Areas A-D

A large amount of the coins collected in Areas A-D were deposited in hoards (c. 2226). In Area A, hoarded coins from at least twenty-two deposits account for more than 600 finds (c. 14.5% of total), of which c. 83% are gold E, S, and SE6-9 issues, and more than 260 are Gallo-Belgic types (phase 1-5). As shown in figure 3.6 (Chapter 3), silver and bronze were sporadically hoarded (c. 8% of finds), whilst only one hoard consisted of cast bronze issues (Stansted). In Area B, c. 978 coins (whilst more than 50% of finds

and c.14% of finds Hallaton included,) were reported from at least ten different hoards and mainly consist of gold and silver EA7-9 issues (c. 90%), whilst E and SE coins only account for some 6% of hoarded finds, and Gallo-Belgic coins are rare. Nine major hoards and six small deposits in Area C yielded c. 560 coins (c. 28% of finds), mostly consisting of gold S7-8 staters and quarter staters (c. 64%), occasionally associated with gold SE or SW staters. Silver is also known from few deposits (c. 6.5% of total finds), while bronze only occurred from a Gaulish hoard. Coins from hoards in Area D (73) almost exclusively include gold W types, while silver is known from small deposits containing mixed assemblages (SW6, W7-9, WS6). As a consequence of the late introduction of currency in Area D and the general scarcity of base metal coins, no early gold or bronze issues are recovered from hoards.

Table 5.1 summarises the composition of all hoards from Areas A-D; additional information are found in Appendices I-IV, Spreadsheet 1. As hoarding practices can reflect short and long-distance interactions, local dynamics (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 192), and individual choices, in order to better evaluate and compare patterns of distributions and the nature of hoards, in the subsequent sections deposits from Areas A-D are grouped according to their size and composition; when not expressly indicated, details about methods of recovery, location, contents and other features are taken from De Jersey (2014).

Table 5.1: Hoards in Areas A-D

Location	Area	N° of coins	Content	Position	Classification
Alton (1)	C	48	S6-7, SE8 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
Alton (2)	C	207	S7, S8 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
Andover	C	8	S5, S7-8 (Av)	Near river and LIA settlement	Transaction/False transaction
Basingstoke	C	16	S7-8 (Ar)	Near river and LIA settlement	False Transaction/Transaction
Bentworth	C	52	S8-9 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
Bury	B	6	SE5 (Av)	Near LIA settlement	Transaction/False Transaction
Chatteris	B	9	E7, EA7-9 (Av, Ar)	Near rural settlement	Transaction/Non Transaction
Chelmsford	A	26	E8, S5, S7, SE7 (Av)	Near river/religious site	Transaction/False Transaction
Cheriton	C	30	S4, SE4 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/False Transaction
Colchester IV	A	1	SE7 (Av)	Near river and LIA settlement/mint	Non-transaction/False Transaction
Colchester Sheepen III	A	6	E8 (Ae)	Near river and LIA settlement/mint	Non transaction/False-Transaction
Colerne	D	5	W7-8 (Ar)	Near river	Transaction
Epping	A	4	E7 (Av)	Near settlement/religious site	Transaction/False Transaction
Essendon (7 hoards)	A	256	E4, E7-8, EA7, NE5, S5, SE2, 5, 7 (Av)	Near religious sites	Transaction
Fareham	C	2	S4 (Av)	Coastal	Transaction
Farmborough	D	61	W9 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
Field Baulk	B	872	EA6-9 (Ar)	Near LIA settlement	Pre-Transaction/Transaction
Great Baddow	A	4	SE4 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction
Great Leighs	A	40	SE2, 5 (Av)	Near river and LIA settlement	Transaction/False Transaction
Great Waltham (2 hoards)	A	149	E4, 8, SE1, 4, 5, 7 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/False Transaction
Hayling Island	C	6	GI (Ae)	Near the coast and religious site	False transaction/Transaction
Heacham	B	24	EA6 (Av)		
Heybridge	A	5	SE7 (Av)	Near the coast and LIA settlement	Transaction/False Transaction

Table 5.1: Hoards in Areas A-D (cont.)

Location	Area	N° of coins	Content	Position	Classification
Hurstbourne T.	C	2	S5 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
Kings Stanley	D	8	W8-9 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
Kingsclere	C	7	S5 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
Lavant	C	4	S6, 8 (Av, Ar)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
Little Totham	A	2	SE7 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
March - West Fen	B	8	EA6-7, 9, NE8 (Ar)	Near LIA settlement	Non-Transaction/ False Transaction
March (I)	B	5	EA8 (Ar)	Near LIA settlement	Non-Transaction/ False Transaction
Marks Tey (3 hoards)	A	15	E4-5, 8, S5, SE4-5, 7 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction
Portsmouth	C	9	GI (Ar)	Near the coast	Transaction/ False Transaction
Romsey	C	18	SW8 (Ae)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
Rushden	B	19	E7, SE5 (Av)	Near river and LIA farmstead	Transaction/ False Transaction
Sherborne	D	2	W8 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
Takeley	A	51	Flat Linear II potin	Near river/religious sites	Transaction
Wanborough	D	2	W7 (Ar)	Near river	Transaction
Welney	B	12	E4, SE1, 4, 7 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
West Mersea	A	4	SE5, 7 (Av)	Near the coast and funerary area	Transaction
Wheathampstead	A	11	E6-8, SE5 (Av, Ar)	Near river and LIA settlement	Non-Transaction/ Transaction
Whitchurch	C	140	SE5, SW4 (Av)	Isolated	Transaction/ False Transaction
Wickham	C	13	S4, SE4 (Av)	Near river	Transaction
Wormegay	B	7	SE5 (Av)	Near river	Transaction

5.2.1 Small deposits of gold

A small deposit is here defined as a hoard containing from one up to ten/twelve issues. Examples from Area A are represented by an isolated stater from **Colchester (IV)**, and a deposition of five gold SE72 staters from **Heybridge**. Because of the evidence of pre-Roman ritual structures identified at both sites (see 4.2.1), these hoards can be convincingly interpreted as votive offerings. Significantly, the great majority of these small hoards is found in apparently isolated locations within the landscape in Area A: 4 gold E7 staters have been identified at **Epping** (Sills 2003), on the other side of the river Lea, c. 10km to the south of Harlow, and similar finds occurred at **Great Baddow**, **West Mersea** (both containing 4 gold SE5 issues) and **Little Totham** (2 gold SE7 staters), in Essex. Further depositions of gold coins took place at **Marks Tey**, not far from Colchester, where at least three different hoards (up to 15 coins in total) spanning a long chronological period have been found: they principally contain gold SE5-7, E4-5, and E8 staters.

Additional similar deposits were located in Cambridgeshire and west Norfolk (Area B): the **Bury** and **Wormegay** deposits contained respectively six and seven gold SE5 staters, and the **Welney** hoard was composed of ten gold early E-SE staters, and two gold SE73 staters. Because of the lack of extensive gold E-SE area-finds in the territory (4.5), and the presence of gold and silver EA7-9, it may be inferred that these deposits were not randomly assembled, but coins were deliberately selected because of their value and symbolic significance. Small hoards of gold have also been identified at **Hurstbourne Tarrant** and **Kingsclere**, (to the north of the Itchen, Area C) containing respectively two gold S51 staters and 7 gold S52 staters, **King Stanley**, near Frocester, and **Sherborne**, (to the north of the Thames, Area D) both consisting of two coins (gold W8-9 staters). As no structural evidence has been detected in the vicinity of the hoards described in this section, it is not possible to certainly associate them to specific activities. Because of their composition and isolated position, small assemblages of precious coins may be interpreted as 'transaction deposits', designed at propitiation and supernatural transactions or resulting from prestige exchange.

5.2.2 Large deposits of gold

The evidence of large deposits of gold coins in Iron Age Britain is substantial, with hoards containing up to fifty/sixty coins, and others composed of hundreds of issues.

The assemblage from **Chelmsford** (Area A) consisted of 18 gold E8 staters, 5 gold SE7 staters, plus two gold S5-7 staters and was buried in the vicinity of a Roman ritual site (see 4.2.1). Similarly, a hoard from **Cheriton** (Area C) was composed of 27 gold S41, three SE42, twelve SE42 staters and quarter staters. In the region running along the course of the upper Test, a hoard containing at least eight gold S5, S7 and S8 staters was identified at **Finkley Down, Andover** (Bean 2000, 275), and two gold S1 and SW4 staters are accurately located by the PAS at **Weyhill**; given their position, typology and quantity, it cannot be excluded that they were deliberately deposited. One further small assemblage of two gold S staters has been reported from the Coastal Plain at **Fareham**. The most prominent deposit of gold within Area D was located at **Farmborough** (Hobbs 1996), south-west of Bath; it consisted of 61 gold W91 staters. In the absence of adequate archaeological evidence, such deposit could make the case for storing and/or ritual purposes ('false-transaction'); given the late chronology of the issues, it was possibly buried at the time of the Conquest.

The only example of a gold assemblage located within the Nene valley (Area B) came from **Rushden** (Farley 2012; Mudd 2004; Upson-Smith 2006), at c. 7km to the south of the Raunds/Stamwick complex (see 4.2.2), and contained 19 gold E7, E75 staters and SE5-SE73 staters. The association of E7 and SE7 issues within the same hoard is not frequent, and the presence of hoarded Tasciovanos' issues is exceptional in this region. The deposit lay in proximity to an area that displayed ceremonial and funerary character along the river Nene; for this reason, it could be interpreted as a 'transaction/false transaction' deposit. Similar ritual destination may be inferred for a hoard containing 24 gold EA6 coins from **Heacham** in Norfolk (Haselgrove 1984a; Tremlett *et al.* 2011, 30); the deposit was located nearby a small late pre-Roman site enclosing circular structures and a complex entranceway. Although being the only numismatic deposit from East Anglia included within the boundaries of Area B, it is

worth mentioning that the Heacham hoard was part of a larger regional trend that is discussed in 5.3.

Significantly, several multiple deposits accounting for hundreds of finds are attested; these often not only include coins but also other precious artefacts (such as torcs and bracelets). A series of examples recovered in Area A deserve consideration. Forty gold SE1-5 coins were initially declared as coming from **Great Waltham**, but Kretz (2010, 40) listed 36 finds of unsecure provenance, suggesting **Great Leighs** as the most suitable alternative. The possibility of two such similar deposits in the same area is not convincing (Sills 2003, 365) and, despite the poorness of the record, these hoards have been reassessed as follows (De Jersey 2014):

- Great Leighs: 33 gold SE51 staters, 4 gold SE1-3 staters and 3 gold SE1-3 quarter staters.
- Great Waltham/Dunmow (I): 60 gold E41.1 staters, 50 SE1-5 staters and quarter staters.
- Great Waltham (II): 26 gold E8 staters, 10 gold SE7 staters, characterised by the unusual association within the same deposit of coins inscribed CVNOBELINVS and DVBNVOLLAVNOS (De Jersey and Wickenden 2004, 177).

More evidence of hoarding in the vicinity of votive areas is found at **Essendon**, c. 14km to the north-east of St Albans; here, three ditches were excavated (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 278; Stead *et al.* 2006) after the recovery by metal detector of two hoards (A and B). One of the ditches contained evidence of 1st century AD Roman pottery, cremated animal bones, one hoard (D) and fragments of a bronze vessel identified as the remnants of a container. Four possible additional hoards (C, E, F, and G) were found in the subsequent fieldwork. The content of these deposits consists of up to c. 250 gold E, EA, NE, S, and SE staters and quarter staters spanning phases 1-8 but also gold items, such as torc fragments (hoard A), or swords and spearheads (hoard C, Hunter 2005, 59). Other hoards from the site (H, J) respectively contained four Roman *denarii* and ten Roman bronze *asses*. At least two additional gold E71 and EA71 quarter staters were recovered from the environs of Essendon; although they lack spatial accuracy,

their typology is consistent with the content of hoards from the votive complex. Albeit much material still awaits publication, the numismatic evidence and the position of Essendon near to the river Lea could make the case for a riverside religious area where multiple 'transaction' hoards (see 5.1.1) were deposited between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD.

The hoards reported from Area C and yielding more than 500 coins mainly consisted of gold S issues, with slight variations e.g. a hoard found at **Whitchurch**, c. 13km to the east of Andover exclusively contained 106 SW4 and 34 SE5 gold staters. Moving eastwards, two wealthy deposits were found near the river Wey, at **Alton**; these contained 48 gold S6-7 and SE81 staters and 207 gold S72 and S81 staters. A small high status early Roman cemetery near Alton (Millett 1986) yielded a conspicuous collection of Gallo-Belgic and samian pottery. Although no certain relation is visible between the hoards and the funerary evidence, it seems plausible that they were part of a ritual area along the river. The concentration of gold in proximity to the rivers Wey and Itchen is remarkable and the possibility of one or more dispersed deposits linked to sacred/funerary spaces cannot be totally ruled out. It must be noted that, with the exception of Westhampnett and North Bersted (Taylor *et al.* 2014; see 4.4.1), high status burials were not common to the south of the Thames: the graves and rich hoards from central Hampshire could mark the existence of a 'dispersed wealthy elite group' (Millett 1986, 83) involved in processes of social differentiation (Savatier *et al.* 2010, 175) within the region by the end of the 1st century BC. This may be further confirmed by the rich evidence reported between Alresford (Fellow 2005) and Bentworth and up to the river Itchen, where at least 76 gold S8-9 staters were found, and by a rich assemblage of gold bracelets, brooches, and torcs dating to the pre-Roman period recorded nearby Winchester (Hill *et al.* 2004): the latter has convincingly been interpreted as a Roman prestige-gift to a prominent local individual.

5.2.3 Silver

The evidence of silver hoards is limited in the southern and western regions, and absent in Area A. Only one silver hoard, containing 16 S7-8 and SW issues, was identified in northern Hampshire near **Basingstoke** (Area C) and the lack of additional evidence does not help in determining its function. The hoard from **Portsmouth**, along the Coastal Plain, consists of nine issues from north-western Gaul. Such an assemblage could be the result of cross-Channel prestige gifts or trade, but it may also represent practices of propitiation and protection performed in the vicinity of the coast (e.g. see Snettisham).

In Area D, a small hoard containing two silver W71 units was found at **Wanborough**, and six silver W7-8 units were found near **Colerne**, to the north-east of Bath; the deposit may date to the early Roman period, denoting continuity in the practice of storing local silver. Nonetheless, because of the ritual character of the area and the proximity to the river Avon, it is possible that votive depositions took place shortly before and after the Conquest.

In contrast, the largest concentration of hoards containing silver coins has been located within the limits of Area B. In the Fenland, five different deposits came from the interior or the vicinity of an excavated settlement complex at March/Stonea (Field Baulk, March I, and West Fen). The deposits from **March I** consist of five silver EA8 units inscribed ANTED and placed within a small vessel. Nine scattered silver coins, possibly representing a dispersed hoard, were found in the surrounding area at **West Fen**: the issues have been identified as EA6-7 (4), three (EA913), and NE81 inscribed AVN COST. Two scattered Roman coins have also been reported. As the archaeological evidence from the site pointed at early Roman religious activities (Curteis 2001; Jackson and Potter 1996), it is possible that these hoards were ritually concealed shortly before or after the Conquest. A similar chronology can be inferred for the deposition of the largest hoard from the Area discovered at **Field Baulk** (Chadburn 1992), to the south of Estover, March (872 coins): the deposit mainly consisted of silver EA8 (c. 37%) and EA91 (c. 53%) units, and of a small percentage (c. 10%) of silver

EA6-7 issues. The absence of identifiable ritual structures or traces of minting activities and trade associated with the hoard make interpretation difficult; however, it is worth mentioning that the Field Baulk deposit included a significant amount of unworn pieces and brockages. The size of the hoard and the presence of freshly struck coins may suggest this was a 'pre-transaction' or a 'false transaction' emergency deposit buried in proximity to a settlement. Sixteen additional EA7-9 units from Stonea can be interpreted as part of at least two dispersed hoards. Most area-finds from the environs of Stonea are pre-phase 8 issues, which is contrast with the content of the hoards. It is plausible that many EA8-9 coins were hoarded or stored before entering circulation, and their selection for hoarding may suggest they were 'special purpose' and high value currencies, having limited circulation and functions.

5.2.4 Bronze

Hoard composed of struck bronze issues are sporadic in Iron Age Britain, and small deposits reported from Area A generally clustered in settlements: a hoard from **Sheepen (Colchester)** contains six (Region IV) bronze E82 units, and is consistent with the general assemblage from the site. In addition, the small group of ten bronze E73 units was found in a grave at **King Harry Lane** cemetery, St Albans, and was discussed in 4.4.1

The only hoard of cast bronze from Areas A-D was from a mid-1st century BC enclosed settlement gully in proximity to a funerary area nearby **Stansted** (Bennett and Havis 2008, 186-188). The hoard contained 45 Flat Linear I and six II potins from the gully of a roundhouse or shrine. Four area-finds from the region (accuracy 100) are consistent with the content of the deposit and the possibility that they were lost in coincidence with the assemblage or concealing of the hoard cannot be excluded. The metal composition of deposited coins is quite different from that of Kentish cast bronze. For this reason, the 'Stansted type' could be interpreted as the product of a newly founded mint (Van Arsdell and Northover 2004, 120) or a new variety of cl. II (Holman, pers. comm.). The Stansted hoard contrasts with the usual deposition pattern of cast bronze (see 7.1.2), as late Flat Linear types were rarely hoarded; on the other hand, it is

consistent with the regular presence of Flat Linear II issues at settlements (Haselgrove 2006b). Conceivably, Flat Linear I and II had similar, rather than divergent, treatment on both sides of the Thames (Curteis 2001, 116): it is certainly possible that the hoard at Stansted was ritually concealed. The presence of three scattered but well-located gold staters, copper alloy brooches and samian ware at the site could hardly be explained as casual losses related to trade; as a consequence, the hoard may be interpreted as a 'transaction' or 'false transaction' deposition within a settlement-shrine complex.

Since the evidence of cast bronze from Areas A-D is restricted, no general trends of use and deposition can be outlined. A few other examples of cast bronze hoarding in proximity to settlements are known from outside the limits of the study areas, at Snettisham (Norfolk), in Kent (Allen *et al.* 2012; Diack 2001) and Sussex (Drewett and Hamilton 1999); they generally came to light from storage pits, suggesting structured forms of deposition (Hill 1995; Webley 2012, 96).

5.2.5 Mixed coin hoards

As stressed above, silver was rarely hoarded in Area A, and it exclusively occurred from mixed deposits located within or nearby settlements. The small hoard found at **Wheathampstead** contained five gold and six silver coins (SE5, E6-8), while the hoard from **Union House (Colchester II)** includes gold, silver and bronze E, EA, and SE issues spanning phases 2-8. In accordance with the evidence from the site (see 4.2.1), the proportion of E82 is higher than that of E83, whereas no E7 issues have been identified. On the other hand, the hoard from Union House (Colchester II) is chronologically and typologically mixed, and it was possibly associated with a temple deposit (Haselgrove 1987a, 272-3). The content and position of these hoards may suggest they were saving/'no-transaction' deposits concealed with the hope of future recovery. On the other hand, small assemblages of gold and silver coins identified in Area C at **Lavant** (4) and **Wickham** (13) may likely be votive offerings.

The only mixed hoard in Area B was recorded at **Chatteris** (Evans 2003; Haselgrove 1984a, 1987a; Jones 2006); this contained one gold E71 quarter stater, one silver E71 unit, four silver EA7 and three EA8-9 units, and is not dissimilar from assemblages found at March/Stonea; the only structural evidence from the area consisted of a series of 1st century AD ditches, interpreted as a livestock enclosure. In addition, whilst the numismatic evidence from excavation suggested a clear cut separation between the circulation pool of the E and EA groups, the Chatteris hoard, because of its mixed content and central position within the Fens may be a proof of the interactions between different coin using communities.

5.3 Hoarding practices in East Anglia

In order to better understand the nature of many gold and silver coin hoards and of the largest assemblages discussed above, the present discussion cannot disregard the evidence of East Anglian precious deposits. In north-western Norfolk, outside the boundaries of Area B, they were generally located in prominent positions overlooking waterways (Hutcheson 2007, 358-369). The most notable concentration of precious hoards has been reported from **Snettisham** (Hutcheson 2011; Lyons 2004; Stead 1991). Excavation has revealed an undated enclosure surrounded by fields, drainage ditches, gullies and pits (Flitcroft 2001, 6), as well as traces of a Roman-Celtic temple. At least fifteen hoards were found, yielding gold torcs, rings, and bracelets sometimes in association with gold and silver EA coins; minor quantities of E, NE, S, and SE issues, as well as cast bronze, have also been identified. In particular, hoard C yielded up to 145 Flat Linear I potin issues. In addition, a hoard containing 39 gold SE coins was located at **Sedgeford** (Dennis and Faulkner 2005; Manning 2004), c. 4km to the north-east of Snettisham. Two burials were excavated to the south-east boundary of the area (Old Trench), as well as a large ditch (at Reeddam) enclosing gullies and pits, which may support a ceremonial use of the site. Because of their position and composition, these assemblages may be interpreted as the result of several votive offerings linked to a sacred space (comparable to Essendon, Area A) and they add further evidence in support of the similar treatment of gold and cast bronze in ritual contexts. No coins later than phase 7 have been recognised, which seems to imply that most depositions

took place before the late 1st century BC (Haselgrove 1988c, 108-110). In contrast with isolated episodes of votive deposition described above (e.g. Bury, Epping, Kingsclere, Little Totham, Sherborne, Welney), wealthy hoards from the north-western coast of Norfolk were concealed in traceable prominent places probably in view of future recovery.

At the end of the 1st century BC, an increase in deposition of silver hoards is visible between the Fenland and East Anglia (fig. 5.1). Several hoards, analogous to those recovered from March/Stonea, have been collected beyond the eastern boundary of Area B (e.g. Honingham, Rainbird-Clarke 1955-57) and were characterised by similar content (late silver EA units), presence of containers, and frequent evidence of brockages. These deposits have been interpreted as the result of preventive measures linked to periods of social turmoil coinciding with the Boudiccan revolt, AD 60-61 (Hutcherson 2007, 367). Significantly, a hoard recovered from Fring (Chadburn and Gurney 1991) contained equal amounts of gold SE3-5 coins and silver EA7-9 units (c. 340 coins in total): the similar treatment of gold and silver and their association may effectively suggest that no substantial or sudden change in deposition habits took place between the end of the 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD. In conclusion, at the time of the Conquest, silver hoarding in East Anglia was not necessarily related to critical events but it can be interpreted as a persistence of pre-existing deposition practices (Creighton 1994, 332) previously only involving gold.

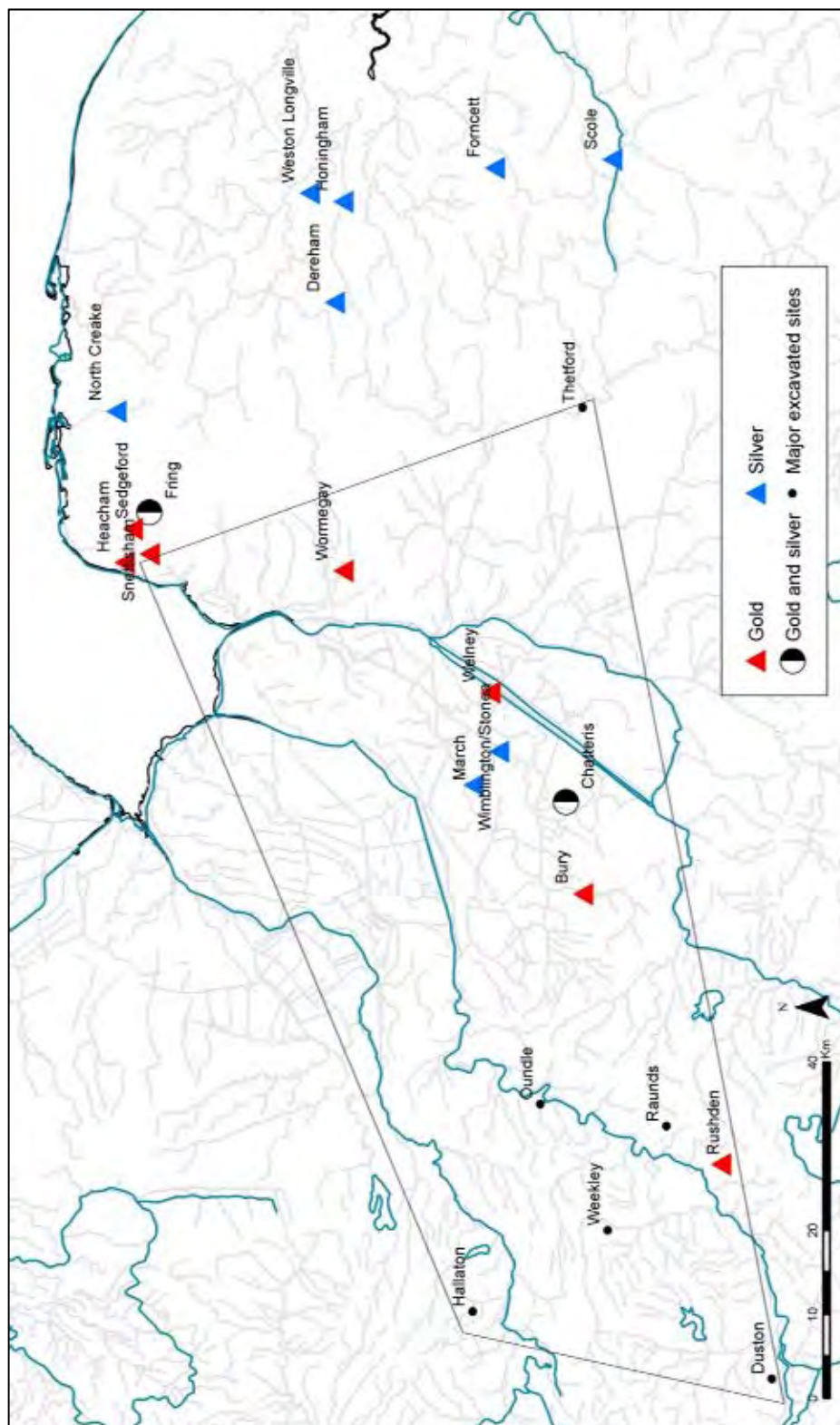


Figure 5.1: Map of hoards in Area B and East Anglia (image: author)

5.4 Patterns of deposition in Areas A-D

Whereas bronze and cast bronze depositions are infrequent, the evidence from Areas A-D suggests that hoarding practices followed clear and structured patterns. As a general trend, the main content of hoards in Areas A-D consisted of imported or local gold issues. In Area A, c. 65% of hoards were exclusively early or late gold, while c. 30% contained mixed gold (e.g. Essendon, Great Waltham, Marks Tey). Because of the influx of Gallo-Belgic imports (c. 15.5% of total finds), the figure is similar in Area C: more than 70% of hoards contained gold, and c. 40% of them was composed of early issues (e.g. Cheriton, Whitchurch, Wickham). Half of the deposits in Area B contained small quantities of phase 1-3 gold issues (e.g. Bury, Welney). Similarly, in Area D, with the exception of a deposit at Farmborough containing 61 local gold coins, gold assemblages are quite small (e.g. Kings Stanley, Sherborne) also reflecting the lack of Gallo-Belgic numismatic imports (see 6.2). The habit of depositing local (debased) gold seems to imply continuity in insular hoarding practices up to the late pre-Roman period and also reflect a need for storing wealth leading to a removal of precious types from circulation, perhaps as a consequence of the introduction of copper alloy and bronze.

With few exceptions, numerous deposits of gold and silver were reported from the proximity of rivers and religious areas, with peaks near the Chelmer and the ritual complex at Essendon (Area A), the north-western coast of Norfolk (near the western boundary of Area B), between the rivers Test and Itchen and along the Coastal Plain (Area C). Notwithstanding the presence of gold and silver hoards in the Cotswolds and the Avon valley, the absence of similar precious deposits within the eastern portion of Area D is indicative of different practices and may further strengthen the possibility of a clear cut internal separation between Eastern/Southern and Western communities highlighted in 4.5. The practice of coastal and riverside depositions emphasised the symbolic importance of water ways and shores and their crucial role within the late Iron Age social landscape (Willis 2007, 122): not only did they encourage movements and interaction but they also possibly acted as visual landmarks. Deposition in

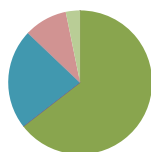
proximity to rivers could be more easily traced, perhaps indicating an intention to make gold recoverable.

The composition of hoards collected in Areas A-D is quite varied, since they can contain from one/four up to hundreds of issues. Whereas small deposits may have functioned as authentic votive gifts, it is unlikely that large quantities of precious metals (e.g. Alton, Essendon), even if part of votive practices, were concealed with no opportunities of prospective recovery and this may also explain the choice of prominent and easily traceable locations, including ritual sites. From a general point of view, some recurrent numerical patterns have been noted in the amount of hoarded coins. Multiples of two are quite common either in gold: Andover (8), Fareham (2), Great Baddow (4), Epping (4), Kings Stanley (2), Little Totham (2), Sherborne (2), West Mersea (4) and silver: Chatteris (8), West Fen (8), Basingstoke (16), as well as multiple of six: Alton I (48 gold), Bury (6 gold), Cheriton (32 gold), Hayling Island (6 bronze) Marks Tey (6 gold), and Welney (12 gold). Assemblages of five/ten gold coins are also reported (from Heybridge, Marks Tey, Great Waltham), as well as groups of ten bronze coins (in a grave at King Harry Lane). Possibly, different coin-types and metals were adopted, on the basis of availability, in order to reach required amounts. As an example, it must be emphasised that hoards from Area B do not include NE coins; the only exception is represented by a silver NE81 unit associated with 7 silver EA issues at West Fen. Further examples of this practice can be seen at Chatteris (7 silver EA units + 1 gold E quarter stater), and Stonea (a group 15 silver EA units + 1 bronze EA unit that can be part of a dispersed hoard); this also seems to imply that the distinction between coin-series was not always neatly perceived.

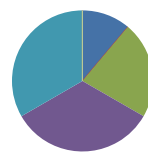
It is possible that recurring numerical and typological patterns were not accidental but were the result of specific units of value linked to practical or symbolic purposes. It must be remarked that some of the deposits listed above may not have been recovered intact and that they represent a minor percentage (c. 15%) of all Iron Age coin hoards from Britain (c. 346 according to De Jersey 2014, 3); it follows that the matter deserves further investigation.

Table 5.2a: Composition of hoards per type in Area A

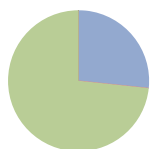
Chelmsford (Av)



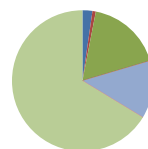
Colchester (Av, Ar, Ae)



Epping (Av)



Essendon (Av)



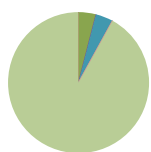
Great Leighs (Av)



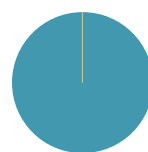
Great Baddow (Av)



Great Waltham (Av)



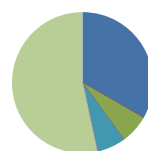
Heybridge (Av)



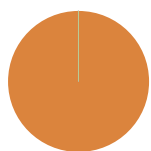
Little Totham (Av)



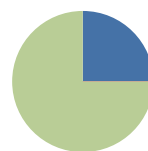
Marks Tey (Av)



St Albans (Ae)



West Mersea (Av)



Wheathampstead (Av, Ar)

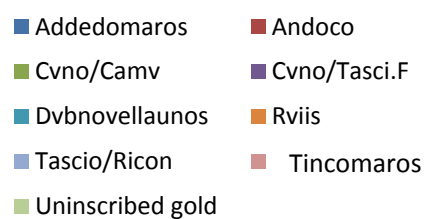
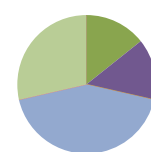
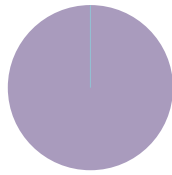
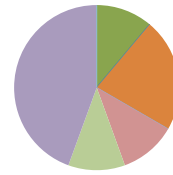


Table 5.2b: Composition of hoards per type in Area B

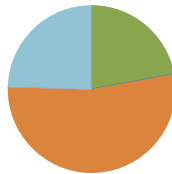
**Bury, Heacham and
Wormegay (Av)**



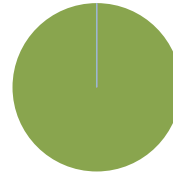
Chatteris (Av, Ar)



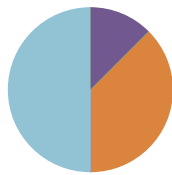
March (Field Baulk, Ar)



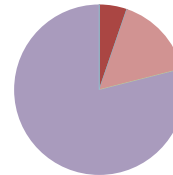
March (I, Ar)



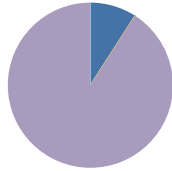
March (West Fen, Ar)



Rushden (Av)



Welney (Av)



Wimblington/Stonea (Ar)

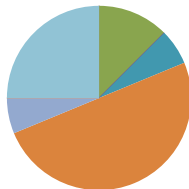
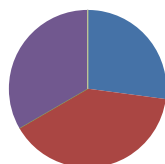
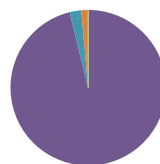


Table 5.2c: Composition of hoards per type in Area C

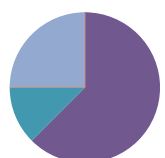
Alton 1 (Av)



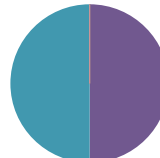
Alton 2 (Av)



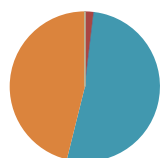
Andover (Av)



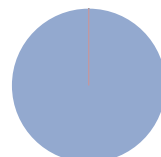
Basingstoke (Ar)



Bentworth (Av)



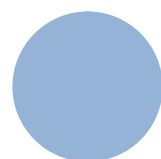
Cheriton, Fareham, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Kingsclere (Av)



Lavant (Av, Ar)



Romsey (Av r)



Wickham (Av)

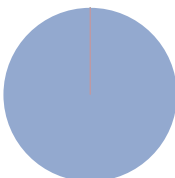
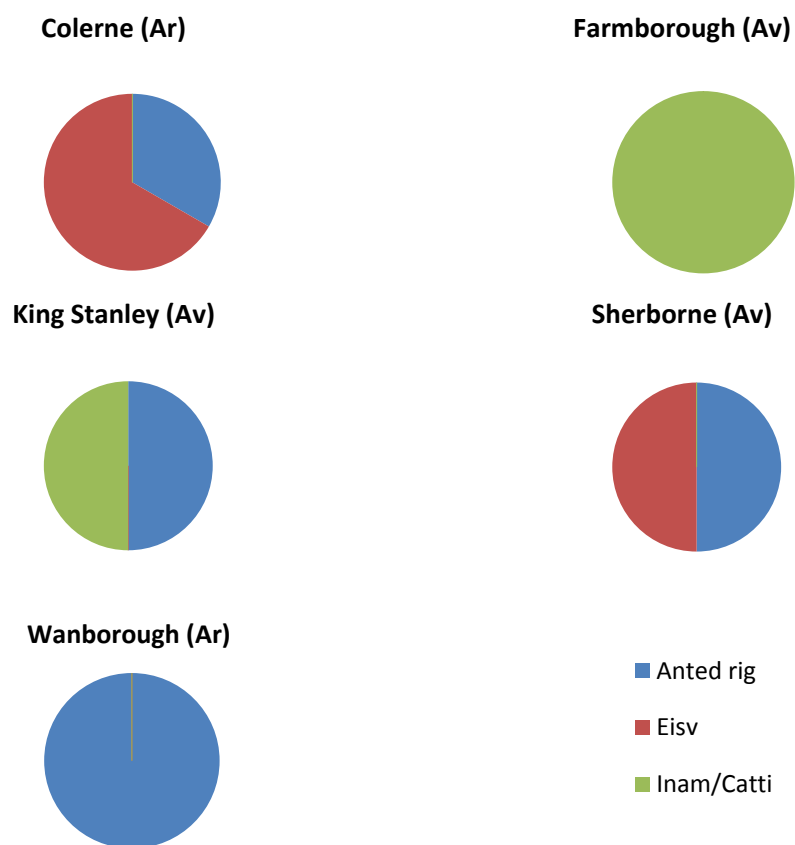


Table 5.2d: Composition of hoards per type in Area D



Most of the patterns outlined here complement the evidence of coins from excavation discussed in the previous chapter:

- Primarily, hoards from Areas A-D largely consist of precious gold and silver issues, with a high incidence of imported Gallo-Belgic types (Areas A and C).
- Bronze and cast bronze coins, unsurprisingly, are rarely hoarded and only occur in south-eastern Britain.
- The choice of location played a fundamental role in hoarding practices.
- There seems to be a practical and symbolic difference between the concealment of small and large amounts of coins.
- Numerical patterns, recalling those already discussed for burials, have been identified; this suggests that hoards were not randomly assembled, but careful selection of types and quantities may have taken place and systems of equivalence and measurement were adopted.

The evidence described and evaluated in Chapters 4 and 5 contributes to the debate about the use of late Iron Age coinage in ordinary exchange (Howgego 2013, 23-31). This will be further explored in the second part of this thesis with an emphasis on issues of interaction and coin movement (Chapter 6), the embedded value of coins (Chapter 7) and their role in fostering processes of social competition (Chapters 8).

Chapter 6

Coins in movement:

connectivity and circulation in Areas A-D

As coins are portable and mobile objects, adopted in long and short-term transactions (see 2.3.3), analysing their social role mainly consists in tracing the pace and direction of their movement, recognising the actions they were able to perform, and defining their role in exchange. Exchange is a social process that leads different individuals/groups of people to interact on a regional/supra-regional basis, and create networks of reciprocal relationships aimed at acquiring and redistributing goods (e.g. Rowlands 1973, 589). Reconstructing interactions and exchange includes localising raw materials' sources and trade-routes, mapping artefact distribution, reconstructing routes and networks, and defining the archaeological context in which transactions took place. In the first part of this chapter local territorial features and the evidence of long-distance interactions in Areas A-D are outlined (6.1, 6.2), with an emphasis on numismatic and ceramic imports from Gaul. Section 6.3 undertakes a reconstruction of the local levels of connectivity that may have enabled – or hindered – the circulation of coins and the widespread diffusion of individual series.

6.1 Territorial features of Areas A-D

Local or long-distance forms of interaction and communication are potentially favoured or prevented by a series of territorial features, such as the size and morphology of the region, evidence of land definition/organisation, the management of territorial resources and exploitation of routes, as well as levels of settlement centralisation and internal differentiation.

As already stressed (3.1), Areas A-D are drained by numerous rivers that during the 1st millennium BC were adopted as waterways and enabled transport and communication. In Area A, crossed by the rivers Blackwater, Lea, Ver, Colne, and Stort,

abundance of waterways and a long-shoreline, easily accessible by the North Sea, provided favourable conditions for the emergence of prominent sites. Area B is drained by the rivers Nene and Welland to the east, and by the Great Ouse to the west, which is the longest water way in East Anglia. Nucleated settlements in Areas A and B focused along a network of Roman roads (Taylor 2006, 145), often following pre-Conquest track ways like the Peddars Way in East Anglia, and the Icknield Way, crossing southern and central Britain through the Chilterns and towards Cambridgeshire. Even though the importance of the Icknield Way has been questioned, because of a lack of access to the coast (Harrison 2003, 7-18), this track way is generally considered the principal pre-Roman communication route in south-eastern and central Britain, and the fact that some of the most prominent late Iron Age sites (e.g. Baldock, Braughing, and Thetford) developed along this track way cannot be entirely accidental. Similarly, Area D is traversed by the rivers Avon, Churn, Leach, Ock and Windrush, and by the Ridgeway, which was possibly the most important track way running east-west in south-western Britain from the Bronze Age to the Roman time. Whereas also Area C is crossed by major rivers, such as the Test and Itchen, the Coastal Plain region represented one of the main points of contact for cross-Channel interactions during the Iron Age.

Traces of land organisation are attested by systems of ditches and enclosures, often by the Bronze Age-early Iron Age, especially in south-eastern Britain, in Wessex, and the upper Thames valley (Hill 2007, 18; Tremlett *et al.* 2011, 27). Major Iron Age sites, including hillforts and settlements, were generally enclosed by single or multiple dykes having protective or symbolic functions (e.g. Area A: St Albans, Colchester; Area B: Fison Way, Thetford; Area C: Chichester, Silchester, Winchester; Area D: Abingdon, Bagendon); earthwork systems often showed evidence of complex entrance ways and monumentality (e.g. the Chichester Dyke; Colchester). Some of the major excavated sites also encompassed central cores superseded by Roman *forum/basilica* complexes (e.g. St Albans, Silchester). These areas yielded assemblages of Iron Age coins and/or traces of minting activities in the form of fragments of clay moulds.

The crucial role played by major sites in long-term processes of social change, including the introduction of coinage, has long been stressed in European Iron Age studies (Boudet 1987; Bradley 1984; Büchsenschütz 1995, 53; Collis 1995; Wellington 2006; Woolf 2006), and a relationship has been inferred between coin production and the rise of well-connected central places in Gaul and southern Britain (Wellington 2006, 90). Similarly, as shown in the Table 6.1, in Britain there seems to be a relation between the presence of activities linked to coin production and the development of prominent sites: at least one out of three major nucleated complexes identified within Areas A-D yielded traces of minting activities and may have played a role as a pre-Roman administrative or economic gathering places. In some cases, the identification of central mints is supported by coin-legends (e.g. CAMV/CAMVL: Colchester, VER/VERUL: St Albans, CALLE[VA]: Silchester). In addition, coin moulds are known from a number of minor locations, such as Wycomb, near Bagendon, or Boxgrove, near Chichester: this may indicate a multiplication of mint places, and that forms of decentralised production in Iron Age Europe, possibly employing itinerant workmanship, took place on a larger scale than it appears (Lawers 2015; Trow *et al.* 2009, 50).

Table 6.1: Proportion between site prominence and coin production in Areas A-D (numbers in brackets indicate the number of major excavated settlements in each Area)

Area	Sites showing evidence of minting activities	
	Major sites	Other sites
Area A (4)	Braughing, Colchester, St Albans	
Area B (3)	Thetford	
Area C (3)	Silchester, Winchester	Boxgrove (linked to Chichester)
Area D (3)	Bagendon	Wycomb (linked to Bagendon)

However, the evidence of prominent functions does not necessarily imply forms of territorial centralisation: this can be defined as a transition from dispersed forms of settlements to aggregation and it is characterised by significant movement of people and objects following a need for supply and redistribution (Hagget 1965), the transformation of networks, and the development of structured relationships. These elements are not always or consistently visible in Areas A-D.

As already emphasised, thanks to their size, position, accessibility and complexity, several major nucleated settlements in Areas A and C (e.g. Chichester, Colchester, Silchester) possessed the potential for territorial control and exclusive exploitation of major routes leading to centralising features. In addition, evidence of forms of social differentiation has been identified from the interiors and the vicinity of a number of major and minor sites: this principally consisted in the adoption of rectangular buildings (e.g. Colchester, Gorhambury, Silchester), the systematic import of precious objects and continental pottery (such as wine *amphorae* and Gallo-Belgic fine wares), and the presence of high status hoards (e.g. Essendon, Owslebury) and cremation burials (e.g. Folly Lane near St Albans; Lexden near Colchester; Westhampnett near Chichester). High status graves, in particular, were part of a larger late Iron Age British trend (see 4.4.1) and were characterised by composite assemblages including luxury items; the burial evidence is suggestive of the emergence of elite groups and/or individuals that were able to undertake cross-Channel relations and possibly monopolise resources and networks of exchange (discussed in Chapter 9).

On the other hand, notwithstanding the evidence of a middle Iron Age high status settlement (Hunsbury), prominent earthworks (Stonea Camp), and minting activities (Thetford), no site in Area B has yielded conclusive evidence of having had a prominent focal role during the late Iron Age, and the presence of various open settlements makes it difficult to recognise large complexes (Hutchinson 2004, 6-7), suggesting fragmentation or absence of centralisation. Recently, the evidence of well-connected field systems and landscape organisation throughout the Cotswolds has been stressed (Moore 2006; 2007, 48), and forms of territorial control in Area D are potentially witnessed by the system of enclosure identified at Ditches, the flourishing of middle

Iron Age hillforts along the Ridgeway e.g. Alfred's Castle and Segsbury Camp (Gosden and Lock 2001, 2007; Gosden *et al.* 2005), and the development of a monumental earthwork at Abingdon, but no prominent late Iron Age central place has been confirmed. Furthermore, in Areas B and D, social differentiation is difficult to infer, and principally rests on the deposition of wealthy hoards (e.g. Area B: Field Baulk, Snettisham) and the identification of imported artefacts (e.g. Area B: Stonea and Thetford; Area D: Abingdon, Bagendon): however, these may only be indicative of trade and of the circulation of mobile wealth rather than the emergence of elite groups. Most funerary evidence, in contrast, mostly relates to the Bronze Age (e.g. Raunds) or the Roman period. The links between social differentiation, the emerging of elite groups/individuals and the production of local coinage in Areas A-D will be discussed in 9.3.

6.2 Long-distance interactions and cross-Channel networks

Social complexity is not merely the result of local developments, internal relationships and forms of centralisation. External contacts and interactions certainly played a role in fostering the social transformations that took place in Britain at the end of the 1st millennium BC.

Long-distance European networks developed during the Bronze Age throughout the Mediterranean basin up to the north-western regions (Cunliffe 2001; Fitzpatrick 2001; Rowlands 1973). Several ancient sources, including Diodorus Siculus (1st century BC), Strabo (1st century BC-early 1st century AD), Pliny the Elder (1st century AD), and Avienus (4th century AD) attest the existence of long-term trade relations between the British Isles and the Continent at the end of the 1st millennium BC; according to Strabo (*Geographia*, IV), these were based on the exchange of raw materials and artefacts for cattle, slaves and metals. Remarkably, Strabo (*ibid.* II.5) referred to the Scilly Isles as *Cassiterides* because of the presence of cassiterite (tin), and Pytheas of Massalia (4th century BC) defined the British Isles as *prettanikai nesoi* or 'isles of tin' (Demandt 2003, 30). In fact, gold, copper, tin, zinc and lead ores were located in Cornwall, Devon and Wales; however, gold and silver could also have been imported from Iberia and

northern Italy (Barello 2006, 70), and copper came from central Europe, north-central Italy, and the Balkans.

Following the foundation of Greek colonies at Emporion, Massalia, and Syracuse from the 6th century BC, new communication networks were established across the Mediterranean:

- From Massalia to eastern France and southern Germany along the Rhone and Saône.
- From south-western Gaul towards Iberia.
- From south-eastern Italy to the Adriatic coast and central Europe across the Po valley (Rowlands 1973, 597; Wells 1980a-b).

At the end of the 1st millennium BC, the principal communication routes linked southern and south-western ports of trade, namely Hengistbury Head, to Armorican Gaul, and the coast of Kent to Belgic Gaul (Haselgrove 1982, 146; Fitzpatrick 2001; Sharples 2010). Additional ways connected the Cotentin peninsula and the Seine to the river Arun, in West Sussex (De Jersey 1997). According to the distribution of ceramic artefacts (discussed below), after the mid-1st century BC the main trade routes focused on south-eastern Britain (e.g. Colchester, Heybridge, and Kent) and the Coastal Plain (Chichester).

As a result of long-term cross-Channel exchange, population movements, and increasing trade in the Mediterranean (Morris 2010, 20), from the early 2nd century BC onwards a wide range of western Mediterranean ceramic materials systematically entered Britain (Table 6.2), forerunning the introduction of Gallo-Belgic coins.

Table 6.2: Principal cross-Channel ceramic imports in late Iron Age Britain

Form	Origin	Start of production	Date of imports
Dressel 1A	Tyrrhenian Italy, southern France, north Africa, Spain	Mid-2 nd c. BC - mid-1 st c. BC	Late 2 nd – mid 1 st c. BC
Dressel 1B	Italy	Late 2 nd c. BC - mid 1 st c. BC	From early 1 st c. BC
Dressel 2-4	Italy, Spain	From mid-1 st c. BC	From late 1 st c. BC
Gallo-Belgic ware	Northern France	Late 1 st c. BC to late 1 st c. AD	Late 1 st c. BC - late 1 st c. AD
Italian (Arretine) terra sigillata/ Lyon imitations	Arezzo and Pisa, Lyon	From late 1 st c. BC to mid 1 st c AD	From late 1 st c. BC
Terra sigillata/ (samian)	Central-Southern Gaul (Montans)	From early 1 st c. AD	From early 1 st c. AD

Early Dressel 1A wine *amphorae* and samian ware (*terra sigillata*) from central and southern Gaul entered Britain through the Atlantic western seaways or via central and northern France, while Gallo-Belgic pottery and Dressel 1B and 2-4 *amphorae* clustering in northern France travelled through eastern Channel routes. Dressel 1A *amphorae* occurred primarily in central-southern Britain (the largest assemblage at Hengisbury Head), with few findspots from the south-eastern regions; in the late 1st century BC the trend is reversed, with larger quantities of Dressel 1B and some Dressel 2-4 from settlements and burial assemblages in south-eastern Britain (e.g. Folly Lane, King Harry Lane, Lexden). It must be noted that the amount of imported Dressel 1 *amphorae* in Britain is limited in comparison to the extent of Gaulish production (Fitzpatrick 2013, 327-328), which may reduce the impact of cross-Channel trade on local developments. Similarly, the pre-Roman distribution of *terra sigillata* ware, produced in central and southern Gaul, was limited and mostly restricted to south-eastern Britain. In contrast, Gallo-Belgic pottery was widely and uniformly distributed throughout southern Britain up to the central and northern regions.

6.2.1 Continental ceramic and numismatic imports in Areas A-D

The most prominent evidence of pre-Roman cross-Channel exchange in Britain is provided by imported pottery and coins. This section will briefly summarise the evidence of ceramic and coin imports that have been recovered in excavation from the sites investigated in Areas A-D (Table 6.3), focusing on three classes of artefacts: Dressel 1 and 2-4 *amphorae*, Gaulish pottery, and Gaulish coins. Further details about ceramic imports from the study areas are found in Appendices I-IV, Spreadsheet 3. In addition, it must be specified that the Gaulish coin imports discussed in this section do not include coins from Belgic Gaul. Gallo Belgic types have been systematically imported in Britain from the 2nd century BC and significantly contributed to the development of local coinage; for this reason, their distribution in Britain and within the study areas under examination was discussed along with local production in Chapters 1, 3 and 4.

Table 6.3: Imports from principal sites in Areas A-D

Site	Coins		Gaulish Fine Ware			Dressel <i>amphorae</i>	
	GB	Gaulish	<i>TN/TR</i>	Samian	Other	1	2-4
Area A	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Baldock	x	-	x	x	x	x	x
Braintree	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
Braughing	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Chelmsford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colchester	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Gorhambury	-	x	x	x	x	-	-
Harlow	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Heybridge	x	x	x	x	-	x	x
Kelvedon	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nazeing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Albans	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
Stanway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Welwyn	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Witham	-	-	x	x	-	-	x
Area B	x		x	x	x		x
Ashton	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
Brigstock	-	-		-	-	-	-
Duston	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Hallaton	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
March	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oundle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thetford	-	-	x	x	-	-	x
Wakerley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Weekley	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Stonea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Area C	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Chichester	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
Hayling Island	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
Hurstbourne Priors	x	-	x	-	-		-
Owslebury	x	-	x	-	x	x	-
Rowlands Castle	x	-	-	-	-		-
Silchester	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Winchester	-	-	x	x	x	-	-
Area D		x	x	x	x		x
Abingdon	-	-	x	x	x	-	
Bagendon/N. Cerney	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
Barnsley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bath	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Camerton	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
Cirencester/S. Cerney	-	-	x	x	x	-	-
Ducklington	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Frocester	-	-	x	x	x	-	x
Lechlade	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nettleton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Leigh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Somerford Keynes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uley							

6.2.2 Gaulish coins

Coin imports from Gaul were likely the result of sporadic cross-Channel contacts and possibly remained in circulation for long after the Conquest (Table 6.4). In Area A, more than 90 Gaulish coins, generally bronze/cast bronze issues from north-eastern Gaul, have been found, of which 27 came from excavation; they mainly clustered in major nucleated settlements such as Braughing and Colchester, but occurrences also came to light at Gorhambury and Heybridge (one coin from a pre-Conquest layer). In addition, one Gaulish coin from a 4th century AD grave was recorded at Kelvedon. Quantities are generally small, accounting for one/two specimens, with the exception of Braughing (15 finds). Even though area-finds were principally located in the regions surrounding Braughing and St Albans, the latter site has not yielded evidence of continental numismatic imports.

Larger amounts of Gaulish coins occur regularly in Area C, where they account for 117 area-finds and 52 site-finds, representing c. 9.5% of all coins recovered. Most issues originated from northern (non-Belgic) Gaul and Armorica, and clustered along the Coast, in the territory surrounding Chichester, Hayling Island, and Westhampnett, as well as in the region of Winchester. The area-finds include issues inscribed [Q Do]Cī (LT 5405-5411) and REX I[VBA], the latter possibly being a drachm of the Numidian king Juba I, as well as one Massiliote cast bronze and eight/ten copper alloy Ptolemaic units. The presence of Ptolemaic coins recovered in Britain could be the result of ancient losses or modern introductions (Biddle 1975); however, the fact that they roughly follow the same distribution of other continental imports may support the first hypothesis. The only occurrences of Gaulish coins from excavation in Area C are from Hayling Island and Silchester, where up to 14 issues were stratified from post-Conquest features in the *forum/basilica* area. These were surface finds, and could be the result of disturbance from lower levels.

In Area B and D coins from Gaul were uncommon (respectively 13 and 11 stray finds) and tend to occur in clusters of scattered finds, with only one silver unit from excavation at Bath (Somerset). In addition, at least six Massiliote and Carthaginian

bronze coins dating to the 3rd century BC are known from nearby Heacham, Snettisham (Marsden 2011, 52-57), and Gayton (De Jersey 1999, 195) in Norfolk (outside the boundary of Area B). A stray bronze unit from Boeotia has been reported by the PAS from near Huntingdon (Cambs), as well as one Ptolemaic issue from Kettering (Northants); no contextual evidence can provide clues for their interpretation.

Table 6.4: Gaulish coins from Areas A-D

Gaulish coins	A	B	C	D
Av	7	1	7	1
Av/Ae	1	-	9	1
Ar	4	2	56	4
Ae	73	6	104	5
Cast Ae	11	2	6	-

Given the paucity of the record, no clear patterns of distribution can be identified in Areas B and D; in Areas A and C the trend seems unbalanced in favour of Hertfordshire and the Coastal Plain, while the evidence from Essex and northern Hampshire is scant. This may suggest that continental numismatic imports followed restricted circulation routes before the rise of Colchester. The presence of Gaulish coins in settlements and at Hayling Island (only one occurrence from Harlow) seems to imply that they were adopted in diverse transactions, but the lack of adequate quantities and stratification details does not allow formulating hypotheses about their symbolic or practical functions.

6.2.3 Gaulish fine wares and Dressel *amphorae*

Most of the sites yielding Gaulish coins also revealed evidence of Gallo-Belgic and samian ware, or Dressel 1 and/or 2-4 *amphorae*, namely Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Gorhambury, Heybridge (Area A), Chichester, Fishbourne, Hayling Island, Silchester, and Winchester (Area C). Additional evidence has also been located at Braintree, St Albans, Welwyn, and Witham. At Harlow, where only one Gaulish coin came to light from excavation, no evidence of continental ceramic material is

recorded. In contrast, the impact of imports on Area B was quite limited and most finds are the result of surface survey (e.g. Titchmarsh). Gallo-Belgic pottery was recovered at Ashton, Duston, Thetford, and Weekley; here, samian ware and traces of Dressel 2-4 *amphorae* have also been found. Whereas Gallo-Belgic and samian ware from Abingdon, Cirencester and Frocester could be pre or post-Conquest imports, no significant evidence of Dressel 1 *amphorae* has been recorded in Area D; similarly, sherds of Dressel 2-4 *amphorae* are only known from Bagendon-Ditches and Frocester, while late types circulated more widely. In a few cases, Gallo-Belgic pottery was associated with Dressel 20 oil *amphorae* dating to the 2nd century AD (e.g. Camerton, Cirencester); this may imply that in the western regions, if not residual, wares from Belgic Gaul were the result of late transactions.

This section was designed to summarise the evidence of cross-Channel interactions in Areas A-D. The association between Gallo-Belgic pottery and wine *amphorae* is common in Areas A and C, especially from nucleated settlements, suggesting that these sites controlled imports and movement of fine wares (Fichtl 2000, 148) and implying the development of long-term networks of exchange. On the other hand, a relationship may be inferred in Areas B and D between the absence of imported coins – produced up to c. 20 BC – and the scarcity of Gaulish ceramic material introduced by the end of the 1st century BC, which may also explain the late development of local coinage.

6.3 Connectivity in Areas A-D

Forms of interaction can be chronologically and/or spatially circumscribed or can take place on a long-term and long-distance basis; reiterated interactions may lead to the gradual development of networks and routes purposely created to facilitate and promote contacts and exchange. The establishment of transport and communication routes linked to the movement of people, objects and therefore concepts can be defined as 'connectivity' (Cunliffe 2001; Horden and Purcell 2000; Morris 2010). In this section, levels of connectivity in Areas A-D will be evaluated in order to understand how these affected – or have been affected by – coin use and circulation.

Drawing on 'social network analysis' (Barabási 2003; Newman *et al.* 2006, 147), which is increasingly being adopted in archaeological studies (Knappett 2013), each site identified in the study areas is here defined as a 'node', each node having a number of 'links'. Site hierarchy and connectivity stem from a combination of the followings:

- Geographical position of sites/nodes (e.g. riverside locations usually have a higher number of long-distance connections/links).
- Complexity of sites/nodes (e.g. long-lived settlements showing traces of internal differentiation may develop a higher number of relations/links).
- Evidence of communication routes in the proximity of a site/node (e.g. navigable rivers or track ways).

Ideally, 'multi-linked sites/nodes' lay on strategic and favourable positions, show evidence of continuity and internal complexity, and were engaged in short and long-distance relationships. It must be emphasised that some of the elements outlined above are not always archaeologically detectable or measurable, and the nature of each site/node results from a unique combination of features; as a consequence, the minimum number of links per site is not certainly quantifiable. Furthermore, analysis in this chapter is conducted on a restricted number of excavated sites, and specific variations depend on the geographical and chronological limits of the study areas. A different spatial and/or chronological perspective may yield different conclusions;

similarly, it is likely that non-selected regions were characterised by similar or higher levels of complexity and connectivity. Being subject to such biases, the method here proposed is not based on a mathematical model. Nonetheless, when adequate archaeological information is available, the method can be applied to draw plausible conclusions about 'potential' levels of connectivity in limited areas.

The fundamental requirements that may suggest multiple links for the sites studied here are: proximity to waterways, long-term exploitation from the middle-late Iron Age to the early Roman period, internal traces of domestic, ritual and/or productive activities, and evidence of external contacts in the form of imports. For each site/node, Table 6.5 provides a list of features that may hint at connectivity, as follows: chronology and nature of the Iron Age and early Roman archaeological evidence in terms of settlement type, position within the landscape, and evidence of coins, Gaulish ceramic imports, and pre-Conquest *amphorae* (Dressel 1, 2-4) from excavations.

Table 6.5: List of features linked to connectivity in Areas A-D

Legend: 1: Riverside/coastal position; 2. Prominent/central position; 3. Evidence of excavated coins; 4. Evidence of imported pottery (includes Gaulish and Gallo-Belgic ware, and Dressel 1, 2-4 *amphorae*); 5. Evidence of minor adjacent sites; 6. Level of connectivity (H: high number of links; M: medium number of links; L: low number of links); 7: Site-finds (including unstratified and well-located area-finds).

Area/Site	Evidence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Area A								
Baldock	LIA-Roman nucleated civil settlement	x	x	x	x		H	80
Braintree	LIA-ER enclosed rural settlement	x		x	x		M	4
Braughing	LIA-Roman major nucleated settlement	x	x	x	x		H	180
Chelmsford	LIA-Roman religious complex and fort/settlement	x		x			M	2
Colchester	MIA hillfort/LIA-ER major nucleated settlement	x	x	x	x	x	H	287
Gorhambury	LIA enclosed settlement and Roman villa	x	x	x	x		H	24
Harlow	LIA-Roman religious complex	x	x	x		x	M	267
Heybridge	LIA-ER nucleated settlement	x		x	x		H	153
Kelvedon	LIA-ER nucleated settlement and cemetery			x	x		M	15
Nazeing	LIA-ER settlement			x			L	1
St Albans	LIA-Roman major nucleated settlement	x	x	x	x	x	H	43
Witham	MIA and LIA-ER enclosed settlement			x	x		M	1
Area B								
Ashton	LIA-Roman enclosed rural settlement	x		x			M	1
Brigstock	LIA-ER pits			x			L	1
Duston	MIA hillfort; LIA-ER enclosed settlement	x	x	x	x		H	20
Hallaton	LIA - Roman shrine and ritual complex		x	x	x		M	492 8
Oundle	LIA-ER ritual site?	x		x			M	13
Thetford	LIA-Roman enclosed major settlement/ritual	x	x	x	x		H	2
Wakerley	LIA-ER rural settlement			x			M	1
Weekley	LIA- Roman enclosed settlement	x		x	x		M	8
Stonea	LIA-Roman enclosed major settlement/ritual	x	x	x	x		H	2

Table 6.5: List of features linked to connectivity in Areas A-D (cont.)

Area/Site	Evidence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Area C								
Chichester	LIA-Roman major settlement	x	x	x	x	x	H	19
Hayling Island	LIA-Roman ritual area	x	x	x	x		H	157
Hurstbourne P.	Roman burial			x			L	1
Rowlands Castle	Roman industrial site			x			L	2
Silchester	LIA-Roman major nucleated settlement	x	x	x	x		H	68
Westhampnett	LIA cemetery	x		x			M	1
Winchester	IA hillforts	x	x	x	x		H	3
Area D								
Abingdon	LIA-Roman settlement and cemetery	x	x	x	x		H	5
Bagendon/N. Cerney	LIA hillfort/Roman major enclosed settlement		x	x	x	x	H	41
Barnsley	Roman settlement and villa			x			M	1
Bath	Roman settlement and temple	x		x			M	15
Camerton	IA-Roman nucleated settlement	x		x	x		M	4
Cirencester/S. Cerney	LIA-Roman major settlement	x	x	x	x		H	2
Ducklington	Roman settlement and cemetery			x			M	1
Frocester	LIA-ER settlement and Roman villa	x		x	x		M	2
Lechlade	LIA-ER rural settlement complex	x		x			M	1
Nettleton	Roman temple			x			M	2
North Leigh	Roman villa			x			L	1
Somerford Keynes	IA-ER rural settlement	x		x			M	5
Uffington	IA hillfort		x	x			M	
Uley	IA hillfort and LIA/Roman ritual evidence		x	x			M	4

On the basis of these criteria, different levels of connectivity/number of links can be inferred, as follows:

- **H/(high number of links):** multi-linked sites showed evidence of zoning and differentiated functions, but also lay in a favourable position near major rivers, the coast, or internal routes (e.g. Bagendon, Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Chichester, Cirencester, Silchester). Significant traces of imports and coin usage imply that local and non-local transactions took place.
- **M/(medium number of links):** medium-linked sites displayed evidence of long-term development and some degree of complexity and centrality; however, the artefact evidence may demonstrate chronologically limited exploitation (e.g. post-Conquest only) or limited functions (e.g. only ritual function at Hallaton, Harlow).

- **L/(low number of links):** low-linked sites lack evidence of internal complexity and/or imports, which may imply that they were short-lived or isolated. In most cases, traces of significant exploitation and interactions are spatially and chronologically restricted (e.g. Nazeing, Hurtsbourne Priors).

Areas A-D also contained a number of late Iron Age and early Roman sites that developed on prominent positions and/or revealed traces of long-distance contacts, but have not yielded evidence of excavated local coins. Most of these settlements have medium/low levels of connectivity, and hence can impact on the final assessment. The list of all sites and their archaeological nature is found in Appendices I-IV, Spreadsheets 2.

6.3.1 Coins in movement

The amount of coins from Areas A-D is higher in proximity to adequately connected sites (hereafter labelled with H and M), such as nucleated settlements and/or focal religious places (fig. 6.1). Significantly, in Areas C and D, the coin evidence recovered nearby hillforts (e.g. Ditches, Oram's Arbour) is comparable to that of settlements.

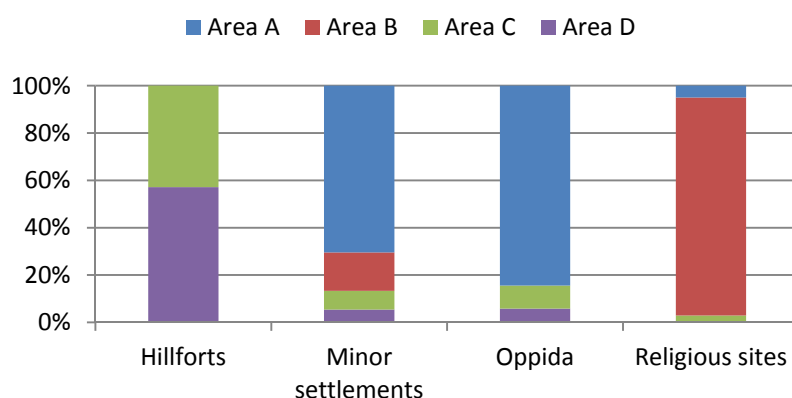


Figure 6.1: Sites with coins from Areas A-D

As shown in the Table (6.6a) below, within Area A, coins from excavation account for c. 25% of total finds, and the proportion between major nucleated settlements (H) and minor well-connected sites (M) is balanced. In Area C, despite the presence of nucleated settlements and hillforts (H), the evidence of sites with medium levels of connectivity is less relevant, and coins from excavation only account for c. 12% of finds. On the reverse, in Area D, although M-labelled sites are numerous in comparison to multi-linked settlements, the percentage of coins from excavation is similar to that of Area C (c. 13%).

Table 6.6a: Connectivity in Areas A-D

N° of sites with coins	% sites at different levels of connectivity			Number of coins		N° of small sites without coins	Level of connectivity
	H	M	L	From the sites	From the whole area		
Area A (13)	47%	45%	7%	1102	4354	42	High
Area B (9/8)	33%	56%	11%	5014/71	6871/1928	51	Mixed
Area C (7)	57%	14.5%	28.5%	264	1946	39	Medium
Area D (14)	21.5%	71.5%	7%	79	594	39	Medium

It is worth emphasising that within Area B, notwithstanding the evidence of H-labelled sites, coin finds did not largely clustered in settlements. Possibly, the large unpopulated region of the Fens produced a gap in connectivity. In fact, to the east of the Fens (see Table 6.6b), no adequate evidence of M and L-labelled sites has been identified: here, the amount of coins from excavation accounted for c. 14% of total finds, whilst large quantities of scattered coins came to light. To the west, the proportion between H, M, and L-labelled sites is more balanced, as well as the proportion between excavated coins and area-finds (Hallaton left aside).

Table 6.6b: Levels of connectivity in Area B

N° of sites with coins	% of sites at different levels of connectivity			Number of coins		N° of sites without coins	Level of connectivity
	H	M	L	Site-finds	Area-finds		
East of the Fens (2)	100%	-	-	11	734	30	Low/Medium
West of the Fens (6)	17%	66%	17%	42	144	20	Medium/High

Notwithstanding intra-communities interactions have been detected (e.g. the hoard at Chatteris discussed in 5.4), rather than well-connected landscape, Area B seemingly included a series of independent communal poles that do not appear to have been functionally intertwined. Alternatively, the evidence may suggest that forms of connectivity are not exclusively based on material exchange and are, thus, not detectable only through the analysis of coin circulation.

In summary, apparently connectivity is higher in Area A than in Areas C and D, whilst in Area B different levels of connectivity are recognisable in distinct territories. Iron Age coins were much better distributed in areas where prominent/central sites and medium/minor poles were uniformly distributed, and the extent of connectivity largely impacted on the amount of coins recorded from excavation. In particular, the balance between major settlements and minor satellites sites was critical in fostering coin use and circulation within Areas A-D during the 1st century BC.

6.3.2 Patterns of distribution of non-local coins

In Areas A-D issues belonging to different typological classes have been identified. As expected, locally produced coins represented the highest percentages (including excavated coins, hoards, and area-finds; see 3.3.1); in reverse, non-locally produced issues generally consist of minor quantities. Table 6.7 shows the impact of non-local coins on excavated assemblages (numbers in brackets include coins from major ritual sites): this is substantial in Areas C (c. 56% of all excavated coins), balanced in A (c. 16%) and D (c. 15%), and limited in B (3%), due to the impact of Hallaton, and D (c.

6%). In reverse, leaving Hallaton aside, the percentage of non-local coins, mostly consisting of E types from sites in the Nene valley, is much more significant in Area B. Stratified coins account for similar proportions.

**Table 6.7: Proportion between excavated local/non-local coins in Areas A-D
(numbers in brackets include ritual sites)**

	Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D
All excavated coins	835 (1102)	71 (5014)	101 (264)	79
All stratified coins	491 (704)	9 (3338)	61 (176)	41
Non-local excavated coins	153(179)	54(171)	59(148)	12
Non-local stratified coins	87(103)	3(76)	32(91)	5

Looking at the general distribution of non-local coins in excavated sites (figs. 6.2), a connection seems apparent between the quantity of non-local issues and the presence of religious places (Hallaton, Harlow, Hayling Island, Heybridge) or major settlements, with few exceptions (St Albans).

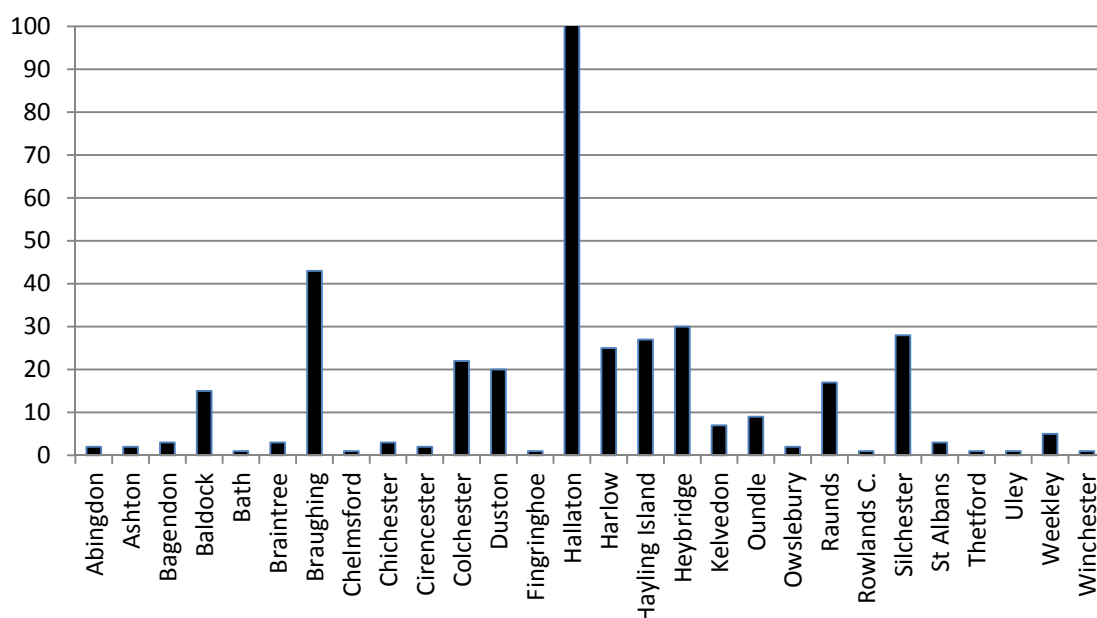


Figure 6.2: Distribution of non-local types per site in Areas A-D

Table 6.7 and the graphs below (fig. 6.3a-6.3d) show the number and types of stratified coins found outside their area of origins: as visible, types linked to TASCIOVANOS are the most diffused (E72, E83, E73, E71) and, albeit quantities are meagre, types inscribed ANTED (EA8 and W8), BODVOC (W9) and RVIS (E73) have also been recorded, in particular from ritual sites.

Table 6.8: Non-local coins from excavated settlements from features dating up to c. AD 70

Area	Site	Feature	Quantity	Type
A	Baldock	Ditch	1	SW8 AE
A	Braughing	Ditch	3	P cl. I
A	Braughing	Pit	2	P cl. I
A	Braughing	Pit	1	NE7 Avr
A	Braughing	Topsoil	1	P cl. I
A	Colchester	Ditch	1	GI AE
A	Heybridge	Ditch	3	P cl. I
A	Heybridge	Layer	1	GI AE
A	Heybridge	Layer	2	P cl. I
A	Heybridge	Topsoil	1	P cl. I
A	Kelvedon	Ditch	2	P cl. I
B	Ashton	Ditch	1	E7 AE
B	Ashton	Floor	1	E7 AE
B	Thetford	Ditch	1	E8 AE
C	Chichester	Sealed deposit	1	E8 AE
C	Silchester	Pit	1	E8 AE
C	Silchester	Pit	1	SE7 AE
D	Abingdon	Ditch	1	E73 AE
D	Abingdon	post/Conquest pit	1	E8 AE

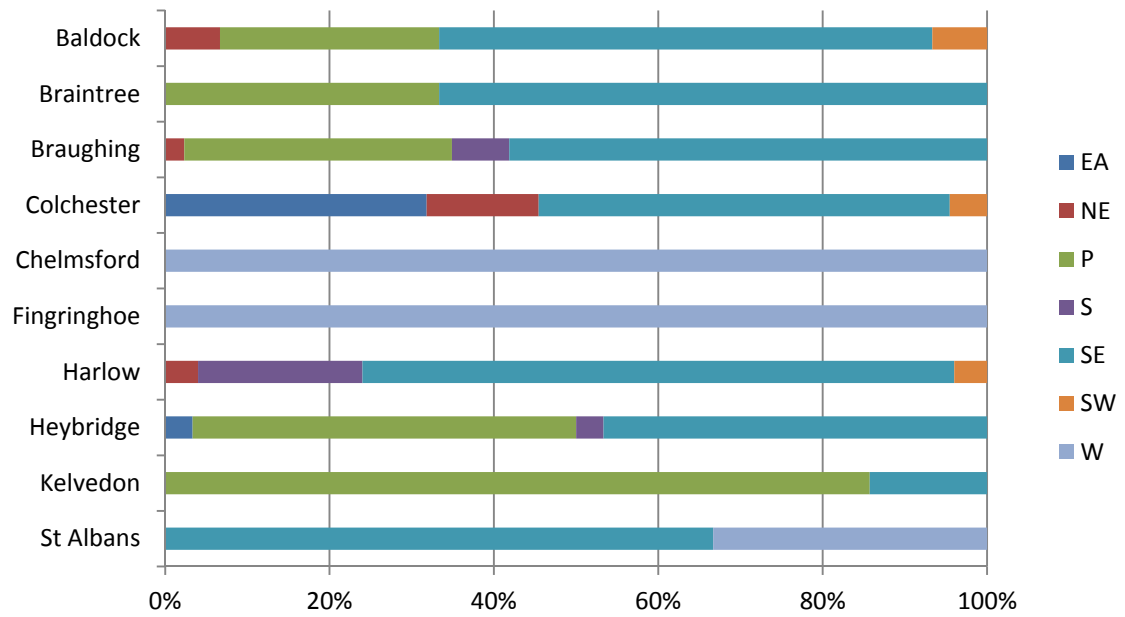


Figure 6.3a: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area A

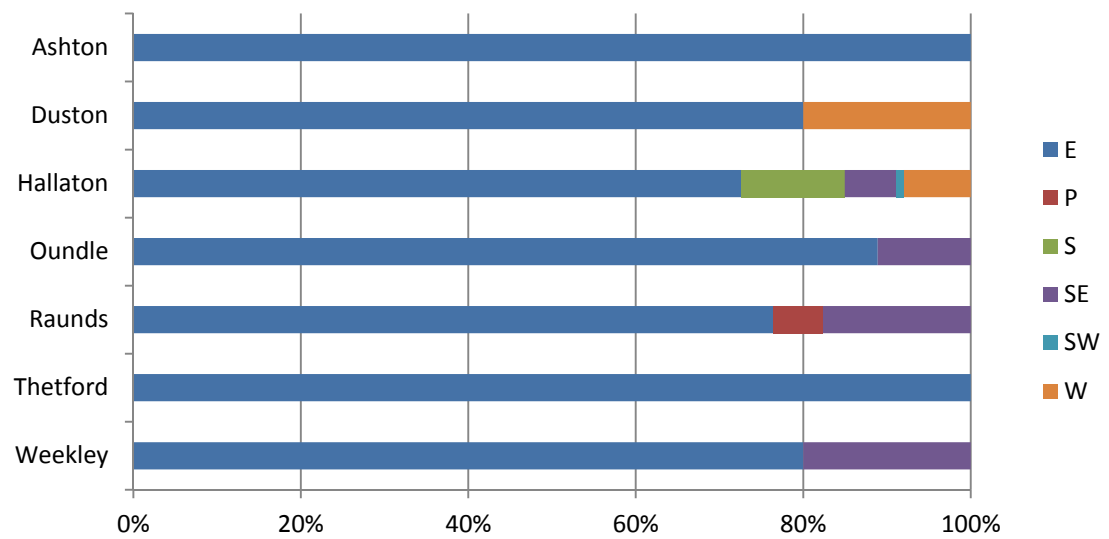


Figure 6.3b: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area B

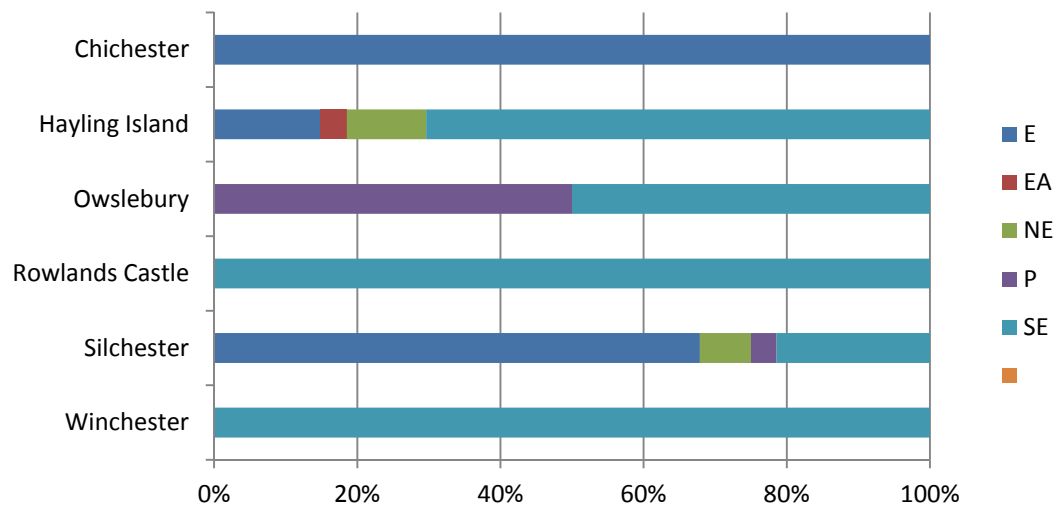


Figure 6.3c: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area C

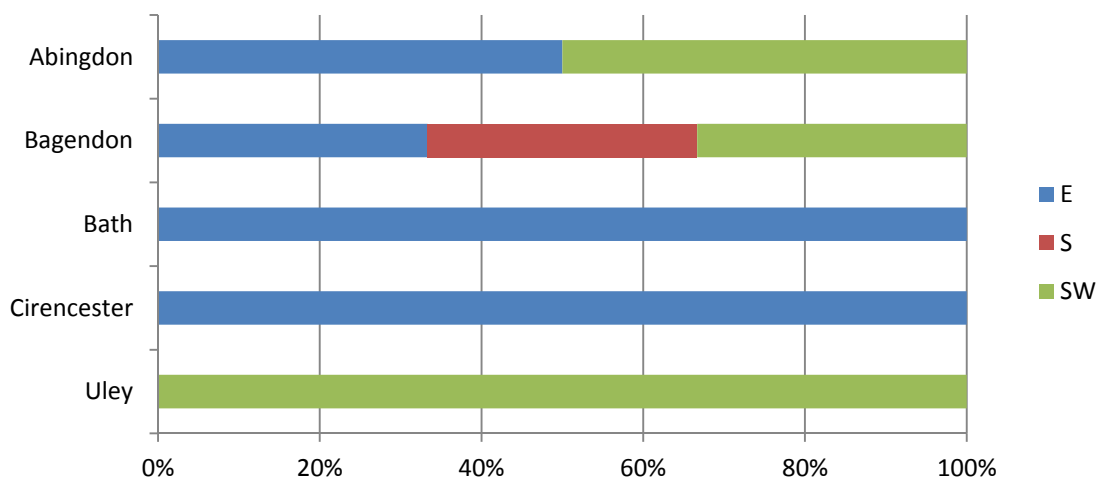


Figure 6.3d: Impact of non-local coins from excavated settlements in Area D

Few non-local finds were stratified from pre-Conquest features: e.g. one bronze SW8 unit was found from an enclosure ditch and one NE7 issue from a pit at Skeleton Green, Baldock. Occurrences of bronze E8 units were located from ditches at Ashton, Abingdon, and Thetford, and one similar coin came from one pit at Silchester; here, one copper alloy NE6 stater has also been located in a ditch. Apparently, outside their territory of origin, most coins followed the same patterns of deposition that are visible within their main circulation pools. The record, however, is not substantial, and several

issues have been found in late Roman or disturbed levels, hence they cannot provide further details about coin use and forms of structured deposition.

In conclusion, the general distribution of non-local coins is of primary importance for reconstructing inter-communities relations. Most Gallo-Belgic and Gaulish coins were the product of cross-Channel relationships and exchange (Cunliffe 2001; Haselgrove 1982): although the temple at Hayling Island yielded a wide range of non-local issues, the largest single category consisted of coins from Gaul, implying that cross-Channel interactions, rather than internal contacts, took place regularly on site. Similarly, circulation of British issues may reflect the extent and intensity of local contacts and forms of interactions between neighbouring communities. The presence of non-local coins from the vicinity or the interior of settlements may suggest they were not systematically imported from external areas, but only introduced and adopted in coincidence with specific transactions.

Within Area A, notwithstanding the uniform and substantial impact of local Eastern coin-groups, issues produced within external areas clustered at Baldock, Braughing, Colchester and Harlow; most of them originated from adjacent East Anglian regions, and possibly demonstrated fluid processes of short-distance interactions linked to ceremonial activities and/or exchange. On the other hand, the coin evidence from East Anglia was mostly uniform, consisting of EA coins, and yielded no evidence of ritual areas attracting coins from other regions; however, the hoards from Snettisham accounted for E, EA, NE, S, and SE types, as well as Kentish potin (see 5.3). Processes of interaction and superimposition took place more frequently to the west of the Fens (Curteis 1996, 2001). As we would predict, small groups of non-local coins were present at Hallaton. Furthermore, the region gravitating around the rivers Nene and Welland yielded substantial amounts of NE, E and SE issues, suggesting repeated short-distance relationships with neighbouring Eastern and South-Eastern communities.

The distribution of Eastern coins, already noticed in Area B, also affected Area C, especially within the Kennet valley and Silchester; however, unlike the processes described in the Nene valley, interactions with Eastern groups in south-central Britain

appeared less constant. They may rather be the result of spatially and chronologically circumscribed episodes of contact, perhaps driven by territorial competition (see 9.3.3). Notwithstanding the limited number of coin imports from other regions in Area D, coins belonging to the Eastern group mainly circulated within the upper Thames valley and near Abingdon, but are rarely found in the Cotswolds. In addition, the presence of uncommon non-local pieces (e.g. NE83 in Area D) may be the result of the passage of Roman troops and dynamic interactions within the hinterland (Hey 2007, 167).

Having discussed the elements that may have affected interactions and coin circulation in Areas A-D, additional features that impact on coin value and make specific types and/or coin-series more widespread, mobile, and functional will be addressed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Portable objects and embodiments of value: the social meaning of coins

In this chapter, the role of coins as embodiments of value, monetised items and portable objects will be addressed. In the first section (7.1), an evaluation of the social function of different metals is carried out, whilst the second section (7.2) discusses the socially embedded value of coins. The last section (7.3) explores the relationship between coins and individuals. The concepts discussed in this chapter form the basis of the discussion undertaken in Chapters 8 and 9.

7.1 Precious and base metal coins

Previously in this work (see 2.3.3) a distinction has been drawn between coins as objects and money as a concept. Analysing coins involves the study of production and circulation, metal composition, and chronological/typological assessment; the elements that turn coins into money have been defined as standardisation, measure of value, storage of wealth, and medium of exchange (Polanyi 1957); the objects that do not fulfil the criteria listed above are considered as 'special purpose money' (Luley 2008, 185). In order to define whether and to what extent Iron Age coins in Britain performed money functions, this section summarises the processes that underlay the production of gold, silver and cast and struck bronze issues, and the social meaning that coined metal embodied in pre-Roman Britain as emerged from analyses conducted in Chapters 4 and 5.

7.1.1 Gold

In ancient Greece gold was mainly exchanged for services or supplies and to meet obligations (Kraay 1964), whereas in Republican and Imperial Rome it was only minted in times of crisis or emergency. Whilst Macedonian gold staters circulated throughout the Mediterranean basin up to Gaul from the 4th century BC, gold Gaulish copies

entered Britain during the 3rd century BC, and the earliest torcs in Britain may appear at about this time (see 9.2.1). Early Gallo-Belgic coins were made of a composition of gold (c. 80%), silver and copper, and likely represented the main source of metal for the production of E, S, and SE series in the southern and south-eastern regions by the early 1st century BC. After the Gallic War (BC 55-54), gold bullion from the new province of Roman Gaul is thought may have entered Britain through trade or gift exchange (Creighton 2000, 2006; Northover 1992), leading to the adoption of Roman gold as a primary source.

While British early gold (phase 1-5/6) was characterised by metal purity and a yellowish and bright colour, with the start of local production, changes are evident in the composition of ternary alloys, mainly consisting in controlled weight debasement and gradual decline in purity, with the reduction of gold content up to 30-20% (Cowell 1992; Northover 1992, 249). After the mid-1st century BC (phase 6/7-9), the gradual increase of copper in the alloy was mirrored by perceptible transformations that led to the production of debased gold having a reddish and 'copperish' colour (the symbolic meaning of colours is discussed in 8.2.1). These changes coincided with the adoption of coin legends and complex iconographic systems heavily influenced by the Roman and Classical imagery (see 8.2, 8.2.7). However, the adherence to Roman models was limited to conceptual standards (e.g. signs and symbols): coins were struck *al marco* i.e. from fixed-weight bullions while the weight of single specimens was subject to slight variations (Williams 2005a, 128), rather than *al pezzo* i.e. single issues having a pre-determined and precise weight, but the average weight of gold staters (c. 5.5gr) was accurately monitored, which implies metrological independence from the Roman *aureus* (c. 8gr) as well as technological expertise.

Interestingly, the manipulation of metal alloys and the perception of colours were not only matters of technological innovation and the management of resources, but may have ideological implications that will be explored in the next chapter.

7.1.2 Cast bronze

British coin production started in east Kent around the late 3rd century-early 2nd century BC (see 1.2.3). This mainly consisted of cast bronze imitations of Massiliote prototypes that successively also circulated in Essex and Hertfordshire. Cast bronze is at the centre of a debate involving typological development, chronology and functions. The distribution and deposition pattern of early potin in central and eastern Kent share similarities with that of gold (Sills 2003, 247): Kentish Primary, Flat Linear I, and Gallo-Belgic C issues were commonly deposited separately in votive hoards from the early 1st century BC, and are often found in archaeological contexts (Haselgrove 2006b, 24-25). Flat Linear II potin and other imported gold issues, on the other hand, are principally recorded as scattered finds from settlements, wet places and ritual areas across the western part of Kent and the North-Thames region. In contrast, struck bronze and late potin were rarely found in association, and were likely to 'serve different functions' (De Jersey 1993, 21). In conclusion, according to previous studies, Flat Linear I was interpreted as a high value issue employed for wealth storage and long-term exchange, whilst cl. II was adopted in ordinary transactions. As previously emphasised, the evidence collected from the areas examined here is meagre and cannot adequately contribute to the debate about the opposition between Flat Linear I/high value and II/low value. Further work on area-finds (especially in Kent, where potin was produced) could identify interesting patterns that may not be visible through excavation.

7.1.3 Silver

Silver was predominantly adopted for transactions within the Mediterranean area from at least the 5th century BC (Crawford 1974; Harl 1996). Interestingly, in the Classical world, the Greek word ἀργύρος was used without distinction to indicate artefacts and coins: this may imply that during pre-monetisation phases early silver coins were valued for their preciousness rather than standardised and/or conventional features. Even though silver was available in Britain during the early 1st century BC (e.g. in electrum torcs recovered at Snettisham; Stead 1991), the main source of insular silver coins may be represented by recycled Roman *denarii* imported after the mid-1st

century BC onwards (Farley 2012; Northover 1992). By this date, the systematic production of silver issues is witnessed in most British regions; in East Anglia, the East Midlands and south-western territories, approximately corresponding to parts of Areas B and D, late production mostly consisted of silver coins. This was probably due to a lack of access to gold sources (see 9.3). Metrological changes also affected silver production: East Anglian coinage was subject to gradual debasement in composition and weight (1.1 gr to 0.7 gr), and the silver content of North-Eastern issues dropped from c. 95% to c. 75%, maintaining a high level of purity through time (Farley 2012, 62). Such percentages were not standardised; however, in order to preserve a shiny 'silvery' appearance, variations in metal content were circumscribed.

7.1.4 Copper alloys

In contrast to precious gold and pure silver, copper alloy and bronze are usually defined as base metals. Copper alloy coins were produced by the mid-1st century BC; unlike gold, the composition of base metal issues was not monitored but loosely regulated by stock availability at mints. The earliest base metal coinage struck in south-eastern Britain mainly adopted pure copper (e.g. E72 and E74 issues). Bronze issues were only produced in south-eastern Britain after c. 20 BC with the gradual addition of tin to copper alloys, possibly due to a need for higher resistance during manufacture (Clogg and Haselgrove 1995, 55). Similarly, increasing percentages of zinc (up to c. 30%) led to the production of brass; this alloy was widespread in Gaul and south-eastern Britain from c. 25 BC, as witnessed by the frequent occurrence of brass brooches in pre-Conquest contexts (Bayley 1998; Dungworth 1996, 410-411). However, brass production was typologically and chronologically restricted (e.g. E71, E72, E75, E8) and only few issues are recorded. Brass coins were brighter in colour than other base metal issues, suggesting they were designed for specific transactions and may occasionally be substituted for Roman bronze (Crawford 1985; Nash 1978) by the 1st century AD.

7.1.5 Identifying coin functions

As shown in Table 7.1, the major change from the red (6-9) phase onwards is represented by disappearance of cast bronze production and the altered balance between the amounts of gold coins and issues struck in silver and copper alloys. Turning to the distribution, a high percentage of coins from Areas A-C date to the yellow phase, which is principally due to the influx of issues from Belgic Gaul (see 3.3); the only exception is Area D, where Armorican billon outnumbered early imports of gold. In Areas A, B, and C, yellow-gold staters and quarter staters were principally found in hoards or from restricted areas (e.g. small ritual sites, see 4.1 and 5.2), and isolated or scattered finds are not uncommon, while the evidence from settlements and major ritual sites is scant. This may imply that gold was principally valued for accumulation and storage of wealth through ‘non-transactions and false transactions deposits’ (see 5.1.1), while ‘transaction deposits’ only involved small quantities of gold coins. Furthermore, as discussed in 7.1.1, gold coins were likely adopted as medium of exchange in high status transactions (Collis 1971; Hodder 1979). Yellow and red-gold coins followed similar patterns, but small assemblages of debased gold are more often recovered from the interiors or the vicinity of settlements in association with copper alloy coins.

Table 7.1: Quantity of issues per metal in phases 1-5 (yellow gold) and 6-9 (red gold) (numbers in brackets refer to certainly dated coins)

Yellow gold phase					
Area	Av	Ar	Ae	Cast Ae	Av/Ae
A (831)	69.6%	4.8%	5.6%	18%	2%
B (278)	52.1%	38%	0.7%	5.7%	3.5%
C (700)	72%	20%	1%	2%	5%
D (98)	43%	50%	-	-	7%
Red gold phase					
Area	Av	Ar	Ae	Cast Ae	Av/Ae
A (3059)	12.8%	19%	66.9%	-	1.3%
B (6390)	3%	94.5%	2%	-	0.5%
C (766)	49%	30.5%	8.1%	-	12.4%
D (402)	26.5%	54.5%	15%	-	4%

During the later phases, the deposition of silver in hoards rapidly increased, especially in Areas B and D, as well as the adoption of base metal coins in ritual deposition. Since local silver and struck bronze were locally produced only by the red phase, it is not possible to highlight chronological changes in their distribution patterns. According to the evidence, copper alloy and bronze issues mainly performed short-term transactions within settlements, but they were also common from sanctuaries or burials (e.g. Harlow and Hayling Island). Silver series are rarely found at a significant distance from their point of origin, and rarely lost or deposited in territories that yielded huge numbers of bronze coins (Haselgrove 2006c, 108). The evidence suggests that silver was adopted for different spheres of exchange in all Areas; in particular, it is likely that silver could perform the same functions of gold in terms of storage of wealth (e.g. deposited in hoards, like Field Baulk), and of base metal local coinage (e.g. deposited in sanctuaries or settlements, like Hallaton, Silchester, Bagendon). Even though slight variations in metal purity did not seem to affect coin use and circulation, typological and stylistic differences (Leins 2012, 89) could affect their substitutability, acceptability and circulation (see 6.3.1). The introduction of debased gold, copper alloys and bronze denominations in pre-Roman Britain has been linked to the development of market trade (Collis 1971, 77); nonetheless, base metal coins were most probably introduced to fulfil a series of technological, economic, and social needs. In fact, they acted as standardised forms of payment aimed at accounting and convertibility (Haselgrove 1979, 206; Hodder 1979, 192), but were also symbolically adopted in ritual depositions or used in place of gold in specific contexts. As already stressed, numerical patterns identified in the composition of gold, silver, and bronze hoards (see 5.4), as well as the evidence of coins from burials (see 4.4.1), may be a proof of the practical use of coins as measure of value and standardisation.

In summary, major changes occurring at the end of the 1st millennium BC may indicate a shift in the local system of value coinciding with the passage from 'special purpose' money to 'early monetisation'. During the 3rd-2nd century BC early gold and silver coins were principally valued for their preciousness and were adopted as a way to accumulate wealth and to perform gift exchange and prestigious transactions; from the 1st century BC debased gold and base metal issues were introduced, possibly as a

response to the development of new forms of reciprocity. Complex and short-term transactions not only required portable media of exchange but also implied a need for standardisation, divisibility, and conventional comparison. It is worth remarking that this is not necessarily indicative of the emergence of a 'disembedded economy' (see 7.1.5).

7.2 The socially embedded value of coins

According to the evidence outlined above, in general terms ancient British coins can be classified as follows:

- High-value issues aimed at accumulating and storing wealth, creating prestige links, meeting socio-political obligations.
- Low-value issues linked to daily/minor transactions and economic obligations, and occasionally adopted in the long-term sphere of exchange.

Although recording circumstances may distort the results, the evidence also seems to imply that the treatment of cast bronze and gold during the early phases (1-3) was similar, suggesting that these metals may have had analogous functions (Collis 1988, 38; Haselgrove 1987a, 249) despite their different intrinsic values; but the role of cast bronze in late Iron Age Britain has not yet been fully assessed.

As stated above, the distinction between high and low value coins generally corresponds to the opposition between precious (gold/silver) and base metal issues. However, this idea may be rather simplistic and cannot be universally applied: in pre-Colonial African societies, for example, copper was adopted as the highest marker of value (Creighton 2000, 37), hence it is not possible to assume *a priori* that base metal and low value coincide. In addition to intrinsic features, such as weight and composition, visible elements (or the 'type' i.e. *figura*, Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, XVI.18) such as colour, iconography, and inscriptions contribute in defining the value of coins and can alter coin use and perception, affecting mobility and acceptability. One

of the most distinctive traits of British coinage occurring in coincidence with the start of struck base metal production from the mid-1st century BC (phase 6) was the development of complex stylistic features: these included new imageries and the adoption of inscriptions. During phases 7-9 symbols and images multiplied, especially on the reverse of coins. Several typological and chronological assessments have been carried out on the basis of geographical and stylistic considerations (e.g. Bean 2000; Kretz 2010; Sills 2003; Talbot 2006; Van Arsdell 1989). In contrast, whilst iconographic studies have been produced in the field of Classical (Burnett 1987; Caccamo Caltabiano 2007; Hölscher 1987; Martin 1985) and Gaulish numismatics (Aldhouse-Green 1992; Duval 1987; La Tour 1892; Le Rider 1981; Mainjonet 1974), the significance of imagery and writing on British coins was occasionally explored in the past (e.g. Allen 1958) and is the subject of more recent evaluations (Creighton 1995, 2000; Curteis 2001; Leins 2008; Hunter 2005; Williams 2005b).

British coin-series are not characterised by uniformity, as the addition and manipulation of the stylistic features led to variety and multiple outcomes, and differences in the circulation and treatment of gold, silver and bronze, are principally associated with stylistic variations (Leins 2012, 168). Changes in metal composition and colour, iconography and symbolism, and the adoption of coin legends all combine in order to define and produce impressions, communicate information, foster mobility, and enhance value; it follows that coin-value in late Iron Age Britain is not only a matter of 'preciousness'. More precisely, the decline in purity and the passage from yellow/bright gold to red/'copperish' gold coincided with the adoption of alternative and new visual 'markers of value': images and symbols, often associated to concepts of wealth and power, made possible to differentiate between face (nominal) and intrinsic value (Rahmstorf 2016, 36). Groups of issues sharing similar stylistic features followed specific distribution and deposition patterns (Leins 2008), which will be evaluated in the next chapter.

Table 7.2: Visual representation of the value of British coins

	AV	AVr	AR	AE
Composition		Debased		
Colour		Debased yellow	Silvery/white	Brassy
Imagery		Debased red		
Imagery + legend				

In the Table above (7.2), the value of Iron Age coins is visually represented: colours, ranging from light grey (low value) to dark grey (very high value), indicate various degrees of value according to the combination of different elements. It must be emphasised that specific legends and images are more valued than others; hence this schematic representation may include a large number of variations. As gold was constantly highly valued, comprehending the differences between the functions of early uninscribed and late inscribed gold issues is fundamental for reconstructing processes of social competition, and will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

7.3 Coins and individuals

The successful adoption of coinage in Britain during the late pre-Roman period was not an isolated event, but it was part of a long-term process involving (1) the acquisition and accumulation of goods and mobile wealth, (2) the circulation, deposition and exchange of different portable objects, namely metalwork, and (3) the transformation of the local systems of values. In comparison to other types of goods and artefacts, coins developed unique features that are related to portability, mobility, ownership and new forms of communication. It is crucial to remember that individuals and individual choices lie behind coin use, and that coins are portable objects i.e. entities attached to individuals – by means of possession and ownership – that are able to designate personal characteristics and individual social position (Morin 1969). As a consequence, in order to better comprehend the impact of coinage on social processes of change, the relationship between portable objects and individuals in Iron Age Britain must be addressed in more general terms.

7.3.1 Portable objects and individuals in Iron Age Britain

By the late British Bronze Age-early Iron Age, the main evidence of the accumulation and storage of mobile wealth is represented by the increase in the practice of hoarding bronze metalwork that took place, albeit discontinuously, up to the 6th century BC (Haselgrove and Hingley 2006). This was followed, from the 5th-4th century BC, by the diffusion of decorated portable artefacts including bronze and/iron swords, shields, and brooches. By the late 3rd-2nd century BC, in coincidence with the sporadic introduction of gold and early coins from the Continent (see 1.2), new forms and materials appeared, such as bronze or iron mirrors, elaborate neck rings made of gold or silver and, by the 1st century BC, bronze torcs. These objects, falling under the definition of 'Celtic art' (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 38; Fox 1958; Stead 1996; Jope 2000; Megaw and Megaw 2005), were part of a European wide stylistic trend consisting of elaborate designs; they occur throughout Britain up to the northern and western regions, Scotland, and Wales, with peaks from the vicinity of rivers in the south-eastern regions and East Anglia, from excavated hillforts in Wessex (e.g. Bury Hill, Maiden Castle), and from graves in Yorkshire. Noticeably, the production, wearing and exchange of decorated metalwork demonstrated that the possession of mobile wealth represented by portable objects not only involved accumulation, storage, and reciprocity, but it also implied diverse forms of displaying *status* i.e. the position of individuals (and things) within the society (Bourdieu 1977). This was a fundamental step in personal achievement and social competition, which deserves further consideration (see 9.2).

Whilst exchanging raw materials, gold ingots and/or undecorated objects as well as uninscribed coins mainly implied control and management of resources, the production and manipulation of stylistically complex metalwork was the result of advanced and time-consuming processes: it involved the management of ores for the extraction of metals, the knowledge of a series of techniques such as forging, casting, hammering, and decorating (e.g. drawing and engraving) (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 100), and the use of additional tools (such as charcoal for heating). Similar features, falling under the definition of 'expenditure' (Rahmstorf 2016, 21), likely enhanced the

value of the artefacts exchanged, enabling the development of personalised forms of reciprocity: e.g. whilst the exchange of impersonal objects such as gold ingots may be indicative of transactions involving high status individuals or groups, decorated swords and shields may also imply that individuals held functions linked to the warrior or ceremonial sphere.

Conceivably, the value of portable objects could be determined and enhanced by uniqueness and rarity, but also by the association with prominent owners (see 2.3 and e.g. Fajans 1993; Godelier 1999; Graber 2001; Mauss 1966), and complex artwork could be worn, hoarded and/or placed in graves (e.g. a decorated headdress and weapons from Mill Hill in Kent). Likewise, individual status derives from a combination of elements that include prestige, authority, wealth, skills, and public recognition (see 9.2), but also by the possession and public display of prestige objects. As discussed in 2.3.2, possession is based on physical contiguity between user and portable object, whilst ownership is a more complex concept involving a series of owner/object relationships and public recognition (e.g. Honoré 1961; LeFevre 1996). For example, objects placed in graves were possessed but not necessarily 'owned' by the dead e.g. they could be the result of gifts or ritual actions reflecting the community rather than individuals (Hill 2006; Joy 2010, 76). It is fundamental to emphasise that claims of ownership leading to public recognition in Iron Age Britain could be made through oral transmission and recurrent display; even though inalienability is granted by gift-exchange (Graeber 2010; Mauss 1966; see 2.3.2), other forms of passage of property (e.g. theft) may physically and symbolically attach portable objects to new personalities, and gradually obliterate previous owners.

7.3.2 Coin possession and ownership

The appearance of coins in late pre-Roman Britain may be indicative of a major shift in the ways value and possession were displayed and perceived. In order to define coin possession and ownership, a further distinction must be made between maker, owner, and issuing authority. At present, there is no possibility to ascertain any correspondence between coin maker and owner; most likely, professional engravers

working at mints (Scheers 1982, 622) held no form of possession over issues. In contrast, the user holds possession (physical contiguity) and partial ownership (the right to use coins as monetised items but not, for example, to produce them). Theoretically, it may be suggested that legitimate issuing individuals/authorities are 'conceptual owners' of both single issues and coin-series: they hold special ownership (including the right to use and produce coins) with no necessity of physical contiguity. Since coins are generally struck in series and principally minted for movement, through circulation, exchange and other forms of passage of property, single issues not only physically detach from 'conceptual owners', but they can be owned and used by different individuals.

In Iron Age Britain, the possession of precious metalwork could determine and indicate wealth and individual status through public use and display and adoption in high status exchange. As seen above, the association of portable objects to precise individuals rested on the performance of actions and transactions, public recognition, and physical contiguity; however, these objects could always be detached from individuals, and this also applied to early uninscribed coins. A fundamental step in this process was achieved after the mid-1st century BC, when new visual elements, including legends and personalised imagery, were purposely added to coins: according to historical sources, several coin inscriptions have been interpreted as personal names corresponding to prominent individuals managing resources, and/or different issuing authorities (see 8.2.6, 9.3). This practice enabled the creation of links between objects/series of objects and individuals, possibly enhancing coin value and marking the emergence of new individual forms of expression. With personalisation, the visual association between individuals and objects is recorded and ensured by writing, signs and symbols, and it does not require physical contiguity; as a consequence, inscribed coins and coin-series were able to acquire new social functions:

- They never conceptually detach from the powerful individuals/issuing authorities recalled by legends and imageries.
- Most importantly, coins never create publicly recognisable links with their new owners, unless visual elements are erased and replaced by new ones.

It follows that legitimized personalisation may be considered as the most inalienable form of ownership.

The ability to control and manipulate symbols and writing did imply control of materials, craftsmanship, technologies and social relationships, and form the basis of status and power (Bourdieu 1977; De Certeau 1984; see 9.2). Like other elements, such as centralisation, differentiation of roles, and ideological transformation (Ehrenreich *et al.* 1995; Fried 1967; Hill 2011; Lévi-Strauss' 1952, 1966; Renfrew and Shennan 1982; Service 1962), the adoption and use of writing could be considered as a distinctive and typical trait of complex and stratified social systems, and several literate societies made use of writing as a propagandistic tool (Assman 1997). At present, given the lack of other evidence regarding writing and recording practices, it is not possible to ascertain whether writing in late Iron Age Britain was a 'special purpose' activity (Williams 2006, 16) or whether coin inscriptions were largely understood or directed to restricted audiences. Notwithstanding its limited function, writing on coins might be considered as an early attempt to record and secure information and represented a key step in processes of social change (see 9.3.3).

In conclusion, Iron Age coins were objects embedded in the social context, and their values consisted of a combination of intrinsic and visible elements; for this reason they could not only perform exchange, but also communicate information and create relationships between individuals. The social implications of visual tools adopted on coins and the role they performed in conveying messages and fostering competition in pre-Roman Britain will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Coins and dynamics of social competition

This chapter will reconstruct how coins were adopted as visual tools of propaganda in late Iron Age Britain. Section 8.1 defines forms of competition that may have taken place at the end of the 1st millennium BC, with an emphasis on ideological and conceptual oppositions. Section 8.2 describes and discusses the social messages conveyed by coins by means of sets of images and stylistic features. The last two sections compare different forms of local propaganda, based on the exploitation of iconographic devices in Areas A-D (8.3), and the features that may have enhanced coin mobility, fostering competitive processes (8.4).

8.1 Defining forms of competition in late Iron Age Britain

The term ‘competition’ is generally associated with forms of conflict and processes of social differentiation aimed at achieving pre-eminence and power, and it is linked to the idea of violence and warfare (Sharples 1991, 2010). Warfare has been defined as an ‘armed contest between two independent political units’ (Malinowski 1964, 247), as well as a short-term organised and purposeful action. The causes and manifestations of warfare in antiquity have recently been stressed in various fields of anthropology and archaeology; these include ideology (Freire 2005), physical violence (Bishop and Knüsel 2005; Craig *et al.* 2005; Karl 2003), demography (Carman 1997; Keeley 1996), and the achievement of economic resources (e.g. Bekker-Nielsen and Hannestad 2001; Gilchrist 2003; LeBlanc 2003; Osgood *et al.* 2000). At the archaeological level, traces of warfare can emerge from the evidence of fortified structures and battlefield sites, burials that show signs of violent death, artefact evidence (namely weapons), artistic manifestations depicting or recalling episodes of war, and historical texts.

According to the archaeological evidence from pre-Roman Britain, it has been argued that armed conflict played a limited role in social developments (Sealey 2007, 34); significantly, the debate about hillforts (see 9.1.1) has questioned the defensive role of

ramparts and ditches, whilst burials and artefacts seem to have little to say about violence, competition and warfare. Middle Iron Age inhumation graves containing offensive weapons, such as swords and spears, have been identified in Britain (e.g. Mill Hill, Deal, Kent). Similarly, a number of 1st century BC cremation or inhumation burials are located in Areas A and C; some of these contained defensive items such as shields e.g. Kelvedon (Stead 1996; Hembrey 2001), Owslebury (Collis 1994), and Stanway (Crummy *et al.* 2007), or chain mail e.g. Lexden (Foster 1987) and Upper's Wall Common, Baldock (Burleigh 1995). The evidence of weapons, however, may be connected to hunting or warrior ideologies that do not necessarily reflect authentic armed conflicts (Hunter 2005, 44): they could simply emphasise individual role and status (Hill 1997, 100); for example, an inhumation grave including weapons associated with a crested helmet from North Bersted, Sussex (Taylor *et al.* 2014) may be indicative of ceremonial practices. Furthermore, the grave assemblages from some of the burials described above (Stanway, Lexden, Upper's Wall Common) also contain pots, firedogs, and wine *amphorae*, which have been interpreted as evidence for feasting activities (Fitzpatrick 2007).

Turning to the evidence of written sources, it is worth mentioning that Strabo (*Geographia* IV.5) emphasised the prompt submission of British chiefs to Rome, which may suggest the lack of adequate forms of military organisation. Nonetheless, Diodorus Siculus (V.21.4) says that British people used chariots for 'their' wars and he also states that the region is held by kings and potentates 'for the most part' living in peace; this may suggest that occasional internal conflicts took place. Similarly, Caesar barely mentions significant internal conflicts, but his commentary on local fighting techniques (*BG* IV.33; V.16-18) suggests that circumscribed episodes of warfare may have taken place before his campaigns. In fact, during the 1st century AD, Pomponius Mela (*Chorographia* III.43) still claimed the existence of a continuous state of civil discords on the island: *bella contrahunt ac se frequenter*. Yet, Sealey's emphasis on peaceful, intra-community interactions may be biased (James 2007): the lack of evidence for violence associated with fortifications may only suggest that existing endemic conflicts followed diverse paths (e.g. ideological rather than armed competition) and never evolved towards organised and systematic forms of warfare.

As shown, attempting a unique definition of competition is not straightforward: it must be emphasised that competitive processes do not necessarily coincide with violence and offensive behaviours. Forms of opposition may be performed through other means, such as rituality, exchange, and gathering (Hill 2011, 253). In fact, warfare has also been interpreted as an endemic condition having long-term effects (Ferguson 1990, 26): in particular, it may include conceptual and psychological oppositions (Linebarger 1954) frequently associated with propaganda, alliances and strategies, and that led to war-like situations.

8.1.1 Propaganda

The term 'propaganda' has been defined as a series of purposeful and systematic actions aimed at shaping perceptions, influencing ideas and behaviours, and achieving or maintaining power and control (Jowett and O'Donnell 2012, 7). Even though the term 'propaganda' has first been introduced between the 17th and 18th centuries, propagandistic forms of communication are attested in the ancient world: these mainly consisted of stylistic devices adopted within historiographic works (e.g. Herodotus' *Histories* and Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*) and epic poetry (e.g. Virgil's *Aeneid*) (Fraser 1957, 16-18), as well as architecture and iconography, especially in Republican and Imperial Rome. It is worth emphasising that the concept of propaganda can have a negative connotation, being frequently associated with rhetoric: according to Plato (*Gorgias* 450c-455a), this is a form of persuasion that can lead to ideological manipulation. The word 'propaganda' derives from It. *prōpāgāre* > to spread. As coins are portable artefacts especially designed for movement, they can frequently be used as propagandistic tools aimed at articulating forms of ideological competition. For this reason, through the analysis of coin distribution the area of influence or the attempts of expansion of different communities can be detected (Haselgrove 1982, 85); furthermore, the use of visual and stylistic devices adopted as markers of value – i.e. colour, images, and symbols – can be linked to the conveyance of social messages.

Style is defined as a 'mental template' (Earle 1990, 73) composed of symbols and designs, often unconsciously adopted by groups of individuals to express and

communicate ideas. At the same time, stylistic labels are modern constructs that enable the interpretation of meanings and correspondences (Hodder 1990, 44; Moore 1994, 74). The stylistic manipulation of objects, affecting shape and decoration, can produce visual impressions that intertwine with ideology, myth and religion (Jope 2000; Megaw and Megaw 2005); it can also alter notions of individual and group-perception, and foster competitive social processes (Mauss 1966; Pauketat and Emerson 1991). In order to work effectively as propaganda tools, style and sets of symbols must be structured and socially recognisable (Bourdieu 1979, 83) as part of larger and well-established systems of ideas and values. It follows that the diffusion and understanding of propagandistic messages not only depends on movement but it builds on a combination of elements that include: context, medium of expression, purpose, structure of the message, and audience (Jowett and O'Donnell 2012, 209). Bearing in mind that local forms of propaganda were possibly not consistently structured or neatly perceived as such in pre-Roman Britain, the next section explores the purpose and structure of the messages conveyed by local numismatic devices.

8.2 Conveying the message

As seen above, successful forms of propaganda were based on context, circulation, and communication. The set of symbolic references that underlay social messages conveyed by coins (Curteis 2001, 221-229) was not static but it changed through time, reflecting transformations in local competitive dynamics. The following discussion will trace the evolution of visual devices of competition adopted on coins by the introduction of early issues up to the production of the late inscribed types.

8.2.1 Colour and individual status

Early works on the use and significance of colour in ancient and modern society dealt with linguistic and semantic differentiations (Berlin and Kay 1969). More recently, interest has shifted to technological issues related to the combination of raw materials (LeFur 1990), the relationships between colours and material culture (Miller 1985), and the understanding of social distinctions and ideological elements (Baines 1985; Gage

1999; Gombrich 2002; Houston and Taube 2000; Jones and Bradley 1999; Kay and McDaniel 1978; Morphy 1992; Taçon 1999; Wyler 1992). In the field of late Iron Age British numismatic studies, the importance of colour and its social implications have recently been discussed (Creighton 2000, 38-40).

As described in the previous chapter (see 7.1.1), the earliest gold coins struck in Britain (c. 80 BC) were modelled on imported Gallo-Belgic issues, and were characterised by a high content of gold that produced a yellowish colour. After the mid-1st century BC, the influx of refined gold bullion in the southern and south-eastern regions, as the result of gift exchange with the Roman world (Creighton 2006; Farley 2012; Northover 1992), led to independence in managing resources and to the introduction of a series of technological innovations that affected coin production. These involved the introduction of base metal coins and brass, and the manipulation of metal alloys leading to the production of red-gold issues in coincidence with the development of iconographic innovations. Early yellow and white silver coins, because of their shiny appearance, were mainly valued for accumulation of wealth in hoards, whilst red issues were found in hoards and settlements, suggesting that the 'new gold' was adopted in a wider range of transactions.

Nonetheless, it must be emphasised that changes in metal composition had taken place from the start of local production, whilst reddish issues made their appearance during the late 1st century BC. For long, in Southern and South-Eastern Britain, Gallo-Belgic coins were melted down to mint local issues: variations in alloy composition were standardised and carefully monitored in order to maintain the percentage of gold content above c. 40% (Cowell 1992; Northover 1992) and preserve the yellowish colour (fig. 8.1). Similarly, in early North-Eastern and East-Anglian production percentages of gold could oscillate between c. 35-50% (Farley 2012, 118).

Examples of yellow gold

Gallo-Belgic E; SE5

Gallo-Belgic DC; SE4

Examples of red gold

Bodvoc; W92

Addedomaros; SE73

Corio; W91

Cynobelinus; E82

Figure 8.1: Visual perception of pure (yellow) and debased (red) gold (not to scale; images courtesy of the PAS)

In the Western series, the low percentage of gold in alloys (<20%) was balanced for a short time by the addition of higher quantities of silver than copper, as a means to produce a silvery colour. Subsequently, in the south-western regions, billon (silver and copper alloy) issues were adopted. In contrast, the debasement of silver issues was limited and did not produce major changes in appearance. Therefore, variations were not principally concerned with intrinsic metal purity but with the preservation of colour and brightness as indicators of preciousness. The colour and appearance of objects can 'pervasively' (Keates 2002, 116) communicate information about beliefs, technical knowledge, and in particular about status (Bourdieu 1977). Since gold had been uncommon in Iron Age Britain, its arrival at the end of the 1st millennium BC may have represented a fundamental step in the way status was displayed and perceived: pure gold is resistant to corrosion (Haynes 2011), rare, and difficult to obtain, hence it may be associated to the idea of imperishable wealth. For this reason, the ability to manage gold items was a means to emphasise access to restricted resources. Yellow-gold played a decisive role in processes of social competition, and it represented the main visual marker of value within a system of cross-Channel prestige exchange that not only included coins but also other artefacts, entering Britain during the 3rd-2nd century BC (see 7.3.1).

As new imported materials can create new sets of colours (Scarre 2002, 231), even the production of coins having a 'brassy' and shiny appearance may indicate restricted access to new technologies. As a matter of fact, the level of technological skills required to manipulate percentages of gold, tin and zinc in alloys could itself function as an indicator of value, representing an important step in competitive processes: individuals who were able to monopolise resources and knowledge could more easily achieve social prominence.

8.2.2 Imagery: standardisation and variety

From the 3rd century BC, stylised Greek iconographic motifs, mainly the head of Apollo, were reproduced on the obverse of Gaulish coins; this was followed by the adoption on potins of the head/bull motif from Massiliote bronzes. Early imported gold and silver issues from Belgic Gaul were characterised by typical head/horse or blank/horse and geometric/abstract iconographic patterns. The **head** motif, derived from Philippus' gold staters, was part of a wider Mediterranean trend (see see 1.2.2) and it was the most widely adopted theme on British coinage. The replication of this pattern, though subject to variations, could be an attempt to conform to common numismatic *clichés* and make coins widely accepted. The type was well-distributed throughout southern Britain, with clusters in the south-eastern regions and in East Anglia, and it was frequently recorded from both settlements and hoards. The head/horse motif displayed two main obverse variations: abstracted/stylised head (visible on early coins), or Romanised/realistic head (visible on late E, EA, S, SE issues), and it was frequent on gold and bronze, often in association with coin inscriptions, namely ANTED (EA8), CVNOBELINVS (E8), DVBNVELLAUNOS (SE7), EISV (W8), IISVP (NE82), TASCIOVANOS (E71), and VEP (NE83). Further versions depicting a bust have been identified on S or SE issues collected from Areas A, C, and D. Although the most common reverse theme was the horse, from phase 6, the increase in production led to the development of several variations: e.g. boar, lion, head or Sphinx (all Sample Areas), bull (Areas A, B, and C), Pegasus, sow, and ram (Area B), Centaur, human figure, wolf or she-wolf (Area A), and hippocamp (Areas A, D).

As already stressed, iconographic motifs on British coins multiplied by the mid-1st century BC, including numerous obverse/reverse variations. For the purposes of this work, in the Table 8.1 all iconographic types have been grouped in six categories, according to the motif depicted on the obverse. For each category, a brief description is provided: this includes the most common obverse/reverse variations, geographical and chronological occurrences, and type/metal association, and is followed by a visual example (fig. 8.2). It must be noted that this classification has drawn only on the evidence from the Areas A-D but, although further reverse variations and sub-types

are known from other regions (e.g. see Cottam *et al.* 2010), these do not substantially affect the scheme proposed here. The propagandistic use of this iconographic motifs is discussed in sections 8.2.3-8.2.7; specific types will be identified by ABC numbers (see 1.2).

Table 8.1: Frequency of iconographic motifs in Areas A-D
(Legend: A: absent, C: common, EC: extremely common, R: rare, VC: very common)

	Phase			Metal		
	1-3	4-6	7-9	Av	Ar	Ae
Animal motif						
Animal motif O: horse, boar, serpent R: eagle, serpent, horse Groups: E, EA, NE, SE, SE	A	C	C	R	VC	C
Classical motif						
O: variants: lion, Pegasus, Victory R: eagle, griffin, Pegasus Groups: E, S, SE	A	R	C	A	C	C
Geometric motif						
O: plain, defaced, geometric patterns, spiral, wreath, crescents R: geometric pattern, cross, horse, Romanising motifs Groups: All (except potin)	R	VC	EC	VC	VC	R
Head motif						
O: abstracted, stylised or Romanised head, or a Roman bust R: several types, including horse, animals, Romanising motifs, human figures, mythological creatures (e.g. sphinx, griffin) Groups: All	VC	EC	EC	C	C	EC
Tablet motif						
O: stylised tablet or framework with inscription R: horse, Classical themes, eagle Groups: E, NE, S, SE	A	A	VC	VC	C	R
Vegetal motif						
O: corn ear, vine leaf, flowers R: horse, Pegasus Groups: E, S, SE	A	A	VC	C	R	A

Animal motif

Classical motif

Geometric motif

Head motif

Tablet motif

Vegetal motif

Figure 8.2: Examples of iconographic motifs on late Iron Age British coinage (not to scale; images from Cottam et. el. 2010)

8.2.3 Universal symbolism

One of the most common iconographic trends by the yellow phase was represented by the use of **geometric (or abstract) motifs** composed of a series of lines, dots, crosses combined in different ways, that were typical of imported Gallo-Belgic gold series. The use of disjointed and non-representational motifs (Aldhouse-Green 2006, 29) was a feature of La Tène art that spread in north-western Europe by the 5th-4th century BC up to the late pre-Roman period. In contrast to Iron Age British art objects that gradually evolved towards complexity, the style of Gallo-Belgic and British coins was a simplified one , with an emphasis on single elements, and the loss of ‘sense of ensemble’ (Duval 1987, 92; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 82). In particular, the design of early coins changed regularly and sequentially, evolving towards the creation of ‘serial imagery’ (Creighton 2000, 35-36). These alterations were long defined as ‘destructive style’ (Allen 1961, 101) and ascribed to technical inability and ‘negative transformation’, i.e. a natural process of degradation caused by long-term replication.

More likely, the move towards abstraction was rather the result of ‘positive transformation’ that turns ‘perceptible elements into sensorial elements’¹ (Bianchi Bandinelli 2005, 18): this involves the conscious use of visual effects produced by inorganic and unrealistic points of view, which have been interpreted as the result of optical phenomena associated with ritual practices (Williams and Creighton 2006). Rather than being privy marks, geometric signs on pre-Roman Gaulish and British coinage may be used to fill empty spaces on the surface of coins (Van Arsdell 1989), but they may also have further symbolic meanings: e.g. the circle (ABC 2252), the cross, and the wheel (ABC 2093) were linked to natural phenomena like the sun or thunder (Duval 1987, 46) and assumed religious significance, while the crescent (ABC 1444, 1591, 1654, 1708) on EA coins has long been interpreted as a tribal emblem. Furthermore, crosses and other geometric symbols were likely used to make issues suitable for the long-term sphere of exchange, and to allow circulation and acceptability beyond regional/communitarian boundaries (Haselgrove 2009a, 185). Coin-series with geometric motifs include issues having blank obverses (E, NE, SE W, S coins), and occasionally showing signs of defacement (S issues). After phase 6, obverse variations were introduced, e.g. crescents and wreaths (E, EA, SE coins), crosses (EA, S), and spirals (SE). Themes on the reverse include crosses or eagles (especially in Areas A, C, and D), or horsemen, Sphinxes and trophies (Area A).

Geometric motifs were maintained on several inscribed gold coins: e.g. TASCIOVANOS (E7), CVNOBELINVS (E8), DVBNVELLAVNOS (SE71-2), ADDEDOMAROS (SE73), AVN COST (NE81), ANTED (EA81), ECEN (EA91), and INAM/CATTI (W9): the use of a legend on coins with geometric motifs could be a way of enhancing the value of debased gold by means of a link with prestigious individuals (see 7.2, 7.3). As an example, gold E81-82 and SE7 staters were often hoarded with Gallo-Belgic coins (e.g. Chelmsford, Great Waltham, and Marks Tey), suggesting they embodied similar value; likewise, the association of E8 and SE7 issues may suggest that these coins, although having different inscriptions, were similarly valued in the south-eastern regions. Interestingly, silver EA91 units were associated with gold and silver E71 units within a hoard recovered from Welney (within Area B, 5.2) suggesting that even late silver EA issues were particularly valued:

¹ Translation mine.

the presence of symbolic images possibly worked as a marker of preciousness linked to supernatural powers and it may explain the deposition of silver in hoards alongside gold.

8.2.4 Local symbolism

The theme depicting **animal motifs** on the obverse only spread from the mid-1st century BC, mostly on silver EA issues, and clustered in East Anglia and south-eastern Britain; in contrast, it was rare to the west of the Fens and in the south-western regions. The most common obverse on this type portrays a horse (S and SE coins), a boar (EA, NE, SE), a wolf (NE, SE issues), and, sporadically, a serpent (E issues). The animal motif was occasionally associated with Southern/South-Eastern legends: ADDEDOMAROS, DVBNNOVELLAVNOS (SE71-4), and VERICA (S8). The depiction of local themes such as animals (e.g. the boar, ABC 1582, 1708, 1779) may be an attempt to make coins accepted through an appeal to well-established sets of local symbols that were easily recognisable by coin-using communities. In particular, Tacitus (*Germania* XXXV) claimed that the boar was used by German peoples as a war-emblem, and a shield from the river Witham depicting a boar, as well as the evidence of boars depicted on standards and *carnyxes* (Aldhouse-Green 2003, 84-85), may suggest that this animal held some war-related significance in Britain too. However, the depiction of the boar may also have a ritual meaning in north-western Iron Age Europe: statues representing boars are frequent from continental sanctuaries (e.g. Neuvy-en-Sullias, France), while the presence of joints of meat in British burials (e.g. Baldock, Upper's Wall Common) may further confirm that these animals had a symbolic significance. Similarly, images of dogs, often depicted on coins (e.g. ABC 2951, 2990), were somehow related to supernatural beliefs and possibly healing rituals: a Roman temple excavated at Nettleton Shrub (see 4.3.4) was dedicated to Apollo *Cunomaglus* (protector of dogs), and dog burials dating to the Iron Age were found at the Hallaton shrine (see 4.3.2), and in two ditched inhumations excavated at Ely (Atkins and Mudd 2003; Evans *et al.* 2007).

Significantly, the image of the horse was a common numismatic theme across the Mediterranean, and it was possibly adopted on local coinage as a reference to status and power. Horses, sometimes mounted by a warrior (ABC 2963) possibly embodied concepts of speediness and force, and were associated with the idea of armed warfare requiring the use of chariots (see 8.1). However, it is also likely that the horse was considered as a special animal having religious and supernatural implications in pre-Roman Britain and Gaul (Cunliffe 1995): this is suggested by the evidence of a horse burial from an inhumation cemetery (Mill Hill, Deal, Kent), and the depiction of a horse as a divinity on Gaulish issues (Aldhouse-Green 2006, 35; Creighton 2000, 51). On British coinage, disjointed or monstrous representations of horses are common (ABC 1743, 1022), as well as the multiplication of body parts (e.g. the triple-tailed horse, ABC 1049). Moreover, images of merging horses and human beings on coins from north-western Gaul (e.g. BN6911) and British artefacts (buckets from Aylesford; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 146) seem to emphasise a link between nature (horse) and culture (human) (Barclay *et al.* 2003, 246; Creighton 2000, 26).

Silver and bronze types depicting a goat or ram (ABC 2942, 2948), the wolf/she-wolf (ABC 1393, 1459, 2951), the serpent (ABC 2831, 2842), and the sow (ABC 2981) on the reverse could be associated to ideas of fertility and strength, and were predominantly adopted in proximity or within settlement interiors, especially in Areas A (Baldock, Braughing, Colchester) and B (e.g. Duston and Stonea). This pattern might suggest specific functions related to circumscribed ritual or trading activities. Interestingly, the result of archaeological analysis suggested a relationship between the absence of animal bones at sanctuaries and the presence of coins depicting animals; hence, it is possible that representations on numismatic materials were adopted in place of proper sacrifices (Curteis 2006, 76), albeit the matter requires further investigation.

8.2.5 Management of goods and territorial control

From the mid-1st century BC (phase 6) onwards, a new sets of iconographic elements appeared, including images recalling the management of wealth, goods, and the territory. The use of a **vegetal motif** on the obverse of gold and, occasionally, silver coins, was a common trend during the late phases of coin production (7-9). It principally consisted of the depiction of a vine leaf on S8 coins, flower-like patterns on SE issues, and an ear of barley on E8 issues; vegetal motifs, originating in the southern and south-eastern regions, were generally associated with a horse on the reverse, less frequently a Pegasus or a warrior. The representation of an ear of barley was typical on Cunobelin's gold staters (E81, ABC 2774). This unprecedented motif perhaps developed as a simplification and stylisation of previous abstract patterns (the wreath from the head of Apollo) and it could be meant to convey ideas of wealth and abundance; however, it must be reminded that, like the head/horse motif, the ear of barley was a typical Mediterranean *cliché*: as an example, it appeared on Greek coins from Metapontum and on Roman provincial coinage from Spain (Ripollès 2005). The depiction of a vine-leaf on gold S8 staters inscribed VERICA (ABC 1211) may be a symbolic reference to wine. The diffusion of wine *amphorae* during the last half of the 1st century BC is principally visible to the north of the Thames, but several examples are also known from Silchester; as a consequence, the diffusion of wine-themed coins within the southern regions may be a way to emphasise access to restricted luxury goods, trade and long distance relationships with the Continent (Williams 2005b, 38).

At the same time, coins displaying individual legends associated with place-names entered circulation. Inscriptions referring to places have long been interpreted from a taxonomic standpoint based on the reading of ancient texts; it follows that the legends CAMV, VER, and CALLE referred to *Camulodunum*/Colchester, *Verulamium*/St Albans and, presumably, *Calle(va)*/Silchester (see Table 1.3). According to the evidence of moulds (see 6.1), these settlements have been interpreted as mints or administrative centres controlling coin production. The adoption of place-names in association with individual legends could mark the enactment of a new social system where elite groups and issuing individuals were not only able to claim personal power, but also territorial

control and authority over mints. Issues inscribed *Camulodunum* and *Verulamium* tended to cluster within their territories of production, i.e. in proximity to Colchester and St Albans. In particular, as visible on the map (fig. 8.3), *Camulodunum* issues spread up to Kent, Norfolk, the Midlands and the Thames valley; given their association with E81 and, sporadically, E71 issues, their wide diffusion is not surprising. The legend referring to *Verulamium* is common on diverse E7 types and principally circulated in the Chilterns up to Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, with findspots in Norfolk and in northern Hampshire, but they do not occur to the south of the Thames and to the east of the Lea. The inscription CALLE[VA] is usually associated with coins of EPATTICVS (S9), EPPILLVS (SE8), TINCOMAROS (S7), and VERICA (S78). In contrast with other S7, S9, and S8 types, which widely circulated across Hampshire up to Sussex, the distribution of coins referring to *Calleva* seems more restricted, clustering in northern Hampshire with occurrences from the Coastal Plain and the regions corresponding to Area D.

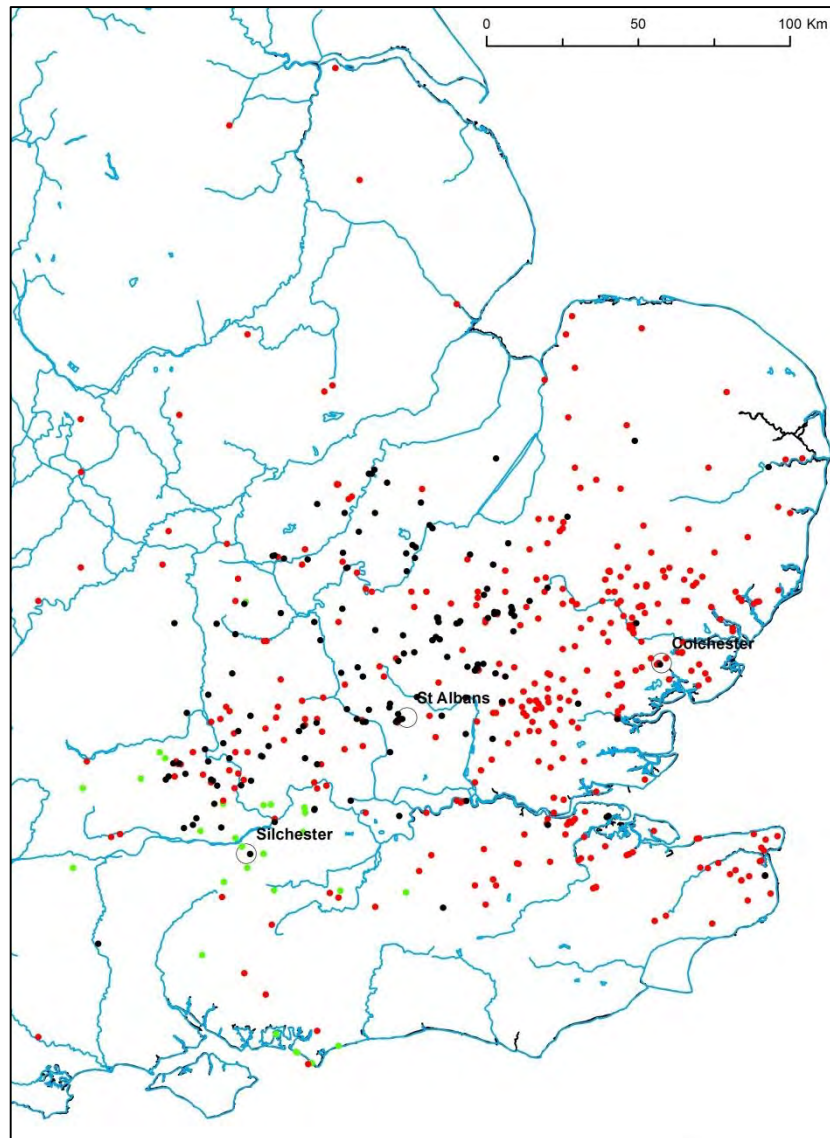


Figure 8.3: Distribution of coins with legend CALLE(VA) (green dots), CAMVLODVNVM (red dots), and VERVLAMIVM (black dots) (image: author)

8.2.6 Emphasis on individuals

Since the introduction of the first inscribed coin (S63, Commios) by the mid-1st century BC, the adoption of legends spread towards other regions, leading to personalisation aimed at emphasising links with individuals/issuing authorities (see 7.3.2); a number of linguistic and stylistic variations contributed in making coin-legends more functional and complex.

Whereas some of the legends discussed so far have a counterpart in historical sources (e.g. COMMIOS, CVNOBELINVS, DVBNVELLAUNOS, TINCOMAROS, AND VERICA, see Table 1.3), thereby confirming that they refer to prominent individuals, understanding the meaning of inscriptions which are not mentioned by written sources is more complicated; as an example, the issues inscribed DIAS (E72), RVIIS (E73), SEGO (E74-SE74) and ANDOCO (E75) are usually linked to minor rulers (e.g. Creighton 2000; Van Arsdell 1989). Many legends may not necessarily refer to personal names and rather relate to titles and attributions, place-names, communal names and/or functions: for instance, the legend SEGO (associated with TASCIOVANOS) might also be interpreted as an attribute recalling the concept of strength (Kruta 1986, 79), or as a reference to the chief Segovax mentioned by Caesar (*BG* V.22), or to the community of Segontiaci (*ibid.* V.21). Similarly, the legend ECEN/ECE on EA91 issues is usually interpreted as reference to the Iceni mentioned by Tacitus (*Annales* XII.31) and Suetonius (*Nero*, 18). However, tribes are rarely named on British or continental coins (De Jersey 1993, 15), and we might perhaps consider alternative hypotheses (see 9.3.4).

Other inscriptions of difficult interpretation occur on late EA and SE issues (see 6.3.3). In particular, the type inscribed SVB-RII-PRASTO-ESICO-FECIT OR RI(CON) –PRASTO-ESICO-FECIT (EA94) (Mossop 1979, 259), circulating during the mid-1st century AD, has been linked to the post-Conquest client-king named *Prasutagus* (Tacitus, *Annales* XIV.31); the second part of the legend may be a reference to a moneyer (*Esico fecit* > It. Esico made). The type inscribed IISV-PRASV (NE82) interestingly featured a similar linguistic element: –*pras*. This may refer to the same person/issuing authority (Williams 2000) or

it may simply suggest relations between individuals striking different types. A similar inscription, reading *līsv/eīsv*, is found on W82 coins originating in the Western region.

The legend *ANTED/ANTEDRIG*, in association with the head/horse motif or geometric patterns on the obverse, appeared on gold and silver EA8 and W8 coins. The evidence might indicate that a central authority/prominent individual issued highly valued coins circulating in different areas. Stylistic differences, however (fig. 8.4), may stand against this interpretation. In fact, the term *Anted* may derive from *Andate*, a local deity related to Victory (Dio LXII.7.1-3); for this reason, it is possible that this legend was adopted by different authorities as an attribute of power. It cannot be excluded that the legend *ANDOCO* (E73) may represent one further occurrence of this term.

Figure 8.4: Stylistic differences between silver W81 (left) and EA81 coins (right) inscribed ANTED (not on scale; images: Cottam et. al. 2010)

Similarly, interpreting the long inscriptions appearing on NE8 coins (see 1.2.5), as well as the legends *ALE SCA* and *CANS DVRO* (EA72), and *BODVOC* (W92), is not without difficulty. Generally, it must be noted that EA, NE and W series showed internal divergences in distribution which suggest political fragmentation, lack of predominant authorities, or diversification of functions. Various scholars have argued that *BODVOC* might be linked to the ‘Celtic’ word *-bouda*, which is found within the name *Boudica* (queen of East Anglian communities) and has been interpreted as *Victorious* (Aldhouse Green 2006, 132; Russell 2010, 28), but there is no textual evidence to support this interpretation.

Interestingly, by the end of the 1st century BC, a new type was introduced on the obverse of gold and silver E, NE, S, and SE coins (occasionally on bronze, e.g. E73 units): this consisted of an inscription on a plain background or surrounded by a geometric **framework** or **tablet** (fig. 8.5), and appeared on coins inscribed CVNOBELINVS (E8), RVIIS (E73), SEGO (E74), TASCIOVANOS (E7), TINCOMAROS (S7), VERICA (S8), and VOLISIOS (NE92). In some cases (e.g. BODVOC, W92), the legend appeared on a plain background. The reverse of this type typically depicts a mythological image, such as a head of Medusa, Centaur, lion, eagle or griffin; less frequent themes are the bull, boar, hunter, or Pegasus. In the ancient world, this stylistic feature was commonly adopted on pottery as a label related to the owner/maker, but it was unprecedented on Gaulish and Roman coins. The use of the tablet motif on British local issues may be either the result of a lack of knowledge of the use of stamps (Williams 2000) or a creative local re-elaboration. Assuming that the legends listed above were personal names or titles (see 9.3.4), this stylistic feature could have been a visual expedient to insist on individuality and on the role and status of issuing authorities, and enhance the value of objects within a prestige economy (Barello 2006, 31) by means of the association with powerful individuals.

Figure 8.5: Examples of the tablet motif (on S71, E74, and W92 issues; not on scale; images from Cottam et. al. 2010)

In addition, the inscription *REX/RICON/RIG* appearing respectively on gold SE81-81, E71 and W8 coins, may have a similar interpretation. The Latin term *rex* (king), used by Caesar to indicate temporary war-leaders or elected kings (e.g. BG VII.4), might refer to geographically or chronologically limited authorities or to prominent rulers. The legend *RICON*, found on the obverse of a number of gold E713 issues (e.g. ABC 2577, 2601) displaying the tablet/horse motif could be a different version of *rex* linked to the

reinforcement of Tasciovanos' power. In terms of value and iconography, the types inscribed VERICA/REX (S81; e.g. ABC 1190, 1205) may equal gold E71 staters; however, on gold and silver S81 coins the legend is more consistently adopted: this may indicate a need for systematic claims of power in specific regions. The inscription ANTED-RIG, on the other hand, is associated to geometric patterns/stylised horse imageries, and occurs on the reverse of few debased gold staters (W81; e.g. ABC 2069, 2066). The element *-rig* may be interpreted as a variant for *ricon*, denoting individual kingship status (Cottam *et al.* 2010, 106); as a consequence, W81 issues may be particularly valued. If the interpretation of the term 'anted' as victory/victorious suggested above was correct, the type could indicate an emphasis on attributes of power, as well as the development of composite legends even in south-western Britain.

8.2.7 Legitimacy

Whereas the preservation of geometric patterns and supernatural symbols has been interpreted as an appeal to local beliefs (8.2.3, 8.2.4), the use of Classical motifs was likely an attempt to legitimate individual power through the ostentatious display of prestigious ties with Rome. Coins depicting Classical themes appeared on the obverse and/or reverse of several silver and bronze issues in southern and south-eastern Britain. These types consisted of Romanising or mythological elements related to strength and power (Roman gods or busts, the Victory, the eagle, the Centaur: ABC 2748; Hercules standing: ABC 2864; laureate head: ABC 2694), as well as the depiction of war imagery (e.g. horsemen, warriors, trophy-like symbols): these are frequent on the reverse of gold, silver and bronze E-SE7-8 issues (e.g. bull: ABC 2643, griffin: ABC 2757, ABC 2691, ram: ABC 2655, Sphinx: ABC 2700) and, to a lesser extent, on the NE and S groups.

Classical and Romanising motifs usually have a counterpart/prototype in the Roman Republican and Imperial repertoire (Curteis 2001, 223; Henig 1972, 2002; see Table 8.2). The multiplication of legends and Roman imagery has been linked to the emerging of powerful personalities likely reflecting relationships with Rome, on the model of North African client kingdoms (Creighton 2000; Howgego 2005). It is possible

that Roman engravers worked at insular mints (Cunliffe 1976, 68; Scheers 1982, 622), and British coins made use of the new possibilities offered by the Roman world; nonetheless, the use of Romanised imagery on British silver and bronze E, S, and SE coins may not have been the result of 'standardisation' and forced adherence to Roman regulations (see 7.1.1). North African or near Eastern provincial coinages usually adopted a combination of Imperial (on obverse) and indigenous (on reverse) imagery (Howgego 2005, 15), local themes being hardly used on the obverse; in contrast, on British coinage examples of local/Roman iconographic combinations are not unusual (e.g. tablet motif/griffin or Victory or Pegasus on gold E8 coins; geometric motif/eagle on E73 bronze units). Similarly, even though prominent individuals on British coins were depicted as Augustus, Tiberius, and Heracles, thus conforming to Classical trends (Creighton 2000, 179), the Emperor is never mentioned by coin inscriptions and Roman weight standards were not adopted (Williams 2006, 11). It follows that a certain level of creativeness and independence was maintained, whilst the adoption or rejection of Romanising iconographic models was possibly an attempt to negotiate the impact of *romanitas* on local values (Aldhouse-Green 2006, 31; Webster and Scott 2003; Williams 2005c) through the selective adoption of themes and the preservation of local customs.

Table 8.2: Roman prototypes (after Scheers 1982; Creighton 2000)

Image	Group	RRC	RIC	Denomination	Chronology
Altar	S8 e.g. ABC 1313		Tib. 49	Sest.	AD 21-22
Augustus head	S8 ABC 1247		BMC, I, p. 93, n° 561-563		
Boar	S8 ABC 1337	385/2, 775		Den.	78 BC
Boy/Dolphin ON REV	S7 ABC 1127	390/2, 463/3		Den.	76-46 BC
Bull	E7-8 ABC 2643		Aug. 166-9, Aug. 176-8, Aug. 186-9	Aur., Den.	15-10 BC
Bull charging REV	S7 ABC 1109-1112	494/24		Den.	42 BC
Capricorn	SE8 ABC 435		Aug. 174 - 477-488/493 - 522-541-2-547	Aur., Den.	25-12 BC
Centaur	E8 ABC 2748	229/1		Den.	139 BC
Cornucopia	S8, E8 ABC 1259, 2900	520/1, 1189		Den.	40 BC
Crescent and star	SE8 ABC 1157	783, 390/1, 494/20a		Aur., Den.	76-42 BC
Diana with dog and bow	E8 ABC 2879		BMC, I, p. 80, n°463-464		
Eagle REV	S8, ABC 1226 E8, SE8	441/1, 938	Aug. 227	Den., Quadr.	49-10 BC
Eagle/Jupiter Ammon	E8 ABC 2984	546/1		Den.	31 BC
Eagle/Thunderbolt	S9 ABC 1343	409/1		Den.	67 BC
Europe and bull	E8	743			
Griffin	E7-8 ABC 2757, 2897	384		Den.	79 BC
Head/Bull charing	E8 ABC 2643		BMC I, p. 81, n° 471-474		
Hercules	E7-E8 ABC 2864	532/1-494/38, 1358		Den.	42-39 BC
Hercules standing	E8 ABC 2864	1140			
Horseman	S7 ABC 1058	738, 361		Den.	82 BC

Table 8.2: Roman prototypes (after Scheers 1982; Creighton 2000) (cont.)

Image	Group	RRC	RIC	Denomination	Chronology
Juno Sospita	EA7	412		Den.	64 BC
Juno?	E8		Aug. 257	Den.	c. 32-29 BC
Jupiter	E8 ABC 2978	509/1-2, 1353		Aur., Den.	42 BC
Laureate head	E8 ABC 2694, 2724		Aug. 207-8, 210		
Laurel wreath head/Bull charging	E8 ABC 2697		BMC, I, p. 78, n° 450- 453		
Lion	E7 ABC 2691	489/5-6		Quin.	c. 43 BC
Man holding staff	E8 ABC 2840		Aug. 172-3, Aug. 194-5	Aur., Den.	15-13 BC
Medusa	S7 ABC 1076	445/1a, 1029	Aug. 302	Aur., Den.	49-19 BC
Medusa head	S7 ABC 1076	453		Den.	47 BC
Mercury and lyre	E8		BMC, I, p. 98, n° 596- 598		
Neptun/Trident/Dolphin	E8 ABC 2828		Gaius 58	As	AD 37-41
Neptune	E8		BMC, I, p. 142-143, n° 161-169		
Pegasus	E7 ABC 2649, 2652	341/1-3,	Aug. 297	Den.	90-19 BC
Ram	E7 ABC 2655	389, 782		Den.	76 BC
Seated figure	S8 ABC 1214, 1241		Tib. 2530	Aur., Den.	AD 36-37
Seated Victory	E8 ABC 2855	596			
Seated woman	E8 ABC 2706	377		Den.	81 BC
Ship	E8 ABC 2939	544/8-39		Den.	
Sphinx	E7-8 ABC 2700-2870		Aug. 487/492, Aug. 511- 3, Aug. 527, 464/1, 983	Aur., Den.	46-18 BC
Victory	E8 ABC 2882	343/1-2, 462/1-2		Den., Quin.	89- 47 BC
Victory and bull	E8		Aug. 514	Aur.	19-18 BC
Victory on Orb	E8 ABC 2882		Aug. 254-5	Den.	32-29 BC

8.2.8 Familial ties

In addition to iconographic tools and the use of nominal systems, a new stylistic feature appeared on British coins by the beginning of the 1st century AD: a number of issues added the letter *F* (interpreted as *filius*) to the main legend. According to the ancient sources, kinship ties were fundamental in enhancing personal status amongst British people. Both Dio (LXII.2, 2-3) and Tacitus (*Annales* XIV.35) described Boudica as having noble origins (*generis regii* and *tantis maioribus ortam*); similarly, in Tacitus (*Agricola*, XXIX.4) the authority of Calgacus (a British chief) is related to personal skills and *genere* (descent). As a matter of fact, the use of Latin *formulae* or patronymics, i.e. *filius* + genitive ('son/heir of'), spread in north-western Europe after the conquest of Gaul (Collis 2011, 238) and it was probably adopted on insular coinage as a method to legitimate power: according to this system, Cunobelin's (E83) and Eppaticcus' (S91) coins displayed familial ties with Tasciovanos, while Eppillus (SE82), Tincomaros (S72), and Verica (S81) claimed kinship with Commios.

Commios' heirs

As already noted, Commios was the first individual in Britain to adopt a coin inscription, and it is worth emphasising that Caesar (*BG* IV.21) mentioned him as a Gaulish chief having 'authority' in Britain. Commios was also described (*ibid.*) as such a man of *auctoritas* that Rome took advantage of his influence at the time of the Gallic War in order to deal with British communities. After Commios' flight to Britain at the time of a Gaulish rebellion (53 BC), Caesar 'abandoned the pursuit' (Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, II, XIII; 7-11), but Antony subsequently negotiated with him, accepting his petition and hostages (*BG* VIII.48). The interest of Rome in coming to terms with Commios may indicate the extent of his power, and also suggests that his prestige and wealth were greater than those reported by Caesar. For this reason, claims of familial ties with him on later coin-series are not surprising.

Early Tincomaros' coins (S71) were similar to Commios' (S63) series in terms of style and imagery; later series (S72) displayed more stylistic variations, including the use of the tablet motif on the obverse of gold issues, and a series of Romanising themes on

the reverse of silver units (e.g. Medusa head, bull, eagle; ABC 1076, 1082, 1106). In the light of these visual innovations, the adoption of the legend COMM.F could be interpreted as a link to the previous ruler, aimed at making new coin-series easily accepted. Since Commios must have been an adult around 50 BC, and Verica fled to Rome during Claudius' reign (after 41 AD), a direct filial relation is quite improbable, and the use of *filius* may simply indicate indirect descent, adoption, or a deliberate claim. Similarly, the legend COMM.F/COM.F was visible on the obverse of early gold Verica's staters and quarter staters (S81), often in association with the tablet motif, and less frequently on silver issues. Interestingly, a number of Verica's coins (ABC 1238) from Hayling Island depict what has been interpreted as a cult-statue and temple surrounded by the legend CF (*Commii filius*), which may suggest the development of familial cults (Creighton 2000, 195) or indicate ceremonial issues linked to both political and religious power. On Verica's second series (S82), the legend is much more common on the reverse, while the obverse of gold types usually displays the vine-leaf or a Romanising type (e.g. laureate bust, draped figure; ABC 1193, 1214). Personalisation, consisting on the adoption of a new iconographic motif, may suggest the reinforcement of Verica's power, further emphasised by the use of the attribute *rex* (see 9.3.4).

Tasciovanos' heirs

Although Tasciovanos' name is not attested in historical sources, the numismatic evidence defines him as one of the most powerful individuals in late Iron Age Britain. The extent of his coinage in terms of production and management of precious resources, the level of stylistic innovations adopted, the reference to *Verulamium* (TASCIO/VER), and the fact that at least two different individuals – Cunobelin and Epaticcus – claimed filial ties with him, are all suggestive of prominence and territorial control. The concurrence of E7, E81-2 and SE7 from hoards at Essendon (see 5.2.2) is the result of deliberate multiple deposits of highly valued issues; the same can be said for gold and silver E71 hoarded with early gold coins and a silver E83 issue at Wheathampstead. In contrast, the absence of gold E7 issues from hoards of Gallo-Belgic and E81-82 coins recovered from the Nene valley and the area between the

Chelmer and Blackwater estuary may suggest that Tasciovanos' power did not extend beyond the Chilterns and the area of St Albans.

As seen above (8.2.5), Cunobelin's gold coins (E81-2) are characterised by the adoption of the tablet or vegetal motif and by the legend CVNO or CVNO/CAMV. The legend TASCI.F, in contrast, only occurs on the reverse of late silver and bronze issues (E83), generally featuring Classical motifs (e.g. helmeted head, Pegasus, Sphinx, Centaur on silver; boar, bull, Victory on bronze; ABC 2876-2996). Interestingly, also later Epaticcus' types (S91) displayed the legend TASCI.F and an ear of barley on the reverse (ABC 1343), suggesting links with both Tasciovanos and Cunobelin.

Turning to distributional evidence from Areas A-D (Table 8.3), it is interesting that the only issue inscribed Tincomaros found outside its territory of production (likely Area C) displayed the feature COMMI.F; likewise, coins displaying the legend VERICA/COMMI.F seemed to be more widespread than those reading VERICA/REX.

Table 8.3: Distribution and deposition of most common legends in Areas A-D (including site-finds and area-finds)

Legend variation	Area of Origin	Area A		Area B		Area C		Area D	
		Sf	Af	Sf	Af	Sf	Af	Sf	Af
CVNO/CAMVL	A	721	351	86	20	10	4	15	15
CVNO/TASCI.F	A	922	654	43	18	7	-	23	20
EPATICCVS/TASCI.F	C	22	2	-	-	17	14	3	2
EPATICCVS	C	2	-	-	-	30	17	9	9
EPPILLVS/CALLEVA	C	-	-	-	-	22	3	4	4
EPPILLVS/COMMI.F	Near C	-	6	7	-	-	-	-	-
TINCOMAROS	C	-	-	-	-	22	43	-	-
TINCOMAROS/COMMI.F	C	-	-	-	-	1	26	-	2
VERICA/REX	C	-	-	-	-	77	42	-	-
VERICA/COMMI.F	C	1	1	2	1	104	57	2	2

As shown in the Table, however, the number of occurrences displaying the element *filius* from Areas A-D is not sufficient to draw conclusions about their diffusion and circulation; for this reason, drawing on the evidence of findspots collected through the PAS, the overall distribution of E83, S92, SE82, S72, and S81 types in Britain has been assessed. The maps below (figs. 8.6, 8.7) show that the coinage of Epaticcus and Tincomaros recalling filial ties with Tasciovanos and Commios are slightly more widespread in south-eastern Britain than coins that do not refer to other rulers; similarly, findspots of Eppillus' coins reporting the indication *Commii filius* have been found to the east of St Albans and in Kent. This is particularly visible in the case of S81 coins: issues inscribed VERICA/COMMI.F (fig. 8.8) were more widely diffused than those inscribed VERICA/CALLE or VERICA/REX (one excavated findspot has also been found at Hallaton). In contrast, the distribution of coins inscribed CVNOBELINVS/TASCI.F (fig. 8.9) mostly overlaps with the rest of E8 production but is circumscribed to specific zones, with clusters from the environs of Baldock, Braughing, and St Albans. In fact, the type was probably struck for circulation and use in the regions previously ruled by Tasciovanos, mainly corresponding to modern Hertfordshire up to Northamptonshire (Curteis 2001, 89). In conclusion, it can be assumed that filial claims could affect coin circulation and acceptance.

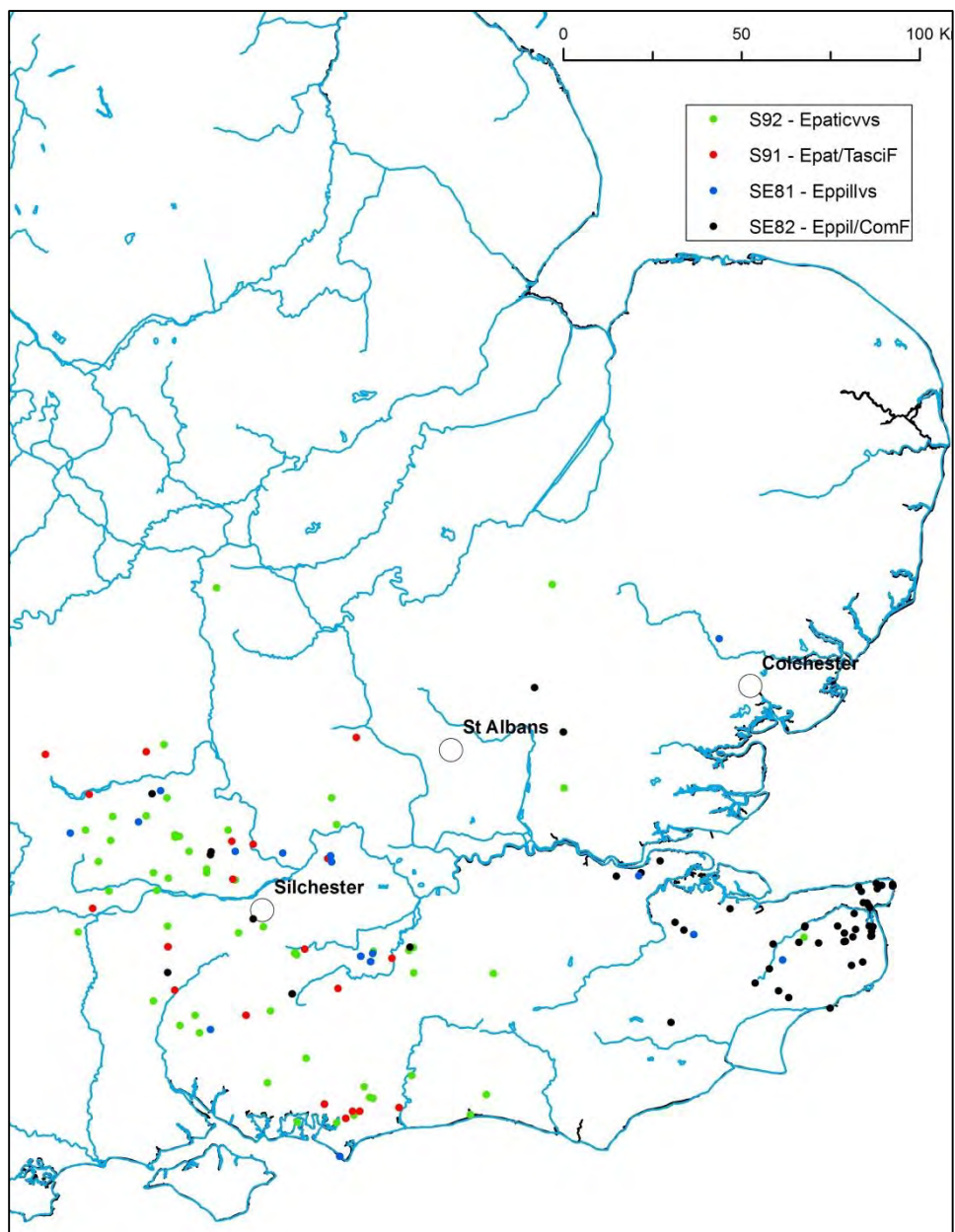


Figure 8.6: Distribution of coins inscribed EPATICVS and EPPILLVS (image: author)

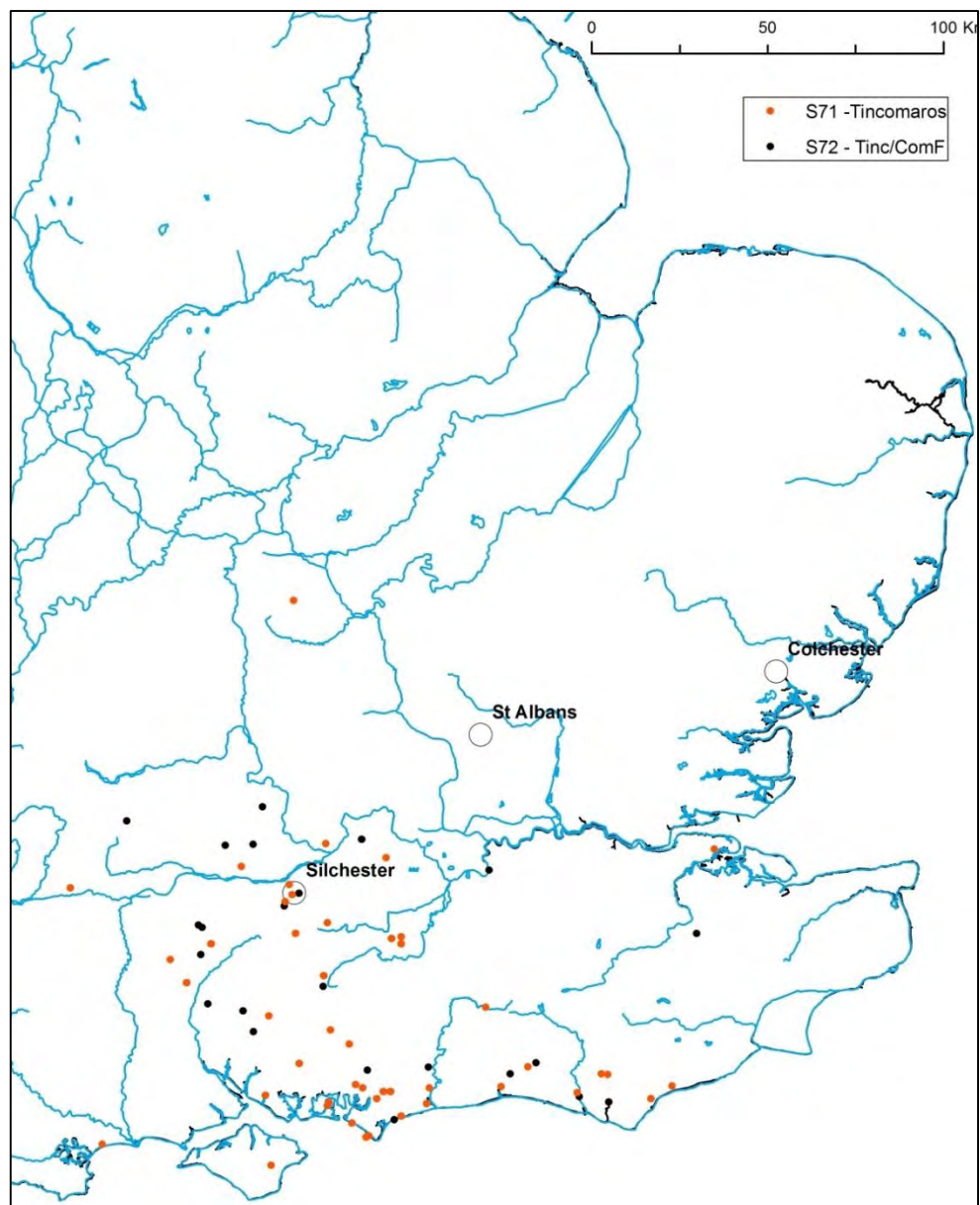


Figure 8.7: Distribution of coins inscribed TINCOMAROS (image: author)

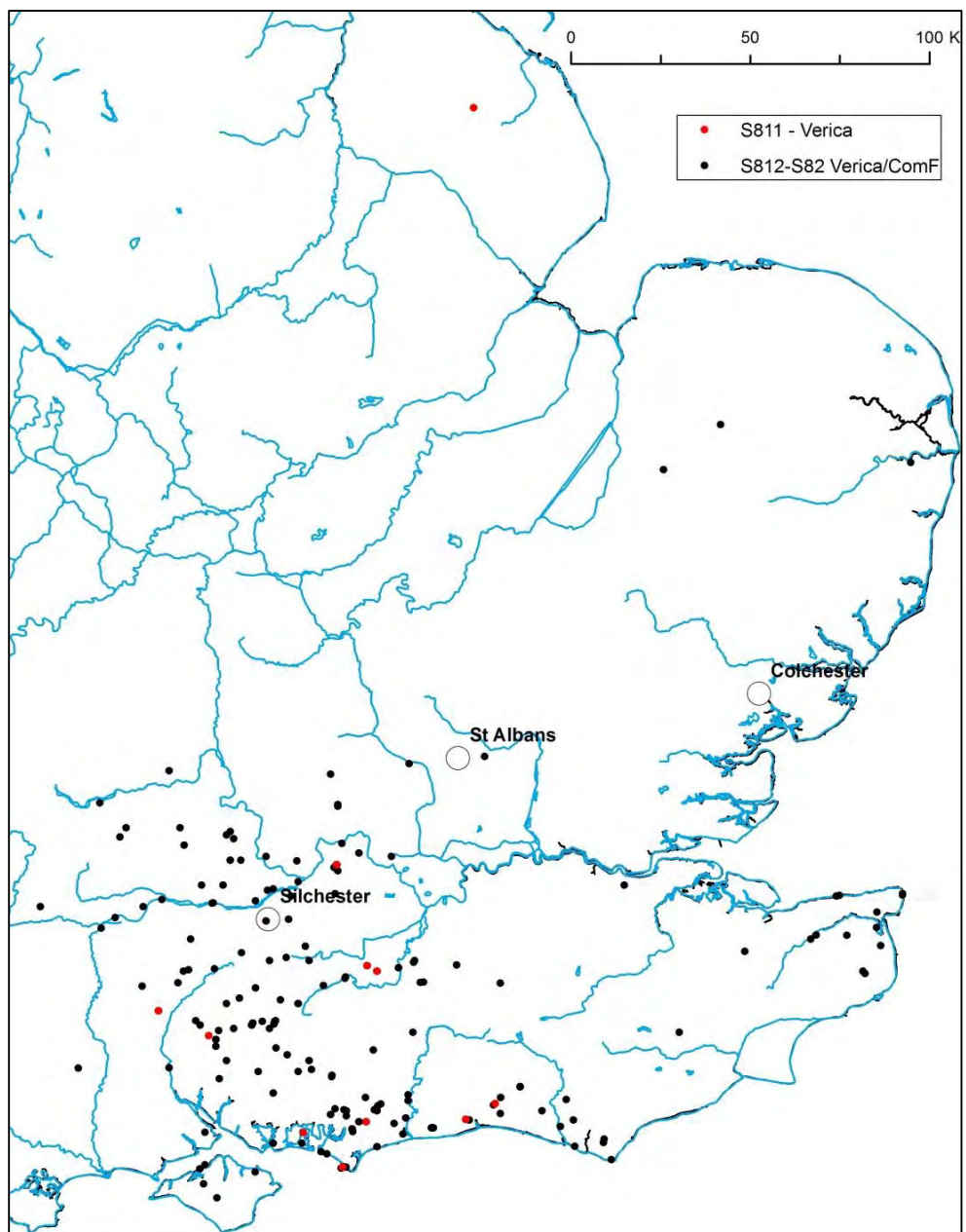


Figure 8.8: Distribution of coins inscribed VERICA (image: author)

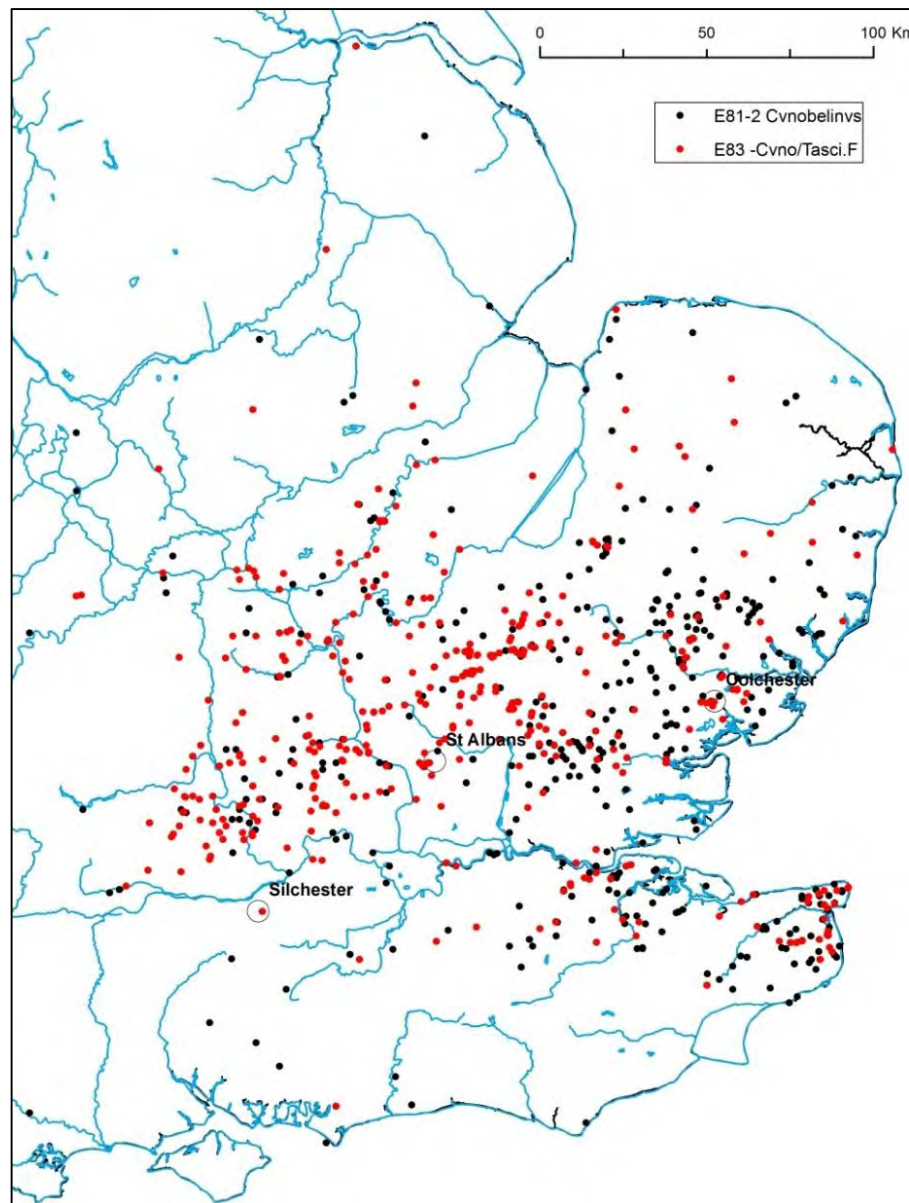


Figure 8.9: Distribution of coins inscribed CVNOBELINVS (image: author)

Likewise borrowed motifs (e.g. geometric patterns on S71; ear of barley on S91 coins; Pegasus on silver E8 issues), and the use of images related to strength and supremacy (e.g. Victory, horsemen, laureate bust, eagle), the aim of these legends was to claim continuity of power and secure legitimacy. Even though the use of familial ties has been linked to the establishment of dynastic houses on the model of Imperial Rome (Bean 2000, 15; Burnett 1991), historical sources provide no details in support of this interpretation. Rather than concrete kinship ties, these stylistic devices may reflect personal forms of propaganda and structured power relations. Significantly, Adminius,

Caratacus and Togodumnus are referred to in ancient texts as the ‘sons of Cunobelin’ (Suetonius, *Caligula* 44; Dio, *Historia Romana* LX.20), but notwithstanding the prominence of this individual, there is no evidence of familial claims on S93 coins (inscribed CARA) or any other contemporary issue (e.g. S92, EPATICVS). It is possible that this process was brought to an end by the Roman Conquest and that, during phase 9, links to Rome were more valued than alleged kinship with prestigious local chiefs. Remarkably, on late British coins no reference is made to Cogidubnus or Togidubnus (Tacitus, *Agricola* XIV), a local king mentioned by a late 1st-century AD stone inscription from Chichester.

8.3 Local forms of propaganda

Looking at the general distribution of iconographic types from Areas A-D (figs. 8.10, Table 8.4), it emerges that gold and silver coins characterised by the head/horse and geometric motifs were widespread in all regions; this is mainly due to the fact that these iconographic themes occurred both on imported Gallo-Belgic and Armorican coins, and on locally produced early types. In contrast, animal, vegetal, and tablet motifs spread on British coinage from the mid-1st century BC onwards. The animal motif principally clustered along the eastern part of Areas A and B, and Classical types were more frequent in Essex and the Chilterns up to Northamptonshire while less common in Areas C and D. On the reverse, the tablet and vegetal motifs were principally recovered in Areas A and C, with few occurrences from East Anglia and the upper Thames valley. As emphasised above, local coinage was not only used to accumulate wealth and perform transactions, but also to foster social competition through the use of targeted visual tools.

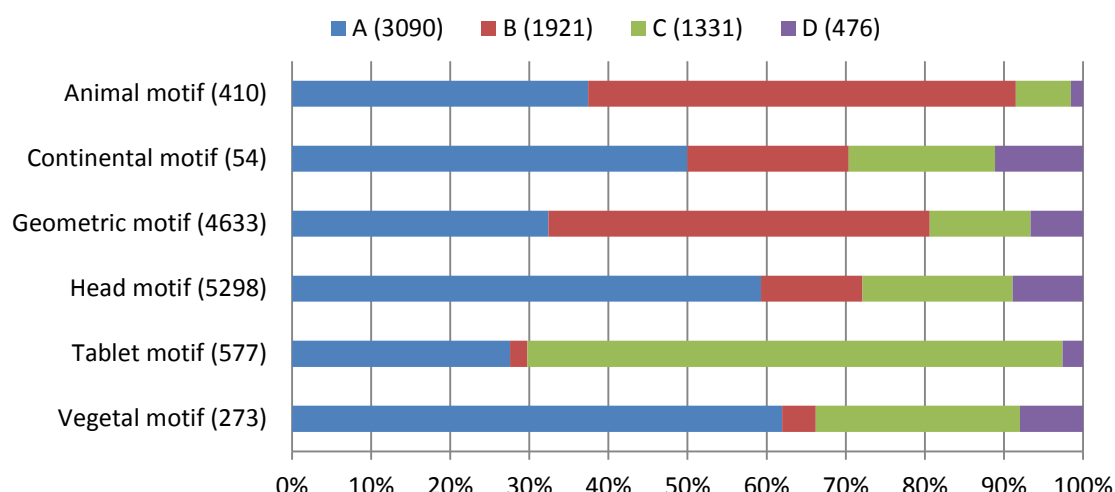


Figure 8.10: Distribution of iconographic motifs in Areas A-D (numbers in brackets refer to certainly identified types)

Figures 8.11-8.12 shows the distribution of coin legends per Area and the most frequent inscription/imagery associations, whilst in figs. 8.13-8.14 the difference, in terms of iconography, between uninscribed and inscribed issues is highlighted. The imagery on coins originating in southern and south-eastern Britain features the adoption of complex visual elements recalling prestige ties with Rome (e.g. the eagle, the Victory), strength and domination (e.g. the horse, the hunter), and symbols related to the management of resources and abundance (e.g. ear of barley, *cornucopia*), whereas the use of images linked to local symbolism (e.g. the wolf, snake or the boar) was limited. The main visible innovations in these regions, coinciding with Areas A and C, consisted in the ability to display individual status, reflected by the adoption of personalised designs (e.g. ear of barley on Cunobelin' staters, vine-leaf on Verica's stater), and the use of attributions of power (e.g. *rex*) and claims of familial descent. On coins originating in Areas B and D, Classical or newly developed iconographic motifs were only sporadically and gradually adopted (e.g. NE94 issues display a Romanised bust on the obverse) (fig. 8.14); rather than systematic transformations, they look like the result of late pre-Conquest forced attempts to conform to a common standard. The use of conservative designs and local symbolism (e.g. crescents, crosses, geometric patterns, spirals, disjointed/triple-tailed horses, wolves, and boars) were preserved up to the late pre-Roman period. Apparently, outside the 'Southern and Eastern

kingdoms' (Creighton 2000), processes of social acceptance, achievement and individual/small group competition were principally driven by appeal to traditional beliefs and local sense of belonging.

It is worth stressing the fact that understanding inscriptions and specific local or imported imageries may not be a prerogative of a large audience. The evidence of coins from settlements as well as major sites may imply that visual elements were likely directed to groups of people involved in multiple types of transactions, and playing key roles in trade and production (Fulford and Timby 2000; Aarts and Roymans 2009, 20). Nonetheless, although local communities would probably not recognise Latin writing or continental themes, it is possible that the perception of exotic/non-indigenous designs was sufficient to account for ties with Rome, hence ensuring power at the local level. It follows that symbols and images positively perceived amongst specific communities could be totally rejected in other contexts, and *vice versa*. For this reason, we can suggest that iconographic elements were not passively replicated or added on coins: in order to succeed in social competition, individuals/issuing authorities must carefully select and combine visual elements, in accordance with established local sets of ideas and values. Therefore, understanding the significance of imagery can shed new light on the relationships between different communities and their attitudes towards external influences. Local styles and the rejection or independent re-elaboration of Classical themes may imply a 'conceptual distance' from continental innovations; even though this may be a sign of less dynamic interactions, it cannot be assumed to be proof of social underdevelopment. Instead, conservatism does not necessarily have a negative or passive connotation, being the result of different forms of social stability, competitive processes and attitudes to change, that will be discussed in 9.3

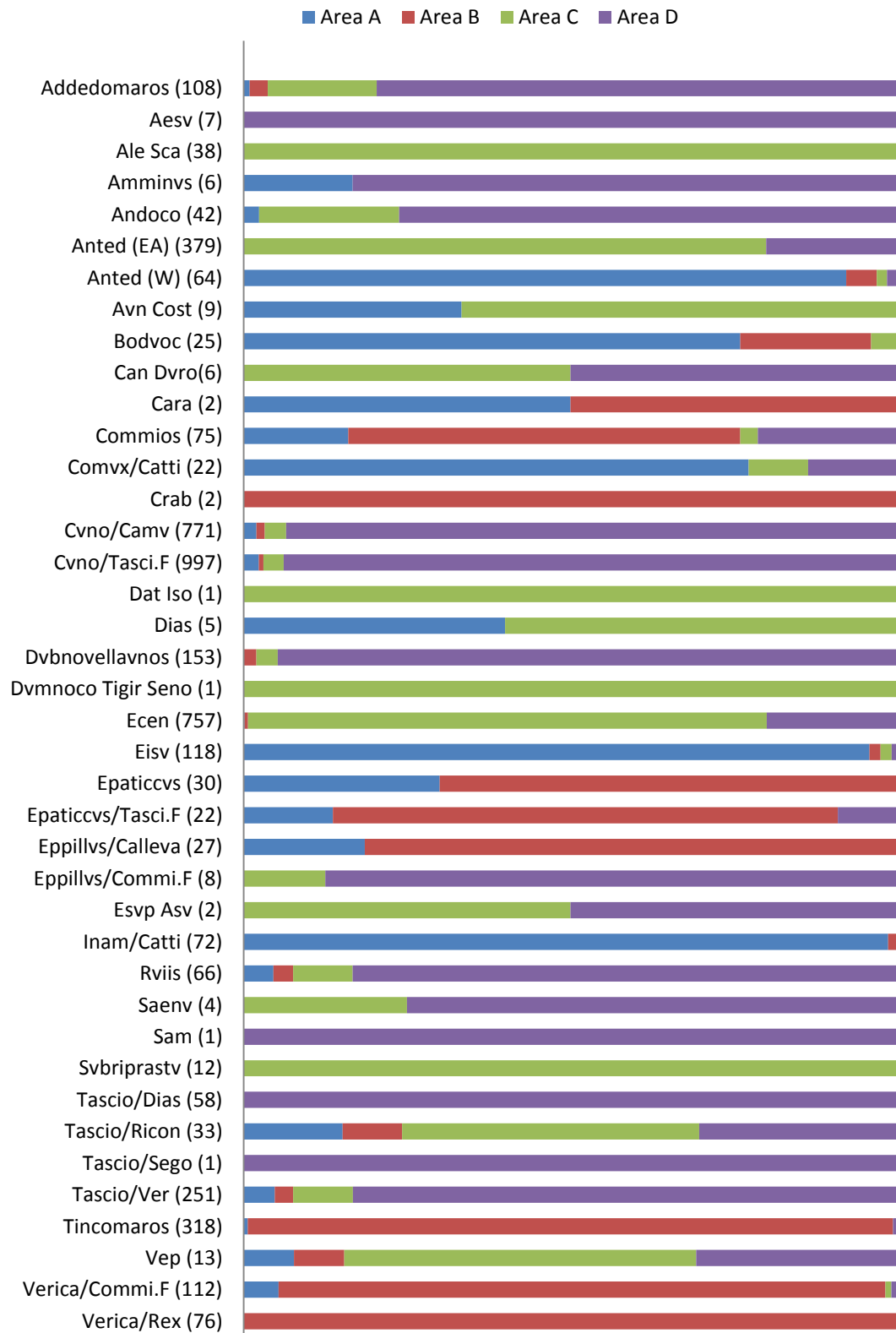


Figure 8.11: Frequency of legends in Areas A-D
(numbers in brackets refer to certainly identified types)

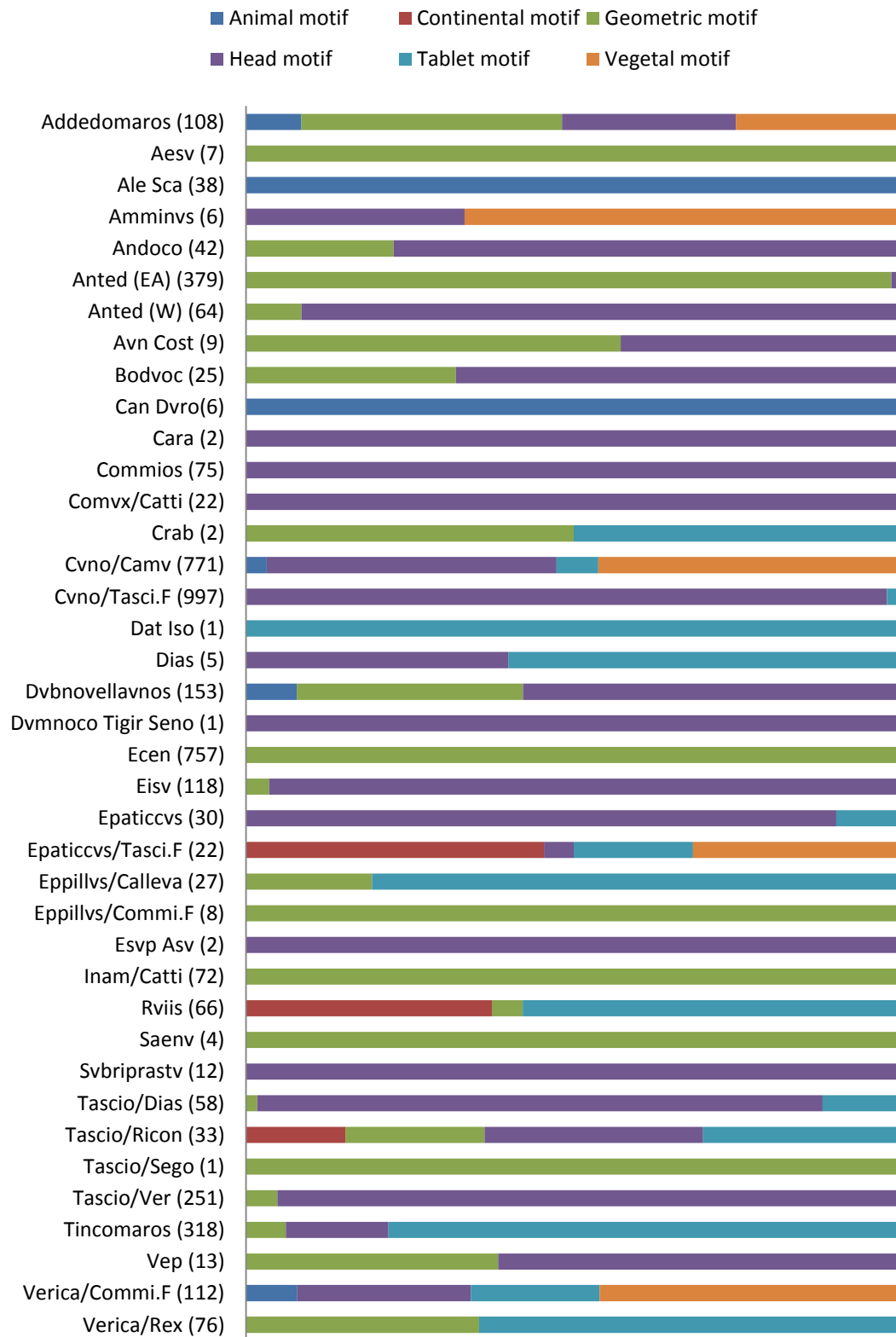


Figure 8.12: Association of legends and iconographic motifs in Areas A-D (numbers in brackets refer to certainly identified types)

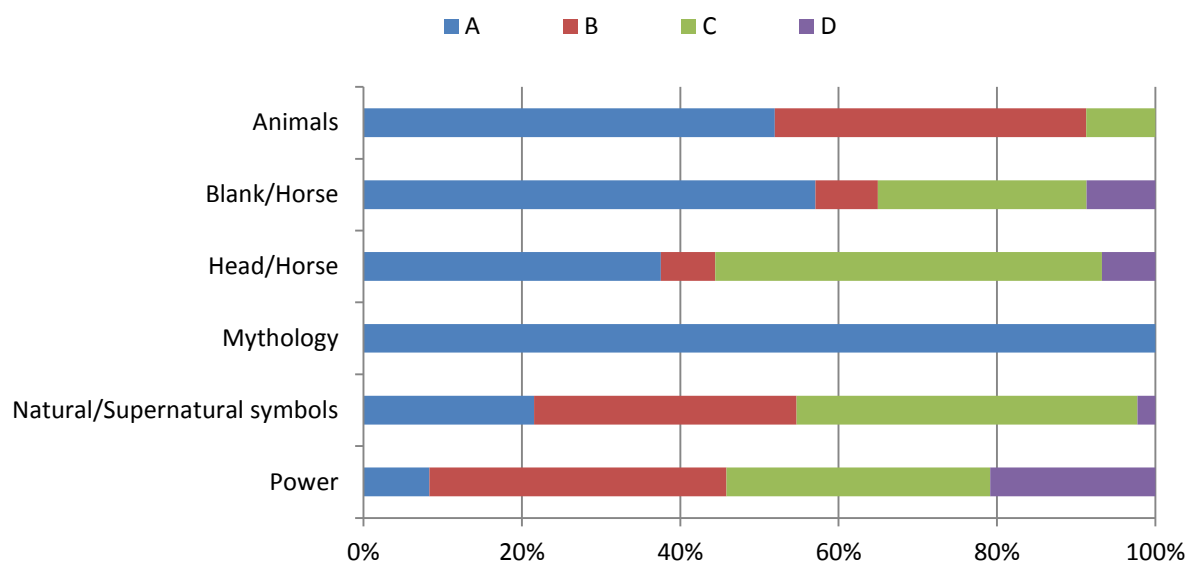


Figure 8.13: Diffusion of coin imagery on early uninscribed coins in Areas A-D

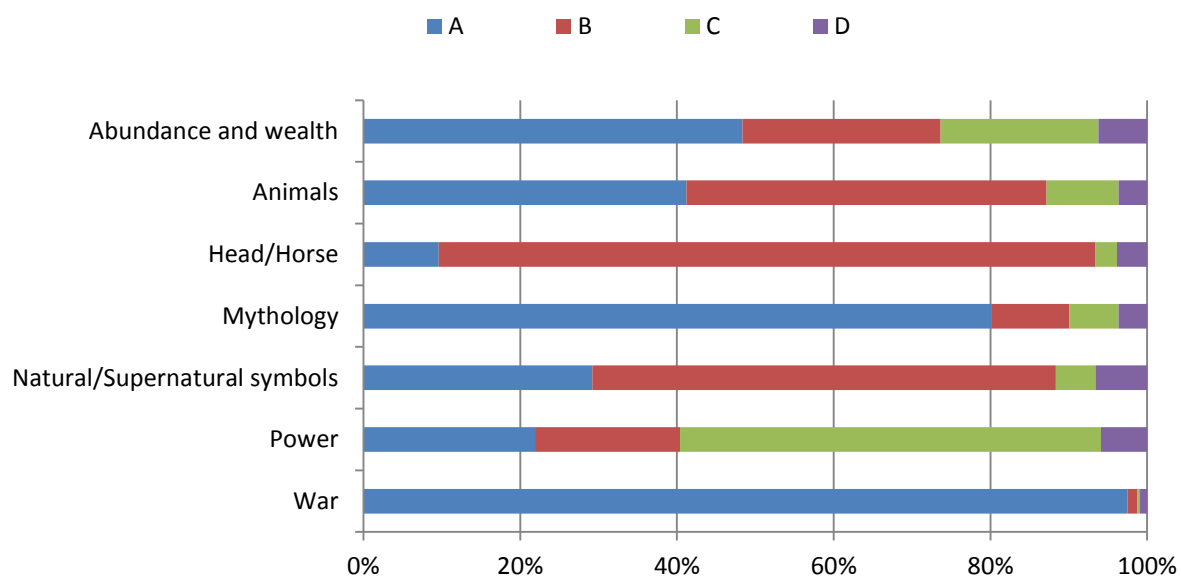


Figure 8.14: Diffusion of coin imagery on inscribed coins in Areas A-D

Table 8.4: General distribution of types in Areas A-D

Type	A	B	C	D	From excavation	From hoards	Most common O/	Most common R/
SE7	136	29	4	7	(A) Baldock, Braintree, Braughing, Colchester (B) Hallaton (C)Hayling Island	(A) Colchester, Essendon, Marks Tey, West Mersea (B) Welney	head	head
EA91	7						crescent	horse
EA72		38				(B) Stonea	boar	horse
E85	5			1	(A) Braughing		head, vegetal	Classic
E75	29	9		1	(A) Baldock, Braughing, Harlow (B) Duston	(A) Essendon (B) Rushden	head, wreath	horse
EA81	76	305			(A) Colchester (B) Duston, Hallaton, Stonea	(B) Chatteris, March, Stonea	crescent	horse
W7-W8		2	3	61	(B) Duston, Hallaton (C) Hayling Island (D) Bagendon, Bath, Camerton, Frocester, Nettleton, Somerford Keynes	(D) Colerne, Kings Stanely, Sherborne, Wanborough	head	horse
NE81		2803		3	(B) Hallaton, Weekley	(B) March, Weekley	blank, geometric	horse
W92		2	5	19	(B) Hallaton (C) Hayling Island (D) Bath	(D) Wanborough	head, blank	horse
EA72	3	3					boar	horse
S93			1	1			bust	eagle
S6	16	3	150	12	(B) Hallaton (C) Chichester, Hayling Island, Silchester	(C) Alton	head	horse
W91	3	2		17	(A) Colchester, (B), Duston, (D) Bagendon		head	horse
S94			2		(C) Hayling Island		pattern, eagle	horse
E81-E82	721	86	10	15	(A) all excavated sites (B) Duston, Hallaton, Oundle, Thetford (C) Chichester, Silchester	(A) Colchester, Epping, Essendon	head, tablet, corn ear	Victory horse
E83	922	43	7	23	(A) Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Gorhambury, Harlow, St Albans (B) Duston, Hallaton (C) Chichester, Silchester (D) Abingdon	(A) Colchester, St Albans, (B) Welney, Stonea	head	warrior Victory

Table 8.4: General distribution of types in Areas A-D (cont.)

Type	A	B	C	D	From excavation	From hoards	Most common O/	Most common R/
NE93		74			(B) Hallaton		tablet	horse
SE72	143	5	2		(A) Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Gorhambury, Harlow, Heybridge (C) Silchester	(A) Chelmsford, Colchester, G. Waltham, Heybridge, Marks Tey	head	horse, eagle
NE91		2			(B) Hallaton		head	horse
EA91	151	603	4	1	(B) Hallaton, Thetford	(B) Chatteris, March, Welney, Stonea	crescent	horse
W7-W8	1	8	2	117	(B) Duston, Hallaton (C) Hayling Island (D) all excavated sites	(D) Colerne, (Sherborne?)	head	horse
S91	2		30	9	(C) Chichester, Hayling Island		bust, victory	boar, eagle
S92	22		17	3	(C) Chichester	(C) Bentworth	bust, victory	boar, eagle
SE81			22	4		(C) Alton	tablet	horse
SE82	7				(A) Harlow		geometric	eagle
NE82		274			(B) Hallaton		head	horse
			1	71	(C) Hayling Island	(D) Farmborough, Kings Stanley	emblem	horse
E73	55	6	2	3	(A) Baldock, Braughing, Harlow, Heybridge, St Albans (C) Hayling Island, Silchester (D) Abingdon, Cirencester	(A) St Albans	tablet, lion	eagle, griffin
EA91	3						crescent	horse
KE	1						various	
EA94		12					head	horse

Table 8.4: General distribution of types in Areas A-D (cont.)

Type	A	B	C	D	From excavation	From hoards	Most common O/ Most common R/	Most common R/
E71	189	40	2	4	(A) Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Gorhambury, Harlow, Heybridge, St Albans (B) Duston, Oundle	(A) Epping, Essendon (B) Stonea	head	horse,
E712	1				(A) Braughing		geometric	Sphinx
E712	203	24	7	12	(A) Baldock, Braughing, Colchester, Gorhambury, Harlow, St Albans (B) Ashton, Duston, Hallaton, Oundle, Weekley (C) Silchester	(B) Chatteris, Rushden, Weekley, Stonea	head	horse
E713	10	15	3	5	(B) Oundle, Weekley (C) Silchester	(A) Epping, Essendon (B) Chatteris, Rusden, Weekley, Stonea	wreath, tablet	horseman, Pegasus
E72	57	3		2	(A) Braughing, Colchester, Harlow	(A) St Albans?	tablet, head	horse
S71	1		313	2	(C) Chichester, Hayling, Owslebury, Silchester	(A) Chelmsford (C) Alton, Andover, Basingstoke	head	horse
NE83	4	1429	1	1	(A) Colchester (B) Hallaton, Oundle (C) Hayling Island		head, blank	horse
S812			77		(C) Chichester, Hayling, Owslebury, Silchester	(C) Alton, Bentworth	tablet, geometric	horse
S821	1	2	104	2	(B) Hallaton (C) Chichester, Hayling Island	(C) Alton, Andover, Basingstoke	head, vegetal	horse, warrior
NE92		3			(B) Hallaton		head	horse

8.4 Spreading the message

Coins bearing specific images or inscriptions tended to group together, mirroring the territorial size and boundaries of the cultural systems they belonged to. 'Boundaries' can be defined as zones where different peoples and coins overlap: outside these intersection areas, gradual decrease/increase of coin circulation and diffusion is predictable (Curteis 1996, 18). Coin complexity and territorial features enhancing or limiting connectivity (see 6.3.1) can impact on the diffusion of social messages and internal forms of competition. More specifically, the use of numismatic devices as tools of propaganda principally builds on the following elements:

- Mobility: direction, diffusion, pace of movement and rate of coin loss within and outside the main territory of production.
- Acceptability: coin use and deposition outside the areas of origin.
- Flexibility: the ability of coins to embody different meanings and perform diverse functions in different contexts.
- Adaptability: coins acting as substitutes of other currencies.

As discussed in detail in 6.3.2, large amounts of non-locally produced issues within well-connected territories (mainly Areas A and C) or specific sites (e.g. shrines) are not unexpected. As a matter of fact, ritual spaces could act as points of communal gatherings within large territories, and mixed assemblages within such locations cannot entirely account for high levels of mobility. In contrast, the presence/absence of non-locally produced issues from less receptive areas (e.g. bronze E coins within the Cotswolds or from Thetford) can effectively highlight levels of mobility and acceptability.

In order to determine different levels of mobility, Table 8.5 indicates percentages of diffusion of British coin-groups. As the investigation only involves coins from within Areas A-D, the data addressed in this work are just a sample (c. 40%) of all Iron Age coins from Britain. Furthermore, by the early phases, coins mainly consist of gold

Gallo-Belgic issues that are limitedly involved in late processes of propaganda, and the Table only includes issues produced in Britain from phase 6 onwards. Places of production, witnessed by the evidence of coin moulds, have been identified at Braughing, Colchester, St Albans (E/SE group), and, possibly, at or nearby Bagendon (W group), Silchester (S/SE group), and Thetford (EA group).

**Table 8.5: Levels of mobility of coin-groups in Areas A-D
(numbers in brackets refer to identified coins)**

	Place of production	Impact (includes site-finds, area-finds and hoards)			
		A	B	C	D
E6-8 (2810)	Area A	85.5%	10%	1.5%	3%
EA6-9 (1866)	Area B	20%	79%	0.7%	0.3%
NE6-9 (4839)	West of Area B	0.4%	99%	0.3%	0.3%
S6-8 (796)	Area C	2%	2%	92%	4%
SE6-9 (426)	Between Areas A and C	72%	12%	13%	3%
SW6-8 (156)	South-Western Britain (Dorset)	11%	1%	72%	16%
W6-9 (392)	Area D	2%	4%	4%	90%

In general, geographical distance from a point of origin produced significant quantitative drops. The E and SE groups occurred more frequently than other series outside their territories of production. Coins belonging to the E group, likely produced within Area A, have been recovered from the excavation of settlements clustering along the Nene and Welland, and from Thetford (Area B), Chichester and Silchester (Area C), Abingdon, Bagendon and Cirencester (Area D), often in association with locally produced issues. In contrast, SE issues did not frequently occurred from settlements outside south-eastern Britain; however, several wealthy deposits (e.g. Area A: Chelmsford, Great Waltham, Marks Tey; Area B: Welney; Area C: Alton) include SE7-8 issues, which may suggest they were particularly high valued even outside their main territory of origin. Furthermore, with gold debasement, E and SE copper alloy issues were likely used in substitution of gold in the long-term sphere of exchange (e.g. symbolic deposition at sanctuaries or graves).

As already emphasised, the circulation and functionality of several inscribed issues seems further affected by political purposes (see 8.2). Several types are primarily attested near their places of production, e.g. ANDOCO (E75), AVN COST (NE81), DAT ISO (NE93), TINCOMAROS (E72). Other issues, e.g. RVIIS (E73), BODVOC (W9) and ANTED (EA91, W8), sporadically circulated outside their areas of origin. Circumscribed distribution may reflect the fact that some issues were only struck in silver and/or bronze: the lack of variety in terms of denominations and metals possibly limited coin circulation. In contrast, certain issues, i.e. ADDEDOMAROS (SE74), COMMIOS (S6), CVNOBELINVS (E81-82), DVBNVOLLAVNOS (SE73), and TASCIOVANOS (E71), were particularly widespread: their tri-metallic production and the association with prominent individuals likely enhanced their mobility.

The EA, S and W groups are recorded in significant quantities from regions that are close to their places of production, while NE coins are hardly found outside their main circulation pool. As a common trend, when found at some distance from a point of origin, all these groups tended to cluster within or nearby sanctuaries: this may suggest that their functionality is restricted to the ritual sphere, and inversely proportional to distance. The only exception seems to be late silver W issues originating in the Cotswolds which occasionally occur on settlements in Areas A and B (Chelmsford and Duston, see 4.2.1, 4.2.2). As already discussed, their weight and module perhaps made them substitutable for E/NE issues (Curteis 1996, 24; Farley 2012, 80) in specific contexts. Interestingly, the opposite trend, consisting of EA and NE coins used in substitution of other currencies or deposited in Area D, is not attested, which accounts for limited flexibility and adaptability of these types. It must be noted that no evidence of a production place has been identified for the SW group (Papworth 2008), likely originating in Dorset; even though specimens have been found in low quantities in the study areas, their distribution does not account for high levels of mobility. Significantly, inscriptions were never adopted on this series, and functionality is difficult to assess.

In conclusion, the adoption of a tri-metallic system, centralised forms of production, the authority of the issuers, and meaningful iconographic devices made the E group

particularly mobile and multi-functional, which may have allowed more successful and widespread forms of propaganda. The S, SE and W groups were less mobile, possibly because of the lack of extensive bronze production, but were apparently still able to perform different functions according to the context. In contrast, the EA and NE groups, with isolated exceptions (e.g. EA91 issues, see 4.4, 4.5), seemed quite static. In fact, coin-series that rarely adopted images related to concepts of strength and power or visual innovations are not commonly found outside their territories of origin. This may suggest that the communities settled within Areas B, C, and D, although interacting with external regions, hardly attempted or attained expansion. Nonetheless, limited mobility, acceptability and flexibility do not necessarily imply that the adoption of coins as propagandistic tools was not successful: more likely, their impact was geographically circumscribed.

In summary, even though the concept of political propaganda is a modern one and does not apply to the British Iron Age, it can be stated that British coins reflected the dynamic nature of power, political relationships and socio-economic networks through which individuals and communities interacted. The nature and structure of power and long-term social processes of change are still the object of examination, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Processes of change

and social dynamics in late Iron Age Britain

The introduction of coinage into Britain was not a single event, but rather a result of long term and gradual processes that included the reinforcement of cross-Channel contacts, the establishment of new forms of settlements, and a series of transformations influencing social practices and material culture. To be successful, innovations rely on well-established systems of value that form the basis of ideology and social order (Cooper 1989; Jowett and O'Donnell 2012, 291). Hence, the local treatment of coinage conceivably echoed recognisable sets of local values and beliefs that were rooted in the past. In this chapter, long-term processes of change will be explored, with an emphasis on the emergence of social differentiation during the middle-late Iron Age transition (9.1). Subsequently the idea of individual status is introduced (9.2), with a focus on the role of portable high status objects, such as torcs, and the dynamics of power that underlay processes of competition leading to the local production of coinage are discussed (9.3). The last two sections re-examine the numismatic evidence as a means for defining the nature of endogenous social relations between individuals and communities (9.3), and evaluate the local response to the 'colonial' encounter with the Roman world (9.4).

9.1 Long-term processes of social differentiation

9.1.1 The rise of hillforts in southern Britain

From the middle Bronze Age, field systems in southern Britain provide indications of early forms of land definition linked to agricultural exploitation. Competitive processes rested not only on the control over the land but also on long-distance networks of exchange and manipulation of mobile commodities e.g. cattle, pottery, and bronze metalwork (Carmen and Harding 1999; Ellison 1981; Eogan 1983; Finney 2006, 1-2;

Osgood *et al.* 2000; Yates 2007). After the 8th-6th centuries BC, a decline in the deposition of bronze metalwork seems to have coincided with the abandonment of riverside settlements involved in imports (Haselgrove 2000, 284) and to the development of early hilltop enclosures (Sharples 2010, 122): the scarce evidence of occupation seems to imply that these were mainly used for storage. Around the 6th century BC, univallate enclosures, known as hillforts, developed on prominent locations, especially in Wessex and western Britain (e.g. Danebury, Maiden Castle). By the following century, several hillforts were characterised by multivallate and complex earthworks and the systematic construction and re-working of ditches and ramparts (Harding 2012, 209). In the south-eastern and eastern regions, the phenomenon was less prominent: the flatter terrain did not provide the spectacular locations of Wessex, but there was still choice of naturally defensible sites (Davies *et al.* 1992, x), namely along the river Lea (e.g. Pitchbury near Colchester) or in the Nene valley (Hunsbury).

At present, c. 2000 hillforts have been identified in Britain and are the object of much debate. Based on the evidence for violence and massacre deposits at several forts, ramparts have been interpreted as defensive features (Avery 1993; Bowden and McOmish 1987, 1989; Hingley 1984). However, visibility due to elevated position within the landscape and the length and size of many earthworks could be suggestive of territorial control, display of elite status, and manifestation of power as much as defence (Cunliffe 1991; Haselgrove 2009b, 172). Moreover, the emphasis on social practices that is central to current Iron Age studies (Miles *et al.* 2003, 79) has led to stress the symbolic orientation of the boundaries (Ralston 2006). Significantly, hillforts were not only characterised by complex systems of earthworks, but also by large storage capacity and evidence of internal activities, but little trace of social stratification, in the form of the presence of luxury items, or differences between individual households have been found within excavated southern hillforts. As a consequence, they could be also seen to reflect strategies of supply and control of routes and resources, or as non-hierarchical centres of redistribution and ritual gatherings, perhaps seasonally occupied (Collis 1981; Hill 1995a, 46; Sharples 2010; see 9.5.1). Ditches and ramparts may have had preventive and protective functions aimed at restricting the access to supplies, and were possibly related to organisational

purposes aimed at storage and redistribution (Cunliffe 1995, 99; Creighton 2000, 5) rather than warfare.

9.1.2 Middle Iron Age evidence of social differentiation

The lack of traces of internal social stratification or hierarchical relationships within hillforts is taken to imply the existence of an egalitarian social model during the middle Iron Age (Sharples 2010). The construction and occupation of hillforts likely involved periodical gatherings of large groups of individuals: recurrent or discontinuous interactions may have fostered reciprocity through the exchange of goods, labour and cooperation (Douglas 1970, 2005; Ferguson and Whithead 1992; Sharples 2011, 675; Thurston 2009, 385) and enabled the development or reinforcement of common traits, beliefs, and a sense of community and belonging. Consequently, interpreting the evidence for the emergence of elite groups and individuals during the middle-late Iron Age transition is not uncomplicated (Creighton 2000, 10). There are, however, elements that suggest early forms of differentiation and predominance, not necessarily reflected by the material culture. Interestingly, one of the most relevant aspects of monumental earthwork (re)construction rests in the huge amount of materials and human resources it required (Bowden and McOmish 1987). Whereas the building of small enclosures may have taken few weeks and involved a restricted number of individuals, accomplishing major earthworks likely required years of works and hundreds of people (Gosden *et al.* 2005, 143): as a consequence, the ability to manage food supplies, workmanship, and sources of raw materials, such as chalk, quarry stones, and timber was fundamental (Sharples 2010, 117). Although Sharples' argument in favour of egalitarian social dynamics based on cooperation is not totally rejected here (see 2.1.3, 9.4), at the same time the evidence convincingly suggests forms of organisation, planning and distribution of tasks based on work proficiency that cannot exclude the enactment of processes of social differentiation.

Individuals and households that were part of larger social formations based on cooperation and shared interests (e.g. land, food) may nevertheless have attempted to achieve a surplus of goods and self-sufficiency (Hill 2006). Even though forms of

differentiation mirrored by the material culture did not develop, this process may have led to competition and the creation of ties of dependency between different households. It is possible that hillforts did not only represent a focus for communities principally aimed at storage of supplies, but were controlled by groups of leading individuals/households that were able to manage human and material resources; under their influence, hillforts may have gradually evolved as a means of imposing control over the land (Bradley 1984, 141; Cunliffe 1995, 2000; Hamilton and Manley 2001; Hedeager 1992, 86; Stopford 1987).

Forms of 'leadership' were likely based on personal skills, charisma, and exclusive monopoly of resources; however, this does not necessarily coincide with the emergence of social stratifications based on status, or the establishment of a ruling class (Haas 2001; Hill 2006, 9). Leadership may have been temporary and confined to the achievement of specific tasks (e.g. building a rampart). There is no evidence to support or reject the hypothesis that prominent positions could not be inherited during the middle late Iron Age. It is possible that certain skills and work proficiency were transferred to descendants, which may have allowed specific members of the community to gain advantage in processes of social differentiation, and the formation of leading groups based on kinship. However, in the absence of institutionalised forms of authority, personal or group achievements were never granted and the ability to prevail was constantly based on competition.

Creighton (2000, 15-18) has argued in favour of the emergence of a warrior class of horsemen during the middle-late Iron Age transition: his conclusion is primarily based on the increased evidence of horse bones and chariot gear at a number of hillforts (namely Danebury and Bury Hill) from the 3rd-2nd century BC. As emphasised in 8.1, much of the evidence related to weapons and warriors in Iron Age Britain may have a symbolic and social significance (Hill 1997; Hunter 2005; Fitzpatrick 2007) and seems to imply that the occurrence of episodes of violence was limited. Middle Iron Age 'warriors' may have been adult individuals who were able to fight to 'defend the community' (Hill 2006, 13), achieve resources, or attain personal status, but this did not necessarily coincide with systematic warfare and the development of a warrior

ideology *stricto sensu*. It is worth emphasising that the archaeological evidence points to the (re)introduction of gold in Britain from the late 3rd century BC (see 7.3.1), as the result of cross-Channel prestige exchange, and mercenary payment. Accessing gold may have been a demanding process that required the knowledge of routes, the management of sufficient resources (e.g. agricultural surplus or raw materials, such as tin) to access long-distance and prestige exchange, and the creation of networks of ties; in this situation, the possibility, likely embodied by the exploitation of horses, of travelling further distances and expanding forms of control over supplies and the acquisition of wealth, may have been crucial. It follows that the possession of horses was in itself a form of mobile wealth, capable of enhancing the status of 'embryonic elite groups' (Woolf 2002, 9) that gradually monopolised cross-Channel trade and relationships.

9.1.3 The development of nucleated settlements

Between the 4th and the 2nd century BC, Britain was not uniformly settled, with high densities of inhabitants for example in the Nene valley and along the course of the Great Ouse, and zones of low density in the Fenland regions and the lower Thames valley, which may have impacted on local exchange and supplies. From the 2nd century BC up to the Gallic Wars (58-50 BC), the revival of cross-Channel contacts and the movement of people due to trade and diplomatic relations, and the possibility of participating in long-distance exchange may have resulted in processes of network expansion and the integration of wider territories as a means for accessing larger sources of supplies. In these circumstances, managing resources within prominent but isolated and not easily accessible locations such as hillforts could be complicated (Haselgrove 1992, 413). As a consequence, whilst some hillforts maintained religious functions (e.g. Danebury), they were mostly abandoned by their inhabitants (Bowden *et al.* 2005; Miles *et al.* 2003, 117). Significantly, in the southern and south-western regions (corresponding to parts of Areas C and D) the system of hillforts was not completely abandoned: several fortified structures were remodelled, and some (e.g.

Oram's Arbour, and Ditches) apparently maintained a prominent role up to the late 1st century BC, which may suggest stable forms of territorial control.

From the 1st century BC, new ditched landscapes and forms of extensive and intensive occupation in proximity to river valleys and in previously underexploited areas became more common (Bedwin 1983, 36; Haselgrove and Moore 2007, 5). The position of new settlements on flat terrains and near well-connected water ways in southern and south-eastern Britain (e.g. Colchester, Chichester, St Albans) may also be related to the social role of horses highlighted above (Creighton 2000, 18). In the Cotswolds, the evidence is more fragmentary with large rural complexes or smaller settlements showing little evidence of middle-late Iron Age continuity (Mudd *et alii* 2005, 183; Woodward and Leach 1993; Moore 2006, 46), but nucleated settlements acting as central places have been identified (e.g. Bagendon, Area D); similarly, in the Nene valley, extensive rural complexes, such as Stanwick, may have developed a central role after the abandonment of hillforts. In East Anglia, continuity in land organisation is suggested by field systems and enclosed settlements (e.g. Fison Way, Thetford), although little traces of prominent sites are visible.

9.1.4 Late Iron Age evidence of social differentiation

Many important late Iron Age settlements were associated with complex dyke systems designed to mark boundaries. The construction of enclosures may be a way to express or reinforce a sense of belonging (Wells 2001; Woolf 2002) and monumental entrances and processional ways may indicate ceremonial gatherings (e.g. Colchester, Creighton 2000, 124-30), suggesting that sense of community was articulated through ritual practices. As discussed in 6.1, the building of major earthworks did not necessarily coincide with political hegemony or centralisation; nonetheless, many of these sites possibly played a fundamental role as administrative and meeting places, and their locations adjacent to waterways may have fostered long-distance interactions. Although the location of 'Cassivellaunos' stronghold' mentioned by Caesar has not been certainly identified (*BG* V.21), controlling these locations may have been crucial in order to achieve territorial control. Most importantly, by the 1st century BC, traces of

the separation of spheres of activities are found in the development of religious sites (e.g. Harlow and Hayling Island), and emergent evidence of social differentiation within settlements consisted of the separation of activity areas, the development of enclosed domestic structures aimed at defining limits and spaces, the diffusion of rectangular structures (e.g. Gorhambury), and the presence of luxury imports from the Continent, such as wine *amphorae*, glass, and olive oil. These goods likely reached Britain through the mediation of Gauls rather than direct contact with Rome (see 2.1.3 and 6.2). The most significant evidence of social stratification between the late 2nd century BC-early 1st century AD is represented by innovative burial customs (see 4.4.1) and the diffusion of wealthy cremation graves characterised by luxury assemblages (e.g. Lexden, see 4.2.1). Although rich burials are limited to the south-eastern regions and can only provide information about a restricted number of individuals, these graves are certainly indicative of forms of inequality (Fernandez-Götz 2014, 35), the creation of new networks, and the emergence of members of the community holding special status.

9.2 Defining individual status and power

As has been argued above, towards the end of middle Iron Age, small groups of 'leaders' or prominent individuals may have achieved pre-eminence by means of competitive dynamics involving personal proficiency, the control of resources and networks, and the monopoly of mobile wealth (e.g. horses and precious objects). It is worth emphasising that pre-eminence and leadership are inextricably linked to the concept of social status: individual status, as previously remarked (see 8.2.1) refers to inherited or attained social position (Bourdieu 1977; Fernandez-Götz 2014, 34). Depending on the context, status can result from a combination of elements (e.g. wealth or lineage).

According to the ancient authors, the most notable individuals in late pre-Roman Britain boasted noble origins; this emerges, for example, in Tacitus' description of Boudica (*Agricola* XVI.1, XIV.35) and Calgacus (*ibid.* XXIX.4). The latter, in particular, is defined as *duce virtute et genere*, which puts an emphasis on his military skills: it must

be remarked that this description mostly reflects Roman ideals of military values and aims to give credit to Agricola for defeating Calgacus. In addition, personal wealth, likely consisting of food and raw materials, precious metals and objects, horses, and men (Tacitus on Caratacus, *Annales* XII; Caesar on Commios, *BG* VIII.23) was of capital importance: noticeably, Prasutagus is described as *longa opulentia clarus* (Tacitus, *Agricola* XIV.31). Although the ancient texts summarised here are restricted to specific episodes of warfare taking place after the mid-1st century BC, and mostly reflect Roman ideals of military value, it seems plausible that the acquisition of high status was a long-term process rooted in competitive dynamics already operating during the middle-late Iron Age transition, which involved access to prestige objects and long-distance networks (9.1). It must be remarked that high status is indicative of social differentiation and is one means to achieve supremacy. However, it is generally concerned with display and the consumption of goods (Hill 2006; Weber 1947), and does not necessarily coincide with the exertion of power and authority (Pauketat and Emmerson 1991). Power consists of the ability to prevail, control relationships, manipulate social practices, and extend influence (Bourdieu 1977; De Certeau 1984; Mann 1986, 6). Most importantly, power, likewise status, largely rests on public recognition and support (Hill 2006, 10): as an example, Caesar recounts that, at the time of the first invasion of Britain, Cassivellaunos received supreme command because of *communi consilio* (V.11). In conclusion, individuals (or groups) who were capable of achieving greater wealth and status could also obtain consent and followers by means of redistribution of wealth, create larger social networks, and therefore most extend their influence.

9.2.1 Portable objects and status: the case of torcs

The possession of precious objects, such as decorated metalwork, could enhance personal status by emphasising access to restricted forms of wealth. However, like coins (7.3.2), specific objects may imply different forms of possession and ownership, hence mirroring more complex forms of status and authority. Interestingly, the early introduction of gold coins in Britain by the 3rd-2nd century BC loosely coincided with the appearance of torcs, which may suggest a relation between these classes of artefacts:

in fact, it is worth emphasising that gold coins and torcs had similar metal composition, and were frequently associated within continental and British hoards (e.g. Essendon, Hertfordshire; Snettisham, Norfolk; Tayac, Gironde) (Boudet 1987; Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987; Stead 1993). In contrast to other metalwork, both torcs and coins were rarely placed in graves. Notwithstanding the widespread distribution of coins in ritual places and settlements (see 4.4), the evidence of coins from burials is confined to four examples from Westhampnett, Upper's Wall Common at Baldock, King Harry Lane at St Albans, Mill Hill, and a possible fifth from Gallows Hill, Thetford (4.4.1). Similarly, torcs have been principally found in hoards in East Anglia (e.g. Hutcheson 2007; Stead 1991) and the Midlands, although examples are also known at Hengistbury Head and in the south-west. In contrast with the Continent (Fitzpatrick 2005), the only evidence from a grave consists of an early Iron Age lead torc from Brackmills (Northants, Chapmann 1998) and, possibly, a fragment of gold from a late Iron Age cremation burial (20095) at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997, 97).

Individuals involved in cross-Channel prestige exchange during the middle-late Iron Age transition likely adopted shiny gold coins or decorated metalwork, such as torcs and bracelets, as visual markers of wealth and status. In particular, as ancient sources referring to prominent Gaulish or British individuals (Livy VI.10.11-13; Strabo IV.4, 5; Dio Cassius LXII.2, 1-4) attest, torcs may have been worn as symbols of rank and power (Creighton 2000; Fitzpatrick 2005, 157). It is plausible that access to these objects could only be achieved by means of strenuous competition. Visual representations, including pre-Roman statues of gods wearing torcs (Aldhouse-Green 2003, 277), also seem to imply that these artefacts were associated with deity and held ritual significance, which made them symbolically different from other precious artefacts (such as gold/silver bracelets, brooches, and even coins). Reasonably, it follows that to fulfil their role, torcs required public performance and the involvement of an audience, and that the number of individuals able to achieve enough authority and recognition to acquire and publicly wear a torc was extremely limited. Most importantly, powerful individuals may have been entitled to wear, use, and exchange these objects, but this may not be seen as a form of personal ownership (an entitlement, see 2.3.2 and 7.3), but as a circumscribed form of possession aimed at displaying and reinforcing

temporary attainments, and as a collective symbol reflecting the wealth of the community (Haselgrove 2000, 291). As no ownership can be inferred between both torcs and coins and their users, it seems plausible that after death these objects detached from individuals and were bequeathed to the community and new users.

9.3 Coins, authority, and society

Notwithstanding the similarities between torcs and coins, through time these objects embodied different functions leading to separate outcomes. While the possession of torcs may have coincided with the highest status, the diffusion of coins likely enabled the enactment of new dynamics of power and the development of new relationships requiring new sets of symbols. Primarily, it is worth emphasising that torcs, like much other decorated metalwork, were unique in shape and design, while coins were struck in series. Seriality and small size allowed a higher level of portability, facilitated circulation and favoured the articulation of ‘developing ties of clientage and dependency’ (Hill 2007, 25). Furthermore, the large amount of coins put in circulation may have allowed a higher number of individuals to attain intermediate levels of wealth and prestige and to enter processes of social competition: it follows that, at the beginning of the 1st century BC, achieving status and power was no longer based on acquisition and redistribution, but became a more demanding process.

9.3.1 Early coin production and emerging forms of authority

One of the principal issues in British late Iron Age studies concerns the identification of the authorities that may have lain behind the local production of early uninscribed coins. In Gaul, local coin production has been interpreted as a ‘private activity undertaken by elite individuals representing families and communities’ (Sillon 2014, 82). In Britain, the production of Gallo-Belgic imitations (if this ever occurred, see 1.2.2) and early uninscribed coinage (E, SE, and S4-5) between c. 80-40BC in the southern and south-eastern regions was part of a larger process of change based on the intensification of local and long-distance interactions. This is witnessed by the

presence of continental imports, as well as the prompt (Area A) or more gradual (Area C) abandonment of the hillfort system, coinciding with the rise of prominent settlements in strategic positions (e.g. Braughing, Chichester, Colchester, Silchester, St Albans), and the diffusion of new funerary customs (e.g. Lexden, Westhampnett). Early production may have been in the hands of emerging elite groups, likely composed of high status individuals not only possessing horses and precious items and managing large networks of relationships, but also capable of controlling precious raw materials and manufacturing processes (Creighton 2000; Haselgrove 1982; Renfrew and Shennan 1982) – such as manipulating alloys, striking, and engraving – and able to meet specific needs in terms of management of resources. The maintenance of Gallo-Belgic serial imagery on early local gold (discussed in 8.2.3) could be the result of replication aimed at emphasising access to this technical knowledge or a way of claiming long-distance prestige relationships with cross-Channel communities.

The east Midlands, East Anglia (Area B) and western Britain (Area D) coin production began slightly later c. 60-50 BC (NE5-6; W6). In these regions, Gallo-Belgic imports were limited (see 6.2) and there is little evidence of new funerary rites and of settlements showing prominent functions (e.g. Bagendon). In the western regions, notwithstanding the arrival of imported Armorican silver coinage, the building of hillforts up to the end of the 1st century BC (Holbrook 2008, 306; e.g. Ditches; see 4.2.4) seems to imply that competing individuals and groups of people relied for a long time on existing forms of territorial control and stable ways of managing resources. This may have impacted on the expansion of long-distance interactions and caused a delay in the start of local striking. As a consequence, local processes of competition may have been fostered by the diffusion of early E, SE, and S4-5gold coins. In contrast, East Anglia experienced the introduction of large quantities of gold from the 2nd century BC (witnessed by hoards, see 5.3); however, processes of social change may have not followed the patterns that have been identified within the southern and south-eastern areas. Territorial fragmentation may have impacted on movement and the exploitation of local and long-distance routes; as a result, prominent social groups and individuals may have been slowed down in their attempt to establish significant social relationships and acquire power and authority.

Even though the size of the circulation pool of specific coin-series may mirror the extent of influence of distinct prominent groups/individuals, this situation may not reflect stable forms of power (Hill 2007, 26): the authority of issuing coins was probably temporary and precarious, and based on continuous competition for the achievement of resources and consent.

9.3.2 Inscribed coins and new dynamics of power

After the end of the Gallic War, the first inscribed coin (S6, Commios) was introduced in southern Britain. Whereas in Gaul the introduction of legends may have been a war-time measure referring to the power of temporary leaders (Haselgrove 2011, 15), the introduction of this innovation in Britain possibly took place with the support of Rome: this significantly impacted on existing dynamics of power and promoted the establishment of new and tougher forms of competition. As already stated for torcs, the number of individuals able to attain control of the relevant resources, technologies and craftsmanship necessary to issue coins, and an adequate level of authority to personalise them, may have been very restricted. Significantly, since inscribed coins never detach from their 'conceptual owner' i.e. the individual recalled by the legend and imagery (see 7.3.2), the transactions involving the use of inscribed issues affected social relationships and competitive processes.

Whilst assigning uninscribed coins to specific issuing authorities or individuals is not straightforward, names and symbols displayed on British coins produced during phase 7-9 enabled the creation of recognisable (at least to some extent) 'domains of influence': the possession of large amounts of (precious) coins still enabled individuals to enhance personal status through redistribution of wealth and prestige exchange, but the possibility of boasting authority and power was limited by the influence of individuals/elite groups recalled by new sets of signs and symbols. It follows that, at the end of the 1st century BC, the ability to produce personalised coins may have been a 'must have' in the struggle for prominence.

9.3.3 The evidence from Areas A-D

After by the mid-1st century BC (phase 6) the volume of coinage apparently increased, and the introduction of debased (red) gold, silver and copper alloy issues may have coincided with an early shift towards 'monetised functions' (see 7.1) mirrored by an increase in the number of actions that the 'new coins' could perform: tri-metallic coin-series and small denominations likely enabled transactions in the long and short-term sphere of exchange, and introduced new systems of measurement and comparison. Furthermore, the difference between yellow and red-gold introduced new ideas of value, moving the interest from pure and precious metals to alternative forms of expressing wealth.

The evidence from Areas A and C indicated that pure and debased/inscribed gold and silver E, SE, and S issues were principally stored in hoards and used to perform high status transactions; late silver and base metal coins clustered in settlements and ritual sites, with several stratified examples from different features (e.g. 184 stratified coins from Braughing, 137 from Heybridge, 68 from Silchester). Although episodes of structured deposition are attested, large numbers of unstratified and well-located finds likely resulted from ordinary transactions taking place within or nearby settlements. Non-local issues were occasionally integrated in local practices (e.g. NE7 coins from Baldock), but more often they were deposited in sanctuaries (e.g. W81 and EA81 at Harlow).

The evidence suggests that two sets of individuals played key social roles in the southern and south-eastern regions: Tasciovanos/Cunobelin (Area A) and Commios/Tincommios/Verica (Area C). These powerful leaders apparently controlled the production of extensive coin-series (E7-8 and S7-9) characterised by the adoption of inscriptions, personalised symbols and Romanising motifs. Interestingly, certain issues associated with Tasciovanos and Verica displayed the legends REX/RICON, interpreted as king (see 8.2.6). Other prominent individuals, Dubnovellaunos and Addedomaros, named on SE71-3 issues, perhaps controlled adjoining but independent territories in south-eastern Britain. According to several interpretations (Nash 1987;

Rodwell 1976; Van Arsdell 1989), these leaders may have exerted control over parts of Essex and Kent. Numismatic data imply that several other individuals were apparently permitted to add their names to coins, and to strike series on a tri-metallic basis (Area A: ANDOCO E75; VOSENOS SE82; EPPILLVS SE82) or only in silver and/or copper alloy (Area A: AMMINVS E85, DIAS E72, RVIIS E73, SEGO E74, VOSENOS SE82; Area C: CARATACVS S93, CRAB S93, EPATICCVS S92). This may indicate intermediate degrees of power. Significantly, in order to make issues more widely accepted, new visual tools were adopted on E, SE, and S coins, including filial claims or Romanised imagery, suggesting that, at the end of the 1st century BC, the ability to claim and display friendship with Rome was one of the new requirements for the achievement of personal status in south-eastern Britain.

In comparison to the extensive evidence from Areas A and C, the number of excavated stratified coins at settlements in Areas B and D is scant (e.g. 2 stratified issues from Abingdon, 4 from Bagendon, 2 from Thetford), with the exception of c. 40 issues from Bagendon, as well as the number of well-located area-finds and unstratified issues. This may relate to different intensity of investigation, but could suggest that the volume of coin production was restricted in these regions; however, the evidence of Hallaton has demonstrated that the numbers of finds do not always reflect the quantity of coins put in circulation (see 3.2.2). In fact, the low number of coins from settlements is in contrast with the evidence from hoards (e.g. Field Baulk and, to a lesser extent, Farmborough). EA, NE, and W coins from pre-Roman contexts in Areas B and D were generally associated with ditches or liminal features, suggesting the enactment of symbolic practices; similarly, non-local bronze types seem to have been incorporated in local usage (e.g. E8 units from ditches at Abingdon and Thetford). This does not mean that ordinary transactions did not take place in those areas, but the use of coins, including small denominations, was more entangled in the long-term sphere of exchange and in ritual practices.

As emphasised by Moore (226, 223), 'no single narrative' can be adopted to explain social developments in the British Iron Age. In fact, the legends adopted on coins by the communities settled in the north-eastern and western regions and East Anglia

must not be considered the result of passive imitations but rather as the symptom of different dynamics of competition and local forms of authority. Late EA and NE coins seem to account for a multiplication of legends (ANTED EA81, ECEN EA91, CAN DVRO and ALE SCA EA72, SUB RI PRASTO EA94, AVN COST NE81, CARTIVEL NE92, DAT ISO NE93, DVMNOCO NE91, ESVP ASV NE82, VEP NE83, VOLISIOS NE92). From phase 7-9, an increase in the production of silver coins is noticeable and, with few exceptions (EA: ANTED; NE: AVN COST, ESVP ASV, VEP, VOLISIOS, and DVMNOCO), most legends are exclusively associated with silver issues. Even though local communities may have attempted to boost social processes on an independent basis, access to gold bullion and networks of exchange in central Britain was probably mediated by the Eastern elite groups (Farley 2012, 182). Similarly, inscribed W issues (circulating in the territories included in Area D) were produced in gold and silver; however, the introduction of legends is limited, only taking place by phase 8 (ANTED/ANTED-RIG W81, EISV W82, COMVS/INAM/CATTI W91, and BODVOC W92), and iconographic traditions tended to preserve well-established Armorican abstract motifs and local designs. Whilst in a limited number of cases (e.g. E8: CVNOBELINVS, SE72: DVBNOVELLAUNOS, S8: VERICA, and, possibly, NE82: SVB RI PRAS) the association between legends and prominent British individuals is supported by ancient texts, more often it is not possible to interpret coin-inscriptions as personal names with certainty. Some of the legends visible on late EA, NE, and W Iron Age British coins contain similar elements, such as *-anted-* (EA81, W81), *-pras-* (EA94 and NE82), *-iisv/eisv-* (NE82, W82), and *-dvmno-* (NE91-2): it is plausible that some inscriptions featured ‘common terms’ designating functions or attributes of power/status rather than personal names. As with torcs discussed above, these inscriptions may have embodied public recognition of power involving the community. Moreover, coins originating in the territories corresponding to Areas B and D, mostly maintained the local imageries already visible on uninscribed issues (see 8.2.4), while the adoption of Romanising features and more complex inscriptions (e.g. NE82: SVB RI PRASTO ESICO FECIT) is sporadic. Probably, the conveyance of concepts related to friendship with Rome, filial relationships or access to exotic goods, such as wine, was not, or not yet, required (Hill 2007, 31) in order to enter social competition. This process is further explored in the next section.

9.3.4 Local forms of power

Forms of power and supremacy implied by the numismatic evidence do not automatically equate to stable forms of authority and/or institutionalised kingship, and the identification of titles and attributions of power is complex. In the ancient sources there is mention of Gaulish kings, *magistrates* and *principes* (Caesar, *BG* II.3-4; IV.30), and British prominent chiefs are designated as ‘dynasts’ (Strabo, *Geographia*, IV.5.3), *principes*, and *reguli*/petty kings (Tacitus, *Agricola*, 24.3). However, no unique or specific definition has been applied, and these terms generally reflect local customs as perceived by the Romans and Classical authors (Wells 1999).

Similarly, evaluating the nature and extent of personal power is not straightforward; e.g. we know that Commios could lead a group of thirty horsemen (*BG* IV.35), but it is not possible to determine whether this was a standard number, to calculate how many groups of horsemen were controlled by leaders, to associate the burial evidence to precise individuals (see 4.2.1), or to evaluate the scale of coin production. According to previous die-studies (Allen 1975; Allen and Haselgrove 1979), one million of Cunobelin gold coins (E8) and c. 300,000 Verica’s staters (S8) may have been produced over thirty years. This is certainly suggestive of a long and expensive process involving the management of large amounts of human and material resources (Farley 2012, 118; Sills 2005). The lack of similar analyses on other coin-series, especially outside the southern and south-eastern regions, makes it difficult to make adequate comparisons and calculate the extent of personal influence. The most widespread coinage in Britain, that inscribed CVNO (E8), is not found in large amounts at excavated settlements in Areas B, C, and D, suggesting that personal power may have been geographically restricted and inversely proportional to distance from a ‘seat of power’ (see 4.2.1).

As already stated, the institutionalisation of individual authority in the southern and south-eastern regions may have taken place with the support of Rome and led to the establishment of ‘client-kingdoms’ (Braund 1984; Creighton 2000) likely associated to the rise of ‘seats of power’, such as St Albans, and prominent major sites, such as Colchester and Chichester. At the end of the 1st century BC, obtaining the favour of

Rome was essential in the struggle for supremacy. The relationships between Rome and elite members of the society were likely secured by embassies and the taking of hostages (*obsides*) possibly educated in Rome (Creighton 2000, 89-92; Fitzpatrick 1989, 35). Client kings may have attempted to replicate some of the Roman political patterns, such as the institution of dynastic houses (Bean 2000, 15; Burnett 1991), as reflected by coin inscriptions reporting the indication *filius* (see 8.2.8). Even though this custom may represent deliberate claims rather than actual kinship, the practice confirms that lineage was highly valued in processes of social achievement. Furthermore, indigenous kingship may not only be associated with political power: e.g. Verica's coins from Hayling Island depicting a temple (see 8.2.8) may be related to ceremonial functions. As power and authority rested on a combination of imported and local elements and coin-production was based on an independent re-elaboration of traditional imageries and external influences, this may be due to the fact that the idea of kingship, generally based on status, legitimate power, consent and, in several cases, sacrality (Oakley 2006, 1-2), was not a new addition, but rooted in endogenous systems of values. During the 2nd century BC, the wearing of torcs was connected not only to status, strength, and public consent but also to divine attributes, and the supernatural significance of horses has been connected to the institution of sacral kingship (Creighton 2000, 23, see 8.2.4): however, these early forms of authority may have been very different from those developing at the end of the 1st century BC.

Beyond the southern and south-eastern areas, it is possible that some prominent individuals during the early 1st century AD attempted to replicate the client-kingdom system: according to Tacitus (*Agricola* XIV.31), Prasutagus' accession to power was supported by Rome. However, there is no sign of institutionalised forms of authority in the north-eastern, East Anglian and western regions. The possibility cannot be excluded that coin production was in the hands of 'confederations' (Hill 2007, 31) represented by elite groups rather than individuals up to the early 1st century AD. It follows that interpreting the inscription ECEN on EA9 issues as a collective name may not be totally without foundation, while the term *-rig* on W81 issues (if its translation as *rex* is valid) may have been borrowed to indicate authoritative functions that were embodied by different individuals. Since in these regions the late development of

nucleated settlements and inscribed coinage are partially masked by the effect of the Roman invasion, it is possible that the expression of more definite forms of personal power did not have the time to enter the archaeological record.

9.4 Defining the social climate

As noted in Chapter 2, the nature of social developments in Iron Age Britain has generally been discussed in terms of hierarchical (Creighton 2000; Cunliffe 1984, 1995; Millett 1990) vs egalitarian (Armit 1999; Barrett *et al.* 2000; Sharples 2010) models. In particular, Creighton's (2000) hierarchical explanation of late Iron Age British society rests on the identification of the emergence of social stratification from the late 3rd century BC as the basis for later developments. Nonetheless, although traces of differentiation are visible in Britain from the early Iron Age, little conclusive archaeological evidence to support the concept of hierarchy has emerged (Sharples 2010; Hill 2010, 247); moreover, Creighton's framework does not include other regions (e.g. the Midlands or western Britain) where the evidence for stratification is less well developed. The client-kingship model outlined above (and 2.1.3) rightly emphasises the prominent role of high status individuals supported by Rome: yet, as Williams (2005c, 73) points out, Romanising features adopted on coinage are limited; notwithstanding the presence of Roman imports, structural changes at the level of settlements, domestic architecture, deposition practices, and ritual activities were not systematically applied up to the Conquest.

In contrast, Sharples' (2010) reconstruction stressed the egalitarian nature of relationships during the middle Iron Age, compellingly emphasising the lack of significant evidence for social differentiation within hillforts. Yet, even though the emphasis on cooperation and sharing of resources is crucial in fostering processes of social reproduction, defining levelled or egalitarian social structures in late Iron Age Britain is no easier than recognising hierarchies and does not provide an explanation for the emergence of prominent individuals and/or groups during the middle-late Iron Age transition. Specific internal events or external factors can impact on social

processes and produce discontinuous and unpredictable outcomes; for this reason, the levelled vs stratified opposition may be simplistic and inappropriate to defining the complex nature of social relationships (Haselgrove 1995, 82; Hill 2007, 21; Hingley 2011).

According to Hill's model (2006, 2007) and the analysis undertaken in this chapter, some evidence of social differentiation – principally demonstrated by high status burials – and forms of leadership or kingship can be identified (9.3.4), but none of absolutistic and centralising authorities with permanent power. Instead, multiple dynamics of competition and ways of achieving pre-eminence can be inferred; communities played a fundamental role in the dynamics of support and acknowledgment of individual power. Individuals or social formations named on coins may have exerted exclusive control over large territories and over minor rulers on a hierarchical basis, and in specific cases under the supervision or with the support of Rome (e.g. Commios, Prasutagus). Minor rulers, having intermediate degrees or different types of authority, may have controlled smaller regions and/or groups of people. It is also possible that a number of individuals/elite groups shared different forms of power over the same territory/community, or contemporarily ruled over neighbouring regions (e.g. Caesar's mention of four kings of *Cantium*, *BG* V.22). Ruling individuals and groups could achieve supremacy on a peaceful basis through alleged or actual familial links, or through opposition based on propaganda and/or violent conflict. Potentially, new individuals could constantly enter social competition and achieve pre-eminence, and power relationships could regularly develop and dissolve. The multiplication of legends and images observed during the late phases of production (7-9) could be interpreted as an attempt to establish personal 'domains of influence' and obtain public consent within a social system characterised by transitory forms of authority (Haselgrove 2004, 14), where short-term success rarely developed into long-term attainment (Hill 2006, 6).

The evidence of individuals fleeing to Augustus and Claudius as refugees during the early 1st century AD, and episodes of exile of members of the elite (*Res Gestae*, 33; Dio Cassius LX.19.1; Leins 2012, 16) is suggestive of precarious social conditions lacking

permanent authorities, where constant negotiation was necessary (Haselgrove 1982, 83): supremacy could be achieved with difficulty but easily lost. Even though the adoption of familial ties on coinage seems to suggest that prominent individuals may have gained wider and long-term recognition, this practice would mirror the struggle for power of the 'sons' rather than the celebration of the 'fathers'. For this reason, heterarchical social models (introduced in 2.1.3) seem a better fit with the complex nature of social interactions described above. Heterarchy (Ehrenreich 1991; Ehrenreich *et al.* 1995; Hill 2006) implies a series of combinations between unranked/ranked elements and flexible ways of performing power and social functions: in particular, in heterarchical models absolutistic and permanent forms of authority are not envisaged, and the position of elements (individuals) can constantly change.

9.5 British communities and the Continent: the evidence of coins

The development of coinage in Britain from the late 3rd century BC mostly depended on cross-Channel interactions with Gaul and the Roman world, and several social transformations at the end of the late pre-Roman period resulted from a combination of endogenous and external elements. In particular, the relationship between Britain and Rome has long been interpreted as a unidirectional 'colonial encounter', consisting of groups of people exerting control over a newly conquered territory or community (Rowlands 1998). It has emerged that, notwithstanding innovations in material culture (e.g. ceramic imports, the introduction of copper alloys and wine *amphorae*, the adoption of coin-inscriptions, and possibly aspects of social life such as the institution of client-kingdoms), indigenous elements have been actively preserved in Britain in terms of settlements, ritual and funerary practices, as well as coin imagery. As a consequence, the encounter between Iron Age Britain and the Continent cannot be simplistically explained in terms of imposition of external influences but they are part of a complex and multifaceted process. Forms of interaction may have consisted of several episodes of short and long-distance contact that took place voluntarily (e.g. rituality, exchange, cooperation, pilgrimage, mercenary service and alliances) or involuntarily (e.g. invasion, warfare, escape, migration, hostage exchange and need of

supplies) and on different scales, involving few individuals or large groups of people and producing different outcomes.

9.5.1 Sense of community and belonging

While isolated contacts between groups of people can be chronologically circumscribed and have little impact on social dynamics, reiterated and long-term interactions can lead to mutual influence, the establishment of common interests and features, and the enlargement of social formations. Sets of shared features have long been interpreted in the light of contemporary theoretical constructs such as ethnicity, identity, or tribe. Still, the definition of these terms has not yet found a universal agreement (Insoll 2007; Jones 2007, 45; Meskell 2001; Shennan 2004), nor it is likely it will. For this reason, alternative terms, like ‘communities’ or ‘local social systems’ have been introduced to describe aggregations of individuals regulated by short or long-term interactions within a specific environment (Bell and Newby 1971; Frankenburg 2004; Mac Sweeney 2011, 14). Community formation is a matter of agent/agency resulting from voluntary or imposed aggregations, exchange and cooperation, and is affected by long-term processes, linguistic/ideological features, socio-economic interactions, and self-perception (Collis 2011, 231; Bourdieu 1977; Kossinna 1911; Linton 1936; Pike 1967; Giddens 1979; 1984; Fried *et al.* 1968, 3-9). More precisely, in more recent discussions, a community or local social system generally consists of a series of ‘sets of assemblages’: these not only involve individuals and shared territoriality, but also sets of beliefs and human practices, environments, assemblages of artefacts and styles, and spiritual forces (Barth 1969; Bentley 1987; Creed 2006; DeLanda 2006; Harris 2014; Pauketat 2007; Reher-Díez 2011, 664; Rohrer 2007; Varien and Potter 2008).

Table 9.1 provides a schematic description of how groups of people can come in contact and develop as communities through a combination of elements and purposes of aggregation (Armit and Rappaport 2002; Cohen 1985; Delanty 2003; Jenkins 2004).

Table 9.1: Classification of social formations

	Temporary	Permanent	Virtual
Space	x	x	
Purposes (e.g. accomplishment of tasks)	x	x	
Resources and subsistence	x	x	
Sets of practices and beliefs		x	x
Common traits		x	x
Sense of belonging		x	x

The classification of communities proposed here is not intended as a paradigm but rather as a simplified description of a set of human interactions and their principal outcomes. The scheme is adopted as a tool for evaluating British communities and their responses to continental influences.

At a general level, groups of individuals can share territoriality for limited amounts of time, leading to the creation of ‘temporary communities’, when necessary for the accomplishment of specific tasks/performance of actions. As seen above (9.1.2), similar forms of interactions in Iron Age Britain are confirmed by the evidence of periodical, voluntary gatherings aimed at cooperation (e.g. construction of smaller enclosures) and rituality (episodes of ritual deposition, funerary practices). One should keep in mind that members of such temporary groups may well belong to larger, permanent communities sharing common traits. Conceivably, the completion of major tasks involving large numbers of individuals, such as monumental earthwork construction, required recurrent and systematic contacts: in these cases, although internal conflicts may have arisen, common purposes necessarily determined forms of reciprocity, sharing of land, and resources linked to subsistence and mutual help. It is worth emphasising that spatial contiguity and purposes are not only the result of voluntary forms of aggregations but they are occasionally imposed by external forces or internal emergencies (e.g. groups of slaves, hostages or refugees). If long-term processes and variations apply, even forced aggregations may produce common sets of practices and values.

It follows that temporary and purposely-created aggregations could gradually develop shared customs and beliefs, and a sense of belonging, ultimately evolving as 'permanent' formations, depending on historical contexts and events. Since the evidence demonstrated that several British hillforts were permanently or seasonally occupied (Collis 1981; Harding 2012; Sharples 2010), it is possible that these settlements represented major foci of long-term occupation or temporary places of aggregation for wider communities. Territorial enlargement or narrowing can produce a loss of contiguity or congestion in social formations, leading to the weakening of reinforcement of the sense of belonging (Yaeger and Canuto 2000).

On the other hand, virtual or imagined communities (Isbell 2000; Anderson 2006) draw on common features, values and practices that are shared on a long-distance basis. Virtual communities are not necessarily the result of voluntary relationships: e.g. the Roman imposition of habits, customs and citizenship on conquered peoples may have produced a 'forced sense of belonging' on specific social groups. Even though virtual formations do not entail permanent territoriality, they rest on returning physical contacts: in Iron Age Britain, groups of people periodically gathering at common sanctuaries were likely motivated by the performance of ritual actions and shared beliefs. It follows that significant means of communication were required to nurture a sense of belonging.

9.5.2 Insular attitudes towards external elements

In general, two (or more) distinct social formations coming into contact are not static entities, but dynamic and mutually interacting systems (Bhabha 1994; Hodder 2001). Up to the mid-1st century BC, repeated interactions between insular and Gaulish communities may have been encouraged by geographical contiguity and bi-directional exchange; even though there is no certain evidence of Belgic invasion, Caesar's (*BG* V.12) mention of Belgic communities settled in the maritime part of Britain and his comment that Commios held authority on both sides of the Channel (*ibid.* IV.21) may emphasise that cross-Channel connections existed (Williams 2005c, 75). In contrast, the contact with the Roman army at the time of the Gallic War was characterised by

violence (Morse 1996; Wells 1999). In more general terms, the encounter between Britain and the Roman world must not be seen as an isolated and one-dimensional event but is part of a long-term process: cross-Channel interactions involving the exchange of Roman artefacts from the 2nd century BC, and the introduction of inscribed coinage and cliental kingship after the mid-1st century BC had probably already started a process of non-violent domination, slowly accomplishing a silent pre-Conquest of the south-eastern and southern regions. This process was followed by military operations occurring between AD 43-61, when the Boudican revolt took place, and culminated with the invasion of Scotland in AD 77-84.

It is worth stressing that 'colonialism' does not equal conquest and invasion, but is characterised by imposition, opposition, sharing of common traits, or negotiation of values (Kipp and Schortman 1989; van Dommelen 2011, 2-4; Webster and Cooper 1996). It follows that pre/post-Conquest changes in Britain were not only a matter of adoption or rejection of Roman values, material culture, and symbolic systems (Wolf 1998). In fact, colonialism was a more complex process, started but also endured by the colonisers (Gosden and Knowles 2001; Gosden 2004), hence the encounters with external elements or threats produced diverse local responses, including adaptation, resistance, and compromise. These outcomes are mirrored by the numismatic evidence.

Crisis and implosion of local systems, surrender and passive adaptation can lead to the imposition of new values (Millet 1990), to the gradual obliteration of indigenous customs, and to the creation of 'forced virtual communities' adopting 'Romanising' styles of life in southern and south-eastern Britain. In contrast, resistance and reinforcement of values (Pauketat 2007) and the emergence and strengthening of sense of community in response to specific situations may be defined as 'coalescing'. The rejection of exotic images on issues mainly circulating in Areas B and D may suggest that the preservation of traditional symbolism was crucial in the processes of social reproduction, and may have thus ensured local support and acceptance. In some cases, however, resistance may have a detrimental impact on local social systems: for example, at the time of the Gallic war, in order to facilitate exchange and supplies,

Belgic peoples possibly coalesced to produce a common coin system (Haselgrove 1984; Scheers 1977, 64), which likely blurred the distinction between different communities at the numismatic level.

In addition, reactions to external influences can include compromise and the selective acceptance and active re-elaboration of imported elements (Mattingly 2004). As coin design had a social impact on peoples, elite groups and individuals selectively employed coin-imagery as a competitive tool to ensure legitimacy and power (discussed in 8.2). In Areas A and C, the restricted use of local imagery may indicate obliteration of local values in favour of innovations. The adoption of 'non-indigenous' symbols and designs, emphasising long-distance relationships, may be interpreted as subordination and acceptance of the new social order imposed by Rome. It is also possible that communities actively reacted to external *stimuli* and gradually broadened their sets of practice and beliefs to include external/Roman values.

During the middle Iron Age, sense of belonging was articulated through common territoriality, physical contiguity, and possibly similar artefact traditions (e.g. pottery styles). From the mid-1st century BC, coin circulation enabled the diffusion of new common sets of values and forms of social cohesion, which contributed to the development of better defined 'virtual communities'. In contrast to other artefacts representing the community (e.g. torcs), coins could be used by a larger number of people. The use of similar issues characterised by recognisable imageries was reflected, for example, by the uniform composition of hoards in specific areas, where deliberate selection processes are more visible. The use and exchange of recognisable objects that were tied, by means of visible elements, to concepts, places, individuals, and domains of influences (9.3.3), may have reinforced the sense of belonging of small and fragmented communities, by creating large entities. In such a system, central sites and settlements possibly acted as focal points representing social groups (Sharples 2010, 173). At the same time, the visual distinction between endogenous and imported symbolism may have produced an awareness of local/similar vs non-local/dissimilar.

Conclusions

Social assessments of late Iron Age Britain have long relied on the frequently biased interpretations and descriptions provided by classical authors. In the absence of indigenous written sources, coin evidence represents one of the principal archaeological means through which insular ideology and society can be investigated. This project has arisen from the integration of three different subjects of analysis:

1. Identification of endogenous features and long-term processes that underlay the social transformations taking place in Britain at the end of the 1st millennium BC.
2. Understanding the social role of coins in reinforcing, weakening, or promoting the shaping of new local systems of values.
3. Reconstructing social dynamics and framing a new model complementing long-standing hierarchical/egalitarian explanations.

In order to address such an extensive and complex topic, this work began by situating the development of insular coinage within its historical and geographical context and by providing an overview of the theoretical frameworks that underpin the analysis undertaken in subsequent chapters. In particular, the development of social models for explaining the changes reflected by the archaeological record in Iron Age Britain, the definition of value and systems of value, the debate about the functions of coins and money, and the relationships between portable objects and individuals have been outlined.

The analysis, involving a discussion of the numismatic and archaeological evidence, has focused on four study areas located in south-eastern, central-eastern, south-central, and western Britain (Areas A-D); in contrast, regions yielding no or insufficient evidence of coin use and/or production (e.g. in the west and north) were not included in this work. The four study areas were selected on the basis of criteria aimed at emphasising similarities and differences in terms of long-term developments,

settlements pattern, traces of social differentiation, and the treatment of coinage. This approach allowed me to avoid pre-determined tribal biases and to overcome the limits of modern regional boundaries, by including overlapping coin traditions and different social formations. Leaving Hallaton aside (more than 4000 coins), the numismatic evidence from Areas A-D consisted of c. 1500 excavated coins listed in published/unpublished site reports; these data have been complemented by at least 300 well-located findspots resulting from systematic metal detector search or casual discovery and recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and more than 4700 regional area-finds lacking accurate spatial details. All finds have been listed within a Database reporting relevant information, when available, about their provenance and typology.

One of the main problems with data collection is the fact that many finds recorded on the PAS have been imported from the Celtic Coin Index and have therefore been mislabelled as metal detector finds and/or lack accurate indications of provenance (e.g. finds from Wheathampstead, Appendix I, Spreadsheet 1). Comparing and cross-checking data has been a complex and time-consuming process, but it was crucial in order to avoid duplications and misrepresentations: enhancement of the PAS through the addition of contextual information regarding stratification, discovery circumstances and bibliography would be an ambitious and demanding project, but would decisively contribute to future research.

The analysis of Areas A-D in **Chapter 4** focused on the contextualisation of excavated coins reported from major settlements and ritual sites, and identified a series of similar patterns and regional variations in the treatment of different metals and of local and non-local coinage. It is important to emphasise that the accurate investigation of the regions outside southern and south-eastern Britain has recently intensified, in terms of excavation and metal detecting activities, while several 'old finds' lack adequate amount of information (e.g. Duston yielded coins but not stratification details); for this reason, conclusions have frequently had to be drawn on the basis of limited evidence or by comparison with patterns identified in better investigated areas. Nevertheless, coins in all areas tended to cluster in the interior or vicinity of major settlements, likely

representing focal points of gathering, administration, and the performance of activities including exchange. However, in Area B, very few coins are reported from excavations at major sites such as e.g. Stonea and Fison Way, Thetford, which is in conflict not only with the pattern outlined above, but also with the content of hoards from the vicinity of the sites (e.g. Field Baulk), and the possible evidence of minting at Thetford. Similarly small amounts of coins have come to light from settlements clustering along the Nene valley. This has been interpreted either as a result of insufficient investigation or as an indication of differences in the social roles embodied by coins in the different regions. The evidence of coins from non-prominent sites may also imply that the status of nucleated settlements has been overstressed; smaller sites may have played equally important roles in the dynamics of social change and deserve further consideration (Pitts 2010, 56).

The major trends highlighted in Chapter 4 emphasised the incidence of bronze and silver coins from settlements and ritual sites, the frequency of gold from hoards, the lack of cast bronze in substantial amounts to the west of the river Ver, the clustering of non-local coins in ritual sites and, occasionally, major settlements, and the lack of coins from burials. It has also been noted that many stratified coins from pre-Conquest features (even though rarely from primary contexts) may be the result of structured deposition in liminal positions, such as ditches, or votive pits. The principal difference between Areas A-C and B-D was the lack of coins from surface levels, floors or other pre/post-Conquest features, and the absence of small denominations in the western and central regions, which may point to differences in the volume of production, the extent of circulation, and the practical use of coins in everyday activities. It has also been noted that non-local coins tended to cluster in small amounts and were generally incorporated in local practices of deposition in Areas B and D; hence, the presence of Eastern bronze coins from settlements (e.g. Abingdon and Thetford) is insufficient to argue for the existence of ordinary exchange.

The regional distribution of area-finds has revealed some discrepancies with the patterns highlighted above. In particular, whilst scattered finds are generally interpreted as casual losses, the incidence of isolated gold coins raises the possibility of

deliberate depositions linked to off-site activities. The large amount of silver EA finds (c. 400) near Bures, for example, may be linked to the presence of an Iron Age wealthy burial nearby and could indicate the existence of a zone of ritual activity. In other cases, the small number of area-finds from specific areas (e.g. few scattered E83 issues nearby Colchester are in contrast with excavated coins) has emphasised the intensity of on-site activities and the deliberate adoption of certain types within settlements. Analysing the regional distribution of other artefacts in Areas A-D, metalwork in particular (e.g. brooches, harness fittings), could help identifying structured patterns and deliberate actions that may have affected the picture.

In **Chapter 5**, groups of hoards were discussed according to their contents in order to determine their use and significance. The analysis principally attempted to set aside the typical dichotomy between practical/votive deposition by identifying more inclusive categories of actions, including for example the storing of freshly struck issues (defined here as ‘pre-transaction deposits’). Most large and precious hoards (e.g. extensive gold or silver deposits at Essendon, Field Baulk, and Snettisham) may not have been concealed as the result of exclusively ritual purposes; their preciousness and traceable position do not exclude planned prospective recovery (‘false transaction deposits’). In contrast, small hoards and/or isolated depositions of gold may instead imply the performance of ‘purely ritual’ practices, defined here as ‘transaction deposition’, that did not envisage the possibility of prospective voluntary recovery. The paucity of small denominations and base metal coins from hoards is further proof of the fact that deposits were primarily designed to store and preserve wealth; small hoards of bronze coins, whilst rare, are generally associated with settlements. The evidence of numerical patterns has been stressed, with an emphasis on the fact that hoards were carefully assembled in order to reach specific quantities that possibly embodied practical and symbolic functions. This project only considered c. 52 hoards from selected areas; as at least 300 other hoards have been identified in Iron Age Britain, a systematic analysis of these numerical patterns might offer meaningful insights.

The study areas examined in this work are not closed systems, nor are their boundaries rigorously delineated, hence the method here adopted may potentially be applied to other regions. Future research may extend the investigation to adjacent zones that yielded similar amounts of archaeological and numismatic evidence; the examination of 'middle zones' situated between Areas A-D would provide valuable additional insights and would help to clarify some of the issues raised by the present work.

Other important sites certainly deserve comparison with those examined in this work, such as the ritual focus at Wanborough (Surrey; Cheesman 1994), or settlements that yielded evidence of coin moulds, such as Saham Toney (Norfolk; Bates 2000). For example, given the discrepancy between the evidence of moulds at Thetford and the lack of *in situ* coins, extending the eastern boundaries of Area B to compare Saham Toney to Thetford could shed new light on the role performed by both sites, practical and symbolic use of local coins and the existence of centralised/decentralised minting activities. Similarly, there is the distortion caused by the prolific finds from the excavated shrine at Hallaton, which lies at the western edge of Area B where the evidence of area-finds is scant. Integrating evidence from the surrounding regions of the East and West Midlands could enable a better appreciation of the distribution patterns and quantity of coins put into circulation. Another example is provided by the evidence of Salmonsbury (Gloucestershire; Dunning 1976), to the north-west of Bagendon, where a fortified enclosure has been identified: integrating the evidence from this site into the analysis of Area D may help grasp an understanding of the processes of change taking place in the Cotswolds in coincidence with the introduction of coinage. Similarly, new numismatic evidence (awaiting publication) has come to light as the result of recent excavations at Silchester (1997-2014), therefore this site can offer meaningful insights into the social dynamics occurring in southern Britain before the Roman Conquest.

Given the chronological limits of this research, Roman coins from Iron Age settlements and the evidence of early Roman sites have not been systematically included. However, interesting patterns of continuity may be identified through comparing the distribution of Iron Age and Roman coins and their association within excavated

settlements. It is not unlikely that local currencies influenced the circulation and deposition of Roman coins. Furthermore, contextual analysis of the distribution of cast bronze coinage, encompassing the full extent of its circulation pool (namely Kent), may fruitfully contribute to the debate outlined in 7.1.2, and further work on area-finds may identify interesting patterns not visible through excavation.

It is crucial to emphasise that, while other typologies of metalwork and artwork are widespread across the island (see 7.3.1), to the north and the west of a line represented by the rivers Severn and Trent (see p. 45), the evidence of coins is relatively meagre, with sporadic and isolated occurrences (e.g. along the Scottish border). In particular, three main 'non-coining zones' can be identified: these correspond to the south-western regions (principally Devon and Cornwall), Wales, and the areas to the north of the Humber estuary, including the region of the Pennines up to Scotland. The principal numismatic evidence in these regions is the result of metal detecting and consists of imported issues deposited in hoards (e.g. Carn Brae, Penzance, and Paul in Cornwall; Netherurd in Scotland; see 1.2.2), or a small amount (c. 30) of scattered coins recorded in Wales (Gwilt 2007, 306) and originating from south-eastern Britain, Dorset and Gaul. These finds may be the result of intra-community contacts taking place after the mid-1st century BC, but their quantity and distribution is currently insufficient to draw significant conclusions about coin functions, networks of exchange, or social organisation at the local level.

From a general point of view, during the Iron Age and up to the Roman Conquest, northern and western 'non-coining regions' displayed similarities with and divergences from the study areas investigated in this work: primarily, albeit the presence of artefacts imported from south-eastern Britain or the Continent, no adequate amounts of data for analysis have been collected (Gwilt 2007; Hunter 2007) and the ceramic evidence in these zones is rarely distinctive during the pre-Roman period (Cunliffe 2005; Cripps 2007), with few exceptions (e.g. Cornwall). For this reason, any discussion about social aspects must principally draw on the archaeological evidence provided by the settlement pattern. During the middle-late Iron Age transition, south-western Britain and Wales were characterised by extensive field systems and ditched

settlements, such as cliff castles along the coasts, small enclosures and hillforts; by the 2nd-1st century BC, new forms of settlements developed, especially in the south-west, consisting of defended homesteads, rounds, and courtyard houses, while open settlements were quite uncommon. Similarly northern Britain and Scotland were dominated by ditched enclosures as well as stone-built fortified structures known as duns and brochs (in Scotland). Defended settlements and enclosures in these regions show several variations in terms of distribution (e.g. hillforts are sparser in Cornwall than in Wales), size, shape, and density of occupation, as well as artefact assemblages (mainly ceramic and bone): this may suggest that they had different levels of autonomy and diverse functions. As already discussed for hillforts in southern Britain (see 9.1.1), ditches may have represented a way of expressing status rather than defences, and it is likely that most of them were connected to stock management, seasonal use of pastures, population growth, and/or territorial control (Wigley 2007, 186). Even though no evidence of social stratification or centralisation can be ascertained in non-coining zones, the settlement evidence may point to social differentiation and to the presence of distinct groups controlling specific, albeit limited, territories (Cripps 2007, 153).

At present, no single explanation for the lack of coinage in these regions can be suggested: to begin with, the distance and isolation from the south-eastern regions (where coin production firstly originated) and the Continent, especially in northern Wales and above the Forth-Clyde line in northern Britain, may have affected local developments and prevented the adoption of external innovations. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that, notwithstanding long-term contacts between the south-western regions and Armorica are documented (see 6.2), no local coinage has developed in Cornwall and Devon during the later Iron Age. It follows that external relationships and cross-Channel exchange only partially contributed to the development of innovations at the local level, and other elements need to be further explored in order to understand dynamics of social change in non-coining regions during the 1st millennium BC. For example, it is possible that local trade and exchange were based on alternative forms of mobile wealth (e.g. cattle), articulated through short-distance networks; similarly, the impact of the environment and geomorphology,

characterised by scarcity of ‘hospitable land’ (Millett 2005, 30), and long-term processes of change must not be underestimated. In addition, local social dynamics may have been very different from those identified in coin-using regions, and may have relied on different forms of reciprocity, relationships of power and ways of expressing wealth and status before the Roman Conquest.

Since the lack of coinage is not necessarily indicative of underdeveloped social relations, the examination of non-coining regions may identify alternative local forms of exchange that have not yet emerged, and/or diverse systems of values that are difficult to detect archaeologically, especially after the Conquest. Furthermore, future comparisons with the results obtained in this work may allow a better evaluation of the processes that led to the introduction/rejection of coinage in later Iron Age Britain

The second part of this work started by identifying the social functions performed by coins through the analysis of levels of territorial connectivity that enabled/prevented circulation and the evidence of interactions between different communities in Areas A-D (**Chapter 6**). The analysis of connectivity focused on the distribution of settlements in relation to the diffusion of coinage: it has been noted that, along with the presence of rivers, exploitation of routes, long-distance interactions, traces of social differentiation, and the evidence of local centralised/decentralised production, the number and balanced distribution of major and minor settlements was crucial in fostering extensive and uniform coin circulation. It must be emphasised that, in specific zones (e.g. Area C), the scarcity of minor settlements may only be apparent and due to insufficient investigation. In addition, enlarging the boundaries of Areas A-D may lead to different spatial perspectives of analysis and to different conclusions, as some of the sites that showed low levels of connectivity may reveal a higher number of links. However, the differences highlighted in this chapter implied that not all coin-series circulated at the same pace, which may be a further proof of different social functions.

Drawing on the evidence discussed in Chapters 4-6, the social meanings of coins were systematically explored in **Chapter 7** through analysis of the roles performed by different coined metals, and the impact of colours, imagery, and inscription on coin-value. Coins have been defined as embedded portable artefacts that are subject to changes and manipulations, have an impact on perception, and can be used to perform actions and communicate information. Therefore, the value of coins in late Iron Age Britain has been defined as a combination of composition, appearance, and the actions they perform (e.g. circulating, accumulating wealth and history, enabling exchange, conveying messages), and is proportional to the number of transactions and relationships it can perform and create (e.g. possession, passage of property, reciprocity) within specific historical and social contexts (e.g. rare and precious issues with restricted circulation).

During the early phases (1-5), gold coins were used to perform long-term transactions and gift-exchange: the yellow and bright colour of gold was a result of metal purity, and communicated access to wealth and precious materials. From the mid 1st century BC some coin-series (namely E and SE), especially those struck on a tri-metallic basis and widely adopted in settlements, developed, albeit to a limited extent, some of the money functions theorised by Polanyi (1957), and were adopted as tools of measurement, comparison, and convertibility, with the consequence that the development of coins in Britain moved the interest from the acquisition of pure metals and wealth to more varied forms of value. Nonetheless, it must be remembered that the socially embedded value of coins was never replaced by 'monetisation'. The significance attributed to coins in the ancient world largely rested on the symbolic feelings they arouse.

In order to better comprehend the role of coins, the relationship between individuals, portable objects and coins has also been explored; it showed that coins implied special levels of possession and ownership. The key result of this discussion focused on the idea that the inalienability of objects is not an enduring process, but every artefact can gradually be detached from individuals unless new means of expressing ownership are developed; coins, in particular, because of seriality, circulation and use in exchange,

are much less likely to create relationships with individuals. Even though the development of coin inscriptions probably started as an imitative process based on the replication of continental themes and standards, it prompted the development of new competitive processes. Personalisation, through the adoption of new imageries and, above all, writing, has been interpreted as the most important and effective way of expressing ownership, power, and status in late Iron Age Britain.

Since coins are probably the most portable and movable artefacts, they were not only adopted to express power, but also to extend influence. In **Chapter 8**, the analysis of the colour and design of coins was aimed at demonstrating how individuals and groups manipulated visual devices in order to enter and succeed in processes of social competition, and it shed light on a number of ideological questions. As perception is unconscious and immediate, and leads to direct and indirect mental associations, three elements combine in building and enhancing the social meaning of coins as 'visual markers of value': shine and shade, stylistic complexity, and exotic vs conservative design.

During the early phases of local production, coin imagery relied strongly on imported and abstracted motifs; although some stylistic variations were introduced, conceptual innovations rarely occurred. From phase 6 onwards, the manipulation of metals and alloys producing different colours was aimed at creating visual impressions: the local production of red gold and base metal coinage possibly marked a shift from the acquisition and display of wealth to the ability to manage precious resources. Most importantly, new imageries and access to writing created more complex forms of *propaganda* through the multiplication of the actions and relationships coins could perform and create, as follows:

1. the conveyance of precise and purposeful messages: these not only included generic reference to wealth, but detailed information about goods and activities (e.g. wine, hunting, feasting), appeal to local/non-local beliefs and religious symbols (e.g. dogs, horses, boars, snakes, Victories, Sphinxes), claims of strength and military power (e.g. eagle, trophies; use of titles), alleged

familial ties and links with the Roman world (e.g. use of Latin *formulae* and filial claims), territorial control and personalisation (e.g. use of legends, adoption of previously unseen motifs).

2. the performance of new actions: e.g. symbolic use of specific issues in place/substitution of other objects (e.g. animals and meat, wine or drinking sets), forms of exchange involving comparisons between precious and base metal coins.

The discussion has been complemented by an investigation of the different levels of mobility and flexibility of different issues and coin-series. In addition to the elements outlined in Chapter 6, it has emerged that coin circulation was enhanced by stylistic elements and the messages they entailed (e.g. the larger diffusion of types inscribed *filius* in comparison to types not displaying this element). As a general statement, complex and mobile coin systems, characterised by tri-metallic production (the E and SE groups) and substantial stylistic innovations (E, S, SE) may reflect complex relationships, where interactions between groups of individuals occurred on a large scale and for disparate reasons. In contrast, the adoption of functionally limited currencies (e.g. the EA, NE, and W group) characterised by conservative imagery and symbolism may reflect fewer types of transactions and less dynamic societies.

Since the main circulation pool of SW billon issues is located in south-western Britain, these coins are rare within Areas A-D and no detailed analysis of their adoption in settlements, circulation, and social significance has been carried out. However, inscriptions were never adopted on this coinage; this may be the consequence of slow development or suggest special functions, and certainly represents a key area for further investigation.

The final chapter re-assessed the numismatic evidence and the conclusions reached in the previous discussion as a means to a better understanding of the three major issues that prompted this research: re-evaluating the impact of endogenous transformations,

assessing the role of coins in long-term dynamics of change, identifying a suitable social framework.

During the early-middle Iron Age in Britain, social reproduction was based on accumulation, redistribution, and reciprocity, although chronological and geographical variations are observable: in south-eastern, southern and central Britain (roughly corresponding to Area A and parts of Areas B and C), evidence of cross-channel contacts and high status imports as well as extensive practices of metalwork deposition suggest that social reproduction was principally based on the control of long-distance networks, accumulation and display of wealth. The flourishing of hillforts, especially in Wessex (corresponding to parts of Area C and D), but also in the eastern regions, and the lack of extensive evidence of imports showed that these areas were characterised by social relations principally based on small scale and short-distance exchange requiring specific means of territorial control. The exchange of local resources and labour aimed at earthwork construction led to periodic communal gatherings, and repeated interactions fostered the reinforcement of sense of community and belonging. Social differentiation was likely based on work proficiency, leadership skills, and the temporary allocation of tasks, and early forms of stratification probably rested on different levels of self-sufficiency of individuals and households that was apparently not reflected by the display of status.

By the 3rd century BC, long-distance interactions, the arrival of gold, and internal forms of competition for the control of resources fostered the emergence of social stratification and individual prominence in south-eastern Britain, witnessed by the gradual diversification of forms of settlements, the division of spaces, the burial evidence, the production and exchange of high status objects (metalwork and uninscribed coins), and by the development of significant forms of display of personal status. The social system coins entered was characterised by a complex network of relationships, where a restricted number of individuals or groups were able to monopolise resources (e.g. agricultural surplus or gold), and create client dependency. These forms of supremacy were largely based on public consent and continuous

competition, and cannot be interpreted as the sign of permanent autocratic power or well-defined social stratification.

Whilst hillforts were largely abandoned in the south-eastern regions during the middle-late Iron Age transition, and important new foci developed (such as Colchester, Silchester, St Albans) by the 1st century BC, the communities inhabiting the regions corresponding to Areas B and D were still characterised by dispersion and short-distance interactions, and some hillforts remained in use up to the Roman period. The diffusion of uninscribed coins likely led to a multiplication of transactions by enlarging the network of social relationships, and produced new intermediate forms of achieving wealth and diverse forms of power. With the introduction of inscribed coinage, at the end of the 1st century BC, wealth, redistribution, networks of ties, and the display of high status through the possession of precious objects were no longer sufficient to stand for prominence and power: the new fundamental requirement consisted in the ability to claim status and authority by means of less ephemeral means. This had the effect of intensifying competition between prominent individuals.

It has been noted that adjoining territories sharing certain customs and practices (e.g. forms of settlement, ritual customs, and material culture) produced coin systems that are different in terms of design, complexity, mobility, and functionality. This may reflect variations in the social structures of coin-using people. Individuals named on coins were likely associated to various forms of leadership and power but evidence of absolutistic and institutionalised power has not been detected. Whilst in southern and south-eastern Britain the institution of client-kingdoms may have been unstable and 'kings' largely depended on the support of Rome, in central Britain, East Anglia and the west, alternative forms of authority have been identified, still relying on previous forms of competition and achievement. Prominent individuals may have performed authoritative functions not necessarily associated with personal power but based on public consent and the support of local community. Coin legends may have been referred to functions, titles and attributions rather than personal names.

Generally, the forms of individual power identified above were based on public recognition, and the role of local communities as the basis for power cannot be underestimated. At the same time, although the evidence of social differentiation was already visible at the middle to late Iron Age transition, it was constantly accompanied by variability and instability in the nature and extent of leadership, power, and authority; as a consequence, hierarchical and egalitarian social models have been reconsidered in favour of an heterarchical interpretation.

Whilst the profound impact of cross-Channel interactions with Gaul and the influence of material and conceptual innovations brought by Rome on local developments are not denied, the social changes taking place in Britain at the end of the 1st millennium BC were not interpreted as the result of colonial encounters with the Continent, but also as the natural outcome of internal processes of transformation that started since the middle late Iron Age. In the light of these conclusions, notions of conservatism and rejection of continental influences in late Iron Age Britain should be reconsidered in favour of more dynamic multifaceted responses based on a selective attitude towards elements of social transformation and deliberate choices that shaped, or rather were shaped by, local ideologies. The long debated concept of 'community', which has been the subject of new insights, offers promising material for research, encouraging scholars to reconstruct how objects and the environment in which they move are part of larger social assemblages.

In conclusion, this research has expanded our comprehension of the processes of social change that underlay the development of coinage in Iron Age Britain, and shed light on the transformations of local systems of values linked to ideas of imperishable wealth, status, and power at the end of the 1st millennium BC.

Appendices

Appendix I: List of coins, Gallo-Belgic pottery and site evidence in Area A

Appendix II: List of coins, Gallo-Belgic pottery and site evidence in Area B

Appendix III: List of coins, Gallo-Belgic pottery and site evidence in Area C

Appendix IV: List of coins, Gallo-Belgic pottery and site evidence in Area D

Appendix V: Table of Concordances

Appendices are included on CD.

Bibliography

Ancient Sources

Aristotle, *Etica Nicomachea*

Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*

Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*

Frontinus, *Stratagemata*

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*

Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*

Paulus, *Digestum*

Plato, *Gorgias*

Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*

Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*

Ptolemy, *Geography*

Pytheas of Massalia, *On the Ocean*

Strabo, *Geographia*

Suetonius, *Caligula; Divi Augusti Vita; Nero*

Tacitus, *Agricola, Annales, Germania*

Varro, *De Lingua Latina*

Webliography

British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography: <http://www.biab.ac.uk/>

Gallo-Belgic Pottery Database: <http://gallobelgic.thehumanjourney.net/>

Heritage Gateway: <http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/>

The Oxford Celtic Coin Index: <http://finds.org.uk/CCI/>

The Portable Antiquities Scheme: <http://finds.org.uk/>

Other sources

Numismatic Chronicle Annual Round-ups

Treasure Annual Report 1998-2007

References

Aaronson, J. and E. Taylor. 2006. *Archaeological trial trench evaluation at Stanground South, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire*. Northamptonshire Archaeology, Unpublished site report.

Aarts, J. 2005. Coins, money and exchange in the Roman world: A cultural–economic perspective. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 12, 1-28.

Aarts, J. and N. Roymans. 2009. Coin use in a dynamic frontier region. Late Iron Age coinages in the Lower Rhine area. *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries*, 1 (1), 5-26.

Abercromby, J. 1912. *A study of the Bronze Age of Great Britain and Ireland and its associated grave goods*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Adam, N.J. 1992. *Tipper Lane, South Harting, West Sussex: Archaeological evaluation*. Wessex Archaeology, Unpublished site report.

- Adam, N.J. and M. Heaton. 1995. *Pits and postholes at 'Saxon Field', Charlton, near Andover. Iron Age settlement*. Trust for Wessex Archaeology Ltd, Unpublished site report.
- Ainsworth, K. and J. May. 2003. An Iron Age coin die from near Alton, Hampshire. *Current Archaeology*, 188, 326.
- Akerman, J.Y. 1846. *Ancient coins of cities and princes*. London.
- Akerman, J.Y. 1849. On the condition of Britain from the descent of Caesar to the coming of Claudius. *Archaeologia*, 33, 177-190.
- Akin, D. and J. Robbins (eds), 1999. *Money and modernity: state and local currencies in Melanesia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Aldhouse-Green, M.J. 1992 [1998]. *Animals in Celtic life and myth*. London: Routledge.
- Aldhouse-Green, M.J. 2003. *Dizionario di mitologia celtica*. Milan: Bompiani.
- Aldhouse-Green, M.J. 2006. Metaphors, meaning and money: Contextualizing some symbols on Iron Age coins. In De Jersey (ed.), 29-40.
- Aldsworth, F.G. 1987. Prehistoric and Roman Selsey. *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 125, 41-50.
- Alföldi, M.R. 2004. Le monete fuse nel II e III secolo nell'impero Romano e le loro matrici di terracotta: la discussione attuale. In Vanni and Bussi (eds), 227-234.
- Allen, D.F. 1944. The Belgic dynasties of Britain and their coins. *Archaeologia*, 90, 1-46.
- Allen, D.F. 1960. The origins of coinage in Britain: A reappraisal. In Frere (ed.), 97-308.
- Allen, D.F. 1961. A study of the Dobunnic coinage. In Clifford (ed.), 75-149.
- Allen, D.F. 1963. *The coins of the Coritani*. London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy.

- Allen, D.F. 1975. Cunobelin's gold. *Britannia*, 6, 1-19.
- Allen, D.F. 1976. Wealth, money and coinage in a Celtic society. In Megaw, J.V.S. (ed.), *To illustrate the monuments: Essays on archaeology presented to Stuart Piggott*. London: Thames and Hudson, 199-208.
- Allen, D.F. and C. Haselgrove. 1979. The gold coinage of Verica. *Britannia*, 10, 1-17.
- Allen, T. 1997. Abingdon: West central redevelopment area. *South Midlands Archaeology*, 27, 47-54.
- Allen, T. 2000. The Iron Age background. In M. Henig and P. Booth (eds), *Roman Oxfordshire*. Stroud: Sutton, 1-33.
- Allen, T., Donnelly, M. Hardy, A. Hayden, C. and K. Powell, 2012. *A road through the past: archaeological discoveries in the A2 Pepperhill to Cobham road scheme in Kent*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.
- Ambrosino, G. and P. Pindrus. 1953. Analyse non destructive d'objets métalliques anciens. *Revue métallurgique*, 50, 136-138.
- Anderson, B.R.O.G. 2006. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Andrews, P. and K. Penn. 1999. *Excavations in Thetford, north of the river, 1989-90*. East Anglian Archaeology Reports, 87. Norfolk: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service.
- Appadurai, A. 1986. Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In A. Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-63.
- Armit, I. 1999. Life after Hownam: the Iron Age in south-east Scotland. In Bevan (ed.), 65-79.
- Armit, I. 2003. *Towers of the North. Brochs of Scotland*. Stroud: Tempus.

- Armit, V. and N. Rappaport. 2002. *The trouble with community: Anthropological reflections on movement, identity and collectivity*. London: Pluto Press.
- Arnold, B. and D.B. Gibson (eds), 1995. *Celtic chieftdom, Celtic state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arslan, E. 2005. *La numismatica antica*, Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Assmann, J. 1997. *La memoria culturale. Struttura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Atkins, R. and A. Mudd. 2003. An Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Prickwillow Road, Ely, Cambridgeshire: Excavations 1999–2000. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 92, 5-55.
- Atkinson, M. and S.J. Preston. 1998. The Late Iron Age and Roman settlement at Elms Farm, Heybridge, Essex, excavations 1993-5: An interim report. *Britannia*, 29, 85-110.
- Atkinson, M. and S. Preston 2015. *Heybridge, a late Iron Age and Roman settlement: excavations at Elms Farm 1993-5*. Chelmsford: Essex County Council.
- Avery, M. 1993. *Hillfort defences of southern Britain*. Oxford: BAR 231.
- Baines, J. 1985. Color terminology and color classification: Ancient Egyptian color terminology and polychromy. *American Anthropologist*, 87 (2), 282-297.
- Barabási, A.L. 2003. *Linked: The new science of networks*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus.
- Barclay, A., Cromarty, A.M., Gosden, G., Lock, G., Miles, D., Palmer, S. and M. Robinson 2003. The white horse and its landscape. In Miles et al. (eds), 243-268.
- Barello, F. 1993. Il rifiuto della moneta coniata nel mondo greco. Da Sparta a Locri Epizefiri. *Rivista Italiana di numismatica*, 95, 103-111.
- Barello, F. 2006. *Archeologia della moneta: Produzione e utilizzo nell'antichità*. Rome: Carocci.

Barral, P., Daubigney, A., Dunning, C., Kaenel, G. and M.J. Roulière-Lambert. 2007. *L'âge du fer dans l'arc jurassien et ses marges/Actès du XXIX colloque international de l'AFEAF: Bienne 5-8 mai 2005*. University of Besançon.

Barrandon, J.N. and F. Beauchesne. 1986. Analyse globale et non-destructive des objets archéologiques cuivreux par activation avec des neutrons rapides de cyclotron. *Revue d'archéométrie*, 10, 75-85.

Barrandon, J.N. and O. Picard. 2007. *Monnaies de bronze de Marseille: Analyse, classement, politique monétaire*. Cahiers Ernest-Babelon, 10. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

Barrett, J., Bowden, M. and D. McOmish. 2011. The problem of continuity: Reassessing the shape of the British Iron Age sequence. In Moore and Armada (eds), 439-448.

Barrett, J., Freeman, P. and Woodward, A. 2000. *Cadbury Castle, Somerset. The Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Archaeology*. London: English Heritage Archaeological Report 20.

Barth, F. (ed.), 1969. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Bartlett, R. 1988. Excavations at Harlow temple 1985-87. *Essex Journal*, 23, 9-13.

Bates, S. 2000. Excavations at Quidney farm, Saham Toney. *Britannia*, 31, 201-237.

Bayley, J. 1998. The composition of Roman brooches. In G. Nicolini and N. Dieudonné-Glad (eds), *Les Métaux antiques: Travail et restauration*. Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoïl, 113-119.

Bayley, J., Crossley, D., and M. Ponting (eds), 2008. *Metals and metalworking: A research framework for archaeometallurgy*. HMS Occasional publication No. 6. London: Historical Metallurgy Society.

- Bean, S.C. 2000. *The coinage of the Atrebates and Regni*. Studies in Celtic coinage, 4/Oxford University School of Archaeology, monograph 50. Oxford: Oxford University, School of Archaeology.
- Bedwin, O. 1983. The development of prehistoric settlement on the West Sussex Coastal Plain. *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 121, 31-44.
- Bedwin, O. 1992. Early Iron Age settlement at Maldon and the Maldon 'burh': Excavations at Beacon Green 1987. *Essex Archaeology & History*, 23, 10-24.
- Bekker-Nielsen, T. and L. Hannestad (eds), 2001. *War as a cultural and social force: Essays on warfare in antiquity*. Historisk-filosofiske skrifter, 22. Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
- Bell, C. and H. Newby. 1971. *Community studies*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Bémont, C., Fischer, B., Gruel, K., Peyre, C. and J.C. Richard (eds), 1987. *Mélanges offerts au Docteur J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*. Paris: Le Leopard d'or.
- Bennett, A. and R. Havis. 2008. Archaeology in Essex 2006. *Essex Archaeology & History*, 38, 166-190.
- Bentley, G.C. 1987. Ethnicity and practice. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 29, 24-55.
- Berlin, B. and P. Kay. 1969. *Basic color terms: Their universality and evolution*. London: University of California Press.
- Béteille, A. 1998. The idea of indigenous people. *Current Anthropology*, 39 (2), 187-191.
- Bevan, B. (ed.), 1999. *Northern exposure: Interpretative devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*. Leicester Archaeology Monographs, 4. Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester.

Bevan, B. 2012. Spatial methods for analyzing large-scale artefact inventories. *Antiquity*, 86, 492-506.

Bhabha, H.K. 1994. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bianchi Bandinelli, R. 2005. *Organicità e astrazione*, Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

Biddle, M. 1966. Excavations at Winchester 1965; Fourth interim report. *Antiquaries Journal*, 46, 308-332.

Biddle, M. 1967. Excavations at Winchester 1966; Fifth interim report. *Antiquaries Journal*, 47, 251-279.

Biddle, M. 1968. Excavations at Winchester 1967; Sixth interim report. *Antiquaries Journal*, 48, 250-284.

Biddle, M. 1975. Ptolemaic coins from Winchester. *Antiquity*, 49, 213-215.

Biddulph, E. and K. Welsh 2011. *Cirencester before Corinium: excavations at Kingshill North, Cirencester, Gloucestershire*. Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Binford, L.R. 1962. Archaeology as anthropology. *American Antiquity*, 28, 217-225.

Birchall, A. 1965. The Aylesford-Swarling Culture: the problem of the Belgae reconsidered. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 31, 241-367.

Bishop, N.A. and C.J. Knüsel. 2005. A palaeodemographic investigation of warfare in prehistory. In Parker Pearson and Thorpe (eds), 201-216.

Blanchet, A. 1905. *Traité des monnaies Gauloises*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Bloch, M. and J. Parry, 1989. Introduction: Money and the morality of exchange. In M. Bloch and J. Parry (eds), *Money and the morality of exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-32.

Bohannon, P. and G. Dalton (eds), 1962. *Markets in Africa*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

Boon, G.C. 1969. Belgic and Roman Silchester: The excavations of 1954-8 with an excursus on the early history of Calleva. *Archaeologia*, 102, 1-81.

Booth, P. and A. Simmonds. 2005. An Iron Age and Early Romano-British site at Hatford Quarry, Sandy Lane, Hatford. *Oxoniensia*, 69, 319-354.

Botré, C., Fabrizi, E., Scibona, G. and P. Serafin Petrillo. 1993. Applicazione della spettroscopia con fluorescenza a raggi X nello studio di antiche monete romane: implicazioni di carattere storico ed economico. *Bollettino di numismatica*, 13, 129-143.

Boudet, R. 1987. A propos du dépôt d'or celtique de Tayac (Gironde). In Bémont, Fischer, Gruel, Peyre and Richard (eds), 107-120.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of the theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1979. Symbolic Power. *Critique of anthropology*, 13/14, 77-86.

Boutilier, J. 1989. Metropole and margin: The dependency theory and the political economy of the Solomon Islands, 1880-1980. In Champion (ed.), 22-39.

Bowden, M. and D. McOmish. 1987. The required barrier. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 4, 76-84.

Bowden, M. and D. McOmish. 1989. Little boxes: More about hillforts. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 6, 12-16.

Bowden, M., Payne, A. and H. Winton. 2005. Oldbury Castle, Wiltshire: Reinterpreting a great Iron Age hillfort. In Wilmott, T. (ed.), *Research news: Newsletter of the English Heritage Research Department*. Portsmouth: English Heritage, 6-9.

Bradley, R. 1984. *The social foundations of prehistoric Britain*. London and New York: Longman.

Bradley, R. 2003. A life less ordinary: The ritualization of the domestic sphere in later Prehistoric Europe. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 13, 5-23.

Bradley, R. 2005. *Ritual and domestic life in Prehistoric Europe*. London: Routledge.

Brady, K., Laws, G., Smith, A. and D. Wood. 2008. Excavations at Abingdon West Central redevelopment: Iron Age, Roman, medieval, and post-medieval activity in Abingdon. *Oxoniensia*, 72, 107-202.

Braund, D. 1984. *Rome and the friendly king: the character of the client kingship*. London: Croom Helm.

Briggs, D., Haselgrove, C. and C. King. 1992. Iron Age and Roman coins from Hayling Island. *British Numismatic Journal*, 62, 1-62.

Brooke, G.C. 1928. A find of ancient gold coins at Westerham. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 40, 25-28.

Brooke, G.C. 1933. The Philippus in the west and the Belgic invasions of Britain, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5 (13), 88-138.

Brück, J. 1999. Ritual and rationality: Some problems of interpretation in European archaeology. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 2, 313-344.

Brumfield, E.M. 1995. Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies: Comments. In Crumley, Ehrenreich and Levy (eds), 125-131.

Brun, P. 1995. From chiefdom to state organization in Celtic Europe. In Arnold and Gibson (eds), 13-25.

Brunaux, J.L. and K. Gruel (eds), 1987. *Monnaies Gauloises decouvertes en fouilles*. Paris: Éditions Errance.

Brunt, P.A. and J.M. Moore. 1967. *Res gestae divi Augusti: the achievements of the divine Augustus*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Bryant, S.R. 2007. Central places or special places? The origins and development of 'oppida' in Hertfordshire. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 62-80.
- Bryant, S.R. and R. Niblett. 1997. The late Iron Age in Hertfordshire and the north Chilterns. In Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds), 270-281.
- Büchsenschütz, O. 1995. The significance of major settlements in European Iron Age society. In Arnold and Gibson (eds), 53-63.
- Büchsenschütz, O. and I.B.M. Ralston. 1986. En relisant la guerre des Gaules. In *Actes du 8ième colloque AFEAF, Angoulême mai 1984. Aquitania* supplément 1, 383-387.
- Budé, G. 1522. *Libri V de Asse et partibus eius*. Venice: A. et A. Asulani soceri
- Burleigh, G.R. 1995. A late Iron Age oppidum at Baldock, Hertfordshire. In A.E. Brown (ed.), *Roman small towns in eastern England and beyond*. Oxbow Monograph 52. Oxford: Oxbow, 103-112.
- Burling, R. 1962. Maximisation theories and the study of economic anthropology. *American Anthropologist*, 64, 802-821.
- Burnett, A. 1987. *Coinage in the Roman world*. London: Seaby.
- Burnett, A. 1991. *Interpreting the past: Coins*. London: British Museum Press.
- Burnett, A. 1995. 'Gallo-Belgic' coins and Britain. In B. Raftery (ed.), *Sites and sights of the Iron Age: Essays on fieldwork and museum research presented to Ian Mathieson Stead*. Oxford: Oxbow, 5-11.
- Bushe-Fox, J.P. 1925. *Excavation on the late-Celtic urn-field at Swarling, Kent*. Oxford: Societies of Antiquaries of London.
- Buttrey, T.V. 1993. Calculating ancient coin production: Facts and fantasies. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 153, 335-351.

Caccamo Caltabiano, M. 2004. Il problema del bimetallismo e la funzione della moneta di bronzo pesante in Sicilia. In Vanni and Bussi (eds), 17-53.

Camden, W. 1586. *Britannia*. London: Ralph Newbery.

Carman, J. (ed.), 1997. *Material harm: Archaeological studies of war and violence*. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.

Carman, J. and A. Harding. 1999. *Ancient warfare: Archaeological perspectives*. Stroud: Sutton.

Carrier, J. 2005. *A handbook of economic anthropology*. Cheltenham-Northampton: Elgar.

Carver, E. 2001. *The visibility of imported wine and its associated accoutrements in Later Iron Age Britain*. Oxford: BAR 325.

Casey, P.J. 1986. *Understanding ancient coins: An introduction for archaeologists and historians*. London: B.T. Batsford.

Casey, P.J. and R. Reece. 1988. *Coins and the archaeologist*. London: Seaby.

Chadburn, A. 1991a. New links between the Icenian coins of AESV and SAENV. *Celtic Coin Bulletin*, 1, 14-18.

Chadburn, A. 1991b. Some observations on the Icenian uninscribed gold series. *Celtic Coin Bulletin*, 1, 9-13.

Chadburn, A. 1992. A preliminary analysis of the hoard of Icenian coins from Field Baulk, March, Cambridgeshire. In Mays (ed.), 73-81.

Chadburn, A. 1996. Iron Age coins. In Jackson and Potter (eds), 264-286.

Chadburn, A. and D. Gurney, 1991. The Fring Coin Hoard. *Norfolk Archaeology*, 41 (2), 218-225.

- Chadwick, A.M. 2012. Routine magic, mundane ritual – towards a unified notion of depositional practice. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 31 (3), 283-315.
- Champion, T. (ed.), 1989. *Centre and periphery*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Chapmann, A. 1998. Brackmills, Northampton. An Early Iron Age torc. *Current Archaeology*, 43, 92-95.
- Cheesman, C. 1994. The coins. In M.G. O'Connell and J. Bird, The Roman temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985–1986, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 82, 1-168.
- Childe, G. 1958. *The prehistory of European society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Clarke, A. and M. Fulford. 1998. Silchester and the end of Roman towns. *Current Archaeology*, 14, 176-180.
- Clarke, D.L. (ed.), 1972. *Models in Archaeology*. London: Methuen.
- Clifford, E.M. (ed.), 1961. *Bagendon, a Celtic oppidum: A record of the excavations of 1954–1956*. Cambridge: Heffer.
- Clogg, P. and C. Haselgrove. 1995. The composition of Iron Age struck bronze coinage in Eastern England. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 14 (1), 41-62.
- Coe, D., Richards, J. and V. Jenkins, 1991. Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes: Second interim report: investigations May-August 1989. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History*, 84, 40-50.
- Cohen, A. 1985. *The symbolic construction of community*. Chichester: Horwood.
- Colbert de Beaulieu, J.B. 1952. Origine, évolution et mutations d'un différent monétaire en Gaule Celtique. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 98, 31-39.
- Colbert de Beaulieu, J.B. 1957. Le trésor de Jersey-11 et la numismatique celtique de deux Bretagne. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 103, 47-88.

Colin, A. 1998. *Chronologie des oppida de la gaule non mediterraneenne : Contribution à l'étude des habitats de la fin de l'âge du fer*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme.

Collis, J. 1971. Functional and theoretical interpretations of British coinage. *World Archaeology*, 3, 71-84.

Collis, J. 1981. A typology of coin distributions. *World Archaeology*, 13 (1), 122-128.

Collis, J. 1988. Data for dating. In P.J. Casey and R. Reece (eds), *Coins and the archaeologist*. London: Seaby, 189-200.

Collis, J. 1995. States without centres? The middle La Tène period in temperate Europe. In Arnold and Gibson (eds), 75-80.

Collis, J. 1997. *The European Iron Age*. London: Routledge.

Collis, J. (ed.), 2001. *Society and settlement in Iron Age Europe. L'Habitat et l'occupation du sol en Europe : Actes du XVIIIe Colloque de l'AFEAF, Winchester, April 1994*. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.

Collis, J. 2003. *The Celts: Origins, myths, inventions*. Stroud: Tempus.

Collis, J. 2007. The polities of Gaul, Britain and Ireland in the late Iron Age. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 521-528.

Collis, J. 2011. 'Reconstructing Iron Age societies' revisited. In Moore and Armada (eds), 223-241.

Conlon, R.F.B. 1973. Hollbrook's: An Iron Age and Roman British settlement. *Essex Journal*, 8, 30-50.

Cooper, M. 1989. Reconceptualizing Ideology According to the Relationship between Rhetoric and Knowledge/Power. In Kneupper, C.W. (ed.), *Rhetoric and Ideology: Compositions and Criticisms of Power*. Arlington: Rhetoric Society of America, 30-41.

- Cope-Faulkner, P. 1997. *Desk-Top assessment of the archaeological implications of proposed development on land at Gardenways, Black Pot Lane, Oundle, Northamptonshire (OBL97)*. Archaeological Project Services, Unpublished site report.
- Cope-Faulkner, P. 1999. *Archaeological investigation of land adjacent to Meadow Drove, Bourne, Lincolnshire*. Archaeological Project Services, Unpublished site report.
- Cottam, E., De Jersey, P., Rudd, C. and J. Sills. 2010. *Ancient British coins*. Norfolk: Chris Rudd.
- Courtney, T. and M. Hall. 1984. Excavation at the Perrott's Brook Dyke, Bagendon. *Transactions of Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 102, 197-200.
- Cowell, M. 1992. Analytical survey of the British Celtic gold. In Mays (ed.), 207-233.
- Craig, R., Knüsel, C.J. and G. Carr. 2005. Fragmentation, mutilation and dismemberment: An interpretation of human remains on Iron Age sites. In Parker Pearson and Thorpe (eds), 165-180.
- Crawford, M.H. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 volumes. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Crawford, M.H. 1985. *Coinage and money under the Roman Republic: Italy and the Mediterranean economy*. London: Methuen.
- Creed, G.W. (ed.), 2006. *The seductions of community: Emancipations, oppressions, quandries*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Creighton, J. 1994. A time of change: The Iron Age to Roman monetary transition in East Anglia. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 13 (3), 325-334.
- Creighton, J. 1995. Visions of power: Imagery and symbolism in late Iron Age Britain. *Britannia*, 26, 285-301.
- Creighton, J. 2000. *Coins and power in late Iron Age Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Creighton, J. 2005. Gold, ritual and kingship. In Wigg-Wolf and Haselgrove (eds), 69-84.
- Creighton, J. 2006. *Britannia: The creation of a Roman province*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Crew, P. 1994. Currency bars in Britain, typology and function. In M. Mangin (ed.), *La sidérurgie ancienne de l'Est de la France dans son contexte européen*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 345-350.
- Cripps, L.J. 2007. Re-situating the Later Iron Age in Cornwall and Devon: new perspectives from the settlement record. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 140-155.
- Crumley, C.L. 1995. Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies. In Crumley, Ehrenreich and Levy (eds), 1-5.
- Crummy, P. 1984. *Excavations at Lion Walk, Balkerne Lane and Middleborough, Colchester, Essex*. Colchester Archaeological Report, 3. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust.
- Crummy, P. 1992. *Excavations at Culver Street, the Gilbert School, and other sites in Colchester 1971-85*. Colchester Archaeological Report, 6. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust.
- Crummy, P., Benfield, S., Crummy, N., Rigby, V. and D. Shimmin. 2007. *Stanway: An élite burial site at Camulodunum*. *Britannia Monographs*, 24. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Cunliffe, B.W. 1976. The origins of urbanization in Britain. In B.W. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds), *Oppida: The beginning of urbanization in barbarian Europe*. Oxford: BAR International Series 11, 135-162.
- Cunliffe, B.W. 1977. Danebury, Hampshire: Second interim report on the excavations, 1971-5. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 56, 198-216.
- Cunliffe, B.W. (ed.), 1981. *Coinage and society in Britain and Gaul: Some current problems*. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1984. *Danebury, an Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire*. 2 volumes. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Cunliffe, B.W. 1995. *Danebury: An Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire*. Volume 6: *A hillfort community in perspective*. CBA Research Report 102. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Cunliffe, B.W. 2001. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its peoples, 8000 B.C.-A.D. 1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cunliffe, B.W. 2003. *Danebury hillfort*. Gloucester: Tempus.

Cunliffe, B.W. 2005. *Iron Age communities in Britain: An account of England, Scotland and Wales from the seventh century BC until the Roman conquest*. London: Routledge (4th edition).

Cunliffe, B.W. and D. Miles (eds), 1984. *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 2. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Curteis, M. 1996. An analysis of the circulation patterns of Iron Age coins from Northamptonshire. *Britannia*, 27, 17–42.

Curteis, M. 2001. *The Iron Age coinages of the south midlands, with particular reference to distribution and deposition*. 2 volumes. Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University.

Curteis, M. 2006. Distribution and ritual deposition of Iron Age coins in the South Midlands. In De Jersey (ed.), 61-80.

Dalton, G. 1965. Primitive money. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 67 (1), 44-65.

Daly, P.T. 2003. *Social practice and material culture: The use, discard and deposition of ceramic material at two Iron Age hillforts in Oxfordshire*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Oxford.

- Daverio, J. 1998. Schumann's Ossianic manner. *19th-Century Music*, 21, 247-273.
- Davies, J.A. (ed.), 2011. *The Iron Age in northern East Anglia: New work in the land of the Iceni*. Oxford: BAR 549.
- Davies, J.A., Gregory, T., Lawson, A.J., Rickett, R. and A. Rogerson. 1992. *The Iron Age forts of Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Reports, 54. Dereham: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service.
- De Certau, M. 1984. *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- De Jersey, P. 1993. *Celtic coinage in Britain*. Princes Risborough: Shire.
- De Jersey, P. 1994. Gazetteer of findspots of Dobunnic coins. In Van Arsdell (ed.), 67-84.
- De Jersey, P. 1997. Armorica and Britain: The numismatic evidence. In Cunliffe B.W. and P. De Jersey (eds), *Armorica and Britain: cross-Channel relationships in the late first millennium BC*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monographs, 45. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 72-103.
- De Jersey, P. 1999. Exotic Celtic coinage in Britain. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18 (2), 189-216.
- De Jersey, P. 2003. Minimum impact. *Chris Rudd list*, 71, 2-4.
- De Jersey, P. (ed.), 2006. *Celtic coinage: New discoveries, new discussion*. Oxford: BAR 1532.
- De Jersey, P. 2014. *Coin Hoards in Iron Age Britain*. British Numismatic Society Special Publication series n° 11. London: Spink.
- De Jersey, P. and N. Wickenden. 2004. A Hoard of Staters of Cunobelin and Dubnovellaunos from Great Waltham, Essex. *British Numismatological Journal*, 74, 175-178.

De La Tour, H. 1892. *Atals des monnaies Gauloises*. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

De Saussure, F. 1966. *Course in general Linguistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Dehn, W. 1962. Aperçu sure les oppida d'Allemagne de la fin de époque celtique. In *Actes du Second Colloque Internationale d'Etudes Gauloises, Celtiques et Protoceltiques*, 3. Rennes: Ogam, 329-386.

DeLanda, M.A. 2006. *A new philosophy of society: Assemblage theory and social complexity*. London: Continuum.

Delanty, G. 2003. *Community: Key ideas*. London: Routledge.

Delestrée, L.P. 1996. *Monnayages et peuples Gaulois du nord-ouest*. Paris: Éditions Errance.

Demandt, A. 2003. *I Celti*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Dennis, M. and N. Faulkner. 2005. *The Sedgeford hoard*. Stroud: Tempus.

Dennis, M. 2006. *Silver in late Iron Age and early Roman East Anglia*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Oxford.

Descat, R. 2006. Argyronetos: les transformations de l'échange dans la Grece archaïque. In van Alfen, P. (ed.), *Agoranomia: Studies in money and exchange presented to John H. Kroll*. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 21-36.

Désor, E. 1874. *La bel âge du Bronze lacustre*. Neuchâtel: Attinger.

Devaney, R. and D. Wood. 2008. The excavation of Iron Age, Roman, medieval, and Civil War features south of the Vineyard, Abingdon, Oxfordshire. *Oxoniensia*, 72, 73-106.

Diack, M. 2001. North Foreland Road, Broadstairs. *Canterbury's Archaeology* 2000-01, 25-27.

Díaz-Andreu, M. 1998. Ethnicity and Iberians: The archaeological crossroads between perception and material culture. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 1 (2), 199-218.

Dietler, M. 1999. Rituals of commensality and the politics of state formation in the 'princely' societies of Early Iron Age Europe. In P. Ruby (ed.), *Les princes de la Protohistoire et l'émergence de l'état*. Naples: Institut Français de Naples, 135-152.

Dix, B. and D. Jackson. 1987. Late Iron Age and Roman settlement at Weekley, Northants. *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 21, 41-93.

Dole, G.E. 1968. Tribe as the autonomous unit. In Helm, J. (ed.), *Essays on the problem of tribe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 83-100.

Domínguez Rubio, F. (forthcoming). On the discrepancy between objects and things. An ecological approach. *Journal of Material Culture*.

Donaldson, T.L. 1966. *Ancient architecture in Greek and Roman coins and medals*. Chicago: Argonaut Publishers.

Douglas, M. 1970. *Natural symbols: Explorations in consmology*. London: Cresset Press.

Douglas, M. 2005. *Grid and Group, new developments*. Paper presented to a Workshop on Complexity and Cultural Theory in honour of Michael Thompson. London: London School of Economics.

Down, A. and M. Rule. 1971. *Chichester excavations 1*. Chichester: Phillimore.

Down, A. and M.G. Welch. 1990. *Chichester excavations 7: Apple Down and The Mardens*. Chichester: Chichester District Council.

Downey, R., King, A. and G. Soffe. 1977. The Roman temple on Hayling Island. *Current Archaeology*, 6, 83-87.

Drewett, P.L., Gardiner, M. and D. Rudling. 1988. *The south-east to AD 1000*. London: Longman.

- Drewett, P.L. and S. Hamilton. 1999. Marking time and making space. Excavations and landscape studies at the Caburn hillfort, East Sussex, 1996–98. *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 137, 7-37.
- Drury, P.J. 1972. The Romano British settlement at Chelmsford, Essex: Caesaromagus. *Essex Archaeology and History*, 4, 3-29.
- Drury, P.J. 1976. Braintree: Excavations and Research 1971-76. *Essex Archaeology and History*, 8, 1-143.
- Dunning, G.C. 1976. Salmonsbury, Bourton on the Water. In D.W. Harding (ed.), *Hillfortd. Later Prehistoric earthworks in Britain and Ireland*. London: Academic Press, 76-118.
- Dungworth, D. 1996. The production of copper alloys in Iron Age Britain. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 62, 399-422.
- Dunham, S. 1989. Greek and Roman descriptions of Iron-Age Europe. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 93, 265.
- Dupre, G. and P. Rey. 1973. Reflections on the pertinence of a theory of the history of exchange. *Economy and Society*, 2, 131-163.
- Duval, P.M. 1987. *Monnaies gauloises et mythes celtiques*. Paris: Hermann.
- Earle, T.K. 1990. Style and iconography as legitimation in complex chiefdoms. In Conkey and Hastorf (eds), 73-81.
- Earle, T.K. and J.E. Ericson (eds), 1977. *Exchange systems in prehistory*. London: Academic Press.
- Ehrenreich, R.M. 1991. Metalworking in Iron Age Britain: Hierarchy or heterarchy? In R.M. Ehrenreich (ed.), *Metals in society: Theory beyond regional analysis*. Philadelphia: MASCA, University of Pennsylvania, 69-80.

Ehrenreich, R.M., Crumley, C.L. and J.E. Levy (eds), 1995. *Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies*. Archeological papers of the American Anthropological Association, 6. Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association.

Ekholm, K. 1978. External exchange and the transformation of Central African social systems. In J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands (eds), *The evolution of social systems*. London: Duckworth, 115-136.

Ellis, P. 1995. Archaeological investigations on the proposed line of the A46 north of Bath. *Bristol and Avon Archaeology*, 12, 56-67.

Ellison, A. 1981. Towards a socio-economic model for the Middle Bronze Age in southern England. In I. Hodder, G. Isaac and N. Hammond (eds), *Pattern of the past: Studies in honour of David Clarke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 413-438.

Eogan, G. 1983. *The hoards of the Irish later Bronze Age*. Dublin: University College.

Eriksen, T.H. 2002. *Ethnicity and nationalism: Anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

Erskine, J.G.P. 1995. *The Beeches Playing Field, London Road, Cirencester. Site assessment comprising archaeological desktop study and geophysical survey*. Avon Archaeological Unit, Unpublished site report.

Esty, W. 1986. Estimation of the size of a coinage: A survey and comparison of methods. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 146, 185-215.

Evans, J. 1864. *The coins of the ancient Britons*. London: Russell Smith.

Evans, C. 2003. Britons and Romans at Chatteris: Investigations at Langwood Farm, Cambridgeshire. *Britannia*, 34, 175-264.

Evans, C., Knight, M. and L. Webley. 2007. Iron Age settlement and romanisation on the Isle of Ely: The Hurst Lane Reservoir site. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 96, 41-78.

Evans, C., McKay, D. and L. Webley (eds), 2008. *Borderlands: The archaeology of the Addenbrookes environs, South Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.

Fajans, J. (ed.), 1993. *Exchanging products: producing exchange*. Sydney: Oceania Monographs.

Farley, J. 2012. *At the edge of empire: Iron Age and early Roman metalwork in the East Midlands*. Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leicester.

Fell, C. 1936. The Hunsbury hillfort Northants: A new survey of the material. *Archaeological Journal*, 93 (1), 57-100.

Fellows, D. 2005. *Old Barn, Manor Farm, Old Alresford, Hampshire. An archaeological building survey*. Thames Valley Archaeological Services, Unpublished site report.

Ferguson, R.B. 1990. Explaining war. In J. Haas (ed.), *The anthropology of war*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 26-55.

Ferguson, R.B. and N.L. Whitehead (eds), 1992. *War in the tribal zone: Expanding states and indigenous warfare*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Fernandez-Götz, M. 2014. *Identity and power: the transformation of Iron Age societies in Northeast Gaul*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Fichtl, S. 2000. *La ville celtique : Les oppida de 150 avant J.-C. à 15 après J.-C.* Paris: Éditions Errance.

Finney, J.B. 2006. *Middle Iron Age warfare in the hillfort dominated zone, c. 400 BC-c. 150 BC*. Oxford: BAR 423.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1989. The uses of Roman imperialism by the Celtic Barbarians in the later Republic. In J.C. Barrett, Fitzpatrick, A.P. and L. Macinnes (eds), *Barbarians and Romans in North-West Europe from the Later Republic to Late Antiquity*. Oxford: BAR International Series 471, 27-54.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1992. The Snettisham, Norfolk, hoards of Iron-Age torques: sacred or profane. *Antiquity*, 66, 395-398.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1994. The late Iron Age cremation cemetery at Westhampnett, West Sussex. In Fitzpatrick and Morris (eds), 108-112.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 1997. Everyday life in Iron Age Wessex. In Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds), 73-86.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2001. Cross channel exchange, Hengistbury Head and the end of Hillforts. In Collis (ed.), 82-97.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2005. Gifts for the golden gods: Iron Age hoards of torcs and coins. In Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 157-182.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2007. The fire, the feast and the funeral: Late Iron Age mortuary practices in south-eastern England. *Revue du Nord*, n° 11. Hors série collection art et archéologie, 123-142.

Fitzpatrick, A.P. 2013. Republican amphorae in Iron Age Britain. In F. Olmer (ed.), *Itinéraires des vins romains en Gaul III^e-I^{er} siècles avant J.C. Confrontation de faciès*. Actes du colloque européen organisé par l'UMR 5140 du CNRS. Lattes, 30 janvier-2 février 2007. Lattes, Monographies d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne hors série 5, 327-344

Fitzpatrick, A.P. and J.V. Megaw. 1987. Further finds from the Le Catillon hoard. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 53, 433-444.

Fitzpatrick-Matthews, K.J. and G.R. Burleigh (eds), 2010. *Excavations at Baldock, Hertfordshire, 1978-1994*. Letchworth: North Hertfordshire District Council and North Hertfordshire Archaeological Society.

Flannery, K. 1967. Cultural history vs culture process: A debate in American archaeology. *Scientific American*, 217 (2), 119-122.

- Flitcroft, M. (ed.), 2001. *Excavation of a Romano-British settlement on the A149 Snettisham Bypass, 1989*. East Anglian Archaeology Reports, 93. Dereham: Archaeology and Environment Division, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.
- Ford, B.M. and N. Durrani. 2012. Uncovering Winchester: A city in the making. *Current Archaeology*, 36, 34-41.
- Foster, J. 1986. *The Lexden tumulus: A re-appraisal of an Iron Age burial from Colchester, Essex*. Oxford: BAR 156.
- Fowler, P., Noddle, B., Smith, L. and G. Webster. 1985. The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979: part 3. *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 103, 73-100.
- Fox, C. 1958. *Pattern and Purpose: a survey of early Celtic art in Britain*. Cardiff: The National Museum of Wales.
- France, N.E. and B.M. Gobel. 1985. *The Romano-British temple at Harlow, Essex*. Harlow: West Essex Archaeological Group.
- Frankenburg, R. 2004. British community studies: Problems of synthesis. In M. Banton (ed.), *The social anthropology of complex societies*. London: Routledge, 123-153.
- Frankenstein, S. and M.J. Rowlands. 1978. The internal structure and regional context of Early Iron Age society in south-western Germany. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, 15, 72-112.
- Fraser, L. 1957. *Propaganda*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Freire, J. 2005. Weaponry, statues and petroglyphs: The ideology of war in Atlantic Iron Age Iberia. In Parker Pearson and Thorpe (eds), 195-200.
- Frere, S.S. (ed.), 1960. *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*. London: University of London, Institute of Archaeology.

Frere, S.S., Hassall, M.W.C. and R.S.O. Tomlin. 1986. Roman Britain in 1985. *Britannia*, 17, 363-427.

Frere, S.S., Hassall, M.W.C. and R.S.O. Tomlin. 1987. Roman Britain in 1986. *Britannia*, 18, 301-359.

Frere, S.S., Hassall, M.W.C. and R.S.O. Tomlin. 1989. Roman Britain in 1988: I. Sites explored, II. Inscriptions. *Britannia*, 20, 258-345.

Fried, M. 1967. *The evolution of political society an essay in political anthropology*. New York: Random House.

Fried, M., Harris, M. and R.F. Murphy. 1968. *War: The anthropology of armed conflict and aggression*. Garden City, NY: Published for the American Museum of Natural History [by] the Natural History Press.

Fulford, M. 1985. Excavations on the sites of the amphitheatre and forum-basilica at Silchester, Hampshire: an Interim report. *Antiquaries Journal*, 65, 39-81.

Fulford, M. 1993. Silchester: The early development of a civitas capital. In Greep (ed.), 16-33.

Fulford, M. and J. Timby. 2000. *Late Iron Age and Roman Silchester. Excavations on the site of the forum-basilica 1977, 1980-86*. Britannia Monographs, 15. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Fürger-Gunti, A. and H.M. von Kaenel. 1976. Die keltischen Fundmünzen aus Basel. *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, 55, 35-76.

Gage, J. 1993. *Colour and culture, practice and meaning from antiquity to abstraction*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Gage, J. 1999. *Color and meaning: Art, science, and symbolism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Gardiner, M. and S. Hamilton. 1997. Knapp Farm, Bosham. *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 135, 71-91.
- Garrow, D. and C. Gosden. 2012. *Technologies of enchantment? Exploring Celtic Art: 400 BC to AD 100*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gerritsen, F.A. and N. Roymans. 2006. Central Places and the construction of tribal identities. The case of the Late Iron Age Lower Rhine Region, in Haselgrove (ed.), 251-266.
- Gibson, D.B. and M.N. Geselowitz (eds), 1988. *Tribe and polity in late prehistoric Europe. Demography, production, and exchange in the evolution of complex social systems*. New York-London: Plenum Press.
- Giddens, A. 1979. *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gilbert, E. 2005. Common cents: Situation money in time and space. *Economy & Society*, 34 (3), 356-387.
- Gilchrist, R. 2003. Introduction: Towards a social archaeology of warfare. *World Archaeology*, 35 (1), 1-6.
- Giles, M. 2012. *A forged glamour: landscape, identity and material culture in the Iron Age*. Bollington: Windgather.
- Glass, H.J. 1991. Shorncote quarry excavations, Somerford Keynes. *Glevensis*, 25, 42-43.
- Göbel, J., Hartmann, A., Joachim, H.E. and V. Zedelius. 1991. Der spätkeltische Goldschatz von Niederzier. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 191, 27-84.
- Godelier, M. 1999. *The enigma of the gift*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goldenweiser, A. 1922. *Early civilization: An introduction to anthropology*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Goltz, H. 1579, *Thesaurus rei antiquariae huberrimus*, Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana

Gombrich, E.H. 2002. *Art and illusion: A study in the psychology of pictorial presentation*. Oxford: Phaidon (6th edition).

Goodburn, R. 1986. Celtic coins. In Stead, I.M. and V. Rigby (eds), *Baldock: The excavation of a Roman and pre-Roman settlement, 1968-72*. Britannia Monograph, 7. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 88-99.

Goodburn, R. 1989. British coins. In I.M. Stead and V. Rigby (eds), *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane site*. English Heritage Archaeological Report 12. London: English Heritage in Association with British Museum Publications, 87.

Goodburn, R. 2010. Celtic coins. In Fitzpatrick-Matthews and Burleigh (eds), 126-133.

Gosden, C. 1997. Iron Age landscapes and cultural biographies. In Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds), 303-307.

Gosden, C. 2004. *Archaeology and colonialism: Cultural contact from 5000 BC to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gosden, C. and C. Knowles. 2001. *Collecting colonialism: material culture and colonial change in Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Berg.

Gosden, C., Hamerow, H., De Jersey, P. and G. Lock (eds), 2007. *Communities and connections: Essays in honour of Barry Cunliffe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kamash, Z., Gosden, C. and G. Lock. 2010. Continuity and religious practices in Roman Britain: The case of the rural religious complex at Marcham/Frilford, Oxfordshire. *Britannia*, 41, 95-125.

Gosden, C. and G. Lock. 2001. Hillforts of the Ridgeway Project: Excavations at Alfred's Castle 2000. *South Midlands Archaeology*, 31, 80-89.

Gosden, C. and G. Lock. 2003. Excavations at Marcham/Frilford 2001. *Britannia*, 34, 65-80.

Gosden, C. and G. Lock. 2007. Space, place and aesthetics on the Berkshire Downs. In Haselgrove and Pope (eds), 279-292.

Gosden, C., Lock, G. and P. Daly. 2005. *Segsbury Camp: Excavations in 1996 and 1997 at an Iron Age hillfort on the Oxfordshire Ridgeway*. Oxford University School of Archaeology Monographs, 61. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.

Goudineau, C., Guichard, V. and G. Kaenel (eds), 2010. *Celtes et Gaulois: L'archéologie face à l'histoire. Colloque de synthèse. Paris, Collège de France, du 3 au 7 juillet 2006*. Glux-en-Glenne: Centre archéologique européen.

Graeber, D. 2001. *Toward an anthropological theory of value: the false coin of our own dreams*. New York: Palgrave.

Greenfield, E. 1963. The Romano-British shrines at Brigstock, Northants. *Antiquaries Journal*, 43, 228-263.

Gregory, T. 1991. *Excavations in Thetford, 1980-1982, Fison Way*. East Anglian Archaeology Reports, 53. Dereham: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service.

Grierson, P. 1965. The interpretation of coin finds. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5, i-xvi.

Grierson, P. 1975. *Numismatics*. London: Oxford University Press.

Grinder-Hansen, K. 1991. Charon's fee in ancient Greece. *Acta Hyperborea*, 3, 207-218.

Gruel, K. 1987. Apport de la numismatique à l'archéologie. In Brunaux and Gruel (eds), 8-13.

Gruel, K. and C. Haselgrove. 2006. Le développement de l'usage monétaire à l'Age du Fer en Gaule et dans les régions voisines. In Haselgrove (ed.), 117-138.

Guest, P. 2008. The early monetary history of Roman Wales: Identity, conquest and acculturation on the imperial fringe. *Britannia*, 39, 33-58.

Gurney, D. 1986. *Settlement, religion and industry on the fen edge: three Romano-British sites in Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Reports, 31. Norfolk: Norfolk Archaeological Unit in conjunction with the Scole Archaeological Committee.

Gurney, D. and R. Hoggett. 2010. Excavations and surveys in Norfolk in 2008. *Norfolk Archaeology*, 45 (iv), 570-578.

Gwilt, A. 1997. Silent Silures? Locating people and places in the Iron Age of south Wales. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 297-328.

Gwilt, A. and C. Haselgrove (eds), 1997. *Reconstructing Iron Age societies: New approaches to the British Iron Age*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Haas, J. 2001. *From leaders to rulers*. New York: Springer.

Haggett, P. 1965. *Locational analysis in human geography*. London: Arnold.

Haiman, J. 1983. Iconic and economic motivation. *Language*, 59, 781-819.

Hamilton, E. 1995. Was there ever a Roman conquest? In Hill and Cumberpatch (eds), 37-44.

Hamilton, S. 2007. Cultural choices in the 'British Eastern Channel Area' in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 81-106.

Hamilton, S. and J. Manley. 2001. Hillforts, monumentality and place: A chronological and topographic review of first millennium BC hillforts of south-east England. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 4, 7-42.

Harding, D.W. 2012. *Iron Age hillforts in Britain and beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harding, J. and F. Healy (eds), 2011. *A Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape in Northamptonshire: The Raunds area project. Volume 2, Supplementary Studies*. Swindon: English Heritage.

Harl, K.W. 1996. *Coinage in the Roman economy, 300 BC to AD 700*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Harrison, S. 2003. The Icknield Way: Some queries. *The Archaeological Journal*, 160, 1-22.

Harris, O.J.T. 2014. (Re)assembling communities. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 21, 76-97.

Haselgrove, C. 1978. *Supplementary gazetteer of find-spots of Celtic coins in Britain, 1977*. Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper 11a. London: Institute of Archaeology.

Haselgrove, C. 1979. The significance of coinage in pre-conquest Britain. In B.C Burnham and H.B. Johnson (eds), *Invasion and response. The case of Roman Britain*. Oxford: BAR 73, 197-209.

Haselgrove, C. 1982. Wealth, prestige and power: The dynamics of late Iron Age political centralization in South–East England. In Renfrew and Shennan (eds), 79-88.

Haselgrove, C. 1984a. Celtic coins found in Britain 1977-82. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London*, 20, 107-154.

Haselgrove, C. 1984b. 'Romanisation' before the conquest: Gaulish precedents and British consequences. In Blagg, T.F.C. and A.C. King (eds), *Military and civilian in Roman Britain. Cultural relationships in a frontier province*. Oxford: BAR 136, 5-63.

Haselgrove, C. 1984c. Warfare and its aftermath as reflected in the precious metal coinage of Belgic Gaul. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1), 81-105.

Haselgrove, C. 1987a. *Iron Age coinage in South–East England: The archaeological context*. Oxford: BAR 174.

Haselgrove, C. 1987b. The archaeological context of Iron Age coin finds on major settlement sites in Eastern England: Colchester and St Albans. In Bémont, Fischer, Gruel, Peyre and Richard (eds), 483-496.

Haselgrove, C. 1988a. Coinage and complexity: Archaeological analysis of socio-political change in Britain and non-Mediterranean Gaul during the later Iron Age. In Gibson and Geselowitz (eds), 69-96.

Haselgrove, C. 1988b. Iron Age coins. In Potter and Trow (eds), 21-29.

Haselgrove, C. 1988c. The archaeology of British potin coinage. *Archaeological Journal*, 145, 99-122.

Haselgrove, C. 1989a. Iron Age coin deposition at Harlow Temple, Essex. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 8 (1), 73-88.

Haselgrove, C. 1989b. The later Iron Age in southern Britain. In Todd, M. (ed.), *Research on Roman Britain 1960-89*. Britannia Monographs, 11. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

Haselgrove, C. 1992. Iron Age coinage and archaeology. In M. Mays (ed.), *Celtic coinage: Britain and beyond*. Oxford: BAR 222, 123-137.

Haselgrove, C. 1993. The development of British Iron Age coinage. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 153, 31-63.

Haselgrove, C. 1994. Iron Age society in Wessex. In Fitzpatrick and Morris (eds), 1-3.

Haselgrove, C. 1995. Late Iron Age society in Britain and north-east Europe: Structural transformation or superficial change. In Arnold and Gibson (eds), 81-87.

Haselgrove, C. 1999. Iron Age in central Britain. In Bevan (ed.), 253-278.

Haselgrove, C. 2000. Contacts between Britain and the Continent during the Iron Age. In Lang, A. and V. Salač (eds), *Fernkontakte in der Eisenzeit. Konferenz Liblice 2000*. Praha, 282-297.

Haselgrove, C. 2001. Iron Age Britain and its European setting. In J. Collis (ed.), 2001. 37-72.

Haselgrove, C. 2004. Society and polity in Late Iron Age Britain. In Todd, M. (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell, 12-29.

Haselgrove, C. 2005a. A new approach to analysing the circulation of Iron Age coinage. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 165, 129-174.

Haselgrove, C. 2005b. A trio of temples: A reassessment of Iron Age coin deposition at Harlow, Hayling Island, and Wanborough. In Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 381-418.

Haselgrove, C. 2005c. Reassessing the roles of Roman coinage. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 12 (1), 28-31.

Haselgrove, C. (ed.), 2006a. *Celtes et Gaulois, l'archéologie face à l'histoire: Les mutations de la fin de l'âge du Fer; Actes de la table ronde de Cambridge, 7-8 Juillet 2005*. Glux-en-Glenne: Centre archéologique européen.

Haselgrove, C. 2006b. Early potin coinage in Britain: An update. In De Jersey (ed.), 17-27.

Haselgrove, C. 2006c. The impact of the Roman conquest on indigenous coinages in Belgic Gaul and southern Britain. In De Jersey (ed.), 97-115.

Haselgrove, C. 2007. Iron Age coin finds from religious sites in Belgic Gaul: a comparative study. In Barral *et al.* (eds), 703-717.

Haselgrove, C. 2009a. Noughts and crosses: The archaeology of 'globules-à-la-croix'. In van Heesch, J. and I. Heeren (eds), *Coinage in the Iron Age: Essays in honour of Simone Scheers*. London: Spink, 174-186.

Haselgrove, C. 2009b. The Iron Age. In Hunter, I. and J. Ralston (eds), *The archaeology of Britain: An introduction from earliest times to the twenty-first century*. London and New York: Routledge, 149-174.

Haselgrove, C. 2009c. Iron Age coins. In Trow *et al.* (eds), 144-147.

Haselgrove, C. 2010. Les mutations de la fin de l'âge du Fer. Table ronde de Cambridge, 7-8 juillet 2005. In Goudineau *et al.* (eds), 91-103.

Haselgrove, C. 2011. Beyond Hallaton: Rewriting the early history of central Britain. In Score (ed.), 165-174.

Haselgrove, C. 2015. Hoarding and other forms of metalwork deposition in Iron Age Britain. In Naylor, J. and R. Bland (eds), *Hoarding and the Deposition of metalwork from the Bronze Age to the 20th century: A British perspective*, BAR 615. Oxford: Archaeopress, 27-40.

Haselgrove, C. and R. Hingley. 2006. Iron deposition and its significance in pre-Roman Britain. In Bataille, G. and J.-P. Guillaumet (eds), *Les dépôts d'objets métalliques aux âges du fer*, Collection Bibracte 11. Bibracte: Glux-en-Glenne, 147-163 .

Haselgrove, C. and S. Krmnicek. 2012. The archaeology of money. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, 235-250.

Haselgrove, C. and S. Krmnicek (eds), 2016. *The archaeology of money. Proceedings of the Workshop 'Archaeology of Money', University of Tübingen, October 2013*. Leicester: Leicester Archaeology Monograph 24.

Haselgrove, C. and M. Millett. 1997. Verlamion reconsidered. In Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds), 282-296.

Haselgrove, C. and T. Moore (eds), 2007. *The later Iron Age in Britain and beyond*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Haselgrove, C. and R. Pope (eds), 2007. *The earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near Continent*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Haselgrove, C. and D. Wigg-Wolf (eds), 2005. *Iron Age coinage and ritual practices*. Studien zu Fundmunzen der Antike, 20. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

- Haynes, W.M. (ed.), 2011. *CRC Handbook of chemistry and physics*. London: CRC Press.
- Hawkes, C.F.C. 1959. The ABC of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity*, 33, 170-182.
- Hawkes, C.F.C. and P. Crummy. 1995. *Camulodunum 2: the Iron Age dykes*. Colchester archaeological report 11. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust.
- Hawkes, C.F.C. and M.R. Hull. 1947. *Camulodunum: First report on the excavations at Colchester, 1930–39*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 14. Oxford: Society of Antiquaries.
- Hedeager, L. 1992. *Iron-age societies: from tribe to state in northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heller, M. 1990. *The ontology of physical objects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hembrey, N. 2001. Roman Finds Group Spring meeting 2001. Lucerna. *The Roman Finds Group Newsletter*, 22, 19-21.
- Henig, M. 1972. The origin of some Ancient British coin types. *Britannia*, 3, 209-223.
- Henig, M. 2002. *The heirs of king Verica: culture & politics in Roman Britain*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Hey, G. 2007. Unravelling the Iron Age landscape of the Upper Thames valley. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 156-172.
- Hill, J.D. 1989. Re-thinking the Iron Age. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 6, 16-24.
- Hill, J.D. 1995a. How should we understand Iron Age societies and hillforts? A contextual study from southern Britain. In Hill and Cumberpatch (eds), 45-66.
- Hill, J.D. 1995b. *Ritual and rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex: A study on the formation of a specific archaeological record*. Oxford: BAR 242.

- Hill, J.D. 1996. The identification of ritual deposits of animals: A general perspective from 'special animal deposits' from the southern English Iron Age. In Anderson S. and K. Boyle (eds), *Ritual treatment of human and animal remains: Proceeding of the first meeting of the Osteoarchaeological Research Group, Cambridge, 1994*. Oxford: Oxbow, 17-32.
- Hill, J.D. 2006. Are we any closer to understanding how later Iron Age societies worked (or did not work)? In Haselgrove (ed.), 169-180.
- Hill, J.D. 2007. The dynamics of social change in later Iron Age eastern and southeastern. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 16-40.
- Hill, J.D. 2011. How did Middle and Late Iron Age societies in Britain work (if they did?). In Moore and Armada (eds), 242-263.
- Hill, J.D. and C.G. Cumberpatch (eds), 1995. *Different Iron Ages: Studies on the Iron Age in temperate Europe*. Oxford: BAR 602.
- Hill, J.D., Spence, A., Niece, S. and S. Worrell. 2004. The Winchester hoard: A find of unique Iron Age gold jewellery from southern England. *Antiquaries Journal*, 84, 1-22.
- Hingley, R. 1984. Towards social analysis in archaeology: Celtic society in the Iron Age of the Upper Thames Valley. In Cunliffe and Miles (eds), 72-88.
- Hingley, R. 1990. Iron Age 'currency bars': The archaeological and social context. *Archaeological Journal*, 147, 91-117.
- Hingley, R. 1992. Society in Scotland from 700 BC to AD 200. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scotland*, 122, 7-53.
- Hingley, R. 1999. The imperial context of Romano-British studies and proposals for a new understanding of social change. In P.P. Funari, Hall, M. and S. Jones (eds), *Historical archaeology: Back from the edge*. London: Routledge, 137-150.

Hingley, R. 2005. Iron Age 'currency bars' in Britain: Items of exchange in liminal contexts? In Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 183-206.

Hingley, R. 2006. The deposition of iron objects in Britain during the later prehistoric and Roman periods: Contextual analysis and the significance of iron. *Britannia*, 37, 213-257.

Hingley, R. 2007. The currency bars. In Crummy *et al.* (eds), 33-36.

Hingley, R. 2011. Iron Age knowledge: Pre-Roman peoples and myths of origin. In Moore and Armada (eds), 617-637.

Hobbs, R. 1996. *British Iron Age coins in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.

Hobbs, R. 2015. The Iron Age coin assemblage from Elms Farm, Heybridge, Essex. In Atkinson and Preston (eds), vol 2, <http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.40.1.hobbs>

Hodder, I. 1979. Pre-Roman and Romano-British tribal economies, in Burnham, B.C. and H.B. Johnson (eds), *Invasion and response: The case of Roman Britain*. Oxford: BAR 73, 189-196.

Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in action: Ethno-archaeological studies of material culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I. 1989. *The meanings of things: Material culture and symbolic expression*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Hodder, I. 1990. Style as historical quality. In Conkey, M. and Hastorf, C. (eds), *The uses of style in archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 44-51.

Hodder, I. 2001. Introduction: A review of contemporary debates in archaeology. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-13.

Hodson, F.R. 1960. Reflections on the 'ABC' of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity*, 34, 138-140.

- Hodson, F.R. 1964. Cultural groupings within the British pre-Roman Iron Age. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 30, 99-110.
- Holbrook, N. 2008. Cirencester and the Cotswolds: The Early Roman evolution of a town and rural landscape. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 21, 304-323.
- Holman, D. 2000. Iron Age coinage in Kent: A review of current knowledge. *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 120, 205-233.
- Holman, D. 2005. Iron Age coins from Worth, Kent and other possible evidence of ritual deposition in Kent. In Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 381-418.
- Holmes, J. and W.H.C. Frend. 1964. A Belgic chieftain's grave on Hertford Heath, East Hertfordshire. *Archaeological Society Transactions*, 14, 1-19.
- Hölscher, T. 1987. *Römische Bildsprache als semantische System*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Honoré, A.M. 1961. Ownership. In Honoré, *Making Law Bind: Essays Legal and Philosophical*: Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Horden, P. and N. Purcell. 2000. *The corrupting sea: A study of Mediterranean*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Houston, S.D.S. and K. Taube 2000. An archaeology of the senses: Perception and cultural expression in Ancient Mesoamerica. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 10 (2), 261-294.
- Howgego, C. 1995. *Ancient history from coins*. London: Routledge.
- Howgego, C. (ed.), 2005. *Coinage and Identity in the Roman provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Howgego, C. 2013. The monetization of temperate Europe. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 103, 16-45.

Hunn, J.T. 1980. The Earthworks of Prae Wood: An Interim Account. *Britannia*, 11, 21-30.

Hunn, J.T. 1992. The Verulamium oppidum and its landscape in the late Iron Age. *The Archaeological Journal*, 149, 39-68.

Hunter, F. 2005. The image of the warrior in the British Iron Age: coin iconography in context. In Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 43-68.

Hunter, F. 2007. Artefacts, regions, and identities in the northern British Iron Age. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 286-296

Hutcheson, N. 2007. An archaeological investigation of later Iron Age Norfolk: Analysing hoarding patterns across the landscape. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 358-370.

Hutcheson, N. 2011. Excavations at Snettisham, Norfolk, 2004: re-investigating the past. In Davies (ed.), 41-48.

Hutchinson, N. 2004. *Later Iron Age Norfolk: metalwork, landscape and society*. Oxford: BAR 361.

Insoll, T. 2007 (ed.), *The archaeology of identities: a reader*. London: Routledge.

Isbell, W.H. 2000. What we should be studying: The 'imagined community' and the 'natural community'. In M.A. Canuto and J. Yaeger (eds), *The archaeology of communities: A new world perspective*. London: Routledge, 243-266.

Ivens, R. 2005. *Archaeological test pits at the church of St. Michael and All Angels, Ashton, Northamptonshire*. Unpublished site report.

Jackson, D.A., Ambrose, T.M., Pacitto, A.L. and P.J. Woods. 1978. Excavations at Wakerley, Northants. 1972-75. *Britannia*, 9, 115-242.

Jackson, R. 1990. *Camerton: the Late Iron Age and Early Roman metalwork*. London: British Museum.

- Jackson, R. 1996. Excavations at Stonea Grange. In Jackson and Potter (eds), 61-67.
- Jackson, R.P.J. and T.W. Potter (eds), 1996. *Excavations at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, 1980-85*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press.
- James, S. 1993. *Exploring the world of the Celts*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- James, S. 1999. *I celti, popolo atlantico*. Rome: Newton & Compton.
- James, S. 2007. A bloodless past: the pacification of the Early Iron Age Britain. In C. Haselgrove and R. Pope (eds), *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent*. Oxford: Oxbow, 160-173.
- Jenkins, R. 2004. *Social identity*. London: Routledge (2nd edition).
- Johnson, A.W. and T. Earle. 1987. *The evolution of human societies from foraging group to agrarian state*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Jones, A. and R. Bradley. 1999. What meaning had colour in early societies? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 9, 109-126.
- Jones, G.P., Mephram, L. and A.B. Powell. 2008. An Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Cleveland Farm, Aston Keynes, Wiltshire. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 101, 18-50.
- Jones, M. 2006. *Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British archaeology on the March to Chatteris Anglian Water Pipeline, Cambridgeshire*. Cambridgeshire Archaeology, Unpublished site report.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The archaeology of ethnicity: Constructing identities in the past and present*. London: Routledge.
- Jones, S. 2007. Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past. In Insoll (ed.), 44-58.
- Joep, M. 2000. *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Jowett, G.S. and V. O'Donnell. 2012. *Propaganda and persuasion*. London: Sage.
- Joy, J. 2010. *Iron Age Mirrors: a biographical approach*. Oxford: BAR 518.
- Karl, R. 2003. Iron Age chariots and medieval texts: A step too far in 'breaking down boundaries'? *e-Keltoi*, 5, 1-29.
- Kay, P. and C.K. McDaniel. 1978. The linguistic significance of the meanings of basic color terms. *Language*, 54 (3), 610-646.
- Keates, S. 2002. The flashing blade: Copper, colour and luminosity in North Italian Copper Age Society. In A. Jones and G. MacGregor (eds), *Colouring the past: The significance of colour in archaeological research*. Oxford: Berg, 109-126.
- Keeley, L.H. 1996. *War before civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Keeney, R.L. 1996. Value-focused thinking: identifying decision opportunities and creating alternatives. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 92, 537-549.
- Kemmers, F. and N. Myrberg. 2011. Re-thinking numismatics: The archaeology of coins. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 18, 87-108.
- Kidd, A. 2000. *The 1st Millennium BC in Northamptonshire: A resource assessment*. The East Midlands Archaeological Research Frameworks Project, Stage 1: An Archaeological Resource Assessment.
www.le.ac.uk/archaeology/east_midlands_research_framework.
- Kimes, T. Haslegrove, C. and I. Hodder. 1982. A method for the identification of regional cultural boundaries. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 1, 113-131.
- King, A.C. and G. Soffe. 1994. The Iron Age and Roman temple on Hayling Island. In Fitzpatrick and Morris (eds), 114-116.
- King, A.C. and G. Soffe. 2001. Internal organisation and deposition at the Iron Age temple on Hayling Island (Hampshire). In Collis (ed.), 111-124.

King, C. and D. Wigg-Wolf (eds), 1996. *Coin finds and coin use in the Roman world: The thirteenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, 25.-27.3.1993, a NATO advanced research workshop*. Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike, 10. Berlin: Mann Verlag.

Kim, H.S. 2001. Archaic coinage as evidence for the use of money. In A. Meadows and K. Shipton (eds), *Money and its uses in the ancient Greek world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 7-12.

Kipp, R. and E.M. Schortman. 1989. The political impact of trade in chiefdoms. *American Anthropologist*, 91, 370-385.

Knappett, C. 2013. *Network analysis in archaeology: New approaches to regional interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knight, D. 1984. *Late Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement in the Nene and Ouse basins*. Oxford: BAR 130.

Koch, J.T. and B.W. Cunliffe (eds), 2013. *Celtic from the West 2: Rethinking the Bronze Age and the arrival of Indo-European in Atlantic Europe*. Celtic Studies Publications, 16. Oxford: Oxbow.

Kohl, P. 1987. The ancient economy, transferable technologies and the Bronze Age world system: A view from the north-eastern frontier of the ancient Near East. In Rowlands *et al.* (eds), 13-24.

Köhler, M. 1995. Understanding the oscillating nature of hillfort settlement in Hallstatt Thuringia. In Hill and Cumberpatch (eds), 195-212.

Kopytoff, I. 1986. The cultural biography of things. In Appadurai (ed.), 64-91.

Kossinna, G. 1911. *Die Herkunft der Germanen: Zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie*. Würzburg: Kabitzsch.

- Kraay, C.M. 1964. Hoards, small change and the origins of coinage. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 84, 76-91.
- Kretz, R. 2006. The silver coinage of Tasciovanos. In De Jersey (ed.), 183-212.
- Kretz, R. 2010. The biga gold of Cunobelinus. *British Numismatic Journal*, 80, 24-50.
- Krmnicek, S. 2009. Das Konzept der Objektbiographie in der Antiken Numismatik. In Von Kaenel and Kemmers (eds), 47-59.
- Kroeber, A.L. 1962. *A roster of civilization and culture*. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Kruta, V. 2003. *La grande storia dei Celti: La nascita, l'affermazione e la decadenza*. Rome: Newton & Compton.
- Kurke, L. 1999. *Coins, bodies, games and gold: The politics of meaning in archaic Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kusaka, Y. 1959. Activation analysis of silver by using a radium-beryllium neutron source. *Japan Analyst*, 8, 111-115.
- Lambrick, G. and M. Robinson 2009. *The Thames through time: the archaeology of the gravel terraces of the Upper and Middle Thames. The Thames Valley in Late Prehistory: 1500 BC - AD 50*. Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 29. Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.
- Lambot, B. and L.P. Delestrée. 1991. Des séries de potins du Belgium antérieures au debut du 1er siècle av. J.C. *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Champenoise*, 84, 67-79.
- Langacker, R.W. 1987, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Theoretical Prerequisites*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Landon, M. 2009 Making a mint, the archaeology of a late Iron Age industry. *Current Archaeology*, 234, 20-25.

Lawes, J. 2008. Blacklands 2007. *Camertonionia*, 46, 4-9.

Lawes, J. 2009. Blacklands 2008. *Camertonionia*, 47, 4-9.

Lawers, C. 2015. Coins et ateliers monétaires celtes: de l'*oppidum* aux artisan itinérants. *Revue belge de Numismatique*, 161, 55-72.

Lawson, A.J. and R. Le Hegarat. 1986. The excavation of a mound on Gallows Hill, Thetford, 1978-9. In A.J. Lawson (ed.), *Barrow excavations in Norfolk, 1950-82*. East Anglian Archaeology reports, 29. Gressenhall: Norfolk Archaeological Unit, 65-69.

Le Rider, G. 1981. *Code pour l'analyse des monnaies*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

LeBlanc, S. 2003. Prehistory of warfare. *Archaeology*, 56 (3), 18-25.

LeFevre R. 1996. *The philosophy of ownership*. Auburn: Ludwig Von Mises Institute.

LeFur, D. 1990. Les pigments dans la peinture égyptienne. In C. Coupry (ed.), *Pigments et colorants de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge. Teinture, peinture, enluminure, études historiques et physico-chimiques*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 181-188.

Leins, I. 2007. East Leicestershire: Coinage, ritual & society in the Iron Age East Midlands. *British Numismatic Journal*, 77, 22-48.

Leins, I. 2008. What can be inferred from the regional stylistic diversity of Iron Age coinage? In D. Garrow, Gosden, C. and J.D. Hill (eds), *Rethinking Celtic art*. Oxford: Oxbow, 100-112.

Leins, I. 2011. The coins. In Score (ed.), 39-60.

Leins, I. 2012. *Numismatic data reconsidered: Coin distributions and interpretation in studies of late Iron Age Britain*. Unpublished PhD thesis: Newcastle University.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1952. *Race and history*. Paris: UNESCO.

- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1966. *The savage mind*. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson.
- Lewis, C. and Ranson, C. 2011. *Mount Bures Archaeological excavations in Mount Bures, Essex*, <http://www.access.arch.cam.ac.uk/reports/essex/mountbures/2011>
- Linebarger, P.M.A. 1954. *Psychological Warfare*. Washington: Combat Forces Press.
- Linton, R. 1936. *The study of man: An introduction*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Lo Cascio, E. 1996. How did the Romans view their coinage and its function? In King and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 273-287.
- Lockyear, K. 2000. Site finds in Roman Britain: A comparison of techniques. *Oxford journal of Archaeology*, 19 (4), 397-423.
- Luley, B. 2008. Coinage at Lattara. Using archaeological context to understand ancient coins. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 15 (2), 174-195.
- Lyons, A. 2004. *Romano-British industrial activity at Snettisham, Norfolk: Archaeological investigations at Strickland Avenue and Station Road*. East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Papers, 18. Dereham: Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.
- Mac Sweeney, N. 2011. *Community identity and archaeology: Dynamic communities at Aphrodisias and Beycesultan*. Anne Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Mack, R.P. 1953. *The coinage of the ancient Britain*. London: Spink.
- Mack, R.P. 1964. *The coinage of the ancient Britain*. London: Spink (2nd edition).
- Mack, R.P. 1975. *The coinage of the ancient Britain*. London: Spink (3rd edition).
- Magilton, J. 2003. The defences of Roman Chichester. In P. Wilson (ed.), *The archaeology of Roman towns: Studies in honour of John S. Wacher*. Oxford: Oxbow, 156-167.

Mainjonet, M. 1974. Les animaux imaginaires des monnaies gauloises. In *Le bestiaire des monnaies, des sceaux et des médailles*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 107-127.

Malinowski, B. 1964. An anthropological analysis of war. In L. Bramson and G.W. Goethals (eds), *War: Studies from psychology, sociology and anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 245-268.

Manley, J. (ed.), 2008. *The archaeology of Fishbourne and Chichester: A framework for its future*. Lewes: Sussex Archaeological Society.

Mann, M. 1986. *The sources of social power. Vol.1, A history of power from the beginning to AD 1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Manning, R. 2004. Iron Age money-box found in Norfolk. *Kent Archaeological Review*, 155, 113.

Marsden, A. 2011. The Iron Age coins from Snettisham. In Davies (ed.), 49-58.

Martin, S. 2011. Monnaies romaines, usagers gaulois et vice versa: L'exemple de la Gaule de l'Est. In M. Reddé (ed.), *Aspects de la Romanisation dans l'Est de la Gaule*. Glux-en-Glenne: Centre archéologique européen, 937-944.

Martin, T.R. 1985. *Sovereignty and coinage in classical Greece*. Princeton and Guildford: Princeton University Press.

Marx, K. 1977. [1859]. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Mattingly, D. 2004. Being Roman: Expressing identity in a provincial setting. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 17, 5-25.

Maurer, B. 2006. The anthropology of money. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35, 15-36.

Mauss, M. 1966 (first pub. 1925). *The gift: Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

May, J. 2006. An Iron Age coin weight from Rotherwick, Hampshire. In De Jersey (ed.), 243-248.

Mays, M. 1987. Durotrigan coins. In B. Cunliffe (ed.), *Hengistbury Head Dorset. Volume 1: The prehistoric and Roman settlements*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 13. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Mays, M. (ed.), 1992a. *Celtic coinage: Britain and beyond. The eleventh oxford symposium on coinage and monetary history*. Oxford: BAR 222.

Mays, M. 1992b. Inscriptions on British Celtic coins. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 152, 57-82.

McCulloch, W. 1945. A heterarchy of values determined by the topology of nervous nets. *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, 7, 89-93.

McGregor, W.B. 2009. *Expression of cognitive categories. Volume 2: Expression of possession*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

McIntosh, S. 2005. *Ancient Middle Niger: Urbanism and the self-organizing landscape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Megaw, J.V.S. and M.R. Megaw. 2005. *Early Celtic art in Britain and Ireland*. Princes Risborough: Shire Publications (2nd revised edition).

Meskel, L.M. 2001. Archaeologies of identity. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological theory: Breaking the boundaries*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 187-213.

Miles, D., Cromarty, A.M., Gosden, C., Lock, G.R. and S. Palmer (eds), 2003. *Uffington White Horse and its landscape: Investigations at White Horse Hill Uffington, 1989-95 and Tower Hill Ashbury, 1993-4*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miller, D. 1985. *Artefacts as categories: A study of ceramic variability in central India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, D., Rowlands, M. and C. Tilley (eds), 1989. *Domination and resistance*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Millett, M. 1986. An early Roman cemetery at Alton, Hampshire. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, 42, 43-87.

Millett, M. 1990. *The romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Millett, M. 2005. *Roman Britain*. London: B.T. Batsford

Mommsen, T. 1850. *Über das römische Münzwesen*. Leipzig: Weidmann.

Monaghan, P.X. 2013. *Philosophical Analysis: Property. Possession as identity: an essay in metaphysics*. Berling: Walter de Gruyter.

Montelius, O. 1903. *Die älteren kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa*. Stockholm: Selbstverlag.

Moore, H.L. 1994. *A passion for difference: Essays in anthropology and gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Moore, T. 2006. *Iron Age Societies in the Severn-Cotswolds: Developing Narratives of Social and Landscape Change*. Oxford: BAR 421.

Moore, T. 2007. The Early to Later Iron Age transition in the Severn-Cotswold: Enclosing the household? In Haselgrove and Pope (eds), 259-278.

Moore, T. 2011. Detribalizing the later prehistoric past: Concepts of tribes in Iron Age and Roman studies. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 11 (3), 334-360.

Moore, T., and L. Armada (eds), 2011. *Atlantic Europe in the first millennium BC: Crossing the divide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Morin, V. 1969. L'objet biographique. *Communications*, 13, 131-139.

Morley, I. 2007a. Time, cycles and ritual behaviour. In D.A. Barrowclough and C. Malone (eds), *Cult and context: Reconsidering ritual in archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow, 205-209.

Morley, N. 2007b. *Trade in classical antiquity: Key themes in Ancient History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morphy, H. 1992. *From dull to brilliant: The aesthetics of spiritual power among the Yolngu*. In J. Coote and A. Shelton (eds), *Anthropology, art and aesthetics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 181-208.

Morris, F.M. 2010. *North Sea and Channel connectivity during the late Iron Age and Roman period (175-150 BC – AD 409)*. Oxford: BAR International Series 2157.

Morris, M. 1986. An Iron Age and Romano-British site at Choseley Farm, Odiham: the excavations of Dorothy Liddell, 1937. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, 42, 89-108.

Morse, M.A. 1996. What's in a name? The 'Celts' in presentations of prehistory in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. *Journal of European Archaeology*, 4, 305-328.

Mossop, H.R. 1979. An elusive Icenian legend. *Britannia*, 10, 258-259.

Mudd, A. 2002. *A6 Rushden-Higham Ferrers by-pass, site 3*. Northamptonshire Archaeology, Unpublished site report.

Mudd, A. 2004. Iron Age and Roman enclosures near Higham Ferrers: The archaeology of the A6 Rushden and Higham Ferrers bypass. *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 32, 57-93.

Mudd, A., Lupton, A. and R.J. Williams. 1999. *Excavations alongside Roman Ermine Street, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire. The archaeology of the A419/A417 Swindon to Gloucester Road Scheme*. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Mudd, A., Cook, J. and E.B.A. Guttman. 2005. Excavations of an Iron Age site at Coxwell Road, Faringdon. *Oxoniensia*, 69, 181-285.

Myrberg, N. 2009. The social identity of coin hoards: an example of theory and practice in the space between numismatics and archaeology. In von Kaenel and Kemmers (eds), 157-171.

Nadel, S.F. 1951. *The foundation of social anthropology*. London: Cohen & West.

Nash, D. 1976. The growth of urban society in France. In B.W. Cunliffe and T. Rowley international Series 11, 95-133.

Nash, D. 1978. *Settlement and coinage in Central Gaul 200-50 BC*. Oxford: BAR International Series 39.

Nash, D. 1984. The basis of contact between Britain and Gaul. In S. Macready and F.H. Thompson (eds), *Cross-channel trade between Gaul and Britain in the pre-Roman Iron Age*. Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers, 4. London: Society of Antiquaries, 92-107.

Nash, D. 1987. *Coinage in the Celtic world*. London: Seaby.

Neal, D.S., Hunn, J. and A. Wardle. 1990. *Excavation of the Iron Age, Roman and medieval settlement at Gorhambury, St Albans*. English Heritage Archaeology Reports, 14. London: Historic Buildings & Monuments Commission for England.

Newman, M., Barabási, A.L. and D.J. Watts. 2006. *The structure and dynamics of networks*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Niblett, R. 1993. Verulamium since the Wheelers. In Greep (ed.), 78-92.

Niblett, R. 2001. *Verulamium: The Roman city of St Albans*. Stroud: Tempus.

Nick, M. 2009. Economic and social patterns in Celtic coin use. In von Kaenel and Kemmers (eds), 173-186.

Northover, P. 1992. Materials issues. In Mays (ed.), 235-300.

Oakley, F. 2006. *Kingship: the politics of enchantment*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Olivier, A. 1996. *Frameworks for our past*. London: English Heritage.
- Osgood, R., Monks, S. and J. Toms. 2000. *Bronze Age warfare*. Stroud: Sutton.
- Papworth, M. 2008. *Deconstructing the Durotriges: A definition of Iron Age communities within the Dorset environs*. Oxford: BAR 462.
- Parfitt, K. and B. Brugmann. 1997. *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Mill Hill, Deal, Kent*. London: The Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- Parker Pearson, M. and I.J. Thorpe (eds), 2005. *Warfare, violence and slavery in prehistory: proceedings of a Prehistoric Society conference at Sheffield University*. Oxford: BAR International Series 1374.
- Partridge, C. 1980. Excavations at Puckeridge and Braughing, 1975-79. *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, 7, 28-132.
- Partridge, C. 1981. *Skeleton Green. A late Iron Age Romano-British site*. *Britannia Monographs*, 2. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Pauketat, T.R. 2007. *Chieftdoms and other archaeological delusions*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.
- Pauketat, T.R. and T.E. Emmerson. 1991. The ideology of authority and the power of the pot. *American Anthropologist*, 93 (4), 919-941.
- Peake, H. 1922. *The bronze age and the Celtic world*. London: Benn.
- Pettingal, J. 1763. *A dissertation upon the Tascia legend on the British coins of Cunobelin and others*. London.
- Philpot, S. and T.W. Potter. 1996. Excavations at Stonea Camp. In Jackson and Potter (eds), 27-44.
- Pike, K.L. 1967. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. Paris and The Hague: Mouton.

- Pitts, M. 2010. Re-thinking the Southern British oppida: Networks, kingdoms and material culture. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 13 (1), 32-63.
- Polanyi, K. 1944. *The great transformation*. New York: Octagon Books [Reprint: 1975].
- Polanyi, K. 1957. The economy as an insituted process. In Polanyi *et alii* (eds), 243-270.
- Polanyi, K., Arensberg, C.M. and H.W. Pearson (eds), 1957. *Trade and market in the early empires: economies in history and theory*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press.
- Polenz, H. 1982. Münzen in latènzeitlichen Gräbern Mitteleuropas aus der Zeit swischen 300 und 50v. Chr. Geburt. *Bayerische Vorgeschihtsblätter*, 47, 27-222.
- Ponting, M. 2003. Fingerprinting of Roman mints using laser ablation MC-ICP-MS lead isotope analysis. *Archaeometry*, 45, 591-597.
- Potter, T.W. and S.D. Trow (eds), 1988. *Puckeridge-Braughing, Hertfordshire: The Ermine Street excavations, 1971-1972*. Hertfordshire Archaeology, 10. Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire Archaeological Society.
- Price, E.G. 1990. Frocester Court excavations 1989. *Glevensis*, 24, 30-32.
- Priest, P., Clay, P. and J.D. Hill. 2003. Iron Age gold from Leicestershire. *Current Archaeology*, 188, 358-360.
- Qualmann, K.E., Rees, H., Scobie, G.D. and R. Whinney (eds), 2004. *Oram's Arbour: The Iron Age enclosure at Winchester. Volume 1: Investigations 1950 – 1999*. Winchester: Winchester Museum Service, Winchester City Council.
- Rahmstorf, L. 2016. From 'value ascription' to coinage: a sketch of monetary developments in Western Eurasia from the Stone to the Iron Age. In Haselgrove and Krmnicek (eds), 19-42.
- Rainbird Clarke, R. 1955-57. A hoard of silver coins of the Iceni from Honingham, Norfolk. *British Numismatic Journal*, 28, 1-10.

- Ralston, I. 2006. *Celtic fortifications*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Randsborg, K. 1992. Barbarians, classical antiquity, and the rise of Western Europe: An archaeological essay. *Past and Present*, 137, 8-24.
- Reece, R. 1987. *Coinage in Roman Britain*. London: Seaby.
- Reece, R. 1995. Site-finds in Roman Britain. *Britannia*, 26, 179-206.
- Reece, R. 1996. The interpretation of site finds - A review. In King and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 341-355.
- Reher-Díez, G.S. 2011. The 'introduction to ethnicity syndrome' in proto-historical archaeology. In Moore and Armada (eds), 656-667.
- Renfrew, C. 1986. Introduction: Peer polity interaction and socio-political change. In C. Renfrew and J.F. Cherry (eds), *Peer polity Interaction and socio-political change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-18.
- Renfrew, C. and S. Shennan (eds), 1982. *Ranking, resource and exchange: Aspects of the archaeology of early European society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rieckhoff, S. (ed.), 2006. *Celtes et Gaulois, l'Archéologie face à l'Histoire: Celtes et Gaulois dans l'histoire, l'historiographie et l'idéologie moderne; Actes de la table ronde de Leipzig, 16-17 Juin 2005*. Glux-en-Glenne: Centre archéologique européen.
- Ripollès, P. 2007. Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces: Spain. In Howgego (ed.), 79-94.
- Rodwell, K. 1988. *The prehistoric and Roman settlement at Kelvedon, Essex*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 63. London: Council for British Archaeology and the Chelmsford Archaeological Trust.
- Rodwell, W. 1976. Coinage, oppida and the rise of the Belgic power in South-Eastern Britain. In B.W. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds), *Oppida: The beginning of urbanization in barbarian Europe*. Oxford: BAR International Series 11, 181-366.

Rogers, A. 2011. *Late Roman towns in Britain: Rethinking change and decline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rohrer, T. 2007. Embodiment and experientialism. In D. Geeraerts and H. Cuyckens (eds), *The Oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 25-47.

Rokeach, M. 1973; *The Nature of Human Values* New York: The Free Press.

Rowlands, M. 1973. Modes of exchange and the incentives for trade, with reference to later European prehistory. In C. Renfrew (ed.), *The explanation of culture change: Models in prehistory. Proceedings of a meeting of the Research Seminar in Archaeology and Related Subjects held at the University of Sheffield*. London: Duckworth, 560-589.

Rowlands, M. 1998. The archaeology of colonialism. In K. Kristiansen and M. Rowlands (eds), *Social Transformation in Archaeology*. London: Routledge, 327-333.

Rowlands, M., Larsen, L. and K. Kristiansen (eds), 1987. *Centre and periphery in the ancient world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roymans, N. 1990. *Tribal societies in Northern Gaul: An anthropological perspective*. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, Albert Egges van Giffen Instituut voor Prae-en Protohistorie.

Roymans, N. 2004. *Ethnic identity and imperial power. The Batavians in the Early Roman empire*. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 10. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Roymans, N., Creemers, G. and S. Scheers (eds), 2012. *Late Iron Age gold hoards from the low countries and the Caesarian conquest of Northern Gaul*. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, 18. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Rudkin, J. and D. Manley. 2005. A pre-A.D. 43 ditch at Fishbourne Roman Palace, Chichester. *Britannia*, 36, 55-99.

Russell, M. 2010. *Bloodline: the Celtic Kings of Roman Britain*. Stroud: Amberley.

Said, E.W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Savatier, F., Collis, J. and J.L. Brunaux. 2010. L'archéologie et les études celtiques en Europe: Écoles, clivages, sensibilités. In Goudineau *et al.* (eds), 151-177.

Scarre, C. 2002. Epilogue: Colour and materiality in prehistoric society. In Jones and MacGregor (eds), 227-242.

Scheers, S. 1977. *Traité de numismatique celtique II: La Gaule Belgique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Scheers, S. 1982. Les imitations celtiques des monnaies romaines en Angleterre et leur signification historique. In T. Hackens and R. Weiller (eds), *Actes du 9ème Congrès International de Numismatique : Berne, Septembre 1979 / 1. Numismatique antique*. Louvain-la-neuve: AINP Publication, 619-623.

Schiffer, M.B. 1976. *Behavioral archaeology*. New York: Academic Press.

Schortman, E.M. and P.A. Urban. 1994. Living on the edge: Core/periphery relations in ancient southeastern Mesoamerica. *Current Anthropology*, 35 (4), 401-430.

Schwartz, S.H. 2006. Les valeurs de base de la personne: théorie, mesures et applications. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 47, 249-288.

Schwartz, S.H. and W. Bilsky. 1987. Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 550-562.

Score, V. (ed.), 2011. *Hoards, hounds and helmets: A conquest-period ritual site at Hallaton, Leicestershire*. Leicester Archaeology Monographs, 21. Leicester: University of Leicester Archaeological Services.

Score, V. and J. Browning. 2010. Ritual, hoard and helmets: a Late Iron Age shrine at Hallaton, East Leicestershire. In M. Sterry, A. Tullett and N. Ray (eds), *In search of the Iron Age. Proceedings of the Iron Age Research Student Seminar 2008, University of*

Leicester, Leicester Archaeology Monograph 18, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, 145-163.

Seaford, R. 2004. *Money and the early greek mind. Homer, philosophy, tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sealey, P.R. 2007. *A late Iron Age warrior burial from Kelvedon, Essex*. East Anglian Archaeology Reports, 118. Colchester: Colchester Museums.

Sellwood, L. 1984. Tribal boundaries viewed from the perspective of numismatic evidence. In Cunliffe and Miles (eds). 191-204.

Sellwood, L. 1988a. The British coins. In Trow, S.D. (ed.), *Excavations at Ditches hillfort, North Cerney, Gloucestershire, 1982-3. Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 106, 40-43.

Sellwood, L. 1988b. The Celtic coins. In B.W. Cunliffe (ed.), *The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath. Volume 2: the finds from the sacred spring*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monographs, 16. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 279-280.

Service, E.R. 1962. *Primitive social organization: An evolutionary perspective*. New York: Random House.

Sharples, N. 1991. Warfare in the Iron Age of Wessex. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 8, 79-89.

Sharples, N. 2010. *Social relations in later prehistory: Wessex in the first millennium BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sharples, N. 2011. Boundaries, status and conflict: An exploration of Iron Age research in the 20th century. In Moore and Armada (eds), 668-682.

Shennan, S.J. (ed.), 1989. *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Shennan, S.J. 2004. Culture, society and evolutionary theory. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 11 (2), 107-113.

Sillon, C. 2014. *L'or monnayé dans le Nord de la Gaule. Recherches sur les monnaies d'or frappées dans le Nord de la Gaule entre le III^e s. av. J.-C et le I^{er} s. av. J.-C.* Thèse de l'Université d'Orléans.

Sillon, C. 2015. De coins monétaires du nord-ouest de la Gaule découvertes en Bretagne insulaire. *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique*, 7, 173-179.

Sills, J. 1997. The earliest British coins: Dating the undated. *Chris Rudd list*, 27, 2-5.

Sills, J. 2000. The Ingoldisthorpe stater and the study of Iron Age coins. *Chris Rudd list*, 49, 2-3.

Sills, J. 2003. *Gaulish and early British gold coinage*. London: Spink.

Silvester, R.J. 1991. *The Fenland project, number 4: Norfolk survey, the Wissey embayment and Fen causeway*. East Anglian Archaeology Report, 52. Gressenhall: The Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Sims-Williams, P. 1998. Celtomania and Celtoscepticism. *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 36, 1-35.

Small, D.B. 1995. Heterarchical paths to evolution: The role of external economies. In Crumley *et al.* (eds), 71-86.

Smith, A. 2001. *The differential use of constructed sacred space in southern Britain, from the late Iron Age to the 4th century AD*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Stead, I. 1967. A La Tène burial at Welwyn Garden City. *Archaeologia*, 101, 1-62.

Stead, I. 1969. Verulamium, 1966-8 [King Harry Lane site, EIA to Saxon]. *Antiquity*, 43, 45-52.

Stead, I. 1979. *The Arras Culture*. Yorkshire: York Philosophical Society.

- Stead, I. 1991. The Snettisham treasure. *Antiquity*, 65, 447-464.
- Stead, I. 1993. Snettisham. *Current Archaeology*, 135, 97-102.
- Stead, I. 1996. *Celtic Art in Britain before the Roman Conquest*. London: British Museum.
- Stead, I., Lang, J. and C.R. Cartwright. 2006. *British Iron Age swords and scabbards*. London: British Museum.
- Stead I.M. and V. Rigby (eds). 1986. *Baldock: The excavation of a Roman and pre-Roman settlement, 1968-72. Britannia Monograph, 7*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Stevens, S. 1999. *An archaeological evaluation of land at Shamrock Nursery, Birdham, West Sussex (Report 1013)*. Archaeology South-East, Unpublished site report.
- Steward, J.H. 1955. *Theory of culture change: The methodology of multilinear evolution*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Stopford, J. 1987. Danebury: An alternative view. *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 14, 70-75.
- Stukeley, W. 1776. *Twenty-three plates of the coins of the ancient British kings*. London: PUBLISHER.
- Szabò, M. 2010. Les civilisés et les barbares, du Ve au II^e siècle avant J.-C. Table ronde de Budapest, 17-18 juin 2005. In Goudineau *et al.* (eds), 67-90.
- Taçon, P. 1999. All things bright and beautiful: The role and meaning of colour in human development. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 9 (1), 120-123.
- Talbot, J. 2006. The Iceni early face/horse series. In De Jersey (ed.), 213-241.
- Tann, G. 2001. *Milla Lane, Water Newton, Cambridgeshire. Archaeological desk-based assessment*. Lindsey Archaeological Services, Unpublished site report.

Taylor, A. 2006. *Grove Airfield, Wantage, Oxfordshire. An archaeological evaluation*. Thames Valley Archaeological Services, Unpublished site report.

Taylor, A., Weale, A, and S. Ford 2014. *Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman Landscapes of the Coastal Plain, and a Late Iron Age Warrior Burial at North Bersted, Bognor Regis, West Sussex*, Reading: Thames Valley Archaeological Services Monograph 19.

Thomas, J. 1996. *Time, Culture and Identity: an interpretive archaeology*. London: Routledge

Thomas, J. 2010. Archaeology in Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland 2009. *Transaction of Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 84, 337-366.

Thruston, T. 2009. Unity and diversity in the European Iron Age: Out of the mists, some clarity? *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 17 (4), 347-423.

Timby, J. 1998. *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire: A Roman estate centre and small town in the Cotswolds with notes on related settlements*. Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust.

Tomlin, R.S.O. 1983. Non Coritani sed Corieltauvi: Tile-stamp from Tripontium, Warks. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 63, 353-355.

Tremlett, S., Albone J. and S. Horlock. 2011. Iron Age landscapes from the air: Results from the Norfolk National Mapping Programme. In Davies (ed.), 25-40.

Trigger, B. 1989. *A history of archaeological thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trow, S.D. 1982. The Bagendon Project 1981-82: A brief interim report. *Glevensis*, 1, 26-29.

Trow, S. 1988. Excavations at Ditches hillfort, North Cerney, Gloucestersire, 1982-3, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 106, 19-86.

Trow, S.D., James, S. and T. Moore (eds), 2009. *Becoming Roman, being Gallic, staying British: Research and excavations at Ditches 'hillfort' and villa 1984-2006*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Upton-Smith, T. 2005. *A43 Corby Link Road, Northamptonshire*. Northamptonshire Archaeology, Unpublished site report.

Upton-Smith, T. 2006. A late Iron Age settlement at Manor Farm, Newton Bromswold, Northamptonshire. *Northamptonshire Archaeology*, 34, 5-18.

Vallender, J. 2008. Excavations at Spratsgate Lane, Somerford Keynes, Gloucestershire, 1995 and 1996. *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucs Archaeological Society*, 125, 29-93.

Van Arsdell, R.D. 1989. *Celtic coinage of Britain*. London: Spink.

Van Arsdell, R.D. 1994. *The coinage of the Dobunni: Money supply and coin circulation in Dobunnic territory*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

Van Arsdell, R.D. and J.P. Northover. 2004 Ancient British Coins. In R. Havis and H. Brooks (eds), *Excavations at Stansted Airport, 1986-91, Vol. I, Prehistoric and Romano-British*. Chelmsford: East Anglian Archaeology Report 107, 115-120.

Van Dommelen, P. 2011. Post-colonial archaeologies between discourse and practice. *World Archaeology*, 43 (1), 1-6.

Varién, M.D. and J.M. Potter (eds), 2008. *The social construction of communities: Agency, structure, and identity in the Prehispanic Southwest*. Plymouth: Altamira.

Velázquez-Castillo, M. 1996; *Grammar of possession: inalienability, incorporation and possessor ascension in Guaraní*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Villar, F. 1997. *Gli Indoeuropei e le origini dell'Europa*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Von Kaenel, H.M. and F. Kemmers (eds), 2009. *Coins in context I: New perspectives for the interpretation of coin finds*. Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike, 23. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.

Von Reden, S. 2003. *Exchange in Ancient Greece*. London: Duckworth.

Von Reden, S. 2010. *Money in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wacher, J.S. and A.D. McWhirr. 1982. *Early Roman occupation at Cirencester*. Cirencester: Cirencester Excavation Committee.

Wall, J. 2015. *Being and owning: the body, bodily material, and the law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walton, P.J. 2012. *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and archaeology*. Wetteren: Moneta.

Weatherford, J. 1998. *The history of money*. New York: Crown.

Weber, M. 1947. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. London: Oxford University Press.

Webley, L. 2012. Lost purses and loose change? Coin deposition on settlements in Iron Age Europe. In Haselgrove and Krmnicek (eds), 85-113.

Webster, J. and N. Cooper (eds), 1996. *Roman imperialism: Post-colonial perspectives*. Leicester Archaeology Monograph 3. Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester.

Webster, J. and S.A. Scott (eds), 2003. *Roman imperialism and provincial art*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Wedlake, J. 1982. *The excavation of the shrine of Apollo at Nettleton, Wiltshire, 1956-71*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 40. London: Society of Antiquaries of London.

Wedlake, W.L. 1951. *Camerton Excavation Club Excavations, 1949-50*. *Archaeological Newsletter*, 3, 178.

- Wellington, I.J. 2005. *Gifts to the gods? Votive deposition in north-eastern France from 250 BC to the age of Augustus, a numismatic perspective*. Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University.
- Wellington, I.J. 2006. The role of Iron Age coinage in archaeological contexts. In de Jersey (ed.), 81-95.
- Wells, P.S. 1980a. *Culture contact and culture change: Early Iron Age central Europe and the Mediterranean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells, P.S. 1980b. Contact and change: An example on the fringes of the classical world. *World Archaeology*, 12, 1-10.
- Wells, P.S. 1995. Identities, material culture, and change: 'Celts' and 'Germans' in Late Iron Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology*, 3, 169-185.
- Wells, P.S. 1999. *The Barbarians speak: How the conquered peoples shaped Roman Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wells, P.S. 2001. *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians: Archaeology and identity in Iron Age Europe*. London: Duckworth.
- Wheeler, R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler. 1936. *Verulamium: A Belgic and two Roman cities*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 11. Oxford: Printed by J. Johnson, for the Society of Antiquaries.
- Whimster, R. 1981. *Burial practices in Iron Age Britain: a discussion and gazetteer of the evidence c. 700 BC – AD 43*. Oxford: BAR 90.
- Whinney, R. 1994. Oram's Arbour: The Middle Iron Age enclosure at Winchester. In Fitzpatrick and Morris (eds), 86-91.
- White, L.A. 1959. *The evolution of culture: The development of civilization to the fall of Rome*. New York and London: McGraw-Hill.

Wigley, A. 2007. Rooted to the spot: the 'smaller enclosures' of the later first millennium BC in the central Welsh Marches. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 173-189.

Wigg-Wolf, D. 2011. The function of Celtic coinages in northern Gaul. In M.P. García-Bellido, L. Callegarin and A. Jiménez Díez (eds), *Barter, Money and Coinage in the Ancient Mediterranean (10th–1st centuries BC)*. Actas del IV Encuentro peninsular de Numismática antigua (EPNA), Madrid 2010. Madrid: CSIC, Instituto de Historia, 301-314.

Wilkes, J. 2007. Sailing to the Britannic Isles: Some Mediterranean perspectives on the remote northwest from the sixth century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. In Gosden, Hamerow *et al.* (eds), 3-14.

Wilkinson, D. 1987. Central civilization. *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 17, 31-59.

Willett, E.H. 1879. The ancient British coins of Sussex. *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 29, 72-113.

Willey, R. and P. Phillips. 1958. *Method and theory in American archaeology*. Chicago, Ill. and London: University of Chicago Press.

Williams, J. 2000. Iron Age coin adds new king to history of Britain. *British Museum Magazine*, 37, 5.

Williams, J. 2005a. Stability and variety in the weight-standards of Cunobelin's precious metal coinage. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 165, 125-128.

Williams, J. 2005b. The newer rite is here: Vinous symbolism on British Iron Age coins. In Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf (eds), 25-41.

Williams, J. 2005c, Coinage and Identity in pre-Conquest Britain: 50 BC – AD 50. In Howgego (ed.), 69-78.

- Williams, J. 2006. Coin inscriptions and the origins of writing in pre-Roman Britain. *British Numismatic Journal*, 71, 1-17.
- Williams, J. A., Burnett, S., La Niece and M. Cowell. 2007. A new Gallo-Belgic coin die from Hampshire. In Gosden *et al.* (eds), 357-366.
- Williams, J. and J. Creighton. 2006. Shamanic practices and trance imagery in the Iron Age. In de Jersey (ed.), 49-60.
- Williams, J. and R. Hobbs. 2003. Coin hoards and ritual in Iron Age Leicestershire. *Minerva*, 14 (4), 55-56.
- Willis, S. 2006. The later Bronze Age and Iron Age. In N. Cooper (ed.), *The archaeology of the East Midlands: An archaeological resource assessment and research agenda*. Leicester Archaeology Monograph 13. Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester, 89-136.
- Willis, S. 2007. Sea, coast, estuary, land, and culture in Iron Age Britain. In Haselgrove and Moore (eds), 107-129.
- Wilson, B. 1999. Displayed or concealed? Cross cultural evidence for symbolic and ritual activity depositing Iron Age animal bones. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18 (3), 297-305.
- Woodward, A. and P. Leach. 1993. *The Uley shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977-9*. English Heritage Archaeological report 17. London: English Heritage in association with British Museum Press.
- Woolf, G. 1993. Rethinking the oppida. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 12 (2), 223-234.
- Woolf, G. 1997. Beyond Romans and natives. *World Archaeology*, 28, 339-350.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woolf, G. 2002. Generations of Aristocracy. Continuities and discontinuities in the societies of Interior Gaul. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 9 (1), 2-15.

Woolf, G. 2006. The end of 'the end of the Iron Age'? In Haselgrove (ed.), 267-276.

Wyler, S. 1992. *Colour and language, colour terms in English*. Tübingen: Narr.

Yaeger, J. and M.A. Canuto (eds), 2000. *The archaeology of communities: A new world perspective*. London: Routledge.

Yates, D. 2007. *Land, power and prestige: Bronze Age field systems in Southern England*. Oxford: Oxbow.