

## Iron Age coins in Scotland

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### ABSTRACT

*A Corieltavian plated stater recently discovered at Galadean, Borders, is described, and the few other Iron Age coin finds from Scotland are summarized. Attempts are made to explain why the peoples of northern Britain did not adopt coinage, in terms of relationships between the area and the coin-using south in the late pre-Roman Iron Age.*

### A CORIELTAUVIAN COIN FROM LAUDERDALE

A Corieltavian gold-plated stater (illus 1) was found in May 1995 by Mr George Burns while metal-detecting on the farm of Galadean, in Lauderdale, Borders. (The grid reference of the farm buildings is NT 56 43; details of the findspot may be obtained from the National Museums of Scotland.) Further detecting produced no associated artefacts, and the coin is best seen as a single find. The find was declared Treasure Trove and allocated to the National Museums of Scotland (reg no X.1996.21).

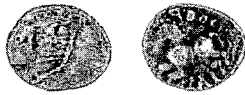
The coin is 18.5–19 mm in diameter and weighs 4.76 g. Typologically it falls into Allen's (1963) South Ferriby Type O (Type V811 in Van Arsdell 1989), with a stylized head of Apollo wearing a wreath on the obverse and a horse and six-pointed star on the reverse. Details of the device above the horse are unclear, but the visible pellet and stalk suggest it may have been an 'anchor' (Van Arsdell 1989, 224). The type dates to the second half of the first century BC (May 1992, 98–9; Hobbs 1996, 28), and was certainly out of circulation before the arrival of Roman coinage (May 1992, 103). Cleaning by the finder has affected the surface, but non-destructive analysis by Katherine Eremin and Paul Wilthew of the Museum's Analytical Research Section, using qualitative X-ray fluorescence and energy-dispersive X-ray microanalysis, indicates it has a copper core coated with a gold/silver alloy.

The Corieltavi (formerly Coritani — Tomlin 1983) inhabited the East Midlands of England, broadly corresponding to the northern part of Lincolnshire. In a recent survey of their coinage, May (1994, 11) notes that South Ferriby staters are the commonest type, with plated specimens common. The interpretation of plated coins is uncertain: Van Arsdell (1989, 54–5, 215) plumps unhesitatingly for them as deceitful forgeries, but May (*op cit*) suggests they could equally be official token issues. The latter view is perhaps more credible for the current example, as Philip de Jersey identifies a die-link between the obverse of the Galadean coin and one of the gold staters from the South Ferriby hoard (Allen 1963, no 270; de Jersey, pers comm), a phenomenon noted in other specimens by Allen (1963, 35).

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ILLUS 1 Corieltauvian coin from Galadean, obverse and reverse. Scale 1:1.  
(National Museums of Scotland)



ILLUS 2 Gaulish quinarius from Clarkston, obverse and reverse. Scale 1:1.  
(Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries)

Examination of aerial photographs in the National Monuments Record of Scotland reveals a large number of probable Iron Age forts and enclosures in the surrounding area, including a possible enclosure some 500 m NNE of Galadean Farm (the NMRS number is NT 54 SE 34), although the coin itself is apparently from an off-site context. Its findspot appears unremarkable today, and it may be a casual loss: however, its exotic nature suggests it would have been a valued item, and it may equally represent a ritual offering in a typical liminal location, in this case the valley zone of the Leader Water. This is a well-attested phenomenon with single coins in southern England (Haselgrove 1996, 76), while exotic metalwork was a common inclusion in votive deposits in the Borders (Hunter 1997).

## IRON AGE COINS IN SCOTLAND

When Stevenson (1966, 22–4) summarized the Iron Age coins from Scotland in his seminal paper on Iron Age material culture, he could quote four discoveries. This can now be expanded to seven. Apart from Galadean, the two new additions are another Corieltauvian stater possibly from near Auchter Alyth, Perthshire, and a central Gaulish quinarius from Glasgow. It is worth reviewing this meagre corpus in rather more detail.

### *Auchter Alyth, Perthshire & Kinross*

The possible discovery of an Iron Age coin in a souterrain near Auchter Alyth has been reported by Small & Bateson (1995), and little needs adding to this. It is a plated stater of British H type, the earliest of the Corieltauvian series (May 1994, 6). While entirely consistent with the accepted dating of souterrains, regrettably it comes from a diverse coin collection, mostly with no good provenance. Hence a question mark must remain over its findspot.

### *Clarkston, Glasgow*

The Glasgow find of a silver quinarius (illus 2) of the Aedui or Sequani of earlier first century BC date, inscribed Q.DOCI SAM.F, came from a garden in Clarkston in 1973 (de la Tour 1992, Type 5405–11; Haselgrove 1978, 127; Bateson 1989, 170; Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries A8512). Although Bateson (1989, 181) viewed it as a modern loss, this need not be the case: Nash (1987, 93) has commented on the widespread dispersal of coins of the Aedui and Sequani, and there is a diffuse scatter of central and southern Gaulish issues in southern Britain (Cunliffe 1981, fig 69). While this example extends the distribution markedly, it should not be summarily dismissed in view of the other finds of broadly contemporary Gaulish coins from Scotland.



(a)

ILLUS 3 Gaulish 'globules à la croix' from Netherurd. Upper FE 47; lower FE 48. (a) obverse and reverse; (b) section vertically through the coin as oriented in (a); obverse to left. FE 47 shows the join between the two gold pieces which form the coin; this is not as clear on FE 48. Scale 1:1. (*National Museums of Scotland*)



(b)

### *Lesmahagow, South Lanarkshire*

Little can be added to the record of the silver Armorican coin from Lesmahagow (Evans 1864, 129). It cannot now be traced (enquiries at the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum indicate that it did not enter the Evans collection), so details of provenance and identification cannot be verified. However, from Evans' description, it is an example of Class IV or V of the coinage of the Coriosolites (Allen 1961, 273), dating to the years immediately preceding the Gallic War (de Jersey 1994, 118, 120). There are a number of Armorican coins from the English north and Midlands (Cunliffe 1981, fig 68; Stevenson 1966, 24), and an extension of the distribution into Scotland is by no means implausible.

### *Netherurd, Borders*

The best-documented find of Gaulish coins is in many ways the most puzzling. Over 40 examples of gold 'globules à la croix' or 'bullet' coins from Belgic Gaul were found with a hoard of gold torcs at Netherurd, on the western edge of the Borders (Feachem 1958): only two survive (illus 3). This unusual type (Gallo-Belgic X<sub>B</sub> (Allen 1961, 104), Scheers 15 (Scheers 1983, 308–13)) has a diffuse distribution which inhibits attribution to a specific tribe (Scheers 1983, 313, fig 57), but focuses broadly to the north-east of Paris. While the Netherurd coins are no longer unique in Britain, the four other known examples are all from Dorset (Fitzpatrick 1992a, 10, with further references), and a direct derivation from Gaul rather than via intermediaries is most plausible. It is hard to argue with the contention of Nash (1987, 112) that 'This must [...] represent a distant but important diplomatic or military tie.' The type is now considered to start in the later second century BC, but was still in circulation around the time of the Gallic War (Fitzpatrick 1992a, 10).

Details of the two surviving examples are as in Table 1. The analyses (by Paul Wilthew, NMS Analytical Research Section) are from Northover (1992, 282).

TABLE 1

Reg no	Mass	Diameter	Thickness	Au%	Ag%	Cu%
FE 47	7.23 g	12.4 × 11.6 mm	7.8 mm	65.9	28.4	5.8
FE 48	7.04 g	15.0 × 11.1 mm	8.7 mm	58.9	32.8	8.3

Allen (1961, 170) notes that both coins are worn and one has been probed to test the metal, although this may have happened upon discovery: Lawson (1857, 218) remarks on 'their quality as gold far inferior to the other articles'.

In a recent study of the hoard of 242 such coins from Saint-Denis-lès-Sens (Yonne), Dhénin & Fischer (1994) identify an early flat variety followed by a hemispherical and finally a round type, each using a different and progressively baser alloy. The morphological criteria are not altogether clear from their description, and, while both the two Netherurd coins are best described as round, one is tending to the

hemispherical (illus 3b); their compositions are closest to the round group (with its average gold content of 67.2%, minimum 56.2%). It seems therefore that the Netherurd coins are of the latest variety. The Saint-Denis-lès-Sens hoard, which contains all three types, has been dated on numismatic grounds to the 60s BC (Dhénin & Fischer 1994), but earlier dating now in vogue in France for the associated archaeological material would allow a date up to two decades earlier (Haselgrove, pers comm). Without further evidence, it is probably unwise to pin down the Netherurd coins too precisely within the type's broad date range.

It is worth reviewing the other contents of this hoard in a little more detail. The torc terminal and the two penannular twisted torcs are of the type known best from the Snettisham finds, and are products of eastern England (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 217). While a late first century BC–early first century AD date has been suggested for the style (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 215–18), the coins found with the most recent Snettisham finds push this back into the first half of the first century BC (Stead 1991, 455). Note that Stevenson (1966, 39) suggests that Feachem (1958) and MacGregor (1976) underestimate the diameter of the lost torcs by almost 50%, based on the mass of facsimiles in the National Museums of Scotland. It is also worth noting that, if the masses are accurate, the torcs are much lighter than other Snettisham-type examples, such as the Ipswich hoard (Brailsford & Stapley 1972, 221). Comparison of the recorded masses of the hoard (Lawson 1857) with that of the surviving terminal indicates that the former are slight overestimates: using this as calibration gives the mass of the terminal as 114 g, the Snettisham-type torcs as 231 g and the third torc as 228 g.

The final torc from the hoard was markedly different, indeed unique (MacGregor 1976, 94). Although Feachem (1958) and MacGregor (1976, no 194) describe it as of square cross-section and twisted (a technique more akin to Middle Bronze Age torcs; Coles 1964, 122–4), the original account (Lawson 1857) says simply it was of a single piece which was fluted or twisted. This and the accompanying illustration (Lawson 1857, pl X no 3) suggest some link to the much-debated ribbon torc series (Eogan 1983), whose contentious dating now seems more firmly Iron Age (Warner 1993). While precise parallels for the flattened, expanded terminals are elusive, there is a general similarity to those of the ribbon torc from the Clonmacnois hoard (Raftery 1983, 170; 1984, 175–81), although these are more three-dimensional separate hollow-cast pieces. This hoard included a Continental buffer torc of late fourth to early third century BC date (Raftery 1983, 169), showing wear which suggests it was old when buried. Ribbon torcs are found in both Scotland and Ireland, and were probably made in both countries, but elaborate terminals are more a feature of the Irish series (Coles 1968, 171).

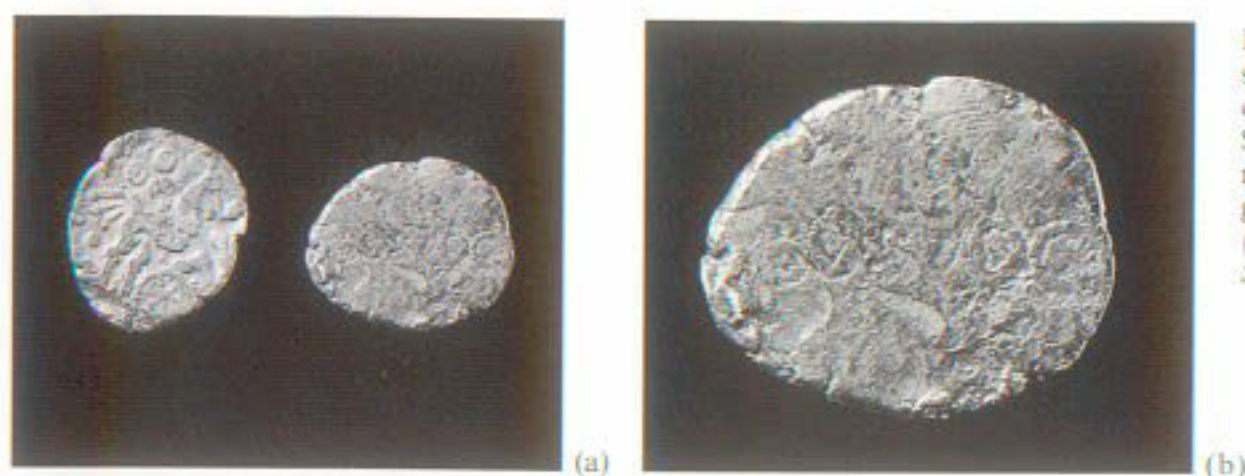
The Netherurd torc is not, however, a conventional ribbon torc: it is markedly heavier than other examples. Its mass, of around 228 g, is almost twice the mass of the heaviest known ribbon torcs (Eogan 1994, 130–4). While in part this reflects the more massive solid terminals, the original account records that the torc, which was found in two pieces, was 'perfectly stiff and could not be bent', implying a more solid construction than the normal, fairly flexible ribbon torc.

Such arguments from markedly imperfect 19th-century evidence are inevitably unsatisfactory, if not futile. In defence, it may be argued that claiming the Netherurd torc as a variant of the ribbon torc tradition leaves it less of an enigma than before, and suggests a pedigree which makes sense in the local context. If this is followed, it may represent another exotic contact in the hoard, this time Irish. Hence the hoard includes at least two and possibly three separate axes of contact, brought together in one exotic bundle in Peeblesshire some time around the late second to mid-first century BC. The idea of hoarding exotic items is typical for south-east Scotland, as argued elsewhere (Hunter 1997); the nature of the hoard, exclusively gold torcs and coins, is shared widely across Europe at the time (Fitzpatrick 1992b), and argues for some sharing of beliefs; while the composition stresses the wide contacts available to powerful people in Iron Age Scotland, and warns against adopting too insular a view, particularly when the Clonmacnois hoard cited above includes a torc from the Middle Rhine (Raftery 1984, 177).

### *Dunnichen, Angus*

There is an antiquarian record of the discovery of 'a number of small gold bullets' in the hillfort at Dunnichen (Headrick 1845, 146). Wilson (1851, 520) suggested these represented a second hoard of





ILLUS 4 (a) Dobunnic stater from Birkhill, obverse and reverse. Scale 1:1; (b) detail of reverse (2:1), to show gold pin repairs. (*National Museums of Scotland*)

'globules à la croix', but such an imprecise description could apply to other Iron Age stater types (Haselgrove *pers comm*), or indeed to ingots or blanks for metalworking. Unless further information on this becomes available, it must remain only an intriguing possibility.

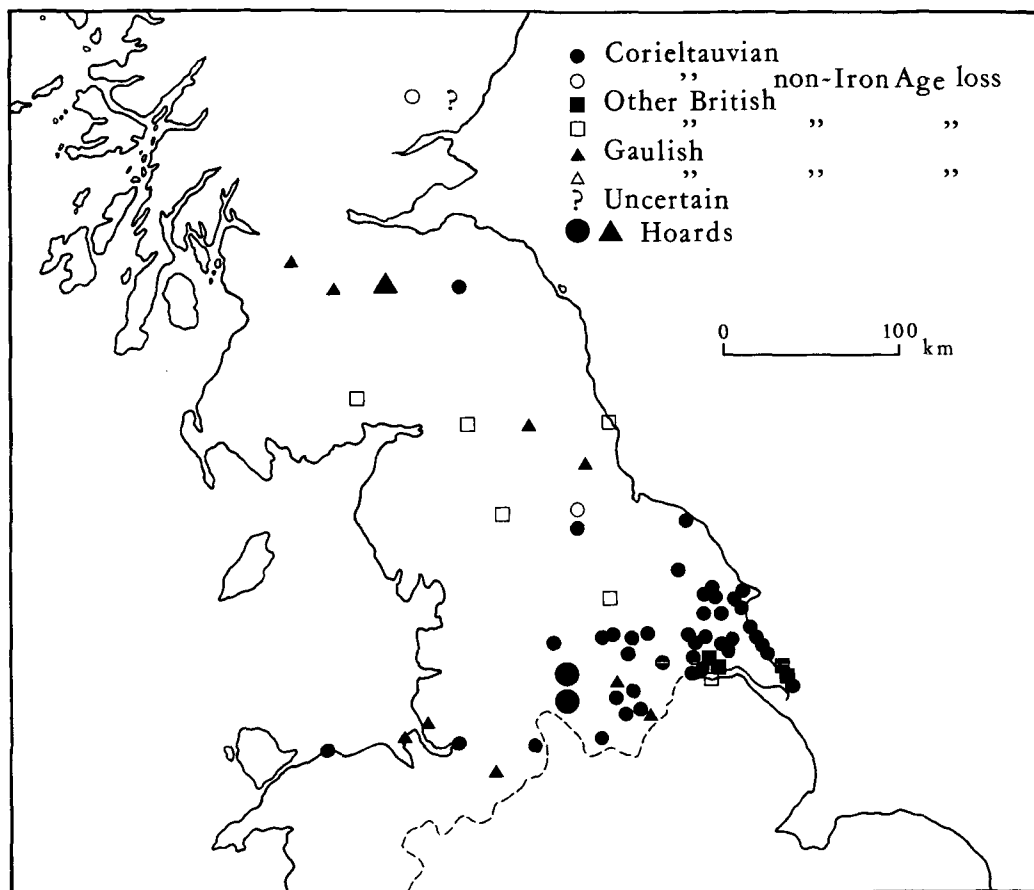
### *Birkhill, Dumfries & Galloway*

The final Iron Age coin on the record, from Birkhill, on the north-east edge of Dumfries (Sim 1862; Davidson 1948, 101), should, as Allen (1961, 256) and Stevenson (1966, 24) both suggest, be dismissed as a much later arrival. It is a gold stater of the Dobunni, inscribed BODVOC, of late first century BC–early first century AD date (Mack (1975) Type 395; Van Arsdell (1989), Type 1052–1). The coin has clearly been hammered flat and mounted as jewellery (illus 4), angled such that the horse appears to rear on its hind legs, beneath which the face is thinned for attachment of a mount. The edge bears file marks in this area and on the opposite edge, in an arc from the top of the tail to the lower right foreleg; the remainder of the edge is polished from wear. Allen (1961, 265) suggests it was 'once mounted on three or four pins', but these were actually inserted in the inscribed face to repair cracks in the coin (visible on the obverse) caused by hammering it flat. There are actually 10 such gold pins, some very fine (illus 4b); one protrudes to the obverse, between the uppermost two spokes of the wheel. Under the microscope it is clear that while the inscription is heavily worn, the pin holes are very fresh, implying the alterations must be relatively recent; indeed the coin may have been lost from its new mount not long before its 1861 rediscovery. Its dimensions are 19.7 mm by 16.6 mm by 2.2 mm, and its mass 5.27 g; NMS registration no C18402.

## COIN USE AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE BRITISH IRON AGE

The Iron Age coins discussed above could have one of three main life cycles: arrival and deposition in the Iron Age; arrival and deposition in the Roman period (Haselgrove 1996, 82); and modern arrival as souvenirs or collector's pieces. Of the Scottish finds, Netherurd and Galadean are clearly Iron Age deposits, and despite the lack of contextual details there is no reason to doubt Lesmahagow or Clarkston as the same. Dunnichen is unresolved pending further antiquarian information, and Auchter Alyth could be either an Iron Age arrival or an example of modern collection. Birkhill should be dismissed from the record as a modern loss. Unlike coins from northern England (see Appendix), none can be considered as Roman introductions.

Even with a critical eye, therefore, certainly two and probably four of the finds can be accepted as exotic arrivals to Iron Age Scotland, showing connections ultimately to eastern England and the Continent. Their great value is as dating evidence for such contacts. One of the major problems in the study of Scottish Iron Age artefacts is dating: associations with Roman artefacts provide the framework, but also impose narrow limits. The coins are rare indicators of clearly pre-Roman contacts which can be quite closely dated. This makes it worth examining the



ILLUS 5 Distribution of Iron Age coin finds in northern Britain.

broader distribution of Iron Age coins in northern Britain (illus 5; Appendix). While such maps must always carry the caveat that they represent biases of both ancient deposition and modern retrieval, and that much metalwork ends up in the melting pot rather than the ground, the patterns are still instructive. The basic picture is one of a strong concentration in south-east Yorkshire, largely of Corieltavian issues, and a sparse scatter elsewhere. The Yorkshire evidence has been admirably reviewed by May (1992), who identifies two concentrations within it. The main one is in east Yorkshire, focused perhaps on Redcliff, on the Humber: this area appears to have used coinage quite extensively, and lay within the Corieltavian circulation area. The second concentration, in southern Yorkshire, is less marked, but implies a degree of interaction with Lincolnshire from the first century BC, and perhaps even minting of the latest Corieltavian issues in the area after the Roman conquest of the east Midlands (May 1992, 105). In essence, the south and east Yorkshire finds form a halo around the coin-minting area, where coin use at some level was taking place.

Beyond this, the picture is sparse indeed. Excluding probable later arrivals (see Appendix), fewer than 20 findspots are known in Scotland and the rest of northern England, compared to around 60 in south-east Yorkshire and hundreds from the coin minting areas (for instance over 2000 Corieltavian coins are known in total; May 1994, 2). This story is paralleled in Wales,

which has a thin southern scatter of coins derived from coin-using neighbours in western England and otherwise almost nothing (see maps in Cunliffe 1981, 39–69; recent finds do not alter this). The nature of these sparse finds is also interesting, as it is highly skewed. All the British coins are Corieltavian: there are no secure examples even of the abundant southern English inscribed series (all such finds being probable Roman introductions; see Appendix). The coins are also predominantly early: first century BC rather than first century AD. Perhaps most surprising, however, is the number of Gaulish issues, which matches the number of British ones.

What is to be made of this scenario? The limited quantities inhibit extensive interpretation, but a few points can be made. The thin dusting of Corieltavian issues is unsurprising given that they represent the nearest coin-using area, but the small numbers make it hard to argue for significant interaction. The Galadean coin is the furthest-flung Corieltavian coin by some way (excluding Auchter Alyth), but it does fit into the broader pattern of occasional contact between eastern England and southern Scotland seen in the metalwork record: finds such as the Netherurd torcs and various enamelled items of horse harness (MacGregor 1976, maps 3, 4, 7) show connections up the eastern seaboard. The interpretation of these contacts has seen two schools of thought. Earlier writers viewed them in a diffusionist paradigm, with actual settlers or refugees from England moving north (Stevenson 1966, 24; MacGregor 1976, 179–80). More recent papers have preferred to stress the social aspects of the movement of high-quality metalwork, for instance as gift exchange in the formation of alliances (Fitzpatrick 1989; Hunter 1997): such access to exotica was a powerful status symbol for some elements of society. As the everyday material culture shows no signs of an influx of people, this view should be preferred.

The Gaulish coins are trickier. Interpretation must cover two points: the disproportionate number of Gaulish issues, to the exclusion of southern English ones (assuming our current small sample is telling a broader story); and the variety of source areas and dates represented. The lack of southern coins suggests direct contacts with Gaul rather than movement north through intermediaries, while the variety of coins suggests we are seeing intermittent rather than sustained connections. The evidence is too slim to suggest what route such contacts may have taken. It seems most plausible that the Netherurd ‘globules à la croix’ represent a direct link to a powerful Borders individual or group with wide-ranging connections, perhaps in long-distance (and presumably largely symbolic) alliances. Are the others the survivors of similar arrivals from alliances, or perhaps from the well-worn explanation of mercenary work (Nash 1987, 13–16)? The evidence is frustratingly vague — but as Stevenson (1966, 24) has noted, it makes a valuable addition to the otherwise sparse evidence for Continental contacts.

The above discussion leads to another question. Why are there so few Iron Age coins in the north? We come here to a fundamental division in British Iron Age studies. As Collis (1996) has recently discussed, the country is often split into the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’: in broad terms, a south with coinage, pottery, oppida, burials and a wealth of artefacts; and a poor-relation north, artefactually impoverished, with settlements and apparently little else. For instance, Cunliffe (1991, 130, 546) divides Britain into a south-east ‘core’, a ‘periphery’ of other coin-using tribes, and a ‘beyond’ which covers the rest of the country, based primarily on their respective coin use. The core/periphery concept in coin use has been vigorously attacked by May (1994, 5, 20) from the Corieltavian perspective, who favours a ‘more patchy scene in Iron Age Britain’, and makes the valid point about the relativism and value judgements inherent in such comments: conservatism can represent stability as easily as backwardness. Further north, the sparsity of coins and other imports tends to argue against any role for northern England and Scotland as a ‘supply zone’. Such core/periphery models, while of value in some contexts, subsume the complexities of the British Iron Age into a south-centred world view.



There is, however, an important archaeological reality behind this over-simple model. The south and the north *are* clearly different: but this needs investigation, not submersion in regionally biased overarching models. As Haselgrove (1996, 67), has recently stated, the question needs rephrasing: ‘Why did the peoples of a large part of Britain apparently reject the use of coinage altogether?’ This sees the issue as an active choice rather than a passive, conservative reaction. It will be argued below that this question throws light on the fundamental structure of the British later Iron Age.

First, it is necessary to review the nature of the introduction of coinage. Briefly, we may tentatively isolate three key factors: the outside stimulus of a coin-using culture; selectivity in the adoption process from this stimulus; and restricted uses of coinage, with circulation largely within a cultural group.

The outside stimulus is clearly documented in the Hellenic prototypes of Celtic coins, probably from Celtic mercenary activities (Nash 1987, 13–19). Within Britain, it is seen in the stimulus of the Gallo-Belgic prototypes for the British series: while the Gallo-Belgic issues are complex, and some were minted in Britain (Haselgrove 1987, 79–80), the series is based on imports from Belgic Gaul which were then emulated in Britain in areas outside the primary distribution (Nash 1987, 122–3). At a later date, the changes in design as a result of Roman contact provide another example (Scheers 1992). Selectivity can be seen in the initial adoption of prototypes with horse designs (Creighton 1995, 286–9), and later in the copying of Greek and Roman coin types which had local significance (eg Scheers 1992, 42–3). The final point, of largely internal or restricted use, is an over-simplification: coins did circulate outside the area of control of the minting authority, in part related to specialized processes such as ritual offerings (seen best at Hayling Island temple, Hampshire; Briggs *et al* 1992). However, whether internal or external, the distributions of coinage are clearly culturally controlled: this is the theoretical basis behind the use of distribution maps in constructing coinage areas (Haselgrove 1987; 1996, 74) or tribal maps (Cunliffe 1991, fig 8.2).

How does this relate to the non-adoption of coinage in northern Britain? Here it is necessary to consider the other main evidence of contact between the areas of Iron Age Britain: the metalwork. As described above, artefacts from southern England, Ireland and the Continent are found in Scotland and northern England (Stevenson 1966), and the coins must be viewed in this vein, as exotic metalwork rather than circulating coinage. However, these items form a minority of the surviving metalwork, most of which is clearly locally made. This local metalwork itself defines zones of contact, interaction and shared tradition, often on a sizeable scale. We may note the well-defined north-east Scottish tradition of ‘massive’ metalwork, stretching from the Tay to the Moray Firth (MacGregor 1976, 184–5). More germane to the current topic are the shared styles from the Humber to the Forth, seen for instance in Group III and IV swords (Piggott 1950, figs 6 & 12), beaded torcs (Macgregor 1976, map 15), knobbed terrets (MacGregor 1976, map 10) and other manifestations of what Leeds (1933, 110) termed the ‘boss style’. While no one would argue the northern areas are unified tribal hegemonies, they do show contact and interaction which is markedly stronger than their links to southern areas. Equally, one can quote complementary distributions of metalwork restricted to southern Britain (eg horse and vehicle trappings: Cunliffe 1996, fig 17).

The material under discussion is presumably linked to relationships between the higher echelons of society. It seems that contact with the south was relatively rare and socially moderated, perhaps at the level of political alliances (cf Fitzpatrick 1989). This gave some access to exotic status items, whose use varied in different areas: the hoard evidence indicates that southern Scottish élites actively used these items in maintenance and justification of their roles,



while in northern England and north-east Scotland this was much less so (Hunter 1997). Indeed the use of exotic items in the north-east is almost unknown, although the distribution of massive metalwork outside its area of origin shows the region was not isolated (Ralston 1979, fig 7.70).

Given this background to north/south contacts, we can suggest why coins are so rare in the north. This involves discarding the picture of the dominant southern core and its surrounding periphery: rather, we can theorize that northern and southern groups dealt with one another as equals in infrequent and socially restricted contacts, linked most probably with the formation of alliances, perhaps intermarriage, and the exchange of gifts. In terms of the factors in coinage introduction identified above, the stimulus for coin use was not present: coins had primarily an internal role which was inappropriate to these external contacts. While high-value coinage was used in the south to meet social and political obligations and store wealth (Haselgrove 1996, 67), this was not suitable in dealings with northern chieftains whose needs were more selective — they valued clearly displayable wealth which fitted existing means of expressing status, such as personal ornaments and horse and vehicle trappings. Arguing from negative evidence is dangerous, but this restriction in the dispersal of coinage may be seen also in the absence of coins in the votive deposit from Llyn Cerrig Bach, despite the presence of other items from coin-using southern Britain (Fox 1946, fig 34): again, we may suggest it was inappropriate for the local context. This may in turn explain why we see disproportionate numbers of Gaulish coins in the north. The subtle appreciation of local customs was not present in longer-distance contacts — hence the parcel of Gaulish coins in the Netherurd hoard, which would be a typical gift in a Gaulish context.

It is worth carrying the picture forward a little. With the Roman invasion of Scotland there came a strong impetus for adopting coinage, and Roman coins were indeed used — but in a highly selective way. The coins from native sites do not represent the discards of a monetary economy: small denomination bronzes are disproportionately rare, and as Robertson (1975, 418) has noted, there is a strong selectivity from the first to the early third century towards the high-value gold and silver coins. Whether their native role mirrored the earlier social and political uses of high-value Iron Age coins in the south (Haselgrove 1996, 67), or was as bullion rather than artefact, is unclear on current evidence. However, there is a sophistication in this twisting of the Roman presence to native purposes which mirrors the selectivity in the earlier southern adoption of coinage.

To conclude, this is clearly not the last word on the contacts between northern and southern Britain. It has in large measure been descriptive rather than explanatory, and key questions remain as to precisely why there are these basic differences (echoing Fox's (1952) 'Highland' and 'Lowland' zones) in Britain in the later Iron Age. To explain this more fully requires greater effort in understanding the societies we are dealing with, and in Scotland at least, archaeologists have been sadly remiss in taking up this challenge. However the Iron Age of Scotland and northern England merits serious study in its own right, not as a poorer adjunct to southern Britain. If this paper has served to demonstrate the potential of the northern artefact record in tackling such issues, it will at least be a step on the way.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## APPENDIX

## IRON AGE COINS FROM NORTHERN ENGLAND

This Appendix summarizes the Iron Age coin finds from northern England, defined for present purposes as the former counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire; the single north Welsh find is also included. The old counties are used for ease of comparison with the format of the coin-listing sources. Only those Yorkshire finds which are additional to the catalogue by May (1992, 105–11) are included, although other relevant non-Corieltauvian finds from Yorkshire are listed below the table, and all Yorkshire finds are mapped in illus 5. The southern boundary is inevitably arbitrary: the limits of the coin-using groups lie some way further south, but as the key interest for present purposes is in northern England and Scotland, it is felt that the exclusion of the more southerly material does not affect the conclusions.

This compilation is based on the Celtic coin lists of Allen (1961) and Haselgrove (1978; 1984; 1989), with finds since 1987 taken from the Coin Register in the *British Numismatic Journal* (volumes 57 (1987)–64 (1994), abbreviated to BNJ, volume and coin number in the list below). While it carries the normal caveat that there may be further unpublished material, the unusual nature of Iron Age coin finds in the study area should normally ensure their prompt reporting. The listing is a summary one; further details can be found in the reference given for each coin. Coin areas follow those of Haselgrove (1987, fig 4.3); they are preferred to specific tribal attributions, which run the risk of anachronism (cf. Burnett 1989, 236–7).

Most of the late southern coins come from Roman sites or areas with known Roman activity, and are likely to be Roman-period introductions (cf Haselgrove 1996, 82). Such finds are italicized.

FINDSPOT	TYPE	COMMENTS	REFERENCE
<b>Cumberland</b>			
<i>Nether Denton</i>	East — Cunobelinus Æ	Roman fort	Allen 1961, 283
<b>Westmorland</b>			
<i>Brough area</i>	South — Tincomarus $A\frac{1}{4}$	Likely Roman arrival — Flavian fort at Brough	Allen 1961, 210
<b>Northumberland</b>			
Hexham	Gaul — Coriosolites (IV/V) Æ		Allen 1961, 273
<b>Durham</b>			
Durham (near)	Gaul — Gallo-Belgic $A\frac{1}{4}$ ('Parisii')		Haselgrove 1978, 124
<i>Piercebridge</i>	North-East — inscribed $A\frac{1}{4}$ (ESVP-ASV)	From vicus by Roman fort	Haselgrove 1984, 144
<i>South Shields</i>	East — Tasciovanus Æ	Probably from Roman fort	Allen 1961, 220

<b>Yorkshire</b>	(additional to May 1992)	
Barnburgh	North-East — type N <i>A'</i>	Haselgrove 1989, 17 BNJ 61, 65
Doncaster area	Gaul — early Massalia imitation potin	Haselgrove 1989, 72 BNJ 58, 27
Kirk Smeaton	North-East — plated type O <i>Æ/A'</i>	Haselgrove 1989, 17 BNJ 61, 64
Stanwick	North-East — type W <i>AR</i>	Haselgrove, pers comm
York	North-East — prototype <i>AR</i> fraction I	Early type, hence likely Iron Age rather than Roman deposit BNJ 63, 97

**Lancashire**

Liverpool	Gaul — Gallo-Belgic <i>Æ</i> (‘Ambiani’)	Found with British coins (unrecorded)	Allen 1961, 277
Manchester	North-East — inscribed <i>A'</i> (VEP CORF)		Haselgrove 1978, 107

**Cheshire**

Halton Castle	North-East — inscribed <i>A'</i> (VOLISIOS)		Allen 1961, 260
Leek Moor	Gaul — Gallo-Belgic <i>Æ</i> (‘Remi’)		Allen 1961, 277
Meols	Gaul — Armorican, two <i>AR</i> coins		Haselgrove 1989, 68
	Uncertain — <i>A'</i> or <i>A'¼</i>		Haselgrove 1989, 73

**North Wales**

Great Orme	North-East — British H <i>A'</i>		Allen 1961, 180
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Other non-Corieltauvian coins from outwith the south-east Yorkshire concentration (from May 1992) are:

South	?Verica <i>A'</i>	Keighley
West	<i>ANTED RIG</i> plated <i>Æ/A'</i> (the site is a Roman foundation)	Aldbrough
Gaul	Gallo-Belgic C <i>A'</i>	Ackworth

The Atrebatian stater of Verica from Keighley (May 1992, 111) has been claimed as more plausibly an inscribed Corieltauvian issue of the VEP-CORF series (Allen & Haselgrove 1979, 14). The original coin is now lost, and the latter view is preferred here.

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