

I.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SCOTLAND (III.), INCLUDING A HOARD FROM FALKIRK. BY SIR GEORGE MACDONALD, K.C.B., LL.D., F.B.A., PRESIDENT.

The following list forms a second supplement to the inventory of Roman coins found in Scotland, which was communicated to the Society in 1918.¹ A first supplement was published six years later.² The geographical arrangement of the additions follows that adopted for the original paper. All have been personally examined, except a very few which are cited on the strength of some published account, and I would take this opportunity of thanking the various owners whose kindness has made examination possible.

(A) ISOLATED FINDS FROM ROMAN SITES.

(a) South-Eastern Scotland.

INVERESK.—In 1930 a *denarius* of Vespasian (Coh.², i. p. 369, No. 6), which had been in excellent condition when lost, was dug up in the garden of Inveresk House, and in the same year a much-worn 'second brass' of Trajan (probably Coh.², ii. p. 61, No. 416) was recovered by workmen cutting trenches for the foundations of a new school. Neither find added anything material to our knowledge of the situation or history of the fort.

(c) The Antonine Wall.

MUMRILLS.—At the date of the first supplement the number of coins that could be associated with this fort was five. The continuance of the Society's excavations has brought the total up to twenty-eight. Full details being given in the Report,³ nothing but a bare summary of the accessions is called for here:—Vitellius (1 *Æ*), Vespasian or Titus (1 *Æ*), Domitian (1 *Æ*), Trajan (1 *Æ* and 4 *Æ*), Hadrian (4 *Æ*), Sabina (2 *Æ*) and Pius (3 *Æ* and 2 *Æ*), together with four that were indecipherable (1 *Æ* and 3 *Æ*).

ROUGH CASTLE.—Three years ago, when the spoil of the excavations of 1903 was being worked through again, a 'first brass,' which had

¹ *Proceedings*, lii. (1917-18), pp. 203-276.

² *Ibid.*, lviii. (1923-24), pp. 325-29.

³ *Ibid.*, lxiii. (1928-29), pp. 550 ff.

evidently been set aside as unidentifiable, was cleaned. It proved to be a Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 69, No. 503).

CASTLECARY.—Two coins from Castlecary were identified at the same time and in similar circumstances. They were a *denarius* of Mark Antony (Coh.², i. p. 41, No. 35) in very good condition and a somewhat damaged 'second brass' of Hadrian (Coh.², ii, p. 137, No. 369 or, possibly, 370).

WESTERWOOD.—On p. 132 of his *Glasgow and the Clyde* (1876) R. Gillespie mentions that a *denarius* of Hadrian was found about 1866 on the Military Way near Arniebog, a ruined hamlet close to the fort of Westerwood.

KIRKINTILLOCH.—It is perhaps permissible to connect with this fort a worn *denarius* (Coh.², i. p. 406, No. 497), bearing the head of Vespasian but struck after his death by Titus, which was picked up on the line of the Wall in 1933, about 600 yards west of the Peel.

CADDER.—Mr John Clarke's *Roman Fort at Cadder* (p. 82) contains a full description of five coins which came to light during the Glasgow Archæological Society's excavations. They were Galba (1 *Æ*), Trajan (1 *Æ* and, probably, 1 *Æ*), M. Aurelius (1 *Æ*) and, probably, Pius (1 *Æ*).

OLD KILPATRICK.—A similar list of fifteen will be found in Mr S. N. Miller's account of his work at Old Kilpatrick.¹ Seven of these had a place in my first supplement. The eight newcomers are:—Domitian (1 *Æ*), Hadrian (1 *Æ*), Trajan (1 *Æ* and 1 *Æ*), Pius (1 *Æ* and, possibly, 1 *Æ*), Lucilla (1 *Æ*) and an indecipherable 'second brass.' To these has now to be added a 'second brass' of Hadrian (probably Coh.², ii, p. 186, No. 977), dug up in a garden allotment in May 1933 and forwarded for examination by Mr Ludovic M. Mann.

(d) *Scotland North of the Antonine Wall.*

CAMELON.—(1) An *aureus* of Plotina (Coh.², ii. p. 97, No. 2), ploughed up on the site in 1863, was acquired by the Rev. Lewis H. Irving and subsequently given by him to the mother of the present possessor, Mr Alexander Black, Wellside, Falkirk; it is in very good condition. (2) In 1925 the National Museum acquired a 'first brass' of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 51, No. 320), and three years later a much-worn 'second brass' of one of the Flavian emperors, both being associated with small finds of pottery. (3) In the former year I saw another 'first

¹ *The Roman Fort at Old Kilpatrick*, pp. 33 ff. Both this and the Cadder list were compiled by myself.

brass' of Trajan (Coh.², ii. p. 72, No. 531), which had been obtained on Carmuir's Farm by Mr George Anderson, Falkirk. (4) In 1926 a scrutiny of half a dozen coins from Camelon, now in the Falkirk Museum, gave the following result:—a much-worn legionary *denarius* of Mark Antony, a *denarius* of Vespasian (Coh.², i. p. 397, No. 386), a well-preserved *denarius* of Domitian (Coh.², i. p. 495, No. 280), a *denarius* of Hadrian (Coh.², ii. p. 181, No. 903), a 'second brass' of the same emperor, so badly corroded that precise identification was hopeless, and a 'first brass' of Pius (Coh.², ii. p. 323, No. 543). That coins should continue to be discovered here, without systematic search, is a standing testimony to the richness of a site whose importance was not appreciated until a thorough-going excavation had become impossible.

(B) *ISOLATED FINDS FROM NATIVE SITES.*

BROCH OF TORWOODLEE (Selkirkshire).—When the original Inventory was drawn up, the "third brass of the Emperor Vespasian," mentioned in *Proc.* xxvi. (p. 78), was inaccessible. On being cleaned, it turns out to be a much-corroded *denarius*, probably of Titus, having on the Rev. a female figure seated l., perhaps Concordia.

COVESEA (Moray).—The curious assemblage of 'late brass' secured by Miss Sylvia Benton in 1929, during her exploration of one of the Covesea caves,¹ included nine genuine Roman pieces—2 with the head of Roma, belonging to the period of Constantine I. (Coh.², vii. p. 330, No. 17, and another probably similar); 1 of Constantine II. (Coh.², vii. p. 377, No. 114); 1 of Constans I. (Coh.², vii. p. 431, No. 176); 2 of Constantius II. (Coh.², vii. p. 455, No. 92, and p. 484, No. 293); 2 of Magnentius (Coh.², viii. p. 9, No. 5, and p. 19, No. 68), both very well preserved; and 1 of Constantius Gallus (Coh.², viii. p. 32, No. 25), in exceptionally good condition. There were, besides, thirty-four of the 'barbarous imitations' with which Richborough and other sites are making us familiar. It is not without significance that several of the forty-three had evidently been worn as ornaments; they were pierced, and in one case a fragment of the wire attachment had survived.

CULBIN SANDS (Moray).—In May 1931 Mr Henderson Bishop sent for inspection a fairly well preserved *denarius* of Hadrian (Coh.², ii. p. 139, No. 393) from the Culbin Sands, an area that has been prolific in occupation-relics of widely separated dates.

¹ *Proceedings*, lxx. (1930-31), pp. 212 ff.

(D) ISOLATED FINDS WITH NO RECORDED ASSOCIATIONS.¹

ANCRUM (Roxburghshire).—Last October Mr C. J. Brown of Melrose showed me a *denarius* of Lucilla (Coh.², iii. p. 216, No. 14) which had been picked up by his son two or three hundred yards from the Roman road near Fairnington farm. It can only be a coincidence that the site is one on which Mr Brown has found both microliths and neolithic implements. But it may not be amiss to recall that the first supplement included a *denarius* of Geta, which was found on Fairnington farm "in a field through which the Roman road passes." Can these be stragglers from a hoard?

HERIOT WATER (Midlothian).—In March 1928 drainers, working in a moss opposite Borthwick Water, turned up a 'second brass' of Vespasian (Coh.², i. p. 407, No. 507) at a depth of 2 feet. It belongs to Mr James Sharp of Heriot Mill.

LEITH.—In September 1929 a 'first brass' of Trebonianus Gallus (Coh.², v. p. 247, No. 86) was brought to the National Museum for identification. Its owner understood that it had been found in Leith. If so, the likelihood is that it was a comparatively modern importation.

MIDCALDER (Midlothian).—A *denarius* of Pius (Coh.², ii. p. 277, No. 68), found at Blackraw near Midcalder, was presented to the National Museum by Mr John Lawson in 1928.

ESKDALE (Dumfriesshire).—In August 1924 a *denarius* of Pius (probably Coh.², ii. p. 303, No. 329) was dug up in the garden of Irvine House, which stands on the right bank of the Esk, opposite the mouth of the Tarras. This is within a mile or two of the Roman fort of Gilnockie.

WHITHORN (Wigtownshire).—Mr J. S. Richardson, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, has shown me a 'small brass' of Claudius II. (Coh.², vi. p. 160, No. 303) dug up at Whithorn.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.—In 1926 Mr E. A. Taylor (Greengate, High Street) found a similar coin of Constans II. (Coh.², vii. p. 447, No. 45) while working in his garden.

RHINNS OF GALLOWAY.—In 1929 the Rev. R. S. G. Anderson of Inch, Castle Kennedy, forwarded to the National Museum, for a report, a billon coin of Alexandria, said to have been found many years ago at Dhuloch. It had been minted in the thirteenth regnal year of Gallienus (A.D. 265-266), and had on the Rev. an eagle with

¹ The bronze coin from Norrie's Law, which was mentioned in the original Inventory (*Proceedings*, lii. (1917-18), p. 238) but which was then inaccessible, has now been re-examined. The description there quoted proves to be correct, except that the piece was not "struck by the Emperor Claudius," but was a contemporary British imitation.

a wreath in its beak. There is no reason for suspecting the account given of the *provenance* of this piece. Billon coins of Alexandria undoubtedly found their way into Britain in Roman times. Four were recorded in the original Inventory and a fifth in the first supplement, the last of these having been recovered at Traprain.¹

KIRKMAHOE (Dumfriesshire).—About thirty years ago a ‘small brass’ of Valentinian II. (Coh.², viii. p. 143, No. 33) was thrown up by a mole on the farm of Whitehill in the parish of Kirkmahoe. It was shown to me recently by Mr Cameron Smith, H.M.I.S.

STEVENSTON (Ayrshire).—On October 5th, 1929, the *Glasgow Bulletin* published an account of a curious discovery which had been made on the Ayrshire coast by a fisherman gathering bait. On opening a limpet-shell, he had been surprised to catch the tenant in the act of attempting to digest an ancient coin. I got into communication with him and was able to tell him that his find was a billon piece of Alexandria, struck just after the death of the Emperor Carus, whose head it bore (A.D. 283). As he had asked for an opinion, I had to add that its monetary value was trifling. Dissatisfied either with my description or with my estimate, he subsequently sent it to the British Museum for examination. The letter in which he tells how he came by it has been printed verbatim in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.²

Although the strangeness of the circumstances seemed to justify its inclusion in the list, I am inclined to think that this coin may not have been very long in Scotland before it was appropriated by the limpet. After the War many such pieces were brought home by soldiers who had been in Egypt. I had to identify quite a number for their owners. The Stevenston specimen may well have been thrown away when it was realised that it was worthless.

PETERSHILL (near Glasgow).—In 1842 a ‘first brass’ of Crispina (Coh.², iii. p. 382, No. 6) was dug up in a garden on the lands of Petershill. It was given to Robert Stuart, author of *Caledonia Romana*, who in turn presented it to Dr John Buchanan. In 1925 it was handed over to the Hunterian Museum by Dr Buchanan’s grandson.

FIRHILL PARK (near Glasgow).—A paragraph in the *Scotsman* of August 7, 1933, states that a coin, picked up by a boy “on the banks of the Forth and Clyde Canal near Firhill Park,” had been identified at the British Museum as a ‘small brass’ of Crispus. This may, of course, be a comparatively recent loss, and therefore of no historical importance.

¹ See *Proceedings*, lii. (1917–18), p. 250, and lviii. (1923–24), p. 327. Cf. the note by Sir George Hill in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, x. (1930), pp. 335 ff.

² 5th Ser., x. (1930), pp. 337 f.

BLANTYRE.—The *Daily Express* of November 29, 1929, reported that “a brass or copper coin” of the Emperor Vespasian had been unearthed by a Blantyre schoolboy working in a garden.

CALLANDER.—A year or so earlier I identified for Mr F. T. Macfarlane, Leith, a ‘second brass’ of Nero (Coh.², i. p. 302, No. 339), much worn, said to have been found at Callander.

BRECHIN.—A ‘small brass’ of Constantius Gallus (Coh.², viii. p. 32, No. 10) came to light here during the restoration of the Cathedral. I saw it in October 1927.

DORNOCH.—In 1931 I was shown at the National Museum a worn ‘second brass’ of Agrippa (Coh.², i. p. 175, No. 3), said to have been found at Dornoch. The occurrence of so early a coin at a point so far north is surprising and inevitably suggests a modern importation.

NORTH UIST.—In 1931 two late ‘second brass’ pieces, which had been dug up in North Uist, were brought to the Museum by Dr M. T. Mackenzie—a Constantius II. (Coh.², vii. p. 447, No. 50) in good condition, and a rather worn Magnentius (Coh.², viii. p. 9, No. 7).

FETLAR (Shetland).—Closely analogous was the discovery by the Rev. W. C. Carson of two late ‘small brass’ pieces in the Manse Garden, Fetlar—one of Constantine the Great (Coh.², vii. p. 308, No. 666) and the other of Constantius II. (Coh.², vii. p. 447, No. 45). They were got at a depth of 2 feet, and were both in good condition.

HOARD OF SILVER.

It will be observed that, but for the one or two notes of warning already sounded, no special remarks on the foregoing list are called for. All of the coins fall quite naturally into their places in the framework that was sketched in the original inventory. It is otherwise with the hoard that has now to be dealt with, by far the largest Scottish hoard of which there is any authentic record, and quite as remarkable for its composition as for its size. As I propose to publish a detailed catalogue of its contents in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,¹ only a general description of them need be given here. A brief account of the discovery may form a fitting preface.

In connexion with a scheme of improvement which is being carried out within the burgh of Falkirk by the Town Council, levelling operations have been in progress for some time in the area known as Bell’s Meadow, which lies to the north of Callendar Park. The soil is sandy, and on 9th August last, when the face of a small hill was being cut away, one of the workmen, Robert Wallace by name, was puzzled to find his spade

¹ See 5th Ser., xiv. pp. 1 ff.

encounter unexpected resistance. On investigation the obstacle proved to be a vessel of red earthenware, approximating in shape to a type familiar to excavators on Hadrian's Wall, where it occurs in association with objects of third-century date. The jar must have been cracked by the blow it had received. It broke on being lifted, and there fell from it a hard metallic cluster, covered with a green mould, as well as the remains of a piece of cloth which had evidently been used to protect the mouth. Fragments which detached themselves from the main mass in the fall were seen to be silver coins. A few of these—exactly how many it is impossible to say—were picked up by onlookers and retained. Everything else passed into the hands of the Crown Authorities as treasure-trove, thanks to the prompt and business-like action taken by the Procurator-Fiscal.

The exact spot where the discovery was made will be marked on future issues of the Ordnance Survey Map: it is a little to the north-east of the large house called Belmont. There may be some significance in the fact that it is just over 400 yards north-north-west of a great re-entrant angle in the line of the Antonine Ditch. It would certainly be a convenience for the owner to have in his mind a fixed point from which he would require to walk in a particular direction for so many paces when he wished to disinter the fortune he had buried. The cavity dug for its reception would seem to have been at the bottom of what was then a natural hollow or, possibly, a ditch. The jar was resting at a depth of as much as 7 feet below the modern surface, while above it was a pocket of 'free' sand, which gradually expanded upwards until it was 9 feet broad. These figures would have been excessive in the case of an excavation made for purposes of concealment; so serious a disturbance of the ground would inevitably have attracted attention and thus served to defeat the object in view.

On their arrival in Edinburgh the contents of the cache were transmitted by the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer to the Museum in order that they might be properly examined. It proved possible to reconstruct the earthenware jar, all but a few sherds of which had fortunately been recovered. The cloth, too, was interesting, showing as it did distinct traces of a pattern of checks. But it was, of course, the coins which demanded and received the lion's share of attention. The Museum staff were engaged for nearly three weeks on the tedious and delicate task of separating the cluster into its component parts and removing from each the accretion of copper salts by which it was disfigured. The work was most skilfully done and the result much more satisfactory than might have been anticipated. In the end the coins emerged from the ordeal very much in the guise they must have worn on the day

they were entrusted to the care of Mother Earth. The various elements in the find are now grouped together in a show-case, and the Society is indebted to Mr Edwards for transforming an amorphous heap into what is destined to be a notable and popular exhibit. A few of the better preserved and more interesting specimens have been placed in the safe. A preliminary sorting by Dr Callander saved me much trouble.

The total number examined—inclusive of one or two stragglers which did not reach the Museum, but which I have seen in other hands—was 1925. We may accordingly assume that there cannot have been many less than 2000 in the jar, constituting by far the largest Roman hoard that has ever come to light in Scotland. All were *denarii* except a single Greek coin, a Lycian drachm of Trajan, the size and weight of which, combined with the wear it had undergone, rendered it hardly distinguishable from its companions. More than three centuries had elapsed between the issue of the oldest coin and that of the most recent, for the earliest had been struck *circa* 83 B.C. while Rome was still a Republic, and the latest had been minted by Alexander Severus in A.D. 230 (fig. 1). From Nero onwards the array of heads of Emperors and of members of their families was practically continuous. As the condition of the latest coin showed that it had not been hidden away until after it had been in circulation for some years, we may infer that the hoard was concealed about A.D. 240 or 250. Long before then the Romans had finally withdrawn to the south of Hadrian's Wall. How did such a mass of their money come to be buried on the Forth and Clyde isthmus? If we are to get a satisfactory answer, we must make the coins tell their own story.

Their number is very impressive, and so too is the length of the period which they cover. These, however, do not carry us very far. It is otherwise with a feature whose importance might not be immediately obvious to the casual observer. They varied enormously in the amount of wear to which they had been subjected. Some were well or very well preserved and a few were even brilliant, while others—probably the great majority—had been more or less badly rubbed in passing from hand to hand. Concurrently, therefore, with the identification of each, a careful note was made of its condition. That some other factor than age had been at work became almost at once apparent. Within a small group, whose types and inscriptions proved that they had left the mint simultaneously, one or two would stand out as being in conspicuously good condition compared with the remainder. That could only mean that they had ceased to circulate sooner, occasionally very much sooner. Like Rome itself, the hoard was not built in a day. In

other words, it is the fruit of a gradual process of accumulation extending over many years. We know that the process came to an end about A.D. 240 or 250. Let us now try to go further and see when it began.

Practically the whole of the first-century pieces, including 350 of Vespasian, who was more numerously represented than anyone else,

REPUBLICAN DENARIUS (83 B.C.)--1	M. AURELIUS AND L. VERUS-----3
MARK ANTONY (31 B.C.)-----17	LUCILLA-----15
NERO (54-68 A.D.)-----27	COMMODUS (177-192 A.D.)-----41
GALBA (68-69 A.D.)-----14	CRISPINA-----11
OTHO (69 A.D.)-----7	DIDIUS JULIANUS (193 A.D.)-----1
VITELLIUS (69 A.D.)-----15	CLODIUS ALBINUS (193 A.D.)-----6
VESPASIAN (69-79 A.D.)-----350	SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211 A.D.)---55
TITUS (79-81 A.D.)-----63	JULIA DOMNA-----34
JULIA TITI-----1	CARACALLA (198-217 A.D.)-----33
DOMITIAN (81-96 A.D.)-----85	PLAUTILLA-----2
NERVA (96-98 A.D.)-----19	GETA (209-212 A.D.)-----13
TRAJAN (98-117 A.D.)-----215	MACRINUS (217-218 A.D.)-----2
HADRIAN (117-138 A.D.)-----235	DIADUMENIANUS (218 A.D.)-----1
SABINA-----19	ELAGABALUS (218-222 A.D.)-----27
AELIUS (136-138 A.D.)-----5	JULIA PAULA-----1
ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161 A.D.)--205	AQUILIA SEVERA-----1
FAUSTINA SENIOR-----104	JULIA SOAEMIAS-----7
PIUS AND M. AURELIUS-----7	JULIA MAESA-----8
M. AURELIUS (161-180 A.D.)---122	ALEXANDER SEVERUS (222-235 A.D.)--34
FAUSTINA JUNIOR-----100	JULIA MAMAEA-----6
L. VERUS (161-169 A.D.)-----13	
TOTAL 1925	

Fig. 1. List of Coins.

bore every mark of prolonged and constant usage. The earliest for which a circulation-life of anything less than fifteen or twenty years could reasonably be postulated had been struck at the very end of the reign of Domitian or during the reign of Nerva. At that point a steady improvement set in. There was no lack of worn examples among the later issues, but always—with a significant exception to be referred to later—there was a high proportion which were well or very well

preserved. We may infer that the foundations of the hoard were laid in the first quarter of the second century, and the inference is confirmed by the presence of the Republican *denarius*. Owing to the superior quality of the metal of which they were composed, these *denarii* continued to be current for well over a century after the establishment of the Empire.¹ They were ultimately 'called in' by Trajan, and this particular specimen must surely have been stored away before the news of their demonetization had spread as far as Britain.

The facts on which the conclusion just reached is based are quite inconsistent with the suggestion of an army chest and equally so with that of loot brought back by raiders. In the contents of the jar we have the outcome of perhaps 120 years of thrift, the family savings of four generations. We do not know, nor can we ever know, how the money was made. But we have the best of reasons for believing that it was made to the north of Hadrian's Wall and that the owners were not Roman intruders. They were dwellers in Caledonia. In this connexion it is relevant to recall that fifteen or sixteen years ago a survey of the sporadic finds from various parts of Scotland furnished unmistakable indications that for at least three hundred years Roman coins had served as a native currency.¹ The testimony of the hill-settlement on Traprain Law was specially illuminating.² There—except for what may perhaps be an accidental gap between Faustina Senior and Gallienus—the sequence that came to light was almost continuous down to Valentinian II., and the coins invariably occurred in the appropriate occupation-level. Yet for at least three-fourths of the time the *limes imperii* ran on the south of Cheviot. It is, therefore, anything but surprising that a hoard of Roman coins unearthed in Scotland should have been a native hoard. Indeed one may suspect this to have been the case with most, if not all, of those that have previously been recorded. That would certainly be the easiest way of accounting for their occurrence in districts which show no other sign of having been under Roman influence—Fife and Kinross, for example, which have been unusually prolific, and even distant Nairnshire.³

Up till now there has been no opportunity of putting the matter to the test by sifting the internal evidence, for the Falkirk find is the first hoard of Roman silver from Scotland that it has been possible to have scrutinized with any approach to thoroughness. The full significance of that evidence can only be appreciated when account is taken of the evidence of analogous finds in the Romanized part of the island. Two

¹ See *Proceedings*, lii. (1917-18), pp. 206 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234, and lviii. (1923-24), p. 327.

³ *Ibid.*, lii. (1917-18), pp. 257 ff.

such are particularly suitable for comparison—a hoard of 3169 from “somewhere in the East of England”—actually, I understand, from Colchester—which was published by Sir John Evans in 1898,¹ and a hoard of 507 from Denbighshire, which was described by Mr Mattingly in 1923.² The former included 107 specimens, and the latter 3 specimens, of the *antoninianus*, a new denomination introduced by Caracalla and probably tariffed as a double *denarius*. Otherwise, there were only *denarii*, as at Falkirk. In the absence of detailed information as to the condition of the coins in the two southern hoards, the comparison must necessarily be less complete than could have been desired. Even as things are, however, we can learn something from the statistics.

In all three cases the latest name in the list is that of Julia Mamæa. Concealment, therefore, took place at approximately the same time. That being so, we cannot but ask why there should have been no *antoniniani* at Falkirk. The simplest and most obvious explanation is that the ‘new-fangled’ denomination was not recognized for currency purposes in the region where the hoard was accumulated. Nowhere in Britain is that more likely to have been the position than in Scotland. It is notorious that in such matters semi-civilized peoples are instinctively conservative. It is worth adding that this may be the reason why the proportion of *antoniniani* is so very much lower in Wales than at Colchester—3 out of 507, as against 107 out of 3169. Although Denbighshire was within the province, it lay altogether apart from the main current of business life, a geographical accident to which may also be due the presence of no fewer than 12 legionary *denarii* of Antony, very old-fashioned coins, which are more than a little out of place in an assemblage whose general composition indicates that its formation began about the close of the second century.³ It is safe to guess that they and the 21 *denarii* of Vespasian, which were included in it, must have been as heavily worn as the corresponding pieces at Falkirk.

So far as can be judged from the figures, the foundations of the Colchester hoard were probably laid towards the close of the reign of Hadrian. The first beginnings of the Falkirk hoard must be placed (it will be remembered) about a generation earlier, and we should therefore naturally expect it to contain a relatively larger representation of the money of the Flavian Emperors. But the actuality is far in excess of the expectation. At Falkirk the coins of Vespasian and his family numbered 499 out of 1925 (or more than 25 per cent.) as against 62 out of 3169 (or less than 2 per cent.) at Colchester. Even a generation’s

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Ser., xviii. pp. 126 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 5th Ser., iii. pp. 152 ff.

³ The reason for their continued circulation is explained in *Proceedings*, lii. (1917-18), p. 207.

difference in date would be insufficient to produce such a result. Some other influence must have been at work. And here, as in the case of the *antoniniani*, it is to geography that we must turn for help. A combination of the evidence from number with that from condition leads to the conclusion that the founder of the Falkirk hoard must have made his 'pile' in some region where the contemporary currency consisted mainly of worn *denarii* which bore the image and superscription of Vespasian or of one or other of his sons. Once again Scotland, and Scotland alone, would seem to fill the bill. The frontier troubles which led to the erection, first of the Tyne and Solway Wall, and then of the Wall of Antoninus Pius, must have involved serious and lengthy interruptions of normal intercourse. The flow of Roman coins into and out of North Britain would be temporarily checked, and there would be no opportunity of replacing old by new. The natives, who had grown accustomed to their use, would have to be content with the specimens that had travelled from beyond Cheviot in days that were more peaceful.

The Falkirk hoard, then, is a native hoard, although the coins that went to make it up are Roman coins. Looked at in that light, it will be seen to reflect the history of the period during which it was being amassed. Two points stand out distinctly. In the first place the astonishing abundance of Flavian silver affords striking confirmation of a deduction drawn fifteen years ago from the first complete survey of the gold-finds. The Flavian and pre-Flavian issues amounted to about 70 per cent. of the whole of these, while Trajan absorbed some 18 per cent., leaving only a beggarly allowance of less than 12 per cent. for Hadrian and his successors.¹ Here there was no question of the gold being a native currency, since many of the *aurei* came from Roman forts, and none of them from native sites. It appeared to follow that the 'Agricolan' occupation could not possibly have been limited (as used to be supposed) to the three or four years of active campaigning which ended with that general's recall. As Tacitus says, '*tradiderat successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque.*'² It must have been then that the inhabitants of North Britain learned to employ Roman currency, and then that the great influx of Flavian *denarii* took place.

The second point of interest exhibits the other side of the shield. The storms that raged on and about the frontier in the latter half of the second century seem also to have left their mark. Thus, at Falkirk there were only 41 coins of Commodus, as compared with 247 or fully six times as many at Colchester. Taken by itself this need not perhaps have had any particular meaning, since in the case of most of the third-

¹ *Proceedings*, lii. (1917-18), pp. 255 ff.

² *Agricola*, c. 40.

century emperors the disparity was even greater, showing that latterly the Colchester capitalist was putting by money much more rapidly than his counterpart in Central Scotland, it may be because the northward flow of *denarii* was now little more than a trickle. What is really significant is the poor condition of most of the 41. The few exceptions were minted either before the outbreak of the war in Britain—according to Dio, “by far the greatest” in which Commodus was ever engaged¹—or after it had been brought to a more or less satisfactory conclusion. While hostilities were in progress, economic activities were paralysed. At this juncture the most fruitful comparison is with the issues of later emperors and their families. Among these there are invariably some which show signs of wear, but there is never any lack of others which are in good or even excellent condition. The *denarii* of Septimius Severus and his sons are typical. It is true that during the greater part of the reign of Severus the relations between Rome and North Britain were hardly more conducive to the maintenance of friendly intercourse than they had been during the reign of Commodus. But with the advent of the peace patched up by Caracalla after his father’s death there would surely come a revival of trade. And long before that there was an occasion when coins of Severus and his family were conveyed into Southern Scotland by a channel that was not commercial. Dio tells us that Virius Lupus, who became governor of Britain in A.D. 197, was compelled to purchase peace from the Mæatae at the price of a large sum of money.² The language used by the historian implies that the indemnity was paid in cash—an implication which has not, I think, been drawn attention to before, and which furnishes one more proof that Roman money passed current among the natives.

There is a final question which one is tempted to ask, even although it can only receive the most general reply. Why was all this treasure, so plainly “heaped together for the last days,” allowed to lie untouched until in the fullness of time it should serve as a parable of the vanity of riches? When a number of hoards that have obviously been buried about the same time are discovered within the same geographical area, it is often possible to connect them with warlike operations of which written history has preserved a record. Thus the Scottish hoards which were catalogued in my original inventory appeared to fall into two classes, associated respectively with the earlier and with the later of the two troubled epochs to which there has just been occasion to refer—the latter part of the second century and the beginning of the third. After the departure of the Romans thick darkness descends upon Central Scotland. It has no history. That it was nevertheless not entirely

¹ Dio, lxxii. 8.

² *Ibid.*, lxxv. 5.

happy is the lesson of the Falkirk hoard. The jar must have been buried at some moment when serious disturbances were afoot, when the life and property of civilians were no longer safe. The man who knew where it was hidden was overtaken by the slayers, and his secret perished with him.