

THE area covered by the present county of Cumbria saw varied aspects of the Roman occupation; although the physical disposition of most of the military sites has been known long enough, recent excavation and research have done a great deal to elucidate the chronological pattern of that occupation. Further, in recent years, the pattern of civilian occupation in the area has begun to be better understood. The disposition and contents of coin hoards in the area can obviously offer a contribution to that understanding.

Much of the available information was collected by W. G. Collingwood in his inventories of Cumberland and Westmorland (CW2 xxiii (1923), 206-276 and xxvi (1926), 1-62); however, the scope of those papers obviously did not allow for the more detailed treatment which is the intention of the present paper.

Secondly, the recent papers of A. S. Robertson (1974) and R. Reece (1974) have demonstrated the value of a close study of hoard contents to illuminate the history of a region, problems relating to the circulation of money, as well as the more personal factors that might lie behind the selection of coins as savings. Not many of the Cumbrian hoards are recorded in sufficient detail to enable them to be subjected to this kind of study: however it will be attempted in those cases where it is possible.

As a preliminary it should be noted that the number of Roman coin hoards in Cumbria is substantially smaller than is the case, for example, in Lancashire; this is presumably to be accounted for partly by the higher volume of industrial development, particularly in south Lancashire, and partly by the fact that although much of Cumbria is of a rural nature, substantial areas are still unploughed; in other words the county has not yet been totally subjected to that process which, as Professor Robertson has pointed out, is the commonest means of unearthing coin hoards.

I. Inventory of Roman Coin Hoards found in Cumbria (see Fig. 1).

Unlike the coin hoards of Lancashire which I have discussed elsewhere (*Lancashire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 1 (1978), 9-46), the majority of those recorded in Cumbria have come from the close vicinity of known Roman sites – a few being unearthed in the excavation of the sites themselves. The fact that only a small number has been found in areas away from known sites is, however, more likely to be a reflection of modern than ancient activity. The possible significance of the locations of such finds will be discussed in the relevant cases.

The table of hoards will be presented under three headings:

A: Hoards from known Roman sites

B: Hoards from other sites

C: Collections of uncertain status, but including possible hoards.

This will be followed by notes on the hoards and by a discussion of their significance.

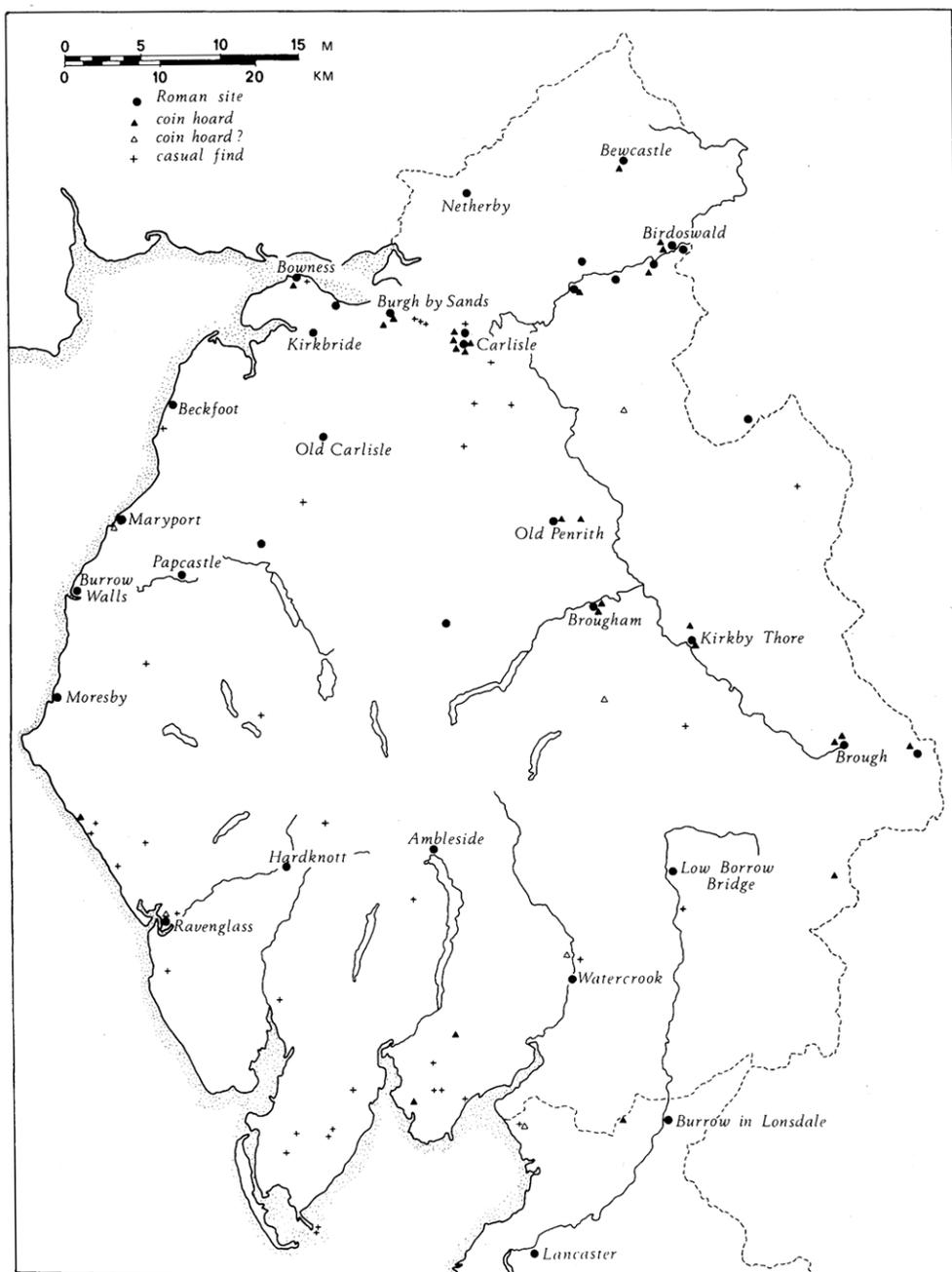


FIG. 1 – Map to illustrate find-spots of coin hoards and other Roman coins recovered in Cumbria.

Abbreviations used in the Inventory and Notes:

AA	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>
CW	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
Bruce RW ₃	J. C. Bruce, <i>The Roman Wall</i> (1867)
Jarrett	M. G. Jarrett, <i>Maryport: A Roman Fort and its Garrison</i> (Kendal 1976)
Jefferson	S. Jefferson, <i>History and Antiquities of Carlisle</i> (Carlisle 1828)
Potter	T. W. Potter, <i>Romans in North-West England</i> (CW Research Series, no. 1, Kendal 1979)
Stockdale	J. Stockdale, <i>Annales Caermoelenses</i> (Ulverston 1872)
Watkin	W. T. Watkin, <i>Roman Lancashire</i> (Liverpool 1883)
Whellan	W. Whellan, <i>The History and Antiquities of Cumberland and Westmorland</i> (1860)
RIC	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham and C. H. V. Sutherland (eds), <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London 1923 –)
Crawford	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , (Cambridge 1974)

A

SITE	DATE	SIZE	METAL	RANGE	REFERENCE
1 Carlisle	1763	'very considerable'	AV/AR/Æ	Nero-Faustina	<i>Archaeologia</i> 8 (1787), 428
2 Carlisle	1860	200-300	AR	Nero-M. Aurelius	Bruce RW ₃ , 427f
3 Carlisle	1887	200-300	AR	?	CW1 xii (1892-3), 360
4 Carlisle	1829	?	AR	inc. Faustina	CW1 xii (1892-3), 360
5 Carlisle	1782	?	AR	Vitellius-Commodus	Jefferson 1828, 324
6 Maiden Castle	c. 1850	?	?	?	CW2 lviii (1957), 187
7 Brough-under Stainmore	c. 1783	?	AR	inc. Vespasian	CW2 lviii (1958), 38
8 Kirkby Thore (Newbiggin Hall)	1865	167	AR	Nero-Crispina	AA2 vi (1865), 196-7 CW2 lxxvii (1978), 17-19
9 Brougham	1910	c. 500	AR/Æ	Valerian-Tetrici	CW2 xi (1911), 209-11 CW2 lxxviii (1978), 204-6
10 Brougham	c. 1914	23	Æ	Postumus-Aurelian (?)	CW2 lxxviii (1978), 23-8
11 Birdoswald	1930	30	AR	Republic (130 B.C.)- Hadrian	CW2 xxxi (1931), 130-1
12 Brampton	1826	c. 5000	AR/Æ	Antoninus-Gallienus (?)	CW1 i (1870), 207 AA1 ii (1832), 209ff
13 Burgh-by-Sands	c. 1820	?	?	?	CW2 xxiii (1923), 235
14 Bowness-on- Solway	c. 1600	'Fifteen or more'	Æ	inc. Faustina I	CW2 xi (1911), 352
15 Bewcastle	?	?	?	?	CW2 xxii (1922), 176

B

SITE	DATE	SIZE	METAL	RANGE	REFERENCE
16 Scratchmore Scar	?	51+	Æ	Postumus-Tetricus I	CW2 xiii (1913), 197
17 Kirksteads	1855 (& 1977)	1100 (+ 226)	Æ	Diocletian-Constantine I	Whellan 1860, 171 <i>Coin Hoards IV</i> (1978), in press (P. J. Casey)
18 Braystones	late 19th century	?	AR?	inc. Commodus	CW2 xlvi (1948), 218-9
19 Upper Holker	c. 1790	524	AR/Æ	Hadrian-Volusian	Stockdale 1872, 244 ff
20 Docker Moor	1975	34	Æ	Gallienus-Aurelian	CW2 lxxvii (1977), 175-8
21 Mallerstang Edge	1926	138	AR	Galba-Hadrian	CW2 xxvii (1927), 205 ff

C

SITE	DATE	SIZE	METAL	RANGE	REFERENCE
22 Old Penrith	1811	?	AR/Æ	Faustina-Constantius II	CW2 xiii (1913), 197
23 Birdoswald	1949	28	AR	Republic (138 B.C.) – Hadrian	CW2 l (1950), 69
24 Carlisle	1962 & 1968	8	Æ	Vespasian-Domitian	NC7 viii (1968), 63-6
25 Brough-under-Stainmore	c. 1825	large	?	?	CW2 lviii (1958), 35
26 Kirkby Thore	1838	?	AR/Æ	Claudius I-Constantine I	<i>Archaeologia</i> 31 (1846), 279 ff CW2 lxxviii (1978), 19-22
27 Nether Denton	1868	?	AR/Æ	Republic-Trajan	CW1 i (1870), 88
28 Maryport	?	17	'Tin AR'	Nerva-Antoninus	Jarrett 1976, 47
29 Ravenglass	1976	3 +	Æ	Constans-Magnentius	Potter 1979, 104
30 Upper Allithwaite	1785	75	?	inc. Constantine I	Watkin 1883, 215
31 Kendal	c. 1890?	106	Æ	Tetricus I-Gratian	CW2 lxxviii (1978), 29-35
32 Hardknott	c. 1913	3	AR	Republic	CW2 xxviii (1928), 339 f
33 Shap	?	?	?	?	CW xxvi (1926), 20

Notes

1. The hoard was found "near Carlisle, on making the new military way from thence to Newcastle". Although it is said that a considerable number of coins were found, only 64 have been recorded – Nero I (AV), Galba 1, Otho 1, Vitellius 2, Vespasian 8, Titus 1, Domitian 11, Nerva 3 (1 Æ), Trajan 19, Hadrian 14, Faustina 1. The distribution of the coins suggests that there were few (if any) later than the latest recorded. It is likely that the coins were deposited in a narrow-necked flagon, and that the bronze of Nerva was used as a stopper. Each coin is stated to have had a different reverse – suggesting this as the probable pattern of its composition (Robertson 1974, 19).
2. Found on the line of the Wall, on the site of the North British Railway Engine Sheds. The hoard consisted of 200-300 *Denarii*; of these only 62 survived, of which 12 were illegible. The remaining 50 consisted of Nero 1, Galba 1, Vitellius 1, Vespasian 10, Domitian 4, Nerva 1, Trajan 12, Hadrian 6, Antoninus 12, Marcus Aurelius 2.

Mr S. H. Penney of Lancaster Museum has informed me of references to this hoard in the *Carlisle Journal* (28/12/1860; 12/3/1861). In both reports the number of coins is put at about 100; the findspot is described in the first report as Davidson's Bank during excavations for the Border Union Railway: the second report specifies Donaldson's Bank, near the Pump-house of the Canal. The second report also described two of the coins in detail, showing them to be *RIC* (Trajan) 252 and *RIC* (Antoninus) 111. Mr Penney's information came from Mr Tom Patten of Carlisle.

3. Found on the New Markets site: the hoard consisted of 200-300 silver coins, but was dispersed before any record was made.
4. Found at Gallows Hill: the report is confused, two containers being mentioned – a glass bottle “much broken” and a small urn; it is thus not clear whether one or two hoards are meant. The coins in the small urn are described as being silver and in good condition, though they were dispersed before a record was made, beyond the fact that one coin was a *denarius* of Faustina. It has been suggested that some of the coins may have reached Carlisle Museum through the Morton collection.
5. Found in Fisher Street “within a few feet of the surface”; although no indication is given of the hoard's size, it is said to have contained coins of Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina and Commodus.
6. The only information about this hoard is that it was found “in a peat moss, not far from Maiden Castle”; it is, however, possible that a reference in T. F. Bulmer's *History, Topography and Directory of Westmorland* (1905, p. 286) should be related to it: Bulmer mentions the abundance of coins of Vespasian found at the site.
7. Found in a “house near the Castle”: this was a hoard of *denarii*, deposited in a pot, of which the only surviving detail is that it included a *IVDAEA CAPTA* coin of Vespasian.
8. This hoard was found shortly before 1865 on the estate of Newbiggin Hall, close to the Maiden Way, lying in peat: various reports of it have been published, displaying a certain fluidity in the details. It appears that there were 167 *denarii*, all in good condition and consisting of Nero 2, Galba 1, Otho 1, Vitellius 2, Vespasian 11, Titus 4, Domitian 4, Nerva 1, Trajan 27, Hadrian 35, Sabina 6, Antoninus 29, Antoninus and Marcus 3, Faustina I 13, Marcus Aurelius 13, Faustina II 5, Verus 6, Lucilla 3, Crispina 1. Some of the coins once formed part of the collection of Sir George Musgrave of Eden Hall, some of whose collection eventually passed to the British Museum. Another part of the hoard (67 coins) is now privately owned and was listed by H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*⁵ IX (1929), 314f. Although Mattingly's brief description of the circumstances of discovery contains details apparently inconsistent with the Maiden Way hoard, there seems little doubt that the 67 coins from Vespasian to M. Aurelius (and excluding the *denarius* of Severus Alexander which he considered to be an intruder) belong to the Maiden Way hoard.
9. Found at Brougham Castle Farm apparently in association with the foundations of a wall and human remains. Most of the 500 coins were said to be very small radiate copies, which is confirmed by the 51 coins which have survived and are now part of the collection of Carlisle Museum; the 51 consist of eight regular coins (Valerian 3, Postumus 5), whilst the remainder are copies of a generally very poor quality. The high incidence of radiate copies is paralleled in the Ninekirks hoard (no. 10), suggesting the possibility of local manufacture.
10. The Ninekirks hoard was found c. 1914 during the digging of a grave in the Churchyard. The chief interest in this hoard at one time centred around the possibility that, besides 22 radiate copies, it contained a coin of c. A.D. 600. Re-examination by P. J. Casey has shown that this is not the case, and that the hoard contains coins from Postumus to Aurelian or Probus.
11. Found during the excavation of a barrack-block in the fort, in the base of a small cooking-pot, which had been “pushed into the floor”; the hoard contained 30 *denarii*, ranging over the period 130 B.C. – A.D. 121. (Republican 17, Augustus 1, Nero 1, Vespasian 4, Titus 1, Domitian

- 1, Trajan 3, Hadrian 2). The hoard's chief importance centres around the high proportion of Republican *denarii* which it contained; that this reasonably reflects coinage in circulation in Britain in the early Hadrianic period is confirmed by the contents of the Birdoswald arm-purse (below, no. 23): hoards terminating in the early Hadrianic period are the last to show substantial elements of Republican coins, presumably as a result of Trajan's recall of old silver coinage (Dio Cassius 68.15.3; Reece 1974, 84f).
12. Found at Hawk's Nest, two fields away from Old Church fort; it is said that 14 lbs of coins were buried in a pot with a stone cover. Although the reports mention only coins of the late Empire, the size of the hoard would suggest that it consisted of a few silver and silvered coins, the bulk being made up of debased radiates of the period A.D. 250-280. One report indeed includes a coin of Antoninus, the other specifies four of the coins as belonging to the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. It appears that some of the coins (now untraceable) were at one time in the collection of Warrington Museum.
 13. Beyond the fact that this hoard was found in the Beaumont/Kirkandrews area between 1819 and 1823, nothing is known.
 14. The record of the hoard from Bowness-on-Solway mentions "fifteen or more" coins, evidently *sestertii*, of which one was a CONSECRATIO issue for Faustina I; the coins were found beneath *RIB 2060*.
 15. Nothing survives beyond the bare notice of a hoard from Bewcastle.
 16. The record of a hoard from Scratchmore Scar, east of Old Penrith, mentioned 51 coins which belonged to the Mawson collection, and were evidently part only of a larger hoard. The 51 coins consisted of Postumus 2, Victorinus 13, Tetricus 36.
 17. Whellan's record of this hoard refers to 1100 "bronze *denarii*" mainly of the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine which were found in a pot. The recent discovery of further coins at the site, 300 yards west-north-west of Kirksteads, confirms that the hoard consisted of *folles*, and small bronze from c. 294 to c. 320, presumably hoarded against the progressive decline in the *follis* after the early years of the fourth century. Carlisle Museum has acquired some coins from the new find, and a list of this new group is to be published by P. J. Casey in *Coin Hoards IV* (1978).
 18. Little is known about the hoard from Braystones on the Cumberland coast (NGR 007054), beyond the fact that one of its coins belonged to the reign of Commodus. The chief interest attaching to this hoard lies in the possible implications of its location, in view of the fact that there have also been finds of Roman coins at Starling Castle and St. Bridget Beckermat.
 19. Found in a wood near Walton Hall: the coins were in a pot, and the recorded presence of a bronze coin of Hadrian again suggests its use as a stopper. The coins were mostly rapidly dispersed; besides the bronze of Hadrian, Stockdale records one silver coin each of Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Plautilla, Macrinus, Diadumenian, Cornelia Paula, Julia Maesa, Julia Sohaemias, Volusian and Trebonianus Gallus. The discovery of this hoard, and another collection at nearby Castlehead (no. 30), together with other coins in the Grange and Cartmel areas must serve to keep alive the possibility of a Roman site (or sites) in Furness.
 20. This small hoard of radiates (Gallienus 6, Claudius II 1, Aurelian 1, Postumus 2, Victorinus 9, Tetricus I 7 and Tetricus II 1, together with six illegible coins) had apparently fallen from the bank of the River Keer; there was no sign of a container. The coins are now in Lancaster Museum. A further 42 coins have now been discovered (1979).
 21. Found at Sleddle Mouth in a hole covered by a slab; the coins (Galba 1, Otho 1, Vitellius 1, Vespasian 6, Titus 5, Domitian 14, Nerva 12, Trajan 65, Hadrian 33) are now located in the British Museum and in Carlisle Museum.
 22. Coins were found when the east wall of the fort of Old Penrith was dismantled in 1811; it is said that these coins included silver issues of Faustina, Septimius Severus, Geta, Caracalla and Maximinus, and copper issues of Geta, Licinius and Constantius. The date-range would, of

- course, be long for a saver's hoard. The coins might represent casual losses; alternatively it might be that the silver coins represent part of a hoard.
23. This collection of 28 *denarii* was found in a bronze wrist-purse in the rampart-backing to the north of the fort's east gate, and was adjudged at the Coroner's Inquest to represent an accidental loss rather than a deliberate attempt at concealment. The period covered by the coins (138 B.C.-A.D. 119) is very similar to that of the 1930 hoard from the site (no. 11), being made up of Republican 8, Nero 1, Vitellius 3, Vespasian 3, Titus 2, Domitian 3, Nerva 1, Trajan 6, Hadrian 1. Importance has been attached to this collection because of the light it may throw on the question of denominations in which the Wall garrison received its pay (CW2, liv (1954), 56-65). The coins and the purse are now in Carlisle Museum.
 24. This small collection of 8 *asses* was found on two separate occasions at Eden Bridge, but close enough for the suggestion that they should be considered together. In the collection there were seven coins of Vespasian and one of Domitian (dated to A.D. 86); some of the coins displayed a dark deposit, which may have been the remains of a leather container. It is more likely that these coins represent an accidental loss; they are now in Carlisle Museum.
 25. A large quantity of coins was found "in the bed of the river near the castle", together with "brooches, jewellers' working tools etc." No details are given of the coins, and the nature of the find as a whole suggests that it may not have been a hoard, but perhaps even a more recent collection of Roman material from the site.
 26. A large collection of Roman material (coins and silver and bronze items) was found embedded in the concrete foundations of the Troutbeck Bridge which was demolished in 1838. A few of the coins and metal-work are preserved in Chesters Museum and in private collections; the date-range of the surviving coins is from issues of Claudius I to one of Constantine I. Whilst the whole may represent a disturbed votive deposit, or even a more recent collection, it is not impossible that a part-hoard is concealed within it.
 27. The report of a find of coins at the site is somewhat confusing, being part of a record of a larger number (16 silver and 73 bronze) which had been recovered from the fort area. It is stated that 22 of these were found together beneath some stone flags, thus possibly constituting a hoard. Whilst the date-range of the 22 coins is not given, it can be approximately determined from the fact that the complete collection of 89 coins was stated to cover the period from the late Republic to the reign of Trajan. E. A. Budge (*An Account of the Roman Antiquities preserved in the Museum at Chesters*, London 1907, p. 408, no. 184) describes a lead vessel at Chesters Museum and a "collection of 61 bronze and 10 silver coins . . . which were found in it"; it is not, however, clear that these coins were in fact from Nether Denton.
 28. The Senhouse collection contained 17 forged *denarii* (Nerva 3, Trajan 7, Hadrian 3, Antoninus 4), which P. J. Casey (in Jarrett 1976, 46) has suggested may have constituted a forger's hoard, or a votive deposit. We may perhaps compare with these the tin *denarii* found in a well at the fort at Bar Hill (A. S. Robertson, M. E. Scott and L. J. F. Keppie, *Bar Hill: A Roman Fort and its Finds* (BAR 1975) 169ff.).
 29. It is possible that three coins (one each of Constans, Constantius II and Magnentius) which were found during the 1976 excavations at the site, corroded together, may represent part of a disturbed hoard. It is not uncommon for mid-fourth century *Aes* coins of revived size to appear in hoards.
 30. When the hill called Castlehead was cleared for landscaping in 1785, a large and varied collection of ancient remains was recovered; these were stated to include 95 Northumbrian *stycas* and 75 Roman coins: details of the Roman coins are very sparse, although 3 are said to have belonged to the reign of Constantine I (E. Baines, *History of the County Palatine of Lancaster* (1824), i. 596). The status of this find must for obvious reasons remain dubious.
 31. This collection of coins was "re-discovered" in Kendal Museum in 1975, wrapped in a sheet of newspaper of 1893; there was no indication of the provenance of the find. The only possible

documented connection with Kendal is a reference to some "curious old coins" being discovered during work at the White Hall (*Kendal, Local Chronology*, p. 62; entry for 23rd July, 1825). The coins cover the period A.D. 271-378 and consist of – Tetricus I 11, Tetricus II 1, Constantine I and his sons 92, Valens 1, Gratian 1. The condition of the coins of the Tetrici, Valens and Gratian is different from that of the Constantinian issues, which are all bronze coins of the period A.D. 316-335 and, with a few exceptions, from western mints. If the find was not made in Kendal, it is possible that they may come from Castlehead (no. 30), or from a find made in the late eighteenth century at Craven Bank, near Giggleswick, which is said to have consisted of coins from Constantine to Gratian (*Bradford Antiquary* 8 (1940), 317f.).

32. Although there is no report to suggest the discovery of a hoard at Hardknott Roman fort, it is perhaps worth noting that out of its small sample of only eleven coins, three have been *denarii* of the Republican period (Crawford 413, 1; 443, 1; and 544).
33. It has been suggested that the discovery of coins at The Brinns might constitute a hoard, although there is nothing specifically which points in that direction.

II. Discussion

(a) Containers (Robertson 1974, 23-25)

In fifteen cases, we are given information about the presence or absence of a container. In one of those (Carlisle, no. 4), a glass bottle is mentioned: in six, the receptacle is clearly stated to have been a pot (Carlisle, no. 4; Brough, no. 7; Birdoswald, no. 11, where the coins were in the base of a pot; Brampton, no. 12, where the pot had a stone cover; Kirksteads, no. 17; Upper Holker, no. 19). All of these pottery containers appear to have been coarse vessels, and in two cases the presence of single Æ coins suggests their use as "misleading stoppers". Two hoards were recovered from beneath flag-stones (Nether Denton, no. 27; Bowness-on-Solway, no. 14); one (Birdoswald, no. 23) was in a wrist-purse; one (Mallerstang, no. 21) was recovered from a hole covered by a stone; and in five cases, it is either stated or it is a reasonable inference that no container was found – either it was not noticed or the coins had been in a receptacle which had subsequently perished; the dark deposit mentioned on the Carlisle *asses* (no. 24), for example, might conceivably represent the decayed remains of a leather container.

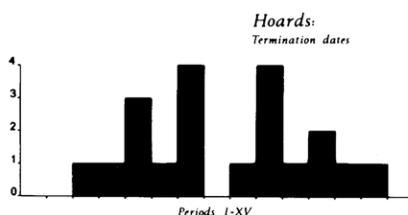


FIG. 2 – Distribution of termination dates of Cumbrian coin hoards.

(b) Termination-dates (fig. 2)

Although the completeness of the record leaves a great deal to be desired, we are given approximate indications of termination-dates in the cases of seventeen collections in the inventory which may be reasonably described as hoards; these are distributed as follows (cf. Robertson 1974, 27):

TABLE I: *Chronological Distribution of Termination-dates for Cumbria Hoards*

	<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of Hoards</i>	<i>No. in Inventory</i>
I	(-A.D. 41)	—	
II	(41-68)	—	
III	(69-96)	—	
IV	(96-117)	1	27 (?)
V	(117-138)	2	11, 21
VI	(138-161)	1	1
VII	(161-192)	5	2, 4 (?), 5, 8, 22 (?)
VIII	(192-222)	—	
IX	(222-253)	1	19
X	(253-275)	5	9, 10, 12, 16, 20
XI	(275-307)	1	17 (?)
XII	(307-337)	—	
XIII	(337-364)	—	
XIV	(364-383)	1	31
XV	(383-)	—	

Not included in this table, but almost certainly terminating in VI or VII are those silver hoards like Carlisle (4), Brough-under-Stainmore (7) and Braystones (18), for which reference is made to a single issuer – respectively Faustina I, Vespasian and Commodus. The hoard of *sestertii* from Bowness-on-Solway (14) which is said to have included a CONSECRACTIO coin of Faustina I, might fall into a group of hoards consisting of worn second-century *sestertii* and radiate *sestertii* of mid-third-century date.

Within period VII we can perhaps see two distinct termination-periods – that is hoards which terminate with a comparatively small number of coins of Marcus Aurelius or whose latest coins reach into the reign of Commodus; it is likely that Carlisle (2) and perhaps Carlisle (4) fall into the former group, whilst Carlisle (5), Kirby Thore (8) and perhaps Braystones (18) are of the latter type. It has, however, to be emphasised that in most of these cases we are dealing with part-hoards which may be unrepresentative of the whole, although where the numbers of coins are given for each issuing authority we may be able to detect anomalies in composition, which in their turn may help to suggest how representative published selections may be.

The earlier part of the second century provides a possible Trajanic termination (27), two Hadrianic (11 and 21) and one probably in the reign of Antoninus (1); it is further likely that if the *denarii* from Hardknott (32) did represent part of a hoard, its termination should, because of the presence of Republican coins (Reece 1974, 84), be placed in the Trajanic or Hadrianic periods. Although it would be dangerous to try to attach a particular significance to so small a group of hoards, it is worth noting that in Lancashire as many as seven hoards appear to have terminated during Trajan's or Hadrian's reigns.

After A.D. 200, we find only one significant group of terminations – namely those of the 270s, which will have reflected the combination of economic and political difficulties which characterized the period. It is likely also that the Kirksteads hoard of *folles* (17) should also be taken as a reflection of economic conditions. The fourth century has produced no certain hoards later in date than that, although the possibility exists of a mid-fourth-century hoard at Ravenglass (24); besides this the “Kendal Museum” hoard (31)

contains coins of Valens and Gratian with no indication, however, that the coins do derive from Cumbria.

Thus despite the clear indications that military sites in the north-west continued in occupation until very late into the fourth century (Kent 1951, 4ff.; P. J. Casey in Jarrett 1976, 46), there are no signs on present evidence of the burial of hoards reflecting the uncertainty that the end of occupation probably brought.

(c) *Contents of Cumbrian Hoards*

A histogram showing the chronological distribution of coins in Cumbrian hoards would tell us little, since numerically that distribution would be "swamped" by the very large hoards from Brampton (12) and Kirksteads (17). More useful is a tabular demonstration of the contents of hoards which terminate in particular periods.

(i) *The Second Century*

TABLE II: *Hoards terminating in the Second Century A.D.*

%	<i>Birdoswald</i> (<i>AR</i> : 30 coins)	<i>Birdoswald</i> (<i>AR</i> : 28 coins)	<i>Mallerstang</i> (<i>AR</i> : 138 coins)	<i>Carlisle</i> (<i>AR</i> : 63 coins)	<i>Carlisle</i> (<i>AR</i> : 50 coins)	<i>Newbiggin Hall</i> (<i>AR</i> : 167 coins)
	no. 11	no. 23	no. 21	no. 1*	no. 2*	no. 8
Republic	56.68	28.58	—	—	—	—
Augustus	3.33	—	—	—	—	—
Tiberius	—	—	—	—	—	—
Caius	—	—	—	—	—	—
Claudius	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nero	3.33	3.57	—	3.17	2.00	1.20
Galba	—	—	0.72	1.59	2.00	0.59
Otho	—	—	0.72	1.59	—	0.59
Vitellius	—	10.71	0.72	3.17	2.00	1.20
Vespasian	13.33	10.71	4.35	12.70	20.00	6.60
Titus	3.33	7.14	2.90	1.59	—	2.40
Domitian	3.33	10.71	10.87	17.46	8.00	2.40
Nerva	—	3.57	8.70	4.76	2.00	0.59
Trajan	10.00	21.44	47.10	30.16	24.00	16.17
Hadrian	6.67	3.57	23.92	22.22	12.00	24.55
Antoninus	—	—	—	1.59	24.00	26.95
M. Aurelius	—	—	—	—	4.00	16.17
Commodus	—	—	—	—	—	0.59

* indicates part-hoard only.

We are given in the records few indications of especial criteria which may have been employed in the selection of coins for hoarding; we should therefore assume that in the majority of cases the coins included in hoards represent normal money in circulation.

The effect of Trajan's recall of old silver (Dio Cassius 68, 15, 3; Reece 1974, 84f.) is sharply demonstrated by a comparison between the two Birdoswald collections on the one hand and the Mallerstang hoard on the other: the Birdoswald collections (one hoard and one loss) have no coins later in date than A.D. 121, some eleven years after the time at which Dio dates Trajan's recall of old silver. Both collections show a high proportion of

pre-Neronian coins, whereas Mallerstang, evidently terminating late in Hadrian's reign, has no coins earlier in date than Galba. None of the hoards whose latest coins post-date Hadrian has any coins earlier than Nero.

All of these collections demonstrate the length of circulation-life of Roman silver coins; even the latest of the group – that from Newbiggin Hall, which terminated with a single coin of Crispina (c. A.D. 180) – has coins which go back to around 120 years earlier: indeed it is shown in hoards from other areas that Neronian *denarii* still appear in hoards whose latest coins are of the 230s and 240s, and are often reaching the point of being totally worn out – as is frequently the case with the legionary *denarii* of Marcus Antonius, which appear to have escaped Trajan's recall. It is also striking that most of these hoards contain at least some coins of the Civil War emperors of A.D. 68-9, which will have been issued in comparatively small numbers.

Further than this, it can be seen that the coins of certain emperors survived in strength through the second century, particularly Vespasian, Domitian and Trajan. For example, in hoards up to and including the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Trajan's coins are at least as numerous as those of his immediate successor. In general, it will be seen that the coins most strongly represented in a hoard are those of the emperor whose reign preceded that in which the hoard terminated – an observation which is of obvious importance in the interpretation of coins as site finds.

(ii) *The Third Century*

No hoards from Cumbria are attested as Severan depositions; indeed only that from Upper Holker (19) is recorded as falling between terminations of the late second century, and those of the mid-third-century crises. This was a large hoard (524 coins) and like the second-century terminations it contained coins of considerable age.

The terminations of the mid-third century are not well documented, and those of which some record is preserved are on the whole very small portions of the whole hoards. It is possible to detect a preponderance of coins of the Gallic rebels in the Scratchmore (16) and Docker (20) hoards, although clearly the most striking feature is the very high proportion of poor-grade radiate copies in the two Brougham hoards (9; 10); it is perhaps worth noting in this connection that in excavations at Watercrock over 60% of the coins recorded from the period A.D. 253-275 have been poor-grade radiate copies. It thus seems probable that there was fairly large-scale manufacturing of these copies in Cumbria.

(c) *Metals*

TABLE III: *Composition of Cumbria Hoards by Metal.*

<i>Metal</i>	<i>No. of Hoards</i>	<i>No. in Inventory</i>
AV	—	—
AV/AR	—	—
AV/AR/Æ	1	1
AR	10	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 18 (?), 21, 22
AR/Æ	4	9, 12, 19, 27 (?)
Æ	7	10, 14, 16, 17, 20, 24, 31
?	3	6, 13, 15

Numerically, the distribution of individual coins by metal is dominated by the two large Æ hoards of Brampton and Kirksteads, approximately 80% of all recorded hoarded coins in the area being bronze. Viewed in terms of hoards rather than coins, however, the picture is somewhat different, with twelve out of twenty-five hoards being composed almost completely of silver coins.

Perhaps the most striking feature is the almost complete absence of gold coins; only one hoard – from the Carlisle area (1) – is said to have contained any gold coins; and even in this case only one such coin is recorded, although it is as well to remember that the *published* record of that hoard covers only a portion of the whole. There are records of isolated finds in the county of single gold coins – for example, a *solidus* of Valens from Broadhead Farm, south of Low Borrow Bridge – CW2 xlvi (1947), 10; a *solidus* of Theodosius from Muncaster Castle – CW2 xlvi (1948), 219; an *aureus* of Nero from Scalesceugh – *Num. Circ.* 35 (1927) col. 208; an *aureus* of M. Aurelius from Kendal Castle – CW1 ix (1888), 178; an *aureus* of Julia Domna from Garrigill (*Notes and Queries* 5, 3 (1875), 268). There is, however, no suggestion in any of the reports that these may have constituted hoards consisting of single gold coins.

(d) *Locations* (fig. 1)

As stated in the introduction, it is probably an accident of recent activities that the majority of reported coins hoards come from known Roman sites, and particularly from those now covered by urban complexes. Carlisle, for example, has produced no fewer than six collections, none of which is later in termination than the reign of Commodus; indeed for a site that is supposed to have become the north-west's major urban centre in the Roman period, it is surprising that Carlisle has produced no hoard evidence later than this.

Apart from Carlisle, the vicinities of a number of known Roman sites have yielded one or two hoards, or at least suspicions of hoards. Two locations, however, call for particular comment; the coastline between Moresby and Ravenglass has produced a certain amount of Roman material at a point approximately half-way between the two known Roman sites; this material includes the Braystones hoard. Secondly, Furness has long been a puzzle with its apparent absence of Roman sites; the Barrow area has produced a considerable number of isolated coin finds, whilst the Cartmel peninsula has yielded not only casual finds, but also a large hoard (Upper Holker), and another collection of uncertain status (Upper Allithwaite).

Recent aerial research (Jones and Higham 1975, 16ff.) has demonstrated the likely density of population during the Roman period in parts of Cumbria at any rate: how far coin-use extended into such settlements is another question. One would expect that "Roman" settlements of this type will have tended to grow in the vicinity of Roman forts; Brougham, which has yielded two hoards, is sited in the midst of good-quality land (Jones and Higham 1975, 26f and 35) and was probably the centre of an economic unit. A Roman coin hoard presupposes a source and supply of coins which must ultimately have been of military origin. This being so, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that areas which have yielded hoards are also those most likely to produce, eventually at any rate, evidence of Roman sites as well.

References

In addition to those works cited in connection with the inventory itself, the following have been referred to:—
Jones and Higham 1975: Jones G. D. B. and Higham N. J., *Frontier, Forts and Farmers*, *Arch. J.* 132 (1975), 16-53.

Kent: Kent J. P. C., *Coin Evidence, and the Evacuation of Hadrian's Wall*, CW2 li (1951), 4-15.

Reece 1974: Reece R., "Numerical Aspects of Roman Coin Hoards in Britain" in Casey P. J. and Reece R. (eds), *Coins and the Archaeologist* (BAR 1974), 78-94.

Robertson 1974: Robertson A. S., "Romano-British Coin-hoards: their numismatic, archaeological and historical significance", in Casey P. J. and Reece R. (eds), *Coins and the Archaeologist* (BAR 1974), 12-26.

Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to Mr R. C. Turner, Graduate Assistant in the Department of Classics and Archaeology at the University of Lancaster, who prepared the illustrations; also to Mr R. A. G. Carson (Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum), Miss D. Charlesworth (Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the Department of the Environment), Mr T. Clare (Archaeologist to Cumbria County Council), Mr D. Clarke and Mr J. Chapman (Curator and Keeper of Archaeology of Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery), Mrs K. T. Rayner (of the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) and Mr A. Turner (Curator of Kendal Museum) for information relating to a number of the hoards discussed in this paper.

D. C. A. Shotter

University of Lancaster

