

Potin Coinage in Iron Age Britain, Archaeology and Chronology

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4.5. Potin Coinage in Iron Age Britain, Archaeology and Chronology

Colin C. Haselgrove

Résumé. Cet article réexamine les origines, la chronologie et la diffusion des monnaies coulées en Bretagne insulaire. Il existe deux séries différentes de potins. La première série s'appelle d'habitude le type « Thurrock », d'après le dépôt qui y fut trouvé en 1987. Bien que ce type ressemble à LT 5284 – ce qui pourrait être son prototype direct – l'analyse des métaux et les trouvailles récentes suggèrent que cette série doit être insulaire avec pour origine le Kent. Elle commençait, probablement pendant la seconde moitié du II^e s. avant J.-C., à être émise alors que les monnaies gallo-belges en or devenaient courantes. La deuxième série insulaire – les potins linéaires bien connus du Kent – paraît tirer son origine du type « Thurrock ». Ces monnaies sont fréquemment trouvées sur des sites dans tout le sud-est de l'Angleterre. Les données de soixante-quinze sites et de plus de cent vingt contextes archéologiques différents ont été étudiées pour examiner la datation et la diffusion de cette série. Les résultats confirment la typologie de D. Allen et indiquent que les types précoces (les types A-L) se trouvent fréquemment dans des contextes datant d'avant 60 avant J.-C. Ces données – appuyées par les dépôts – suggèrent que la série linéaire a commencé vers 100 avant J.-C. et que sa fabrication a continué jusqu'à la seconde moitié du I^{er} s. avant J.-C. D'abord les monnaies coulées insulaires servaient probablement de monnaie à fonction spéciale et n'étaient utilisées que dans quelques opérations limitées ; après le milieu du I^{er} s. avant J.-C. cependant, leur diffusion et probablement leur fonction ont beaucoup changé. Les derniers types (types M-P) sont très étroitement associés à un nouveau réseau d'agglomérations avec des liens commerciaux étendus qui se sont développés à cette époque au nord et au sud de la Tamise.

Zusammenfassung. Diese Abhandlung überprüft die Herkunft, Chronologie und Verbreitung der Potinmünzen in Großbritannien. Dieses besteht aus zwei verschiedenen Serien. Die erste Serie wird allgemein « Thurrock » Typus genannt, nachdem ein großer Münzdepot in 1987 gefunden worden war. Obwohl der Typus dem LT 5284 sehr ähnelt, der der unmittelbare Prototyp sein könnte, deuten die Metallanalyse und andere neuen Funde darauf hin, daß die Serie britisch ist. Sie stammt wahrscheinlich aus dem späteren zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. aus Kent, nämlich aus der Zeit wo der Gebrauch importierter Goldmünzen anwuchs. Die zweite britische Serie, die gut bekannte « flach-geradlinige » Potinmünzen aus Kent, scheint auf die « Thurrock » Sorte zurückzuführen. Diese Münzen werden oft bei archäologische Ausgrabungen in süd-östliche England gefunden, und die Ergebnisse von 75 Ausgrabungen und mehr als 120 verschiedenen archäologischen Kontexten wurden dazu benutzt die Datierung und Verbreitung der verschiedenen Sorten zu untersuchen. Die Ergebnisse bestätigen Allens Grundregeln für die typologische Reihenfolge und deuten darauf hin, daß die früheren Münzen (Typen A-L) häufig in archäologischen Kontexten früher als 60 v. Chr. erscheinen. Aus Funden kann man schließen, daß das Anfangsdatum für die « flach-geradlinige » Serie um 100 v. Chr. liegt und die Produktion ging bis ins späte erste Jahrhundert v. Chr. weiter. Zuerst dienten britische Potinmünzen als besondere Währung und wurden selten benutzt, aber nach der Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. veränderte sich auffallend die Form der Verbreitung und deren Funktion. Die späteste Typen (Typen M-P) hängen besonders mit einem neuen Verbindungsnetz der wichtigen Siedlungen zusammen, mit weit ausgedehnten Handelsanschlüssen die sich zu der Zeit nördlich und südlich der Themse entwickelten.

This paper brings together the archaeological evidence for the dating and circulation of potin coinage in Britain. The characteristic series of north Kentish flat-linear types was first analysed in detail by Allen (1971), who established a workable typology, dividing these series into two main groups : Class I (Types A-L) for which Allen argued an early 1st century B.C. start ; and Class II (Types M-O). Since then, Van Arsdell (1986) has added valuable insights to our understanding of the manufacturing process, demonstrating that the series experienced several stages of technical experimentation before the optimal methods of mould formation were evolved, while in 1988

I published a study of the archaeological contexts in which British potins have been found (Haselgrove, 1988). This upheld Allen's hypothesis that potins were in existence by the early 1st century B.C. and were thus the earliest indigenous insular coinage.

Since my previous paper appeared, a number of significant developments have occurred, so that a new review of the archaeological evidence is timely. In particular, it is now apparent that there is a second variety of British potin coinage, apart from the well-known flat-linear series with its homeland in north Kent, which Allen (1971) stu-

died. This other series is now usually called the "Thurrock" type after a large hoard found near London in 1987. Although it closely resembles continental types, it is clear both from metal analyses and from the large number of recent finds that the series is British. I shall discuss these "Thurrock" types first and then consider the archaeological associations of the flat-linear types.

EARLY BRITISH MASSALIA IMITATIONS

Finds in Britain

For a long time, sporadic finds in Britain of potin coins resembling the central Gaulish series with the letters MA above the butting bull (LT 5284) were regarded as Continental imports, along with the many other Gaulish types which occasionally occur in Britain. During the last decade, there have been several significant new finds, starting with the dispersal abroad of a hoard of over 60 coins apparently found near Folkestone, Kent (eg Haselgrove, 1988). This was followed in 1987 by the discovery of a hoard of about 2,000 coins near Thurrock, Essex (Van Arsdell, 1989). This Thurrock hoard contains several stages of the coinage, starting with well-formed coins which still show the MA legend above the bull on the reverse, but quickly degenerating (Van Arsdell, 1989, 1404-1442) (fig. 54, c-d). This rapid typological degradation is probably due to using the coins themselves as models for the next batch of moulds and some of the coins appear to be uncirculated (Northover, 1992). The nature and scale of the find thus strongly suggests insular manufacture and this is reinforced by metal analyses undertaken by Peter Northover at Oxford. Only four analyses have been published, but they all show a pattern of impurities including cobalt, iron, arsenic and silver, which is characteristic of British Iron Age metalworking (Northover, 1992, p. 261). The metal itself appears to be British, associated with a copper source in south-west England. In addition, there have now been over 25 other finds of "Thurrock" type potins from various parts of southern Britain (Appendix 3).

It is not yet clear whether the British series is derived directly from the struck bronze coinage of Massalia, or from a close copy such as LT 5284 (fig. 54, b). The medium bronze type of Massalia which provides the probable ultimate prototype (Blanchet, 1905, fig 92; de La Saussaye, 1842, 368, 369; cf. Brcnot, 1990, series 13;



Fig. 54. *Imitations britanniques des bronze de Massalia et monnaies associées.*

- a. *bronze frappé de Massalia, ABT, 92;*
- b. *potin de la Gaule centrale, LT 5284;*
- c. *potin de type « Thurrock », VA 1402;*
- d. *potin de type « Thurrock », VA 1406;*
- e. *potin de type « Thurrock », VA 1418;*
- f. *potin de type « Thurrock », VA 1434.*

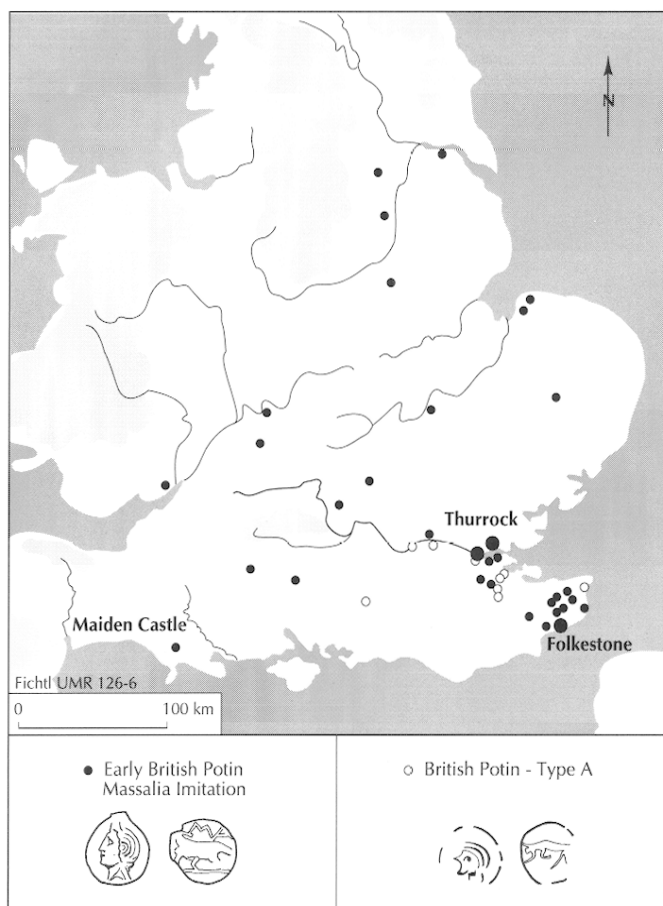


Fig. 55. Répartition des imitations britanniques des bronzes de Massalia et des potins de type A « linéaire ».

weight 4.7 - 5.3 gm) (fig. 54, a) is rare even in southern Gaul, so it may be thought more likely that an early Gaulish copy provided the immediate prototype. One such coin was recently reported from near Chichester and metal analysis may yet show some of the other British finds to be imports after all. Several of the coins in the Folkestone hoard, for instance, closely resemble LT 5284 and are of relatively high weight (3.1 - 3.9 gm; a few specimens weigh over 4 gm). It is presumably also from Gaul where the casting-mould technology derives. LT 5284 itself has a wide distribution in central France (Colbert de Beaulieu, 1970), with a slight concentration in the region of the upper Cher, although we should not count too much on the accuracy of all the early identifications.

The parentage of the British coins is complicated still further by the presence in the Val-d'Oise Department just north of Paris of a third regional series of close Massalia copies (Mitard, 1978). These coins have been found in some numbers at several sites, Épiasis-Rhus in particular

having produced at least 43 specimens (Lardy *et alii*, 1987), so there can be little doubt that the series was produced and circulated locally. These potins closely resemble the British "Thurrock" series and like them, the best specimens still have the MA visible above the butting bull. Clearly work needs to be done to establish that the Val-d'Oise and British series of "early Massalia imitations" are indeed distinct series which evolved in parallel, rather than another case where a north Gaulish coinage has been imported into Britain in large quantity, subsequently finding an extensive circulation.

Assuming that it is indeed distinct, the British series of "early Massalia imitations" appears to represent a coinage of relatively short duration. Due to the evidence of manufacture provided by the Thurrock hoard, Van Arsdell (1989) regards the series as an Essex issue, suggesting that the type was inspired by the earliest stages of the Kentish flat-linear series. However, while the "Thurrock" type has a widespread distribution in Britain, with findspots as far apart as Wessex and the Humber basin, the main concentration is certainly in Kent, which accounts for nearly half the findspots (fig. 55). Recently, a third hoard of 300-400 coins has been reported from Kent, from near Gravesend, and Thurrock itself lies only just north of the Thames. I therefore regard it as much more likely that Kent is their home too, and that they are, in fact, the prototypes for the well-known British flat-linear series which succeeded them in Kent, rather than *vice versa*.

Dating evidence

Like other potin coinages, the dating of this British series of "early Massalia imitations" is far from easy. As yet, very few coins have come from known archaeological sites, and only a single example has been found in excavations, at the Dorset hillfort of Maiden Castle, well outside the core of the distribution. This find would certainly support a relatively early date for the series, although there are some difficulties with the context, which prevent us from arriving at a precise *terminus ante quem* (Appendix 4). This coin was excavated from a deposit which at the time was believed to predate the start of a stratigraphic phase (Phase 6F), dated by the associated pottery assemblage to the later 2nd century B.C. (Sharples, 1991). A hearth belonging to the same phase was last used as early as 150 B.C. on archaeomagnetic dating. Because this would give such an early date for the coin, the excavator has subsequently raised the possibility that the deposit which yielded

ded the coin was actually cut down from the following occupation phase (Phase 6G), which dates to the early or mid 1st century B.C. It was also suggested that the coin itself might have been brought in as scrap metal, as there was metalworking in the vicinity at this time and fused lumps of potin potentially from other melted-coins were found in the overlying deposits.

Personally, I can see no reason to reject the original stratigraphic phasing, although giving this an absolute date is, in any case, much less easy. The context itself was well-sealed, so there is no reason to suppose that the coin itself was intrusive. A later 2nd century B.C. date is perhaps most likely, but even if the deposit does belong to the first half of the 1st century B.C., this would still imply a relatively early starting date for the series as a whole. Further, if indirect, support for a 2nd century B.C. date, is provided by the likely chronology of the closely related series of Massalia imitations found in the Val-d'Oise. At Épiais-Rhus, these types are manifestly among the earliest stratified coins from the site. At least four examples were apparently associated with pottery belonging to the very earliest phases of wheel-made manufacture in the region (Lardy *et alii*, 1987, p. 181), which again implies a date in the later 2nd century B.C. The original Massalia prototype is itself dated to the early part of the century, or even to the end of the 3rd century B.C. (Brenot 1990). The final argument supporting a 2nd century B.C. date for the British series of "early Massalia imitations", is that the flat-linear Kentish potins, which I suggested are derived from them, can themselves be demonstrated to have originated no later than the beginning of the 1st century B.C.

THE FLAT-LINEAR SERIES

The immediate antecedents of the flat-linear series of British potins are the coins which Allen (1971) classified as Type A (fig. 56, a). Like the "early Massalia imitations", the earliest Type A coins are cast in relief and on a thicker module than their successors (Van Arsdell, 1983), and also have other features which point to a derivation from the "Thurrock" series: the stylization of the head and the bull is closely similar and the wavy tail on some early Type A examples looks like a vestigial rendering of the legend MA on the best-formed "Thurrock" coins (Haselgrove, 1988). In the later Type A coins, the relief images were replaced by a design comprised of curves and lines scribed into the mould with a stylus (Van Arsdell, 1983). Improved efficiency of production was probably

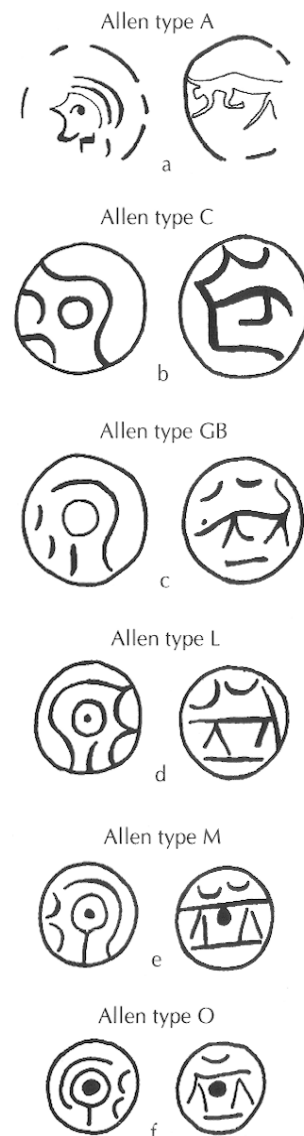


Fig. 56. Potins britanniques de type « linéaire ».

- a. Allen type A;
- b. type C;
- c. type GB;
- d. type L;
- e. type M;
- f. type O.

the main consideration (Van Arsdell, 1986), but it is conceivable that this development reflects the influence of the well-known Gaulish series with an outline helmet (LT 7388, 7405, etc.), originally attributed to the *Senones* but widespread in southern Belgic Gaul.

The findspots of the Type A coins cluster in the Medway region of Kent, south and west of Rochester (fig. 55), noticeably to the west of the main Kentish concen-

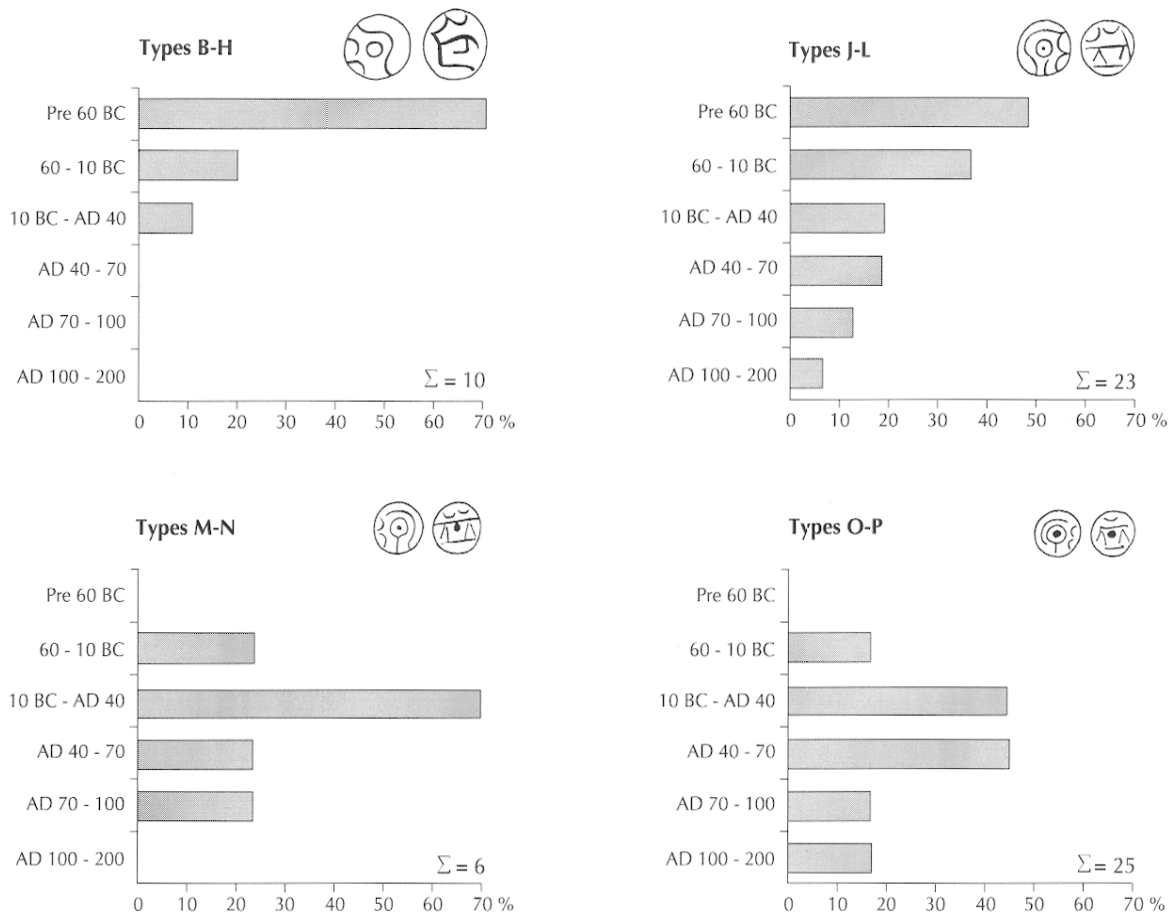


Fig. 57. Potins britanniques de type « linéaire » en contextes archéologiques datés.

tration of their probable prototype. So far, no Type A coins have been recovered in a datable archaeological context, but they are likely to be broadly contemporary with the latest varieties of the "Thurrock" series.

Stratified archaeological finds

The characteristic flat-linear style of the British potin series proper begins with Allen's Type B and from then onwards, British potins become increasingly common in settlement deposits, being recorded from around 75 separate archaeological sites. There was also a marked change-over in alloys from this point onward, from tin levels around 17-18 % used for the "early Massalia imitations" to levels above 20 % and sometimes even over 30 % (Northover, 1992). Up until Type L, which is the commonest of the whole British potin series, the different types were of fairly uniform diameter and thickness, but

the remaining Class II coins are made progressively smaller and thicker, apparently to improve the casting process (Van Arsdell, 1986).

In all, over 120 contexts yielding British potins belonging to the flat-linear series are now recorded (Appendix 4), which I have used to construct a stratigraphic profile showing the relative proportions of Allen's types stratified in deposits belonging to successive archaeological horizons (fig. 57). The results confirm Allen's typological ordering and support his early dating. Thus the earlier coins (Types B-H) occur predominantly in contexts containing only middle Iron Age pottery, which in south-east England are unlikely to date much after 70-60 B.C. Types J-L also appear in this phase, but are found in greater numbers in late Iron Age contexts dating after 60 B.C., confirming Allen's suspicion that Type L was the type current immediately prior to the Roman invasion of Gaul. This dating gains some support from a hoard of Class I

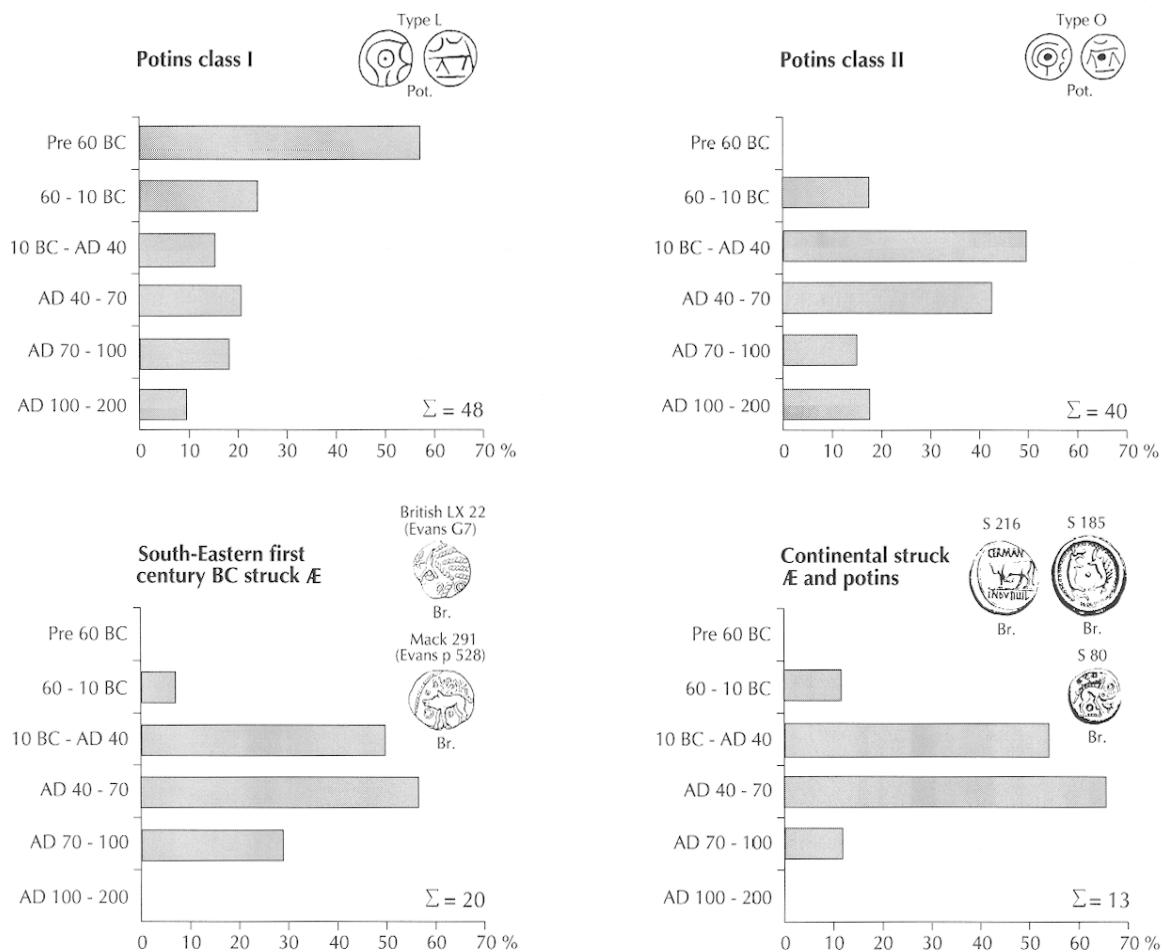


Fig. 58. Potins britanniques de type « linéaire », bronzes frappés du sud-est de l'Angleterre et monnaies importées en contextes archéologiques datés.

potins found at Snettisham, Norfolk (see below). In contrast, Class II potins (Types M-N and O-P) occur in only small numbers in archaeological contexts predating 10 B.C., and are at their commonest in deposits dating to the early 1st century A.D., indicating that these later types were only manufactured after the mid 1st century B.C.

Associations of British potin with datable material other than domestic pottery are rare, but where they do occur, are predominantly with Dressel 1 wine amphorae and late La Tène brooches, conspicuously earlier than for any other British coin types (Haselgrove, 1987, fig. 58). Further support for the dating comes by comparing potin to the stratigraphic profiles of two more precisely dated groups of coins. These are (i) South-Eastern struck bronze coinage; this probably began in the 30's B.C. and the latest coins are those of Dubnovellaunus, who is recorded as a refugee to Augustus c. A.D. 6; and (ii) imported Continental bronzes, both cast and struck, which should

mainly date to the mid-later 1st century B.C. As fig. 58 shows, Class I potins have a significantly earlier profile than the other groups, despite several coins residual in contexts dating between A.D. 40-100. On the other hand, Class II has a stratification pattern very similar to South-Eastern bronze. If anything, however, it is slightly earlier, with a higher proportion of potins occurring in contexts predating 10 B.C. (13% - 5%). This suggests that the manufacture of Class II potins ceased earlier than this particular group of struck bronze, probably before the end of the 1st century B.C.; indeed, the decline of one tradition may well be directly related to the advent of the other.

The Continental imports have a pattern which is only slightly different. Although these include earlier types, most were probably not imported to Britain until after the Roman Conquest of Gaul as a by-product of developments at that period, which accounts for their scarcity in contexts predating 10 B.C.

The Class I hoard horizon

The archaeological evidence, then, implies that production of the British flat-linear series began no later than the early 1st century B.C. and continued well into the second half of the century. In first proposing this chronology, Allen (1971) made much of the horizon of potin hoards ending with Class I coins, which he associated with refugees fleeing their Kentish homeland following Caesar's invasions of 55-54 B.C. The main concentration of these hoards is along the Thames to the west of London, but a few have also been found in Kent, and one as far away as Snettisham in Norfolk (fig. 60). Allen particularly stressed the potin hoard from Snettisham (Clarke, 1954, Hoard C), which he considered had been displaced from Kent at the same time as the 2nd and early 1st century B.C. Gallo-Belgic gold types found in the adjacent Hoards B and E, and thus dated by them.

Since 1971, there have been several new hoard discoveries which add to the picture. These include three more Class I hoards from Kingston and Wandsworth to the west of London – neither of them closed finds – and a small hoard from Boxley, Kent (Haselgrove, 1988). The homogeneity of these Class I hoards has been somewhat exaggerated in the past, since although they all contain the latest Class I coins (Type L), the actual proportions vary quite markedly (fig. 59). While selective recording or retention of coins may be partly to blame, it does perhaps imply that the hoards were deposited over a longer period of time than Allen allowed, a suggestion which has gained further support from the recent discovery of three hoards containing Class II potins in south-east England.

The first of these hoards was found in 1987 during the excavation of an enclosed rural settlement at Stansted Airport, Essex. It comprised 51 Type M coins, some of them almost Type N or O and was found in the foundation trench of a circular timber building, which dates to the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. (Haselgrove, 1988, Appendix 1B, No 5). The second hoard is a dispersed find from Castle Hill Ruffs, Addington, Surrey (Fitzpatrick, 1990). This comprises coins of Types M-P, with coins of Type P, the latest of Allen's types, the most common (50%). The coins were found with part of a bead rim jar which dates to the later 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D. and may have contained part or all of the hoard (A. Fitzpatrick, Pers. Comm.). A third find containing Class II coins has recently been reported from near Deal, Kent; it included at least 10 Type L and 25

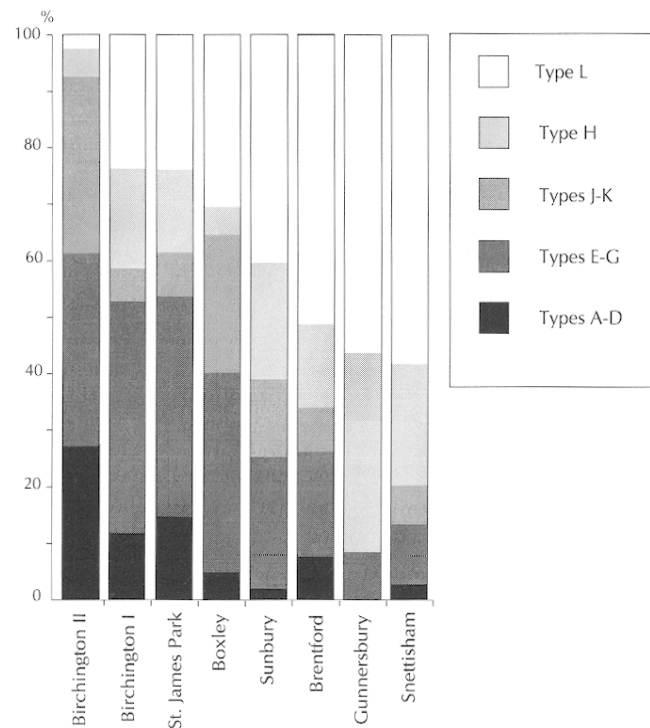


Fig. 59. Pourcentages de types de potins britanniques dans les dépôts.

Type M coins, apparently associated with casting mould fragments. An early British struck bronze coin (British LY6), dating c. 50-20 B.C., was found at the same time. All three of these finds thus support the dating of the latest British potin types to the later 1st century B.C.

Although the spectacular series of new gold hoards found at Snettisham in 1990 (Stead, 1991) did not yield any more potins, one hoard (Hoard F) did include further gold coins, which are virtually identical to those from Hoard B; they comprise 2 Gallo-Belgic A staters and 2 quarter-staters (Scheers No 8), and 5 Gallo-Belgic C staters (Scheers No 9, Class 3). The latest gold issues from the find are therefore the Scheers No 9 staters and two British O quarter-staters (insular copies of Scheers No 13, Class 2-3) – one from Hoard B, the other from the terminal of the gold torc from Hoard E. None of these types are later than the period 80-60 B.C. (Haselgrove, 1993). Although the evidence is not conclusive, the entire hoard complex (including the potin Hoard C) is therefore likely to predate the mid 1st century B.C., particularly as Gallo-Belgic E staters (Scheers No 24) – which came into widespread circulation in Britain during the 50s B.C. – might be expected to occur if it was any later. A similar *terminus ante quem* is implied for the single British potin coin

of Type L found in a hoard on the temple site at Chilly, Somme (Scheers, 1982), since this is unlikely to have been deposited significantly after the mid 1st century B.C. (Haselgrove, 1988, Appendix 1B, No 12).

CIRCULATION AND FUNCTION

Like the archaeological associations, the hoard evidence accords well with a date no later than the very early 1st century B.C. for the inception of the mainstream Kentish potin series (Type B onwards), with the transition to the smaller, thicker Class II coins (Types M-P) taking place in the mid 1st century B.C. Moreover, since the flat-linear style represents the second stage of British potin coinage, derived from the "Thurrock" type via Allen's Type A coins, this provides a further argument in support of the hypothesis that potin began to circulate in south-east England as early as the later 2nd century B.C. It is impossible to pin-point exactly when the production of this British series of "early Massalia imitations" started, but such a chronology would certainly fit with the proposed date of the ultimate Massaliote prototype in struck bronze. Since Gallo-Belgic A and B gold staters and quarter-staters also began to be imported into south-east England in large numbers at broadly the same period (mid/late 2nd century B.C.), there may be some connection between these developments.

The evidence points to the role of British potin coinage as some kind of special purpose money, which was used only in certain kinds of transaction and not as all-purpose early cash. They were clearly of sufficient value to be hoarded in large quantities and are almost certainly the objects to which Julius Caesar is referring, when he mentions the use of *aere* as currency in Britain in 54 B.C., alongside *nummo aureo*, (*D.B.G. V*, 12). As an analysis of the potins found at different sites makes clear, there were also important chronological and geographical differences in their pattern of use (Haselgrove, 1988). These sites divide into five or six clear regional groups, each of which display somewhat different characteristics (fig. 60). In the main areas of circulation in Kent and the lower Thames valley, and also in east Sussex, potins were evidently in widespread circulation as they are found at large numbers of smaller settlements, farms and rural production sites (40 sites in all), as well as at the two major settlements, Canterbury and Rochester. Canterbury seems only to have become an important place in the mid 1st century B.C. and almost all the 61 British potins found

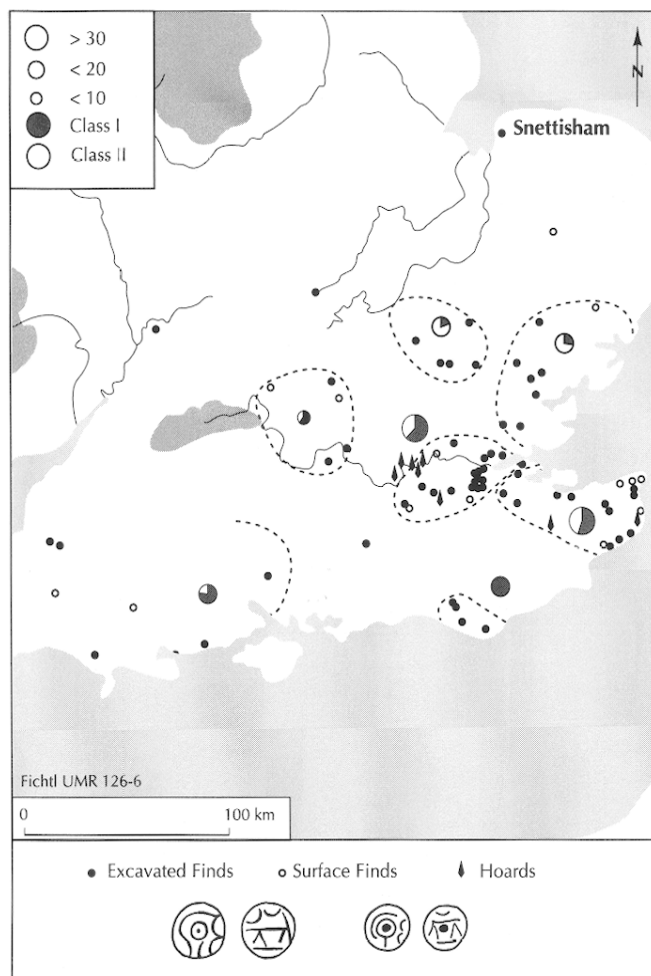


Fig. 60. Répartition des sites et des dépôts livrant des potins britanniques.

there are the latest types L-P. Most hoards noticeably occur at or beyond the limits of the known site distribution, giving credence to the idea that their non-recovery was due to exceptional circumstances.

Outside their territory of origin, the pattern is almost completely reversed : most of the sites with finds north of the Thames, in Essex and Hertfordshire, are major defended and nucleated settlements (77%). The situation is the same in south-west England, where four of the find-spots are major hillforts and two others, Glastonbury and Meare, were important production sites and centres of exchange. Elsewhere, in the upper Thames valley and in northern France, many of the sites with British potins are religious sites, such as the sanctuary at Bennecourt, Yvelines. A ritual explanation for the Snettisham treasure deposits is not to be dismissed either. This practice of

using coins outside their normal circulation area as offerings at sacred sites is widespread.

Thus, when British potins were exported outside their territory of origin, it was generally to the most important settlements. Their export also seems to increase with time and there is a clear geographical shift from south coast and westerly connections to the region north of the Thames. Most of the flat-linear coins from the South-West are Class I potins, as well as the "Thurrock" type potin from Maiden Castle, whereas Class II coins far outnumber Class I finds in Essex and Hertfordshire; over 50 % of Type P coins come from these areas (Haselgrove, 1988). Overall there is a strong coastal and riverine emphasis to the distribution, implying an important maritime element in these long-distance contacts. Three of the four coins found in northern France belong to the later 1st century B.C., exactly the period when cross-Channel relations were intensifying following the Roman conquest of Gaul.

Why potin production started in Britain is still obscure, but its silvery appearance and the frequency of hoarding suggest that it was regarded as being of considerable value. For a long time, the only gold coinage in Britain was imported, and it is possible that potin was initially used in not dissimilar ways, both for wealth storage and to discharge various kinds of transaction, which were probably in the main non-commercial. Potin also featured prominently in long-distance contacts with major settlements in other areas, particularly north of the Thames. Later on, however, as the original reasons for producing potin disappeared, it apparently began to be used in ways more like the struck bronze coinages which were introduced after the mid 1st century B.C., as suggested by the deliberate halving and quartering of several of the later Class II coins. By the end of the 1st century B.C., its manufacture had ceased altogether, although at some sites like Canterbury the extant coins probably continued to circulate until some time after the Roman invasion in the mid 1st century A.D.⁹⁴

Colin HASELGROVE

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Jean-Claude Richard for helpful information concerning the Massalia bronze prototype and its Gaulish derivatives.

94. Interventions orales lors de la discussion à la table ronde de février 1993 à Paris :

APPENDIX 3 (ANNEXE 3)

FINDSPOTS OF "THURROCK" TYPE POTINS IN BRITAIN

FINDS UP UNTIL 1982 (ALLEN, 1971 ; HASELGROVE, 1984)

Bridge, Kent (2 coins)
 Bridgham, Norfolk
 near Deal, Kent
 Folkestone, Kent (hoard of c. 64 coins)
 Heacham, Norfolk (2 coins)
 St. Neots, Huntingdonshire
 South Ferriby, Lincolnshire
 Winchcombe, Gloucestershire

LISTED IN HASELGROVE (1991)

Aylesbury, Watermead, Buckinghamshire
 Boxley, north of White Horse Stone, Kent
 near Doncaster, South Yorkshire
 Hammersmith, left bank of Thames, London
 Maiden Castle, Dorset (found in 1985-6 excavations)
 Newington, Dollands Moor East, Kent
 Retford, Nottinghamshire
 Thurrock, Corringham, Essex (hoard of c. 2000 coins)
 Upavon, Wiltshire
 Upper Halling, Kent
 Whitchurch, Willersby Warren, Hampshire
 Wye, Kent

P.-H. Mitard : « Je suis frappé par la grande ressemblance du type de « Thurrock » avec les potins dérivés du bronze de Marseille au taureau cornupète trouvés en abondance sur le site du nord-ouest de la région parisienne (Épiais-Rhus), au point que l'on peut se demander s'il n'y aurait pas eu exportation de ces potins vers la Bretagne insulaire. La datation de ces potins sur le site en question est cependant difficilement compatible avec celle indiquée par C. Haselgrove, elle est beaucoup plus tardive ».

B. Fischer : « Il existe non seulement dans le Vexin, mais aussi chez les Bituriges, des potins, imités des bronzes de Marseille à légende MA. Toutes ces séries méritent une étude élargie. Dans ces deux régions de France se pose le problème de la datation haute. »

R. Boudet : « À propos des potins britanniques à légende MA, je crois qu'il faut aujourd'hui complètement abandonner l'idée d'une importation continentale, car leur émission insulaire est maintenant bien démontrée. Surtout, il ne faut pas les associer au dépôt d'imitations de drachmes marseillaises trouvé au début du XX^e s. à Penzance (Cornouailles) car ce dernier est très certainement une falsification et doit être ignoré... »

RECENT FINDS, NOT PREVIOUSLY LISTED

Barham Downs, Kent (2 coins)
 near Chichester, West Sussex (LT 5284?)
 Caerwent, Monmouthshire
 Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire
 Cliff, Wharf Farm, Kent (2 coins)
 near Gravesend, Kent (hoard of c. 300-400 coins)
 Orston, Nottinghamshire
 Wingham, Chillenden, Kent
 Wingham, Little Wenderton, Kent
 Worth, Kent

APPENDIX 4

**BRITISH POTIN COINS
 FOUND IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS
 PREDATING THE END OF THE 1ST CENTURY B.C.**

For further details of the archaeological stratification and associations, see Haselgrove (1987, Appendix 5) and Haselgrove (1988, Appendix 1)

**MIDDLE IRON AGE POTTERY ASSOCIATIONS (2ND -
 MID/LATER 1ST CENTURY B.C.)**

Ashted, Park Lane (Surrey) : fill of pit (type L).
 Bishopstone, Rookery Hill (East Sussex) : middle fill of pit 716 (2 Class I?).
 Cliffe (Kent) : pit F8, layer 26 (type C-D) ; working hollow F34, layer 81 (type L).
 Farningham Hill (Kent) : pit 10, layer 62 (type L?).
 Hascombe (Surrey) : pit 2, lowest fill 5 (2-3 type F-G).
 Maiden Castle (Dorset) : trench VI, layer 6210 ("Thurrock" type, VA 1418).
 Mount Caburn (East Sussex) : pit 23 (type D) ; pit 48 (type H) ; pit 106 (type F) ; pit 37 (type G_B) ; pit 29, (type L) ; pit 133 (type L) ; pit 58 (type K).
 Uphall Camp (Essex) : Area E, 876, fill of ditch (type L).
 Witham (Essex) : sealed scoop inside the earthwork (2 or more Class I) ; upper fill of ditch, layer 98 (type L).

**LATE IRON AGE 1 POTTERY ASSOCIATIONS (C. 80/60 -
 20/1 B.C.)**

Baldock, Walls Field (Hertfordshire) ; A12, fill of pit, 2705 (Class II).
 Beckford (Worcestershire) : fill of boundary ditch 5596/57 (type H).
 Braughing, Gatesbury Track (Hertfordshire) : fill of ditch F41 (type P).
 Bridge, Bridge Hill (Kent) : fill of scoop (type L).
 Canterbury, insula NE of theatre (Kent) : E XXI, layer D29 (types N, O).
 Chilly, les Terres Noires (Somme, France) : fosse 1, couch 3 (type L).
 Cliffe (Kent) : ditch F67, layer 74 (type L).
 Darenth, gravel pit (Kent) : fill of pit D (Class I).
 Farningham Hill (Kent) : SE enclosure ditch, upper fill 148 (type L?).
 Hengistbury Head (Dorset) : 1971 Site I, layer 22 (2 type L, 5 Class I).
 North Stifford, Ardale School (Essex) : Area B, ditch 1317C, final fill 1320 (type O-P).
 Stansted, Airport Catering Site (Essex) : fill of foundation trench of timber round house (51 type M).
 Stifford Clays (Essex) : ditch 105, upper fill 130 (type F-G?).

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