

# The Synton and Kippilaw denarius hoards: further numismatic evidence for late Antonine and Severan Scotland

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## ABSTRACT

*The recent discovery of two coin hoards – one from the reign of Commodus and the other from that of Septimius Severus – provides an opportunity for a reassessment of the numismatic evidence for events in what is now Scotland between the abandonment of the Antonine Wall and the period immediately following the conclusion of the campaigns of Severus.*

It is generally agreed by those who study Roman Britain that the final withdrawal of the army from the Antonine Wall occurred in the early 160s AD, although recent research indicates that the decision to reoccupy Hadrian's Wall was reached during the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius (Hodgson 2011). It is also generally accepted now that the system put in place at that time for the supervision of areas beyond the frontier was essentially that which had, at one time, been ascribed by scholars to Caracalla after AD 211 (Hanson & Maxwell 1983: 194; Breeze & Dobson 2000: 132–3). Outpost forts were occupied at Birrens, Netherby and Bewcastle in the west, and at Risingham and High Rochester on Dere Street in the east. Farther to the north, the forts at Cappuck and at Trimontium/Newstead also continued to be occupied until around AD 180 or just after. The coin series from the fort at Trimontium includes seven coins minted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and concludes with a single denarius of Commodus for Crispina, dating from no earlier than AD 180.

During the well-attested military campaigns that took place during the reign of Septimius Severus, the only known permanent bases are assumed to have been those at Cramond, on the Firth of Forth, and Carpow, on the Firth of Tay. These sites, and the coin finds from excavations

there, will be discussed below. There were also, of course, a series of temporary marching camps extending almost to the Moray Firth, but few if any coin finds are known which could assist with their dating.

There was thus a period of some 45 years between the abandonment of the Antonine Wall and the arrival of Septimius Severus and his two sons in Scotland in AD 208, as attested by Roman historians (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*: 76.11.1; Herodian, *History of Rome*: 3.14.1–2), during at least part of which we know that there was a Roman military presence in southern Scotland, but very little else. The only historically recorded event was some sort of military activity on the northern frontier early in the reign of Commodus. It is recorded that a hostile force crossed the mural frontier, which separated their territory from the province of Britannia, and killed a Roman general (Cassius Dio 72.8). Dio does not make it clear whether this refers to Hadrian's Wall or to the abandoned Antonine Wall, but the former is now considered more probable. The resulting military action has been dated to the period AD 182 or 183 to 184 (Birley 2005: 164) and was deemed of sufficient importance for coins to be struck to commemorate its successful conclusion. Illus 1 shows a sestertius belonging to an issue of AD 184–5. The imperial titles on the obverse conclude

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ILLUS 1 British Victory sestertius of Commodus, minted AD 184–5. Diameter of coin is 30mm

with the abbreviation BRIT (Britannicus), and on the reverse, the abbreviation VICT BRIT (Victoria Britannica) occurs in the exergue, beneath a figure of Victory seated on shields and inscribing on another shield.

Apart from this, the material evidence comprises almost entirely a series of hoards of coins, almost all of silver denarii and concluding with issues of Marcus, Commodus, Pertinax or Severus, which have been found in territory to the north of Hadrian's Wall. Until recently there were thirteen of these ending with coins of Marcus or Commodus, most of them found a very long time ago and not adequately recorded. (Early Severan hoards from Scotland are discussed below.) The list comprised the following:

#### **Hoards closing with coins of the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80)**

**Linlithgow**, West Lothian (1781): 'about 300' silver (Robertson 2000: 55, hoard 268).

**West Calder**, West Lothian (1810): unknown number, silver (Robertson 2000: 54–5, hoard 267).

**Mindrum**, Northumberland (1826): '500/600/nearly 700' silver, according to different accounts (Robertson 2000: 56, hoard 274).

**Kirkintilloch**, Dunbartonshire (1893): possibly 47 silver (Robertson 2000: 57–8, hoard 282).

**Inchyra**, Perthshire (1993): eight silver (Bateson & Hall 2002). The authors suggest a date of deposition early in the reign of Commodus, although the latest coin in the hoard was minted in AD 178.

**Kirkton Barns, Tayport**, Fife (2009–10): 16 silver, unfortunately in very poor condition (Holmes 2011).

In addition, a hoard found at **Carstairs**, Lanarkshire (1781) is said to have comprised 'a hundred or more' *bronze* coins (Robertson 2000: 54, hoard 266).

#### **Hoards closing with coins of the reign of Commodus (AD 180–93)**

**Muthill**, Perthshire (c 1672): 'a considerable deal of monye' in silver (Robertson 2000: 74, hoard 348)

**Pitcullo, Leuchars**, Fife (1781): 19 silver (Robertson 2000: 73, hoard 345).

**Strathaven (Avondale)**, Lanarkshire (1803): 'about 400' silver (Robertson 2000: 74, hoard 347).

**Shotts**, Lanarkshire (1842): ‘several hundred’ silver (Robertson 2000: 73–4, hoard 346).

**Broch of Lingrow**, Orkney (1870–1): four silver (Robertson 2000: 74, hoard 349).

**Briglands (Rumbling Bridge)**, Kinross-shire (1938, 1948–57): 180 silver to AD 186–7 (Robertson 2000: 71, hoard 335).

To this list can now be added the 228 denarii found in 2011 at **Synton, Ashkirk**, Roxburghshire, closing with a single coin of Commodus for his wife, Crispina. Appendix A contains information about the location and circumstances of the find and a complete list of the coins.

Research on hoards found across Europe has demonstrated that Roman denarii were being exported across the imperial frontiers into *barbaricum* in large numbers during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus and the very early part of that of Septimius Severus (eg Berger 1996; Bursche 1996). It seems probable that late second-century hoards found beyond the frontier in Britain comprised coins which arrived as part of that process. In the case of Commodan hoards, however, the possibility must also be considered that they may in some way have been connected with the military campaign of the 180s AD. In the case of the Rumbling Bridge hoard, the date of the latest coin (AD 186–7) would seem to suggest that concealment of the hoard took place after the conclusion of the campaign, since

Commodus issued Victory-type coins in AD 184–5, but it is impossible to be certain whether this date truly marked the end of military operations beyond Hadrian’s Wall. In the case of the Synton hoard, the sole coin from the reign of Commodus is otherwise undated, but the very fact that there is only one coin of this reign strongly suggests that deposition took place in the very early 180s AD.

Since Rumbling Bridge and Synton are the only two Commodan hoards from Scotland which are large enough and well enough recorded to permit detailed analysis, it is necessary to identify some hoards of similar date from within the province of Britannia for the purposes of comparison, and the following have been selected:

**Wreningham**, Norfolk (1994) (Davies & Orna-Ornstein 1997): 186 denarii to AD 180. This contained no coins of Commodus, but the latest coin of Marcus Aurelius dated from the final year of his reign.

**Ollerton/‘Edwinstow’**, Nottinghamshire (1910 and 1988) (Carradice & Burnett 1992 (NB published total of 417 coins is incorrect)): 419 denarii to AD 180. This included one coin of Commodus, dating from the first year of his reign.

**Barway**, Cambridgeshire (1960 and 1988–94) (Bland & Buttrey 1997): five aurei, 465 denarii and one As to AD 181.

TABLE 1

Internal distribution of denarii in English and Scottish Commodan hoards (actual numbers). The figures for Ollerton exclude six illegible/uncertain coins; those for Barway exclude five aurei, one As and two plated copies of denarii, which may be later in date than the types imitated.

	M Ant	54–69	69–81	81–96	96–117	117–38	138–61	161–80	180–93	Total
Wren’ham	4	2	20	7	45	33	57	18	0	186
Ollerton	1	5	49	29	116	111	58	43	1	413
Barway	3	10	42	12	123	80	136	55	2	463
Brickhill	9	8	44	14	55	60	70	31	5	296
Bletchley	26	25	137	42	194	185	219	78	7	913
R. Bridge	0	5	12	7	29	22	53	43	9	180
Synton	0	1	2	13	41	42	88	40	1	228

**Brickhill, nr. Bletchley**, Buckinghamshire (1967) (Robertson 2000: 66, hoard 319): 296 denarii to AD 183.

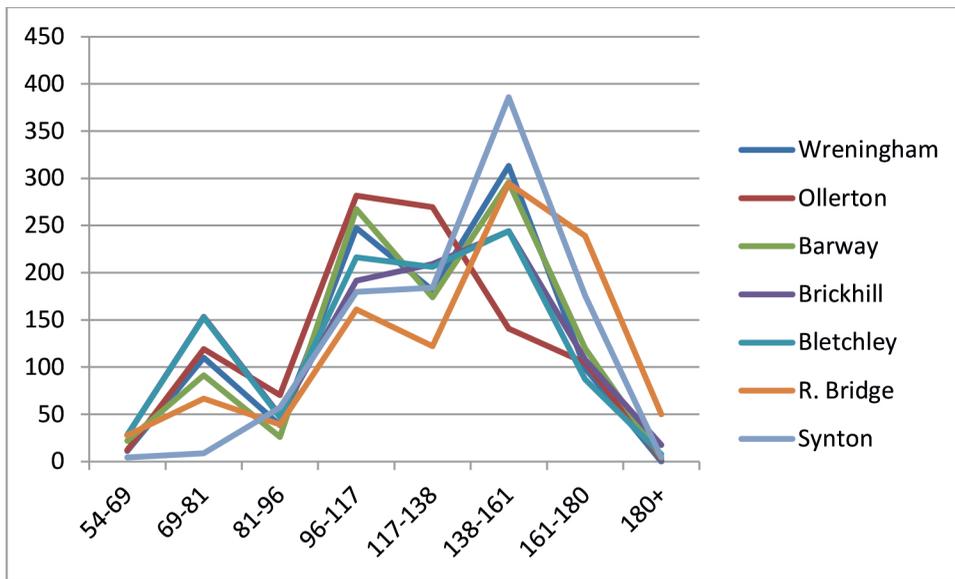
**Bletchley**, Buckinghamshire (1967 and 1987) (Tuckett 1992; Robertson 2000: 66–7, hoard 320 (NB published total of 923 coins is incorrect)): 913 denarii to AD 186–7.

Table 1 shows the actual number of denarii in each of the above hoards. The most obvious point of contrast between the English and Scottish hoards is that all the former contain legionary

denarii of Mark Antony, struck in 32–31 BC (one at Ollerton, three at Barway, four at Wreningham, nine at Brickhill and 26 at Bletchley), whereas these coins are absent from Synton and Rumbling Bridge. The nine imperial periods into which the coins have been divided are as follows: AD 54–69 (the reigns of Nero, Galba, Otho and Vitellius; AD 69–81 (the reigns of Vespasian and Titus; AD 81–96 (the reign of Domitian); AD 96–117 (the reigns of Nerva and Trajan); AD 117–38 (the reign of Hadrian; AD 138–61 (the reign of Antoninus Pius); AD 161–80 (the reigns of Marcus Aurelius

TABLE 2  
Internal distribution of imperial denarii in English and Scottish Commodan hoards (permilia figures)

	54–69	69–81	81–96	96–117	117–38	138–61	161–80	180–92
Wren'ham	10.99	109.89	38.46	247.25	181.32	313.19	98.90	0
Ollerton	12.14	118.93	70.39	281.55	269.42	140.78	104.37	2.43
Barway	21.74	91.30	26.09	267.39	173.91	295.65	119.57	4.35
Brickhill	27.87	153.31	48.78	191.64	209.06	243.90	108.01	17.42
Bletchley	28.18	154.45	47.35	218.71	208.57	246.90	87.94	7.89
R. Bridge	27.78	66.67	38.89	161.11	122.22	294.44	238.89	50.00
Synton	4.39	8.77	57.02	179.82	184.21	385.96	175.44	4.39



ILLUS 2 Internal distribution of imperial denarii in English and Scottish Commodan hoards (permilia figures)

and Lucius Verus); AD 180–93 (the reign of Commodus).

Table 2 shows the number of coins of each period converted to a permilia (coins per thousand) figure, with the Mark Antony coins omitted to allow accurate comparison of the figures for each of the imperial periods. Illus 2 shows the same information in graph form.

These figures are not, at first glance, very helpful, either in terms of indicating a clear distinction between hoards from within the province and beyond the frontier or of showing any sort of consistent pattern for hoards of this period as a whole. The permilia figures for coins of the reign of Commodus are much as one would expect, with more of them being included in those with later closing dates, but the figure for Rumbling Bridge is notably high, particularly in relation to that for Bletchley, which has a latest coin of the same date (AD 186–7). At the other end of the time-scale, the figures for coins of Nero to Titus at Synton are strikingly low compared to all the other hoards. Otherwise the patterns on the graph are generally comparable, except for a markedly and inexplicably low permilia figure for coins of Antoninus Pius at Ollerton.

A possibly significant factor may be observed if the figures for the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (AD 138–80) are combined: Wreningham 412.09; Ollerton 245.15; Barway 415.22; Brickhill 351.91; Bletchley 334.84; Rumbling Bridge 533.33; Synton 561.40. The two Scottish hoards therefore contain significantly higher proportions of coins of this period than the English hoards, and this may be noted in the light of the fact that, on a Roman military site, the coin series associated with its initial occupation phase is almost invariably dominated by issues of the two previous emperors, with those of the current emperor arriving slowly over the course of an extended occupation, and those of earlier emperors being relatively few in number. This pattern presumably results from the payment of soldiers in relatively recently minted coins. In the case of Rumbling Bridge and Synton, more than half of each hoard is made up of coins of Antoninus and Marcus, with the former having a slightly lower permilia for this period, but more coins of Commodus on account of its later date.

If both groups of coins were site assemblages rather than hoards, there would be no difficulty in associating them with military sites occupied under Commodus.

Six hoards closing with coins of the reigns of Pertinax (AD 193) or Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) have been found in Scotland, and these appear to represent a continuation of the flow of denarii to people living beyond the imperial frontier. Again, most were found a long while ago and not adequately recorded.

**Leuchars**, Fife (1808): ‘nearly 100’ silver (Robertson 2000: 79, hoard 376).

**Cowie Moss**, Fetteresso, Kincardineshire (1843): unknown number, silver (Robertson 2000: 77–8, hoard 367).

**Megray**, Fetteresso, Kincardineshire (1852): ‘upwards of 200’ silver (Robertson 2000: 78, hoard 368).

**Portmoak**, Kinross-shire (1851): ‘upwards of 600’ silver (Robertson 2000: 78, hoard 369).

**Birnie**, Moray (2000 and 2001): two hoards containing 317 silver coins to cAD 196 and 310 silver coins to AD 193 respectively, found during excavation of a native settlement (Holmes 2006). The coins had been buried just outside the walls of a roundhouse, in leather bags within pottery vessels of local Iron Age manufacture. One of the vessels also contained traces of vegetation, apparently used as packing material.

Of the 600-plus denarii supposedly making up the Portmoak hoard, 104 were listed soon after the discovery, and a further 26 by Sir George Macdonald in 1939. Of these, 49 are now in the collections of the National Museum of Scotland. Of the total of more than 200 coins from Megray, just 20 were listed, these having been presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. These are also still in the NMS collections. The latest coins recorded date from AD 196–7 (Portmoak) and AD 201–10, probably 203 (Megray).

Clearly, it was the two hoards from Birnie which first offered a new opportunity for research into the phenomenon of denarius hoards from beyond the imperial frontier in Britain, and the

report on these (Holmes 2006) discussed their possible sources and significance by comparing the contents of the hoards with others found both elsewhere in Britain and on the continent.

Since none of the other early Severan hoards from Scotland was ever recorded in its entirety, it was not possible to use any of these for comparative purposes, but the distribution of Birnie hoard coins by period was compared with that of three hoards from England which concluded with coins of the mid-190s AD. These were Great Melton, Norfolk, recovered intermittently between 1984 and 1996 (278 denarii to AD 195) (Robertson 2000: 75–6, hoard 359), Silchester, Hampshire, found around 1894 (258 coins to AD 194–5) (Robertson 2000: 76, hoard 362) and Handley, Dorset, found in 1877 (639 denarii, of which 440 were examined, to AD 194–5) (Robertson 2000: 80, hoard 380).

As was the case with the Commodan hoards, each of the English hoards studied included small but significant numbers of Mark Antony legionary denarii, whereas these were not present at Birnie, nor indeed in any of the other Scottish early Severan hoards except for one example from Portmoak. Apart from this aspect, it appeared that the English and Scottish hoards must have been formed from generally similar pools of coinage, with peaks on the graph representing coins of Vespasian and, in particular, Antoninus Pius.

All these hoards conclude with coins struck during a period when history suggests that there was little, if any, Roman military activity in what is now Scotland, and although outpost patrols are likely to have operated during this period, their activities would have left little trace in the archaeological record (Austin & Rankov 1995: 179–80). Unfortunately, therefore, we have no way of knowing who the last owners of most of these coin assemblages were, with only Birnie 1 and 2 having a properly excavated and recorded context within an occupied area. It would seem fair to assume, however, that as in the case of Birnie, many of the owners, and those responsible for the concealment of the hoards, would have been local inhabitants rather than Roman military personnel. The presence of all these hoards would appear to indicate that there was a substantial influx of Roman silver coinage

beyond the frontier in Britannia (ie Hadrian's Wall with its outpost forts at this time), so we have to ask why this happened and what the coins meant to people living beyond the boundaries of any area where they could have used the coins as money.

Fortunately, research into coin hoards found beyond the imperial frontiers in continental Europe has demonstrated that the influx of silver coins into Scotland formed part of a large-scale process for which there is abundant evidence from Germany in the west to Russia in the east.

Thirty-six hoards of denarii have been found from north-west Germany which terminate with coins of the later 2nd century, most of them covering much the same date range as the Scottish hoards and with the coins displaying a degree of wear commensurate with their age at the time of assemblage. The indication is that these coins crossed the imperial frontier during the period *c* AD 168–95, and this phenomenon has been associated by scholars with indications that, during this period, the Romans were paying subsidies to various tribes. These payments seem to have been authorised by Marcus Aurelius and particularly by Commodus, whereas they were halted by Septimius Severus. Frank Berger has suggested that Severus's motivation may have been a combination of a decline in the silver bullion supply in the later 2nd century and a change in imperial policy from one of appeasement of hostile peoples by monetary payments to one of active defence by military action, characterised by the raising of three new legions, the increase in military wages and the distribution of *congiaria*, or monetary hand-outs, to the army (Berger 1996: 59).

Alexsander Bursche has noted 'a very considerable wave of currency' reaching the territory of the Wielbark and Przeworsk cultures, in modern Poland, in the period up to AD 194, at which point it seems to have been completely halted. Possible reasons for this influx, he suggests, are: as part of a process of diplomacy to prevent hostile incursions into the territory of the Roman Empire, payment of ransom for captives, or remote trade, possibly involving amber. Bursche puts the cessation of coin supply down to a change in Roman imperial economic

policy, a combination of a decline in silver bullion supplies and Severus's increased military expenditure making it economically untenable for the payment of large numbers of denarii to tribes outwith the empire to continue. He notes that other Roman material, including bronze coins and Samian pottery, continued to flow into Poland after the 190s AD (Bursche 1996: 120–3).

This foreign research indicates that the supply of quantities of silver denarii to tribes beyond the imperial frontier in Britannia in the later 2nd century AD was part of a phase of imperial distribution spanning a very large geographical area. The contents of the Scottish hoards closely resemble those of their continental equivalents, and also of hoards from within the province of Britannia, but there are a few notable differences. It has been demonstrated that the two Scottish hoards concluding with coins of Commodus contained higher proportions of coins of Pius, Marcus and (in the case of Rumbling Bridge) Commodus than comparable hoards from England, and this could possibly indicate a connection with military activity at the time. Also, the supply to Scotland appears not to have ceased abruptly in AD 194, as there is a coin minted no earlier than AD 196 in Birnie hoard 1, an issue of AD 196–7 from Portmoak and one of AD 201 or later from Megray. The reason for the arrival of these few later coins may be connected in some way with the Severan military campaigns in Britain (see below).

A feature which the Scottish hoards have in common with most of the continental examples from *barbaricum*, but not with those from England, is the absence of legionary denarii of Mark Antony.<sup>1</sup> Of the 92 hoards recorded from Poland and the former Soviet Union, for instance, only one contains any of these coins at all (R Reece, pers comm). This may possibly be an indication that the coins found in Scotland came from a pool on the continent, rather than from coinage circulating in England, where Mark Antony denarii occur frequently in late second-century hoards. There is some suggestion that these coins may have been in circulation within the province of Britannia in the 2nd century to a much greater extent than elsewhere in the empire, but a great deal of work would have to be done

to establish whether this really was the case. The absence of Mark Antony denarii from the Synton and Rumbling Bridge hoards might suggest that they also came from a continental pool and resulted from the general distribution into *barbaricum* at that time, but it is also possible to argue that, if they comprised coins in circulation among the army rather than the civilian population of Britannia, the absence of these coins is easily explicable.

If we can be fairly confident in saying how and why most of the denarii got to Scotland, we are unfortunately reduced to no more than informed speculation when it comes to how they were regarded by those who received them and why they apparently buried so many of them in hoards. We can be fairly certain that they were not using the denarii as money, for a number of reasons. For one thing, there are hardly any base metal, lower-denomination coins from the same period among Scottish finds outside military sites, and indeed there are nowhere near enough single finds of denarii either to suggest a coin-using economy. If the denarii were being hoarded as items of value, rather than used as money, was this simply because they were made of silver and thus had an intrinsic value? If this were the case, we have to ask why they were buried, and why they were buried in the fashion indicated by the pot hoards from Birnie. Since these two hoards were buried just outside a roundhouse, on an apparently busy occupation site, they can hardly have represented concealed savings.

Instead, we must take account of other evidence for the practice among the inhabitants of Scotland in the Iron Age for burying various categories of artefact, not necessarily made of precious metal, but which appear to have been regarded as high-status possessions – iron tools and weapons, for example. Clearly we can not know exactly why this was done, and the word 'ritual' has long been regarded among archaeologists as simply an excuse for 'we don't understand the reason for this'. Despite this, there are occasions when it is reasonable to suggest that certain human actions may have been motivated by religious or other superstitious beliefs. It is not only the positioning of the Birnie hoards within the site, but also the careful packaging of the

coins within the pottery vessels, involving leather pouches and padding with vegetation, which suggests rather more than simply putting valuable objects in a safe place. The coins were probably valued as exotic items which were available only to high-ranking members of society who received them from the Romans, and they would thus have been regarded as suitable for use in dedications, for instance. The Birnie hoards could therefore represent offerings to ensure protection for the settlement and its inhabitants. Since no context is known for the concealment of any of the other late second-century Scottish denarius hoards, we have, so far, no further evidence to corroborate such a theory, but at present it seems a tenable one.

If many of the coin hoards concealed between the 160s and 190s AD may have been the property of selected individuals within the native population at a time when Roman armies were largely absent from Britain north of Hadrian's Wall, there are slightly later coin finds, both hoards and individual items, which are definitely connected with the Roman military campaigns of the reign of Septimius Severus. Roman historians tell us that Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, came to Britain in AD 208 and conducted campaigns against hostile tribes until AD 211, when Severus died at York (eg Cassius Dio 76.11.1; 76.13.1–4; 76.15.1–4). However, it has been accepted for some time that campaigning probably took place for some years prior to this.

Cassius Dio 76.10.6 (dated AD 207) states that 'when Severus was told of these various activities, he was angry that, while other men were winning wars for him in Britain, he himself was losing to a brigand in Italy'.

The only 'permanent' bases, as opposed to marching camps, which provide evidence of occupation during the Severan period are those at Carpow, on the Tay estuary, and Cramond, on the south shore of the Firth of Forth. Excavations at both sites have confirmed activity at this time, but precise dating is still disputed. Cramond was also occupied during the Antonine period, in the middle of the 2nd century, but Carpow has long been considered to have had no more than a single, fairly brief, occupation during the Severan period.

For some while, however, the waters have been muddied by the disputed interpretation of fragments of an inscription found outside the east gate of the fortress. Scholars of epigraphy originally put forward reconstructions of a number of words based on the one inscribed fragment. These words were thought to be IMP ET DN M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS FEL (Imperator et Dominus Noster Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix). Since it was taken for granted that the inscription must date from the Severan period, and since the wording seems to indicate that it refers to a single emperor (IMP) not to joint emperors (IMPP), it was argued that it must belong to the sole reign of Caracalla (whose real

TABLE 3  
Cramond and Carpow coin finds

	<b>Cramond</b>	<b>Carpow</b>
AD 69–96	3 denarii, 1 + 2? bronze	3 denarii
AD 96–117	2 denarii, 1 bronze	
AD 117–38	4 denarii, 3 bronze	1 bronze
AD 138–61	5 denarii, 3 + 1? bronze	1 aureus, 2 denarii
AD 161–80	5 denarii, 3 bronze	1 denarius, 1 bronze
AD 180–93	3 denarii, 1 bronze	
AD 193–209	20 + 1? denarii	12 denarii
Uncertain date	4 denarii, 1 bronze	2 denarii, 2 uncertain denomination

name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) after the deaths both of Severus and of Geta, who reigned jointly with Caracalla until his murder in AD 212 (Wright 1964). This led to the suggestion that construction work at Carpow was still in progress in AD 212 at the earliest, and that continued occupation can therefore be postulated for an unknown period after this.

More recently, however, it has been suggested in a published article (Casey 2010) that the wording of the inscription can also be reconstructed in a way that would reveal a dedication to Commodus, rather than Caracalla, which would accord more closely with the stylistic features of the stone carving, which are typically Antonine, not Severan. The author believes that he can demonstrate that the fortress at Carpow was actually built immediately following the conclusion of the Commodan military campaign in AD 184, and he even suggests that it was actually abandoned by Severus prior to AD 208. If this were true, it would have implications for the dating of the occupation of Cramond as well.

So what can coin find evidence add to the argument? Table 3 shows recorded finds of Roman coins from Cramond and Carpow. Only definite 20th-century finds from Cramond are included, since many earlier finds attributed to the site can no longer be confirmed, and the list reflects Antonine as well as Severan period occupation, with many late 1st- and 2nd-century coins, bronze as well as silver. The Carpow list also includes pre-Severan coins, but fewer than at Cramond, and with most of them being denarii. There are few bronze coins of types that would have circulated in large numbers in the 2nd century, but which had, to some extent, been driven out of circulation by the 3rd century as a result of inflation. The army would certainly have been paid in denarii by this time, and soldiers are far more likely to have been carrying silver coins than in earlier times. These pre-Severan coins can therefore be accepted quite happily as Severan period arrivals on the site, but equally they could certainly have arrived earlier, during the reign of Commodus.

The dates of minting of the Severan denarii are of particular interest. Of the 20 definite finds

from Cramond, three date from the 190s AD, 15 from between AD 201 and AD 207, and just one from AD 206–9 and one from AD 209. From Carpow the figures are one from the 190s AD, 11 from between AD 201 and AD 207, and none later (Hill 1977 for dating of coins; Holmes 2003: 94–102 for details of coins and discussion). Moreover, a study of the coins themselves reveals that, although there are varying degrees of corrosion on the coins, they do not show signs of general wear from circulation.

TABLE 4  
Severan coins by date

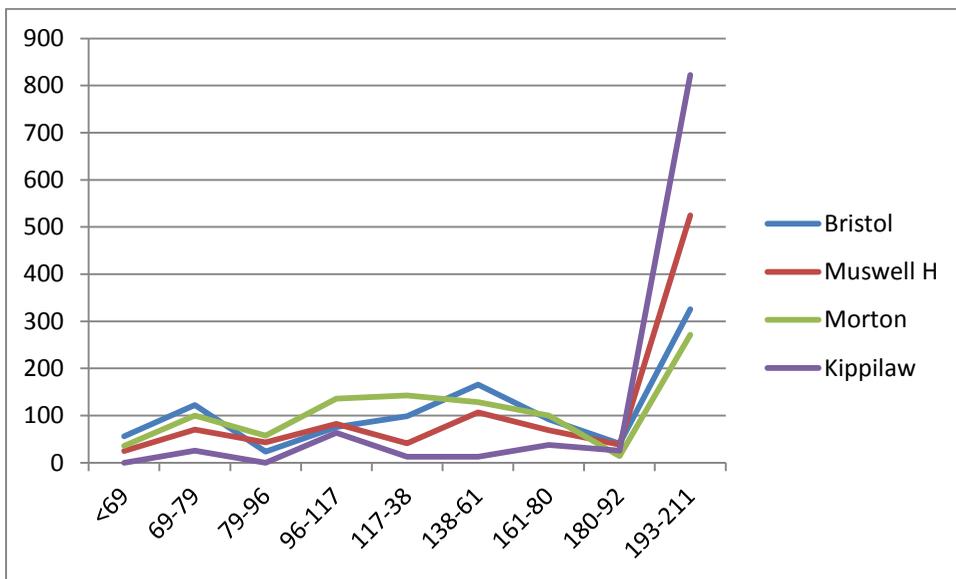
Date of issue	Cramond	Carpow	Kippilaw
194	1		1
195			1
c 193–5		1	
196			1
197			1
198	1		1
199	1		2
200		2	4
200–1			1
201	2	1	5
201+		1	
202	3	2	
203	3	1	3
204	2	1	9
205	2	1	1
206	1	1	31
205–7	1		
207	1	1	4
208			
209	1		
206–9	1 (illeg.)		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>65</b>

A further piece of evidence has come to light recently, in the form of a hoard of 79 denarii found in 2010 at **Kippilaw**, in Roxburghshire. (Appendix B includes information about the location and circumstances of the find and a complete list of the coins.) Of these coins, just 14 date from the reigns of emperors from Vespasian (AD 69–79) to Commodus (AD 180–93). (The find also included one As of Marcus Aurelius, which may or may not have belonged to the hoard.) The other 65 are all issues of Severus and his family. The dates of issue of the latter can now be compared with those for the Cramond and Carpow site finds (Table 4), and there are definite similarities in the pattern. All three groups include a fairly small number of coins from the early years of Severus’s reign – between AD 193 and AD 199. The bulk of the coins belong within the period AD 200–7, and Cramond is the only site to have produced a coin (one of AD 209) minted during the period from AD 208 onwards, when the emperors are recorded as being in Britain.

These figures indicate quite clearly that the Kippilaw hoard must be connected in some way with Roman military operations. Its heavy preponderance of Severan denarii is in marked

contrast to the pre-Severan or proto-Severan hoards, like Birnie 1 and 2, which comprise mostly Flavian and Antonine issues. It will also be useful to compare Kippilaw with some English hoards terminating with coins of about the same date. These are the hoards from Bristol (1,478 silver coins and two bronze to AD 209; Robertson 2000: 82, hoard 385), Muswell Hill, London (654 silver coins to AD 209–10; Robertson 2000: 83, hoard 387), and Morton, Derbyshire (140 coins to AD 210; Williams 1997; Robertson 2000: 81–2, hoard 384). These are, of course, hoards from civilian areas of the Roman province, not from military sites, but a comparison is nonetheless useful in placing coins associated with the army alongside those in general circulation.

The figures shown on the graph (illus 3) are permilia totals (or number of coins per thousand within each hoard), and all five hoards terminate with a steep spike representing Severan denarii, but this is more pronounced at Kippilaw than anywhere else, whereas this hoard has lower permilia figures than most or all of the others for all the earlier periods. This may be taken to reflect the expected picture of newly minted coins being supplied to pay the army.



ILLUS 3 Kippilaw hoard and English Severan hoards



ILLUS 4 Die-linked denarii of Septimius Severus from the Kippilaw hoard (catalogue nos 29–32). The dark colouring of these coins, and of those in illus 5, results from the presence of a thin layer of brown material on the surface of all the Kippilaw coins. Conservators advised that attempting to remove this could damage the coins. Coins are approx. 20mm diameter

The other outstanding feature of the Kippilaw hoard is that 31 of the coins – almost half the Severan issues in the hoard – were minted in AD 206. Within this total are a number of groups of die-linked coins, which is a very unusual feature for a Roman hoard, since large numbers of dies were used in striking most issues of coinage. Illus 4 shows a group of such coins, of Septimius Severus. They give the imperial titles as holder

of Tribunician Power for the fourteenth time and Consul for the third time, dating them without doubt to AD 206. The reverse design shows a genius (or allegorical figure of protection and inspiration) sacrificing out of a patera, or handled bowl, over an altar and holding a bunch of corn-ears.

Illus 5 shows a group of die-linked coins of Caracalla. The reverse inscription gives the



ILLUS 5 Die-linked denarii of Caracalla from the Kippilaw hoard (catalogue nos 53, 55, 56, 58). Coins are approx. 20mm diameter

imperial titles as holder of Tribunician Power for the ninth time and Consul for the second time, again dating the coins to AD 206. The god Mars is depicted with spear and shield.

It is so unusual to find groups of die-linked coins within a hoard that we have to deduce that these Kippilaw coins had come directly from a source of newly issued coins, and there can be little doubt that this must have been a military pay-chest.

So what do these three groups of coins – one hoard and two site assemblages – tell us about the probable dating of military operations in Scotland at the end of the 2nd and/or beginning of the 3rd century? I would submit that the enormous preponderance of denarii minted between AD 200 and AD 207 strongly suggests that there was a Roman military presence in Scotland several years before the arrival of the emperor and his sons in AD 208, thus confirming Dio's (76.10.6) statement that campaigning had been taking place in Britain prior to that date. Taking things one step further, it seems equally probable that there was occupation at both Cramond and Carpow prior to AD 208, ie that there were permanent bases as well as temporary marching camps being used by the army. If it is accepted that soldiers would have been paid in newly minted denarii, which seems highly probable, given the importance of coin legends and designs as imperial propaganda, the preponderance of unworn issues of the early 200s AD at both sites indicates occupation at that time. Since it is believed that forts were normally built as a secondary process to the subjugation of an area, and used as accommodation for troops in winter or when they were not required for campaigning (Dobson 2009), it may be that the military presence in Scotland prior to AD 208 may have been quite lengthy. Furthermore, excavations carried out at Cramond in the 1970s found no structural archaeological evidence for a period of abandonment in the later 2nd century, followed by major reconstruction under Severus. If the theory of a Commodan date for the construction of the fortress at Carpow is correct (Casey 2010), then a theory of some form of military presence at Cramond in the late 2nd century has a possible context, but it must be emphasised that evidence for this is very thin. Quantities of late Antonine

pottery and coins are much too small to support a theory of full occupation at Cramond.

What are we to make of the suggestion that Cramond and Carpow were actually abandoned by Severus before the date of his own arrival in Scotland, and that it was this move which actually gave rise to the hostile action which necessitated the Roman campaigns? It seems hard to identify numismatic evidence to support this, since we can be fairly certain that the latest coins found on the two sites were minted *after* military action by Severus's generals had already commenced on the northern frontier. However, the almost total absence of coins minted in AD 208 or later from both site assemblages is certainly odd. Just one coin from Cramond – of Julia Domna – is of a type dated to AD 209, and from Carpow there is not a single example later than AD 207 – this despite the fact that the output of the mint in Rome is believed to have increased between AD 209 and AD 211. Much has been made in the past of the statement by the historian Cassius Dio (76.11.2) that Severus took with him 'a large quantity of money' (to Britain), and this has been taken as explaining why no further supplies of new coinage were required or supplied. From a numismatic viewpoint, this argument does not hold water. Roman coinage was the primary carrier of imperial propaganda, and there is little point in putting propaganda on coins and then leaving them unissued for several years. If the coins brought by Severus in AD 208 did indeed suffice for the entire length of his three-year campaign, one would at least expect these to have been largely issues of AD 208, not of the previous eight years. As already suggested, coins used to pay the army, in particular, would surely be expected to be up-to-date issues.

I am aware that this argument has so far failed to convince some scholars (eg N Hodgson lecture to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland May 2011 and Hodgson 2014), and in the interests of unbiased debate, the following is a summary of what I understand to be the arguments which other scholars have put forward for disregarding the story which the coin evidence seems to suggest and in support of the theory that Carpow was founded, and Cramond reoccupied, in AD 208 or later, with occupation continuing post AD 211:

1. The numbers of coin finds from Cramond and Carpow are too small for the evidence to be conclusive.
2. Coarse pottery from excavations at Carpow and Cramond ‘closely parallels’ that found at South Shields in any quantity only after the foundation of the Severan supply base (Phase II, commencing in AD 209), and current in the second and third decades of the 3rd century.
3. Pelta decoration, like that on the Carpow building inscription fragments, is often found on Antonine inscriptions, but also on one from the 190s AD, so could in theory have been in use in the Severan period as well.
4. Carpow may have been a post-expeditionary foundation – a maritime outpost fort to control the area after the end of the military campaigns. It would have been far too small (capacity *c* 3,000 men) to have been a base for the campaigning army itself.
5. South Shields was replanned in the early 220s AD to provide space for all of Cohors V Gallorum, part of which is previously attested at Cramond by an altar, so perhaps Cramond was also occupied until that time, and possibly also not occupied until after the end of the campaigns.
6. The pattern of Severan coin losses at South Shields shows the same concentration in the early years of the 3rd century, with a drop-off in AD 208 and later, as Cramond and Carpow, but South Shields was definitely occupied during the Severan campaigns.

These are all valid points which deserve individual responses:

1. The coin find totals from Cramond and Carpow are actually larger than for almost all other military sites in Scotland, with the obvious exception of Newstead. The 20 Severan denarii from Cramond, in particular, represent a fair concentration, given the very small proportion of the total area of the site which has been excavated so far. Moreover, the provenance of several of these coins – from material used to backfill the fort ditches at the conclusion of military occupation – and their dates of issue and absence of wear through circulation would strongly argue against an extended period of Severan occupation (Holmes 2003: 95–6, coins 15, 16, 18, 20–2). It is worth noting that archaeologists have for many years dated the abandonment of Flavian sites in Scotland on the basis of the recovery of a small number of unworn bronze coins of AD 86 from these sites and the absence of any of later date.
2. Do coarse pottery forms really change rapidly enough for this material to be used for dating purposes when the time scales involved cover no more than about 10 years? The fact that vessels of a certain type are found in archaeological levels of a particular date on one site surely does not preclude their appearance in levels of a slightly different date on another site some 100 miles distant from it.
3. I would not venture to argue with this statement regarding decoration on inscriptions. The dating of the Carpow building inscription fragments is still open to debate and should probably not be used in favour of any particular conclusion.
4. The function of the base at Carpow during the Severan campaigns, if one accepts that it was indeed occupied at that time, is also a matter for debate. Clearly not all of the troops participating in the campaigns could have been based there at the same time, and most must, at any given time, have been billeted in one or more of the temporary camps. Excavations at Cramond have demonstrated that, during the Severan phase of occupation, the site probably functioned as a rearward supply base and industrial complex, with relatively few troops based there (Holmes 203: 155). Perhaps Carpow had a similar function.

5. The presence of part of Cohors V Gallorum at Cramond in the Severan period is probable but not certain. The inscription which mentions this unit (*RIB* 2134) was recorded by Horsley in *Britannia Romana* 1733 (204, no XXVII) as preserved ‘in the seat of the Earl of Rutherglen’ but originating from Cramond. If part of the unit was indeed at Cramond, this might have been at an earlier date. If the

rebuilding at South Shields in the 220s AD was intended to allow for the return to that base of the whole of the cohort, this does not prove that troops were returning direct from Cramond at that date.

6. This comparison of the numismatic evidence from South Shields and the two Scottish sites does indeed support a conclusion that the latter were occupied during the late Severan period (AD 208–



ILLUS 6 Reverses of British Victory coins of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, minted AD 210–11: (a) Severus sestertius, (b) Caracalla sestertius, (c) Caracalla As, (d) Geta sestertius. Sizes: (a), (b) and (d) are approx. 31mm diameter, (c) is approx. 26mm diameter

11). On balance, this still appears to be supported by all the evidence, with the debate centred on the actual length of the occupation.

The numismatic evidence argues for occupation at Cramond and Carpow prior to AD 208, but it does not seem possible to accept that they may no longer have been occupied in AD 208 or later. There is one coin of AD 209 from Cramond, and we also have to consider the implications of an assertion that forts, which had been occupied during the campaigns waged by Severus's generals, were suddenly abandoned when the emperor himself arrived to continue these campaigns. There is, of course, no doubt at all that military campaigns continued to be pursued during this period. Dio (76.13.1–4) mentions two campaigns, presumably in the summers of AD 209 and AD 210, since there were numerous coin issues in AD 210–11 announcing Roman victories. *Illus 6* shows the reverse of four of these. The sestertius of Severus (a) is inscribed *VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE* and shows two winged Victories holding a shield and a palm branch, with two seated captives on the ground. The sestertius of Caracalla (b) has the same inscription, but shows, on the left, Victory crowning a trophy of captured weapons and armour, with a seated captive below and, on the right, a female figure possibly representing Britannia. The *As* of Caracalla (c), also inscribed *VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE*, shows Victory inscribing on a shield set on a palm tree. The sestertius of Geta (d), inscribed *VICT BRIT TR P III COS II*, shows Victory seated on a pile of captured weapons and inscribing on a shield.

Two hoards have been recovered from Scottish soil which contain denarii that post-date the Severan campaigns by a considerable period. The better-known of these is, of course, the exceptional hoard of over 1,900 denarii found at Falkirk in 1933, the latest coins in which were issues of the emperor Severus Alexander dated to AD 230. A more recent discovery was the hoard of 290 denarii from Edston, Peeblesshire, found by a metal-detectorist in 1994. This terminated with three coins of Elagabalus, minted between AD 218 and AD 222.

Both these hoards, we have to assume, must have been owned by members of the native population, since there is no evidence of any military presence in Scotland at the presumed dates of their concealment. The Edston hoard was found just 40 metres west of the site of a former multivallate hill-fort, now quarried away, and although there is nothing to prove that the fort was occupied at the time when the hoard was buried, the results of excavation at similar sites suggest that this is quite likely (F Hunter, *pers comm*).

It was suggested many years ago that the Falkirk hoard may have been essentially a Severan assemblage, to which a small number of later coins were subsequently added at some time before its concealment (Reece 1980: 125). The published report on the Edston hoard consequently includes a comparison of both Falkirk and Edston with some Severan hoards from within the province of Britannia, in order to examine whether or not the chronological pattern within the two Scottish hoards matched that for hoards presumed to contain coins extracted from circulation within the empire at the time when coins may be expected to have come into Scotland with the army (Holmes & Hunter 2002). These hoards were: Bristol (1,480 coins to AD 209; Robertson 2000: 82, hoard 385), Muswell Hill, London (654 coins to AD 209–10; Robertson 2000: 83, hoard 387), Morton, Derbyshire (140 coins to AD 210; Williams 1997; Robertson 2000: 81–2, hoard 384), Much Hadham, Hertfordshire (129 coins to AD 210–11; Robertson 2000: 82, hoard 385A), Darfield, Yorkshire (500 coins to AD 213; Robertson 2000: 84–5, hoard 394) and Chadwell St Mary, Essex (100 coins to AD 213; Robertson 2000: 85, hoard 395). There proved to be a striking similarity between the profiles for Falkirk and Edston, despite the higher totals for Edston in the two earliest and two latest periods, and for Falkirk in the intervening five, and both conformed in general to the pattern of the English Severan hoards, with both English and Scottish hoards notably containing legionary denarii of Mark Antony. However, the two Scottish hoards contained a much lower percentage of coins of the Severan period than almost all of the English hoards, three of which had more than half their

total made up of coins from this latest period. The contrast with Kippilaw and the Cramond and Carpow site assemblages is also striking in this aspect, which suggests that the hoards were not derived from coins entering Scotland with the Roman army.

The only one of the English hoards which was very similar in its internal distribution to Falkirk and Edston was that from Darfield, in Yorkshire – the most northerly of the English findspots. It also has major peaks in the reigns of Vespasian (AD 69–79) and Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61) and a comparatively low permilia figure for Severan coins. It is also worth noting that the Morton hoard, which in Derbyshire lies geographically between Darfield and those hoards from the south of England, also seemed to fill this position in terms of its coin profile. There is a suggestion, therefore, that newly minted Severan coinage was being put into circulation fairly rapidly in southern parts of England, as well as among the army in Scotland, as we have seen, but that the process was taking longer in northern parts of England, where first-century coins remained in circulation longer. One might venture the hypothesis, therefore, that the coins found at Falkirk and Edston came largely from a pool in circulation during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla in the northern civilian part of the province of Britannia.

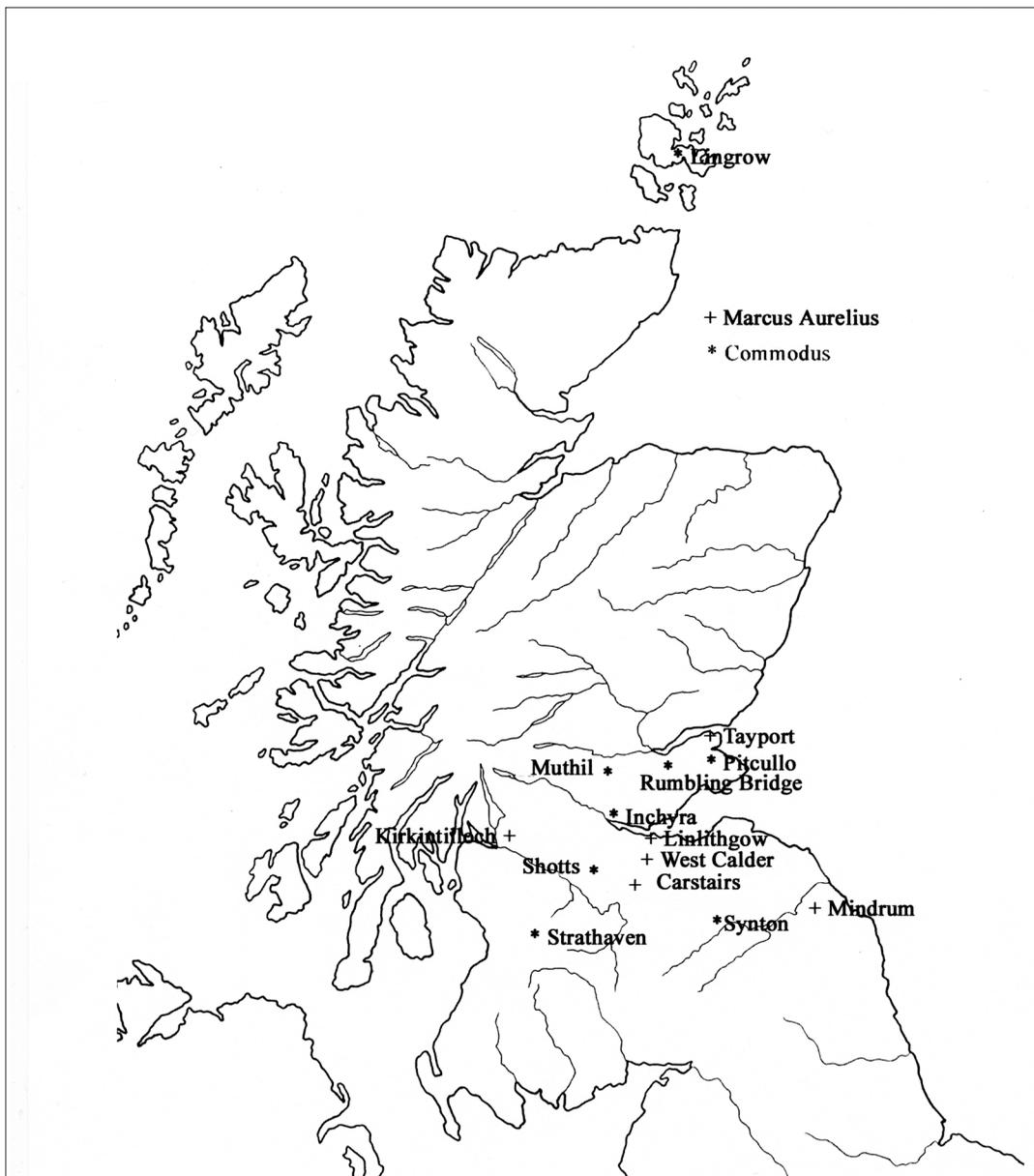
## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The evidence available to us at present indicates that Roman silver coins entered what is now Scotland in four distinct waves during the period under consideration. After the withdrawal of Roman troops from the Antonine Wall frontier in the early 160s AD, coins seem to have been supplied to selected tribes, or more probably individual tribal leaders, as part of a general policy which was applied across the imperial frontiers in Europe. Whether you choose to call this bribery or diplomacy depends on your own point of view, but the effect was the same. Coins were hoarded and eventually buried across an area stretching from Scotland to Russia, for reasons which we still struggle to understand fully, but which, in the case of Scotland anyway,

may well have been connected to local Iron Age traditions of probably ritual or religious deposition of high-status objects of various types and materials. The profiles of the Scottish hoards are sufficiently similar to those from continental *barbaricum* to suggest that the coins probably originally came from the same general source and not from the pool of coinage circulating within the province of Britannia in the later 2nd century.

What is less clear is what effect, if any, the military campaigns in Britain during the reign of Commodus had on this process. With just two Scottish hoards concluding with Commodan coins, and large enough and well enough recorded to constitute reliable evidence, it is not at present possible to draw definite conclusions. The Rumbling Bridge and Synton hoards conform to the general pattern of those beyond the imperial frontiers in the late 2nd century insofar as they contain no legionary coins of Mark Antony, in contrast to contemporary hoards from within the province of Britannia. However, the unusually high proportions of coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius in both hoards suggests a possible connection with the military campaigns of the 180s AD. If the Mark Antony denarii were, by this time, no longer part of the coin pool in use within the army, but only within civilian areas of Britannia, their absence from the hoards would not be surprising. It is also worth remembering that the coin series from Newstead, just like the Synton hoard, concluded with a single denarius of Commodus for Crispina.

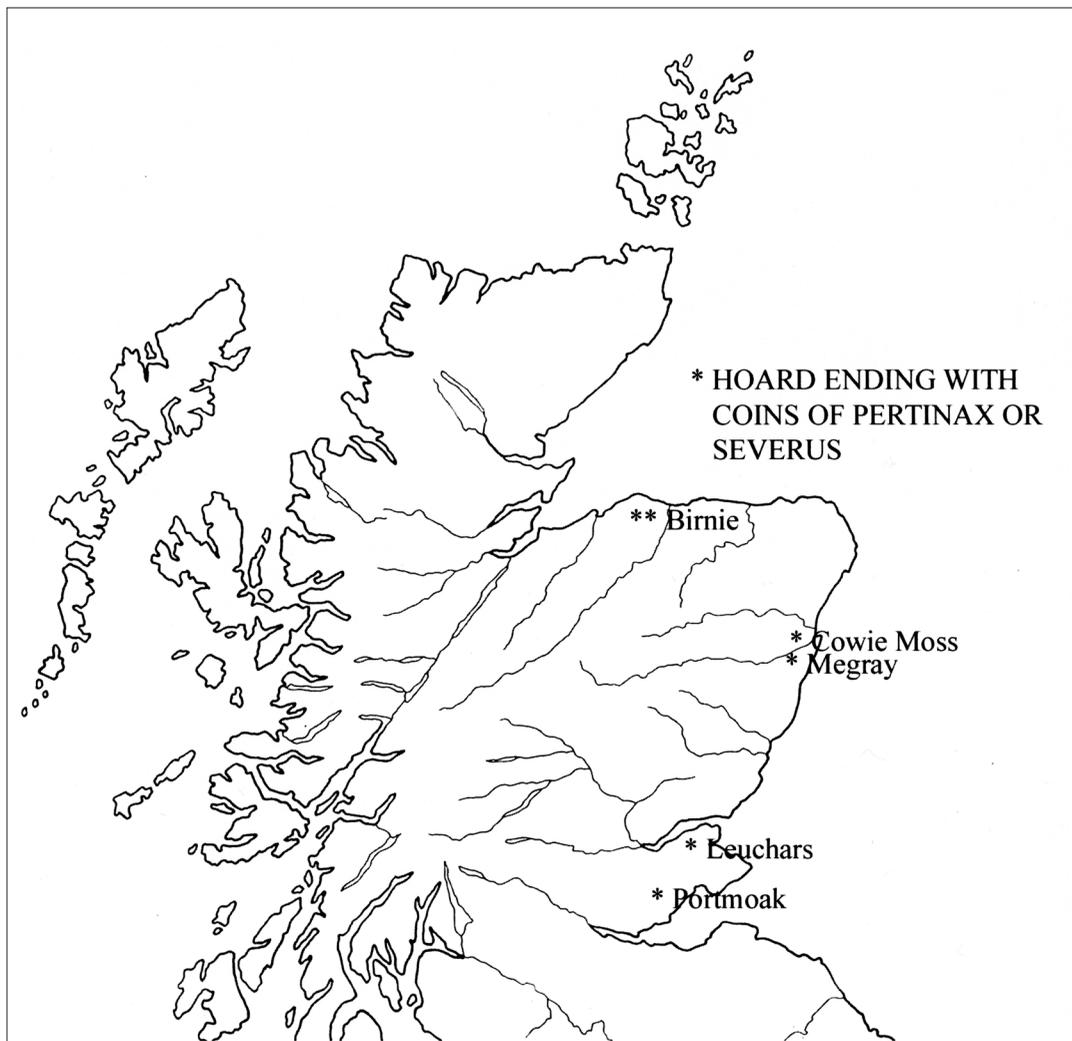
Whatever the effects of the Commodan military activity may have been, it appears that the supply of denarii to areas north of Hadrian's Wall either continued uninterrupted or quickly resumed after its conclusion, but there are aspects which seem to distinguish post-Commodan hoards from earlier ones, and these probably represent a second and distinct phase of coin supply rather than a seamless continuation of previous practice. We know that Septimius Severus put a stop to the general policy of payment in silver coinage across the imperial frontier soon after his accession, around AD 194, probably because of a shortage of silver bullion on one hand and his own policy of military solutions and increased army numbers



ILLUS 7 Map showing distribution of Marcan and Commodan coin hoards from Scotland

on the other. It is notable, therefore, that at least some of the Severan hoards found in Scotland included coins of a later date than this. Portmoak has a coin of AD 196–7 and Megray one of AD 201–10, probably minted in AD 203. Birnie 1 contained one coin of Julia Domna, of a type not

minted before AD 196. These three coins *could* all, in theory, have arrived in Scotland with the campaigning army and been added to earlier coin parcels owned by members of the native population (it is the presence of Roman military units which distinguishes Scotland in the late



ILLUS 8 Map showing distribution of early Severan hoards from Scotland

190s and 200s AD from the areas of continental *barbaricum* where denarius hoards have been found), but there is another feature which distinguishes Marcan and Commodan hoards from Severan ones, and this is their geographical distribution. Although some caution must be exercised in view of the relatively small number of hoards from both periods, there is undoubtedly a clear contrast between the spread of earlier hoards across the width of the Central Lowlands and Borders (illus 7) and the concentration of

Severan hoards up the northern east coast as far as Birnie, in Moray (illus 8).

Do these features mark a change in the method of distribution of denarii beyond the frontier in Britain in the 190s AD? The hoards of the 160s to 180s AD have largely been recovered from the territory of peoples who would inevitably have had contact with the Romans during the period when the Antonine Wall had been occupied. It seems logical to suggest that payments to important individuals

in this area might have formed part of a ‘buffer state’ system between the Hadrian’s Wall frontier and the territory of the Caledonii and Maeatae, in addition to the military aspect of outpost forts and expeditions by *exploratores*. (The suggestion has already been made that the latter may account for the small amounts of late Antonine pottery found during excavations at Cramond (Holmes 2003: 155).) The location of the hoards from the 190s AD strongly suggests, however, that by then the emphasis had been changed to making deliveries of coins by sea to individuals within supposedly hostile territory. The later closing dates of some of these hoards suggests that Scotland was, for a number of years, an exception to the ending of the policy of exporting silver coins beyond the imperial frontiers. Dio Cassius (74.5.4) records that the governor of Britannia, Virius Lupus, was obliged to ‘purchase peace from the Maeatae for a great sum of money’, this possibly following hostile action in AD 196–7 (Birley 1972), and the distribution pattern of these early Severan hoards might suggest that they constitute the physical evidence of just this policy. Their closing dates would accord with a theory that it was the failure of this policy which led to the commencement of military action by Severus’s generals. The latest known coin from any of the hoards is that probably of AD 203 from Megray, and the dates of the coins from Cramond, Carpow and the Kippilaw hoard would certainly accord with the arrival of armies in Scotland at around that date.

The finds associated with the Severan campaigns represent the third phase of the supply of coins to Scotland in the period under consideration. As has been shown, the profile of these assemblages is unmistakably different from that of the hoards of just a few years earlier. If a fairly uncontroversial case can be made for military activity to have commenced in the first few years of the 3rd century, there seems to be little agreement over the probable date of the withdrawal of troops. As argued above, the almost total absence from the finds record of coins minted after AD 208 does not support the suggestion that military occupation of Cramond and Carpow continued beyond the death of Severus in AD 211 and the subsequent

rapid departure for Rome of Caracalla and Geta, as described by Cassius Dio (77.1.1). The coin evidence is not in itself conclusive, of course, but it should certainly not be ignored when this subject is under discussion.

The fourth and final phase of coin supply is represented by the post-Severan hoards found at Edston and Falkirk. These two hoards currently stand alone in the area of modern Scotland including denarii of the period from AD 211 to AD 230,<sup>2</sup> so it would be unwise to make definitive statements about their origins and significance. It has been demonstrated that the internal profiles of both these hoards differ from those of earlier Scottish hoards in containing legionary denarii of Mark Antony, and that they closely resemble that of the most northerly of the English hoards selected for comparison (Darfield). The suggestion that Falkirk was a Severan hoard, with a few later coins subsequently added, could only be true if one accepts that all the Mark Antony denarii were added at the same time as these post-Severan coins. This seems inherently unlikely, and an alternative explanation should be sought for the existence of these two hoards.

It may be significant that both findspots lie within territory which may have been under the control of previously pro-Roman, or at least neutral, lowland tribes, and thus belong more to the pattern exhibited by the hoards closing with coins of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus. This would fit with a scenario in which the situation on the northern frontier after the departure of Caracalla’s troops from Scotland reverted to something very close to that which pertained under Marcus, with outpost forts beyond Hadrian’s Wall occupied and units of *exploratores* patrolling the lowlands.<sup>3</sup> The small quantities of unstratified post-Severan pottery and coins from Cramond could be seen as consistent with some Roman troops still active as far north as the Forth.

If the area between the two walls was again being treated as something in the nature of a ‘buffer state’, with the native inhabitants combining with Roman patrols to give warning of any further potential hostile action, then it would not be surprising to see evidence of gifts again being made to local chieftains. The Edston hoard was found in close proximity to the site of a

former hill-fort, and whereas similar information is not available for Falkirk, its findspot must have been very close to the southern boundary of the territory of the Maeatae – exactly where co-operation from local rulers would have been most important to the Romans.

This paper is offered as a contribution to the debate, not as the provider of definite answers, but it seeks to demonstrate that numismatic study, even if the quantity of available material is not particularly large, can play a part in reconstructing the history of poorly understood periods.

## APPENDIX A: THE SYNTON HOARD<sup>4</sup>

The hoard was initially discovered on 4 May 2011, and the bulk of it recovered then and on the following day. The findspot lies on the northern side of a broad ridge running NE/SW. It sits on a shoulder of the ridge, in an area of relatively flat ground. Immediately to the north of the findspot the terrain dips sharply, but it slopes more gently to the north-east, towards a plantation. To the west and north-west lie later prehistoric enclosure sites – Blackcastle and Camp Knowe.

The topsoil is up to 150mm deep and overlies a very rocky subsoil containing plough- and frost-shattered bedrock, with the bedrock itself

poking through at various points of the ridge. The area is ploughed regularly and had recently been ploughed at the time of the discovery, but the land use immediately prior to this was pasture. The first coin was found at a depth of about 50mm in an unploughed area, indicating that the dispersal of the hoard predated the most recent ploughing. A line of three coins in the grassy area, over a distance of some 12m, led the finder to the ploughed area. Here a strong cluster was found in one limited area less than a metre in diameter, in groups of up to ten coins. A few coins found on the downslope to the north-west had presumably been moved through ploughing and hillwash.

LIST OF COINS<sup>5</sup>

VITELLIUS (1)				
Obv.: A VITELLIVS GERM IMP AVG TR P				
No	Rev	Bust	RIC <sup>2</sup>	Wt (g)
1	XVVIR SACR FAC	A1*	109	3.12
VESPASIAN FOR TITUS (1)				
Obv.: T CAESAR VESPASIANVS				
2	ANNOA AVG	A1*	972	2.92
TITUS (1)				
Obv.: IMP TITVS CAES VESPASIAN AVG P M (anticlockwise, outwards)				
3	TR P IX IMP XV COS VIII P P; wreath above curule chair	A1*	108	3.25
DOMITIAN (13)				
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P V				
4	IMP XI COS XII CENS · P · P · P ·; Minerva stg. l. with spear	A1*	431	3.45
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P VI				
5	IMP XIII COS XII CENS P P P; Minerva stg. l. with thunderbolt, spear and shield	A1*	458	3.42
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P VIII				
6	IMP XIX COS XIII CENS P P P; Minerva advancing r., with spear and shield	A1*	667	3.04
7	IMP XIX COS XIII CENS P P P; Minerva stg. l. with thunderbolt, spear and shield	A1*	669	3.22
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P VIII				
8	IMP XXI COS XIII CENS P P P; Minerva stg. r. on capital, with spear, shield and owl	A1*	686	3.36
9	IMP XXI COS XIII CENS P P P; Minerva stg. l. with thunderbolt, spear and shield	A1*	687	3.27
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P X				
10–11	IMP XXI COS XV CENS P P P; Minerva stg. l. with thunderbolt, spear and shield	A1*	721	3.43, 3.40
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XI				
12	IMP XXI COS [XV(I) CEN]S P P P; Minerva stg. l. with thunderbolt, spear and shield	A1*	726 or 732	2.99
13	IMP XXI COS XVI CENS P P P; Minerva stg. r. on capital, with spear, shield and owl	A1*	730	3.16
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XII				
14	IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P P P; Minerva stg. l. with spear	A1*	742	2.99
Obv.: IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XV				
15	IMP XXII COS XVII CENS P P P; Minerva stg. r. on capital, with spear, shield and owl	A1*	788	3.45
16	IMP XXII COS XVII CENS P P P; Minerva stg. l. with spear	A1*	790	3.22

<b>NERVA (4)</b>				
Obv.: IMP NERVA CAES AVG PONT MAX TR P				
			<i>RIC</i>	
17	COS · II · DESIGN · III · P · P; pontifical implements	A1*	12	3.08
Obv.: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS III P P				
18	CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM; clasped hands holding eagle on prow	A1*	15	3.38
Obv.: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR POT				
19	COS III P P; pontifical implements	A1*	23	3.49
Obv.: IMP NERVA CAES AVG GERM P M TR P II				
20	IMP II COS III P P; Fortuna	A1*	42	3.25
<b>TRAJAN (37)</b>				
Obv.: IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM				
21	PONT MAX TR POT COS II; Abundantia	A1*	11	3.27
22	PONT MAX TR POT COS II; Vesta std. l.	A1*	21	3.32
23	PONT MAX TR POT COS II; Victory std. l., with patera and palm	A1*	22	3.16
24	P M TR P COS · III P P; Vesta	A1*	40	3.24
25	P M TR P COS III P P; Victory std. l., with patera and palm	A1*, with aegis	42	3.06
26	P M TR P COS III P P; Hercules	A1*, with aegis	50	3.19
27	P M TR P COS III P P; Mars	A1*	52	3.45
28	P · M · TR · P · COS · III P P; Vesta	A1*	53	3.00
29	P · M · TR · P · COS · III P P; Abundantia	A1*	54	2.83
30	P · M · TR · P · [COS] · III P P; Victory stg. facing	A1*	58	2.28 (chipped)
31	P M TR P COS III P P; Victory stg. r. on prow	A3*	59	2.91
Obv.: IMP NERVA TRAIANVS AVG GER DACICVS				
32	P · M · TR · P · COS · V · P · P; Trajan crowned by Victory	A3*	85 var.	3.03
Obv.: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P				
33	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Aequitas stg.	A3*	118 var.	3.11
34	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Aequitas std.	A3*	119	2.99
35–38	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Victory stg. l. with wreath and palm	A3*	128	3.19, 3.11, 2.99, 2.73
39	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Victory walking l., with wreath and palm; shields under feet	A3*	131 var.	3.04
40	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; Arabia	A3*	142	3.15

41	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; trophy, with one round and one hexagonal shield	A3*	147b	2.92
42	COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRINC; trophy	A3*	147 var.; BMC 365	2.89
Obv.: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V P P				
43	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; Mars with spear and shield	A3*	163	2.76
44	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; Abundantia stg. 1.	A1*, with aegis	165	3.00
45	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; Abundantia stg. 1.	A3*	166	2.82
46	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; Abundantia stg. 1.	D2*	167	2.95
Obv.: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI P P				
47	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; three standards	A3*	228 var.; BMC 458	2.69
48	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI / VIA TRAIANA	A3*	267 var.; BMC 487	3.05
49	S · P · Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI; Mars	C2*	269	3.00
50	S P Q R [OPT]IMO PRINCIPI	C2*	275	3.59
Obv.: IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GERM DAC				
51	PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R / FORT RED	C2*	315	2.75
Obv.: IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC				
52	P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R / FORT RED	C2*	318	2.62
Obv.: IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GERM DAC				
53	PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R; Mars	C2*	331	2.98
54	PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R; Felicitas	C2*	332	2.82
Obv.: IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC				
55–56	P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R; Mars	C2*	337	3.20, 3.17
57	P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R; Felicitas	C2*	343	2.90
<b>HADRIAN (37)</b>				
Obv.: IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIAN OPT AVG GER DAC				
58	PARTHIC [DIVI T]RAIAN AVG F P M TR P COS P P	D1*	2©	2.86
59	PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F P M TR P COS P P; ADOPTIO	D1*	3©	2.98
Obv.: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG				
60	P M TR P COS II; CONCORD	A2*	39(b)	3.14
61	P M TR P COS II; PAX	A2*	44(a)	3.04
62	P M TR P COS II; VOT PVB	A2*	47(a)	3.04
63	P M TR P COS III; LIB PVB	A1*	128(a)	3.20
64	P M TR P COS III; LIBERAL AVG; 1 citizen	A2*	129(b)	2.62
65	P M TR P COS [III]; SALVS AVG	A2*	139(b)	2.80

Obv.: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS				
66	CO[S] III; Diana	A2*	147(d)	2.81
67	COS III; Hercules std. r. with Victory	A2*	148(d)	3.11
68	COS [III]; Abundantia std. l.	A2*	170(d)	2.66
69	COS III; Pudicitia stg. l.	A2*	176(d)	3.06
70	COS III; seven stars and crescent	A2*	202(d)	3.01
71	PIETAS AVG COS III P P; Pietas std. <i>left</i>	A3*	218 var.; cf BMC 562 note	3.07
Obv.: HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P				
72	FELICITAS AVG; Felicitas stg. l. with caduceus and cornucopiae	A1+	233(a)	3.13
73	FELICITAS AVG; Felicitas stg. l. with caduceus and branch	A1+	234(a)	3.51
74–75	FIDES PVBLICA	A1+	241A(a)	3.26, 3.08
76	FORTVNA AVG; Fortuna with rudder on globe and cornucopiae	A1+	244(a)	3.01
77–78	MONETA AVG	A1+	256(a)	3.23, 3.01
79	PIETAS AVG; Pietas stg l. by altar	A1+	257(a)	2.88
80	ROMA FELIX	A1*	264(d)	3.09
81	ROMVLO CONDITORI	A1*	266(d)	3.04
82	SALVS AVG; Salus stg. r.	A3+	267(b)	3.00
83	SALVS AVG; Salus stg. r.	A1*	267(d)	2.97
84	TELLVS STABIL; Tellus stg. l.	A1+	276(a)	2.96
85	VICTORIA AVG; Victory stg. r with branch	A1*	282(d)	3.07
86	VOTA PVBLICA; Hadrian stg. l., sacrificing over altar	A1+	290(a)	3.09
87	VOTA PVBLICA; Hadrian stg. l., sacrificing over altar	A1*	290(d)	2.94
88	AEGYPTOS	C2*	296 var.; BMC 805	3.09
89	AFRICA; Africa with scorpion and cornucopiae	A1+	299(a)	2.97
Obv.: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P				
90	COS III; Minerva stg. r.	A1*	330(c)	3.19
91–92	COS III; Roma std. r. on cuirass	A1*	332(c)	2.74, 2.45
93	COS III; Pudicitia	A1*	343(c)	3.36
94	COS III; Victory std. l.	A1*	345(c)	3.34
<b>HADRIAN FOR SABINA (5)</b>				
Obv.: SABINA AVGVSTA				
95	CONCORDIA AVG; Concordia stg. l.	E2*	390 (bust to r.	2.89
96–97	CONCORDIA AVG; Concordia std. l. with patera and sceptre	E2*	391	3.35, 2.78

98	IVNONI REGINAE; no peacock	E2*	395(a)	2.71
99	VENERI GENETRICI	E2*	396	3.74
<b>ANTONINUS PIUS (50)</b>				
Obv.: IMP T AEL CAES HADR ANTONINVS				
100	AVG PIVS P M TR P COS · DES II; Diana stg. r	A1+	7(a)	2.96
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P				
101	TR POT COS II; Libertas	A1+	50(a)	3.07
102	TR POT COS · II ·; modius	A1+	58(a)	3.05
103	TR POT COS II; modius	A1+	58(a)	2.60
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III				
104	AEQVITAS AVG	A1*	61(c)	3.10
105	APOLLINI AVGVSTO	A1*	63B(c)	2.96
106	CLEMENTIA AVG	A1*	64(c)	3.28
107	ITALIA	A1*	73(c)	3.39
108	TRANQVILLITAS · AVG; Tranquillitas stg. ♂; rudder <u>not</u> on globe	A1*	100(c) corr.; BMC 252 corr.	3.31
109	VIRTVS AVG	C2*	102(d)	3.08
110	IMPERATOR II; Victory stg. l. with wreath and palm	A1*	111(b)	3.57
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P				
111	COS III DES IIII; Pax	A1*	117	3.16
112– 115	COS IIII; thunderbolt on throne	A1*	137	3.13, 2.96, 2.90, 2.90
116	[TR P]OT COS IIII; Virtus (or Roma)	A1*	154	2.97
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XII				
117	COS IIII; Aequitas	A1*	177(d)	2.83
118	COS IIII; Aequitas	C2*	177 var. (bust f); BMC 656	3.10
119	COS IIII; Genius	A1*	180	2.88
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XV				
120	COS IIII; Vesta	A1*	203	2.81
121	COS IIII; Fortuna	A1*	205	2.52
Obv.: IMP CAES T AEL HADR ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P				
122	TR POT XV COS IIII; Vesta	A1*	209	2.74
123– 124	TR POT XV COS IIII / TRANQ	A1*	218 corr. (no globe)	3.21, 2.91
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVI				
125	COS IIII; Vesta stg. l. with simpulum and palladium	A1*	219	3.31
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVI(I)				
126	COS IIII; Vesta stg. l. with simpulum and palladium	A1*	219 or 229a	3.25

Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVI				
127	COS IIII; Vesta sacrificing over altar	A1*	220	3.07
128– 129	COS IIII; Annona	A1*	221	2.93, 2.72
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVI(I)				
130	LIBERALITAS VII COS IIII; Liberalitas emptying coins from cornucopiae	A3*	228 var. or 234 var. (bust type)	3.33
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVI				
131	LIBERALITAS VII COS IIII; Liberalitas holding account-board and rod	A2*	229 var.; BMC 798‡ note	3.12
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVII				
132	COS IIII; Vesta stg. l. with simpulum and palladium	A1*	229a	2.74
133– 134	COS IIII; Annona with modius set on ship	A1*	231	2.99, 2.74
135	LIBERALITAS VII COS IIII; Liberalitas emptying coins from cornucopiae	A1*	234	2.65
136	LIBERALITAS VII COS IIII; Liberalitas emptying coins from cornucopiae	A2*	234 var. (bust type)	2.94
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVIII				
137	COS IIII; Vesta	A1*	238	3.01
138	COS IIII; Annona	A1*	239	2.82
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P IMP II				
139	TR POT XIX COS IIII; Ceres	A1*	248	2.67
140	TR POT XIX COS IIII; Annona stg. l.	A1*	249	2.97
141	TR POT XIX COS IIII; Annona std. r.	A1+	250 var. (bust type)	2.54
142– 144	TR POT XX COS IIII; Annona stg. r, foot on prow	A1*	260	3.17, 3.15, 2.45
145	TR POT XX COS IIII; Salus	A1*	264	2.79
146	TR POT XXI COS IIII; Annona stg. r, foot on prow	A1*	275	3.44
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XXII				
147	FORTVNA OPSEQVENS / COS IIII	A1*	286(a)	2.82
148	VOTA SOL DEC II / COS IIII	A1*	291(a)	2.68
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XXIII				
149	SALVTI AVG COS IIII	A1*	305	3.21
<b>ANTONINUS PIUS FOR FAUSTINA I (1)</b>				
Obv.: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA				
150	IVNONI REGINAE; Juno	E1*	338	2.90

<b>ANTONINUS PIUS FOR DIVA FAUSTINA I (16)</b>				
Obv.: DIVA FAVSTINA				
151–154	AETERNITAS; Juno	E1*	344	3.15, 2.94, 2.91, 2.88
155–156	AETERNITAS; Providentia (?), veiled, holding globe	E1*	351(a)	3.04, 2.89
157–158	AETERNITAS; throne, sceptre and peacock	E1*	353(a)	3.27, 3.21
159	AVGVSTA; Ceres, veiled, stg. r., with sceptre and corn-ears	E1*	358	2.91
160	AVGVSTA; Ceres stg. l. with corn-ears and torch	E1*	360(a)	2.90
161	AVGVSTA; Vesta stg. l., sacrificing over altar	E1*	370	2.89
162	AVGVSTA; Pietas stg. l. by altar, holding box of perfumes	E1*	373	2.95
163	AVGVSTA; Pietas stg. l. by altar, raising r. hand	E1*	374	2.94
164	CERES; Ceres stg. l.	E1*	378(a)	3.32
165	CERES; Ceres std. l.	E1*	379	3.01
166	CONSECRATIO; Ceres	E1*	382a	3.48
<b>ANTONINUS PIUS FOR MARCUS AURELIUS (18)</b>				
Obv.: AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII F COS				
167	HONOS	A3+	422 var.; BMC 267	3.11
168	PIETAS AVG	A1+	424(a)	3.26
Obv.: AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII F				
169	COS II; Honos	A1+	429(a)	2.92
170	TR POT III COS II; Minerva	A1+	444	3.03
Obv.: AVRELIVS CAESAR ANTONINI AVG PII FIL				
171	TR POT III COS II / CLEM	A1+	448(b)	3.32
Obv.: AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII FIL				
172	TR POT VII COS II; Genius Exercitus	A1+	458	2.84
173	TR POT VIII COS II; Minerva	A1+	463(a)	2.94
Obv.: AVRELIVS CAES ANTON AVG PII F				
174	TR POT X COS II; Virtus (?)	A1+	468	2.63
175	TR POT XI COS II; Felicitas stg. l.	A1+	470	2.97
176–178	TR POT XI COS II; Virtus (?)	A1+	473	3.14, 3.03, 2.58
179–180	TR POT XII COS II; Felicitas	A1+	475(a)	2.98, 2.80
181	TR POT XII COS II; Felicitas, but <u>without</u> column	A1+	475(a) var.; BMC 919	2.40
Obv.: AVRELIVS CAES AVG PII F				
182–183	TR POT XIII COS II; Virtus	A1+	480(e)	2.77, 2.75

184	TR POT XIII COS II; Minerva advancing r.	A1 <sup>+</sup>	483	2.97
<b>ANTONINUS PIUS FOR FAUSTINA II (3)</b>				
Obv.: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA				
185– 186	AVGVSTI PII FIL; Venus	E1*	495(a)	2.99, 2.92
187	AVGVSTI PII FIL; Spes	E1*	497	2.70
<b>MARCUS AURELIUS (19)</b>				
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG				
188	PROV DEOR TR P XVII COS III	B2*	66 var. (bust type)	2.97
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX				
189	TR P XX IMP IIII COS III / PAX; Pax <u>std.</u>	A1*	159 corr. ; BMC 401	2.84
190	TR P XXI IMP IIII COS III; Providentia	A1*	170	3.12
191	TR P XXII · IMP V COS III; Aequitas std.	A1*	191	2.80
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIII				
192	FELICITAS AVG COS III	A1*	203	2.93
193	SALVTI AVG COS III	A1*	207	2.78
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIII				
194	COS III; Fortuna	A1*	215	2.85
195	SALVTI AVG COS III	A1*	222	3.40
196	VICT AVG COS III; Victory with wreath and palm	B2* or C2*	226 var. (bust type)	2.82
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXVI				
197– 198	IMP VI COS III; Aequitas	A1*	252	3.25, 2.86
199	IMP VI COS III; Victory std. l.	A1*	258	2.70
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXVIII				
200	IMP VI COS III; German std. r.	A1*	289	3.34
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG GERM TR P XXIX				
201	IMP VII COS III; Genius	A1*	311 var.; BMC 616	3.05
202	LIBERAL AVG · VI · IMP VII COS III	A1*	320	2.96
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG GERM SARM				
203	TR P XXIX IMP VIII COS III; Roma	A1*	334	2.75
204	TR P XXXI IMP VIII COS III P P / PAX AVG; Pax stg.	A1*	369	3.13
205	TR P XXXI IMP VIII COS III P P; Felicitas	A1*	377	2.87
Obv.: M AVREL · ANTONINVS AVG ·				
206	TR P XXXII IMP VIII COS III P P; Mars	A1*	384	2.51

<b>MARCUS AURELIUS FOR DIVUS ANTONINUS PIUS (2)</b>				
Obv.: DIVVS ANTONINVS				
207– 208	CONSECRATIO; funeral pyre	A1 <sup>+</sup>	436	3.16, 2.97
<b>LUCIUS VERUS (7)</b>				
Obv.: IMP L AVREL VERVS AVG				
209	PROV DEOR TR P COS II	A1 <sup>+</sup>	463	3.24
210	PROV DEOR TR P II COS II	A1 <sup>+</sup>	482	2.74
Obv.: L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX				
211	TR P VI IMP III COS II; Parthian	A1*	547	3.05
212– 213	TR P VI IMP IIII COS II / PAX	A1*	561	3.17, 3.10
214– 215	TR P VIII IMP V COS III; Victory	A1*	589	3.47, 3.25
<b>MARCUS AURELIUS FOR FAUSTINA II (11)</b>				
Obv.: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA				
216	CERES; Ceres std.	E1*	669	3.27
217	FECVND AVGVSTAE	E1*	676	3.04
218	FECVNDITAS	E1*	677	2.81
219– 220	HILARITAS	E1*	686	3.21, 2.79
221– 222	IVNO; Juno stg.	E1*	688	2.98, 2.91
223	IVNONI REGINAE; Juno stg.	E1*, pearls	696	2.80
224	SAECVLI FELICIT; no stars	E1*	711	2.81
225	SAECVLI FELICIT; no stars	E2*	712	3.14
226	VESTA	E1*	737	3.11
<b>MARCUS AURELIUS FOR LUCILLA (1)</b>				
Obv.: LVCILLAE AVG ANTONINI AVG F				
227	VOTA / PVBLI / CA within wreath	E1*	791	3.28
<b>COMMODUS FOR CRISPINA (1)</b>				
Obv.: CRISPINA AVGVSTA				
228	CONCORDIA; clasped hands	E1*	279	2.60

## APPENDIX B: THE KIPPILAW HOARD

The hoard was first located in early June 2010 by two detectorists. Only 18 coins were found at first, the remainder being recovered when an excavation of the site was carried out the following month.

The findspot lies in a landscape of rolling ridges running approximately east-west, to the south of the Eildon Hills. It is located at the foot of a north-facing slope, a few metres south of a burn. No archaeological remains are known in the immediate vicinity, although there are plenty

of later prehistoric sites within a few kilometres, while the line of Dere Street lies some 3km to the east.

The field has been in permanent pasture for at least 40 to 50 years and may not have been subject to ploughing for as long as 75 to 100 years, until being ploughed and reseeded for grazing purposes shortly before the discovery of the hoard. This process had brought some of the coins nearer to the surface than previously, thus allowing the detectorists to locate them.

## LIST OF COINS

<i>Denarii</i>					
<b>VESPASIAN (2)</b>					
Obv.: [IMP CA]ES VESP AVG P M COS IIII					
<i>No</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Bust</i>	<i>RIC</i> <sup>2</sup>		<i>Wt. (g)</i>
1	[A]VGVR TRI/POT	A1*	356		2.92
Obv.: IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG					
2	PON MAX TR P COS VI; Pax	A1*	772		2.72
<b>NERVA (2)</b>					
Obv.: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS II P P					
			<i>RIC</i>		
3	SALVS PVBLICA	A1*	9		2.77
Obv.: IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS III P P					
4	LIBERTAS PVBLICA	A1*	19		2.92
<b>TRAJAN (3)</b>					
Obv.: IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AV[G GERM]					
5	PONT M[AX TR PO]T COS II Abundantia or Iustitia	A1*	11		3.39
Obv.: IMP [TRAI]ANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI P P					
6	S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI/VIA TRAIANA	A3*	266		2.99
Obv.: IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GERM DAC					
7	PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P S P Q R/FORT RED	C2*	315		2.84
<b>HADRIAN (1)</b>					
Obv.: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS					
8	COS III; Neptune	A2*	155		3.12
<b>ANTONINUS PIUS FOR DIVA FAUSTINA I (1)</b>					
Obv.: DIVA FAVSTINA					
9	AETERNITAS; Providentia? with blown veil	E1*	351(a)		3.02
<b>MARCUS AURELIUS (2)</b>					
Obv.: M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXVI					
10	IMP VI [CO]S III; Aequitas	A1*	252		2.76
Obv.: [M A]NTONINVS AVG TR P XX[VII(I)]					
11	IMP VI COS III German at foot of trophy, with weapons	A1*	278 or 289		3.16
<b>MARCUS AURELIUS FOR FAUSTINA II (1)</b>					
Obv.: FAVSTINA AVGVSTA					
12	SAECVLI FELICIT	E2*	712		3.01
<b>COMMODUS (2)</b>					
Obv.: M COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG					
13	LIB AVG IIII TR P VI IMP IIII COS III P P	A1*	22		3.13

Obv.: M COMMODVS ANTON AVG PIVS					
14	P M TR P VIII IMP VI COS III P P; Genius	A1*	76		2.70
<b>SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (27)</b>					
		<i>Bust</i>	<i>RIC</i>	<i>Hill</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>
Obv.: [L SEPT SEV PE]RT AVG IMP IIII					
15	[LIBE]RO PATRI	A1*	44	102	2.13
Obv.: [L SEPT SEV PERT] AVG IMP VIII					
16	ARAB ADIAB [COS II P P]	A1*	76	214	2.03
Obv.: L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VIII					
17	PROVIDENTA AVG	A1*	92(a)	251	2.79
Obv.: L SEPT SEV AVG IMP XI PART MAX					
18	IOVI CONSERVATORI	A1*	130	365	2.14
Obv.: SEVERVS AVG PART MAX					
19	P M TR P VIII COS II P P; Victory holding wreath	A1*	150	442	1.82
20	P M TR P VII[I(I)C]OS II P P as above	A1*	150 or 152	442 or 498	2.00
Obv.: SEVERVS PIVS AVG					
21–22	FVNDATOR PACIS	A1*	265	505	1.84, 1.68
23	P M TR P XI COS III P P; Fortuna std. I., no wheel below	A1*	189(b) var.	601	1.94
24	COS III LVDOS SAECVL FEC	A1*	257	638	1.98
25–26	INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH	A1*	266	655	3.19, 2.20
27	VICTORIA PARTH MAX	A1*	296	683	2.23
28	P M TR P XIII COS III P P; Annona	A1*	200	766	2.24
29–32	P M TR P XIII COS III P P; Genius (same dies)	A1*	201	767	2.40, 2.27, 2.01, 1.43
33	Another similar (same obv. die)	A1*	201	767	2.08
34–40	VOTA SVSCEPTA XX (37 and 38 same rev. die; 40 fragment)	A1*	308	781	2.19, 2.19, 2.09, 1.87, 1.69, 1.56, 1.09
41	RESTITVTOR VRBIS	A1*	289	843	2.21
<b>SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS FOR JULIA DOMNA (6)</b>					
Obv.: IVLIA AVGVSTA					
42	IVNO REGINA	E1*	560	156	2.62
43–44	SAECVLI FELICITAS	E1*	577	504 corr.	2.64, 1.51
45	PIETAS PVBLICA; Pietas holds box	E1*	574	606	1.89
46	PIETAS PVBLICA; Pietas raises both hands	E1*	572	660	2.50
47	FELICITAS	E1*	551	771	2.04

<b>CARACALLA (22)</b>					
Obv.: ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS					
48	SEVERI PII AVG FIL	D2*	45	413	2.23
Obv.: ANTONINVS PIVS AVG					
49	RECTOR ORBIS	C2*	141	507	2.47
50	PONT TR P VI COS; Roma	C2*	69	602	1.85
51	VICT PART MAX	D2*	144(b)	688	1.82
52	PONTIF TR P VIII COS II; Mars with branch and spear	C2*	80(b)	729	1.66
53–58	PONTIF TR P VIII COS II Mars with shield and spear; die-linked obv. and rev.; 57 in 3 pieces with chip missing	A1*	83(a)	820	2.32, 2.10, 2.07, 1.77, 1.68, 1.40
59–60	Similar; die-linked obv. and rev., same obv. die as 53–58	A1*	83(a)	820	1.84, 1.67
61–62	Similar; die-linked obv. and rev.	A1*	83(a)	820	2.38, 2.18
63–66	Similar; no die-links	A1*	83(a)	820	2.49, 2.36, 2.10, 1.99
67–69	VOTA SVSCEPTA X	A1*	179	821	2.41, 2.29, 1.96
<b>PLAUTILLA (3)</b>					
Obv.: PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA					
70–72	VENVS VICTRIX	E1*	369	661	2.27, 1.68, 1.56
<b>GETA (7)</b>					
Obv.: P SEPT GETA CAES PONT					
73	NOBILITAS	C2+	13(a)	414	1.92
74	[PRI] NC IVVENTVTIS	C2+	18	423	1.65
75	VICT AETERN	C2+	23	458	2.69
76	Similar	D2+	23	458	2.08
Obv.: P SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES					
77–79	PONTIF COS	C2+	34(b)	848	2.35, 2.13, 1.83
<i>Dupondius / fragment</i>					
<b>MARCUS AURELIUS (1)</b>					
Obv.: [M AVREL ANTONINVS] AVG TR P XXIII head radiate r.					
80	Rev. illegible; surface missing		1244?		2.08

## ENDNOTES

- 1 These coins were minted in 32–31 BC, at a mint travelling with Antony, in honour of the various legions which made up his army, and they seem to have continued to circulate under the empire for much longer than would have been expected. In ancient times there was a rumour, reported by the Roman writer Pliny, that the silver used to mint these coins had been adulterated with iron – a process which we now know to be impossible, of course – and it may be that it was this which caused them to be rejected when old silver coins were being called in for melting down and converting into new imperial issues. This process occurred particularly during the reign of Trajan, when denarii dating from before Nero's reforms of AD 64 were largely withdrawn from circulation. In fact, the silver fineness of the Mark Antony coins is now known to be no lower than that of most imperial issues, and considerably higher than that of most of the denarii of the Severan period.
- 2 Mention should also be made of the discovery in 2000 of six denarii at East Wemyss, Fife. Only four of these were submitted for examination, these being issues of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius for Faustina II (plated) and Elagabalus. The coins were stated to have been found 'in close proximity', but they cannot be stated without doubt to have comprised all or part of a 'purse hoard'.
- 3 In this context could be placed the coin hoard found at Thirston, Northumberland, in 2009 (Abdy 2010). This comprised 103 denarii, of which only 28 pre-dated the accession of Septimius Severus in AD 193, 46 dated from the Severan period (AD 193–217), 18 were of Elagabalus and 10 of Severus Alexander (with one unidentifiable). The date of deposition was given as AD 227. The internal profile of this hoard differs fundamentally from that of Falkirk and Edston, and its presence may be connected with the garrisons of Risingham/High Rochester rather than with any distribution to a local inhabitant.
- 4 I am grateful to my colleague, Fraser Hunter, of the Department of Scottish History and Archaeology, National Museum of Scotland, for information about the circumstances of discovery and nature of findspots of both the Synton and Kippilaw hoards. Full details of sites and excavation procedure are retained in NMS archives.
- 5 Bust types listed in the catalogue are those used in the *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain* series of publications. Those included in the Synton and Kippilaw lists are as follows: for emperors – A1<sup>+</sup> = bare head to right; A1\* = laureate head to right; A2\* = laureate head to right, with traces of drapery to front of truncation; A3<sup>+</sup> = bare head to right, with traces of drapery to front and rear of truncation; A3\* = laureate head to right with traces of drapery to front and rear of truncation; B2\* = laureate cuirassed bust to right, viewed from front; C2<sup>+</sup> = bareheaded draped bust to right, viewed from rear; C2\* = laureate draped bust to right, viewed from rear; D1\*, = laureate draped and cuirassed bust to right, viewed from front; D2<sup>+</sup> = bareheaded draped and cuirassed bust to right, viewed from rear; D2\* = laureate draped and cuirassed bust to right, viewed from rear; for empresses – E1\* = bareheaded draped bust to right, viewed from front; E2\* = diademed draped bust to right, viewed from front.

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