



A ROMAN COIN HOARD FROM MILDENHALL, SUFFOLK

Author(s): Anne Robertson

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[SEE PLATE V]

ON 13 May 1833 Sir Henry Bunbury submitted to the Society of Antiquaries of London "a variety of relics of the olden times" found in the parish of Mildenhall, together with a letter describing the circumstances of their discovery. The letter includes the following passage:

Among the objects which I have now the honour of submitting to the Society of Antiquaries, there is one to which I look with particular regret: it is a fragment of a glass vase, which was found two years ago in land belonging to me near the northern extremity of the parish of Mildenhall. This vase, when discovered, was entire; and I understand that it was not till two days afterwards that one of the labourers who had dug it up, smashed it with his spade, in the pure wantonness of ignorance. The account I have received of the vase is, that it was nearly globular, with a small foot, and having a projecting lip round its opening. The diameter of the body is described to me as having been about ten inches, or perhaps more; and on the outer surface of the globe were some letters in deep relief. Within this vessel were ashes; and beads were either contained in it or were lying close to it.

Not far from the spot where this glass vase was discovered, were found the two vessels of clay, containing Roman coins, which are transmitted herewith, and a portion of a third, likewise containing coins rusted into a mass. My conjecture as to these vessels has been, that it was customary in the Roman armies to keep money, in determined quantities, for the pay of the soldiers, in clay pots of the coarsest manufacture, and having very small mouths, which were sealed up; and that, when the coin was required the pot was broken. I am informed that this mode of keeping coin of small value still prevails in some parts of Holland.¹

On 8 June 1848 Sir Henry Bunbury exhibited to the Suffolk Archaeological Institute "a small Roman vase containing a mass of coins, supposed for the payment of troops, found near Holywell Row, Mildenhall (and) another specimen of a similar vase".² These must have been the two pots which he had previously submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, together with "a portion of a third". Later,

¹ *Archaeologia*, xxv (1834), pp. 609 ff.

² *Proc. Suffolk Arch. Inst.* i (1853), p. 23. Holywell Row is 2½ miles east of Thistley Green, West Roe, where the Mildenhall Treasure of late fourth-century silver was found in 1942–3.

Sir Henry presented one of the pots of coins to the Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. The fate of the other pot and of the "portion of a third" is not known.

In 1938 I was permitted to draw and photograph the pot in the Moyse's Hall Museum, by the then curator, Mr. Henry Andrews. The pot, which has the neck broken off, is of hard grey clay with a darker slip and a trellis pattern round the body. The surviving portion stands 6 in. high, and is $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide. Its shape suggests that the pot was of third-century date.

In 1953 Mr. H. J. M. Maltby, the present Curator and Cullum Librarian of Moyse's Hall Museum, most kindly sent the coins from the pot to the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University, for cleaning and examination. In the hands of the Museum technician, Mr. Hugh Forbes, the badly rusted mass of coins resolved itself into 1,286 coins of third-century date—one a silver denarius, and the remaining 1,285 antoniniani. A few of the antoniniani were silvered, but the majority showed no trace of silver wash on their surface. The cleaning revealed the interesting fact that of the unsilvered antoniniani those minted by the official Roman emperors were very slightly yellower in colour than those issued by the unofficial emperors of the Gallic empire. This difference in colour has been noted before, for example in another East Anglian hoard, found at Emneth, Norfolk,³ and appears to indicate that the Gallic issues of Postumus, Victorinus, and the Tetrici contained a higher proportion of pure copper than those of official emperors like Gallienus, Claudius II, and Quintillus.

The 1,286 coins were identified as follows:⁴

CARACALLA. 1 *R.I.C.* 130*a*. Slightly worn. Denarius.

VALERIAN I. 8 *R.I.C.* 87, 89, 106, 117, 209, 216, 287, 293. All silvered. Slightly worn.

MARINIANA (deified). 1 *R.I.C.* 6. Silvered. Slightly worn.

GALLIENUS (joint reign). 7 *R.I.C.* 18, 119*a* or 120, 151, 154, cf. 156 (*obv.* IMP GALLIENVS AVG), 186, 447. All silvered. Slightly worn.

VALERIAN II (deified). 1 *R.I.C.* 24. Silvered. Slightly worn.

³ *Num. Chron.* 1945, pp. 147 ff.

⁴ References are to Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. v. 1 (1927) and v. 2 (1933). Detailed lists of the coins are in the Moyse's Hall Museum and in the Hunterian Museum.

- GALLIENUS** (sole reign). 175 *R.I.C.* 156, cf. 156 (*rev.* **P M T R P X V C O S P P**), 157 (4), 160 (6), 163, 164 (4), 165, 176 (2), 177 (5), 179 (10), 181 (13; 5 var. have m.m. — $\overline{\text{P}}$ —), 192a (2; 1 var. has no m.m.), 193 (8, with m.m. — $\overline{\text{S}}$ —), 194a (silvered), 206, 207 (4; 1 var. has no m.m.), 210 (m.m. — $\overline{\text{N}}$ —), 214 (3), 216 or 219, 221 (2, with some silvering), 230 (8), 233 (2), 236 (3), 245 (6), 249 (5; 1 silvered), 252 (2), 253 (2; 1 var. has m.m. — $\overline{\Delta}$ —), 256 (2, with m.m. **V** | —; 1 silvered), 260, 267 (2), 270 (3, with no m.m.), 278, 280 (5), 282, 283 (8), 285, cf. 287 (12, with *obv.* **GALLIENVS AVG**; 10 with m.m. — $\overline{\text{E}}$ —, 2 with no m.m.), 299 (4; 1 var. with m.m. **Z** | —, one with m.m. **S** | —), 305 (silvered), cf. 309 (*obv.* Head radiate r.), 317 (2), cf. 330 (2, with *obv.* **GALLIENVS AVG**), 456 (2, with m.m. — $\overline{\text{MS}}$ —, 1 with some silvering), 465a (3), 471, 481 (3), 490, 501 (with m.m. **S** | —), 507 (2, 1 with some silvering), 508a (4), 511b (2; 1 var. with m.m. — $\overline{\text{P}}$ —, silvered), 512a (3), 550, 572, 575, 580, 581, and two not in *R.I.C.* and one irregular:
- Obv.* **IMP GALLIENVS AVG**
Bust radiate and cuirassed r., as at mint of Siscia.
- Rev.* **LAETITIA AVG(G ?)**
Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor.
- Obv.* **GALLIENVS AVG** Head radiate r.
- Rev.* **LAETITIA AVG**
Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor. (Silvered.)
- Obv.* Legend uncertain.
Head of Gallienus radiate r.
- Rev.* Legend uncertain.
Antelope (?) running r. (Silvered.) **PI. V. 1.**
Very slightly worn to slightly worn.
- SALONINA.** 24 *R.I.C.* 5 (3; 1 silvered), 5a (3), cf. 11 (*rev.* At foot, peacock), 13 (2, with some silvering), 16 (3), 24 (2; 1 with some silvering), 31 (2; 1 with some silvering), 57 (with m.m. — $\overline{\text{MS}}$ —), 58 (2, with some silvering), 62, 67 (2), 79 (2). Slightly worn.
- POSTUMUS.** 35 *R.I.C.* 58 (2, silvered), 60 (silvered), 80 (2, silvered), 287 (3), 295 (with some silvering), 316 (with some silvering), 317, 318 (5; 2 silvered), 373, and 18 irregular:
- Obv.* **IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG**
Bust radiate and draped r.
- Rev.* **PROVIDENTIA AVG**
Providentia standing l., holding baton and cornucopiae. At foot, l., globe.

(Cf. Postumus *R.I.C.* 81, but without globe, or Victorinus *R.I.C.* 61.) **Pl. V. 2.**

Obv. **IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG**

Bust radiate and draped r.

(from same obverse die as the last)

Rev. Legend meaningless.

Female figure, Pax or Providentia, standing l. (17 coins all from the same obverse and reverse dies). **Pl. V. 3.**

The regular coins are all very slightly worn to unworn. The irregular coins are all unworn.

MARIUS. 2 *R.I.C.* 10, 17 (with a little silvering). Slightly worn.

VICTORINUS. 284 *R.I.C.* 40, 41 (2), 51, 57 (24; 1 with some silvering), 61 (39), 67 (27), 71 (37), 75, 78 (38; 1 with *obv.* almost blank), cf. 78 (*rev.* Soldier standing l., holding spear and leaning on shield), 109 (3), 114 (48), 117 (5), 118 (53; 1 silvered), and 4 irregular:

Obv. **P I HVG**

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. **ICTVC**

Sol walking l. M.m. * | . **Pl. V. 4.**

Obv. **IMP C VICTORINVS P F AVG**

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. **PH VG**

Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. M.m. * | .

Pl. V. 5.

Obv. **IMP C VICTORINVS P F AVG**

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. **PAX AVG**

Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.

M.m. **V | ***. (Silvered.) **Pl. V. 6.**

Obv. **IMP C VICTORINVS P F VVG**

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. **S(ALV ?) V V G**

Salus standing l., feeding serpent at altar. **Pl. V. 7.**

The regular coins are unworn to very slightly worn. The irregular coins are all unworn.

VICTORINUS (deified). 1 *R.I.C.* 88. Very slightly worn.

CLAUDIUS II. 110 *R.I.C.* 10, 12, 14, 15 (4; 2 var. with m.m. **S**), 18 (9),

22 (with m.m. **M**), 32, 33 (3), 34 (3), 35 (2; 1 var. with no m.m.),

38 (3, with m.m. **E**), 46, 48 (2), 52 (2), 54 (5), 55 (2), 56, 61 (2),

62 (4), 63 (6), 66, 67 (2), 69 (with no m.m.), 72 (with no m.m.), 80 or

81, 91 (2), 92 (5), 98 (2), 102, 104 (7), 105, 107, 109 (4), 110 (with no m.m.), 111, 145 (4), 149 (2), 153 (2), 156, 157 (2), 159 (with m.m. $\frac{1}{T}$), 168 (6), 171 (2; 1 double-struck), 172, 191 (2, on badly shaped flans), 195, and one irregular:

Obv. IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. P VVG

Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.

$\frac{9}{1}$ | _____. (Slightly silvered.) **Pl. V. 8.**

The regular coins are worn to slightly worn. The irregular coin is unworn.

CLAUDIUS II (deified). 8 *R.I.C.* 261 (5; 1 on small flan), 266 (3). Unworn to very slightly worn.

QUINTILLUS. 11 *R.I.C.* 7, 9, 13, 22, cf. 24 (*rev.* Mars standing l., holding branch and spear), 26, cf. 29 (*rev.* Providentia standing l., holding baton, or ears of corn? and sceptre), 33, 35 (2), 58. Unworn to very slightly worn.

TETRICUS I. 408 *R.I.C.* 56 (26), 56 or 57 (13), 70 (9), 71 (11), 72, 79 (2), 80 (26), 82, 85, 87 (5), 88 (28), cf. 87 or 88 (*obv.* IMP TETRICVS AVG), 90 (31), 88 or 90 (25; 4 on small flans), 94, 100 (67; 3 on small flans), 101 (2), 100 or 101 (30; 3 on small flans, 1 with *obv.* almost blank), 114 (2), 121, 126 (11), 127 (11), 136 (26; 1 badly struck), cf. 136 (*obv.* IMP TETRICVS AVG, 140, 141 (22), 148 (38), and 3 with

Obv. IMP C TETRICVS P F AVG

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. Blank.

and 12 irregular:

Obv. CVS P

Bust radiate, draped or cuirassed r.

Rev. < T/VS AVG

Hilaritas (?) standing l., holding cornucopiae. **Pl. V. 9.**

Obv. IMP TETRI(CVS P F?) AVG

Bust radiate, draped or cuirassed r.

Rev. HIL VVCO

Hilaritas standing l., holding palm and cornucopiae. **Pl. V. 10.**

Obv. IMP C TETRICVS

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. (LAETITIA?) AVG

Laetitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor. **Pl. V. 11.**

- Obv.* IMP TETRICVS P F AVO
Bust radiate and draped r.
- Rev.* PAX AVG
Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. **Pl. V. 12.**
- Obv.* VG ?
Bust radiate, draped or cuirassed r.
- Rev.* Λ
Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. **Pl. V. 13.**
- Obv.* IMP C TETRICVS P L(?) AVG
Bust radiate and draped r.
- Rev.* OAX (AVG ?)
Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. **Pl. V. 14.**
- Obv.* (IMP ?) C TETRICVS P (F AVG ?)
Bust radiate, draped or cuirassed r.
- Rev.* PIATAS A(VGVSTOR ?)
Sacrificial instruments. **Pl. V. 15.**
- Obv.* VS VV GVS
Bust radiate and cuirassed r.
- Rev.* S
Spes standing l., holding flower and raising robe. **Pl. V. 16.**
- Obv.* IMP C TETR(ICVS P F AVG ?)
Bust radiate and cuirassed r.
- Rev.* < ΛS
Spes standing l., holding flower and raising robe. **Pl. V. 17.**
- Obv.* (IMP C ?) TETRICVS P F (AVG ?)
Bust radiate, draped or cuirassed r.
- Rev.* ΛICT AVG
Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm. **Pl. V. 18.**
- Obv.* I P TETRIC
Head radiate r.
- Rev.* VΛ
Pax (?) standing r., holding sceptre and branch. **Pl. V. 19.**
- Obv.* CV2 . P
Head radiate r.
- Rev.*
Figure standing l. **Pl. V. 20.**
The regular coins are unworn to very slightly worn. The irregular coins are all unworn.

TETRICUS II. 199 *R.I.C.* 224 (9; 1 in 2 fragments), cf. 225 (*obv.* C PIV ESV TETRICVS CAES), 248 (10), cf. 248 (*obv.* C P E TETRICVS CAES), 254 (2), 255 (24; 1 has *obv.* C P E TETRICVS CA), 258 (10), 259 (12), 255 or 259 (7), 260 (15), 270 (47), 272 (50), 272 ? (2), 270 or 272, 274,

and 1 with

Obv. C P E TETRICVS CAES

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. Blank.

and 6 irregular:

Obv. C PIV ESV TETRICVS CAES

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. (PAX ?) AVG

Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. **Pl. V. 21.**

Obv. A

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. A

Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.

Obv. C PIV ESV TETRICVS C

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. Legend obscure.

Female figure standing l. **Pl. V. 22.**

Obv. CVS CAES

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. Legend uncertain.

Male figure (?) standing l. **Pl. V. 23.**

Obv. Legend off flan.

Bust of Tetricus II, radiate and draped r.

Rev. Legend uncertain.

Reverse type from same reverse die as the 17 irregular coins of Postumus. **Pl. V. 24.**

Obv. (C PIV ESV ?) TET P ICVS (CAES ?)

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. Blank. **Pl. V. 25.**

The regular coins are unworn to very slightly worn. The irregular coins are all unworn.

TETRICUS I or II. 3

Obv. RICVS Type uncertain.

Rev. Legend and type uncertain. (A fragment.)

Obv. CVS PVVIG

Bust of Tetricus II radiate and draped r.

Rev. (SALV ?)S AVG

Salus (?) standing l. at altar. (Irregular.) **Pl. V. 26.**

Obv. Legend off flan.

Bust of Tetricus II radiate and draped r.

Rev. Legend off flan.

Salus (?) standing l. at altar. (Irregular.) **Pl. V. 27.**

AURELIAN. 5 *R.I.C.* 24, 38 (with no m.m.), 39, 128, cf. 147 (*rev.* Emperor standing r., receiving Victory on globe from soldier). Unworn.

UNCERTAIN (irregular). 3

Obv. IMP S Λ V AV Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. H V

Figure standing l., at altar, holding branch in l. hand. **Pl. V. 28.**

Obv. ΙΓ Λ Ι

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. ΙCΙ

Figure standing r., holding spear. **Pl. V. 29.**

Obv. Legend uncertain.

Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. ΑΙ ΙΝ

Small figure holding out both arms. Unworn. **Pl. V. 30.**

As so often happens with a large hoard of coins, the 1,286 coins from Mildenhall include a few which vary slightly in legend, type, or mint-mark from those described in Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*. None of these variants, however, seem to be of outstanding importance, although they are interesting. Interesting too are the few coins with blank reverses, caused through faulty striking, and the irregular coins. The latter will be discussed below.

The 1,286 coins may not have formed the whole contents of the pot in which they reached the Moyse's Hall Museum. It is quite possible that before this some of the coins had been removed and dispersed, but it is unlikely that any method of selection could have operated in such a removal. The coins were so thickly encrusted with oxide as to baffle a selective eye. Any coins removed must simply have been taken out haphazard, and could not have been chosen for their rarity or fine condition. For that reason the 1,286 coins examined probably reflect with a fair degree of accuracy the original contents of the pot.

The latest coins are 5 of the legitimate Roman emperor Aurelian, who came to the imperial throne in A.D. 270, and 710 of the illegitimate emperors, the Tetrici, who seized power in Gaul at about the time of Aurelian's accession at Rome, but probably a little before it. Of the 5 coins of Aurelian, 3 are of types attributed by Mattingly and Sydenham to the first period of the mint of Rome,⁵ and 2 of types

⁵ *R.I.C.*, vol. v. 1 (1927), pp. 266 ff.

attributed to the second period of the mint of Milan. All were probably among the earliest issues of Aurelian's reign. The date of the latest coins therefore suggests that the collection was closed some time in or after A.D. 270.

All the coins of Aurelian are quite unworn, as are almost all those of the Tetrici. Their edges still retain irregularities and jagged roughnesses which would have been smoothed away had the coins circulated from hand to hand for any length of time. The coins of earlier emperors, on the other hand, do include several which show more signs of wear. The condition of the coins, therefore, with the latest including so many in excellent condition, suggests that the date of deposit was not long after the date of the latest coins—that is, in or shortly after A.D. 270.

The 1,286 coins may not, of course, represent accurately the contents of the other pot of coins, and the portion of a third, now lost. These may have contained earlier or later coins than the 1,286 coins. What can be said, however, is that if all three pots formed a single deposit, the date at which they were hidden away must have been later than the date of the latest coins included in the 1,286 coins, and to judge from the mint condition of the latest coins among these, probably not much later.

As a hoard, or part of a hoard, closed in or after A.D. 270, the 1,286 coins have an interesting composition which may be compared with that of other Romano-British hoards of similar date. These include over 90 hoards ending with the Tetrici, of which about 50 have been recorded in detail, with lists of coins according to emperors, and 30 or so ending with Aurelian, of which about 20 have been fully described.

The Mildenhall group of coins begins with a denarius of Caracalla, and then ranges from silvered antoniniani of the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus to copper antoniniani of the Tetrici and Aurelian, with the debased issues of Victorinus and the Tetrici predominating. The survival of a denarius in a hoard dating not earlier than A.D. 270 is surprising, but not unique. Another East Anglian hoard, found at Emneth, Norfolk, in 1941, ended with the Tetrici and included 5 denarii of early third-century date.⁶ Two other hoards,

⁶ *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxviii (1945), pp. 107 ff.

ending with Aurelian, one from Throapham, Yorkshire,⁷ and the other from Amlwch, Anglesey,⁸ each included 2 denarii of the early third century.

Apart from the denarius, the Mildenhall coins are antoniniani with a range similar to that of most Romano-British hoards ending with the Tetrici, and of several of those ending with Aurelian. As examples may be cited certain other East Anglian hoards from Caistor by Norwich (1931),⁹ and Holme Hale, Norfolk,¹⁰ from Wimblington (1848), Cambridgeshire,¹¹ and from Colchester (1906), Essex,¹² all ending with the Tetrici, and one from Emneth (1938), Norfolk,¹³ ending with Aurelian. All of these hoards contained only a few silvered antoniniani, and were mostly made up of debased issues of the Gallic emperors, Victorinus and the Tetrici.

Certain other Romano-British hoards, however, ending with Aurelian, did include good billon antoniniani, usually from Gordian III onwards, and showed no preponderance of the base issues of Victorinus and the Tetrici. At least one of these came from East Anglia—from Baconsthorpe, Norfolk.¹⁴

The evidence of Romano-British hoards ending with coins of the Tetrici shows that in the years round about A.D. 270 Britain as well as Gaul was flooded with vast quantities of base Gallic antoniniani. From these as models, irregular imitations were produced, apparently for use as small change. Among the 1,286 Mildenhall coins there are 46 such irregular copies, including 19 from related dies.

These 19 include 17 copies of coins of Postumus from the same obverse and reverse dies. The obverse die had been in only the very slightest degree irregular. In fact, at first sight it looked as if an official die had been used, but closer examination showed that there were slight irregularities in the lettering. This obverse die had been cracked or flawed. The line of the flaw is visible on each of the 17 coins.

⁷ Unpublished. Part of the hoard is preserved in the Albert Institute, Dundee.

⁸ *Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies*, ix (1939), pp. 168 ff.

⁹ *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxiv (1931), pp. 135 ff.

¹⁰ *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxiv (1944), p. 79.

¹¹ *Num. Chron.* 1939, pp. 177 f.

¹² Colchester Museum.

¹³ *Num. Chron.* 1945, pp. 147 ff.

¹⁴ *Archaeological Journal*, xxxviii (1881), pp. 433 ff.

Unlike the obverse die, the reverse die had been most irregular. The design was extremely crude and barbarous, but appears to have represented a female figure holding up something in her left hand. There was no recognizable legend, only some letters scattered haphazard over the field.

The initial impression made by the obverse die, that it had been an official die, suggested at first the possibility that these irregular coins had actually been a by-product of one of Postumus' regular mints in Gaul, and threatened to strike a shattering blow at the assumption that irregular coins found in Britain had been made in Britain, an assumption which underlies most arguments about their date of manufacture. The fact, however, that these 17 coins, all from the same obverse and reverse dies, were still in association when found, in Norfolk, appeared to indicate that they had not travelled far from their place of origin, unless it could be shown that they had come in a mass of coins newly released from a Gaulish mint. In order to test such a possibility, the 1,286 coins were examined for die-identities. Among them, however, there were only a very few which were linked by the same dies. In spite of their unworn, almost mint, condition, therefore, the 1,286 coins cannot have been sent in a mass, or in masses, from their mints to Britain, but must have been collected together after reaching Britain. There is then no reason to doubt that these 17 irregular coins, die-linked, had been made in or near the place where they were found.

Another irregular coin of Postumus was also from the same obverse die as the 17, but from a different reverse die. The reverse had the legend and figure of Providentia accurately rendered, but the figure was not that of Providentia, without a globe at her foot, as she appears on regular coins of Postumus, but that of Providentia, with a globe, as she appears, for example, on regular coins of Victorinus or the Tetrici.¹⁵ Another irregular coin was from an obverse die bearing the unmistakable features of Tetricus II, but from the same reverse die as the 17 coins of Postumus.

The remaining 27 irregular coins include no die identities, but they display very varying degrees of irregularity both of legend and type. Contained as they were within a group of coins closed in or soon after

¹⁵ Cf. *R.I.C.* Victorinus 61, and Tetricus I, 118.

A.D. 270, they must all have been manufactured within a short time—a few years at most—of their official prototypes.

There is, of course, abundant evidence that radiate copies were in circulation as early as about A.D. 270. Examples were present in almost fifty Romano-British hoards ranging in date from Claudius II (A.D. 268–70) to A.D. 300.¹⁶ They were, however, present also in about thirty Romano-British hoards of the middle of the fourth century A.D. or later, associated in most cases with barbarous copies of fourth-century coins.¹⁷ The question has therefore been raised whether the barbarous radiates included in fourth-century hoards were really survivors at all from the third century, or were new productions, manufactured during the fourth century. That some barbarous radiates were made in the fourth century there is no doubt. Mr. P. V. Hill has noted at least two examples of radiate copies overstruck on late Constantinian coins,¹⁸ and the Richborough (1931) hoard contained a very large number of barbarous radiates, many of them of very small size, with reverse designs copying fourth-century types.¹⁹ Such incontrovertible evidence for a fourth-century date of manufacture for some barbarous radiates is, unfortunately, rare.

Where such evidence is lacking, attempts have sometimes been made to date radiate copies according to degree of barbarity.²⁰ That excessive irregularity or barbarity, however, is not necessarily a sign of a late date of manufacture is shown by the fact that even irregular copies of antoniniani which were included in third-century hoards, like the Mildenhall hoard, varied greatly in style and in degree of barbarity. This fact is emphasized by the 17 irregular coins of Postumus from Mildenhall, which came from the same pair of dies. The obverse of these 17 coins has a design which is almost indistinguishable from that on regular coins, and a reverse which is as barbarous as it can possibly be. Yet obverse and reverse were contemporary.

¹⁶ Most of these hoards have been listed by P. V. Hill, *Barbarous Radiates* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 112, 1949), pp. 25 ff.

¹⁷ Many of these hoards have been listed by P. V. Hill, in *Num. Chron.* 1950, pp. 256 ff.

¹⁸ P. V. Hill, *Barbarous Radiates* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 112, 1949), p. 18.

¹⁹ H. Mattingly and W. P. D. Stebbing, *The Richborough Hoard of "Radiates"*, 1931 (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 80, 1938), pp. 6 ff.

²⁰ P. V. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

There could be no more striking illustration of the fact that, in Roman Britain, romanization and barbarism ran side by side. Barbarism has an element of timelessness, and excessive barbarity or irregularity in a copy of an official coin can never, by itself, provide a reliable index to the date of manufacture. As Mr. Mattingly and Mr. Stebbing pointed out long ago: "if . . . the imitations were the work of non-Roman, native artists, they might well have a general kinship of kind, which would tend to blur the distinctions of date. For the time being, we must check each hoard on its merits."²¹

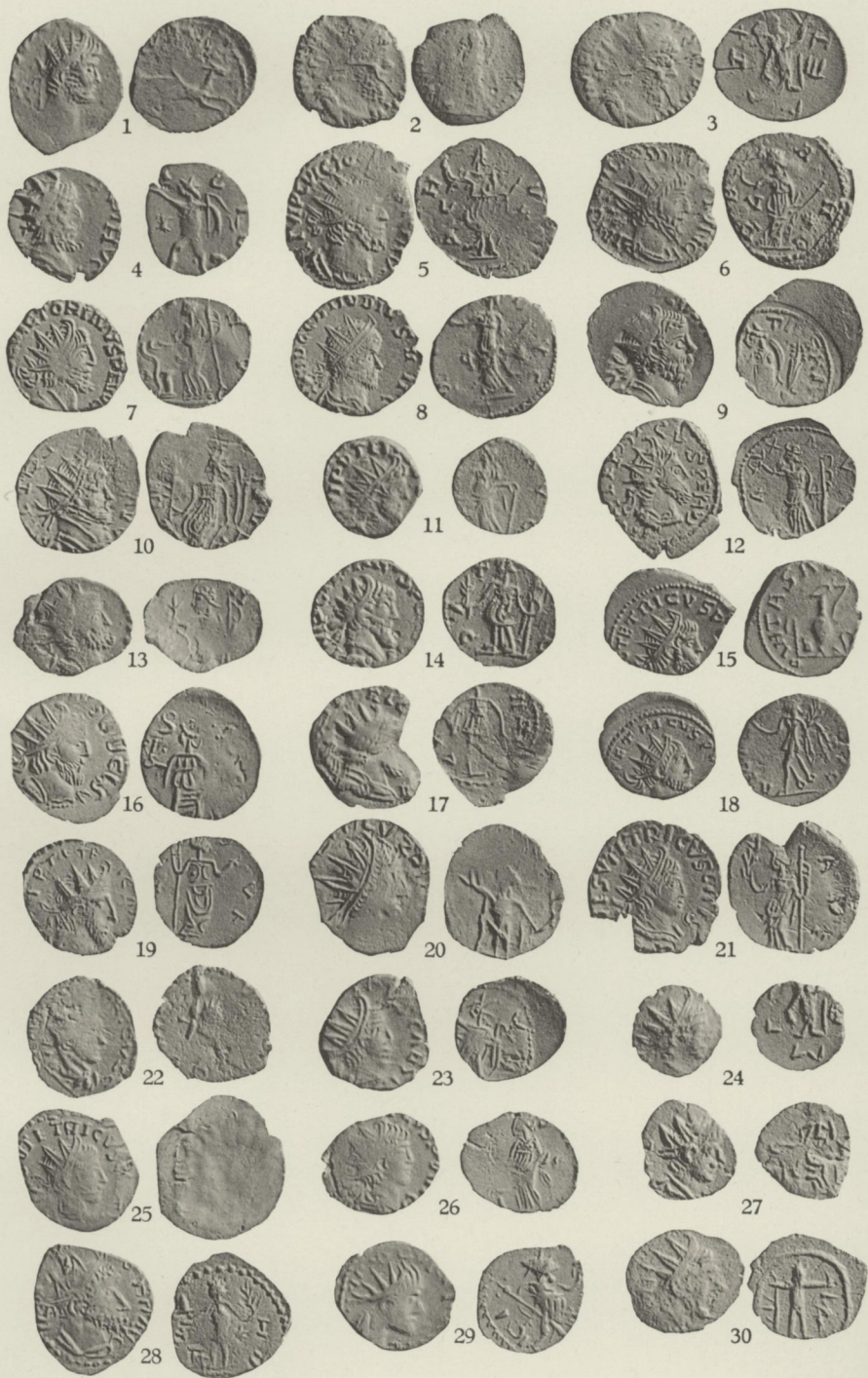
It is noticeable that the largest number of third-century hoards containing irregular coins has been found in East Anglia, particularly in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, and that these East Anglian hoards contained a very high proportion of copies. In one hoard, from Caistor by Norwich (1931), the proportion was as high as 50 per cent.²² This suggests of itself that there was at least one centre for the manufacture of irregular radiates in East Anglia during the late third century A.D. The presence of the 17 die-linked copies in the Mildenhall group confirms this suggestion.

Since the whole of the Mildenhall hoard has not been examined, the hoard cannot be given an absolutely certain date of burial, although the probable date seems to be not long after A.D. 270. If, however, the hoard was hidden away within the reign of Aurelian, it would be one of a group of at least thirty hoards lost in that reign in Britain. If, as is likely, the elimination of the Gallic empire, and the restoration of Gaul and Britain to the legitimate empire in A.D. 273, was not achieved without a struggle, these hoards may have been buried and lost in the course of it.

ANNE ROBERTSON

²¹ Mattingly and Stebbing, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²² *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxiv (1931), pp. 135 ff.



MILDENHALL COIN HOARD