XIV.—*On the Condition of Britain from the descent of Cæsar to the coming of Claudius, accompanied by a Map of a portion of Britain in its ancient state, shewing the finding of Indigenous Coins.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A. Secretary.

Read May 3, 1849.

I PURPOSE, with the indulgence of the Society, to discuss an early chapter in the history of Britain; to examine the evidence we possess of the progress of civilisation among our primitive ancestors during the first half century of the Christian era, and thus to investigate the probable condition of this island previous to its becoming a Roman province.

I am well aware that I have entered upon a difficult task, not only from the utter absence of national records of the earlier period, but also from the paucity of monumental evidence. That the primitive Britons had no written history of their own may be safely inferred, since Cæsar tells us that the Gauls committed their chronicles to memory.^a It is therefore in their monuments that traces of their history must be sought, and these unfortunately answer but a few of our inquiries. This, however, ought not to deter us from the consideration of a subject so interesting; the very scantiness of our materials for a history of ancient Britain should teach us to prize more highly, and study more attentively, the relics which time has spared.

To assert that the early history of our island, like that of most lands, is obscured by fable, and distorted by the historians of remote countries, is needless in these days of rational inquiry; and the antiquary may now safely express his doubts of the historical value of Geoffery of Monmouth's narration, and question the fact of the arrival of Brute in Britain.

What is the accredited history of Britain during the period to which our inquiry is especially limited?

According to Tacitus, Julius Cæsar obtained no permanent footing in the island.^b His last descent must have struck terror into the Britons, and given them a vast idea of the Roman power; and the hostages which he received paved the way to the establishment of petty kings in the island. Of this, however, hereafter.

During the reign of Augustus, while Rome flourished, and civilisation advanced

^a Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.

^b Vita Agricolaë, c. xiii.

in tributary provinces, Britain would appear, notwithstanding her insular position, to have imbibed foreign habits. While the liberties of Rome were gradually sapped by the most crafty of the emperors, a portion of Britain became more luxurious, and consequently less bellicose. This we learn from Tacitus. "The Britons," he observes, "have more ferocity than the Gauls, not having been softened by a long peace." He then bears testimony to the valour of the Gauls until they lost their liberty. "*The same change*," he adds, "has taken place among the Britons who have been brought under subjection; the rest remain as the Gauls formerly were—*cæteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.*"^a

Tiberius, wallowing in luxury and vice, appears to have disregarded the province altogether, and Caligula followed his example, though some suppose that the failure of the German expedition discouraged any attempt upon Britain, and that he at one time seriously purposed visiting the province. One fact may be deduced from the contemplated visit, namely, that the Britons were growing uneasy under the Roman taxation. In the next reign an intestine commotion led to an important event, and a British prince, flying to the court of Claudius, induced that emperor to send Plautius with an army into Britain, which, for the first time, was reduced to a Roman province.^b

We shall presently have to consider who this British prince was, and in what part of Britain he ruled.

We have no evidence, monumental or historical, that the Britons had advanced greatly in civilisation before the landing of Cæsar. That event evidently led to a change in the island, which paved the way to the introduction of foreign manners and the creation of new wants, all tending to the subversion of their national independence.

This belief is founded on the account which Tacitus gives in his admirable description of the Germans, who, he states, were less civilised than the Gauls; a fact easily to be accounted for. The establishment of the colony of Greeks at Massilia, 600 years B.C., the polished manners of whose inhabitants have been eulogised by Tacitus,^c must have had a civilising influence upon that region of Gallia, and it is clearly from this quarter that improvement advanced and spread over western Europe. We learn also the condition of the German tribes in the Annals of the same admirable historian. The description which Germanicus gives his soldiers of

^a Vita Agricolaë, c. 11.

^b Dion. Cassius, lib. lx. p. 677, ed. 1606; Sueton. in Claud. c. 17.

^c Vita Agricolaë, c. 4.

the arms and appointments of the barbarians, would apply perhaps still more closely to the inhabitants of Britain.^a

Now it is certainly not within the bounds of probability that the rude inhabitants of a sea-girt island would, at this early period, be in a more advanced stage of refinement than the inland tribes of Germany, whose geographical position laid them open to civilised contact, and whose young men, according to the testimony of the historian above cited, perfected themselves in the art of war among other nations.^b Antiquaries and historians have spoken of the intercourse between Britain and the Continent as subsisting from the earliest period, but they appear to me to have assigned too much importance to it. That there was an early intercourse cannot be denied; but it must have been limited and restricted. The Island must have been inaccessible during many months of the year, and generally approachable only in fine weather. It should be remembered that the Celts were not a maritime race, and that the Romans, at a much later period, contemplated with uneasiness a voyage to Britain. We read in Tacitus how Titus, after sailing along the coast of the Mediterranean for some time, pushed out boldly to sea—*audentioribus spatiis*—and made for the island of Cyprus;^c nor should it be forgotten that three hundred years afterwards, when Constantius Chlorus set sail from Boulogne with a side wind, with the armament raised to overthrow the power of Carausius, the boldness of the Roman prince was lauded by the panegyrist as something novel in the annals of Roman daring!^d So that, unless we can persuade ourselves that the Celts were more fearless navigators than the Romans, we may justly question the fact of a very familiar and constant intercourse between Britain and the Continent before the Roman invasion. Cæsar, it is true, obtained some information, as he tells us, from the Gaulish merchants;^e but his applying to such a source seems to show that Britain was not intimately known by the Gauls generally. Moreover, we learn from the same authority that even the Gaulish merchants were only acquainted with the British coasts, and knew nothing of the interior of the island.^f The clannish feeling which existed and still exists among the Celtic races is unfriendly to the spread of civilization.

Leaving for a while the narrations of historians, let us briefly review the remains of the Celtic period. The stone circle, the tumulus, both chambered and of the simplest form,—the rude urn, with its artless ornament reminding us of that of the

^a Compare the speech of Germanicus to his soldiers, in Tacitus, *Ann.* lib. ii. c. 14, with the same author's description of the Germans, *Germania*, c. 4.

^b *Germania*, c. xiv.

^c *Annales*, lib. ii. c. 2.

^d Eumenius *Paneg.* in Constantino Cæs. c. 14.

^e *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. c. 20.

^f *Bell. Gall.* loco citato.

islanders of the South Seas,—the celts and hammer-heads of flint,—are all the evidence we have of the condition of the *earliest* inhabitants of our island, if indeed they belong to the earliest period. These objects indicate a very primitive state of existence, and exhibit the condition of a people not yet emerged from barbarism.

The next stage, we know not at what interval, presents the celt formed of *bronze*, and cast in a mould. With these are sometimes found spear-heads cast in the same metal (evidently from some exotic model), and swords, the shape of which betrays the same origin. There is the express testimony of Cæsar that the Britons imported the metal of which these weapons and implements were made: “*ære utuntur importato*” are his words.^a

Moulds for casting celts and also spear-heads have been found in England. Specimens have only recently been laid on the Society’s table.^b

Here we appear to perceive the first evidence of civilized contact, or rather the evidence of *imitation*, for I think it will scarcely be maintained that these forms are other than exotic. It seems probable too that the *torqs* and *gorgets* may be identified with this subsequent period.

A late antiquary, his mind imbued with stories of Phœnician Ireland, called these swords “Punic-shaped swords.” He might with equal propriety have referred their prototype to Egypt.

I may here be permitted to observe that I am no believer in the stories of Phœnician Ireland. I should regard with the greatest interest the slightest monumental evidence that tended to establish such a fact; but I have never yet met with any relic which might, with the least show of probability, be referred to the Phœnicians or Carthaginians. The upholders of this theory seem to use the word “Phœnician” in a somewhat loose and unsatisfactory manner, as I shall here venture to show. Do they mean by “Phœnician” Tyrian or Carthaginian? because the foundations of *Tyrian* colonies on the shores of Spain are perfectly well distinguished from those founded by the *Carthaginians*. One illustration will be sufficient.

^a Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 12. The precise geographical distribution of the objects called “Celts” would be an interesting subject of antiquarian inquiry.

^b Casts of moulds for forming celts may be seen in the Society’s museum.

Here are sketches of two coins : one of Gades, the modern Cadiz,—the other of Sex, the Almunecar of our days. On the testimony of Pliny, Strabo, and Stephanus Byzantinus, we shall find that Gades was founded by the Tyrians, and Sex and Malaca by the Carthaginians.^a

Now, do the coins of these free colonies support the account of the historian? They do; and that in a manner so satisfactory that the veracity of the historical evidence is at once made clear and apparent. It will be observed that both these pieces bear the head of Hercules, and have the symbol of the tunny-fish, which was a source of great profit to those coasts. The letters or characters on the first coin are Phœnician, on the other we perceive the older, or Lybo-Phœnician form, found on the numerous coins of Mauritania. Without occupying the time of the Society with a minute comparison of the difference in these characters, I shall merely direct attention to the form of the first letter in each example, the equivalent of the Hebrew *מ* and our M.

I have ventured to linger for a moment with this episode, because it will, I trust, make it apparent that Coins, of all other monuments, are the least likely to lead us astray in our researches, while they contain the greatest amount of information within the most circumscribed space. When one fragment of monumental evidence, so minute, so comprehensive, and so satisfactory, shall be brought forward to prove the commerce of Carthage or Tyre with the shores of Hibernia, we may be encouraged to pursue the inquiry.

But to return from this digression. A word or two from Cæsar, as to the description of *sword* with which he found the Britons armed, would have been of considerable value to us in our researches; but, unfortunately, he is silent in this respect; and the description which Tacitus gives of the swords of the islanders, when defeated by Agricola in the north 130 years afterwards, cannot apply to the *bronze* weapons already alluded to. They are generally *short* and *taper to the point*, like those of the Greeks; but the swords of the Britons in the time of Domitian were, according to Tacitus, *large* and *blunt at the point*—"sine mucrone."^b The fact, if such it may be considered, leaves us in considerable perplexity as to the kind of sword then in use by the Britons. Of one thing, however, we may almost be assured, that it was no longer of *bronze*, but of *iron*, yet differing from the shape of the Roman weapon. To what may this be attributed but to a feeling of nationality? Why did the Britons fail to adopt a weapon which experience had taught them was so formidable in the hands

^a For Gades see Strabo, lib. iii.; Stephanus, v. Γαδεира; Solinus, cap. xxiii. For Sex see Pliny, lib. iii. c. 1; Strabo, lib. iii. For Malaca see Plin. lib. iii. c. 1; Strabo, lib. iii. c. 4.

^b Vita Agricolæ, c. 36.

of their enemies? If our conjecture be right, that some national peculiarity prompted the adoption of such a weapon, we may trace the same cause in the peculiar style of some of the well known *Polden Hill* ornaments, described in the *Archæologia*,^a and now in the collection of the British Museum. In these ornaments we perceive a style which may reasonably be denominated *Romano-British*, for it will be needless to insist on its being neither Greek nor Roman. Nor do these objects bear any resemblance to the numerous examples of Anglo-Saxon remains discovered in this country during the last century. They suggest the handicraft of a people among whom civilisation had made great advances, but who were yet less Roman than the inhabitants of other parts of Britain.

These observations bring us at once to the consideration of the questions,—*What part of Britain was peculiarly under the dominion of the Romans?—And what districts were likely to have adopted Roman manners?* during the period to which our inquiry relates.

I now refer to a Map of Britain, on which are marked out the probable boundaries of the petty states in the southern parts of the island. The geography of ancient Britain will perhaps perplex to the end of time; but, failing of the precise lines of demarcation, we may arrive at something like an approximation.

Now what were the limits of the countries of the Cantii, the Regni, the Atrebatii, and the Belgæ? The question is best answered by the natural surface of the island in which they are placed. You will perceive in the chain of hills in the southern part of the island, popularly termed the Hog's Back, what may with much reason be supposed to be the natural boundaries or division of the countries of the Regni and the Cantii. This natural barrier divides the country longitudinally, running eastward nearly to Rye, and westward dividing the countries of the Atrebatii and the Belgæ.

Have we any *monumental* evidence of this division? None except a few Coins. These, however, are of the highest importance in our inquiry. In the division of *Britannia Prima*, assigned by the ancient geographers to the Regni, there have been found from time to time certain coins, the devices and inscriptions of which are of great interest to the English antiquary. The various places in which these coins have turned up are marked on the map, and it will be perceived that their finding has taken place in the very manner to prove the correctness of my attribution. They have been found as far westward as *Winchester* and its neighbourhood, and eastward as far as *Eastbourne*, while the other places marked on the map show that they are distributed north and south across the country of the Regni.^b

On the other hand, there are found in Kent, and, be it observed, up to this time *in that*

^a Vol. XIV. p. 90.

^b See the localities marked red on the map, and numbered 10 to 18.

county exclusively, certain other coins inscribed EPILLVS COM. F. or EPP. COMI. F., &c. differing in type, but evidently issued by the authority of the same personage. Specimens have been dug up in the neighbourhood of Ash, near Sandwich, Bapchild, the Isle of Thanet, and near Maidstone. These discoveries are well authenticated, and at present are confined to the district of Kent lying between the Medway and the North Foreland. In the absence of better proof, I have ventured to assign to this district the coins inscribed REX CALLE. Of two of these in the collection of the British Museum, one reads on the reverse EPP. and I have ventured to interpret the entire legend REX CALLE EPILLI FILIVS. Unfortunately their place of finding is not known. If future discoveries should take place in Kent it will tend to strengthen this appropriation.

Again, we have the recorded and well authenticated discovery at Farley Heath of the coin inscribed VERIC. CO. F., and another derived from the same place, about the same time, inscribed MEPATI. This piece is exceedingly valuable on account of its bearing two additional letters to the one already known, a specimen in the collection in the British Museum bearing the letters EPAT only. I had always considered this piece as of British origin, although it is described by Combe (with others of unquestionable British fabric) among the coins of Gaulish chiefs; and this discovery of a second and more perfect specimen not only favours the appropriation, but helps us to the name,—whether of a prince, a people, or a town, we cannot yet decide; but, judging from analogy, it is that of a petty ruler in Britain.^a One antiquary assigns it to Caractacus; but it is enough for us to know that he has, with a like indiscretion, given the coins inscribed REX. CALLE to *Calleva*, although we are yet in utter ignorance of the place of their finding. Correct appropriation can only be founded on the evidence of repeated discoveries; and, if this rule be not observed, the next generation of antiquaries will be employed in correcting the blunders of those who have preceded them. Who the personage was we have no means of ascertaining; but it is otherwise with the gold coin bearing VERIC. In this name, though evidently contracted, we cannot fail to recognise Bericus, the fugitive prince, who, on account of a sedition in the island, fled to the court of Claudius, and induced that emperor to send over an army under the command of Aulus Plautius;^b an event which led to the annexation of Britain as a province of Rome, and, according to Gildas, the abolition of all other currency than that bearing the imperial effigies.^c This mention of the suppression of all coins except those of Roman stamp, affords positive proof that there was already an indigenous currency in the island.

^a See my *Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*, p. 185, note 1.

^b Dion Cassius, lib. lx. p. 677.

^c P. 5.

I am led to this mode of illustration, not only by a desire to establish the truth, but also to vindicate certain attributions of my own. In the very beautiful and valuable work entitled "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," printed by command of Her Majesty, a copy of which has just been presented to the Society, the coins, of which drawings are now exhibited, are designedly omitted, the learned and excellent editor expressing his belief that their appropriation to Britain is doubtful! I submit it, however, to the good sense and intelligence of this Society whether we are not perfectly justified in assuming that coins found from time to time in particular districts, and in no others, are not likely to have been the currency of the petty state which comprised that district. It is needless to observe that the finding of a single example is not sufficient evidence for the formation of any reasonable hypothesis as to its origin; but, if similar pieces are discovered at considerable intervals, in the same tract of country, and in that tract exclusively, we are surely warranted in assigning their origin to that country. Such then is the case with the pieces inscribed TINC. or VIR REX. or VIRI COM. F. &c., which have been discovered in Hampshire and Sussex only. Here are specimens found at Bognor, Rumsey, and Dunmore, between Basingstoke and Winchester. Other specimens reading TINC. COM. F. have been found at Winchester, Tichfield Downs, and at Alfreston, in Sussex.^a *There is not an authenticated instance of coins of this character being found out of the counties of Hants and Sussex.* The probability that VIRI stands for VIRIC, and that the coin of Vericus already alluded to is identical with them, does not invalidate this proposed attribution, for, on reference to the map, it will be perceived that Albury is situated on a part of the Hog's Back, which divides the counties of Sussex and Surrey.

I have said nothing as yet of the coins found north of the Thames, and my notice of them shall be brief, because no one at this time disputes the attribution of some of them to Cunobeline; nor is it my intention to do more than notice *en passant* Mr. Birch's ingenious and to all appearance sound interpretation of the word TASC or TASCIOVANVS, so constantly occurring on them, which he with good reason supposes to be the name of the father of Cunobeline.^b But it is important to us in our inquiry to know that coins of these princes are not found in the counties south of the Thames, but in a wide district, ranging from Camulodunum in Essex to the extreme west of Buckinghamshire, and northward nearly as far as Towcester.

There are other coins found in the district, but as they appear to me scarcely

^a See the places of finding marked *red* on the map. Since this was written another coin has been found at Bramber Castle.

^b Num. Chron. vol. vii. p. 78.

to come within the period to which I have limited this inquiry, being perhaps connected with the history of a later struggle for independence, I leave them, and return to the consideration of those which it is my purpose to show are the currency of the then most civilised portion of the island.

I purpose, therefore, to consider, firstly, the evidence which we possess of these coins being of a British origin; secondly, the proofs of their dating *posterior* to the descent of Cæsar. Ruding—whose elaborate and excellent Annals are a history of the coinage solely, compiled with great diligence and accuracy from historical documents—had but slight practical knowledge of coins. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should, in his first three plates, have given us a promiscuous collection of Gaulish and British money. But those who have attentively studied each series will not be liable to fall into the same error; each have peculiar characteristics very susceptible of interpretation.^a They will discover, in what are well known to be Gaulish coins, evidences of an imitated type, accommodated to the tastes and feelings of the imitators, until all but the leading features of the prototype are obliterated. Many of these pieces bear the androcephalous horse, yoked to a chariot, under which is sometimes placed a prostrate figure, a standard, or arms, while the charioteer holds aloft the *phaleræ* of the vanquished enemy.^b *Nothing of this kind is found on ancient British coins*; it is a warlike type, the device of a people still in arms against the invader, and the coins are the currency of Gallia while yet unfettered.

If coins with the type of the androcephalous horse were often found in Britain we might claim for our primitive ancestors a mintage of their own previous to the Roman invasion. It has been urged, by those who would establish for these British coins a higher antiquity, that they are formed on the Greek model; but they appear to overlook an important fact, that many consular coins are convex and concave, and exceedingly dissimilar in fabric and style to the Roman money after the reign of Augustus, many of whose coins are evidently formed on the Greek model, and are the work of Greek artists. If we compare the denarius of the *Gens Marcia* with the equestrian figure on the reverse, with the coins inscribed TINC. or VIRI. we shall perceive as close a resemblance as may usually be traced between a well-executed model

^a The unscientific arrangement of these coins by Ruding has planted an error which it will require many years to uproot. The editor of the Monumenta Historica Britannica says some of these coins have been claimed by French numismatists as Gaulish. I have only to observe that there is no *rivalry* as to the claim among the *practically* informed numismatists of either country. These coins are for the most part perfectly well distinguished.

^b See a Dissertation on the Phaleræ by M. de Longpérier, Revue Numismatique, tome xiii. p. 85; and the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xi. p. 149.

and a barbarous imitation. We find, moreover, the word *on a tablet*, a mode of inscription which French numismatists assure us is never found on Gaulish coins.

The coins for which I am now pleading, and which have been so unjustly excluded from the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*," have no legend or device which could possibly give offence to the masters of the world. The horseman, or the horse at liberty, often appears; but we have no representation of an overthrow or a triumph,^a a fact which furnishes conclusive evidence that the British coins were struck by princes tributary to the Roman power. Moreover, all the coins which are the special object of our inquiry *bear legends in Roman letters*.

Mr. Edward Hawkins, who takes a different view of the origin of these coins, has been at some pains to collate the well-known passage in Cæsar as to the British currency.^b I can only give the result of his collations. "In the British Museum," he observes, "is a MS. of Cæsar of the 10th century, the reading of which is, 'Utuntur aut ære, aut nummo aureo, aut anulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.'" In this reading several other MSS. concur. Cæsar, as usually given, is thus:—*utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo*. Now, admitting that the passage in question has been corrupted, I humbly submit that the word *utuntur* does not give us positive evidence that the Britons had a coinage of *their own*. The Germans had none, if we may credit Tacitus, who says of them, "*pecuniam probant veterum et diu notam serratos bigatosque*."^c Here is evidence of the adoption of a foreign currency, and it is just possible that the Britons, before the Roman invasion, used, though sparingly, the gold money circulating in Gaul. At any rate, the assumption of their having a gold currency of their own implies a higher degree of civilisation than we are warranted in believing existed in the island before the arrival of Cæsar. There are well-known gold coins, having a rude and degenerate type, and some of which are without any type on the convex side, which did probably circulate along the coast of Britain;^d

^a I beg the reader to believe that in describing this type as depicting a victory I had no idea of assuming that it alluded to any *special* overthrow. It obviously has a *general* signification, and typifies the indomitable spirit of the Gauls.

^b Numismatic Chronicle, vol. i. p. 13.

^c Germania, c. 5. This passage, which appears to have perplexed the earlier commentators, is now sufficiently comprehended. The coins which the Germans preferred were the still very common consular denarii, many of which are notched round the edges. Of this preference advantage was taken by the forgers of those days, and specimens of false denarii, formed of copper plated with silver, and notched round the edges, are of frequent occurrence in collections of consular coins.

^d See Ruding, pl. 1, figs. 9 to 15.

but the fact, that, though pieces of this kind are sometimes found in Kent, they are much more frequently discovered in France, is fatal to the supposition that they are of British origin. It seems very probable that these coins are the very latest of repeated copies of the Macedonian Philippi, imitated by the Gauls, a very singular perversion of which exists in the well-known *Jersey type*, a designation given to coins almost exclusively found in the Channel Islands, of which an example is now exhibited.^a

As regards other coins found exclusively in Britain, and exhibiting what are clearly degenerate types, I have, as already observed, purposely omitted them. One class, however, deserves a passing notice, namely, those inscribed BODVOC. and hitherto ascribed, without any reason whatever (for we previously knew nothing of their finding), to Boadicea. It seems very probable, however, that these pieces were not minted by Boadicea, although, from the degeneracy of the type, they may be as late as the days of that renowned female leader. All we know of them is, that no less than three specimens have been discovered in Gloucestershire, the country of the Dobuni, namely, at Birdlip, Rodmarton, and Beckford.^b None of these coins are known to have been found out of this district.

What are the inferences to be drawn from the monumental and historical facts here brought together? Tacitus is again the light which gleams upon us in our researches as to the state of Britain during the period to which our inquiry has reference. From this authority we learn to comprehend the subtle policy of the Romans, whose craft was as profound as their thirst of conquest was insatiable. From Tacitus we learn that the rulers of the world were such perfect masters of the art of enslaving, that they employed even tributary kings as the instruments of servitude. He cites a remarkable instance of one Cogidunus who was living at the time he wrote. This satrap had territories assigned to him in Britain for his fidelity to the Romans.^c We are therefore left to infer that, during the reign of Augustus, the most accessible districts of Britain were gradually drawn into the Roman toils by means of the tributary princes. I have ventured to suggest that the family of Comius, mentioned by Cæsar as a person of weight and authority in the island, assisted them in effecting this object, and I have therefore proposed to interpret part of the legends on most of the coins found in the south of England, COM . F. *Comii filius*. This has been objected to, on the ground that sons of Comius could

^a Ibid. pl. 3, fig. 50 ; Numismatic Journal, vol. 1, pl. 1, fig. 12.

^b See the localities marked with a *red circle* on the Map.

^c Vita Agricolaë, c. 14.

not have ruled over a period of fifty years ; but, as the chronology of this important period cannot be exactly measured, and as we do not know that the Comius of Cæsar is the Comius of the coins, or whether indeed the name was not hereditary, either argument may be held until some further evidence shall be discovered. All I can say is, that, as these coins bear *Roman legends*, so does it appear that the legends are given in accordance with the Roman *formula* at this period. On this assumption, Mr. Birch has assigned the coins now attributed to Tasciovanus to the father of Cunobeline.

Again, in the Life of Agricola we are told that that general kept for a long time an Irish prince or chief in Britain under the pretence of friendship, in the hope of rendering him, if occasion served, subservient to the reduction of Hibernia—*specie amicitiae occasionem retinebat*.^a It would appear, from the evidence of the same historian, that these petty princes became tyrannical and obnoxious to their countrymen ; insomuch that, in the time of Agricola, after the annexation of the island as a Roman province, the Britons complained that formerly they were subject to the exactions of their *kings* only ; but now they were cruelly oppressed by *two* authorities—the governor and the procurator,—*singulos sibi olim fuisse reges ; nunc binos imponi*,^b—the one preyed on their lives, the other on their property. There appear just grounds for believing that the conduct of these petty princes, supported by the Romans, had rendered the title of *king* odious, for we know (and Tacitus is again our authority) that when Agricola took the command in Britain the inhabitants in arms were led by chiefs^c who were at variance with each other ; their dissensions precipitating their ruin.

From these evidences my deductions are :—

First. That shortly after the Roman Invasion tributary kings ruled in Britain.

Second. That these kings, however constituted, were in the Roman interest, and that their rule was, for the most part, confined to the southern district of Britain.

Third. That there were perhaps three or four kings reigning collaterally in the south of Britain at one time.

Fourth. That while a portion was thus ruled by tributary kings, other districts of the island were in a state of comparative independence.

Fifth. That an attempt to render the provinces, north of the Thames, more subservient to the Roman power, succeeded only for a time, and that the death of Cunobeline was the signal of revolt, the abuse of that power having paved the way for an insurrection, which quickly extended to other provinces in the Roman interest.

^a Vita Agricolæ, c. 24.

^b Ibid. c. 15.

^c Ibid. c. 12.

Sixth. That Plautius found but feeble resistance in the districts south of the Thames on account of the Roman interest prevailing there ; and lastly,

Seventh. That the coming of Plautius led to the subjugation of Britain, and the suppression of hereditary rule in the island.

Such are the facts which I have attempted to deduce from a diligent comparison of monumental with historical evidence. That both are sometimes vague and inconclusive I am willing to admit ; but, viewed together, and weighed carefully, there is much which cannot fail to invite to the study all who are interested in the early history of Britain. At any rate, if these my facts and inferences should excite others to the consideration of a theme so curious, so fraught with interest to the antiquary, the historian, and the ethnologist, my labour will not have been misdirected.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

NOTES ON THE MAP.

THE coins inscribed CVNOBELINVS, or more frequently with the letters CVN, are now by universal consent assigned to the prince who is called by Dion Cassius and by Suetonius, Cynobellinus or Cinobellinus. Many examples of his mintage are engraved in Ruding.^a Those engraved in the Plate, and those numbered 1 to 7 on the Map, are placed there because the *finding* of these particular types is well authenticated. Others bear his name and various devices, some of which are clearly imitated from denarii of Augustus, but they are excluded from this selection on account of the places of their finding being unrecorded.

Coins 19, 20, 21, inscribed BODVOC, have been found at intervals at Birdlip, at Rodmarton, and at Beckhampton, all in the county of Gloucester, the territory of the *Dobuni*. Two specimens exist in the collection of the British Museum, and there are two or three others in private cabinets, but their places of finding are not known.

The coin, N^o. 22, inscribed COMVX, is in the collection of the British Museum, and was found at Frome, in Somersetshire. It is placed next to the coins bearing BODVOC, in consequence of the similarity of workmanship, as well as from the circumstance of its being discovered in the same district of Britain.

The coins inscribed VIRI. CO. F. and TINC. C. F. are, as before observed, found in the counties of Sussex and Hants exclusively. Their places are marked in the Map *red*, and numbered 10 to 18.

The coins of Epillus, of whose mintage five examples are known, are marked on the Map *black*, and numbered 7, 8, 9. The finding of four of these pieces is well authenticated.

^a See also Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes, Plates XXIII. and XXIV.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that *all* the authenticated finds of British Coins are not noticed in this Map, the indications on which have reference to *inscribed* coins only. Various scattered notices of the finding of barbarous and uninscribed pieces will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle. There are also many pieces of a debased type, and partially inscribed, generally so rudely as to defy conjecture as to the signification of their ill-executed legends. On the precise epoch of the issue of these rude coins it would be difficult to pronounce; but it behoves the antiquary and the numismatist carefully to chronicle the circumstances of their finding, for it seems more than probable that even these uninscribed pieces, if this rule be observed, may in the course of time be assigned with tolerable certainty to particular districts of Britain.

I cannot close this note without adverting to a discovery near Aldborough in Yorkshire, a few years since, of a number of rudely executed gold coins with an unintelligible legend in *roman* letters. That these coins were found in that district there appears to be no doubt, but I have never been enabled to obtain any particulars, further than that there were mingled with them a few *consular denarii*.

J. Y. A.

IXWORTH

SANDY

CAMBRIDGE

COLCHESTER

BECKFORD

FROME

Map of a portion of Roman Britain shewing the finding of indigenous Coins.

RUMSEY

ALFRISTON

ALBURY

BOGNOR

SANDWICH

MAIDSTON