THE CELTS OF CENTRAL GAUL :

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS BACKGROUND TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST IN THE LIGHT OF NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Daphne Nash.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY OXFORD
DEPOSITED
THESIS
17.7.75

Presented for the degree of D.Phil at Oxford, January 1975.

ABSTRACT

In this study I set out to examine two questions: what changes took place in Central Gaulish society during the la Tène period, especially between the third century and the Caesarian conquest, and why they occurred. Central Gaul is defined as the area of present France enclosed by the river Loire, the Forez and Cévennes mountains, the Garonne basin and the Atlantic. Three types of primary evidence were used for this study: archaeology, coins and ancient texts relating to the Gauls.

The first section here presents the archaeological evidence for Central Gaul in this period, with specific reference to those features such as the development of oppida which are directly relevant to an investigation of social change. The material for this section was largely drawn from published reports. The second section deals with the coinage material, especially gold and silver issues. Here my primary aim was to establish the chronology and the regional distributions of particular types, and the ways in which types and distribution patterns changed over time. This work was of some importance especially for the third and second centuries as there has not hitherto been any published work on this period of the Central coinages, and it has been assumed by some prominent numismatists that the Arverni were responsible for coinage production in the Centre until 121. I hope to have shown that on the contrary there were many different mints before then, and that in fact the Arverni had no coinage of any importance, if they had one at all, before the first century. A large proportion of the work for this section has been my own primary research on the coins themselves.

Finally in the third section I examine the textual evidence for Celtic society in Gaul, and set beside it the conclusions from the other sections. Gaulish society in the fourth to second centuries is examined first, followed by a discussion of the evidence for the first century; particular emphasis is put upon the social structure of Celtic society: the

role of the different social classes within the society and especially the importance of the Celtic system of clientage in the maintenance and increase of power by the ruling classes is stressed. The picture that has emerged is one which might be characterized as a transition in this period from a high barbarian warrior society to a form of archaic statehood. During the second century, in the most advanced Central civitates, the political authority which had previously been spread over a relatively large number of virtually independent nobles was concentrated in the hands of a new political ruling class constituted on very narrow oligarchic lines, at the expense of the older 'heroic' warrior tradition. At a certain (unknown) point almost certainly in the second century it would appear that in these civitates there occurred a series of systematic 'reforms' closely analogous in purpose with those of Servius at Rome, Solon or Kleisthenes at Athens, and semi-legendary lawgivers in other archaic states in the world.

In order to examine the question why these changes occurred, the Gaulish evidence is compared with that from some other archaic or high barbarian societies, especially early Ireland and parts of Africa, and the rold of foreign trade and the accumulation of private wealth in the process of political unification is discussed. Considerable attention is paid in the final chapter to the origin and social uses of wealth and coinage in Gaul, partly because the history of the coinage illustrates a number of important features of Gaulish society, and partly because I have been concerned to confront and criticize a number of false but persistent assumptions about the nature and uses of ancient coinage. I argue that Gaulish coinage was not in origin connected with or used for foreign or demestic trade, but that the Gauls first became accustomed to Macedonian coin in their extensive and well-dommented aervice as mercenaries in Hellenistic armies late in the fourth century and during the third. The purposes for which Gaulish coin was first minted were the same as those for which gold and silver precious goods were already used by the Celts: principally for payments between nobles and within the Celtic system of clientage relations. The

A WORKER READS HISTORY

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed,
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's houses,
That city glittering with gold, lived those who built it?
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? Imperial Rome is
Is full of arcs of triumph. Who reared them up? Over whom
Did the Caesars triumph? Byzantium lives in song,
Were all her dwellings palaces? And even in Atlantis of the legend
The night the sea rushed in,
The drowning men still bellowed for their slaves.

Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven Years War. Who
triumphed with him?
Each page a victory,
At whose expense the victory ball?
Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

So many questions.
So many particulars.

Bertholt Brecht.

question of the authorship for minting Celtic coin is also discussed, and the close relation between the characteristics of each successive major phase of the coinage and the contemporary political structure of Gaul is stressed.

The Roman conquest decisively intervened in the development of Celtic society; the rapidity with which Central Gaul submitted to Roman administration (in contrast with the more backward 'warrior' areas of the north and north-west) is directly connected with the existence there of an as yet somewhat insecure native oligarchy whose social and political position within the civitates could only be strengthened by their incorporation into the Roman administration, and who therefore put up only very temporary resistance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was discouraging, to say the least, to be refused a D.E.S grant on three successive applications. Without the generous financial support of certain institutions at the University of Oxford, I would have been forced to abandon my plans to do postgraduate research. It is therefore with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to thank those who directly or indirectly made it possible for me to complete this study of pre-Roman Gaul. Above all I am grateful to the Craven Committee, who awarded me the Pelham Studentship 1971/2 and made two further grants which provided the greater part of my subsistence needs for the first two years, and in addition enabled me to make two very fruitful visits to France. The Barclay Head fund for numismatics made me a generous grant also, which meant that for my first year I was able to devote myself full-time to research. Lady Margaret Hall enabled me to visit France a third time, in 1973, and finally by awarding me the Henrietta Jex-Blake scholarship 1974/5 made it possible to complete this work on time.

There are many individuals whom I would like to thank for helping me in other ways to complete this course of research. The unending patience and encouragement of my supervisors, Mr C.E.Stevens, professor B.W.Cunliffe and Mr G.E.M de Ste.Croix has been of immense value to me, and their enthusiasm made the preparation of this study a pleasure despite the amount of dull and mechanical work which parts of it involved. Others to whom I owe particular thanks for their help and encouragement are Dr.C.H.V Sutherland, Dr.C.M.Kraay, Dr.B.M.Levick, H.Ergas, R.Disney, and M.O Buchsenschutz (who generously let me use his unpublished maîtrise thesis on the oppida of Berry). Mme S.Doublard de Vigneau, curator of the Musée de Guéret made my visit there as much a pleasure as a working trip, and the staff of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and of the Musée du Berry in Bourges allowed me a freedom to work on their coin collections which I had scarcely hoped for, and which more than made up for the limited time I could spend in France.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Page

1 INTRODUCTION

1 I General introduction

11 II Geographical limits of the study

12 III Problems with handling the archaeological evidence

19 IV Problems with handling the numismatic evidence

23 SECTION I : ARCHAEOLOGY. CENTRAL GAUL IN THE LATER LA TÈNE PERIOD.

23 Ch.1 Introduction

32 Ch.2 The archaeology of areas to the south and east of the Centre.

32 Introduction

33 The south-west

33 The north-east

37 Côte-d'Or

41 Nièvre

44 Saône-et-Loire

47 Loire

58 Ch.3 The archaeology of the Centre.

58 Introduction

59 Difficulties with the archaeological material for the Centre.

63 Group 1 :Puy-de-Dôme and Haute-Loire.

63. Puy-de-Dôme

85 Group 2 : Cantal, Lozère and Corrèze.

85 Cantal

87 Lozère

89 Corrèze

98 Group 3 : Dordogne, Lot-et-Garonne, Lot and Aveyron.

98 Dordogne

99 Lot-et-Garonne

99 Lot

103 Aveyron

106 Group 4 : Haute-Vienne and Creuse

106 Haute-Vienne

108 Creuse

112 Group 5 : Vienne and Deux-Sèvres.

112 Vienne

114 Deux-Sèvres

Page

115 Group 6 : Vendée, Charente-Maritime, Gironde and Charente.

115 Charente

116 Charente-Maritime

120 Gironde

123 Group 7 : Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher and Loiret.

123 Indre-et-Loire

124 Loir-et-Cher

126 Loiret

128 Group 8 : Indre and Cher

128 Indre

134 Cher

143 Group 9 : Allier

143 Allier

144 Ch.4 Conclusion.

153 SECTION II : COINAGE. THE PRE-CONQUEST COINAGES OF CENTRAL GAUL.

153 Ch.1 Introduction

156 The periodization of Gaulish coinage

159 Ch.2 Precious metal coinages outside the Centre.

161 1. Silver coinages to the east of the Centre

166 2. Monnaie à la croix coinage in the Garonne basin.

171 Ch.3 Central Gaulish silver coinage.

174 Group 1. The Bridiers group.

178 Group 2. The Poitou group.

179 The 'Pictones' group

188 The 'Indre' group

192 Group 3. The Aquitanic group.

194 The severed head group

197 The sword group

205 Other Central silver coinages.

205 1. Auvergne and the massif central.

216 2. Armorica

220 Ch.4 Central Gaulish gold coinage.

224 1. Early gold issues over 8.0g

224 I. Close derivations from Philip II staters (groups Ii - Iviii)

229 II. Early gold issues with celticized types (groups IIi - IIiii)

232 Early Armorican coins

236 2. Gold issues under 8.0g and over 7.60g (groups IIi - IIiv)

Page

244 3. Central gold issues under 7.60g

244 Group 1

246 Group 2

247 Group 3

247 Group 4 : Arvernian or massif central gold staters

249 Group 5 : ABVDOS , ABVCATOS and SOLIMA

250 Group 6 : crane and trefoil group

253 Group 7 : Pictones gold coins

258 Ch.5 The chronology of Central gold coinages

269 Ch.6 The bronze and potin coinages of Central Gaul

277 Conclusion.

281 SECTION III : SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN CENTRAL GAUL BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

281 Ch.1 Introduction

282 Problems with the textual evidence

291 Problems of terminology

295 Ch.2 Agriculture and rural settlement

296 1. Agriculture in relation to social structure.

306 2. Rural settlement

311 3. Oppida : a definition.

316 Ch.3 Industry, transport and exchange

316 1. Industry

324 2. Transport

329 3. Long-distance exchange

344 Ch.4 Celtic social organization from the fourth to second centuries.

347 1. The Irish evidence

359 2. Fourth and third century continental Celtic society

373 3. Second century continental Celtic society

383 Ch.5 Celtic social organization in Central Gaul in the first century.

385 1. The first century ruling class: organs of government.

393 2. 'Kings' and 'tyrants'.

401 3. Decision-making bodies

406 4. The first century learned class.

412 Ch.6 The Celtic 'plebs' and sources of surplus wealth for the nobility.

415 1. The agricultural plebs.

417 2. degrees of clientage

420 3. Mercenaries

426 4. Clientage and the production of surplus wealth

Page

430 Ch.7 Civitates and the emergence of the state

442 Political unification : a model for Central Gaul

457 Ch.8 Uses of wealth and the origins of Celtic coinage in Central Gaul.

464 1. Modes of exchange and the role of coinage

469 2. Uses of wealth in early society

476 3. Uses of wealth by the Celts and the origin of coinage

487 4. The authority for Celtic coinage

509 Epilogue : The Roman Conquest.

VOLUME II

1. Footnotes

2. Appendixes:

I. Summary table of events relevant to the la Tène Celts.

II. The civitas of the Bituriges Cubi.

III. Tin.

IV. Place-names referring to minerals in France.

V. Mediterranean contacts prior to the second century on the south-west and south-east of Gaul.

VI. Sites with murus Gallicus ramparts.

VII. Coin hoards of importance for this study.

VIII. Coin weights.

IX. Coin hoards containing other valuables.

X. Countermarks.

XI. Fractional silver coinage.

XII. Coin finds from oppida sites.

XIII. Bimetallism.

XIV. Stylistic analysis of Celtic coinages in Gaul.

XV. Poseidonios : notes on Tierney (1960).

XVI. Find-spots for the maps: (a) maps 1-22; (b) big fold-out map.

3. Bibliography

4. Index of texts quoted or discussed.

5. Illustrations, maps and weight charts.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

ABT : A. Blanchet, Traité des monnaies gauloises (Paris 1905, reprinted Bologna 1971)

ANS : American Numismatic Society (prefaced to serial numbers of casts which they sent me)

B : Bourges (prefaced to serial numbers of coins in the collection of the Musée du Berry, Bourges)

BM : British Museum (prefaced to serial numbers of coins in their collection; when I used them there was no catalogue system, so the numbers are purely private devices to distinguish one cast from another; Sylloge numbers will soon be available)

BN : Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (prefaced to serial numbers of coins in the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles according to the catalogue of Muret and Chabouillet)

DAG : Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule, époque celtique, (I, Paris 1875; II,Paris 1923)

G : Guéret (prefaced to serial numbers of coins in the collection of the Musée de Guéret, Creuse)

M or MAN : Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (prefaced to serial numbers of coins in their collection)

LT : H.de la Tour, Atlas de monnaies gauloises (Paris 1892, reprinted London 1968); the Roman figure after this preface refers to the plate number (eg LT XIV)

MMAG : Münzen und Medaillen A.G. auction sales in Basel.

MSSNAC : Mémoires de la Société des sciences naturelles et d'archéologie de la Creuse.

French départements:

Ard. : Ardèche
Avey. : Aveyron
B.Rh. :Bouches-du-Rhône.
Calv. : Calvados
Cant. : Cantal
Char. : Charente
Ch.Mar. : Charente-Maritime.
Corr. : Corrèze
C.d'O : Côte-d'Or)
C.N. : Côtes-du-Nord.
Dord. : Dordogne
E+L : Eure-et-Loir
Fin. : Finistère

Hte.Gar. : Haute-Garonne
Gir. : Gironde
Hér. : Hérault
I+V : Ille-et-Vilaine
I+L : Indre-et-Loire
L+Ch. : Loir-et-Cher
Hte.L : Haute-Loire
L.Atl. : Loire-Atlantique
L+G : Lot-et-Garonne
Loz. : Lozère
M+L : Maine-et-Loire
May. : Mayenne
M+M : Meurthe-et-Moselle

Morb. : Morbihan

P.D. :Puy-de-Dôme

Pyr.Or. : Pyrénées-Orientales

Hte.S. :Haute Saône

S+L : Saône-et-Loire

Hte.Sav. : Haute Savoie

S.Mar. :Seine-Maritime

S+M : Seine-et-Marne

D.S) : Deux-Sèvres

T+G : Tarn-et-Garonne

Vauc. : Vaucluse

Hte.V : Haute-Vienne

INTRODUCTION

Page

1 I. General introduction.

11 II. Geographical limits of the study.

12 III. Problems with handling the archaeological evidence.

19 IV. Problems with handling the numismatic evidence.

I. INTRODUCTION.

In the following study I set out to examine two questions about Celtic society in the La Tène period in Central Gaul: firstly, what social changes took place between c.400 and c.50 BC, and secondly, why did they occur. All dates in the text are BC unless otherwise stated. Central Gaul was chosen because it is a fairly well defined area both geographically and culturally, and it included by the first century a number of major civitates which displayed important features of thorough-going social change, especially the Bituriges Cubi and the Arverni. In addition, there is a good body of evidence to suggest that the Centre as a whole had a relationship with the Mediterranean peoples which distinguishes it both from the north of Gaul and Armorica where imports were few throughout the la Tène period, and where social development was slow, and from the Celtic peoples in the Rhone Valley and Saône area, the Garonne basin and the southern coastal strip, who had earlier and closer continuous contact with the Greeks and Romans, and who all display signs of precocious development in such key areas as architecture and the permanent settlement of towns.

Central Gaul is a suitable subject for the type of enquiry I wished to make because the present volume of evidence relating to it is sufficiently small (relative for instance to Italy or Greece at a comparable stage in their histories) for it to be possible not only to take a whole section of Gaul for study rather than a single civitas, but also for all three major areas of the evidence to be covered: archaeology, coinage, and the texts. I have worked on the principle that it is more important for an understanding of the social structure and development of a society for which there is almost no direct historical evidence, such as the Gaulish Celts, to use as many types of evidence as possible in conjunction, even at the expense of not providing exhaustive coverage of any one of them, rather than to sacrifice breadth of vision in the pursuit of comprehensive knowledge of one area. Such individual studies are indispensable, and have gratefully been made use of throughout this investigation; I have not, however, attempted to

provide such a work myself in any one field.

This approach may be recommended on several grounds. In most fields, notably archaeology, major works of high quality are available for use in this type of study. Although this is true also for many aspects of the coinage, where the work of Blanchet and Colbert de Beaulieu (see bibliography) has been of incalculable value, nevertheless I have done a considerable amount of primary research of my own because the Central coinages , and especially the early ones, have received little attention. In all relevant fields, therefore, I had a large volume of reliable material to work from. In the second place, all the best existing accounts of Gaulish society have been written primarily from the standpoint of one particular sort of evidence, which inevitably means that they are limited in some respects. Déchelette (1914) on archaeology, Blanchet (ABT) on coins, and Fustel de Coulanges (1891) on political institutions seen from the textual evidence are still unsurpassed as technical treatises in their fields, while Desjardins' work (1868) on economic and political gepgraphy is still the fullest such work available for the whole of Gaul.

However, for all their very great insights into the conditions of Gaulish society in the periods they covered, they remain first and foremost wither technical treatises, or historical works which show little recognition that changes of the greatest importance had taken place during the last four centuries BC. Jullian's enormous work on the history of Gaul (Jullian 1920) took account of virtually every known scrap of written evidence relating to his subject, but made only very selective use of the work of archaeological and numismatic scholars for the la Tène period, while in addition rejecting comparative study of related Celtic societies (p.13). His work therefore suffers from the weakness inherent in any historical work about a pre-literate and extinct society which relies heavily for its argument on the ill-informed observations of foreigners and conquerors.

It has, therefore, been my aim to use in conjunction as many different types of evidence as possible, since reliance on any one of them can only

lead to a distorted account of Celtic society. Reliance on the historical texts alone is especially dangerous as their authors seldom had much interest in anthropological exactness, and none had direct knowledge of Central Gaul before the mid first century. Jullian, Fustel de Coulanges and Rice Holmes (1911) are perhaps the most significant texts in French and English dealing directly with all aspects of Gaulish society in the pre-conquest period, and all suffer from the hazards inherent in reliance on the texts in almost complete isolation. The main features of the picture drawn by all of them is only applicable to the first century because of the dominant position of Caesar's written work; even Poseidonios, who was drawn from by the early imperial writers, only knew his small part of southern Gaul in the early first century.

Comments on previous Gaulish society in all these authors are therefore few, and presuppose only superficial changes within what are treated as though they were timeless institutions, so that a grossly misleading impression of a static social system has been built up, giving little hint of the magnitude and radical importance of the social changes during the century before Caesar in Central Gaul. Gaulish society was by no means static, but the only way to recover the course and causes of change is by making use of a wide range of evidence, and in the first place by using archaeology and coinage alongside the texts and vice versa.

There are additional reasons why some accounts of Gaulish society have been unreliable. In a quite superb discussion of the history of scholarship of place-names, Falc'hun (1970) has shown the extent to which the political and ideological leanings of scholars can be a critical factor in the construction of a false analysis. In this particular context, Falc'hun was discussing the origins of the now untenable but very persistent hypothesis that a large number of French place-names were derived from the personal names of Celtic (or Roman or Germanic) landowners plus a suffix -acum or -iacum, and the origin of these names was supposed to lie in the pre-conquest period thereby 'proving' the existence then of a certain type of land ownership. Falc'hun has instead been able to show that these place-names are most often derived from Celtic

roots referring to natural geographical features of the neighbourhood such as a hill or meander in a stream. He ends (p.41-2):

> À remettre aujourd'hui en cause, au nom d'une meilleure connaissance du celtique, certaines étymologies germaniques (ou latines, ou pré-indoeuropéennes), on risque de se faire accuser de celtomanie, comme si la germanomanie, ou la latinomanie, ou telle autre manie, n'avait jamais proliféré sur l'ignorance du celtique. Tous les nationalismes modernes, et les patriotismes régionaux, cherchent leur justification dans l'histoire. Si précautionneuse qu'elle soit, la toponymie ne peut éviter de toucher à quelques-unes de leurs sources historiques, qui se trouvent au cœur de son domaine. Elle est par là même condamnée à subir l'assaut de passions qui admettent difficilement que soient contestés leurs fondements historiques.

This is an argument which is every bit as applicable to the development of Celtic historiography. Jullian provides a good case in point. He shared with all the major late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century French writers on Independent Gaul an understandable preoccupation with French national integrity, and the debt which is owing to those scholars who made barbarian Gaul a serious subject for study is immense. In the background to this interest in France's ancient past, and the concurrent insistence on the geographical, national and historical integrity of France (or Gaul), in specific contradistinction to Germany, lies the forced French cession of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany imposed after the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-1. In the period from then until the First World War, it is not difficult to comprehend the development in France of jingoistic nationalism at one extreme, and at the other, scholarly intellectual justification of the "essential" integrity of France, which was presented as a single nation with a history of unity stretching into prehistory, in contrast to Germany which was only unified in modern times, and now held 'part of France' and was as a result the strongest single state in mainland Europe.

This national preoccupation is latent in works on coins, geography and archaeology as well as history, and was so much a part of the perspective of the best French scholars that it was repeated even outside France: Rice Holmes produced a classic geographical example (Rice Holmes 1911:25f):

> That favoured land was formed by Nature to tone down distinctions of race and to foster the growth of nationality. If the French are the most united of all peoples, they owe this fortune to their country, whose unifying tendency has ever been the same .... France is a country whose regions are naturally connected, and whose inhabitants learned early to mingle with and to know one another. No country of equal extent comprises such diversities; but they pass off into each other by insensible gradations....

Geography certainly plays an important role in the development of the state (see sect. III ch.2,3 and 7), but it is <u>used</u> in a period of unification - it does not <u>unify</u>. To assert that in itself it determines political unity or disunity or the development of nationhood is possible only as an aspect of the wishful thinking of nationalism, and obscures the fact that until the Roman Conquest France or Gaul was <u>not</u> in any meaningful sense a united nation. I quoted this passage principally to show the way in which important questions, such as <u>what</u> role geography plays in the course of political unification, can be distorted or avoided by viewing them through an ideological perspective.

In Jullian, the preoccupation with French national integrity took a similar form, and in particular led to his eager but uncritical acceptance of an exaggeration in Strabo (4.2.3), which was interpreted with the questionable support of Caesar (<u>BG</u> 7.4.1) and Livy (21.26 and 27.39) as evidence for the existence of an Arvernian "empire" in Gaul in the third and second centuries.

> ... les Arvernes acquirent le principat de la Gaule entière, Celtique et Belgique ensemble. Dans la vallée du Rhône, Allobroges et Salyens dépendaient d'eux: Marseille devint la voisine immédiate de leur empire. Le long des fleuves du Nord, elle atteignait l'Océan et le Rhin même. L'Armorique reconnut l'influence des Arvernes. Leur domination s'arrêtait aux limites naturelles d'une vaste contrée. (Jullian 1920:547)

This "empire" acquired almost the status of the first French nation for Jullian, thus allowing the history of French unity to begin in prehistory:

> L'empire arverne inaugurait les destinées naturelles de la terre et de la nation gauloises. (ibid. p.552)

Again, the 'natural' unity of France was paramount, and the "fact" that the Arverni headed a league of allies and associates coterminous with France was of the utmost importance. Indeed, in his book on Vercingetorix (Jullian 1914:41), Jullian picked up Caesar's own politically-motivated assertion

that there was a pan-Gallic resistance to him and stated that Gaulish nationalism was a feeling comparable with Greek hellenism.

Jullian has rightly held the field as the foremost French authority on Gaulish history, and the Arvernian empire has seldom been challenged as an historical entity. Most criticism has been content with cutting down the size of the "empire", which even Jullian himself was prepared to do (Jullian 1920:548). He did not in fact believe in an autocratic empire (ibid. p.547), but some recent writers have nonetheless apparently assumed (perhaps extrapolating from Roman and later empires) that there must have been a centralized imperial machine in third and second century Central Gaul.

A number of numismatists, foremost among them Colbert de Beaulieu, have accepted the doctrine of the existence of some sort of "empire", and worked it into their analysis of the coinage. This approach has involved two mistakes. The first is perhaps more understandable, since such august modern historical authority stood behing the "empire", but when dealing with a barbarian society about which so little is known, it is dangerous to accept at face value any ancient statements about its social structure without careful cross-checking with other evidence. In this particular case, I would argue that there was no Arvernian empire in any meaningful sense, and that therefore it cannot provide a starting-point for the analysis of the coinage or any other material evidence. I hope to show below in section II that the coins themselves contradict the centralized "empire" in its most rigid guise if they are analyzed in logical fashion. The second error is to <u>assume</u> we understand what were the nature and functions of a given ancient institution, in this case the Arvernian "empire". Supposing it had existed (and there is no reason to think that the Arverni did not in fact have a high reputation and widespread contacts), it is wrong to assume that it must have had a certain number of functions such, for instance, as the suppression of independent minting within its territory, or the control of trade. Unexamined assumptions about the workings of ancient economics beset even some of the

most careful accounts of Celtic coinage, and can lead to radical misinterpretation (see Sect.III ch.3 and 8).

The work of Colbert de Beaulieu (especially 1973a:170ff) presents a good illustration of the dangers of the uncritical acceptance of the Arvernian empire, as well as of the use of unexamined hypotheses concerning the social and economic basis of Celtic society and the uses of ancient coinage. Colbert de Beaulieu accepted the Arvernian empire as a historical fact, but realizing the unlikelihood that there could have been a military or political empire of the sort required, he developed an unhistorical comcept of Jullian's into his own Arvernian commercial hegemony (cf p.463+495 below).

> Je ne conçois donc pas une cité gauloise autrement comme une union commerciale, n'ayant de douanes qu'à ses frontières, fixant des règles pour les échanges de ses marchandises et les rencontres de ses trafiquants, pourvue de ses lieux de marché et de paiement;... (Jullian 1920:59f)

This is not the place to repeat the reasons why this sort of description is anachronistic and virtually meaningless for Gaul (see n.55). But his espousal of the concept of an empire or hegemony centred on Auvergne and controlling currency from the late third century until 121 has forced Colbert de Beaulieu to compress the chronology of Central Celtic coinage by 200 years. It has been one of my chief tasks to analyze the early coinage and to show that it had a development which is quite incompatible either with a commencement in 121 or with a history of centralized control.

Three sources of distortion in an historical account of Gaul have now been noted; heavy reliance on one type of evidence in isolation, national prejudices, and unexamined economic concepts. The latter two are specific facets of a more generalized problem of historical research, and that is the comparative rarity (especially in English) with which historians of the ancient world make explicit the analytical concepts which they are using. This is not always an unconscious process; there are those who claim that it is possible (or more respectable) to work without using any model for interpretation, or even without interpreting the evidence at all. A very

recent undergraduate textbook on the Iron Age in Britain (Harding 1974) is a good and typical example of this approach, which apologises for presenting some modifications to current accounts of the Marnian and Belgic 'invasions' of Britain **since the book was intended primarily to present basic archaeological material:**

> **At the same time a great deal has been included which reflects purely personal views, and the results of the writer's research into the southern British Iron Age and its relationship with contemporary Continental cultures. It is hoped that this inclusion of personal interpretations will, nonetheless, not invalidate the book's primary purpose as a student textbook.** (Harding 1974:xvii)

A sharp line is therefore held to divide "personal" interpretation from the impersonal stuff or 'facts' of which textbooks are written.

It is, however, a fallacy to suppose that it is possible to give an account of ancient material without at the same time <u>in some way</u> interpreting it, even if only by arranging it into categories or types. Excavation techniques will continue to advance as understanding of what to look for increases, and this understanding must necessarily be founded on theory. Although theoretical concepts (explicit or implicit) play a more obvious part in historical interpretation of evidence than in the categorization of material remains, there is no sharp dividing line between them, and there is no reason to reject interpretative work as unreliable, or to consider it separable from the 'empirical' investigation of the evidence. Historical interpretation of Iron Age material is bound to be tentative because of the fragmentary evidence, and some interpretations will become more sophisticated while others are rejected as more fresh evidence is sought for and worked in. The implied judgement above that "personal interpretation" is less reputable or important than a supposedly impersonal and interpretation-free account of the material evidence is a very real barrier to progress towards a fuller understanding of the past.[1]

Many more authors, however, do not make a claim to work without interpretative models, but instead present interpretations whose basis is not made explicit. For instance, Rice Holmes (1911), writing in a period when Britain ruled India, and therefore had a very distinctive experience of imperialism, abounds with unscientific statements based on an implied analogy between the Romans in Gaul and the British in India (or the Normans in Britain):

> ... like the English, whom the Normans chastened, the Gauls needed the discipline of foreign conquest. (p.25)
>
> It is of course true that disunion is the normal condition of half-civilized peoples. (p.22)
>
> [The effect of luxury]... when it is suddenly introduced among a half-civilized people, is quite different from its effect when it is a natural growth. The Gauls had lost the strength of barbarism, and had not yet gained the strength of civilization. (p.20)

At no point in his discussion does Rice Holmes attempt to explain <u>why</u> conquest is a civilizing influence, <u>why</u> luxury has certain effects in different types of society, or what is distinctive about, or what are the reasons for, a "natural" as distinct from an intrusive growth of luxury. It is questions like these which must be confronted if an understanding is ever to be reached of the social structure and the dynamics of social change in the Iron Age.

It is essential, therefore, to make explicit the assumptions on which an analysis of society in the Iron Age is based. In this way inappropriate concepts may be discarded, and a more accurate picture built up. I hope I have gone some way to this end, though I cannot honestly claim to have recognized and exposed all the prejudices with which I, like any historian, am operating. I have, however, endeavoured to make clear wherever possible the concepts on which my argument is based, particularly where the historical interpretation of material evidence and texts is concerned.

It was because I believed this to be a necessary procedure that I have not confined myself to working on the traditional evidence for Celtic Gaul, consisting of archaeology, coins and texts. Even taken in conjunction with

one another this material is frequently obscure, ambiguous or even unintelligible. Many authors in the past, including Jullian (1920:13) and Fustel de Coulanges (1891:1), partly dismayed by the dissimilarity between early Ireland and Central Gaul in Caesar's time, and possibly alarmed by the excessive enthusiasm and unscholarly methods of some practitioners of comparative religion, linguistics and institutions, have denied the direct relevance of study even of other Celtic peoples for an understanding of the Gauls. While caution is always necessary when using extraneous material to shed light on a subject, I would most strongly argue for the necessity of comparative work.

The value of modern anthropological methods has for some time been recognized by prehistorians, and good use has been made of them to shed considerable light on the remote past (eg. ed. Higgs 1972). The need to use locational analysis and comparable anthropological material has now also been recognized as important for the Iron Age and recent prehistory by a number of British, German and Central European scholars (see eg. ed. Clarke 1972), but Celtic France has received little attention on these lines despite the unusual variety of the available evidence, and the vast amount still unexplored awaiting excavation. I have, therefore, in this study made use of material not only relating to early Irish history which I believe to have direct bearing on the earlier la Tène period in Gaul, but also work by anthropologists on various recent primitive or archaic societies. I believe this to be a valid procedure because I would argue that different societies which are at a comparable stage of social and economic development will generate a similar range of responses to specific pressures. No two cases will be identical, but a good modern analysis of a society for which there is abundant information can go far to indicate the areas in which to look for symptoms in an extinct society.

In this way I was able to construct a series of working hypotheses about the dynamics of Celtic society, some of which proved to be blind alleys

but others of which were illuminating and which I therefore pursued further. By this process a host of details in the evidence which previously had seemed insignificant or unintelligible began to make sense. Naturally the precise course of Celtic history in the la Tène period cannot be reconstructed in this way, and will probably never be known in great detail, but I believe it has been possible to create a model for the broad outline of the course of social change in this period which is at least consistent with the available evidence.

The preliminary picture of social change in Gaul from c.400-50 which I have formed below will no doubt have to face modifications and refinements as further research is done, as techniques of excavation in France are improved, and as excavators and fund-giving bodies become more aware of the importance of examining rural sites, the unspectacular beginnings of town settlement, and the need to reveal not only the material structures of a given site, but its whole environment as well.

* * *

II. GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF THE STUDY.

The geographical limits of the area to be examined, and referred to as Central Gaul, are the natural boundaries of the Loire on the north, the Forez mountains on the east, the Cévennes on the south-east, the Garonne basin on the south, and the Atlantic on the west (see large fold-out map). The mountains of the granitic Massif Central presented an effective barrier to easy communications between much of the Centre with the south-east of Gaul, while the low land to the west of the Massif undoubtedly did much to encourage continuous contact with the south-west and west. The significance of this point will emerge in specific cases below in archaeology and coinage (esp. p.144f). Since the Armorican peninsula in the west of Gaul was not only geographically but also culturally distinct from the Central block as here described, I have not attempted to study it in the same depth, although in certain contexts

(for instance coinage) its affinities with the Centre were important. The geographical boundaries chosen for this study contained, in the late Iron Age, communities both culturally and politically different from the other Celtic peoples beyond this area in all directions.

III. PROBLEMS WITH HANDLING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

There are several major difficulties besetting a study of the archaeology of the late Iron Age in the Centre. The first is the patchy and often incomplete coverage of the area by systematic excavations, a deficiency which while it is understandable in view of financial difficulties and limited time on the part of archaeologists, is compounded by the nature of the publication of the results that are obtained. Recently Gallia has become a valuable research tool as it has begun the task of bringing together under one overall system of publication material from all parts of France. Local journals, however, which are often difficult to find, still continue to carry a large proportion of the coverage of the less spectacular excavations and findings. As I have not been able to read the local publications for Auvergne and Limousin, it is possible that the impression I have gathered of near absence of finds over a large area of the Massif Central may be exaggerated. This impression is, however, founded on a reasonable body of evidence.

Most excavation in Central France is conducted by archaeologists of non-professional status (for instance school-teachers and clergy); of necessity, therefore, their time is limited and publication of results is slow. Although there are now eighteen national archaeological divisions (circonscriptions), each under a central director, there is not always a high degree of coordination even within any one area, much less between several. Instead, two or three archaeologists may be conducting one or more excavations completely

independent of each other. Because material, once deposited in a municipal museum, is difficult to consult without considerable red tape, even by the team which dug it up, archaeologists often prefer to keep their material themselves until finished with it, and it is therefore always the case that only a small proportion of the excavated material from one area is in one place. This probably contributes to the slow appearance of works of synthesis.

The role of individual archaeologists' interests is an important one. The département of Creuse, for instance, is a virtual blank for the Celtic period: a few earthworks (generally not excavated even summarily), statues and coins, and some small finds made in the last century are practically all that is recorded even for the earliest Gallo-Roman period. But for the Gallo-Roman period proper, even under the middle principate, Creuse is extremely rich and was obviously densely populated. It is improbable that there was an increase of population from near zero to the attested Gallo-Roman level in the space of about a century; the explanation for the discrepancy lies rather in the interests of the nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeologists, who were solely interested in the Roman period, and did not look for nor for the most part recognize and record Celtic material in this particular area. This is abundantly clear from looking through the local periodical (MSSAC). Since the early twentieth century, Creuse has become progressively depopulated, and there have been no local archaeologists with any interest in the Celts, so there has been little excavation. To take one example, a most promising site, Mont de Jouer, was very partially excavated before the First World War and a lot of Gallo-Roman material from the précoce period emerged, but the site has not been touched since then. A local record of this nature does not attract either archaeologists or money, and therefore a département most deserving of attention appears to be an archaeological desert, at least for the late Iron Age. The additional fact that Creuse, Cantal and Lozère are thickly wooded and very wild means that aerial photography has proved to be useless, and this further discourages

the attraction of archaeological interest.

Haute-Vienne also is apparently barren for the la Tène period, at least so far as Gallia is concerned, and the very large fortified site of Villejoubert (cne. St.-Denis-des-Murs, Hte.-V.) has never been excavated, although at about 350 hectares it is one of the largest fortified sites in France (Cotton and Frere 1961). The same desolate picture is true for all or most also of Cantal, Deux-Sèvres, Vienne, Vendée, Charente, Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher, Loiret, Allier and to a large extent for Lozère, despite clear evidence of dense population in most of the area in the la Tène period. So little excavation or report of findings has there been that I have not found it possible to establish the probable pattern of coin use in a rather large region of southern France. Blanchet (ABT:539ff; 483ff) offers no hoards from Cantal, Lozère or Haute-Loire, nor even any significant isolated finds, and I have not been able to fill in the gap to any useful extenf from other sources.

While it is probable that the present impression that this southern area is poor in archaeological material from the late Iron Age is largely due to the lack of excavation, there has very recently been enough excavation at least in Lozère to reveal traces of early Mediterranean contacts and, at Javols, what may turn out to be a major Celtic oppidum.[2] As the excavation of a new site can all too easily bring about the need to revide existing opinions about the social development of an area, it is with obvious reservations that I offer any comments on the southern and south-western parts of the region under consideration. Even in the better excavated areas nearer the Loire there are glaring gaps. We know virtually nothing about the pre-Roman settlement of Bourges (Avaricum); we do not even know where Noviodunum of the Bituriges was sited - yet these are the only two settlements of the Bituriges Cubi for which we have written evidence (Appendix II). If Caesar is right in his report of the importance attached to Avaricum by the Bituriges themselves (BG 7.15.4:'... pulcher-

rimam prope totius Galliae urbem ...'), then we should expect something spectacular since Châteaumeillant (Cher), Levroux and St.Marcel (Indre) are all important oppida and are within the presumed territory of that people. Yet it is only very recently that the importance of the latter two sites has been revealed (Buchsenschutz 1968:50; Allain 1971).

A further problem involved in handling the archaeological evidence is one of chronology: 'la Tène' and 'Hallstatt' may be used in two senses quite legitimately, but it is not always made clear in excavation reports which is intended. On the one hand they are used to describe types of artefact (pottery, brooches, swords etc.); on the other, they are used as chronological terms, the dividing line being at or about 450BC. There is an essential connection between the two uses of the terms which make best sense in the north-east of France where the la Tène culture first appeared and where its successive phases are all well represented. For the Centre of Gaul, however, the closeness of the link between the use of a type of goods and the historical date at which they appeared in northern France breaks down to a greater or lesser extent. In many parts of the Centre la Tène I and II goods are rare or absent, and the date for the introduction of typically la Tène III goods is therefore not absolutely clear. It is therefore confusing in an area where the 'Hallstatt' phase lasted for a very long time, to use the terms 'Hallstatt' and 'la Tène' without further explanation. A 'Hallstattian' phase lasted for instance at Ste.-Eulalie-de-Cernon (Aveyron) into the third century, and Mediterranean importations were not interrupted between the fifth and third centuries (Gallia 1968:522).

Pottery belonging typologically to both cultures was in use simultaneously by the same or different sections of the population throughout the last three centuries BC, and this fact has for long been known. The idea of the contemporaneity of Hallstatt and la Tène cultures is sometimes expressed as la Tène aristocrats sitting on a Hallstatt peasantry. So long

as this does not necessarily presuppose the intervention of an invasion of la Tène warriors, it makes good sense, as the great majority of characteristically la Tène material is of a luxury or warrior nature and therefore proper to the culture of the ruling class: see also the evidence from Essalois (Loire, p. 47f) or Puy du Tour (Corrèze, p. 89f .: Ward-Perkins 1941:43; Murat 1962). In practice, therefore, it is very difficult when working from reports to be sure that one is dealing with strictly contemporary and therefore comparable material from two sites, especially when 'Hallstattian' material (rough hand-formed cooking and storage vessels for instance) is in question. Even in the case of neighbouring sites (eg. Côtes, Aulnat and Gergovie (P.D), p. 63f below), it is seldom clear whether material from two sites is contemporary as the stratification is seldom identical and the pottery found is almost never susceptible of absolute dating for comparative purposes. The worst problems concern the poor 'Hallstattian' material which changed little over six hundred years. The difficulties involved in comparative study grow as the distance between sites increases. The uncertainty of the absolute chronology of the late Iron Age in the Centre is such that it was possible for the author of a detailed report on the excavations at Gergovie (P.D.) to suggest that the 'Augustan' city was after all Caesarian (Labrousse 1950). I shall argue later (p. 77) that this suggestion is unlikely to prove correct, though in the absence of any clear and abundant chronological evidence in the Centre it is not possible to be dogmatic about the chronology of the first century BC, and the rate of introduction of Roman goods and techniques.

From the point of view of recovering the course of social development in the period from the fourth to first century there are a number of specific difficulties therefore. Until the late la Tène period in the Centre there is little clearly periodized material; the exhaustive work on pottery types that would be necessary to establish a relative chronology has not yet been done. The only obviously la Tène I and II burials in the Centre are found in

restricted areas on the fringe of the region, and for la Tène III virtually all of the material is from occupied sites rather than burials, so that there is no strictly comparable evidence from different centuries even in one area. This is not a problem confined to Gaul. Bŕeň (1971) has formulated it for the Central European Celts, and he has proposed a programme for its solution which could be applied to excellent effect in Gaul also. This would involve detailed study of the latest ihhumed and cremated burials, and in particular the establishment of an accurate chronology of brooches of la Tène II, glass ~~x~~ bracelets, girdles with punched decoration, and anklets with plastic spiral decoration. Comparison of this material for the latest Celtic graves in Central Europe, before they disappear not later than at the turn of the second to first century (a phenomenon also known in Gaul), with material in the earliest levels in oppida, would permit a chronology for the settlement of oppida to be accurately fixed (Bŕeň 1971:19f).

Excavation in Gaul has for obvious reasons almost entirely been concentrated on oppida or important settlement sites, at the expense of isolated holdings or small rural settlements. With very few exceptions (notably Olivier and Olivier 1969, 1970) no attempts have yet been made to locate excavated oppida in relation to other local and regional settlements, nor to survey the surrounding countryside photographically for signs of isolated holdings or small villages which might yield clues to the origin and maintenance of the oppida. Déchelette (1914:943f) refers to the few excavations of isolated huts of the early la Tène period in the Marne area, but notes that interest in them was low.

This pattern of archaeological attention is bound to result in a lop-sided picture of social development, with its unavoidable emphasis on the living conditions of the ruling class, and because of the changing settlement pattern in Central Gaul, it is only informative for the period from the mid-second century at earliest. In fact, apart from finds of third century coins, there is almost no archaeological material inthe Centre certainly

dateable to that period at the moment. Observable changes in material goods can be ambiguous or obscure, for instance the change from inhumation with goods to cremation more or less without during the second century. In the absence of excavation of sites inhabited before la Tène III it can only be a presumption that there was an important change in the type of wealth accumulated by the aristocracy, from portable high-value goods, to the sort of goods associated with permanent town dwelling as evidenced in the enormous range of utensils in metal in the oppida, and their resident manufacturing quarters, coupled with a notable absence of finds of weapons inside the walls (Břeň 1971). The literary accounts only seldom directly complement archaeological evidence of social change (coins, weapons and settlement patterns), and are particularly indirect on the subject of social change.

Similar observations apply to the coinage evidence in its role as an archaeological phenomenon. The chief interest of the coinage as a whole is that its introduction cannot have been a socially neutral event in the way that changes in design of ornaments might be. Instead, it has direct political implications. However, as the texts are silent on the subject of Celtic coinage, interpretation of it is difficult and almost entirely dependent on a prior understanding of the structure of Celtic society. In all discussion of the dating and interpretation of the material and historical evidence for Gaul, circularity in argument is a danger. With the coinage there is the additional danger of assuming a model for its origin and use which is based on known Mediterranean currency. The structure of Gallic society and the circumstances of the introduction of the coinage were different in significant ways from those of any of the Mediterranean city-states available for comparison (see sect.III ch.8 below).

A final difficulty or pitfall affecting the interpretation of the material evidence particularly for the second and first centuries is that the remaining literary accounts may give the illusion that we know of all the most important events in Gaul for that period. For instance, it has in the

past been common to connect the re-occupation of fortified hilltop sites (now termed oppida) with the incursion of the Cimbri and Teutones late in the second century, using Caesar BG 7.77.12 in support (Rice Holmes 1911:19; Grenier 1959:405; Hatt 1970;42). This explanation for the re-occupation is implausible on several grounds, the principal being that not all such development took place at the same time. In addition, the phenomenon is not confined to Gaul, but is found in Britain and Central Europe as well. Hill-forts were used throughout the Celtic period for refuge in time of war, without being permanently occupied until the last period; the Cimbri and Teutones alone will not explain this process. The invasions have also been adduced as an explanation for the contents of the Tayac (Gir,) hoard (Appendix VII; eg. Hatt 1966:41; Forrer 1908:329). The hoard was then used as evidence for the route taken by the invading army. This interpretation has rightly been questioned (Colbert de Beaulieu in Forrer 1968: II,102-3), and in fact there are other archaeological connections between the Garonne basin and southern Germany of which the Tayac hoard may be seen as a single feature.[3]

IV. PROBLEMS WITH HANDLING THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE.

There are a number of practical difficulties facing the proposed study of Celtic coinage in section II. In the first place, the find spots of individual coins are seldom known, with the result that the distribution maps often represent only a small fraction of the specimens known of a particular type. As is the case for other archaeological material, the relative barrenness or fecundity of finds in a particular area is as likely to be a reflection of the pattern of agriculture since c.1830, the present pattern of population, and the interest of individual local antiquarians, as it is to be an accurate indication of conditions in the Iron Age. No map of archaeological or coin distributions in France is of uniform value for all areas. The heavily wooded and agriculturally backward Massif Central may well only appear to have had little coinage in the late Iron Age.

Analysis of hoards is essential for any accurate study of ancient coinage. Blanchet (ABT appendix I, p.539-605) lists 278 for mainland France and Jersey, and more have since been recorded. Those of particular interest for the present study will be found in appendix VII below. It is, however, seldom that the information available on hoards is sufficiently precise for conclusions to be based with absolute certainty on it, and as most hoards in the past were rapidly dispersed to collectors and the melting-pot, there is very seldom a full record of the contents available at any stage. This naturally reduces the value of hoards as chronological information, although recent work has suggested that partial hoards are more often than not in fact representative of the original contents (Crawford 1969). I have taken it as a general rule of thumb when discussing the geographical distribution of coins, that hoards tend to be found in the region where coins of that type had their normal currency. This is because it is evident from maps that with the exception of late, wartime, hoards of the fifties and later, hoards of any one type nearly always cluster in a single area, one in which finds of that type are also common, while stray finds are made over a more diffuse area.

As there are few absolute criteria on which any chronological scale may be set for Gaulish coinage, the examination and comparison of the weights of coinage issues is of the greatest importance, based on the principle that all ancient coinages lost weight over time. Examination of the specific gravity of the Celtic coinages would be even more helpful for precise relative arrangement of the series, but I was unable to do any of this work myself. In the text below, 'median' or 'normal' weight refers to the weight bracket in which the greatest number of individual specimens of a type fall. In accordance with the practice of Colbert de Beaulieu, units of 0.05 or 0.10g have been used for this purpose, but the exact weights of most coins shown on the charts in appendix VIII are also given.

When considering the weight scales of particular series, coins in museum collections normally figure prominently in the number of specimens

available for study. Colbert de Beaulieu (1971a) pointed out that fine heavy specimens were frequently chosen (especially by the Bibliothèque Nationale) in preference to poorer examples; this naturally results in a distorted weight record, and it is not always possible to find enough additional coins of a particular type to redress the balance. Local museum collections often provide a good number of finds from the vicinity, which are more representative of the whole weight scale of their series than the national collections. This advantage is, however, offset sometimes by the equipment used in weighing. The weights I give for coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) collection are partly taken from the BN catalogue, and partly are weights I took on the very accurate modern electric balance now in the Cabinet des Médailles. I found that the error was normally in the region of 0.02g, which is not very significant, but sometimes as high as 0.10g, which is. Weights given for coins in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales were obtained by my own wieghing on a rather rudimentary portable balance, and are not precisely accurate; the apothecary's balance I used at Guéret was more accurate, but certainly not more so than the one used in the last century for the BN catalogue. I do not know on what sort of scales the Bourges coins were weighed.

A final difficulty which has afflicted this particular study is that I have only been able to visit eight collections in person, and could not gain access to the Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard, housed at Châteauroux (Indre), which would have been of very great value for an account of one of the major Central first century coinages. I am therefore working from a relatively restricted volume of material which I hope nevertheless includes representatives of all the most important features of the Central Gaulish precious metal coinages when taken together with the large body of available secondary published material on the coinage.

* * *

The written ancient material, which is at times fairly complex for Central Gaul, provides problems of its own which it will be best to deal with together with the texts themselves, and will be set out at the beginning of section III below.

SECTION I

ARCHAEOLOGY :

CENTRAL GAUL IN THE LATER LA TÈNE PERIOD.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION.

It would be useful to preface a survey of the archaeological record of the Centre of Gaul in the later la Tène period (which is mostly concerned with oppida) with a brief summary of the principal changes in Celtic culture over the proposed period. Special attention will be given throughout this section to those aspects of the archaeological record which are most relevant to an enquiry into social change during the la Tène period.

The la Tène Celtic period for Gaul is conventionally divided chronologically into three phases:

La Tène I	c.500/480 - 250
Ia	c.480 - 400
Ib	c.400 - 350
Ic	c.350 - 250
La Tène II	c.250-120
La Tène III	c.120-50
Gallo-Roman précoce	c.50 to the principate in the mid first century AD.

While the typological distinctions in material goods between the three phases as given by Déchelette (1914) are valid, his own periodization of the period is less precise than the schema above:

La Tène I	c.500 - 300 , subdivided broadly 500-400, 400-300
La Tène II	c.300 - 100
La Tène III	c.100 - the first century AD

The chief disadvantage of this schema (Déchelette 1914:912) is its lack of a subdivision of la Tène III at the point of emergence of early Gallo-Roman cultural characteristics. In all of these chronological

systems the absolute dating of the subdivisions is only very approximate, especially for parts of Gaul which were slow to develop la Tène cultural characteristics.

1. Late fourth to third century (transition from la Tène Ic to la Tène II).

In northern Gaul, rich Greek and Etruscan imports characteristic of the first la Tène period fell off from the third century, accompanied by a drop in the intrinsic value of Celtic objects in the burials, for instance the disappearance of gold torcs from Marne graves (Déchelette 1914:918). Greek coinage appeared for the first time in Gaul from the late fourth century, followed in a short time by the first Celtic issues (see sect.II). During the third century coinage was systematically used in most areas, and early gold coins are occasionally found in la Tène II burials (Zurich and in Thuringia), while silver coins copied from Massiliot drachms are found with la Tène II goods in burials in northern Italy (Déchelette 1914: 1084f, 1095).

The beginning of the la Tène II period was probably the period of greatest Celtic geographical expansion (Déchelette 1914:914). There were changes in the weapons of the warrior class; the short la Tène I stabbing sword of iron was changed for a longer and somewhat blunter one in la Tène II, suggesting slashing tactics and perhaps cavalry warfare (Déchelette 1914:1106). Whereas in la Tène I there was a light shield or no shield at all, in la Tène II there was a change to a long shield with a metal boss of bridge shape in the centre, and metal fittings or ornaments (Déchelette 1914:931, 1170f). Helmets were rare except in northern Italy where Etruscan influence was strong; north of the Alps none but the wealthiest nobility could afford them, and they were not customary (Déchelette 1914:1027, 1088f, 1187). In la Tène II there was a greatly increased variety of spear-heads in iron of all sorts (throwing and stabbing), including lethal flame-shaped blades (cf. Diod. 5.30.4; Déchelette 1914:1150). La Tène II warrior

burials normally contained a sword, one to three spears (usually two), a shield boss, and various iron tools including a knife and shears in many cases (Déchelette 1914:1030, 1144). The presence of a single spur in burials from la Tène I onwards is evidence of horseback riding (Déchelette 1914:1202f).

During the la Tène II period the use of war-chariots in Central Gaul was apparently abandoned, as elsewhere in mainland Gaul. It is in fact not at all clear from the archaeological evidence whether war-chariots were ever widely used in the Centre. A chariot appears on the earliest Central coinage, as it does on that further north where war-chariots certainly were used in la Tène I; the Roman coins in the name of M Aurelius Scaurus (124-92: Crawford 1969 xi) depictx a Celtic chariot with two horses, and a naked warrior without a charioteer, brandishing a broad-bladed spear. The type was copied by the late Celtic silver coinage TVRONOS - TRICCOS (ABT:202), so the chariot cannot have become a completely obsolete theme. The Roman coinage in the name of Hostilius Saserna (49-45: Crawford 1969 xiv) shows a chariot with two horses and the same open platform as the earlier one; a naked warrior with a shield is shown facing backward, and brandishing a spear, and there is a naked charioteer driving. The Romans clearly associated Gauls with chariots into the post-conquest period, though this could well be Roman propaganda which tended to assimilate all Celts into the 'barbarian' category of which the chariot was a symbol. For further discussion of the chariot question see p.366 below.

During the fourth century (Xen. Hell. 7.1.20, 31),and perhaps as early as the end of the fifth, Celtic mercenaries were used by some of the Greek states and monarchs. The literary texts record the most intensive use of Gaulish mercenaries by the Hellenistic monarchs during the third century, however, and for the last thirty years of the fourth century and the first thirty of the third they provided the most important proportion of barbarian mercenaries in these armies, sometimes as heavy-armed infantry

(Pol.5.53.8 = 221 BC; Griffith 1935, and p.420 below). Celts were not only used in the eastern Mediterranean area, but in the west for instance by Carthage (Pol.3.114 = 216; 1.17.4 = 263) and Massilia (Pol.3.41.9 = 218). This mercenary role effectively ceased in the mid second century in the east, and slightly later in the west. From the early fourth century it is clear that there were important Celtic migrations from the east of France and the middle Rhine. Livy and Polybius document the invasions of Italy from the beginning of the fourth century; during the third the Celts arrived in large numbers in Greece and Asia Minor. Their movements in Gaul are not recorded, but on archaeological grounds it is probable that there were, by la Tène II, Celts of northern origin or influenced by the northern Celts in the Garonne basin (Déchelette 1914:1344f; cf. n.3). Warrior burials of la Tène I and II are found in Berry and very rarely in Auvergne (Déchelette 1914:1049f and map III; Musée du Berry collection in Bourges).[4] Coin distribution in the first phase reflects these movements (map 18; sect. II p.263f).

2. Late second century (transition from la Tène II to III).

There was re-occupation or new occupation of walled sites on a permanent basis for the first time since the end of the Hallstatt period in the sixth and fifth centuries, and the new occupation was on a much wider scale than at any previous period. In many cases oppida underwent a truly 'urban' development from the mid second century in the earliest cases (eg Aulnat in P.D.); most oppida were occupied in the early or mid first century. Burial customs appear to have changed from general inhumation with goods for the aristocracy, to cremation with few or no goods (Déchelette 1914:932, 1037f). The first la Tène burials in the Marne region were very rich chariot-burials, those of the second period were poorer and generally lacked chariots, while those of the third were cremated and had little furniture. This phenomenon combined with that of the debasement of the coinages in this period is probably what led

Grenier (1959:405) to remark that la Tène III was marked by regression and impoverishment in Gaul. This is a false impression however, for the apparent decrease in comspicuous wealth in the burials of the nobility was offset by an increase in other forms of wealth, notably imports, immovable goods in oppida, and volume of coinage. Imports from the Mediterranean region were few but very valuable in the early la Tène period (bronze tripods, cauldrons, situlas and oenochoes), while in the second and first centuries the volume of imports, especially wine in amphoras and pottery associated with drinking, increased very greatly while its intrinsic value per object dropped compared with the earlier situation. Nevertheless, the imports remained luxury goods, and while the area of Gaul into which they were imported is greater than the eastern region where the earliest imports of rich goods were made (Déchelette 1914 map III), there were extensive areas, principally Armorica and Belgic Gaul, which did not import Mediterranean goods even in the first century (maps 20-21). Celtic mercenary service for the Mediterranean peoples ceased by the first century. The Roman conquest of southern Gaul in 121 and the establishment of the province was a major factor in the history of this period in Gaul, with decisive influence on the changes in Gaulish society beyond the province.

In this period the coinage underwent a sharp change to poorer but more abundant and locally distinctive types, and bronze and potin was issued for the first time; these were generally confined to use in towns and important religious (?market) centres (sect.II p.269 and appendix XII).

Military changes included the use of a still longer and now completely blunt slashing sword and much more uniform stabbing and throwing spears. Déchelette (1914:1144, 1149) emphasized the contrast between the very varied la Tène II spears and javelins and the extremely uniform la Tène III weapons. Swords also were very uniform, and well made, sometimes with a specially hard iron welded on for the cutting edge (Déchelette 1914:1116-8). Déchelette suggested that their uniformity was due to specialized mass-production

in centres in Switzerland or the Danube region (Déchelette 1914:931f, 1108, 1118, 1143). Social causes of this uniformity might, however, be adduced without need to postulate centralized production. Typical warrior finds for la Tène III are long swords, round shield bosses, enamel studs, more frequent helmets than previously (though they are still rare), and much more frequent finds of metal objects of all sorts than before, There is therefore evidence of greatly increased native metal manufacturing, especially in the oppida where the first iron keys are found in a Gallo-Roman précoce context, and keys are also found in the la Tène III cremation burial of Dun-le-Roi (Cher: Lachaussée 1873). Keys are of some significanxe not only for their technical properties, but as evidence of need for strong personal security by the wealthier nobility. Arms became very rare in burials of this period, and in the Marne region where very rich graves were found in la Tène I, and fairly wealthy ones in la Tène II, they are very poor for la Tène III (Déchelette 1914:1037). The la Tène III shield was still of x scutum type but with an improved round metal boss and less decoration; it appears that on the continent (not in Britain) weapons in general were less varied and less decoratibe than in previous centuries (Déchelette 1914:1107, 932, 1113, 1172). Coats of chain mail are known for some chiefs, a very expensive Celtic invention (Déchelette 1914:1037), and helmets were still not worn by the mass of the army (Déchelette 1914: 1160f).

3. Mid first century (transition from la Tène III to Gallo-Roman précoce).

The most obvious event in this period was the Roman conquest of the rest of Gaul, and from this stem most of the cultural changes. The principal material changes in the first years of conquest in the Centre (Armorica was barely affected in this respect) were the development of pottery industries which supplied standardized ware to a regional or even larger area - Roanne, Lezoux and Gièvres are among the earliest examples (Bessou 1967; Ferdière 1972; Gaume 1965; Ferdière 1971). It is generally

believed that Gaulish pots were made by free artisans, and until the conquest there was relatively little specialized production of pottery for use beyond the immediate locality. Painted pottery from Roanne, Lezoux and the Tarn areas are obvious exceptions, though even they did not travel very far beyond their immediate regions until the conquest (Déchelette 1914:1491f; Bessou 1967; see p.53f below).

In the wake of the conquest, the distribution of coinage also underwent an important change, with no political barriers any longer to the circulation of types. Gold disappeared almost at once, silver types are thoroughly mixed in hoards, and bronze and potin are found in enormous numbers in most settled sites making up by far the largest proportion of coin finds in them. A certain degree of regional distribution is found still in these small value coins, but most types also travelled well beyond their place of origin (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:239f; id. 1970a, 1973b). Strabo (4.2.1) emphasized the ease of waterway transport in Gaul, which was exceptional by the standards of Méditerranean commentators, and was an important factor in the early exploitation of the province under the Romans (p.324 below). Soon after the conquest there was a general abandonment of hill oppida for new settlement in the plain below (Déchelette 1914:933, 950f; Eychart 1963; Vetters 1956). For specific cases of this phenomenon see for instance Mont Beuvray (Nièvre), Gergovie (P.D.), Puy du Tour (Corr.), Essalois (Loire), Les Mersans at St.Marcel (Indre) and Châteaumeillant (Cher); the latter two continued for longer than usual to be occupied under the principate, and a number of 'capital' oppida which were not sited in specialized defensive positions were never abandoned, for instance Avaricum/Bourges and Lemonum/Poitiers.

A number of factors probably influenced this change in settlement. First and most important is likely to have been the establishment under Roman influence, and perhaps insistence, of towns which 'owned' the territory they stood on, and were organically connected with it rather than standing

over against it as accessories - centre-places and refuges for the people - but without sovereign rights to the land, which resided in the tribal groupings of the society (Vetters 1956). In addition there may have been Roman objections to the continued existence of politically important Celtic towns; most of the ones abandoned were important religious sites long after they were abandoned for occupation, and their pre-Roman population would appear to have consisted of the political nobility and their entourage including skilled artisans and craftsmen. A factor linked with this process was the inconvenience of a number of oppida sites which could be bleak and sometimes not easily served with water. Transport costs would also have been cut to a significant degree with the move to the plain. Town development in Gaul was rapid from the conquest, and accelerated by it, but it was not until the Flavian period that stone buildings became a regular feature of their construction in most parts of the Centre: St.Marcel (Indre) is a good example. It is not until that period either that Roman coin became an important proportion of the coinage used and lost in the oppida and towns, as compared with Gaulish bronzes and potins which formed the great majority until then.

* * *

I propose to look at the later la Tène archaeological record of the Centre from two angles. In the first place there is a negative definition of the Centre area, at least with reference to the south and east, due to the contrast between the material culture of the areas in more direct and systematic contact with the Mediterranean and the culture of Central areas in less immediate contact. Secondly there must be an examination of the area as a whole in itself, a process which I hope will reveal something of the regional differences in material culture which existed within the Centre. Because of the nature of the most available records for la Tène III, I have concentrated almost entirely on fortified enclosures, major settlements, and a few exceptional smaller sites; some burials of earlier periods are noted

but they are comparatively few as the records were generally insufficient for use in a study of the present scope.

SECTION I CHAPTER 2

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AREAS TO THE SOUTH AND EAST OF THE CENTRE.

Page

32 Introduction

33 the south-west.

33 the north-east.

37 Côte-d'Or.

41 Nièvre.

44 Saône-et-Loire.

47 Loire.

Chapter 2

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AREAS TO THE SOUTH AND EAST OF THE CENTRE.

There is a notable contrast in material culture in the late Iron Age between on the one hand the peoples situated along the Garonne and Rhone valleys and on the south coast, and the peoples further inland. This contrast is largely due to their long term and systematic contact with the Mediterranean, and manifests itself not only in the very large number and variety of imports, but also in extensive local imitation of imported products, or use of Mediterranean techniques of architecture. In a significant number of cases, first and second century development of this nature has in this region a history going back to the fourth or even fifth centuries, and occasionally beyond that. Most of this area was incorporated into the Roman province in the last decades of the second century, and thereafter had a fully Gallo-Roman culture which only thins out significantly toward the area of Vienne (Isère) on the east, and to the north of the Garonne on the west (see appendix V).

One very striking difference between the Centre and these surrounding areas, which form a gigantic crescent around it, lies in their different use of currency metal in the late fourth to first centuries. Partly this was a result of different choice of prototypes and probably of different sources of original exposure to the use of coinage (sect.III p.171), The regions in question within close Mediterranean contact used silver coinage almost exclusively from the outset; in the Centre gold coinage predominated until the Roman conquest, with a few exceptions which are connected in origin with developments of the silver coinages of the Garonne basin within the Mediterranean current, and are important elements in the complex cultural characteristics which link most of the Centre more closely with the South-west of Gaul and even Spain than with the east.

Important Mediterranean influence was not confined to the area covered by the Roman province, though before the late first century this was the area where it was mosy systematic and thorough. In the south-west there were places not far from the provincial border which were fully in the Mediterranean current from an early date, as for instance Ste.-Eulalie-de-Cernon (Avey.) which had considerable Mediterranean trade in the fifth to third centuries. Although the site itself was more or less abandoned after that except for cult purposes, the surrounding area shows abundant evidence of continued imports of amphoras, Campanian ceramic and possibly roofing tiles into the first century (Gallia 1968:522, 1966:417). La Graufesenque near Millau (Avey.), also outside the province, seems to have had regular imports from the Mediterranean in the second and first centuries including Campanian ceramic, amphoras and a Massiliot coin (Gallia 1954:193f). Such contacts form the background to the early prosperity of la Graufesenque after the final conquest of Gaul, and the growth of the important Gallo-Roman pottery industry there.[5] For a number of other sites in this part of this belt see the section on Dordogne, L+G, Lot and Aveyron (p. 98 below). One might compare the phenomenon of the early contact with the Mediterranean and early development of town living with areas in a comparable position with relation to the province on the east, such as Côte-d'Or and Nièvre. In particular it is worth noting the great quantities of imports of amphoras and Italian pottery from the second century onwards in this south-western belt next to the Centre.

It is in the north-east, however, that Mediterranean influence outside the province is most remarkable before the conquest. In part this may be a legacy of the Mediterranean trade with the peoples in northern France from the sixth to fourth centuries.[6] Although after that there was a long interruption, and the la Tène culture of the peoples to the north and north-west of the Rhone was a fully Celtic one not hellenized even to the extent found on the south coast, it was materially more advanced than was

the case at the same period in the Centre. For this reason it constitutes an area of contrast with the Centre.

In the first place, coinage in the area under consideration (roughly Bourgogne, Nivernais, parts of Champagne and Lorraine, and Franche-Comté) was by the early first century almost exclusively in silver, and in weight or sometimes type was being deliberately imitated from Roman denominations. This observation holds less true for areas north-west of the upper Saône, where gold continued in places to be used alongside silver. The adoption of silver during the second and first centuries by the Aedui, Sequani and Lingones, and the failure to abandon gold of the Arverni and Bituriges who were their immediate neighbours in the Centre, is only one indication of the cultural and political differences between them.

There is considerable contrast between this block and the immediate area to the north-west - Aube and Yonne - where development in the first century was less advanced. It would be valuable to have a brief account of this less advanced area before turning to the precocious region further south. At Isle-Aumont (Aube) an isolated hut was found containing potsherds and traces of bronze slag dating to la Tène III, but was apparently a poor establishment (Gallia 1955:147). At Mailly-le-Camp (Aube) the find of a gold torc of late independent date is a fairly clear indication of the persistence of archaic and traditional ways in the area (Gallia 1969:300). At la Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Aube) the Gallo-Roman pottery industry was preceded by a pottery works dating to la Tène II and III, proof that the area was not altogether backward (Gallia 1967:281). Troyes (Aube) had a fine late la Tène pottery industry; grey and black ware of rough hand-made types continued in use alongside fine wheel-turned pottery decorated with ruler-straight combed geometrical patterns. Possibly the oculated decoration found on some sherds is an indication of imports: it is also found at Mont Beuvray, Alesia, Châteaumeillant and at various Central sites (Brouillet and Soutou 1959:399). No Mediterranean imports are recorded for Troyes,

however (Gallia 1964:295f).

Cheny (Yonne) had a long occupation: burials of la Tène I and II are found there, and there were permanent constructions in the form of double quadrangular enclosures (?defensive) in the la Tène period (Gallia 1954:514f). Dressel I type Italic amphoras are found in what may be a late context at this site (Gallia 1958:311f). Yonne is within the area where the la Tène culture first developed in France; Serbonnes (Yonne) has yielded a Hallstatt/la Tène complex. To the south of la Tène burials there is a roughly quadrangular enclosure where la Tène I bracelets have been found. This is possibly the first known example of a building whose primitive state could go back to the Hallstatt period; if it was for ritual or funerary purposes it could be a prototype of the Celtic 'heroön' and one of the earliest known (Gallia 1962: 477f). Possibly it is to be associated with the prototype Celtic fanum in the forêt de Châtillon (St.-Germain-le-Rocheux, C.d'O., p. 39f below).

At Tonnerre (Yonne) there are remains of a metal workshop of entirely native type; it was probably made of wood and clay and thatched, and was used for iron manufacturing. All the pottery found there was made without the wheel with the exception of a lid, but it is all of la Tène III types. This was undoubtedly an isolated settlement and apparently a poor one (Lacroix 1955). Another purely Celtic settlement was at Gurgy (Yonne) where there was la Tène occupation on a sandy area; the pottery is of rough quality and there are no recorded imports (Gallia 1964:329). Villemanoche (Yonne) had another poor Celtic village on sandy soil; the site was surrounded by a ditch which was filled in at the end of the la Tène III period. The village was not abandoned in Roman times, when a villa was built nearby (Gallia 1964:336-7). At la Chapelle-Vaupelteigne (Yonne) a Celtic settlement preceded Gallo-Roman occupation; it was a rural establishment and pottery consists of poor sherds in a 'Hallstattian' tradition together with dishes of la Tène type with incurved rims: this is a pattern found all over Gaul. There are no signs of important buildings or of any imports (Duchatel 1970).

Further north Mediterranean imports and influence in the second to first centuries were even less radical than in areas to the south outside the province, though the choice of silver for coinage indicates some common interest with the peoples in the main Mediterranean current. The Saône-et-Loire region will be discussed below. Ambérieu-en-Bugey (Ain) was within the early range of Mediterranean communication: fourth to third century imports are found, though they are probably of a casual nature (Gallia 1958:371f). Lons-le-Saunier (Jura) was a thoroughly Celtic settlement, but had a good road at an early date (Gallia 1970:356). Besançon (Doubs) had first century imports of Dressel I amphoras (Gallia 1953:134f), Campanian pottery (Gallia 1968:443), and had a first century gravel-paved road (Gallia 1970:351). Mathay (Doubs) had a clay terrace by the river; Italic Dressel I amphoras were found and rectangular houses of wood and clay roofed not with thatch but with poorly fired tiles. This feature is certainly evidence of Mediterranean contact (Gallia 1964:395f).

Montjustin (Hte.Sao) at le Fenis had a la Tène III sanctuary with pottery of a type found at Basel; coins go back to the mid first century at least (Gallia 1958:343). This was a place beyond direct Mediterranean contact to judge from the absence of imports and the fact that at this late date the pottery was all made without the wheel. Pierre d'Appel at Étival-Clairefontaine (Vosges) has a strong south German type of culture until the first century when Celtic material of la Tène type appears, though of a poor quality and indicative only of sporadic use of the site. Imports were confined in the second and first centuries to a few Dressel I amphoras and a little Campanian pottery in the late first century. This site is also therefore beyond the normal reach of Mediterranean trade (Gallia 1968:392; 1970:302; 1972:369f). Immediately inside the rampart the stratification was: 1. Second century. 2. End of the second century to the beginning of the first. 3. Mid first century starting around 60. 4. Second half of the first century, after 37 to the early first century AD, after 21. 5. End of

the second century AD to the beginning of the third. A lot of material was found in all levels - coins, pottery, arms, tools, iron and ornaments. Some huts were cut deeply into the earth and were occasionally large with dry stone walls and postholes in various arrangements. These are found in the first three levels; the last two were not permanently occupied. Saint-Dié (Vosges) also had a thoroughly indigenous culture, with silver and potin coinage, metal works and some good pottery and glass beads; there are no signs of imports of any significance. An arsenal of granite balls and pebbles suggests troubled times,and this site together with Pierre d'Appel may have played a part in the disturbances recorded in the first book of Caesar's BG (Gallia 1966:305f; 1968:404-5; 1970:313-4; 1972:375f).

Bearing in mind, then, this record for areas further north, the relative advancement of the Lingones, Aedui and Segusiavi in the region immediately outside the Roman province is worth tracing in more detail because of the comparison it will afford with the Centre. The French départements in question are Côte-d'Or, Nièvre, Saône-et-Loire, Rhône and Loire.

Côte-d'Or, Nièvre and Saône-et-Loire are situated in a geographically privileged area, with easy access of the rivers Rhone, Loire and Seine. Undoubtedly this position had much to do with the apparent prosperity of the late la Tène period here, as a great deal of trade passed through this part of the country in various directions. One might recall the prosperity of the late Hallstatt period in the area, notably at Vix (C.d'O.), on which see Joffroy (1960).

COTE-D'OR

Côte-d'Or, situated as it is at the sources of the Seine, had an early history of trade with the Mediterranean, to which the great crater and other Greek imports in the royal tomb at Vix (near Mont Lassois) is testimony (Joffroy 1960). Vix was not occupied after that in la Tène I and II, but does have a la Tène III level which does not appear to have been very distinguished.[7]

Alesia (Alise-Sainte-Reine) and its neighbour Grésigny-Sainte-Reine were both occupied well before the Gallo-Roman period, when Alesia underwent the sudden urbanization also in evidence at Mont Beuvray (Nièvre), Châteaumeillant (Cher), Gergovie (P.D.) and St.-Marcel (Indre).[8] Although the murus gallicus at Alesia is of the fully developed sort with nails, and therefore dates to not much before the Caesarian war, there are abundant traces of an earlier wall of dry stone, which the later wall was designed to supplement (Déchelette 1914:959-60). It is not clear how old the first wall is, but it seems that permanent occupation of the plateau is confined to the final phase of la Tène. Recent excavations in the la Fanderolle area (Gallia 1972:443f) show the earliest occupation level not to be later than the end of the first century. Grésigny-Sainte-Reine is older; the note in Gallia 1960 refers to Hallstatt period hut floors and pottery, but does not say when the site was abandoned if at all. The standard of building in the pre-Roman oppidum of Alesia was high. There were a large number of hut floors cut into the subsoil and probably of the normal wood and clay type, but there were also some buildings with dry-stone walls of a more permanent nature. It was not until the seventies AD that stone became the normal building material in parts of Gaul not in the early current of Mediterranean influence. For instance, Metz (Moselle) was occupied from the sixth century and was of some importance in la Tène III. There was a Gallo-Roman précoce phase immediately after the Caesarian war, and a fully Gallo-Roman town thereafter. Yet light Celtic house construction was not replaced with stone or brick buildings until the Flavian period (Gallia 1958:323f). Argenton at St.-Marcel (Indre) had a similar la Tène development and again only adopted Roman building methods (and coinage) in the Flavian period (Gallia 1970:260). That the stone houses in Alesia were probably the accomodation of the wealthy is suggested by the fact that the huts in the artisan quarter continued into the Gallo-Roman period to be of the lighter variety.

Apart from Alesia itself, there is other evidence for the assertion

that this region was materially very advanced before the final Roman conquest.

While it is not unusual throughout Gaul to find traces of Celtic use below the Gallo-Roman levels of villas or temples, it is exceptional to find that there was a permanent structure before the conquest; this is particularly the case with temples. It must, however, be noted here that early wooden structures on cult sites that continued in use into the Gallo-Roman period may have existed elsewhere in France and been overlooked in excavations by archaeologists not alerted to their possible presence. It is only recently that such traces have been looked for, and not enough have been found yet to admit of safe generalizations. It is, nevertheless, in the region under consideration at the moment that most of the known instances of pre-Roman buildings are found, and without exception they are of 'native' construction; there is no reason to suspect direct Roman influence on the techniques or style of building.

Côte-d'Or has the forêt de Châtillon-sur-Seine, which was an important cult area both before and after the conquest, and the area is littered with Gallo-Roman remains, even at surface level (Gallia 1964:316f). Two Gallo-Roman temples there had Celtic wooden structures before the stone building was erected: Saint-Germain-le-Rocheux and Essarois.

Saint-Germain-le-Rocheux had its stone temple at Tremblois built on the classical 'Celtic' model of square cella and outside corridor in the first century AD; coins of Augustus and the colony of Nemausus are found in the first stone version (Gallia 1960:339f; 1962:447f; 1964:302f; 1966:393f; 1972:445). The sanctuary was probably thatched (Gallia 1968:487). Underneath, it was found that two wooden buildings had succeeded one another. Inside the wooden buildings were found brooches and iron 'omega' fibulae, la Tène I and II type iron fibulae and la Tène I,III, and Roman bronze fibulae (Gallia 1962:447f). Coins were mostly potin and were apparently found in several levels, which indicates that the areas in which they were found could be as early as the first century BC. If on other evidence the earliest structures where these

coins have been found could be dated, it would probably be valuable evidence for raising the date of the earliest use of potin coinage (sect.II p.269f).

The older of the two wooden buildings almost certainly dates back to the second century at least; this is an exceptionally 'advanced' piece of architecture for the period in the present state of knowledge. It appears also that in one of the versions of the pre-Roman temple there were stables or pens attached, indicating a complex and important religious place (Gallia 1966:393f). There was a big wall encircling the sanctuary, and there was apparently a central post. By the south wall of the enclosure was a furnace for lime, though this was not the original purpose for which the pit was dug. Apart from the temple and two chapels there were stables or open pens for sacrificial or sale animals which have postholes like the temple and are contemporary with it. Sherds and small objects from the pens are pre-Roman.

The temple at Essarois displays a similar history (Gallia 1962:450f; 1964:311f; 1966:392). Until 1966 the excavations seemed to have concentrated on the Gallo-Roman structure; then the previous history of the building emerged. There had been a large wooden building before the construction of the first stone one, and this in turn was much earlier than would normally be expected. This first stone building was built slightly to the north of the wooden one, which continued to stand until it burnt down and was replaced under Augustus. Coins and ceramic indicate that the earlier stone building was constructed around 80-60 BC.[9]

This was a cult site associated with a spring, and wooden ex-votos of the sort found at Saint-Germain-Sources-Seine have been found; this might throw some light on the origins of the vast deposit of ex-votos there, some thirty kilometres to the south, and those of very similar type and date at Chamalières (P.D.) at the outlet of a spring (p. 79f below). It has not yet been proved that Saint-Germain-Sources-Seine had a permanent pre-Roman building, or that the wooden ex-voto deposit could have had origins before

the conquest. About 190 ex-votos were found, and the latest contemporary pottery was of the period of Gaius or Claudius in the early first century AD (Gallia 1964:302f). It is very probable that Côte-d'Or was a region of great religious importance before and after the conquest, undoubtedly connected with the presence there of the source of the Seine.[10]

NIÈVRE

In Nièvre there is also good evidence of a high level of development of architecture before the arrival of Roman goods in any quantity. Mont Beuvray (Bibracte of the Aedui) is probably the most outstanding site, not least because of thorough excavations.(Déchelette 1914:948-57; Bulliot 1899). The other sites in Nièvre outlined below may owe much to Bibracte. As at Alesia, there were both wooden and stone buildings; the stone ones had neither tiles nor bricks, and only natural clay for mortar. The normal plan was rectangular for these. As was often the case in Celtic architecture, the floor of these buildings was cut into the soil; in other words, we have here again an indication of an indigenous technique of construction, influenced only in an indirect manner by Roman methods. Toward the end of the occupation of Mont Beuvray, which seems to have been abandoned before a fully Gallo-Roman culture evolved, some tiles had appeared, and this is certainly an indication of the presence or at least influence of Romans. As poor quality tiles appeared at Mathay (Doubs: Gallia 1964:395f) in what appears to be a pre-conquest context, it is not impossible that Bibracte was under direct Roman influence by the fifties BC. Politically it would not be surprising.

The palatial buildings in the oppidum described by Déchelette (1914: 953) as belonging to the rich Aedui of the time of Caesar may or may not be accurately dated to such an early period. It is not impossible; the coins listed by Bulliot are all Gaulish, though of the latest phase of native currency. The Roman coins noted in Déchelette are unfortunately not described by him in detail, but some are of Augustus and therefore post-con-

quest. It was probably under Augustus that the oppidum was abandoned in favour of Augustodunum, and I do not find accounts very clear as to the degree of building that went on between the war and the abandon; some thirty or forty years at very least elapsed, plenty for some of the most Romanized building to have taken place. Déchelette (1914:955) thought the most active period in the oppidum's development was the second half of the first century, which would cover the interval. The evidence does seem to suggest, however, that the standard of building on Mont Beuvray was considerably more advanced than that on contemporary oppida in the Centre.

The complex defensive system in the Morvan mountains north of Mont Beuvray has been the object of recent studies by L,M and G Olivier (1969, 1970). The cult site of Notre-Dame de Fauboulоin which is associated with Fou de Verdun is discussed in the 1969 article; the chief feature of the cult was the sacred spring. The éperon barré of Fou de Verdun was never permanently occupied and may not have been finished; the wall is a prototype murus gallicus, the beams in the wall not being secured with nails or iron pins. The road system which the forts were designed to protect was centred on Bibracte, and the construction of the walls at Fou de Verdun, being of a less evolved type, may have been earlier: the murus gallicus at Bibracte had nails and iron braces. What pottery has been found at and around Fou de Verdun is late la Tène.[11]

Mont Dône forms part of the defensive system in the Morvan which consists of le Dardon (S+L, 509m.), Mont Dône (513m.), Mont Thouleurs (600m.), Mont Beuvray (810m.), Château-Chinon (609m.), and Fou de Verdun (Nièvre). Mont Dône (Nièvre) is in the commune Luzy and helped to protect the Saône-Loire routes in the valleys of the Bourbince, Arroux, Alène and Aron. It was not permanently occupied, but was a refuge; the nature of the wall is not absolutely clear, but it was of stone and possibly some wood. There are three subsidiary transverse walls of stone, two of which do not reach as far as the outside surrounding wall (these are the centre two). Their function is uncertain, possibly, I would suggest, connected with pastoral activity. The 'citadel'

at the west end is cut off by the principal rampart and a ditch. The site is therefore an éperon barré at both ends, with a citadel distinct within it. There is a spring 100m outside the walls. There is no sign of a road running to the site, and no trace of hut floors; the only entrance is at the south-west (Coqblin 1970).

Part of this Morvan defensive system displays very advanced building techniques. L'Huis-l'Abbé near Corancy (Nièvre) is not apparently a fortress, but the occupation site corresponding to the refuge at Fou de Verdun (Gallia 1966:398; 1968:490; 1970:387). The site continued in use into Gallo-Roman times, but abundant evidence of its importance before the conquest has come to light. The pottery associated with the post holes of a wooden building is dated by the report in Gallia (1966:398) to the second or first century. The construction was arranged on two terraces; there are traces of a wall whose function is not stated but whose construction is like that of a fully developed murus gallicus. There are post holes suggesting a portico of semi-circular shape and there is a water conduit: this is a most unusual feature before the conquest. The site is only partially excavated, but it is clear from the reports that this was a fully Celtic construction. There were imports from the Mediterranean, but there is no indication that the inhabitants were other than Celts. There are none of the characteristic signs of Roman construction: no bricks, tiles or mortar, and there is no reason yet to suppose that the construction took place after the conquest. The construction is, however, most unlike the usual hut floors of the region, and the occupants clearly enjoyed a high standard of living.

Across the valley, at Outron (Nièvre) is another element in this system (Gallia 1970:387f). It is a site similar to l'Huis-l'Abbé, rather larger, but arranged on the same system of terracing and using a similar style of building. The buildings are quadrangular, wooden, and again there is no trace of bricks, tiles or mortar. The excavations have only begun; it appears that this site is more evolved than l'Huis-l'Abbé, but is still

pre-conquest.

SAONE-ET-LOIRE

Saône-et-Loire also contains a number of sites of great interest in the first century. At Varennes-les-Mâcon there was an enormous Celtic settlement with a la Tène III material culture; the site was abandoned before the arrival of any Roman products, which would indicate a date at least early in the first century (Gallia 1968:503f). The buildings were of the native Celtic light construction, of circular plan, and dug into the sand (as often happens, the site's existence was brought to light by quarrying for sand). What is interesting about this site is the pottery industry. Two or possibly three kilns have been found; Gallia (1970:393) reports a kiln but it is not clear whether it is a newly found one or one of the two already known. Of the three series of pots made, only one is almost entirely hand fashioned; the other two, including the series of dishes with incurved rim, are made on the wheel. Yet the site as a whole is not a particularly 'rich' one. Most of the luxury goods are glass objects and fibulas. It is possible that the pottery industry had economic importance for the village; very similar pottery is found outside the village itself and might have been made there - for instance it is found at Saint-Symphorien-d'Ancelles (below). More importantly, an extraordinary number of silver and especially bronze coins have been found in the village. As both these currency types found a widespread use in exchange, their presence is of importance. The brief and inadequate description of the types found indicates a date in the early or mid first century at latest.

In a letter to me, A.Barthélemy stated that the two most common coins found were (a) potin with a butting animal and head with two bands and (b) silver obols of Massilia with on the reverse a cross and MA in two of the quarters. The extensive use of this coin is very interesting so far north.

At Saint-Symphorien-d'Ancelles, some ten kilometres downstream from Varennes, the remains of the shallow foundations of a pre-Roman building have been found under a third or fourth century dry-stone Gallo-Roman villa (Gallia 1968:501; 1970:393). A little pottery of the same type found at Varennes is in these ditches, together with some fine painted ware and what seems to be an imitation Campanian ware vessel. Also in the ditch in this context was found the obverse die belonging to a series of silver coins which circulated in this area probably in the early first century. A jug also excavated, however, would appear to belong to the Gallo-Roman précoce period; whether it was associated with the die is unclear.

The 1970 Gallia report is somewhat vague about the material found in the trenches. In the same letter, A.Barthélemy made clear that no coins of the type struck from the die have been found in the ditch in which the die was buried; neither have any blank flans been found in the neighbouring ditch. The excavation was an emergency, done in great haste, but even given that circumstance, in the fourteen trenches dug, no coin of any sort was found. A fifteenth trench was dug methodically in 1969, in which a single silver coin, but of a different type, was found. Few sherds were found, but they were not much scattered and could be reconstructed for the most part, indicating the original existence of relatively few vessels. There were also very few animal bones. These findings are in strong contrast with Varennes, where the excavation was also an emergency, but where a large number of sherds were found with a lot of animal bones and fairly numerous coins (above). The occupation of Saint-Symphorien was contemporary with Varennes, but was occupied much less long. The site had in fact a very short occupation: Barthélemy suggests a connection with a movement of peoples or war refugees, and it is near a ford of the Saône. Barthélemy is probably right in his suggestion that the isolated die was an object abandoned on the departure of the inhabitants. The concept of fixed places for mints is probably misplaced at any stage in Celtic history;

a mint was as portable as a blacksmith's equipment, and was regularly taken in the train of armies as in the example of the dies found at Puy de Corent (P.D., p. 200 below).

Other sites in Saône-et-Loire are less informative for present purposes. At Mâcon (Matisco) the la Tène level is characterized by an area of beaten earth and baked clay; the walls of the enclosures were plastered with clay. Foundation trenches contain stones and amphora sherds and there is evidence of systematic cattle-raising in the late la Tène level. Only a few late potin coins are found, and so far there is no conclusive evidence of 'urbanization' at this site for all its historical importance (Gallia 1970:393).

Saint-Martin-Belle-Roche had Beuvraysian ceramic of pre-Roman date, and considerable debris of Dressel I type amphoras. Among the stamps still legible are K.H.D, K.I.D, and D.A(?).M (Gallia 1950:151). The settlement at Marloux was by the road of Agrippa which presumably had an iron age ancestry here. What appear to be traces of late la Tène and early Gallo-Roman occupation were found - rough and decorated indigenous ceramic, some fine red and white painted pedestal vases that may come from Lezoux (if so, this is of some importance), about 15 Dressel I amphoras and a little Lezoux sigillated pottery. Coins are mostly potins or Roman coins and the potins are of late types; the settlement here was probably on a Roman crossroads and may have been a mansio under the empire. The la Tène finds are inconclusive, though it is clear that the pottery falls into the two usual categories of rough 'posthallstattian' and fine 'la Tène'. There are traces of metal working associated with the pottery (Armand-Calliat 1944).

At Azé a canal of wood was found leading from the place where the underground stream la Balme surfaces; about 30m of it have been uncovered. The canal was plastered with white marl before the trench in which it was laid was filled in. Two transverse barriers of wood formed a basin; the whole structure has not been uncovered, so it is not known where it led to.

Pieces of amphora, tiles and bronze pins with rolled heads suggest a dating to late la Tène III or Gallo-Roman précoce (Gallia 1964:422). Near Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, at Petit-Chauvort, a great amount of la Tène III material has been found: painted vases with a white background and red decoration in bands or lozenges, fine black, grey or pale coloured ware, and Campanian A and B ware and amphoras were found. The site is near a ford, and aerial photographs show on the opposite bank what may be a Gallo-Roman camp with a ditch. The find of Campanian ceramic so far north is unusual and important (Gallia 1972:459f).

* * *

The départements Rhône and Loire furnish the remaining contrast with the Centre. There are not here any such spectacular developments as were seen further north and the main contrast with the Centre is twofold: the long-standing and exclusive use of silver coinage, and the volume of Mediterranean trade.

In the Forez mountains between the Segusiavi and the Arverni there was a system of fortresses not unlike that in the Morvan. Once again protection of an important trade route may have been part of its purpose, though pastoral use cannot be precluded. Renaud (1962) lists the forts in the system as Essalois, Crêt-Châtelard, Joeuvres, Montarcher, Montorcier, Pic de la Violette, Plateau de la Danse or d'Essumin, and Eychande. The line of these forts he considers to coincide with the Roman administrative border between Aquitaine and Lyonnais. Gallia (1966:493) adds Chazy, cne. Saint-Georges-de-Baroille.[12]

LOIRE

Essalois (cne. Chambles, Loire) is the best excavated of these hill forts, and is situated on a bend in the Loire itself. By 1962 it was recognized that Essalois was an important emporion site during the first and second centuries BC if not earlier (Renaud 1962; Gallia 1966:493; 1971: 416; 1973:520; Preynat 1962). Finds included amphoras with the stamps

MN, PHI, MAHE, and LIPE (Gallia 1968:565). Renaud suggested that the modern name may be a contraction of an earlier *Uxellodunum.

The dry stone ramparts were a form of 'murus duplex', 2.15-2.50m thick consisting of two faces with rubble between them. Although some wood may have been involved in their construction it was not a murus gallicus, and it may date to late la Tène II (? early second century). Renaud compared it with the wall of Gergovie (P.D.) which was entirely of dry stone. There were two concentric enclosures (Gallia 1971:416). The principal one at the highest point was the one within which there was permanent occupation; the rest of the enclosure seems to have been divided into sections, with accomodation following a rectangular pattern on either side of small parallel walls, and each island being independent. There was a permanent water supply, some of which could not be cut off from outside, and would have enhanced the strategic potential of the site.

Permanent occupation was at two levels. The first and apparently most prosperous can be dated by coins and pottery to the second century; this town was destroyed by fire, and reoccupied some time later, probably in the early first century. It was apparently in the reconstructed town that the rather complex layout described above was used.

All the reports comment on the very great numbers of coins and of imports found in the town. In the lowest level Greko-Italic amphoras are found (Gallia 1966:493), and in an unspecified context Italic amphoras of typed Dressel IA and IB have been found, as well as Campanian A and B pottery. Excavation in the centre of the most densely occupied zone has revealed a large building with annexes, the rooms grouped around a courtyard. Material included a lot of amphora fragments, some of which were stamped, Campanian B ceramic, a very homogeneous Celtic ceramic assemblage, and six potin coins with 'a bull'. This archaeological context is of importance for the early dating of potin coins. In the south-western area of the occupied zone, a wall was found forming the limit of a sector, and a lane linking two buildings; it was paved with slabs, one face of which was polished by use.

Several signs of houses adjoining the road have been found. The floors are in place, made of broken amphoras lying on a bed of gravel and irregular stones solidly heaped; the amphora sherds are convex side up and tightly packed, probably stopping seepage. A number of stamps have been recognized including a new one for the site, AHME. Clearly this site was in an advanced stage of urbanization by the first century, and compares favourably with the oppida and other sites of Côte-d'Or and Nièvre above. Fibulas of la Tène II have been found on the site, although this in itself does not necessarily mean that occupation of the oppidum began much earlier than the beginning of the la Tène III period perhaps in the later second century or even the mid century.

The coins found are frequently from the early first century, although it appears that the oppidum was used sporadically until the end of the first century - a Roman coin of c.38 BC has been found. For coin finds in more detail see appendix XII no.9. The significantly large number of coins of Massilia and the occasional coins from Spain may be evidence of far-flung contacts (perhaps even tolls on the river) in the second and first centuries. In this respect there is a strong contrast between Essalois and contemporary oppida of the Centre such as Aulnat (P.D , p.63f below).

Its position on the Loire encouraged the establishment of an oppidum at Essalois. Other hill forts in the system in the Forez do not seem to have had the same sort of development, though as for the most part they have not been more than cursorily excavated, better evidence may yet turn up. The 'éperon barré' oppidum of Joeuvres (cne. Saint-Maurice-sur-Loire) is, like Essalois, sited on a bend in the river Loire.(Gallia 1958:363; 1961:445; 1964:426; Périchon 1961; Besset and Périchon 1964). The plateau is c.75 hectares in extent within the defences. Excavation so far has shown that it had for part of its defences a dry stone wall without wooden beams, at least in the part examined; the lowest level of occupation, directly on the granite, contains sherds of Augustan date mixed with Celtic la Tène III

pottery. Finds included a first century Italic amphora neck, a fragment of Campanian B pottery, an ovoid vase of a type common at Roanne, some fragments of 'Ionian' and 'Phocaean' decorated pottery, arretine sherds of VMBRICIUS, and two fragments of painted pottery of Roanne type.

As the site was abandoned apparently during the first century AD until the late second century, the very large quantity of sherds found in preliminary investigations indicates either a brief but intense occupation or a rather longer one than the finds in the lowest level suggest. Périchon (1961) thought that some sigillated sherds suggested occupation before 30 BC, most occupation in the first century AD, then a phase in the fourth to fifth centuries AD, while the la Tène III remains were scanty. As the soil may be very thin it might be expected that a well-defined pre-Roman level would be difficult to find. One might compare the situation at Clapas-Castel (Loz.) p. 88 below. The exhibition cases in the Musée Joseph Déchelette at Roanne claimed that fourth and third century levels exist at Joeuvres, as well as late independent Celtic, Gallo-Roman précoce and Gallo-Roman, but the main publications do not give infarmation about this early phase.

Crêt-Châtelard (cne. Saint-Marcel-de-Félines) certainly had an early occupation (Gallia 1966:493; 1971:415; 1973:521; Besset and Périchon 1964). It was occupied originally for about the same period as Essalois. The area of the enclosure is c.25 hectares, and it has a dry stone wall for at least part of its défences, reinforced with wooden beams fixed with iron clamps; the beams apparently run from front to back only, not parallel with the face. The site was occupied in all probability from the late second century until at least the end of the Augustan period; a second and possibly principal period of occupation was Gallo-Roman in about the second century AD, after which it was definitively abandoned.

Déhhelette (1914:1491) commented on the painted pottery found there, and suggested that the industry (which continued in the region at least at Roanne into the Roman period) may have been responsible for the name of

the commune Saint-Marcel-de-Félines (from figlinae). The painted pottery found on the site is of the type found at the same period at Roanne, but proof has been found that at least some of it was made on the spot. At the site of a kiln there have been found painted sherds and a block of red ochre for the characteristic red and white decorations.

The top area of the oppidum has dry stone foundations, and as at Essalois it seems that the wealthy lived there. Such structures are not found in most of the Centre area (Puy-de-Dôme has some of the exceptions), and may be indicative of an already advanced social stratification at an early period in this region, connected with its significance as a transport route (see sect.III ch.3 and 7). On the other hand, lack of stone-built houses in the Centre may as much be due to a different tradition in response to a less stony environment and the absence of direct contact with stone building traditions, as to a less stratified social structure at this time.

Unlike Essalois, few signs of imports have yet appeared at Crêt-Châtelard ('amphoras and some sigillated ware'), and the reports only mention two 'Gallic' coins, found in recently re-opened nineteenth century excavations. The presence of an important pottery industry and also of metal working would suggest that this was an oppidum of some local importance, though not with the inter-regional significance of Essalois. The abandonment of Crêt-Châtelard at the end of the second century AD coincides with the re-occupation of Joeuvres and also with the abandonment of a certain number of villae rusticae in the Roanne region and a sharp regression of occupation at Roanne itself (Besset and Périchon 1964).

It is Roanne which seems to have played the most consistently important role in exchange in the area in question between the late Iron Age and the Gallo-Roman period (Gallia 1961:444; 1966:491; 1968:565; 1971:412f; 1973:519f; Bessou 1964, 1967; Périchon 1964; Périchon and Cabotse 1964; Vernat and Périchon 1970). Its position on one of the most important crossing points

of the upper Loire, and at a point at a crossroads within a few kilometres of the territory of the Arverni contributed much to its early and prolonged prosperity. The fact of its importance despite not being a fortified hill-site emphasizes its dependence on exchanges connected with the river route. It is worth noting, however, that Roanne's prosperity was a relative matter. In la Tène times it was very small; only its rich pottery and coin finds would lead to the conclusion that it was an important settlement. A suitable comparison is afforded by Varennes-les-Mâcon (S+L, p.44 above). It was almost certainly not more than perfunctorily fortified; it is close to the mountains to the west and therefore had no need of elaborate defences. It was also subject to severe flooding: sand and silt form a layer over the occupation debris from time to time before the Roman period: the Romans may have . _ . improved the Loire channel. Marshes still exist in and around the town, though canalization has permanently removed the flood risk. Before the canal was built, the Loire was shallow here and easily forded upstream of the town; no traces have yet been found of a Roman bridge. Roanne certainly owed much to its position on the first navigable point on the river, and it is marked on the late imperial Table of Peutinger on a road from Lyon to Central Gaul (cf. Strabo 4.1.14).[13]

As at Essalois and Crêt-Châtelard, permanent occupation of Roanne may go back to the second century, although it was not until later that abundant evidence of occupation begins. Already in the earliest levels there are indications of the handling of trade from the Mediterranean. In level 5 on the sand, in association with a la Tène II fibula, there were found two Massiliot obols and some sherds of Campanian A pottery, and in level 6 there were sherds of Campanian B, some Massiliot coins and two potins (Périchon and Cabotse 1964; Gallia 1968:565). There are some indications of a palisade of some sort at this earliest stage (Gallia 1971:412f).

The architecture of Roanne has not yet been shown to be very impressive despite the apparent prosperity of its inhabitants; normal Celtic hut floors

are all that appear to have been found so far. A hut floor at the Rue Gilbertès site contained la Tène III material; it was covered in ash and contained a sandstone mill, and rough, sometimes hand-fashioned imitations of Campanian ware (Gallia 1971:412f). It seems that there was a dense population going back to pre-Roman times on the perimeter of the town (Cabotse and Pèrichon 1966). There are coins in all levels (see appendix XII no 10), all of them either silver or bronze, as at Essalois. Imports of Campanian pottery are also found from the beginning, and from the first century they were imitated either in hand-made or wheel-turned versions: Cabotse and Périchon (1966) consider Campanian B to have been most widely imitated. Amphoras of Greke-Italic and then Italic type are found from the beginning; Greko-Italic and Dressel IA are found in the lowest level (5), and Dressel IB in level 3 (Gallia 1971:412f). We have here therefore important evidence of Mediterranean imports to the town from its earliest period.

It was the local pottery industry, however, which was the most noticeable feature in the archaeology of Roanne both before and immediately after the Roman conquest. There are good pottery clays in the area, and beside the standard production of everyday wares and the more specialized imitation Campanian pottery, there was a flourishing painted pottery industry from the first century onwards at least (Périchon 1964; Bessou 1967). Unpainted pottery could also be of a very high quality. Some types, like the bowls with internal burnished stripes radiating from the centre are also found widely in Central Gaul (Pl.3). Rougher ware, especially 'Hallstattian' urns (Pl. 2.16) are most often decorated in a quite different style from that found over the mountains to the west in for instance Puy-de-Dôme (Pl. 1). At Roanne much smaller incisions and more elaborate patterns were favoured, and decoration on all types of pottery is more intricate than that found on similar types at the roughly contemporary Aulnat (P.D.) site (p. 63f below).

Painted Roanne vases (Pl.8) were exported, and some have turned up at Aulnat (P.D.) near Clermont-Ferrand (Cabotse and Périchon 1967:306), and

at Gergovie (P.D.: Hatt 1943). Further afield, Roanne ceramic of the period '120 to 20 BC' was found in the oppidum Truc at Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac (Loz.: Gallia 1971:405) and at Limoges (Hte.V) in a level dateable to Claudius-Vespasian, three fragments of Roanne painted bowls were found (Gallia 1973: 433-7). A 'Lezoux' tall painted vase found at Cavaillon (Vaucluse) at the oppidum St.Jacques could equally be from Roanne, and it is not clear on what grounds Lezoux was accredited with it (Dumoulin 1965). The painted pottery of Lezoux in Puy-de-Dôme was extremely like that produced at Roanne, and there may well have been a conscious connection between them (Déchelette 1914:1491 and fig.682.5 compared with 682.3). The illustration of the vase of Roanne type found at Gergovie (Hatt 1943, my Pl.8.72) is extremely close to those considered by Bessou (1967) to be of Caesarian or Augustan date, and the fragments from Limoges are very close in detail to the types shown here at Pl.8.72 and 73, the latter being from Lezoux and not Roanne. This Limoges find is considerably further afield than the normal predominantly regional distribution of bowls of this type (Périchon 1969). A further instance of goods typical of Roanne but found at a distance is a bronze fibula with two lion foreparts back to back holding a severed head in their paws which was found at la Couvertoirade (Avey.: Gallia 1964:431).

At Roanne the painted vases began to be produced in large numbers during the second quarter of the first century, therefore not long before the conquest. Associated finds include obols of Massilia or 'Tectosages', a small bronze of Massilia, a large number of potins (which is an important feature for the chronology of this coinage), an iron la Tène II brooch, a few sherds of Campanian ware, and Italic amphoras without stamps (Bessou 1967). Most of the everyday pottery was still hand-fashioned at this time and often rough, and the tall painted pedestal urns sometimes have animal designs on them; this latter technique is found on Marnian vases of the fifth and fourth centuries, and may be a conscious survival.

Vernat and Périchon (1970) consider Marnian la Tène I vases (c.450-300)

to have provided the inspiration for these animal designs. However, the famous vase fragment illustrated by Bessou (1967 fig. 3) as belonging to his period I is certainly misplaced. The decoration of stylized animals is archaic, but the fabric of the vase is a hard, very fine, thin and fully oxydized red pottery. Such a technique of firing was unknown in this part of Gaul before Roman times, and it is a highly accomplished piece of work. It is most likely, therefore, that this was a deliberately archaizing vase - a thing very interesting in itself - made once Roman methods were established in the area.

It is bowls of the second or third periods, however, that are found beyond the immediate locality in Auvergne and elsewhere. Bessou dates the second period to the time of the conquest, about the middle of the first century. Associated finds include potin coins, a few bronze brooches, large quantities of Campanian B pottery, and Italic amphoras with the stamps PH, DIONCR, ...TEMO, CL SEX and a corn ear. Period II saw a marked improvement in the ordinary ceramic which was often imitated from Campanian ware, and grey oculated decoration and stamped patterns occasionally appear for the first time. The wheel was now regularly used and graffiti appear, indicating perhaps increased literacy.

The third period is dated between the mid first century and Augustus, but before the development of the Gallo-Roman industry. A type of sherd found both at Aulnat and Côtes (P.D.) of probable Roanne origin is of this period, a small round bowl with white sides and a red band about an inch deep painted at the rim. Period III is fully Gallo-Roman précoce; typical ceramic finds include fine goblets decorated with stamps or the barbotine, and a series of decorated plates. There is no trace yet of sigillated ware. The deposits examined by Bessou are all from the same area under the Institution St.-Joseph, and are therefore reliable as a source for tracing the development of Roanne over the first century BC. This third period probably starts at a time contemporary with the period of greatest prosperity of Gergovie (P.D.) for which see p. 74f below, as coins found with period III

ceramic at Roanne are of types found in immediately post-conquest contexts at Gergovie. Bronze VERCA and IIPAD are found with period III vases, together with silver DVRNACOS-AVSCRO and a worn out Roman uncial as, potin coins, and one GERMANVS INDVTILLI L which may have been lost later than the deposit examined, as it was found at the mouth of the pit (Bessou 1967). As the first two types of coin here found with Roanne period III pottery are bronze types struck at one of the Puy-de-Dôme sites (possibly Gergovie), this, together with the pottery finds above provides suggestive evidence of the existence of direct contact between Roanne and Gergovia in the later first century BC.

Roanne probably acted as the most important point of contact between the Arverni in the Centre and the Celts in contact with the Mediterranean along the Rhone valley once systematic intercourse between them was established (cf Strabo 4.1.14). I do not see any real evidence for this traffic in the la Tène period before the mid first century, possibly not until the fifties and forties. It was during the second and third periods of the painted pottery industry at Roanne that virtually all pottery began to be made on the wheel, and Mediterranean contact appears to have become regular; it is clear that a high standard of material wealth was enjoyed at Roanne during this period.

There are other sites in the Rhône-Loire area which have some bearing on the matter in hand. Amplepuis (Rhône) has a small enclosure of c.80 metres square; coins and ceramic finds date it to the la Tène period, and there are no Gallo-Roman traces. Dressel IA amphoras were found, and Campanian ceramic including some type A; there were also examples of imitation Campanian ware, painted pottery, and some tall vases of a poorly known variety. There were none of the bowls produced by the fully Gallo-Roman industry at Roanne after Bessou's third period. The most numerous finds were sherds of 'posthallstattian' urns with shoulder decoration, flat base and everted rim, or flat bottomed dishes with incurved rim. Decoration apart from the shoulder markings on the urns was rare. Amphoras were 'like those found at Entremont' and could date from the late second or

first century, c.125-75 ? The Campanian ceramic was of the late second century. There were few fragments of bone in the enclosure and no hut floors, and it was probably a cult site of some description. In the nineteenth century a pit was found in the 'sacred' zone. The site was destroyed violently before the Roman period and never re-used (Gallia 1966:498g). At Débats-Rivière-d'Orpra (Loire) is an éperon barré over one of the two routes between the Forez and Auvergne (the valley of the Auzon). Remains of a hut have been found and at the west end a dry stone wall prolongs the rampart. There are traces of conflagration in the interior. Outside there appears to be two distinct occupation levels separated by fire, one of la Tène I and the other la Tène III. The first level contains slabs calcinated by the fire; the second has ceramic and traces of post holes cut into the rock in an east-west alignment which follows the general diraction of the hut. Pottery is entirely local and small objects consist of nails, fibulas and a ring (Gallia 1971:414; 1973:520). This is one of the very rare Forez sites dating to la Tène I. Five levels in all have now been found: 1. nearly sterile, with a few scattered sherds of mixed type; 2. a grey level with abundant material; 3. yellow earth and pebbles; 4. a grey archaeological level with ash at its bottom; 5. a sterile level at -1.40m. Three ceramic groups may be distinguished: rough vessels with decoration by finger or poinçon; smoothed pottery which is occasionally decorated, and finely polished pottery with traces of the use of the wheel. Bronze objects have been found including an ornament with two stylized lion heads, an iron spearhead, bone objects and early la Tène pottery probably of local origin.

SECTION I CHAPTER 3

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CENTRE.

Page

58 Introduction

59 Difficulties with the archaeological material for the Centre.

63 Group 1 : Puy-de-Dôme and Haute-Loire.

63 : Puy-de-Dôme.

85 Group 2 : Cantal, Lozère and Corrèze.

85 : Cantal

87 : Lozère

89 : Corrèze

98 Group 3 : Dordogne, Lot-et-Garonne, Lot and Aveyron.

98 : Dordogne

99 : Lot-et-Garonne

99 : Lot

103 : Aveyron

106 Group 4 : Haute-Vienne and Creuse

106 : Haute-Vienne

108 : Creuse

112 Group 5 : Vienne and Deux-Sèvres

112 : Vienne

114 : Deux-Sèvres

115 Group 6 : Vendée, Charente-Maritime, Gironde and Charente.

115 : Charente

116 : Charente-Maritime

120 : Gironde

123 Group 7 : Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher and Loiret.

123 : Indre-et-Loire

124 Loir-et-Cher

126 : Loiret

128 Group 8 : Indre and Cher

128 : Indre

134 : Cher

143 Group 9 : Allier

143 : Allier.

Chapter 3

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CENTRE

I now propose to examine the archaeology of the Centre region both in its own right and in contrast to the areas to the eastand south of it which I have just covered. Despite the regional differences existing between various parts of the Centre in the late Iron Age, there are two features common to the area as a whole. In the first place there was an almost exclusive use of gold currency throughout the region from the institution of coinage in the late fourth or early third century until the mid first century. Silver currency was used, generally in areas where gold was also current at the same time, in a relatively limited region in the central-west area (parts of Limousin, Berry and Poitou), and it is noteworthy in reference to my next point that it is precisely in these areas that the greatest number of imports in the form of amphoras are found (maps 12-13 with 20), especially where light silver standards were in use in the first century. While it would be wrong to postulate a causal relationship between these two phenomena, it is of interest that both the amphoras and some features of the silver coinages in question have an origin in the south-western and Mediterranean areas of Gaul. The somewhat special case of Auvergne silver currency will be discussed in section II (p206 below). The use of gold currency in the Centre is in sharp contrast with those areas of Gaul which were in more regular and direct contact with the Greko-Roman peoples of the Mediterranean coastline, as narrated in the chapter above.

The second common feature of the region was that imports from the Mediterranean were of a relatively casual or sporadic nature until the mid first century with the important exception of amphoras and their contents. These were imported in very large numbers from the second century onward, but it is remarkable that they were virtually the only imports. A little Campanian pottery is found, mostly in the most urbanized oppida, but by no

means in all of them (map 21). When compared with the regions examined earlier in this section, the contrast is significant; in the Centre, most imports are found in the one region which made extensive use of light silver currency alongside gold.

These two factors, different use of currency and contrast in the extent of contact or trade with the Mediterranean, support the literary evidence for political differences in the first century between the Celts of the Centre typified by the Arverni, and those to the East, notably the Aedui and their dependents and allies. Differences between the Central Celts and the Belgae in the north do not express themselves in the same terms, though there was still less trade from the Mediterranean to the peoples on and above the lower Seine than there was with the Centre. Both the Central Celts and the Belgae used gold currency and had few Mediterranean imports; their differences lay rather in their two Celtic cultures and in the relative advancement materially and politically to be observed in the Centre when compared with the north or Armorica.

DIFFICULTIES WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL FOR THE CENTRE.

In handling the archaeological material from the Centre, the general difficulties outlined above (p.12ff) hold true. Excavations have not always been numerous in all areas, and of those which have been done, many are poorly recorded, especially from the nineteenth century. Precision in plotting the distribution of particular types of ceramic and other artefacts has therefore not been possible in the present study. Such work would require extensive examination of excavated material from a large number of sites which would be impracticable in a study of this type. There are several principal difficulties in working from reports published in the local and national periodicals which provided the bulk of my source material.

The first is that the vast majority of ceramic fragments found on sites of all sorts is virtually identical on all of them without spectrographic analysis. There are two particularly common sorts of ordinary ceramic. The

first is pots with a wide opening, high shoulder, slightly sloping sides, and normally a flat base, almost without exception made without a potter's wheel throughout the period (Pl. 1 and 2). When decorated, this most often takes the form of thumb prints or nail impressions around the shoulder; sometimes incisions or chevrons or other regular pattern is used, and sometimes a cordon of twisted or pinched clay is laid around the shoulder for decoration. These urns are always of very rough material and bonfired; their shape and medium size (say half to one gallon) as well as the patches of soot often seen around the base of them strongly indicate that they were the normal cooking vessel for the whole of the region.

The form of these vessels and their decoration is often described as 'Hallstattian' because pottery of this sort was used long before the la Tène period in very much the same form. It continued virtually unchanged throughout the Iron Age and into the Gallo-Roman period in the précoce phase; it is because of these pots in particular, and especially when the twisted or pinched cordon decoration is found, that imprecision over the general date of sites can occur in reports. There is not sufficient obvious difference between the shape or decoration of these vessels over the whole of the Centre for any conclusions to be drawn here about their regional distribution, and this work remains to be done.

The same problem of uniformity over a vast area affects the second ubiquitous pottery type. These are the 'la Tène' dishes with narrow base and wide opening, and often steeply incurved rims (Pl. 3 - 5). At first they were made without the use of a wheel, but those found in the most prosperous oppida such as Gergovie or Châteaumeillant were all made on the wheel by the mid first century. No doubt this development took place for this type of ware because they were primarily dishes for eating out of - few are charred, and these are only the largest and roughest ones. It was vessels for eating and drinking from that might be expected to be the first to display luxury qualities, not those confined to cooking and perhaps not seen at meals.

Nicklin (1971) discussed reasons for conservatism in pottery manufacture which are particularly relevant to the survival of 'Hallstattian' pots for use in cooking. These rough vessels were able to resist open fire cooking, which is one of the properties of very coarse pottery, and modern investigations in parts of the world where ceramic not unlike European Iron Age types is in use have shown that the taste of food is affected by cooking in denser modern ware, and therefore the adoption of mass-produced utensils is very slow. It is a possibility that the two factors of suitability for traditional outdoor or bonfire cooking methods and the effects on the taste of the food played a major part in the survival of archaic pottery types for cooking as opposed to serving-up and eating or drinking from. There was also possibly a class element in the phenomenon, for it is mainly fine (not cooking or storage) pottery types which were first made on the wheel and which were first to display characteristic Gallo-Roman précoce features in such pottery industries as at Gièvres (L+Ch., Gaume 1965; Jully 1961; but cf Ferdière 1972 on Gallo-Roman précoce storage jars).

Again, as in the case of the rough urns, I have not been able with these dishes to find any significant regional differenees within the Centre, with the possible exception of some of the finest decorated variety. As may be seen from the selection of examples on plates 2 and 4-5, both types of common ceramic are found throughout Gaul wherever Greek or Roman culture did not predominate in the la Tène period.

Decorated pottery and other fine ware should provide better material for investigating regional distribution, but in every case I have been able to study in any detail it has turned out that most of the fine ware was peculiar to the place where it was found. As the cluster of sites around Clermont-Ferrand are an exception in that they do display a certain degree of similarity between themselves, it is probable that more extensive excavation in the Centre as a whole would help greatly to fill in the

picture. As it is, it seems to be a matter of luck whether two sites in an area turn up comparable material. The few regional types which I think can be traced from the material I examined will be described as they arise below; however, I only suggest them tentatively, as statistically a sample of three or four sites over an area of a couple of hundred square kilometres is not very sound material, and I would for instance be unwilling to draw any firm conclusions about the circulation of coinage types on this basis.

I shall proceed to give an account of the sites in the Centre on which most information is available, and afterwards examine some of the general claims that have been made about them. As the material culture of the Centre was not absolutely homogeneous in the late Iron Age, I have broken it up into parcels of a few départements each for the account which follows, and I shall take them in the order which seems best to display any contrasts that exist between areas. The parcels are:

1. Puy-de-Dôme and Haute-Loire.
2. Corrèze, Cantal and Lozère.
3. Dordogne, Lot-et-Garonne, Lot and Aveyron.
4. Haute-Vienne and Creuse.
5. Deux-Sèvres and Vienne.
6. Vendée, Charente-Maritime, Gironde and Charente.
7. Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher and Loiret.
8. Indre and Cher.
9. Allier.

I have excluded from this examination the western départements (roughly Brittany, Normandy and Maine) as they form a culturally distinct region apart from the Centre proper; for the exceptional development of the oppidum at Tronoën (Fin.) see appendix XII no 19. The account of the départements in the south-west near the border of the Roman province (Dordogne, Lot, Lot-et-Garonne and Aveyron, group 3) will concentrate largly on the areas furthest to the north, as in the south they fell within the republican province, and as a whole they had close contact with the Mediterranean throughout la Tène.

Group 1

PUY-DE-DOME AND HAUTE-LOIRE.

These two départements formed the northern part of Arvernian territory in the first century, but as I have found no report of significant finds from Haute-Loire, I shall concentrate the account of the archaeology on Puy-de-Dôme.

PUY DE DOME

Because the Gergovia of the Bellum Gallicum was situated to the south of Clermont-Ferrand (Gallo-Roman Augustonemetum), there has been considerably more excavation in this area than in any other part of the Centre. Distinct and important evidence of pre-Roman occupation has been found at Clermont-Ferrand, Chamalières, Chanturgues, Côtes, Aulnat-Sud, and slightly further away at Merdogne (officially re-named Gergovie in 1862), Puy de Corent, Liozon and Puys de Voingt. The sites which certainly afford evidence of permanent occupation in the second century or even the third will be discussed first - Aulnat, Côtes, Chanturgues, Corent and Merdogne (whose early phase is more doubtful).

Aulnat-Sud (henceforth Aulnat) is about seven kilometres WNW of Clermont-Ferrand (Périchon and Vichy 1967; Gallia 1967:306; 1969:332; 1971:323; 1973:444f). It is one of the most important Central sites in terms of its early occupation and early imports from the Mediterranean in the la Tène period. Stratification at the site 'parcelle Giraudon' was: 1. worked earth; 2. black earth with plentiful la Tène material, the most important occupied level; 3. sandy bed; 4. black earth with some ceramic; 5. black earht which is more compact and contains pottery in a Hallstattian tradition; 6. natural sterile earth.

Occupation goes back to the third century with two major periods of activity: the first was well before 100 and the second from the end of the second century to the early first in all probability. In the earlier

period, described in the Gallia reports as la Tène II, there were already imports from the Mediterranean in the form of amphoras and Campanian ceramic. Gallia (1969:332) records amphoras in a la Tène II context with Campanian plates, and Périchon and Vichy (1967) say this was Campanian A; Gallia says they were Dressel I amphoras and Lamboglia 5, 28 and 36 pottery. There were signs of a still earlier occupation level below this.

The houses at Aulnat were apparently made of stone with square beaten earth floors and hearth emplacements made of pottery sherds. There were, apart from imports, a large number of sherds of local pottery, often of high quality, and occasionally imitations of Campanian ware. The mutilated skeletons of children and an adolescent have been found associated with the occupied area, apparently in the second stage of occupation (Gallia 1973: 444-5).

Despite the apparently high standard of living in evidence from the quality of the architecture and local pottery and the quantity of imports, Périchon and Vichy consider that the occupants of Aulnat were poor artisans and peasants, using as evidence for this statement the absence of fine metalwork. They consider the preferenee of the inhabitants for iron rather than bronze fibulas a sign of poverty, and remark on the prevalence of ceramic over metal utensils. I am not convinced that this conclusion is justified. Fine metalwork is to be expected rather in graves than in occupation debris, and the graveyard of Aulnat is not known or excavated. The ceramic finds at Aulnat are very impressive for such an early date in the Centre, and compare most favourably with for instance Roanne or Essalois, despite the fact that Aulnat did not command a river route.

In the Musée Bargoin in Clermont-Ferrand there are ten large boxes full of pottery from Aulnat. A great deal of it is fine ware, comparable in quality with Roanne material, although often very different in design and decoration. Even the rough 'Hallstattian' material is on the whole well made and carefully decorated. The Gallo-Roman précoce finds were

very much in a minority and there was very little stamped decoration. The characteristic 'Aulnat dishes' are not in fact common; at the outside there were fragments of half a dozen in the museum reserves; their main significance is their peculiarity to the site and perhaps the fact that they seem to have been designed to look like hanging bowls. Sigillated pottery is also very scarce.

The Campanian pottery found is of the same type as that found at Côtes (below). The decoration on Celtic ware is however not of types found at Côtes , and is more varied. Glass beads and bracelets have been found, which is surely a further sign of relative wealth, and might in addition prove to be valuable material for a chronological study based on comparison of burial goods and early oppida finds (p.17 above).

The second major period of occupation left debris which completely covers the first, after which there appears to have been a gap. In this second phase there were houses with circular foundation or drainage ditches, and in one case there were postholes around the periphery. It would appear therefore that the style of architecture was lighter in this second period than it was in the first. So far there have not been any reports of a rampart, undoubtedly because excavation has been confined to two small portions of the plateau. The second period was apparently prosperous, like the first. There was metalworking on the site: great blocks of unworked iron have been found, and basins for treating ore or receiving molten metal were found nearby. There were also possibly the remains of a paved road at this level. An inhumed burial with remains of a funeral meal were found.

None of the reports I read, nor the museum, commented on any coin finds, and it would appear that they were insignificant. Their absence, however, presents a strong contrast with such early non-Central oppida as Essalois and perhaps calls for explanation. The early levels at St.Marcel (Indre) also produced an important yield of coins, in further contrast to Aulnat (p.12ff below).

It is the pottery and imports which are most telling at Aulnat. Imports from the Mediterranean both in the first and second phases consisted of amphoras and Campanian pottery. The relatively early date of the settlement is indicated among other things by the find of a type of amphora which is known in a late second century context at Entremont (B.Rh.: Gallia 1967:306). Fragments of Dressel IA amphoras were also found, and a little Campanian pottery, not described in the report in Gallia 1971; as that found in the earlier occupation level was Lamboglia class A, the later finds may be B or C. The local pottery industry continued to flourish into the second phase, and many types of ordinary ware were developments of types found in the earlier level. This includes the ceramic cauldrons with two suspension handles which have been termed 'Aulnat dishes' because they have not been found elsewhere but are found from time to time on the site.

The first indications of direct contact between the Arverni of Puy-de-Dôme and the peoples across the Forez mountains is to be seen in the painted pottery found at Aulnat, some of which is extremely like the products of the earliest period at Roanne. The vases in question are tall, with everted pedestal feet and pronounced necks, and are decorated with red bands on a white background. One fragment with an animal design was found: this decoration was a feature of the first period at Roanne (p. 54 above). These were dated by Bessou to the early first century. At Aulnat in a 'la Tène II' context there have also been found goblets of a type known at Roanne, with thin but still hand-fashioned walls.

Aulnat produced at this time a series of painted ceramic peculiar to the site - wheel-turned grey cups with everted rims, whose surface was painted light brown and decorated with parallel lines with dotted patterns between them. The ordinary pottery of the site is that found throughout the Centre - big dishes with incurved rims, of grey fabric, shiny black surface and in one case concentric rings for decoration. These were clearly luxury quality vessels. The ovoid urns found found everywhere are also found here, and again the quality was very good. For the most part they

have a roughened surface on the body and sometimes a wavy decoration on the upper part. Finer versions in polished grey are also found; the form of the latter is said to recall some la Tène I types.[14]

The chief feature of the settlement at Aulnat, then, in the period between the early second century and the mid first century (after which the site was abandoned) is a considerable degree of prosperity. This is most in evidence in the fine quality of pottery found and the presence of such valuables as glass ornaments, but also indicated in the earlier period by the very solid architecture which probably existed, and by the fact that some imports were already made from the Mediterranean. Although they were relatively few, at least in the finds so far, they were important: evidence of any more or less systematic contact with the Mediterranean is important on social grounds, and especially before the mid or late second century when, as will be seen, there is evidence that imports of amphoras greatly increased in many areas.

The apparent connection of Aulnat with Roanne is also of great interest. This is not an isolated case, for other instances of Roanne type vases in the Clermont-Ferrand area will be noted below. I mentioned above (p.54) that the production at Lezoux of pottery very like that made at Roanne is unlikely to be coincidental but more likely a conscious imitation. The historical implications of this apparent connection across the Forez must be reserved for discussion elsewhere; that it originated before the Roman conquest seems certain.

The oppidum on the plateau of les Côtes de Clermont-Ferrand (referred to hereafter as Côtes) is the next most important early settlement in the area so far excavated (Eychart 1961, 1963). The plateau of Côtes is under four kilometres from the centre of Clermont-Ferrand, and stands some 250m above the town in a dominating position. On the summit only there was a fairly dense Hallstattian population; as the ceramic types are not mixed with la Tène vessels, Eychart believes this level represents occupation from before 450 into what is sometimes referred to as a 'post-Hallstatt' phase.

In other words, the rough Hallstattian types of pottery here, as everywhere in the Centre, continued in use virtually unchanged into a period when elsewhere in France a fully la Tène culture had been established. Eychart (1963) believes that Hallstatt type pottery in Auvergne (la céramique des plateaux) continued to be produced until the second century; it is not clear what evidence there is for this terminal date as many sites indicate that this type of pottery continued in use until the Caesarian conquest and beyond. For this reason this type of pottery in isolation cannot at the moment be used to give an absolute dating to a site; in the case of Côtes it is not at all clear from Eychart's publication how early the Celtic occupation of the site may have been.

The earliest la Tène finds are stylistically of the second period; la Tène II finds are made on Puy de Corent, but seldom on Côtes. La Tène III types are most common, and are found all over the summit and also for the first time on the slopes and by the streams at the base of the plateau. There was a dense permanent occupation of the site, though the absence of dateable imports or coins makes it difficult to be more precise about its date than that it was pre-Roman. Normal Celtic huts have been found at the top of the plateau, and two were under Gallo-Roman material at the site of the temple. One of these huts contained a Nauheim fibula, which probably means that occupation there continued until the time of the conquest. The find of a fragment of Roanne pottery (one of the immediate prototypes of the 'Roanne bowl') should help to date the level where it was found: it is of Augustan date at latest, of a type also found at Aulnat, a small white bowl with a one inch band of deep red at the lip. The most dense occupation was in the valley by the two streams, and a late la Tène burial was found in this area.

At least fifty different types of pottery have been found from this settlement, a large proportion of it made without the use of the potter's wheel, though it includes some fine wheel-turned grey decorated vases. At its best, some of this ware is superb. This is the case both for ordinary

and decorated ware. Eychart considers that the pottery is closely comparable with that of Aulnat; I think this is a somewhat misleading conclusion, as the settlement of Côtes appears to have been much poorer (at least on the slopes) than at Aulnat, there are no 'Aulnat dishes', and none of the fine painted and wheel-turned ceramic found at Aulnat. There are none of the Mediterranean imports either; we have here a classic example of the difficulties involved in comparison of sites in the Centre. I do not think it is possible at the moment to be sure at what point we have absolutely comparable and contemporary material from Côtes and from Aulnat. There is a strong possibility that at Côtes on the slopes at least we have a truly peasant population in contrast to Aulnat; the evidence for this is not only the overwhelming preponderance of hand-fashioned ceramic up to a date immediately before the establishment of the Gallo-Roman précoce culture, but also the fact that the population lived in the valley by the streams which is a characteristic siting for an agricultural settlement (sect.III ch.2). Where we have sites which have been excavated both at the summit within the defences and outside this area or on the : slopes (eg Essalois [Loire] or Puy du Tour [Corr.]), it would appear that the inhabitants of the summit were normally wealthier than those further away.

The fortifications of Côtes were of dry stone. The site is naturally very steep, and the defences surround the summit. They consist of a system of major and minor walls making up four or five parallel rows enclosing an area of about seven kilometres in circumference. There are cross-walls from place to place in a regular system, and the whole is compared by Eychart to defences seen in oppida in the Midi : he suggests comparison with la Liquière de Calvisson (Gard, Gallia 1971:390; 1973: 500f). So far the interior of this defensive system has not been examined; important comparative material should emerge when it has been.

The defences were built at one time and on one plan, the normal construction being 'murus duplex', big blocks of stone on the outer and inner faces with a filling of rubble, all without mortar. There is also an

underground refuge under part of the wall, not yet excavated. Attempts to ascertain the date of the walls have not proved absolutely conclusive, but as they reach to near the bed rock and are associated with 'posthallstattian' sherds at the bottom, it is thought that they are as old as the first settlement of the plateau, which on Eychart's dating would mean the Hallstatt period.

Eychart does not make this comparison, but it would appear from reports that the defences of Côtes are also rather similar to those at Essalois (p.48 above), dated possibly to the second century at an early point, and also probably Crêt-Châtelard (p.50-1 above).

It is one of the most immediately striking features of the countryside in the Massif Central that it is extremely stony. Granites and basalt, good hard building stones, are most common, and are often already broken into useful sizes by weathering. Creuse, Lozère and the southern region of this area are one of the few parts of France where dry stone walls have traditionally been used to enclose fields, and they are still very much a feature of the countryside to this day. Although wood is also very plentiful throughout this area, stone is so readily available, even to the extent of being an agricultural nuisance, that the development of a dry stone style of fortification is in no way surprising. It is significant that the northern limit of the popularity of dry stone walls more or less coinaides with the northern limit of the Massif Central.

The extent to which outside influences operated in the planning of dry stone fortifications throughout the Massif Central cannot be settled in the present state of knowledge, and certainly not in the abstract for all sites in general. To add to the difficulties, this is the area earlier described as suffering from extreme lack of archaeological attention. Mediterranean 'borrowings' could be so generalized and indirect as to be of little help towards an understanding of the Celtic culture. The development of the gold coinage is a good case of this process whereby a foreign cultural object was adopted and celticized; except for the very first issues,

any connection between Central Gaulish gold coinages and Macedon was purely notional or accidental. Similarly in the case of pottery decoration, it is sometimes said (for instance by Ward-Perkins 1941) that the use of wavy lines in decoration as found for instance at Puy du Tour (Corr.) is evidence of contact with the Mediterranean and provincial pottery decoration techniques. This is true and of some significance at the time of the adoption of the technique, but shortly the idea of using wavy decoration, particularly applied with a comb, was generalized throughout the Centre; at this point its origin is of minimal interest. Cases where the origin of painted decoration retained some connection with Celtic use are discussed by Jully (1961). Fortifications are the third technique to which this comment applies. Vetters (1956) argued for the direct influence of Greek methods on the construction of such fortifications as those at Mont-Saint-Odile. While this is clearly true, the degree of Mediterranean influence on the construction of later and more remote fortifications such as those in the Centre at Côtes or Puy du Tour must at best be very generalized and indirect. Vetters commented on the similarity of the fortifiaations of Gergovie and Heiligenberg; the common feature in these two cases must be Celtic, not Greek or Roman. Gergovie at least was drawing on a generalized body of knowledge, and there is no need to invoke direct Mediterranean influence any longer. The similarity between Côtes and oppida in Gard must be due to similar reasons.

Later (p.145f) I shall consider the recognized affinities of the material culture of parts of the Centre with the south and south-west, which are probably what Eychart had in mind. Seasonal contacts due to transhumance of sheep herds (map E) may have some bearing on the question: this part of Auvergne is the only part of the Centre to show consistent evidence of cultural links with the east of Gaul, the Rhone valley and the south-east. As there is also evidence in most of the prosperous settlements in the region of Clermont-Ferrand for relations with Roanne in the late la Tène period, it is at least possible that the Côtes system of defences was planned on similar lines to the architecture at Essalois or Crêt-Châtelard.

A date for the fortification of Côtes nearer to the second than the fifth century would accord well with the chronology of the occupation of Aulnat. A much earlier date is not impossible, however, and it would be of importance to have some firmly dateable material from the site. The absence of finds at Côtes dating to la Tène I (Eychart 1963) suggests that the appearance of la Tène type pottery there is not earlier than perhaps the second century. It is not clear whether vessels of this type are found in all levels or only at the top; if they are at any depth they might give a rough indication of the date of some of the 'Hallstatt' material.

What does appear fairly certain is that the very abundant but non-luxurious ceramic at Côtes on the slopes and by the streams seems to have been used until the conquest, as there is apparently no appreciable interruption of occupation between this stage and the phase of urbanization under the Romans. In conclusion, it is almost certain that the beginning of permanent occupation at Côtes in the la Tène period is as early as if not earlier than that at Aulnat.

From the material available in the reserves of the Musée Bargoin in Clermont-Ferrand, it would appear that Aulnat, Côtes and Gergovie were occupied over a period in succession to one another in that order, but with some chronological overlap. Some possibly imported material is the same at Côtes and Aulnat; some rough pottery is very similar at Côtes and Gergovie. The Gallo-Roman material is similar in all three, but forms a different proportion of all finds, being greatest at Gergovie. Some burnished and slip decoration is very closely similar at Aulnat and Côtes with a dark grey background and oblique line decoration, or burnished horizontal bands. An overlap between Côtes and Aulnat is difficult to specify because of the different nature of the two settlements as they are known so far: excavation on the summit of Côtes will probably be very helpful in this respect. Aulnat has yielded a large proportion of purely Celtic fine pottery which is nearly absent at Côtes and altogether absent at Gergovie; Côtes has a higher proportion of poor quality pottery, but of types closely

related to similar ware at Aulnat. Gergovie material is mostly Gallo-Roman précoce, and although similar goods are also found in smaller quantities at Côtes and Aulnat, at Gergovie this type of ware developed fully and is typical of the site rather than being randomly scattered. Some Clermont-Ferrand material is patently earlier than all the finds on the other three sites (with the possible exception of the earliest Côtes material), but a very few finds of later Celtic periods have also been made, though the la Tène period is poorly represented there in excavations so far.

The plateau of Chanturgues lies between Côtes and Clermont-Ferrand (Eychart 1963, 1964). Unlike most of the other inhabited sites in the area, Celtic occupation was not followed by Gallo-Roman. It clearly forms part of the same pattern of occupation of the area as does Côtes. The fortifications are of exactly the same type, but the houses on the interior have been found and are of square or rectangular shape and made of stone. This is comparable I think with the earlier occupation level at Aulnat, and also perhaps with Essalois (Loire). Fourteen of these stone houses have been located at the east end of the site alone; it would appear that this was an important settlement.

The pottery is not described in detail by Eychart; he says that it mostly consists of 'Hallstattian' types and a little la Tène. The illustrated specimens are like those from Côtes. The 'la Tène' pottery was found at the centre of the plateau, was mostly hand made, and some of it is said to be similar to that from Aulnat. Plates of a type found at Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) and also Gergovie, of Gallo-Roman précoce type, have also been found.

About Puy de Corent, 14 km south-east of Clermont-Ferrand and clese to the river Allier, I have been able to discover nothing more informative than that its chief period of occupation was probably la Tène II, and that the quantity of sherds of that period found there was greater than that from Côtes of the same period (Eychart 1963). There is a Dressel I amphora from

Puy de Corent in the Musée Bargoin at Clermont-Ferrand, and a large amount of Gallo-Roman précoce and Gallo-Roman material has been found there. For coin dies found there and probably dateable to the Caesarian war see section II p. 200 and ABT p.52. IIPAD coins of the Arverni are common on the site (ABT:420-1). The DAG under Martres-de-Veyre says that on the summit of Corent there were Gallic remains and earlier flints; finds included bronze objects, lead wheels and Gaulish coins including silver CVNANOS (sic), one IIPOS and bronze with a hippocamp. An apparently artificial lake is to be found on the plateau. It would be of value to know more of this site, as it is in an important strategic position, and might prove to be a major feature in the organization of the area in the middle and late la Tène periods.

The plateau of Merdogne is the last site in the immediate region of Clermont-Ferrand which has claims to an early occupation (Hatt 1943, 1947; Labrousse 1948, 1950; Brogan and Desforges 1941; Déchelette 1914:957-8; Jullian 1914:365-78). It is this site which has been called Gergovie since 1862, and which was identified as the Gergovia of the Caesarian war in the last century.[15] Under the Romans there was a flourishing town which was probably the site of the mint of Epasnactus (Caesar BG 8.44.6; Hatt 1947). It was therefore of some importance at the time of the conquest and immediately thereafter, but the history of the place before that is less clear. The overwhelming proportion of the excavated material from this site in the Musée Bargoin at Clermont-Ferrand is at earliest Gallo-Roman précoce. There is little clearly pre-Roman pottery there, and most of the fairly numerous coins are late.

Gergovie is situated some seven kilometres south-east of Clermont-Ferrand, the summit is very difficult of access, and there appears to have been a permanent water supply in the form of springs high up on the hill, above any point at which an enemy could easily cut it off. Therefore the fort at the top of the plateau had considerable defensive qualities. There were fortifications in the form of rough dry stone ramparts, and there is

no sign of a murus gallicus. The section of rampart on the west is unusually thin (2.20m) and was of late construction as a piece of Italic amphora was found under it. As the defences are, in the opinion of Brogan and Desforges (1941), a single system built at one time, it appears that they must as a whole be of late date, and these authors consider 52 as the probable date of construction. It is clear that the late Iron Age occupation of the site was very sporadic, and consistent with its use principally as a place of refuge. It was not apparently occupied in any systematic way until the mid or late first century. Large numbers of coins are found on the site, but all of them are of the conquest or post-conquest period; only two types of coin common at Gergovie are found on the battlefield of Alesia and were therefore in circulation in 51 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955e). Three silver IIPAD were lost at Alesia and 59 bronze CICIIDV BRI - IIPAD, but ADCANAVNOS and VERGA which are common at Gergovie are not found at Alesia. The development of Gergovie into what can genuinely be called an urbs or city only took place in the aftermath of the Caesarian war. Gergovia is referred to as urbs in Caesar BG 7.36.1 and 7.47.4; it is more often referred to as oppidum (eg BG 7.4.3). As this was where Vercingetorix was expelled from on political grounds it would appear that a settled town existed then, used by those who were politically friendly to the Romans up to 52, but this poses problems in the face of the archaeological evidence. It may be that Caesar, for his own purposes, conflated two sites (one a political centre in the Clermont-Ferrand area, the other more of a fortress at Merdogne), but it is not impossible that by the 50s the recently-settled site of Gergovie already had 'capital' political status. The question remains open.

Excavations subsequent to the publication of Brogan and Desforges' work have revealed something more of the pre-Roman occupation of Gergovie, but it still does not amount to very much when compared with Aulnat and Côtes. Labrousse (1948, 1950) states that the earliest occupation traces are 'post-Hallstattian' hut floors, of the third or second centuries,

apparently under the light thatched buildings which stood in the artisan quarter of the town in the Augustan period. He does not give further information about these early constructions, but does reassert that the general occupation of the plateau only occurred in the Augustan period.

This absence of extensive la Tène occupation is a problem in the face of the likelihood that Merdogne is the urbs Gergovia of Caesar. Labrousse suggested in 1950 that one solution to the problem is to re-date the 'Augustan' town of Gergovie to the Caesarian period. He pointed out that Arretine ware was found in the enclosure like that found at Ensérune in a context not later than 30 BC. The fact that IIPAD and CICIIDV.BRI - IIPAD coins were apparently struck in this town, and definitely appeared in circulation by 52 because they have been found on the battlefield of Alesia, is some support for this suggestion. There are, however, arguments against it.

Two of the commonest coin issues probably from Gergovie are VERGA and ADCANAVNOS which are certainly post-war issues and do not turn up at Alesia. The fine pottery of Gergovie is all of types not normally associated with a period prior to the conquest in the Centre: decoration made with the roulette similar to that at Mont Beuvray (Nièvre), and a bowl very probably from Roanne, but if so of the style of Bessou's third period which is post-conquest. None of this is very late, however; nearly all the coins are native issues, and most of the pottery is of the Gallo-Roman précoce style: I have not seen mention of significant amounts of sigillated pottery being found. The amphoras from Gergovie are Dressel I, which points to a date before the full Augustan period. From illustrations it appears that the ordinary pottery used on Gergovie was frequently very similar to that found on Côtes, which suggests continuity in time between the two (see p.72 above). This observation holds true also for some of the finer decorated ovoid vases. It is, however, fairly clear that the settlements on Merdogne and the slopes of Côtes were not socially comparable, and therefore it is difficult to guess at their relative dating.

If one accepts Labrousse's dating for the town at Merdogne, one is faced with a much fuller penetration into the Centre before the conquest of Mediterranean influences and goods than is normally found, and the town of Gergovie would prove to be an exceptional case. On the other hand, it is possible, and I would think probable, that the development of the town was given a boost by the Caesarian war, but that the sophisticated and prosperous early Gallo-Roman phase did not really get under way until after the war. There are political causes for this development traceable in the account given by Caesar and Hirtius: assuming it was Epasnactus 'amicissimus populo Romano' who struck IIPAD coins, his collaboration with the Romans undoubtedly originated before the encounter of 52, and he is likely to have been rewarded for his pains afterwards. The development of the fort at which he struck his coins into a true urbs was fully achieved after the war (it did not even have a wall in all probability until the fifties), but its construction may have begun during the war. The coinage and pottery evidence would support this, and we need only raise the date of the 'Augustan' town by a couple of decades. It is compatible with the evidence th suppose that the town was well developed by the thirties, although in 52 it had seen little permanent occupation since the Bronze Age.

As for the problem of its description in Caesar, two factors may be borne in mind. As Caesar came nearer to defeat at Gergovia than at any other occasion in the Gallic wars, it is not improbable that he used slightly misleading language of it. Alesia and Avaricum, at which the other two major sieges of 52 were conducted are the only other places to be called urbs by Caesar (seesect.III ch.2 under oppida). Secondly, even if the plateau of Merdogne itself was not yet as fully urbanized as other sites in the Centre, there is sufficient evidence that the Clermont-Ferrand area contained a complex of town settlements in the first century for the description of an as yet relatively minor one to be called an 'urbs'. We may note that Strabo (4.2.3) already refers to Nemossus (? Clermont-Ferrand, subsequently Augustonemetum) not Gergovie as the métropolis of the Arverni;

this hill-fort, like Bibracte of the Aedui and many others was abandoned in favour of a low-lying Romanized town in the Augustan period or slightly later.

It is not altogether clear what the relationship between Gergovie and Aulnat may have been, although Aulnat seems to have been occupied by a social class closer to that of Gergovie than of the slopes of Côtes. Aulnat was earlier at any rate, for the 'Roanne' pottery there is of the first period, and there were no coins. There are a number of other sites in Puy-de-Dôme which display evidence of late Iron Age occupation. In the following cases there is so far no sure evidence for occupation before the final phase of la Tène.

Clermont-Ferrand became the Gallo-Roman Augustonemetum, but it is only recently that pre-Roman occupation has been proved (Eychart 1964; Gallia 1959:374 - the Rue du Nord yielded a Dressel I amphora adapted to secondary use by a hole drilled in the base; Gallia 1965:398f; 1971:326f).

The oldest material at Clermont-Ferrand is very old and pre-la Tène. The site of the city would obviously have been of great agricultural importance as the plain of the Limagne on which it stands is very rich, and the city is protected on three sides by the foothills of the massif: Chanturgues, Côtes and Chamalières. In time of peace, as in the early Roman period, the site of the city was very suitable for permanent occupation. Before the conquest, however, its position was analogous in some ways to the physical situation of Roanne. The series of great Arvernian forts here under discussion all appear to have played a defensive role in relation to the fertile plain, where there may well have been a considerable concentration of population. For the concentration of Arvernian first century coinage in this valley see map 16a.

Two 'Hallstattian' hut floors have been found at Clermont-Ferrand containing 'typical Hallstattian sherds' (Eychart 1964). The report says that Hallstattian and la Tène material are mixed and that stratification

has been upset by later constructions. However, the la Tène pottery was like the ordinary ware found at Côtes and Aulnat, and from illustrations it seems clear that some of the 'Hallstattian' ware is also very like that found at Côtes. It is possible therefore that this is at least in part the same situation as at Côtes; some of the rough material could be contemporary with the 'la Tène' ware as at many other sites, although some uncontrovertibly Hallstattian material has also been found. That a significant amount of material is not very early is however suggested by a big campaniform vase found in one of the huts. If this is a matter of a rough imitation, we are probably dealing with material dating from not before the late second century.

A burial found associated with these huts cannot unfortunately be dated; it would have been interesting to compare it with the burials at Aulnat. From reference by Eychart to the decorations on pottery from the site in Clermont-Ferrand, it appears that the quality of the vessels was fairly high and some were painted. The present evidence does not really permit absolute dating, but the presence elsewhere in the city of Dressel IA finds including an important deposit of empties in a ditch, suggests that there was a first century settlement on the site of Augustonemetum.

Chamalières is now a suburb of Clermont-Ferrand on the west, and la Tène finds are frequent there (Gallia 1967:308; 1969:320f; 1973:439f). A gold stater of Arvernian make was found there, of the first century type on plate X.11 (Gallia 1963:395). In the early Gallo-Roman period, before the introduction of sigillated pottery, there was a cult associated with a spring 'source des Roches', and wooden ex-votos dating to the period immediately after the conquest have been found (Gallia 1969:320f; 1973:439f).

The find of ex-votos may be compared with the deposits at St.-Germain-le-Rocheux (C-d'O, p.40) and St.-Germain-Sources-Seine (C-d'O, p.40-1 above), and the one at Chamalières is of major importance not least because it has been fully excavated under excellent conditions in the last few years. Over

5000 wooden ex-votos have been found, all in the area where the spring emerged into a natural basin. No attempt at building on the site beyond a sort of irregular stone kerb to prevent damage by visitors or overflows, was made in antiquity, and no trace has been found of a temple or similar building. Coins found with the deposit were seven Nemausus asses with the crocodile and one Gaulish bronze VERCA, so that Augustan use is probable. Some of the ex-votos of busts of persons are of extremely high sculptural quality (illustrated Gallia 1973:442-3). Legs were the most common find however, then arms, while there were numerous 'pilgrim' figures with hooded cloaks, and various heads and busts. The overall collection is smaller and less varied than that at St.Germain-Sources-Seine, though it is so far unique in the Centre. A carving of a 'totem-pole' arrangement of superimposed heads similar to one found at Sources Seine was found at Chamalières. Animal carvings were rare; a bronze plaque with eyes traced on it was like one from Sources Seine, and also a lead tabella defixionis with its inscription in Gallic. All pottery found was of Gallo-Roman précoce type, which accords with the coins in date and would make the deposit approximately contemporary with or even slightly earlier than (or of shorter duration than) the Côte-d'Or deposits.

Two potters' kilns of pre-Roman date have been found at Chamalières, but the building or buildings associated with them have not been found yet. La Tène period sherds are numerous, and virtually all of them were made on the wheel. The principal types found are ovoid urns, dishes with incurved rim, plates and lids. The only hand-fashioned sherds were pieces of dishes, and are very closely like specimens from Côtes. It is worth remarking that Chamalières is only a few kilometres to the south of Côtes.

The ceramic at Chamalières is often of luxury quality, and was made locally as finds at the kilns demonstrate; some of the decorations are similar to fragments found at Côtes, and perhaps the finer vessels from Côtes were made at Chamalières. The fine decorated vases of Chamalières are not, however, found whole or in significant quantities in fragments on Côtes, and

seem also to be different from the majority of wares at Aulnat. Certainty is impossible in this matter without fuller publication of the material, but it would appear that Chamalières was the site of a later settlement of the wealthy than Aulnat, as the pottery is on the whole of a higher technical standard, and perhaps contemporary with the settlement of Gergovie, although there is apparently no record of the type of Gallo-Roman précoce pottery found at Gergovie of shiny grey fabric and roulette decoration. The only coin I have found recorded from Chamalières is the gold stater of Auvergne provenance, of a type in use in the early and mid first century, but not beyond the war.

The Gallo-Roman settlement dating to the immediate post-conquest period and strictly comparable in time with Gergovie, is directly above the Celtic level, and there appears to have been a general conflagration between them. It is noteworthy that in the pre-Roman level no imports have been reported, despite the prosperity evidenced in the pottery. This feature of the site recalls the situation at Aulnat and is a further contrast with Gergovie.

The immediate region of Clermont-Ferrand was densely occupied throughout the late Iron Age, as the sites examined above have demonstrated. Cemetaries are found at la Roche-Blanche ('cimetière de Gergovia') where sherds of la Tène date are found belonging to dishes with incurved rims and polished line decoration among others (Gallia 1965:409). A lot of coins including IIPAD and ADCANAVNVS turn up on the commune of la Roche-Blanche (Gallia 1963:500). Another cemetary is at Cournon-D'Auvergne, where pottery is rare, but there are la Tène period swords, fibulas and arm-rings (Gallia 1965:405 - the report is vague). At Pont-du-Château on the Allier there has been found a burial with a primitive urn with handles, flat plates and fragments of other pottery; it is of Iron Age date, but it is not clear when (Gallia 1955:189). At Tourzel-Ronzières there are numerous 'Hallstattian' sherds scattered on the plateau (Gallia 1965:410). It appears that here occupation was in two periods, the first 'protohistoric in the Hallstattian

tradition' when occupation was clearly fairly dense, but there are as yet no traceable signs of constructions; and asecond late Gallo-Roman period (Gallia 1967:311). I can find no evidence for a Celtic level under the Gallo-Roman temple of Mercurius on the Puy-de-Dôme. The DAG under La Tour d'Auvergne, on Mont Jarrige near Issoire records 'Celtic' dry stone buildings on the hill, but I have found no further record of them.

The site of Liozon is some fifteen kilometres south of Clermont-Ferrand and nine kilometres west of Gergovie (Eychart 1967). Despite its proximity to the area just discussed, Eychart was able to comment in 1967 on the poor record of excavations in Basse-Auvergne, of which Liozon forms part, a sad comment on the state of the Centre as a whole. A certain amount is known about this site, however, and it provides some comparison with Aulnat and Côtes in its fortifications.

The hill on which the fort was built is naturally very steep, and Eychart remarked that a large number of hill-tops in this area had at least sporadic occupation during the Iron Age, though their use as cattle-pens and refuges meant that there was little occupation debris. This plateau was occupied continuously until the seventeenth century and had a system of dry stone walls 1.30 - 6.0m wide nearly all the way round it. There was one ancient entrance in the west, and the wall was subdivided to form compartments. This feature recalls the structure at Côtes and Aulnat. Hallstattian type of pottery was found in some of these compartments; Eychart remarked that it was of the same sort as was found associated with similar defences at Côtes and Champgrillot near Riom (about which I have no other information).

A Hallstattian type of ceramic sherds forms the majority of the Iron Age finds so far, and differ from much other such pottery in the region in not having incised decoration. There are also some finds of 'la Tène III' pottery, consisting of pieces of oval vases, dishes with incurved rims, and plates. This proportion of 'la Tène' ware to 'Hallstattian' goods recalls

the findings at Côtes if they are contemporary; whether or not this is the case is not yet certain. It appears, however, that this was not, at least in the vicinity of the ramparts, a rich settlement. It would be of great interest to know the results of any excavations that might be carried out on the summit, where a more prosperous quarter might be expected. No coins are reported; it is possible that this site was permanently occupied at the same period as Aulnat.

To the west of Clermont-Ferrand, near the border with the Lemovices, there was an important Gallo-Roman cult area in the region of the communes Giat and Voingt (Gallia 1946:357; 1947:462; 1955:187; 1959:376). Coins of the type found at Gergovie, of the period around and immediately after the conquest are widespread in the area, and associated with the earliest Gallo-Roman structures. A GERMANVS coin was found in a Gallo-Roman context; in the temple excavations, the third level contained grey or black ceramic with wavy patterns or hatched 'fish-scale' decoration of Gergovie types. Level 5 was the lowest and contained one sherd of Campanian ceramic. In the la Tène level were four coins: 1 ADCANAVNVS in silver, 1 bronze CICIID... IIPAD, one silver of the same type, and one uncertain bronze (Gallia 1955:187).

There are also traces of earlier occupation at the site known as Puys-de-Voingt (Charbonneau 1957). There are first century hut floors by the road with indigenous ceramic of the varieties found at Gergovie and a sherd of late Campanian ceramic. The settlement may have been fortified because large blocks of stone are to be found strewn in fields in the vicinity of the settlement. On the highest point was a Gallo-Roman temple built on the Celtic pattern of square cella and peristyle; it is this building which had under it the traces mentioned above of a lighter previous construction, unfortunately not dated in the report. If contemporary with or prior to the conquest, this is an important finding for the Centre, especially if the lighter building was of religious significance (p. 39f above).

The pottery associated with the hut floors is of good quality; Charbon-

neau commented that although it may be classed as Gallo-Roman précoce, it is not altogether similar to finds at Gergovie and Mont Beuvray, and he noted that 'Hallstattian' types survived into the Roman period in the west of the département. From illustrations it appears that a number of fragments of ovoid vases were similar to profiles of finds at Côtes, as was also the case with a type of sharply carinated bowl, though here the similarity was perhaps less striking. There were also some imitation Campanian bowls very similar to ones found at Toulouse, and the carinated bowl has further analogies at Châteaumeillant, and possibly at la Graufesenque (Avey.) in the south (plate 10).

We have seen, then, that in Puy-de-Dôme, and especially in the region of Clermont-Ferrand itself, Iron Age occupation was dense, and prosperous for a few, from at least the late second century onwards, and that there were outside relations of some nature with the area of Roanne across the Forez. A Gallo-Roman culture took root early, but probably not until the fifties during the Caesarian war.

Group 2

CANTAL LOZERE AND CORREZE.

CANTAL

Cantal is mostly within Arvernian territory, as is Puy-de-Dôme, but here the record of excavations is very poor indeed. There is not a single well documented excavation of a hill fort. The plateau of Saint-Victor-sur-Massiac appears to be a sort of éperon barré but without an artificial rampart; sherds of Hallstattian type have been found on it (Gallia 1955:183). At the west end of the commune Charmensac there is a small plateau, naturally fortified, and here too there have been surface finds of 'late Hallstattian' pottery and some grey and black sherds typical of the first century. There have been no excavations (Gallia 1954:196). Ward-Perkins (1941) knew the pottery from Chastel-sur-Murat which he said was different from that in the tumulus of Celles (below) and much closer to the material from the early levels at Pont-Maure (Corr.), but I have found nothing more on this site.

At Mauriac, on a plateau south-east of Escoalier there are ruins which the DAG (under Mauriac) believed to be ancient: there is a wall 3-4m high, 10m thick and 80m long of small blocks of basalt, gneiss and mica schist. The basalt came from over a kilometre away. The wall was partially vitrified. To the west there were five enclosures of the same type, with walls of large stones covered in earth; the largest enclosure was 17m in diameter. A number of ruins of buildings or huts in dry stone were found in the vicinity, but again there has been no excavation which could suggest a date for these structures. Another site possibly dating to the Iron Age, but not apparently excavated under modern conditions is reported by the DAG under Roffiac. Here there were three groups of huts in the midst of fortified 'camps', two on the right bank of the Lander and one on the right. Of the first two, one was on the edge of the plateau Planèze, the other amid pine trees and enclosed by a triple row of walls. Excavation in the nineteenth century of the

principal hut yielded pottery, flints, bronze and iron objects and bones; the walls measured 8 x 4m, and the floor was roughly paved and cut 2m into the earth. Although this construction is compatible with Celtic building such as that at Aulnat (P.D.), the inadequate description is of no help for dating purposes.

Tumuli of the early Iron Age have been excavated at Salesses and Mons, and the tumulus of Broize-Auriacombe may also be early Hallstatt in date (Delporte and Vuitternez 1966). The graphite decoration of the finest vase in the Salesses tumulus has strong affinities with the civilization in the Midi in the first half of the Hallstatt period (plate 12), but the extent to which this strong southerly influence in Cantal persisted into the late Iron Age is difficult to ascertain precisely in the present state of knowledge.

The only tumulus of the la Tène period I can find any full material on is that at Celles (Déchelette 1914:1051-2, 1353, 1359, 1362, 1366-8, 1370-5, 1383-4, 1387-9, 1482). The pottery there was mostly rough and hand-fashioned ware of types known in the Hallstatt period, but there were also a few fine vases for instance with painted decoration of typical la Tène shapes though not made on the wheel. Ward-Perkins (1941) considered this to be a la Tène III assemblage despite the relatively rough pottery. Déchelette (1914:1051) rightly compared this burial (a cremation under a tumulus with abundant iron goods) with that at Dun-le-Roi (= Dun-sur-Auron, Cher). In both there was a mixture of goods comprising weapons and tools of all sorts; the Cher burial included iron keys and the objects appeared to have been burnt in a strong-box (de Lachaussée 1873). The persistence of tumulus burials in Cantal is an interesting example of the local persistence of archaic traditions in the Massif Central.

LOZERE

Lozère is on the southernmost fringe of the Centre, and was only slightly outside the full flow of Mediterranean goods into Gaul before the conquest. For instance, at Gatuzières l.d. Fontaine-d'Aures, in the late Hallstatt level Phocaean and Ionian type pottery is found together with hand fashioned local ware (Gallia 1971:401f, cf Jully 1961). However, in the la Tène period there are in Lozère no significant recorded finds of the characteristic Celtic coinage of the Garonne basin, monnaies à la croix, and in itself this justifies its inclusion in the Centre area.

Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac, one of the oppida of the Gabales, had considerable contact with the Mediterranean in the second and first centuries (Gallia 1971:405). There was a zone of permanent occupation along the rampart, and very homogeneous material remains dating from c. 120 to c. 20 BC. Although in a relatively isolated position, to the north-west of the Cévennes, imports in this period were frequent, and consisted of Italic amphoras, Campanian ceramic, Hellenistic ceramic, and pottery from Emporiae on the Spanish coast. Eleven coins have been found, from southern and Central Gaul, but they are not described in the report. Some painted ceramic from Roanne has been found which gives some idea of the distance these products could travel. There are extensive remains also of first century smelting and bronze working.

The evidence from Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac is therefore in some contrast to what has been found further inland in Puy-de-Dôme as far as relations with the Mediterranean are concerned. It is to be hoped that reports of the current excavations at Javols further north in the département will appear soon, as they should furnish important information about the late Iron Age in this part of the country.

Clapas-Castel (cne. la Capelle) is partially excavated (Soutou 1964; Gallia 1964:508). It had a multiple dry stone rampart protecting a high spur of rock; the construction of this rampart was considered by Soutou to

be primitive, of a type superseded later by the 'mur à poutrage assemblé à mi-bois' found at la Granède (Avey., cne. Millau), and which is of mid-Hallstatt date. The inference from this is that the rampart of Clapas-Castel was built at latest in the early Iron Age, long before the fortifications we have been considering above. A similar sort of wall is to be found in Aveyron at Clapas-du-Diable. Inside this enclosure were dry stone houses backing onto the rampart, which were probably thatched; they stood directly on the rocky earth without foundations. Between the ramparts, enclosures were formed with cross-walls which may have been gardens rather than animal pens, though one may have been a stable. It is not clear from the reports whether the construction of the ramparts and annexes is like that found further north, for instance at Essalois and Côtes; it could perhaps be a forerunner of the style. It is not clear either whether the stone houses were earlier than the light huts and were abandoned later; the soil is thin and it id undoubtedly difficult to date them.

The soil at Clapas-Castel was in fact so thin that there were few occupation remains except in fissures in the rock. It appears from these that there was a permanent Bronze Age settlement on the site, and nothing thereafter until the final phase of la Tène, when pottery very closely similar to that found at Roc de la Fare (cne. Laval-du-Tarn, Loz.) ten kilometres to the north-west have been found.

In the 'villa' of Pouzet du Marcayrès near Clapas-Castel similar pottery appeared in a late second century context, which may help to date the finds in the hillfort. The pottery was entirely indigenous, and is not similar to finds inland for instance in Puy-de-Dôme; it is related rather to pottery types found in the south and south-west. Apart from one fragment of an amphora body of Italic origin there were no imports whatever, and so far no coins. Soutou suggested plausibly that this site was on the annual transhumance route used by sheep or cattle owners in the Iron Age, running from les Garrigues of the Mediterranean uplands to the summer pastures of Aubrac (map E). This annual pattern of life would help to

explain the Mediterranean rather than inland affinities of the pottery. The housing of Clapas-Castel in the la Tène period may have been of wood and clay, as it seems some such constructions are traceable. After the Celtic occupation, which ended before the arrival of Roman goods, the site was abandoned until the late Roman period. It appears from Caesar's account of 52 that the Arverni had to go to some trouble to secure the cooperation of the Gabales, who shared a border with them to the south. What evidence there is suggests that there were apparent cultural differences between the two peoples (if the Arverni of Puy-de-Dôme form the basis for comparison), since the Gabales in Lozère were more closely connected with the peoples in the western Mediterranean area, possibly because of the importance of sheep husbandry in the upland or mountainous region inhabited by the Gabales. It is relevant here to note that it was a member of the Cadurci to the south-west of the Centre, rather than an Arvernian, who was expected to be able to secure their cooperation in 52 (BG 7.7.2).

Another Lozère site about which a little is known is the éperon barré at Saint-Georges-de-Lévéjac. The rampart is 5m thick and made of two faces of stone, a median stone wall and rubble in the gaps between them. Apart from a coin of Hadrian which appears to be out of context, the pottery found was all 'Hallstattian' and hand-fashioned (Gallia 1964:509). Late la Tène III or Gallo-Roman précoce ceramic including some oculated decoration and molette impressions were found at Montredon, cne. Laval-du-Tarn, attesting a pre-conquest or conquest period settlement (Brouillet and Soutou 1959).

CORREZE

Corrèze is within what was the territory of the Lemovices, on the west where it meets the Arverni. Two of the better known sites in the département are associated with this border area - Puy du Tour and Charlat.

Puy du Tour is situated on the Dordogne 1.5km from Argentat at an important point on the river (A and J Murat 1967; Murat 1962; Gallia 1954:197f;

1961:357; 1971:313). Excavation has not been very thorough, but the main features of the oppidum can be traced. It was not occupied under the Romans, and the latest ancient material is from the end of the Iron Age. The summit is difficult to reach, and so far only slight traces of a rampart have been found. Tt appears that it was made of dry stone, although the 1967 account by Murat suggests that there may have been wood in its construction. Not enough is known about the wall to make any inferences from it, though the author of that report considered that it was reminiscent of the oppidum at Montauban-sur-Buzenol (uncertain département : T+G?).

Puy du Tour was permanently occupied, as houde floors have been found, cut into the earth; in general type they are said to be very similar to the constructions at the oppidum of Montlaurès near Narbonne (Aude). One building in particular at Puy du Tour is impressive: like others, it is of stone, but is divided into three rooms, in one of which is a square hearth made of amphora sherds and baked clay. This probably dates to the first century, possibly early, and may perhaps be compared with the floors at Aulnat in Puy-de-Dôme (p.64 above) or Essalois in Loire (p. 49 above). At Puy du Tour there is good evidence of relations with the Mediterranean and the Roman province, not surprising in view of its geographical situation.

There are large numbers of amphoras of first century Italic type, and Campanian ceramic (though only a little, and of type C); some of the finest local ceramic was made in close imitation of Campanian types. Amphoras are found at all levels; only one chronological period is, however, represented at the site, though it left a layer of debris 30 cm thick with three apparent subdivisions. Coins have also been found throughout, in contrast with the Puy-de-Dôme sites, and perhaps related to the situation of Puy du Tour on the Dordogne. Coins are of mixed origin; they include the most northerly known appearance of the Narbonese coinage NERONCEN, which provides support for the conclusions drawn by the reports which note similarity in the site's construction with Montlaurès, and is further evidence for communication with the south-west. Other coins are from inland Gaul. One could be a silver

issue of the Pictones, though if so it is too light; otherwise it is a silver Massif Central issue, which is more consonant with its weight. The description given is that it is silver, 1.20g, Obv. ?head to the left, Rev. horseman on a horse to the right, with a trilobe flower below (Gallia 1954:197f). The presence of potin coins, the bronze Narbonese coin and the silver one from the Massif Central are strong indications that Puy du Tour was used as a market, and the presence of the amphoras might support this conclusion. At any rate it is a typical oppidum site. Nevertheless, when compared with a site such as Essalois (Loire), it is evident that operations were on a relatively small scale.

The pottery found at Puy du Tour is of two types, and the record here is very similar to that in the Puy-de-Dôme oppida. There is a large mass of 'Hallstattian' pottery, made without a potter's wheel, and of rough quality. Although the style of decoration is slightly different, the shapes of this pottery are those found throughout the Centre (Pl. 1-3). Then there is fine wheel-made grey pottery (Pl.3.23, 7.63), some of the painted types of which reflect Mediterranean tastes. Some of the fragments come from Spain. This class of pottery is all of 'La Tène' types; of the local types there are a number of tall pedestal vases of a sort I have not seen illustrated elsewhere.

What has been proven from Puy du Tour is that not only were the rough 'Hallstattian' and fine 'la Tène' potteries contemporary, as was found at Aulnat and Côtes (P.D.), but for the first time that the people who made use of the fine pottery appear to have lived in a distinct quarter at the top of the oppidum. As a result of exposure to the weather a proportion of 'la Tène' sherds have over time washed down the slopes and settled over the poorer quarters at the edges of the terraces, giving a superficial impression that two periods succeeded one another. However, excavations at the top of the oppidum have revealed a wealthy occupation level contemporary with the poor level lower down. At the top there were finds of jewellery including a polychrome glass bracelet. I am not sure whether it is of

social significance that it is also at the top that there have been found a basalt urn and another in pink sandstone, both of which materials had to be imported from some distance inland. Basalt had to come from the Massif Central some fifty kilometres inland, and pink sandstone might have come from as far afield as the département Cher (Laville 1963). Apart from the mills which were made on the spot where they were quarried at St.-Christophe-le-Chaudry (Cher), mortars, stone cups and an amphora were made there out of the sandstone. The sadnstone is pink and mills made there have been found mainly in the Berry area, so there is no good reason to suppose that this actual quarry supplied the sandstone material found at Puy du Tour. However, as such ware is uncommon, it may still have come some distance from a place specializing in the manufacture of sandstone vessels.

The conclusions drawn by Murat for Puy du Tour are that there was southern influence on the la Tène culture there, and that there was no hiatus between 'Hallstatt' and 'la Tène'. This latter phenomenon is, as we have seen, widespread throughout the Centre, and Puy du Tour furnishes unambiguous evidence that the apparent distinction between the two cultures coincided, in the oppida at least, with differences in wealth or class when the two types of material were of contemporary manufacture. As there are no Roman traces at Puy du Tour it is likely that its permanent occupation lasted from about the beginning of the first century BC until the time of the conquest, and was comparable in type to that found at Aulnat (P.D.), but with specific regional differences.

The éperon barré at Charlat near Ussel also lies not far from the border with the Arverni, considerably to the north of Puy du Tour (Vazeilles 1950; Cotton and Frere 1961). A late Iron Age cremation burial was found there, accompanied by pottery of two sorts, hand made pottery of the 'post-Hallstattian' sort found all over the Centre, and fine decorated grey Gallo-Roman précoce vases together with dishes with incurved rims and shiny black surfaces. This material is not unlike that found at Chamalières

(P.D.), and the funerary urn has a profile very like some of the fine vases made there, though the Gallo-Roman précoce pottery is later than the finds at Chamalières.

The north-eastern side of the spur is defended by ramparts which consist of a wall of gravel faced with stone and reinforced with wood. This is definitely not a form of murus gallicus, but of murus duplex; from the description it seems that the wall at Puy du Tour may also have been of this sort. An earlier and crumbled dry stone wall seems to have preceded the one that now forms most of the circuit. The principal wall was built at a late date, as occupation traces are to be found under it, including sherds from amphoras; possibly the defences were patched for the war of 52 BC.

It appears that the principal period of occupation of the site was during the first century, and that the site had no wall throughout this period. There have been no finds yet of settlement corresponding to the period of construction of the defences. The settlement at its height appears to have had similar contacts with the Mediterranean as had Puy du Tour. There are large numbers of amphora pieces in and under the wall and in the earth nearby; these are of Dressel I in type, similar to those found in the oppidum of Entremont (B.Rh.) in a context dating to 123 BC. Sherds of Campanian A and B have also been found, indicating a first century date. The local pottery often contains a lot of mica, which Cotton and Frere (1961) report to be a feature of Aulnat pottery in contrast to the Gallo-Roman précoce pottery of Gergovie (quoting Hatt). The same authors compare the fine grey pottery found at Charlat with similar ware from la Tène II levels at Toulouse. Although a few pieces of Gallo-Roman pottery have been found, it is clear that the site was not permanently occupied after the conquest. Even in the present rudimentary state of knowledge of the site, it seems clear that it may be comparable with Puy du Tour, at least in respect of its Mediterranean imports. It did not apparently suffer a violent end.

Other sites in Corrèze are known to have been occupied during the late Iron Age, but the records of them are less satisfactory. Le Châtelet (cne. Lamazière-Basse) is almost midway between Puy du Tour and Charlat (Gallia 1949:128-9). It is on a spur barred by two ditches with a bank between them. The hundred or so sherds found were dark grey or shiny black, and hand made; there were a few brick red pots of fine clay and possibly wheel turned, and also a brick red pot of coarse quality. All are said to be of Hallstattian type although oxydized ware is most unusual in Central Gaul before the conquest by the Romans. The author however remarks that a Hallstattian material culture was prolonged in Auvergne and Haute Corrèze, and a few dishes with incurved rims of la Tène type suggest a post Hallstattian date. There are possibly traces of vitrification in the wall, and the pottery found is apparantly of the same mixture of types as was found at Puy du Tour - 'Hallstattian' rough types and finer 'la Tène' ware. As is the case with several other places in Corrèze, nothing more precise is known of this site.

Pont-Maure (cne. Sérandon) is a small rectangular enclosure (Cotton and Frere 1961). These authors stated that the material from the site was no longer available for study as it was by Ward-Perkins (1941). The latter argued that there were rich stratified deposits from late la Tène and Gallo-Roman phases, and the material he published was of the second phase of occupation. The rampart was of heaped earth and the ditch had a flat bottom. The pottery was said by Ward-Perkins to belong largely to a period not long before the conquest, and the grey pottery of the second phase of occupation of the site was said to have analogies with Toulouse and the western central area of France (plate 13). There are no readily accessible records in more detail of this site, but it seems to conform to the impression gained from Puy du Tour and Charlat that in this area in the late Iron Age there were important cultural connections with the Celtic peoples in the south-west of France and the Garonne basin, a feature not displayed at the sites in Puy-de-Dôme, pace Ward-Perkins (1941). See p. 145 f below.

Other sites in Corrèze of which a little is known include Lissac (l.d. Grotte de Puy-Gerald or des Contrabandiers) where there have been found sherds of hand made pottery, smoetimes polished, of late Hallstattian types. The illustrations suggest types found elsewhere in a la Tène context, for instance carinated dishes and shallow ones with slightly incurved rims; with these was some grey or black Gallo-Roman précoce pottery (Gallia 1954:198). At la Moutte (cne. Sérandon) late Hallstattian type sherds were found with typically la Tène dishes in what appears to be a la Tène III context. Some amphoras (not described) were also found, and a Gallo-Roman funerary coffer (Gallia 1951:111; Cotton and Frere 1961:47-8). The site is about 73 area in size and has a spring near the north-west corner; the rampart is almost entirely of heaped earth and there is no trace of a wall. The pottery found is said to be like that from les Bessades (cne. Lamazière-Basse), Puy du Tour, and the sand quarry at Charlat.

At Margerides there is a big Gallo-Roman cult complex with up to three fana (Gallia 1969:318; 1971:311). A cult site of this size and importance may have some Celtic background, but so far excavations have concentrated on the Roman period. It was constructed early in the Roman period as coins of Gaulish types and of the colony at Nemausus have turned up (Gallia 1967:299). At Pradines a cult centre similar to that at Margerides has been found (Gallia 1967:300).

Cotton and Frere (1961) mention a few other sites in Corrèze: Puy du Chalard and Puy d'Yssandon (cne. Yssandon, p.43) which are neighbour sites and were probably occupied in la Tène III to judge from occasional finds there. The DAG under Puy du Chalard and Yssandon says that Puy du Chalard stands 300m over the valley, and has an area of about 20-25m wide at the top. Remains of three concentric enclosures in stone 'of various sizes' have been found, together with scattered objects such as a "Santones" coin, as silver "Lemovices" coin of the severed head group (map 13), a "Bituriges" coin, fibulae, bronze rings, an amber bead and coarse pottery.

On Puy d'Yssandon a first century Massaliot coin was found, and also a gold coin of the Pictones and a potin. Ancient remains are apparently often found on both heights.

Fontjaloux (cne. St.-Etienne-aux-Clos, Cotton and Frere 1961:44) is on a high promontory over a curve in the gorge of the Charanon. It has a strong rampart on the north-west and only one entry. There is no visible ditch and the rampart is partly crowned in stone; in area it is between 2.25 and 3 ha.There is apparently no indication of the period of its use. Puy de Sermus (ibid.:45), cne. St.-Genièz-o-Merle is on a granite hill, and the only defence is a rampart running east to west across the slope of the valley at one end. It has not been excavated and there is no apparent ditch. The defence is of dry stone and is about 300m long. If it is vitrified, as may be the case, it is the first of the sort known in Corrèze. Roche de Vic (cne. Aubusson, ibid.:45) is c.80 ares in size on a small mound about 636m high. It has a rampart and ditch with counterscarp except at two ends where fortification was unnecessary because of cliffs. The rampart seems to be of heaped earth which is stony in parts. Entry is at the south-west. Fenouillac (cne. St.-Etienne-aux-Clos, ibid.:48) is rectangular and only c.30 ares in size. There is a rampart and ditch all around it; the entry is apparently at the middle of the north-eastern side, but the ditch continues in front of the opening. Beyond the ditch is a hump, possibly a tumulus. The site has not yet been excavated. At Espartignac (ibid.:49) there used to be a dolmen on the site of an ancient enclosure, which is a small quadrilateral 100 x 35-40m. The top of the escarpment is over the left bank of the Vézère, and the natrue of the enclosure is as yet unknown.

Montceix had a history as a religious centre into the nineteenth century. The hill is terraced and inside are traces of a Gallo-Roman phase probably lasting from the first century AD onward, to judge from the reported pottery (Joudoux 1964). Coins are of the second century AD and later. The site was used as a burial ground at some point and one coffer contained

the mixed bones of a man and a horse; Joudoux suggested that it might be of la Tène date, which would make it an unusual burial. There is no other reported use of the site before the Roman period.

At la Croix Rouge (cne. St.-Fréjoux) an important homogeneoud deposit has been found, possibly funerary, and dating to la Tène. It includes combed urns with a short neck, cups and dishes with incurved rims slightly thickened on the inside and associated with larger vessels similarly made and done on the 'colombin', fired in reducing conditions. Decorations are nail prints, smooth cordons or a wavy line at the base of the neck. Some cordons are in a direct Hallstattian tradition thaugh forming part of a la Tène III collection. The deposit is roughly dated by the fine of the neck of an amphora of Dressel IB type. The deposit was very near some tumuli and coffer cremations(Gallia 1973:429).

At Jabreilles (l.d. Puy Chatelard) there is a hillfort over the railway line, not apparently reported since the DAG notice (under Jabreilles), which does not offer a date but comments that it had a paved road leading to it with wheel ruts 1.25m apart and a wall 5.10-6m high for half its length. The wall was at one point 15m wide, with a ditch outside . If it is of the Iron Age, this may be an important oppidum site.

Group 3

DORDOGNE, LOT-ET-GARONNE, LOT AND AVEYRON.

Excavation has again been very patchy in these southern départements. For the most part they lie on high and stony land, and as may be seen from the general map, they are densely littered with dry stone enclosures, mostly never subjected to archaeological examination. Many are small, and could have had uses connected with sheep husbandry. As these départements form the southernmost part of the Centre as here defined, and in many ways have most in common with the départements of the Garonne basin, I shall give an account only of the best recorded and most significant sites for present purposes.

DORDOGNE

The ancient Petrocorii are thought to have inhabited a territory more or less coextensive with the département Dordogne.

At St.-Médard-de-Mursidan, on a site called Plaisy, the bases of large sealed vessels have been found in ancient buildings, and about forty Dressel I amphoras very like those from the shipwreck at Dramont; stamps included DAM(A)? and PILIP(VS). It was thought by the author of the report that the amphoras were part of an exchange system between Campania and Bordeaux (Gallia 1965:425).

At Coulounieix-Chamiers (l.d. la Curade) there was a hillfort. Refuse deposits included debris of first century amphoras, a complete grain mill and one monnaie à la croix (Gallia 1971:351). Similar finds were made subsequently including numerous Dressel IA amphoras and one "plated silver coin struck at the beginning of the first century in Central Gaul" which is not more accurately described (Gallia 1973:463).

LOT ET GARONNE

At Agen itself, in funerary pits, four intact Dressel I amphoras and debris of others were found, and fragments of Campanian ceramic were found nearby (Gallia 1969:365). A la Tène II fibula has also been found there (Gallia 1965:429).

At Tonneins (l.d. Montamat) below the Mediaeval level, the next occupied level without any transition dates to la Tène II. In this level there are ceramic debris, baked clay hearths and ditches. Below that is a Hallstatt level containing hut floors, ceramic, two iron knives and pebble hearths. Ceramic on the site shows a progressive passage from Hallstatt Final to la Tène, and then a break without occupation until la Tène II; after that the site was abandoned until the Middle Ages (Gallia 1973:466). This find of la Tène II occupation helps to fill out the picture of la Tène Celtic presence in the Garonne basin early in the la Tène period as evidenced in the finds of precious metal goods and early coinage.

At Sos, four pottery kilns of la Tène III date have been found, and above them, sherds of Dressel IA amphoras which would ensure a first century date for the kilns at least (Gallia 1969:368).

LOT

Lot has a number of major fortified sites which have attracted some archaeological attention, largely because of the desire to establish the identity of the site of Uxellodunum (Caesar BG 8.32f). The controversy is old, and continues (Labrousse 1966), and I do not wish to contribute directly to it. I accept the identification of Puy d'Issolu with the ancient Uxellodunum.

Puy d'Issolu (cne. Vayrac) has been partly excavated (Labrousse 1966; Gallia 1957:277-8; 1962:593-4; 1970:431; 1972:503; DAG under Vayrac). The plateau is 80 ha in extent, 317m high at the top and 200m above the

surrounding villages. It is mostly protected by natural escarpments, but about 4500m of wall also exists. The DAG recorded an inner enclosure made by an earth bank with a platform inside 10-20m wide. The summit area is referred to as 'les Temples' and is likely to be the richest archaeological area, but the major part of the plateau has never been properly excavated.

Stray surface finds have included a fragment of an Italic amphora base. Finds made by agricultural workers have been very frequent and include much pre-Roman material: plentiful hand-fashioned Iron Age ceramic with decorations in the form of cordons of twisted or incised clay on the shoulder, or lines of impressed thumbnail or other decoration along the shoulder. Such ceramic is common in the oppida of Languedoc and Provence, for instance Ensérune (Hér.), and is typical of the Hallstatt period, although it continued in use much later as we have seen on almost every Central site of la Tène date. Finer ceramic finds are usually blackish brown or black, well fired and hard, always polished and sometimes brilliant. Typical forms are dishes or tronconic dishes with slightly incurved rims on a circular and slightly raised foot; a tronconic vase with a wide and slightly sloping mouth; a cylindrical vase with a similar opening; a biconic plate support of spool shape which is a rare find in Gaul but is typical of sites in Spain. This find is of some interest in a site to the north of the Garonne basin. In 'les Temples' a potin of 'grosse tête' variety with a head with two bands on the obverse has been found, of a type identical with one found at Puy d'Yssandon (Corr.). Other unspecified Gaulish coins have been found in this quarter.

Part of a dry stone rampart was found in 1914 (Gallia 1962:593f with photograph). Recent trial excavations at les Temples has revealed a roughly square hut floor of Hallstatt date with a Carbon 14 date of about 600BC. It was precisely like neolithic huts at St.Michel du Touch near Toulouse, implanted in a ditch whose sides were hardened by fire, and the floor built of charcoal was covered with a layer of calcinated pebbles.

Murcens (cne. Cras; DAG under Cras) is the largest oppidum in Quercy, and stands at the confluence of the valleys of the Ranse and Vers. The plateau measures 140-150ha and is surrounded everywhere by scarped rocks except at the north where there is a wall over 2000m long. The oppidum is about 316m high and stands 130m over the surrounding valleys. The wall at the north is a classic murus Gallicus, 5-10m wide at its base, 4-5m high and up to 10m at weak places. It has no foundations and stands on the rock. The exterior face is of large shaped vertical slabs without mortar. Wooden beams in the wall are joined by iron braces of square shape 0.32m long. At the most accessible part of the isthmus a ditch was dug 2m wide and 1.10m deep, 4.60m in front of the wall. In the angle at the south of the plateau on the slope is a triple enclosure of circular concentric lines made of earth banks topped by rows of rock and an artificial earth mound in the centre. This had not been excavated in the nineteenth century and its purpose is unknown. Gaulish coins from the oppidum include a bronze coin, seven monnaies à la croix of the Garonne basin and three small silver coins (appendix XII).

L'Impernal art Luzech is also an important Iron Age site (Labrousse 1966; DAG under Luzech; Gallia 1954:230-1; 1955:223; 1957:277; 1959:436; 1964:462). The area of the enclosure is about 10ha (DAG says 16ha), and it has a wall for 710m of murus Gallicus construction with iron clamps, and a square temple of 'Celtic' type inside. The site was inhabited probably until the first century AD and the wall was razed in the early Roman period. Coins found include two silver coins of the Cadurci of types like those in the Cuzance hoard, a Roman quinarius of T Cloulius, and two half-asses of Nemausus. These were found in a typically Gallo-Roman précoce context together with roulette-decorated ceramic very like that from Mont Beuvray (Nièvre). An iron working establishment has been found, with two furnaces, one for roasting and one for reducing the iron ore; it is probably to be dated to the first century AD since ceramic found with the

furnaces was a mixture of primitive grey and black ware, and red sigillated or pseudo-sigillated pottery. The temple's lowest level, on the bare rock, below a Gallo-Roman level dated by a coin of Nero, contained an iron spearhead, a large glass bead, la Tène II type fibulas in bronze and some coins. Ten Gaulish coins in all were found: three monnaies à la croix with triangular head 1.5-1.6g 'of the Cadurci', four other monnaies à la croix which were uniface, 1.1-1.2g, very like some coins in the Cuzance (Lot) hoard; one obol of the type LT XII 4365, 0.37g; one plated monnaie à la croix of Tolosa type with "cubist" head and an axe in the third canton on the reverse, and a 'drachm' of the Elusates type LT XI 3587. These coins are therefore all of Garonne basin provenance. Four Roman coins were also found including a quinarius of T Cloulius c.100-97, and two half asses of Nero. The Gaulish coins except the plated one were in the Gallic level just above the rock; the other pieces were slightly higher.

At Capdenac there are abundant Gallo-Roman traces in what may have been a late Iron Age hillfort. There are la Tène III hearth emplacements, ceramic debris and Italic amphora sherds. Animal bones, cooking refuse and fragments of mills have also been found in the town (Gallia 1970:427; 1959: 435; 1962:589; 1968:546; Labrousse 1966).

At St.-Céré there is a hillfort on a spur, cut off by a bank 580m long and 52m wide which the DAG (under St.Céré) holds to be older than murus Gallicus constructions because although similar in build, it has no wooden beams. Plenty of funerary vases and Gallic ceramic are said to have been found on the site.

At Cordes on the right bank of the stream Auross about thirty Italic amphoras of the late republic or early empire were found deposited in a neat row (Gallia 1959:443).

One of the most noteworthy features of the Lot sites is the frequency with which monnaies à la croix are found, which indicates its relatively close association with the Celts of the Garonne basin proper.

AVEYRON

A very great number of small sites have been examined archaeologically to a greater or lesser extent in Aveyron, and evidence for imports from the Mediterranean are abundant and early. On the other hand, no very large oppida of the type found for instance in Lot seem to be recorded.

At la Bastide-Pradines in the 'oppidum', apart from Gallo-Roman remains, some earlier material has been found, for instance Dressel I amphoras and rotary mills of porous lava. Either side of the road between the oppidum la Granède and Lapanouse de Cernon, on the edge of the valley of the Cernon, there is a vaguely rectangular enclosure with a dry stone wall 1.70m thick around a paved surface, and debris of Italic amphoras have been found there (Gallia 1959:410; 1962:549).

The oppidum la Granède (cne. Millau) stands above la Graufesenque. The site is defended; pre-Roman pottery found on the surface includes Hallstattian sherds showing Urnfield influence; evidence for Hallstatt I has been found and material is found for all other periods until la Tène. A potter's kiln has been found; at the foot of the rampart there were Hallstatt vases, Italic amphoras, storage jars and various typically Gallo-Roman remains. The rampart stands above evidence of Hallstatt occupation, and the promontary was occupied throughout the Hallstatt period, possibly abandoned at some point during la Tène and reoccupied in Roman times when it was given a solid masonry wall. There is a Celtic temple at the centre, as often in such sites in the region.

The oldest rampart is 'calcinated'; it is a wall of dry stone supported by wooden braces but not with the iron clamps of the murus Gallicus. It was originally built at the beginning of the Hallstatt period and was in ruins before la Tène III. The second rampart is la Tène in date and had a gate. A third wall, to the west of wall 2 is superimposed on it to the east and is late Roman, built before the final abandonment of the site. A building which touches this rampart has six occupied levels

from the bedrock upwards, all with debris of ceramic and animal bones. Level V, before the first wall is Old or Mid Bronze Age, IV to I are contemporary with the first wall and before the second and are all Hallstatt; level 0 is Gallo-Roman (Gallia 1959:410f; 1962:550f). At Millau itself and at la Graufesenque, Italic amphoras and Campanian A pottery have been found in la Tène III contexts (Gallia 1972:472-3).

At Rodez (Segodunum Rutenorum), clear evidence of la Tène III occupation has emerged in the form for instance of a deposit of twenty-five Dressel I wine amphoras which included the stamps LVCRIO and MN and were found together with micaceous black ceramic of la Tène III type similar to that in a low level at la Graufesenque (Gallia 1962:552f). Other first century amphoras and Gallo-Roman précoce material with rouletted decoration like that from Mont Beuvray, Gergovie or Toulouse have also been found (Gallia 1966:416).

At St.-Sernin-sur-Rance a small dry stone building has two adjoining rooms and two channels were cut; in one room is a small basin fed by water from a spring that used to flow nearby. A small amount of ceramic was found, and the report suggests that it was a 'rustic temple' built in the first half of the first century BC near a sacred spring (Gallia 1964:434).

At Ste.-Eulalie-de-Cernon there is an enclosure of early date. The thick rampart of the central wall is of dry stone 2m thick with two subsidiary walls which are 'calcinated' and had a framework of wooden beams. This is therefore a mixed fortifiaation derived from local Bronze Age and Urnfield traditions. There was a typical Hallstattian ceramic debris and fibulas, and also debris of Massaliot amphoras and sherds of 'Phocaean' pottery; the site was probably occupied from the fifth to the third centuries and relations with the Mediterranean coast clearly existed. Later occupation is perhaps confined to the first century AD when the sanctuary there was first extensively used (Gallia 1968:522). On the sanctuary see Gallia 1962: 554; 1964:434; 1966:417; it would appear to have been abandoned in the second century AD.

At Laissac in the hillfort Montmerle there have been found first century BC imports : Dressel I amphoras, Campanian A pottery (36 Lamboglia), small jugs of 'Catalan coast' type, local combed or burnished urns and tronconic bowls with incurved rims (Gallia 1972:472). At Nant on the Puech d'Ambouls there are traces of early fortifications, rough Hallstattian type pottery, la Tène III ceramic, a late Campanian A sherd and frequent Dressel I amphora sherds (Gallia 1972:477).

At Naucelle there were frequent Dressel I amphora sherds, a fragment of Campanian A pottery (36 Lamboglia) and grey and black la Tène III ceramic in the context of a hut floor or funerary pit (Gallia 1972:477). At Viala-du-Pas-de-Jaux (cne. St.-Paul-des-Fonts) on the plateau le Larzac there were two tumuli with inhumed burials together with fragments of Dressel I amphoras, two sherds of Campanian B and plentiful la Tène III ceramic (Gallia 1972:478).

It is evident, then, that in the southern départements here considered, there are a number of features not found further into the Centre. The most notable are the large number of small enclosures and buildings which remain, undoubtedly in part due to the use of local stone for building to an extent unknown outside the Massif Central; the early appearance and frequent finds of Italic amphoras especially in Aveyron and Lot-et-Garonne, and the predominance of monnaie à la croix finds over that of other types of Gaulish coin during the pre-Roman period. The Spanish plate rest from Puy d'Issolu is a further element in this picture. These features link this area more closely to the Garonne basin and the western Roman Republican province than to the rest of Central Gaul.

Group 4

HAUTE-VIENNE AND CREUSE.

Haute-Vienne and Creuse continue the picture which is emerging of the cultural affinities of the Lemovices who inhabited this area, and under the Romans had Augustoritum (Limoges) as their civitas 'capital'. The coins of this region, as will be shown below in section II, have their strongest affinities with coinages of the south-west and west, and it remains to be seen whether the archaeological record also presents this phenomenon. Unfortunately, neither Haute-Vienne nor Creuse are well covered by excavations, which renders this task difficult.

HAUTE-VIENNE.

For Haute-Vienne the only hillfort of any importance yet excavated is that at Saint-Gence, some 15km north-west of Limoges (Jugé, Dupuy etc. 1969; Gallia 1969:341). It was a terraced fort of about six hectares in area, with ramparts on the south and east where there were no natural escarpments. Jugé and Dupuy consider it a possibility that the Poitiers - Limoges road passed by the fort in the Iron Age. The most numerous finds in the area have been fragments of Gallo-Roman pottery and tiles and pieces of amphora; excavations outside the ramparts have revealed an important deposit of Greco-Italic amphoras of a type current in the second or first century BC. Amphora sherds are common throughout the commune and on the site of the fort, but this was the first find of a deliberate collection of them, about fifteen in number. The pottery with them was entirely of the rough 'post-Hallstattian' sort, with finger impressions on the shoulder of urns for decoration. They are too fragmentary to admit detailed comparison with other sites, but for instance the decoration is not unlike that found at Puy du Tour (Corr.: Plate 1.5). Only one Gallic

coin of pre-Roman date was found, which may have some significance in a place where such a very large number of amphoras are to be found; there is no mention in the report of finds of any other imports or of finer native pottery than that found with the amphoras, all of which was of very sturdy quality.

The authors of the report suggest that Saint-Gence may have been a place where wine was transferred from amphoras to some other sort of container, and was an important stage on one of the routes used for wine between Toulouse and the interior. They also suggest that Limoges itself may have been of little importance at this time (there are no important traces of the Celtic period there), and that Saint-Gence was a much more important settlement. This is a distinct possibility, though it would need more extensive excavation to prove it. The presence of so many amphoras is certainly exceptional, as is the find there of Roman coins of the late second or early first century, and it is normal for the capitals of Gallo-Roman civitates to be close geographically to important Iron Age settlements on defended hills, for instance Clermont-Ferrand (Augustonemetum) near Gergovia, and Autun (Augustodunum) near Mont Beuvray/Bibracte. The most that can be said at the moment, however, is that Saint-Gence was, during the first century and before the arrival of Roman goods other than wine, in a key position on a route used for wine into the Centre, probably coming from a south-westerly part of the coastline. The pottery and fortifications so far give no useful clues to the cultural affinities of the occupants of the site.

Villejoubert to the east of Limoges is one of the largest French oppida, but has not been excavated (Cotton and Frere 1961). A principal rampart encloses an area of about 350 hectares, and an inner defence encloses about 120 hectares. Possibly it is analogous on a far larger scale to the site at Charlat (Corr.). It seems that the wall may have been entirely of dry stone, though part of it on the west may have been of murus Gallicus construction like Puy d'Issolu just outside the south-west limit of the

département Corrèze in Lot. The Carte Archéologique de la Gaule Romaine for Haute-Vienne (Paris 1964:17) by Piganiol and Duval lists five hill forts which had a Gallo-Roman settlement following a pre-Roman occupation: 1. Châteauneuf-la-Forêt, 2. St.-Denis-des-Murs (Villejoubert) with a murus Gallicus, 3. Verneuil (camp Viallebst), 4. Saint-Gence, 5. Puy Saint-Etienne, which is described as the first nucleus of Limoges. At Limoges in the archaeological level dated to Claudius-. Vespasian there have been found three fragments of bowls decorated in a manner typical of Roanne (Loire) bowls of group C in the classification of Périchon (1964), thereby indicating a very unusual distribution for this type (Gallia 1973; 433f).

Minor or less well recorded sites in Haute-Vienne include a Gallo-Roman fanum at . Saint-Pardoux (Perrier 1965), one of the only two such religious sites known from Haute-Vienne, and an unusually small one. The other is on the summit of Puy-Château near Mont Gargan. Lack of excavation is probably responsible for this apparent scarcity, because Perrier noted a number of place-names which may recall the existence of an old cult site. The site at Saint-Pardoux is also recorded in Gallia (1965:386); no evidence of pre-Roman use has yet come to light. Montceix (Corr.) and Puy-Château are discussed by Joudoux (1964): Puy-Château was probably a sanctuary, and there is no evidence of pre-Roman use.

At Saint-Yrieix-la-Perche aerial photography has revealed the presence of a hillfory just outside the town, a familiar pattern throughout the Centre. There are seams of gold-bearing quartz nearby, and the function of the hillfort may have been to protect them or exploit them (Deffontaines and Delamarre 1958 vol.3 pl.298).

CREUSE

The record for Creuse is even less helpful (see p.13f above). At Crozant there is a dry stone enclosure by the side of a lake (Gallia 1971:315; 1973:423). Occupation there is aaid to have been continuous from the early

Iron Age until the Middle Ages, which makes it one of the most continuously occupied sites in Limousin. There are two ramparts, one pre-Roman, the other of the Middle Ages. Early remains are abundant, although early Gallo-Roman finds are not very frequent. There are remains of dry stone building between the two wall systems, and some horizontally piled blocks immediately under the Mediaeval rampart; so far these have not been dated. A fragment of Greek decorated pottery indicated some contact with the Mediterranean during the Hallstatt period, and the author of the report in Gallia says that a sherd of pottery decorated with graphite of a sort normally confined to Haute-Vienne and Corrèze was found there; the 1973 report records 200 sherds of Hallstattian graphite-decorated ceramic typical of the Massif Central. Unfortunately there are no illustrations of this. A typically la Tène I fibula was found at the bottom of the excavation trench after heavy rain which damaged the cutting.

A certain number of nineteenth century excavations or surveys of sites in Creuse are recorded in the DAG. The more informative may be noted here. Puy de Gaudy (cne. Ste.-Feyre, under Puy de Gaudy and Ste.-Feyre) was an important oppidum about three kilometres south of the present prefecture of Guéret. The enclosure measures c.560 x 225m and is of éperon barré type; the rampart barring the south-east end of the spur is 11m wide, 2-3m high inside and 3-7m outside. It is made of strong blocks of granite which have partly fused in a fire, especially at the base, and it was razed after the fire. Two rows of granite blocks which have not been burnt are on top of the calcinated walls, and are probably Roman. Roman remains are numerous, though flint objects and earlier ceramic had been found. The enclosure is slightly below the top level of the plateau and there is a large terrace between the earth and stone bank and the upper end of the hill. Fortifications attached to it are contemporary with it; there was one gate, at the north-west, well protected by the rampart. There is a good spring within the oppidum, and a mass of ash from domestic hearths had been found. Hut floors were found, and flint axes and arrowheads, also

ceramic debris, Roman coins and one Gaulish coin of the silver severed head group (map 13). The site was apparently occupied episodically from the neolithic to the Middle Ages.

At Pionnat in the forêt de Châteauvieux the DAG again records an enclosure whose granite rampart had been partially fused in a fire. The rampart examined was about 2m high and 4m long barring the access to the enclosure. South of Aubusson the spur called Chastres between the rivers Creuse and Bauze is barred by a rampart 445m long. Half way up the rampart are several horizontal beds of wood with burnt clay-like soil above and below them. This is not a type of murus Gallicus but something less sophisticated, and it is not similar for instance to Puy de Gaudy. About thirty ceramic sherds were found and a bronze fibula with a four spire spring and a decorated disc with twp grooves on the front, dated to Reinecke la Tène A (Gallia 1973:423).

Minor sites in Creuse include Flayat (Gallia 1959:371f) near the hamlet Couliniège; tiles have been found, and pink sandstone from the Champagnac region and remains from the early Gallo-Roman period. Dressel 20 amphora fragments were also found, and the handles and points of Dressel I amphoras, indicating use of the site at least late in the first century BC if not earlier.

Very little la Tène material remains in the Musée de Guéret: 31 coins, half a dozen pots which could be of any date as they are of the rough 'Hallstattian' variety, and some stone religious statues which must be Gallo-Roman. The early issues of the MSSNAC has information on sites then known to contain ancient material, although a Celtic level was seldom observed by archaeologists before the twentieth century. A few sites recorded in the journal are worth noting.

1843:116 - Pontarion had a temple of Priapus, destroyed during the nineteenth century; the mountain on which the town is built is described as an 'oppidum', later made into a Roman observation post similar perhaps to

that at Aubusson. Sites which may be similar are recorded at Mont-Pijau (Mont Jovis) near Drouille; Mont Jouer near Saint-Goussard; Bernage near Saint-Vaury; Glénic; le Puy-de-Gaudy near Guéret where the 1845 issue p.85 records that a small 'Celtic' lead wheel-shaped spinning weight was found; and Thauron.

1843:113 - Breith (where in 1862 a third century hoard of Celtic silver coins was found, for which see appendix VII under Bridiers, Creuse) is said to have a lot of ancient remains, going back to the Celtic period. 1903:202f makes Breith a stage on the Roman road from Bourges to Limoges via Mont Jouer, a route which is not shown on the Table of Peutinger.

1845:85 - Gaulish vases (sic) were found at Montaigut-le-Blanc, 16km from Guéret, in September 1844. They were rough, badly fired, spherical, about 33cm in circumference, and were identified as lids for larger vases. A hole was found near the 'neck' of each, and it was thought that this was for fixing the lids to the larger vessels.

1903:196f - On Mont de Jouer there were found Gallo-Roman buildings, coins of the colony at Nemausus, of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero and Trajan, a well, and what could be a Celtic religious stone with a large surface (2.20 x 1.70m) and an oval basin in it. The Roman road between Bourges and Limpges passed nearby.

Group 5

VIENNE AND DEUX-SÈVRES.

Vienne and Deux-Sèvres are part of a region whose coinage in the late Iron Age had affinities with those of the south-west and Garonne basin and with Armorica in the extreme west; the Pictones were the historical first century occupants of most of the area. Vienne has the only two late Hallstattian cart burials known outside eastern France (Joffroy 1958), and in the Poitiers region other Hallstattian burials are known. The cart tumulus of Gros-Guignon (cne. Savigné) was a relatively rich one and in some details comparable with the burial at Vix (C.d'O.). The other burial was not far away, at Sénéret (cne. Quinçay) near a hillfort of éperon barré type. Both burials are therefore in the Poitiers region, and would seem to indicate an important late Hallstatt phase in the area of the later Gallo-Roman civitas capital. Unfortunately there appears once again to have been little excavation in this geographical group, and the reports I have been able to read are not very helpful for the late Iron Age, since much more attention has been paid to the comparatively rich Gallo-Roman period.

VIENNE

To the north of the town of Civaux, a cemetary of la Tène date has been discovered (Gallia 1961:402). Two cremation burials have been unearthed and the pottery from them published (see plate 10.92, 11.94, 98, 100, 12.103). In burial 1 there were two fine vases whose clay had a grey centre between red surfaces, and were painted black; in burial 2 there was a red vase of a darker colour. The report does not assigh a date within la Tène to them, and they are of types and decorations quite unlike anything current in the Centre in the later la Tène period further to the east. Their

closest affinities are with late Hallstattian forms and decorations. The best later analogies are early la Tène vessels made in the Indre area (plate 11): the deposit at Mérigny (Indre) contained a number of vases with comparable profiles, but quite different decoration. One might also compare some vases from Châteaumeillant (Cher). The decorated bowl from Civaux has some likeness to a vase from the Salesses (Cantal) tumulus and one from the Grotte de Gens (Ardèche, see plate 12). The report on Civaux in Gallia 1961:402 claims that the Mérigny (Indre) find should be redated to the Hallstatt period; the museum at Bourges still considers it to be of la Tène I date, and on general grounds this would seem to be correct (p. 138 below). Faint analogy exists between the slightly carinated, wide mouthed vase found in the first Civaux burial and some of the carinated vases current at Toulouse in the first century (plate 10). The same is true in the case of one shallow cup. The shoulder decoration on another, narrow based, vase is not unlike some found at Toulouse and la Graufesenque, but again the comparison is only slight.

Some of the vases from Civaux have been fired in such a way that the outside layers of the clay has been oxydized, with the result that a broken piece has the appearance of a red and grey sandwich. It is possible that this is an indication of late date, as oxydizing firing is thought only to have been introduced under Roman influence.

Apart from this, a small number of sites showing la Tène occupation have been found, but little can be learned of them from the reports. Gallia (1965:375) records at Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux a very rich female burial dating to the end of the Hallstatt period. Burials of this date are said to be rare in the west, though as we have seen they are occasionally very rich. At Naintré, on the road to Vieux-Poitiers at a place called les Pierres-des-Bordes was found a small temple measuring 5.30 x 4m (Gallia 1969:281). Also at Naintré (l.d. Fond des Berthons) there was found to be a stratification similar to that at the theatre at Vieux-Poitiers,

going down to a la Tène level containing pottery made by hand (Gallia 1971:268). At Saint-Leomer (Gallia 1969:282) there is a complete Gallo-Roman sanctuary with two temples going back to the first century BC, and there are traces of pre-Roman pottery. It is not clear whether the structures themselves have an origin before Roman times. A pre-Roman level may have been found at Poitiers; the DAG under Poitiers records an enclosure of éperon barré type there of about 150 hectares. At Naintré (Vieux-Poitiers) among 38 coins of post-conquest types one coin of Massilia was found, but I doubt that much significance may be placed on such a chance find in a late context (Gallia 1971:271; 1967:262).

DEUX-SÈVRES.

Deux-Sèvres is equally barren at the moment. At Chavagné (l.d. la Fougeoire) there is a Gallo-Roman building with traces of an earlier construction below associated with fragments of black pottery which the author of the report considers could be of la Tène II (Gallia 1967:255). The area was clearly inhabited in the Gallo-Roman précoce period as well as later, as numerous sherds of black pottery decorated with roulette designs are found in the area. Plain black and grey sherds are also turned up, and aerial photography has revealed traces of extensive occupation at least in Roman times. The report does not furnish sufficient material for any sort of comparative study, and excavations have apparently not yet been extensive.

At Loubillé (l.d. le Payre) three walls of what could be a villa have been found. There are fragments of black pottery with roulette decoration, some later sigillated ware, and also some ordinary pottery. This site could possibly, from the description of the ceramic, go back to the very early conquest period (Gallia 1967:155).

Group 6

VENDÉE, CHARENTE-MARITIME, GIRONDE AND CHARENTE.

This group of départements consists of the maritime block Vendée, Charente-Maritime, Gironde and Charente. This area includes Saintonge (ancient Santones) and Gabet (1966) notes that 'protohistoric' finds in the area are not very numerous, and that there are more isolated finds than there are consistent archaeological sites before the Gallo-Roman period. Vendée is virtually a blank for the Iran Age so far as archaeological reports are concerned, and is therefore only notionally included in this block.

CHARENTE.

In Charente, the éperon barré of Merpins has been excavated (Piveteau and Quesnel 1963; Gallia 1961:423f; 1963:438; 1965:353). There are two levels showing signs of occupation, and all the pottery seems to be of Halstattian types. There is also some fine pottery with polished surfaces or sometimes only the inside surface polished, a technique not apparently found in the la Tène period in Central Gaul. The ceramic is described in Gallia (1961:423f). Much of it was rough grey or beigh vases of large size with finger decorations on cordons or on the shoulder, and sometimes pinched decoration. Patterns were often vertical incisions and similar motifs: this is the ubiquitous Hallstattian type of decoration for cooking or storage jars. The fine pottery was polished and ochre coloured, brown or pinkish, and fine incised decorations were made after firing in geometric patterns. There was some rough and smooth black ceramic analogous to la Tène types, and one dish with incurved rim and base made of a small rolled ring. Gallia (1963:438) reports that it was in the top level that there occurred the Urnfield type vases: dark grey or brown with flat or hollow base (the latter only in a few cases) and sometimes the base very everted and

the rim incurved by 1-3cm. It is these which sometimes have only the inside polished.

Unfortunately the absence of significant dateable finds means that it is uncertain when Merpins was occupied; as the author of one report pointed out, the rough 'Hallstattian' type of pottery found here continued in use in this region far longer than it did in eastern Gaul: this feature is therefore shared by the whole of Central Gaul. Some of the forms found at Merpins are said to recall Urnfield models, but it is not clear whether this fact has any bearing on dating; the late Iron Age finds at Civaux (Vienne) and Mérigny (Indre) contained some remarkably archaic shapes. The 1963 report stated that perhaps the most important period of occupation was between 800 and 600, and if this is correct, the site has little bearing on the la Tène period, although it is important as evidence of an apparently important Hallstatt phase in western Gaul.

The DAG under Soyaux records that on the plateau called Recoux there was a fortified site of éperon barré type, the bar across the isthmus being 200m long, 10m wide and 150m high (sic). There were three horizontal layers of stones and earth in the rampart separated by carbonized wood. Pottery debris and flints were found in the nineteenth century; more recent excavations are not mentioned in accessible publications.

CHARENTE-MARITIME

Charente-Maritime provides a somewhat more informative picture. On the coast there were a number of important salt works before the conquest; the pre-Roman use of these sites is certain, and is of considerable importance. L'Ile-de-Brèze (Étaules) was the site of the most southerly known Iron Age salt works on the western coast (Gallia 1967:246). Two sorts of ceramic are found, the first for making salt and the second for domestic use. The style is of the normal rough 'Hallstattian' type with minimal descoration. This was either on the shoulder or the edge of the neck, and

the general type of decoration is that found throughout the Centre. There is no mention of luxury ware or of any imports from the Mediterranean: this was an entirely Celtic establishment, and the salt was probably destined for consumption regionally and in the interior of Gaul. The pottery is as usual undateable, but perfectly compatible with use in the last phase of the Iron Age.

Salt was also produced in the pre-Roman period on the border of what is now the marsh of Mouillepied (cne Thairé-d'Aunis , Gallia 1969:270; 1971:263; 1973:383). The remains of a rough oven and a lot of pottery have been found, including a sherd from a vase of la Tène III type with combed body. There are numerous fragments of amphoras on this site; the only identifiable piece of rim is from a Dressel I Italic amphora. It is clear that the site was used for salt production in the late independent period, as fragments of "barquettes" and tripods with or without "coupelle" have been found, although whether it was used later than Étaules, or was simply more prosperous cannot be settled at the moment. A carbon 14 dating was performed, giving -150 to -50. Salt was apparently made here for a considerable period, as one oven underwent four distinct phases. The la Tène III pottery found on the site is both of wheel-turned and hand-fashioned varieties, a pattern of pottery use found in this period throughout the Centre.

Another Iron Age salt works has been found at la Vallée (l.d. Port-Coutard, Gallia 1967:254; Gabet 1965). The site is one of two near Rochefort (Ch.M.), the other being on the commune Muron to the north of the river Charente. Port-Coutard is south of the river on the commune Saint-Hippolyte. The material found was very like that from Étaples (P.de C.) and from salt sites on the Poitevain marshes. Two types of ceramic were found again, mostly for salt making but a very few assorted vessels also for domestic or other use. There was no sign of food refuse, although there were very numerous small quartz pebbles. The material found could be of the Iron Age, though its exact date is unceratain. One of the two types

of salt-making vessel was very unusual: cylindrical with a flat base and fine, thin walls; the others were not unlike finds in the Poitevain marshes, Étaples or the 'augets' of Breton sites.

There was permanent occupation of the plateau at Pons in the late Iron Age, but systematic excavations have only begun to be conducted to any great extent (Gallia 1965:357f; 1967:247; 1973:381f; Gabet 1966). The style of fortification, if any, is not yet apparently known, though it should be available for study as recent aerial surveys of the area have been done. It is clear that there are no traces of Gallo-Roman occupation; no tiles or sigillated pottery have been found on the site, nor even any pottery decorated with the roulette, which strongly suggests that the site was abandoned at latest by the time of the conquest.

Indigenous pottery, sometimes of high quality, has been found. Most of it is wheel turned; a pink fabric is most common, with grey or black rarer, using a fine sand grit and slip colours ranging from light pink to slate grey. The most common colour is polished black or grey, though there is also in the area a fair quantity of coarser pottery described as 'la Tène' in type. Decoration is simple, mostly incised channels and burnished line decoration arranged in criss-cross or diamond fashion. Decoration in triangles is known of a type found also at Vayres (Gir.). The pink colour of some fine ware is not a feature found widely in Central Gaul except in this coastal block. A considerable number of amphoras have been found, mostly broken badly, and from pieces of handles and rims it is clear that they are of Dressel I type. In the trial excavations very recently at 'font Barbot' good la Tène III material was found; there were square and round ditches one of which enclosed a sword, an armlet (brassard) and a shield boss. In a round ditch at its bottom a cinerary urn was found and pieces of harness; the deposits were dated by Republican amphora sherds. The site therefore is most likely to have been occupied in the first century. Unfortunately nothing more detailed has yet been published about this settlement. I would imagine the occupants were prosperous to judge from the amphoras and

fine pottery. The only coin to be reported is a gold stater of a type known in the south-west of the Centre in the third and second centuries (type pl. VI.5, see appendix to map 14). This find is suggestive of the early use, though not necessarily settlement, of Pons.

From other sites in Charente-Maritime there is little to be learnt which is precise enough to help much toward an understanding of the development of the Centre at the end of the Iron Age. At Pépiron (cne. St.-Just) under a Gallo-Roman villa, there are traces of a Hallstatt Final and la Tène occupation. Finds included amphora sherds, rough pottery with finger decoration on cordons or nail impressions, some fine polished pottery, small vases with flat rims, and also thick grainy pottery. There are traces of Bronze Age use of the site and a la Tène II iron sword was found, also a pseudo-la Tène III fibula which could be of la Tène II, and a torc. It is apparently unusual in the Charente area to find such a long series of cultures on a single site. At the beginning of the Gallo-Roman period most ware was still grey, but some red sherds from oxydizing firing were also found, mostly belonging to water jugs: the making of this sort of pottery is a sign of a rupture with traditional methods and the importation of techniques from Italy; at the same time some sorts of ovoid vase without handles were abandoned. Also in this context were found white 'eggshell' sherds of a type found at Saintes (Gabet 1966, 1969; Gallia 1963:443; 1967:249).

At Marignac there are Iron Age remains under a Gallo-Roman level on the hillfort Condie (Gallia 1967:246). At Saint-Séverin-sur-Boutonne the éperon barré le Châtelier had a Gallo-Roman occupation; there is some pottery of the type found at Pons and also some fine Hallstatt type ceramic and a Hallstatt pin with flattened stem and spiral head in bronze. The site is very poor in archaeological material (Gallia 1967:250).
At Lussant pottery has been found from a pre-Roman settlement consisting of hand made pottery with ochre clay and sand or shell grit of types intermediate between Hallstatt and la Tène (Gallia 1971:259). At Saintes in the

cimetière Saint-Vivien there have been found traces of three levels of construction in five occupation levels running from the end of the first century BC to the second century AD; unfortunately the reports are not very informative on the early level (Gallia 1971:260f; 1973:382). In the centre of the old city of Saintes, coins of Augustus to Titus have been found with ceramic of Montans (Tarn) and la Graufesenque (Avey.).

GIRONDE

In Gironde there are a number of sites where pre-Roman occupation is certain. A feature which emerges fairly clearly in Gironde is that Mediterranean products are to be found in greater numbers here than in the regions only slightly further inland to the north, although the Celtic culture does not seem to have been radically influenced by Mediterranean techniques.

At Soulac-sur-Mer there are traces of occupation of the last phase of the Iron Age (Gallia 1965:416; 1973:452). The site was occupied from the mid or late first century BC until the second century AD; the pre-Roman material demonstrates communication between the Roman province and this area. A fair number of sherds of 'Mediterranean' amphoras have been found - unfortunately not described or illustrated further in the reports- and 64 silver monnaies à la croix with two obols of an unpublished type. These finds therefore confirm the close relation between the Atlantic end of the Garonne and the upper Garonne basin nearer to the Roman province. Gironde was a region where silver coin was used, but not probably produced, the regional currency apparently being gold but not abundant. The monnaies à la croix are almost certainly intrusive. The character of the settlement at Soulac-sur-Mer in pre-Roman times is uncertain. Finds include a la Tène II fibula and there is a 'la Tène III' cemetary.

At Bordeaux there was found an Italic amphora of a type known at

Ensérune (B.Rh.) with the stamp M.PORC; this dates it to the late first century at the very latest and it may well be earlier. The report of the find notes that the stamp is known from Ensérune, Vieille-Toulouse, near Agen, la Mas-d'Agenais, and now Bordeaux (Gallia 1959:377f), and claims that it is evidence for some of the routes taken for the export of Mediterranean wines into the west of Gaul.

At Mouliets-et-Villemartin there is a shallow level of debris from a pre-Roman period of occupation covering about 20 hectares (Gallia 1959:384; 1967:343-4; 1969:357; 1973:461). A large number of Italic amphoras have been found there, including some whose stamps indicate a date of the first half of the first century. A fragment of Campanian pottery and what may be a piece of ceramic made in Cales have also turned up, and a single monnaie à la croix. The indigenous pottery is not remarkable; it is the customary mixture of Hallstattian tradition and la Tène forms and decorations. Fibulas typical of la Tène III have been found, and two gold alloy staters whose dating is impossible from the report, but were of the general type known as 'schlüsselmünzen' displaying a number of unintelligible globules on both sides (Gallia 1967:343). Some slightly later material was also found on the site, for instance an as of Augustus, which suggests that occupation continued into the Roman period in this area of the settlement. Here again there has appeared evidence of Mediterranean imports in the first century BC, but unfortunately little is yet published which indicates the nature of the settlement.

Less well documented sites in Gironde include Vayres (ancient Varatedo). Under a Gallo-Roman level there are 'Hallstattian' and la Tène traces including at least one la Tène III hut floor with ceramic debris and traces of clay and wood walling. Pottery was mostly of rough la Tène types: squat slightly carinated bowls, low dishes with straight rims, beakers, and wide dishes with incurved rims. 'Hallstattian' pottery consisted of tall jars with cordon decoration. Decoration of the 'la Tène' ware was

by combing, circular incisions, wavy lines or stamp marks. One monnaie à la croix was found. Some of the pottery was polished black. The Gallo-Roman level began early and continued into the period when sigillated pottery was found (Gallia 1965:420; 1967:341; 1969:356; 1971:345; 1973:458).

At Grayan there is a hut floor of the Hallstatt period which contains a lot of ceramic including pottery decorated with cordons. It is not absolutely clear from the report whether the pottery is dateable to the true Hallstatt period or is a later survival (Gallia 1969:347). On the fortified plateau at Saint-Etienne-de-Lisse (l.d.Niort) there are traces of neolithic, Bronze Age Final and particularly Hallstatt and la Tène occupation (Gallia 1965:421).

Elsewhere there are abundant traces of late Iron Age occupation, but not necessarily of Mediterranean contact. It is probable that the Atlantic coast, even at the mouth of the Garonne, was not fully exposed to Roman influence until after the Caesarian conquest. The extraordinary number of luxurious villas in the whole of the coastal region north of the Garonne and south of the Loire testifies to the rapidity of the Romanization process there after the conquest.

Group 7

INDRE-ET-LOIRE, LOIR-ET-CHER AND LOIRET.

Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher and Loiret are on the northern and north-western limits of the Centre.

INDRE-ET-LOIRE.

In Indre-et-Loire excavation designed to examine the late Iron Age has been scarce, as in Vienne. The find of a hut floor probably of pre-conquest date at Vernou-sur-Brenne is of some importance as it contained a thick layer of amphora sherds (Gallia 1970:267). Gallia 1972:332 mentions finds of the Augustan period. As the reports are very general it is not of as much help as it might be.

At Amboise (l.d. les Châtelliers) there is a site occupied from the la Tène III period until the second century AD (Gallia 1966:254; 1972:331; DAG under Amboise). Finds included Gallic bronze objects, axes, arrowheads and spear blades, knives, daggers, fibulas, rings and bracelets. It is one of the richest sites of the later first century for coin finds: the DAG lists as inscribed coins alone the legends SANTONOS, CABALLO, VOLCAE-AREC, DVRNACOS-AVSCRO, ATEVLA-VLATOS, TVRONOS-TRICCOS, TOVTOBOCIO-ATEPILOS, IIPAD, ATECTORI, VIIPOTAL, ACVSSROS, TOGIRIX, DRVCCA, CARIΘA, ARTOS and TASGET. These coins are all of the latest phase of the Celtic coinages, of the mid first century and later. More detailed information is apparently lacking on Amboise, which would appear to have been densely occupied around the mid first century and until the Gallo-Roman précoce period. In addition it is one of the few 'oppida' sites in the present geographical group.[16]

LOIR-ET-CHER

Loir-et-Cher was a region of importance for the pottery industry after the conquest and it is clear that the Cher valley was densely occupied in the Gallo-Roman period . Finds of a series of Gallo-Roman cremation burials at Saint-Julien-de-Chedon help to fill out the map of the dense occupation of this area (Gallia 1970:267).

At Gièvres there was a big population from the first century AD onward, and a pottery industry of some importance regionally; recent excavations have shown that there was a pre-Roman settlement of some sort on the right bank of the river, though not much is yet known about it (Ferdière 1971). Gallia 1970:266 reports that the site at one potter's kiln went through five successive stages of use; the types of pottery produced were similar to those found at Levroux (Indre) and Saint-Marcel (Indre), and one early kiln has also been found. The Iron Age pottery found here was of rough quality; it is possible that the settlement was connected in some way with the ford or crossing-place of the river here, as the modern names of the two communes nearest the old road across the river, Gièvres and Chabris, probably derive from the ancient *Carobriva or Bridge of the Cher. It may be that the Iron Age settlement was of some importance, as it is unlikely that the large and prosperous population a century later materialized from nowhere.

A similar situation must obtain at Thésée-Pouillé (ancient Tasciaca), where there was an enormous Gallo-Roman pottery industry making vessels on traditional Celtic models in the first two centuries AD (Gaume 1965; Gallia 1963:416f). This again was a regional industry, the importance of the settlement perhaps owing much to its role as a staging-point; it figures on the Table of Peutinger, and numerous Roman remains are found there at a place (perhaps significantly) called 'les Bordes'. The first Gallo-Roman building was built there apparently about the time of the conquest, and at any rate before the end of the first century BC. Remains of a

pre-Roman period are not yet very coherent, but there are some brooches of la Tène III type. The rapidity of development of the Gallo-Roman industry here surely presupposes earlier settlement of the area, as the Gallo-Roman pottery began to be produced at the beginning of the first century AD at the latest.

Other traces of pre-Roman occupation of Loir-et-Cher are imprecise and do not permit conclusions to be drawn in this study about the regional affinities of the material culture. Buchsenshhutz (1968) lists several archaeologically important sites. At Millançay (cne Romorantin) there is an enclosure about 5 hectares in area with a massive rampart similar to the enclosures of Neung-sur-Beuvron (L+Ch) or Murs (Indre); so far there is no dateable material from it (ibid.:51). Neung-sur-Beuvron could be the Noviodunum of the Bituriges mentioned by Caesar (BG 7.12.2, 7.14.1), as the modern place-name as well as its situation would suit this origin well. The fort there is fairly well preserved, about ten hectares in size, and the whole of the enclosure is only about ten metres above the level of the plain. On the east and north a massive bank 300m long and 50m wide at the base still remains, with a ditch outside; streams run along the other two sides. The site has never been excavated (ibid.:55b).

At Lavardin by the Loire there is a site la Tombelle with prehistoric and protohistoric occupation traces; hut floors have been found and the material remains suggest that it was occupied in the neolithic and Bronze Age and then "at the time when Gaulish coinage was first introduced" (Gallia 1963:422).

The pottery produced in this area under the Romans was distributed strictly in the immediate region for the most part, and it was to the south of the Cher, to such places as Levroux and Argenton (Indre) that it mostly seems to have travelled. The Cher is on or near the border between the Bituriges and the Carnutes of Orleans in this lower stretch (hence possibly the name les Bordes at Thésée-Pouillé), and it seems that there

were a number of striking differences between the material cultures of the two peoples. It is partly for this reason that I am excluding the Carnutes from detailed discussion together with the Armorican peoples in the west, with whom the Carnutes had perhaps most in common. The southern part of Loir-et-Cher may have been a disputed region between the Bituriges and the Carnutes (cf. Caesar BG 8.4.2); it would be of interest to know whether the pottery of the first and second centuries in this area had greater affinities with the north or the south, and what its exact pattern of distribution was before the conquest. The question remains open whether the Roman pottery industry was following already-established patterns of distribution. It seems a distinct possibility.

LOIRET.

Unfortunately Loiret, well within the territory of the southern Carnutes does not provide any clear evidence in accessible publications which help with this question. At Cortrat there is an inhumation cemetary of Marnian la Tène I type; this is part of the phenomenon of the early appearance of the la Tène culture in the east of the Centre. The people buried at Cortrat were very tall (Gallia 1966:252). Another important la Tène I cemetary is at Bromeilles (Gallia 1972:316). It had about 30 burials, inhumed in flat tombs covered with stones. Seven had various arms and ornaments. Indications of Hallstattian occupation in Loiret are various, including a lot of ceramic at les Bordes (Gallia 1972:316), and a small tumulus with at least two burials at Orville (Gallia 1972:318).

At Vienne-en-Val there was a very important Gallo-Roman sanctuary whose oldest remains are of the first century AD. There is no good evidence for supposing that Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire was the site of the druids' meeting-place (Caesar BG 6.13.10: Jullian and Soyer thought it was), but Vienne-en-Val proves that the general area was of some religious

importance (Gallia 1970:256). At Montbouy there is a temple of Gallo-Roman date associated with a spring, and a wooden figurine of 'Gaulish' type was found; a possible comparison may be made with the cults associated with the source of the Seine and the spring at Chamalières (P.D., p.79f above; Gallia 1954:506).

The poor record of finds immediately to the north of the Loire may be connected with ther rarity of fortified and occupied hillforts there (see general map). Smaller sites are less easy to find and attract less archaeological interest; the historical reasons for the very noticeable drop in density of fortified sites north of the Loire are naturally obscure: it coincides with a relative absence of Mediterranean imports (maps 20 and 21) in contrast to Berry and Limousin which are well supplied both with imports and hillforts. For further discussion of this phenomenon see section III p.442 below.

Group 8

INDRE AND CHER

The départements Indre and Cher constitute most of the territory of the historical Bituriges Cubi, and despite the patchy nature of excavations up to the present moment, this is one of the few areas in the Centre which has had work done on it comparable with that in Puy-de-Dôme and the Forez. This is entirely due to the fact that a few thorough excavations have been carried out and published.

INDRE.

Les Mersans is the present name of the site at Saint-Marcel near Argenton which is the oppidum corresponding to the Gallo-Roman Argentomagus (Gallia 1970:260; 1972:321f; Allain 1969, 1971; Allain, Cothenet, Poulain-Josien and Vauthey 1966; Allain, Barthelot and Gedell 1963). The principal pre-Roman and early Gallo-Roman occupation was on the plateau at Saint-Marcel, not on the right bank of the river as was once thought. There was a paved Celtic ford across the Creuse at this point, and a bridge was apparently built only in Roman times, though I would suggest that an early wooden bridge might have existed and not yet been rediscovered (see section III p.326).

The area of the site in which the monumental fountain stood, in the centre of the oppidum, is best excavated. It is not surprising that there should be abundant archaeological remains in this place, as it is both associated with the principal cult area of the town, and is situated in the area most likely to have been inhabited by the wealthy, if the pattern suggested by other oppida in the Centre was widespread. There are 16 distinct occupation levels attthis spot, dating from pre-Roman times to the second century AD. Three are pre-Augustan, and in them numerous coins were found, all Gaulish apart from 14 or more hemiobols of Massilia. As was the case at Essalois (Loire), the presence of small silver coins is

certainly an indication of the use of coin for exchange of goods; hemiobols are extremely small (c. 0.31g) and saw extensive use as small change in Greek towns. It is most unusual to find these coins so far north, though their small size and vulnerability to corrosion might account for the rarity of their discovery in less scientific excavations. For more detail on the coin finds see appendix XII.

Abundant remains of pre-Roman pottery prove that this site was occupied before the conquest; unfortunately the reports have concentrated on the Augustan or early Gallo-Roman pottery and have not yet published the Celtic material. As the earliest Gallo-Roman ware is found well above the earliest occupation debris, it may be taken as certain that Saint Marcel was occupied by people who knew the use of coined money in exchange in at least the mid first century, and that the site probably began to be occupied still earlier.

It is probable that Saint Marcel developed in the mid first century on a very similar pattern to that displayed at Gergovie (P.D.). The earliest Gallo-Roman material is of types also found at Gergovie: roulette decoration, plates with vertical rims and so on, and of similar early date. The buildings even in the Julio-Claudian period were of light wood and clay construction though on dry stone floors, and Gaulish money continued in use until the Flavian period: in this Saint Marcel may have had a more 'provincial' appearance than contemporary Gergovie. The area of occupation of Saint Marcel before the Roman period was somewhat smaller than it was to become, as there are no Celtic traces under the Gallo-Roman buildings near the wall; this area in the Augustan period was a veritable labyrinth.

Allain compares Saint Marcel with Alesia (C.d'O.) because of the splendour of the Roman town and its early appearance. The Augustan population of the town was at least in part literate, as there are numerous graffiti on sherds of ordinary ware (Allain etc. 1966). It was certainly an urban

centre of some importance under the Romans, with such monumental structures as a theatre, an amphitheatre and a big double temple. It also had an unusually early foreign colony resident in it in all probability (Gallia 1966:252f). The presence of Arretine oil lamps and an Egyptian amulet in an early Gallo-Roman context are the principal evidence for the presence of foreigners. The people of Gaul did not take quickly to oil lighting, and lamps are rare before the empire. The amulet is from Alexandria and a similar one has been found at Franqueville (S-Mar.) and is of a type probably made in the last quarter of the first century BC. It would be of great interest to have more information about the pre-Roman occupation levels beyond the bare fact of their existence, as they may be able to give some indication of the nature of the indigenous settlement that preceded the sudden 'urban' evolution after the conquest. If Gergovie (P.D.) was already developing a Gallo-Roman précoce culture at the time of the Caesarian war, it is possible that the earliest traces here too may be that early, as the pottery found is extremely like some of that at Gergovie.

The structure of the ramparts is still uncertain; the area enclosed was about 27 hectares. As Saint Marcel is one of the four most important 'urban' oppida of Berry, together with Bourges, Levroux and Châteaumeillant, it would not be a surprise to find evidance of occupation as early as the late second century in some part of the site. Only careful excavation will reveal this and it is to be hoped that the present works will continue to the lowest levels.

Levroux is the only other site in Indre which promises to be of great importance so far (Buchsenschutz 1971a, 1971b, 1968:50). It lies 20km north of Châteauroux, and in Roman times performed an important function as a crossroads, with six Roman roads leading from it. A piece of Campanian A pottery was found in excavations of the Gallo-Roman amphitheatre, which was of post-Augustan date; bronze and iron slag were found in the Augustan level at the site of the amphitheatre and "3 Gallic coins". To the north of

the present town is a hill with steep slopes and terraces; the sharp lines of division between the fields on the slopes suggest the line of ramparts, although it is only recently that traces of a rampart have been found. In Gallia (1972:329-30) it was reported that part of a murus Gallicus had been found, with "postcaesarian coins and ceramic". Excavations at a point where a rampart might be expected to run revealed a horizontal bed of stones at a depth of 1m with Gaulish coins between the stones, but excavation had to stop before it was possible to prove that this was a rampart. I do not know whether the two sites have any other shared structural features, but the rampart of the hillfort at Fou de Verdun (Nièvre, p.42 above) certainly rests on a terrace of slabs (Olivier and Olivier 1970).

Celtic remains in the area of Levroux and on the site are frequent, and it is clear that it was occupied before the conquest. The inhabitants were in some cases prosperous: not only are coins found in very great quantities (ABT:506), but a fine dagger hilt and a bronze situla cover were also found. The latter is decorated with a Celtic motif of horses and severed heads, and is probably of a period well before the penetration of Roman influences. The display in the Bourges museum suggests a dating for it to la Tène I. It is very much a luxury article, and is therefore evidence that some at least of the occupants of Levroux in the Iron Age were of high social importance. Déchelette (1914:1456) is not sure what its function was and seems uncertain that it did in fact come from Levroux. Even if it did not, its provenance somewhere in the région is supportive evidence, taken with la Tène I and II burials, of the early appearance of la Tène cultural material in the Berry region.

Buchsenschutz remarked of Levroux that a large proportion of the finds were of a high quality, and included evidence of foreign imports in the form of numerous sherds of Italian amphoras and ceramic. So far there is no irrefutable proof that the settlement here was an oppidum in the sense of a hillfort, but the place was of sufficient importance to have continued into Roman times with a theatre and amphitheatre, while several

Roman villas are scattered on the commune. Buchsenschutz, who is still engaged in excavations at the site, considered in 1968 that Levroux could prove to be a comparable site with Châteaumeillant (Cher). So far the pottery from the site has not been published, so material for comparison with other sites is not yet available. The presence at an early period of rich ceramic remains, many imports and numerous coins suggests comparison also with Saint Marcel. Blanchet (ABT:506f) listed the chief coin types known at that time to have been found there: over 2000 had been recorded already before the first world war. They were all types of the late independent and immediately post-conquest periods; they were predominantly bronze local or regional issues with some admixture of silver produced in the north-east, but which by the time of the conquest and its aftermath circulated in most of Gaul. So again this is a case of a site which was important as a regional centre certainly by the mid first century, while some coin finds and the situla cover suggest activity there perhaps in the second century.

There are a number of other sites in Indre which are less well excavated than Saint Marcel and Levroux, but which have shown evidence of pre-Roman occupation. At Pouligny-Notre-Dame there is one of the best preserved rectangular enclosures in the territory of the Bituriges (Gallia 1965:361; Buchsenschutz 1968:79). It measures 175 x 140m which gives an area of about 1.30 hectares. It was surrounded by a ditch and a rampart of triangular section made of mixed humus, clay and schists. The only entry was at the north east. Its function is unknown, and the remains in it are not very coherent as yet: they include some fragments of pottery, and pieces of Italic and Greco-Italic amphoras like those found at Châteaumeillant (Cher). Some of the pottery is rough ordinary ware, but the rest is like the fine ware found in the Gaulish levels at Châteaumeillant. The site could be religious, a farm, or a local defensive site (this is a point near the common border of the Bituriges and Lemovices), but so far there is no conclusive argument. The main period of use was probably not long before

the conquest. No coins have been reported, and as it is unusual in the Centre to find coins associated with rural sites, this may be a significant absence.

A number of other sites would probably be most interesting if they were excavated. Near Brives the 'camp romain' probably had a murus gallicus, and stood by a key crossing of the Théols. A further 'camp de Corny' is known nearby (cne. Meunet-Planches) which has yielded Gallo-Roman finds; it may be from here rather than Brives that the murus Gallicus iron clamps came (Bailly 1966). At Martizay there was a Gallo-Roman villa occupied without break from the précoce period just after the conquest into the late empire; on the west of the town of Martizay by the bank of the river Claise, 'Hallstatt' and 'la Tène' sherds are to be found, the whole indicating a continuous occupation of the area from the Iron Age onward. Unfortunately the finds are not published in detail, and investigation has centred on the Roman phase (Gallia 1970:265; 1963:445). At Velles there is a quadrangular enclosure 180 x 120m in area with a simple rampart on two sides and a ditch only on the others. The rampart was made of heaped earth, and what few material finds have been made date to the Iron Age. Little of a precise nature is known of the site which is now razed, but it appears that there was once a fairly large number of sherds to be found in the enclosure (Buchsenschutz 1968:62). Its purpose is uncertain.

At Luant on a slightly raised plateau in the forest there is the best preserved Gaulish camp in the region, yet little is known of it as it has not been excavated. It is nearly square, the sides measuring about 200m; it has a Belgic rampart which rises 7.8m above the surrounding countryside and 4m above the interior of the camp. The gate on the east side had a strongly incurved shape which indicates, together with the type of rampart, a date at the end of the Iron Age, possibly connected with the Caesarian war, though this could only be argued after an excavation (Buchsenschutz 1968:71).

At Rivarennes there is an enclosure some 150 x 130m in area which is well preserved, and only 2m higher than the level of the fields around it. It was defended by banks,and a ditch on the north-west. In a field to the south of the camp black ceramic with stamped decoration typical of the early first century AD has been found; in the last century the sand quarry near the site yielded pottery very similar to that founda at Levroux. All the material found dates to the end of the Iron Age and the beginning of Roman occupation, and Italic amphoras have also been found. The site is near a road, and is probably of the same date as Levroux, but its function is unknown (Buchsenschutz 1968:80).

CHER

In Cher, Châteaumeillant is the best excavated site, and the most informative (Gourvest and Hugoniot 1957; Hugoniot and Gourvest 1961; Gallia 1963:383f; 1959:299f; 1961:327f). It appears to have been permanently occupied before the construction of the rampart, as occupation debris probably dateable to the beginning of the first century has been found under the wall. The wall is a form of murus Gallicus built without nails; this prototype construction is found at Fou de Verdun (Nièvre, p.42 above), where a date in the early first century was probable. As Cher is abundantly supplied with iron ore, it is likely that this was a planned omission. The date of the wall at Châteaumeillant cannot be very much earlier than the mid first century despite the mode of building, bacause pottery in the construction of it is apparently dateable to the Caesarian period. I have not seen illustrations of any of it, however, and as the wall appears to stand in a level of pre-Roman pottery, it is at least possible that it was built before the war in the 50s. There are three levels through which the wall reaches, including the earliest Gallo-Roman; Buchsenschutz (1968) considers its construction may be of the late second century (he does not mention the pottery in it) and that for the war in 52 the site was given the additional protection of a Belgic type of rampart. In the early

Gallo-Roman period the wall was patched where it had crumbled with a stone facing. Perhaps it was in these repairs that the late pottery appeared - the reports are not clear on this point.

Châteaumeillant may, then, have been occupied as early as the second century, and by the beginning of the first was prosperous to judge from amphora finds. Greco-Italic amphoras dating to about 100 have been found in considerable quantities, some of them deliberately stored: one may compare the deposit at Saint-Gence (Hte.V, p.106-7 above). Three hundred Italic amphoras dating from the early first century onward, including many in the Caesarian and Gallo-Roman levels, have been found inside the defences, which is a large number by any standards. Some of the earliest occupation traces are on the terrace by the wall and at the centre of the oppidum ('quartier du chapitre'); the three earliest periods of occupation were c.100, then the Caesarian period, and above that (after fire) a brief Gallo-Roman précoce level. One carefully stored collection of 37 Italic amphoras of a type made around 70 was in a cellar below a house of the normal light Celtic construction of wood and clay with a thatched roof; the hut was burnt in a fire associated witht the war of 52 by Gourvest and Hugoniot, as they consider the amphoras could have had a life of 20 years. This at least is proof of permanent occupation and buildings before the Caesarian war; in 1960 a further pre-conquest hut floor was found. Amphoras similar to those at Châteaumeillant have been found at other sites in the region, notably Chitray and Levroux; they are, however, most numerous at Châteaumeillant, and provide there in the areas excavated an unusually high proportion of all finds. Gallia 1959:299f says coins found with the deposit of 37 amphoras date the find to the second half of the first century but does not describe them.

Gallia 1963:383f lists coins found at Châteaumeillant: a hoard of 55 potins near the top of the burnt level at the end of the early Roman period, a plated silver monnaie à la croix also in a first century AD context; in the second level two obols of Massilia, and in the upper part

of the Augustan level two Roman denarii, one of about 38 BC. The potin hoard is analyzed by Gourvest (1963). No pot was found, but they were in close proximity to one another. A definitely Caesarian level was below them, and an Augustan one above. The publication says there were 48 coins, and the core of a plated monnaie à la croix on the surface, and dates the context in which they were found to the second half of the first century BC. Forty-seven of the coins were potins, one a very worn coin of the type CALIAGIIIS or VANDELOS. The normal weight of the coins was c.3.40g ± 0.70g, with a diameter 16-17mm. Two types are illustrated, apparently local varieties of the potin types with a leaping quadruped on the reverse.

Hugoniot and Gourvest (1961) note that three hut floors and a well dating to the Gallo-Roman précoce period were found in 1957, and that the huts were of a different sort to the hut associated with the amphora cellar.

Pottery found in pre-conquest contexts is mostly indigenous, though there is a little Campanian pottery in the level dateable to the early first century. A Campanian cup found in the quartier du chapitre was probably made in Languedoc, which is slight evidence in favour of supposing that some wine at least came from the direction of the south-west rather than from up the Rhone. Much of the native pottery is of very fine quality. Hugoniot and Gourvest compare it with the pottery of Aulnat (P.D.), referring to the rather rough pottery found with the 37 amphoras in Gallerand's garden. This comparison is somewhat random, however, as this type of pottery was very similar throughout the Centre. Thus the same pottery was found comparable with finds at the gasworks at Basel by the same authors (1957). They noted that the fine pottery of Aulnat and Basel was not found at Châteaumeillant, again an expected result, as it is in the fine pottery that local differences are normally detectable. The fine polished rather rounded vases with short necks and wide mouths are not found at any of the Puy-de-Dôme sites; there is a slight similarity between a type of carinated dish and some finds at Puys-de-Voingt (P.D.), but it is

not a very close similarity (pl. 10). The engraved or polished decoration of criss-cross or chequered lines found at Châteaumeillant is also occasionally found at Côtes (P.D.), but I do not think there is much significance in this. There is a very close resemblance between the shape and the decoration of polished spokes on the inside of a wheel-turned variety of dish found both at Châteaumeillant and at Roanne (Loire), but this could be coincidence rather than a sign of any connection (pl.3.28, 31-3, cf 4.42-3). Enough Châteaumeillant pottery is peculiar to the site for it to be impossible to make more than isolated comparisons with other sites at the moment. There are some affinities with Puy du Tour (Corr.) and there are the other resemblances noted above.

It would be of great interest to be able to compare the pottery of Châteaumeillant with that of other sites in the area such as Levroux or Saint Marcel, but at the moment that is not possible from publications. The coins found at Châteaumeillant are not exactly comparable with those found at Levroux; most of them are potin coins of a slightly later date, and the majority are in a fully Gallo-Roman context. There are few silver coins of any sort; one late plated monnaie à la croix in a first century AD context is of little significance. In view of the almost certain early origins of Châteaumeillant, the comparative coin distributions at the other sites might suggest that they, too, had an early development.

There was a Gallo-Roman town at Châteaumeillant, though it does not seem to have been as spectacular as Saint Marcel or Levroux. The heyday of the oppidum was in the first century BC, although important occupation of the site may have begun by the late second century. This is early for the Centre, and comparable with Aulnat (P.D.), while possibly earlier than Puy du Tour (Corr.).

There are fairly substantial traces in the territory of the Bituriges of early la Tène material, some of it certainly dateable to the la Tène I

and II periods (see appendix II). At Mérigny (Indre) at Gué de l'Embuche, where the stream goes underground in wet weather, a galleried pothole was found in which there was a deposit of seven human skulls (adults of both sexes and children) and pottery together with some small objects: a knife, a javelin blade, a piece of ivory bracelet, a small disc with a central hole, a small ring of soft metal, probably of tin or lead, and pendants made of a murex shell, a boar's tooth, and a small limestone rock (Gallia 1955:171f). The pottery consisted of hand made rough pottery including small pieces with thumb-decorated cordons; but also wheel-made pedestal urns and smaller vessels of dark or black colour. The use of the wheel must certainly date the deposit to la Tène and possibly late in the period; the strongly archaic shapes of the fine pottery may well be explained by the nature of the deposit which I would think is certainly ritual (pl.11). The human skulls (severed heads, as there were no bodies) and the association with a stream going underground makes this conclusion inevitable. The pottery is unusual, though vases of the type with a high pedestal and short wide slightly everted neck are found in tumuli in Berry; no eating dishes with incurved rims were found in this particular deposit, and it may be this fact together with the archaic pottery forms which has led to doubt as to the date of the deposit (see p.113 above); I think wheel-made fine vessels are incompatible in this area with a Hallstattian date.

At Saint-Denis-de-Palin (Cher; Gallia 1959:312f) at least 22 tumuli are scattered round the hill-fort; four which have been excavated are of the end of the Hallstatt period (Gallia 1970:260). The third tumulus at Chênes Montords was shown to be of la Tène I date, so there appears to have been continuity between the Hallstatt and la Tène occupation of this area. A la Tène I burail mound at Saint-Just (Cher) whose contents are kept at the Musée du Berry, Bourges, contained shell, lignite and glass amulets and another made of a fossil sea-urchin, a boar's tooth and another small unidentifiable object; there is a certain resemblance between this collection of objects and those found in the ritual deposit

at Mérigny. The many burials found in the immédiate vicinity of Bourges (Cher) strongly suggests that in the first phases of la Tène, certainly by the third and second centuries, there was a flourishing warrior aristocracy in Berry; the frequency of finds is far greater than that found anywhere outside this area in the Centre, since even in Auvergne there are few traces of the early la Tène period.

There was an important cremation burial at Dun-sur-Auron (formerly Dun-le-Roi, Cher) of la Tène III date, containing material closely like that from the tumulus of Celles (Cantal). The original publication (Lachaussée 1873) claimed that it was Merovingian; finds included a hugh number of iron implements and weapons including keys and locked strong-boxes. Déchelette (1914:1049, 1051, 1371, 1373, 1383) correctly attributed the burial to the la Tène period. Perhaps the rich iron goods indicate that the burial was of a smith; in Celtic society they were of high social class and would therefore merit a luxurious burial (see sect.III p. 347 below).

The region of Berry was the earliest in the Centre to have a gold coinage (p. 238 below), and coins very close to Macedonian originals of the late fourth century are found in the area. It is a strong possibility that the early and impressive development of Châteaumeillant (and possibly of Bourges, Levroux and Saint Marcel) was a result of this regional history which was for part of the population materially more advanced at an early date than seems at the moment to have been the case anywhere else in the Centre except perhaps in the Clermont-Ferrand area of Puy-de-Dôme. Further excavation may prove this conclusion premature, and the picture available of Châteaumeillant is based, as at Saint Marcel, on excavations at the central part of the oppidum where most traces of wealth are to be expected. By the time of the Caesarian war there are no clear signs of extraordinarily advanced techniques of building or a greatly increased use of coin or a diversified range of imported Mediterranean products compared with other sites as was the case in some places to the east of the Centre in Forez and Bourgogne; the change after the conquest was the more dramatic

because of it. Despite the large number of amphora imports from the Mediterranean, Châteaumeillant had a completely Celtic regional culture until the time of the conquest. In this it is comparable with the Puy-de-Dôme sites looked at above.

Other sites in Cher are not so well investigated as Châteaumeillant. Bourges itself is largely a mystery; its murus Gallicus referred to in Caesar (BG 7.23) as the classical type of that sort of fortification has left no traces. No clear occupation traces of a la Tène III phase at Bourges have yet been found, though a fair number of coins of the late independent and early Roman periods have turned up in building works, mostly bronze or potin coins as would be expected in a major oppidum of the first century. Burials of la Tène I and II have been noted above and in appendix II (cf map B3). Yet Bourges (Avaricum) was held by the Bituriges of the mid first century to be a town of the utmost political importance (BG 7.15.4), and part of our lack of knowledge about it must be due to its continuous occupation from the Iron Age until the present on the same site.

The hillfort at La Groutte has been partially excavated, and though there are slight traces of a la Tène occupation, it appears that the principal period of occupation of this site was at the beginning and then at the end of the Hallstatt period; the wall was built probably somewhere between 800 and 700 (Hugoniot 1969; Hugoniot and Vannier 1971; Buchsenschutz 1968:47). A later wall just inside the Hallstattian rampart was built with what might be an inturned Celtic gateway on the western side, but the inturn is so slight in the present state of preservation that only excavation could prove its nature. The type of fortification of this later wall is not known, as all that has been found of it are limestone slabs.

The fort of Sidiallles is an irregular rectangle of about 16 hectares in area (Buchsenschutz 1968:60). It is defended by a rampart wherever the slope gives insufficient protection, and there is a transverse

wall across the camp dividing it in two. The gate at the west end has strongly inturned edges of the rampart to protect it, which probably dates its construction to the la Tène period. Amphoras have been found in the camp, of types known at Levroux and Châteaumeillant; also ordinary ware, urns for funerary use, and some Gallo-Roman ceramic. The site has not been properly investigated, but it seems possible that it was constructed and used in the last phase of la Tène, and probably had at least sporadic use under the Romans as it stood over the road between Châteaumeillant and Néris-les-Bains.

Transverse walls appear in a number of Celtic oppida or hillforts; there appears from a ground plan to be one at Châteaumeillant as well as at Sidiailles, and further afield at Mont Dône (Nièvre, p.42f above). The existence of these dividing walls was no doubt the result of the expansion or contraction of the defences during the lifetime of the fortified site. It seemed, however, at Essalois (Loire) and Puy du Tour (Corr.) that the prosperous inhabitants who occupied the sites permanently tended to occupy only the enclosure highest up on the oppidum. An awareness that there was, at least at Alesia, a privileged area within the enclosure is suggested by Caesar's reference to the arx there as a distinct area apart from the oppidum in general (BG 7. 34.1), and the same distinction seems to have existed at Vesontio (BG 1.38.6). At present excavations at Châteaumeillant have been concentrated on the southern and larger part of the enclosure. It would be of value to be able to compare the type and period of occupation of both halves and to establish by comparison of a number of these sites whether there was a constant pattern of occupation based on a social division of the population.

The archaeological record for Indre and Cher, as we have seen, seems better than that in the regions to the west and north of them, but it is still not good. Of the forty-one major defended sites in Berry listed by Buchsenschutz (1968), only the handful above have been excavated at all,

and only three with much result. Cravayat (1969) pointed out when discussing the few known Gallo-Roman temples in Berry that excavators in the past did not know to look for pre-Roman constructions, ans would not have recognized them as such if they had found any. The impression that there were no indigenous cult sites with permanentb buildings before the conquest may well therefore be erroneous.

Group 9

ALLIER

The département Allier is the last I intend to look at, and as the record is very poor, it will be brief. Most of it covers territory occupied in the first century by the Arverni, though a northern section including Néris-les-Bains was acquired by the Bituriges before Gallo-Roman times (see appendix II). There are indications of some Mediterranean contacts, though not necessarily of a systematic nature, in the fifth century in the shape of two Attic red figure sherds from the oppidum of Bêgues (Gallia 1967:297). For the later Iron Age there is as yet little evidence.

At Hériason the camp du Châteloy has a massive Belgic rampart enclosing an area of about 20 hectares, but is not excavated. Buchsenschutz (1968:49) suggested that it was strategically connected with the line of fortresses Saint Marcel - Châteaumeillant - Sidiailles. At Néris-les-Bains there is still considerable trace of the massive rampart, but largely owing to the continued occupation of the town, there have been no extensive excavations. The fortress was separate from the town at first, and may contain pre-Roman traces, but the Roman town eventually grew to include it (Buchsenschutz 1968:55). The Roman period is the earliest for which there is good evidence at Néris, and as often, the Celtic period has not attracted much interest in comparison.

SECTION I CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the archaeological record that certain features are common to all of the Centre region. Permanent occupation of defended sites began to take place as early as the second century (Aulnat, Chanturgues, Puy de Corent and possibly Côtes in Puy-de-Dôme; Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac and possibly Clapas-Castel in Lozère; possibly Saint-Gence in Haute-Vienne and Châteaumeillant in Cher. More still were settled by the first century, often early: Gergovie, Clermont-Ferrand, Chamalières, Liozon (which could be earlier) and Puys de Voingt in Puy-de-Dôme, Puy du Tour and Charlat in Corrèze, and Saint Marcel and Levroux in Indre, both of which could be older. There are only the sites for which there is reasonable evidence; more certainly existed and await scientific excavation. The older of these settlements were probably flourishing before the establishment of the Republican Roman province in the south of France at the end of the second century.

The easterly parts of the Centre (Berry and to a slight extent, northern Auvergne including Puy-de-Dôme) were the first to adopt a la Tène culture which was native to the north-east. There is no reason necessarily to postulate an invasion since the characteristic la Tène culture was an aristocratic one, and as such could easily have been adopted by the existing aristocracies in the Centre. In view, however, of the known wanderings of the Celts in the first phases of la Tène, some influx of new peoples into the Centre cannot be ruled out.

In the south-west and central-west of the area there is reasonable evidence to suggest that cultural affinities with the Celts of the Garonne basin and the Roman province were predominant. This is convincing particularly in Lozère and Corrèze where there have been some fairly thorough excavations, and in the southern départements near the Garonne

basin; Ward-Perkins (1941) must be right in his arguments about this cultural orientation of the south-west. Examination of the physical geography of the Centre provides an important clue to this phenomenon. The huge bulk of the Massif Central contrasts with the low areas to its west which provide easy communication with the south-west and west, and both the Loire and the Garonne flow westwards. Only the shepherds of the eastern Massif Central would have had much regular contact with the south-east of the province (map E) and it may be of some importance to Auvergne if this was the case. But coin analysis in the next section will show that there was a very important and in some respects predominant influence on the west-central Celtic silver coinages and standards from the direction of Spain and the Garonne basin, not from the Rhone valley and the south-east.

Ward-Perkins (1941) also discussed the material from Pont-Maure in Corrèze which dates to the Gallo-Roman précoce period and had affinities with material from Toulouse (pl.10 and 13, and p.94 above). However, he probably overstates the importance of the south-western influences on pottery found in Puy-de-Dôme, and while what he says is true of that found nearer to the western slopes of the Massif Central, it is not convincing for Puy-de-Dôme. He was mostly concerned with the period of pottery exemplified in the east of the Centre by Gergovie, and I have argued that the date for this site is late, perhaps of the mid first century at earliest, in a period when the traditional patterns of Celtic life were breaking down (p. 74ff above). I have compared the published pottery from Toulouse and its immediate region in the first century (Fouet 1970) with that of Gergovie, and find that there is very little similarity between them except in the case of 'ubiquitous' forms, dishes with incurved rims and 'posthallstattian' jars. Ward-Perkins' article nonetheless forms a useful starting-point for a discussion of the cultural affinities of the Centre, which shows that the south-western influences are strongest in the south-west and west but weak or nonexistent in the east and north, while those parts of the Centre frequently have more in common with non-

Central sites in the Forez and even the Rhone valley.

It is perfectly true that certain ceramic forms are to be found both at Toulouse and at Gergovie, as pointed out by Ward-Perkins (ibid.:54-5); the squat carinated bowls are one of the few truly 'Central' types of pottery I have been able to isolate (pl. 10). Ward-Perkins (ibid.:55) records that these low carinated bowls are found in similar versions at Angers (M+L), Pont-Maure (Corr.) and Gergovie (P.D.); parallel types are found at the oppidum Montfo near Magalas (Hér.), Toulouse (Hte.Gar.), Ensérune (Hér.) and Montlaurès (Narbonne, Hér.) in the third to second centuries. I have found that a more sharply carinated version of this sort of bowl (Pl.10) has been found at Châteaumeillant (Cher), Puys de Voingt (P.D.), Côtes (P.D.), Charlat (Corr.), Bourges (Cher, first century AD) and Etréchy (Cher, in a Gallo-Roman version); a similar type is also found at Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) though by the early Gallo-Roman period regional peculiarities were beginning to dissolve. The pottery produced at Thésée-Pouillé (L+Ch) in the second century AD was based on a shape derived from this sort of bowl. The only other sort of pottery shape that I think has a claim to regional popularity in the Centre is the series of archaic vases with a straight neck and everted rim, a body not very curved, and either a flat base or a slight pedestal (pl.11-12). An early version of this sort is found in the deposit at Mérigny in Indre and in tumuli in Berry of early la Tène date; similar forms are found in the burial at Civaux in Vienne, St.Hilaire-Lastours in Haute-Vienne and at Salesses in Cantal. The later shape is found at Château-meillant (Cher, possibly Mont Beuvray (Nièvre), and Chamalières (P.D.), but as there are distinct differences between the shapes of all these vases, there may only be accidental similarities between them. Brouillet and Soutou (1959) make a case for the principally Central distribution of two types of late la Tène III/Gallo-Roman précoce pottery, (a) 'oculated' decoration and (b) decoration with the molette. Other possible candidates for regional popularity in the Centre, or Central types with strong south-westerly affinities are shown at plates 7, 9 and 13.

Most characteristic ceramic forms from Toulouse are, however, found nowhere in the Centre, for instance the carinated urns, the squat gourd-shaped vases, the tall goblets and a considerable number of forms of ovoid urn. The differences are much more striking than the similarities between the pottery of Toulouse and the pottery of Gergovie and other sites in the Centre even as far south as Puy du Tour (Corr,).

The cordoned vessel with omphalos base that is found at Toulouse, Angers, Mont Beuvray, Haltern and in Britain (Ward-Perkins 1941:54-5) is of late production and its wide distribution does not I think have more significance than the distribution of other foreign products. Just as I do not think the presence of an isolated monnaie-à la croix minted in the Toulouse area is necessarily proof of cultural connections with Toulouse or even proof of systematic communication (Châteaumeillant), so the presence of individual pottery types from particular places does not alone support an argument for close cultural connection. Whereas there is some basis for arguing that in the late first century in Puy-de-Dôme at Lezoux there were apparently conscious similarities between locally made ceramic and contemporary pottery from the Roanne (Loire) area, and this cultural influence was accompanied by other evidence sucha as Gergovie coins at Roanne and Roanne vases at Gergovie and Aulnat, in the case of relations with Toulouse there is no comparable evidence anywhere in the Centre above the south-western slopes of the Massif Central. Characteristic pottery types of Toulouse were not copied except in the west and south-west of the Centre to any significant extent, and the other most characteristic feature of the material culture of the Toulouse area - its coinage - was neither copied nor used in Puy-de-Dôme. Cultural influence from the south-western Roman province and Toulouse was confined to the areas to the north-west, west and south of the Massif Central, as evidenced in the Spanish and Languedocian elements in the silver coinages and the occasional Spanish imports (maps 1b, 22). Regular seasonal contact through transhumance between southern Auvergne and the south-east of Gaul near the

Rhone delta (map E) may be important in this context, and set Auvergne aside from the rest of the Centre in respect of the main source of some imported cultural features.

The nature of the influence of the material culture of the Toulouse area itself on that of the Centre was therefore indirect. In other respects there were differing cultural influences on different parts of the Centre. Not many traces of la Tène I or II are to be found further into the Centre on the east and north than the Bituriges and Arverni, though in the Garonne basin itself there was a rich early la Tène culture of a strongly regional character (Déchelette 1914:1339-47). This south-western la Tène culture extended to Cantal and Gironde at least, and is undoubtedly in the background to the second and first century relations of the southern parts of the Centre with the coast.

There were probably two major directions in which Mediterranean goods reached the interior of Gaul even before the conquest of the Narbonese province, (a) the Garonne basin, and (b) the Rhone valley, although Ward-Perkins (1941:40) believed that the Rhone was the main artery before the conquest of 121. The adoption and spread of monnaies à la croix and related coinages in the south-west from the third century onward are evidence of the importance of the western route as are the finds of Mediterranean products inland on the south-west as well as in the Rhone area. However, the greatest number of amphoras by far in Gaul are of late Republican types and their arrival in large numbers may legitimately be connected with the establishment of the Roman province in the late second century (cf p. 336 below). The Roman foundation of a colony at Narbo and the conquest of Toulouse will have greatly facilitated exchange with Gaul either via the west coast down the Garonne and then by sea (note the Roman products which abound in Gironde), or via the low-lying westerly road routes which would give access to the west, Limousin and ultimately Berry, bypassing the Massif Central (cf. Cicero Pro Fonteio 9.19-20). Roman

products in the Limagne valley in Puy-de-Dôme and the Allier could perhaps better have come up from the Rhone and via Roanne (Loire), and the existence of some such regular route might help to explain the cultural links between Puy-de-Dôme and the Forez as well as their general Central affinities.

The appearance, therefore, in the Centre of a few Tolosan pottery types was indirect and unspecific in the way in which the adoption of imitation Campanian pottery was; the latter was not necessarily a result of direct contemporary relations with Italians. I think Ward-Perkins (1941) makes a point similar to this when he suggests that the historical enmity between Arverni and Aedui was in part an expression of their respective differing positions in respect of the Mediterranean peoples. The peoples of the Centre were, then, not exclusively exposed to south-westerly Mediterranean influence. Those in the départements Lozère, Corrèze and Cantal prove to have definite south-westerly Mediterranean connections, and in the case of Lozère the practice of annual transhumance between the Mediterranean uplands and the interior certainly assured cultural contact. Those in the north and east of the Centre, however, were barred from the Mediterranean by the Massif Central, and necessarily had less immediate Mediterranean contacts and borrowings. Their gold coinages of the third and second centuries had their origin and closest affinities with those of the east and north of Gaul, quite distinct from the silver coinages of south and western Gaul derived from Spanish prototypes via the Garonne basin. Some wine possibly came to Châteaumeillant (Cher) from the south-west, as there are good road and water routes in the low-lying west, and silver coinage affinities link Berry with the Garonne basin. But there is nothing in the pottery to suggest direct borrowings from first century Tolosan wares, and ohter Mediterranean products are found in the area. Massiliot obols are found at Châteaumeillant and at Saint Marcel (Indre), and there are more cultural affinities between

Châteaumeillant and Puy-de-Dôme sites or Roanne (Loire) than with Toulouse; the one plated monnaie à la croix found at Châteaumeillant is in a Gallo-Roman context and is without great significance.

The same argument goes for Aulnat (P.D.), and here there is no reason to think that the wine came from anywhere other than the Rhone. The Gallo-Roman précoce pottery from which Ward-Perkins argued is very late, and the cultural patterns of independent Gaul were already being broken during the war in the 50s. Gergovie, as can be seen by comparing the pottery there with earlier local productions, was not typical of first century Central development, but was in the first stages of a Gallo-Roman culture; one of the characteristics of the Gallo-Roman as opposed to Celtic cultures is the comparative homogeneity of quality wares between areas previously distinct in this respect. Hence the similarities in the late first century between goods in Gergovie, Mont Beuvray and Toulouse, and the thorough mixing of the coinage from the Caesarian war onwards which may be regarded as part of the same phenomenon.

* * *

For the sake of a summary relevant to the discussion in the third section, a synopsis of the main points of this first section may now be made.

A certain number of Central oppida (hillforts) were permanently occupied from the second century: Aulnat (P.D.) from the early second century, Puy de Corent (P.D.), Châteaumeillant (Cher) and Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac (Loz.) from about the mid second century or a little later, Côtes (P.D.), Chanturgues (P.D.), Clapas-Castel (Loz.) and Saint-Gence (Hte.V.) from an uncertain point probably in the second century. From the very early first

or possibly second century there are Liozon (P.D.), Saint Marcel (Indre) and Levroux (Indre). From the first century, possibly or probably early are Gergovie (P.D.), Clermont-Ferrand (P.D.), Puys-de-Voingt (P.D.), Chamalières (P.D.O, Puy du Tour (Corr,) which certainly goes back early into the century, and Charlat (Corr.). Virtually all oppida permanently occupied at the time of the conquest in the 50s had been occupied for at least a short time previously; some, like Gergovie, only apparently attained a properly urban development in the Gallo-Roman précoce phase, probably from the 50s.

Although local or regional differences in material culture are sometimes more striking than similarities - with the exception of ubiquitous types of cooking and table ware (rough urns and dishes with incurved rims), it appears to be the case that there were few pottery types specific to the south-west and centre-west which are to be found as far east as Puy-de-Dôme and Berry before the conquest. This was the case with carinated bowls particularly; other pottery types of a south-western (Garonne-Provence) origin found in the southern parts of the Centre, for instance Aveyron or Corrèze, are illustrated on Pls 7, 10 and 13. In the early la Tène period, burials in Berry (occasionally also in Auvergne) showed a much more marked influence by the new culture than was in evidence anywhere else in the Centre (Déchelette 1914:maps p.1060-1, 1154-5). There is gold coinage evidence from Berry for continued contact into the third and possibly early second century with regions well to the north and north-east of the Loire : for these relations see map 14a. Archaic pedestal vases of the type illustrated at plate 11 are found within a defined area in the centre-west (Indre, Vienne and Haute-Vienne) which had in the second to first century a distinctive silver coinage (map 12); as the specimen of this vase type from Mérigny (Indre) was made on the wheel, the type may have been retained into the late la Tène period for ritual purposes (p. 138 above).

Archaeological connections exist between the Bituriges and Arverni on the one hand and the Forez (Aedui and Segusiavi) on the other: Roanne (Loire)

pottery hasbeen found at Aulnat and Gergovie (P.D.) and early Lezoux painted vases are closely similar. On the political plane, there is Caesar BG 7.5.1: the Bituriges were 'in fide' to the Aedui, and Dumnorix of the Aedui married his mother to a Biturigan (BG 1.18.3). For Aedui-Arverni enmity see for instance BG 1.31.3, although care is needed with Caesar's statements. For the second century alliance between the Arverni and a Allobroges for the war with Rome see Suetonius Nero 2.1, Florus 1.36, Livy ep.61 and Appian Celt. 4.12 where Bituitus is called king of the Allobroges.

For Celtic relations at considerable distances in Gaul see p. 265 below. 4.n.3

The late second century Tayac (Gir.) hoard contained local, Belgic (Gallo-Belgic A), Côte-d'Or and possibly Swiss coins. At la Couvertoirade (Avey.) a bronze fibula was found with two lion's fromt parts back to back and holding a severed head between their paws; the type is normal at Roanne (Loire, Gallia 1964:431). At Aulnat (P.D.) there was found a piece of twisted torc comparable with a bracelet from Tragny (Aisne: Gallia 1971:323f). Roanne ceramic dateable to the first century (c.120-20) was found at Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac (Loz., Gallia 1971:405), and a painted Roanne or Lezoux type vase was found at Cavaillon (Vauc., Dumoulin 1965). Roanne painted vases of the first period with animal decoration were inspired by the early Marne tradition (c. 450-300: Vernat and Périchon 1970). At Puy du Tour (Corr.) basalt querns must have come from over 50km away (Murat 1962), and the Camp du Château (Salins, Jura) imported some of its iron ore from over 40km away in the la Tène period (Dayet 1967).

SECTION II

COINAGE:

THE PRE-CONQUEST COINAGES OF CENTRAL GAUL.

SECTION II CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Page

153 1. Introduction.

156 2. The periodization of Gaulish coinage.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION.

1. INTRODUCTION.

Central Gaulish coinage may be defined here as that which was current within the geographical limits chosen for this study as a whole (map F). As in the archaeological section above, a brief outline will be given of some coinages immediately outside the Centre for the sake of comparison and contrast, confined to cases which have a direct bearing on Central Gaulish coinage development. Although some late Armorican billon coinages had a close relationship with western Central gold issues of the first century, I shall not discuss them in detail, as there already exists a good body of published analysis of them, and they belong to a period of Gaulish coinage when the Central coinages are best able to be analyzed and dated without constant reference to outside issues.[17]

Celtic coinages may conveniently be divided into three main groups for study purposes: 1. Gold and Armorican billon; 2. silver; 3. struck bronze (referred to simply as bronze) and cast bronze or tin alloy, referred to as potin. All three categories are represented in the Centre region, but the greater part of this study will be concerned with the precious metal coinages. This is primarily because the detailed study of bronze and potin coinage in the Centre is one that would necessitate the collection of many hundreds of specimens for type analysis. Although this study would be richly rewarded and be of the greatest importance for a fuller understanding of the final phase of Gaulish coinage development, I was not myself in a position to undertake such a large-scale numismatic study as a single part of a larger study of la Tène Gaul. I must therefore confine my observations on the bronze and potin coinages (p.269 below) to a more general level than that in the studies of the gold and silver coinages. It is, however, only

in the final phase of coinage development in Gaul that bronze coinage appeared, so the majority of the following study deals with the full normal range of Central Gaulish coinage in equal detail. Where the final phase is concerned, it is, for present purposes, the existence and function of the bronze coinage in general which is of the greatest importance, and these are issues which can be considered at least in outline from the readily available published material.

The aims of this section are to establish the geographical distribution of finds of gold and silver coinages in the Centre; to examine, where possible, the development over time of individual series of coin types; and to attempt to fix an absolute chronology for specific phases in the development of the precious metal coinages.

For this purpose I have concentrated upon the larger and better defined series, as they alone are susceptible of detailed analysis of this sort. There were, however, a very large number of small-volume issues in Central Gaul, especially in the early phases, and it has proved impossible within the scope of this study to do more than record the existence of the more significant of them. In accordance with the general aims of this study as a whole, the coinages discussed below will not be treated in isolation from one another, but instead any features which they share with the currencies of other areas will be brought out, and, where possible, linked with other archaeological findings of relevance. The most important of these interconnections are:

(a) the distribution and choice of types of the earliest gold coinage, which has links with the geographical distribution of la Tène I and II aristocratic graves and material finds in Gaul;

(b) the distribution and choice of types of the silver coinages in the Centre, which supports ceramic and other archaeological evidence for the close cultural links between western and western-central Gaul and the Garonne basin and Spain;

(c) the existence of a significant number of links in choice of types and occasionally of actual coin finds between north-east Gaul or south Germany and the south-west of Gaul, which connect with various scraps of archaeological and textual evidence to suggest a systematic relationship between the two areas, albeit of an unknown nature.

Questions of the theory of ancient coinage, and the use and authorship of Gaulish coinage in particular, must be reserved for a later chapter (section III ch. 8). General principles and problems involved in dealing with numismatic evidence were discussed above (p.19f). In the following discussion the lists of find-spots (appendix XV) which relate to the distribution maps are provided with brief bibliographies, and are intended to replace lengthy footnotes in the text. References in the text to distribution are based on the find-spots in these lists which are all shown on the maps. When a hoard forming part of the discussion below is inventoried in appendix VII, the reference to it is asterisked (eg. *Tayac [Gir.]), and the appendix should be consulted on points of detail. In this way needless repetition of bibliography and contents has been avoided.

This study does not attempt, or pretend, to be an exhaustive account of Central Gaulish coinages. It contains a large proportion of primary work of my own because the earlier Central precious metal coinages have had little or no published analysis. Where it was available, however, I have made use of published material as in the archaeological section above, because the present purpose of examining the archaeology and coinage of Gaul has been to establish a background for an account of social change in the la Tène period, not to provide a 'complete' account of the material itself which must necessarily be left to specialists.

* * *

2. THE PERIODIZATION OF GAULISH COINAGE.

For the sake of clarity in organization, Celtic coinage in Central Gaul will here be divided into three sections or phases, each of which has its own characteristic features. This precedure may be justified on organizational grounds alone (p. 222f below), but it will be argued later (p487ff) that the characteristics of each successive phase were not merely incidental to changes in Gaulish society in the la Tène period, but reflected major contemporary social developments.

1. The first phase, which I shall argue belongs to the third century, includes two types of Celtic coinage: (a) close copies of foreign originals sometimes difficult to distinguish from their models, and (b) the first Celticized coinages (for instance group Iii for gold, pl.VI.2, and the Bridiers group for silver, pl.I.5-10). Gold staters normally weigh over c.8.0g, and western silver over c.4.50g. The distribution of types is generally diffuse where it can be determined, with exceptions at some river mouths; both phenomena are rooted in the prevailing social conditions in the third century (p. 492f below). There are a very large number of coinage types and varieties, but relatively few coherent and abundant series; those that exist generally concern the lighter coins of this phase, and therefore not the earliest.

2. The second phase, which I shall argue belongs broadly to the late third and second centuries, displays for the first time a substantial number of distinctive and often continuous issues with localized distributions. In some cases second phase coinages can be directly traced from first phase types (gold first phase groups Iii and Iv both give second phase series). Gold weights in the Centre in this phase generally fall in the range c.7.60-8.0g, silver in the Centre weighs c.3.30-4.0g. Very numerous sub-types and small issues continue to be found, and a number of later

second group coinages had a poor and light-weight 'tail'. Berry and Touraine are especially well provided with both gold and silver coinage of this phase. Different areas undoubtedly began to strike consistent series at various points in the period, but in the Centre all had either disappeared completely or been modified drastically by the first century or by the time when the first oppida were settled.

3. The third phase falls in the period from the end of the second century to the Caesarian war. After a marked break (hoards in the Centre seem never to contain old types with the new) there were numerically far fewer extensive series, the total of different major types being reduced to about a dozen or fewer for the whole area. All types forming major series are strikingly different from regional predecessors, and sometimes unrelated; in some cases the third phase may mark the first regional coinage in the area. The output of each series is very much greater than the volume of earlier series, and it was accompanied by a marked drop in wieght and quality. Gold weights vary locally from under 6.0g in the last billon issues in the western Centre to c.7.30-40g in Auvergne. By the 60s, with specific exceptions in Poitou and Auvergne where silver weights had their own levels, most silver coinage throughout southern, eastern and Central Gaul was on a standard weight of c.1.80-90g, rising sometimes to c.2.0g. In this phase the distribution maps show well defined but only occasionally exclusive distributions for the major coin groups. However, the map shows a clear contrast with those for the second and first phases.

The dating of bronze and potin is problematical (p.269 below), but I would argue that the origins of the bronze coinage lie in the transition between the second and third phases, at the time of the settlement of the first 'urban' oppida.

Evidence that the above scheme is not entirely arbitrary or simply diagrammatic is suggested by the strikingly similar phases through which

the Celtic and native coinages of Dacia in the Black sea area went over the same three centuries, in relation to other social changes (Preda 1973, see p. 491 below). Political and social developments inevitably lie behind coinage development and the possible reasons for the course of development of Celtic coinage in Gaul will be discussed in section III ch.8 below. Development of the Gaulish coinaged from the Caesarian war onward must be omitted from the present study which concerns the social development of Gaul before the conquest.

SECTION II CHAPTER 2

PRECIOUS METAL COINAGES OUTSIDE THE CENTRE.

Page

161 1. Silver coinages to the east of the Centre.

166 2. Monnaie à la croix coinage in the Garonne basin.

Chapter 2

PRECIOUS METAL COINAGES OUTSIDE THE CENTRE.

Gold coinage was used throughout the Centre region until the Caesarian conquest, with the use of silver confined to areas which generally also used gold. In this respect there is a contrast between the Centre and Armorica on the one hand, and on the other, the regions enclosing the Centre on the south-west, south and east, all of which were exclusively silver using (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:271f). Comparison of maps 2-5 illustrate this point. It may be argued that the Central silver coins of map 4 suggest that their use was fairly widespread in the Centre. However, there are important differences between the silver coinages of south and west Gaul (maps 2-3; wartime hoards are irrelevant in this context and should be ignored), and the Central silver types. The latter coexisted with gold coinage and were confined to the region south of the Loire. Silver coinage of the Garonne region and the Rhone-Saône area was exclusive of all gold use before the first century (with possible exceptions to the north of the area) and was in origin closely connected by weight or type to various Mediterranean silver coinages. Central silver was not directly related to Mediterranean coinage after the late third century, but was rather related to the monnaie à la croix currencies of the south-west; the nature of this connection will be discussed in the context of the coinages concerned.

In the Garonne basin, silver monnaies à la croix derived from drachms of Rhode on the north-eastern Spanish coast predominated throughout the period of native coinage; in the Rhone valley, silver coinage of native types or types derived from Roman denarii predominated, often mixed, below Lyon, with the use of silver drachms or obols of Massilia (maps 1 and 6).

To provide comparative material with the Centre, a very brief

account of the coinage in the silver using areas outside the Centre will be useful. It is impossible in a study of the present scope for a full account to be given here of these coinages, particularly those in the Rhone valley. The chronology of the coinages of the Rhone valley has not yet been settled without doubt in the available publications; for discussion of the various types ABT:257f and Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:296f are perhaps the most readily accessible publications. Work being done at present by numismatic scholars will undoubtedly clarify the picture enormously, and I have had neither the material nor the time to undertake an adequate primary analysis of either monnaies à la croix or Rhone valley and associated coinages myself, merely to provide comparison with the Centre. For present purposes the monnaies à la croix are of the most immediate interest and importance, and fortunately good published works on them are available (Soutou 1968, 1969; Allen 1969). Rhone valley coinages east of the river are not directly relevent to Central Gaulish issues, and in the case of the others, it is principally their weight standards in the second and first centuries and their choice of types that are significant here. The chief purpose, therefore, of this summary is to provide a degree of corroboration for the results derived from the archaeology above which suggested that both the Rhone and Saône valleys and the Garonne basin had systematic intercourse with the Mediterranean peoples which resulted in an earlier development of cultural features associated with a Gallo-Roman précoce culture and urbanization than was the case in the Centre. Since for archaeological purposes I have excluded the region of the lower Rhone valley and delta and the Mediterranean coastline from the discussion, (ie the Republican province), the coinages of that area are also excluded.

Stray finds of the silver Rhone valley coinage copied from Roman types from the end of the second century onward (pl.II.6-7) are found occasionally outside the province, often in late contexts (map 6), but nearly all the hoards are found inside Roman territory. Similarly, other major silver types used in the Rhone valley and western Alps (map 6, pl.II.1-5)

do not concern us here, and their dating is not yet sufficiently established in the available publications for strong argument to be based upon them.

1. SILVER COINAGES TO THE EAST OF THE CENTRE.

In the region outside the Roman province, corresponding approximately to the territory of the Aedui, Sequani and Lingones, a number of major silver coinages were in use by or during the first century (maps 7-8, Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:271f). We have seen that in this area where non-provincial silver coinages are found in the greatest numbers (map 7: Côte-d'Or, Saône-et-Loire, Jura and Haute-Marne) some of the most striking evidence of technical virtuosity was found in building work in la Tène III sites, together with other evidence of systematic Mediterranean contact from an early date, phenomena which contrasted strongly with the Centre (p.33-57 above). This was also one of the areas with the longest history of coinage use in Gaul (maps 14a, 15a and p. 238 f, 225 below). Certain points in the development of the silver coinages of this area are important in this context.

A few specific coinages are of particular interest as they are susceptible of dating. At some point the Aedui adopted a silver coinage of good weight (pl.II.9; ABT:404-6,64; normal weight 2.0-2.09g). It has strong stylistic affinities with a weak gold coinage (pl.II.8, 7.17g); Blanchet loc.cit. mentions fractions at 1.61 and 1.75g, and other varieties of this coinage are on pl.VIIIA from the Chenôves (S+L) hoard. Blanchet offered no other find spots for this series of gold staters, but the argument for identity of provenance for the gold and silver types is strong. Colbert de Beaulieu (1966c) supports the stylistic argument and considers that the Aedui may have adopted the silver coin shortly before 90, after the Roman defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones at Vercellae.

The *Chenôves hoard stood near the end of an apparently long-lived regional coinage (pl.VIII.16). It was homogeneous and late: weights

given are 6.60g (1), 6.70g (2), 6.80g (4), 6.90g (9), 7.0g (11), 7.10g (3; Blanchet 1934). Blanchet had in his private collection a stater of the general type weighing 7.25g; the quarter-stater BN 4846 weighs 1.61g, and another in Cahn sale Apr.1933 no 1589 weighed 7.02g.

Blanchet noted that the motif in front of the face on the obverse is found on coins of the Pictones and Lemovices (Pl.XI.10,11,13,14,16,17), but there are analogies closer at hand. The heavier second century gold staters found in the Beaune region in Côte-d'Or and further north (pl.VIII.16 and p.246f below, see list for map 16 group II), are very likely to be the direct predecessors, and in their later forms, contemporaries, of some of this late Aeduan gold. Some quarter-staters in fact bring the Chenôves hoard and 'Beaune' type coins closely together. A BM coin at 1.74g, BN 4841 (1.69g) and 4848 (1.65g) with on the reverse a lyre all have the most derived type of 'Beaune' obverse, presisely like BN 3694 (1.76) with Rev. triskeles. The motifs on the obv. and the triskeles on the rev. of the earlier coinage were maintained therefore for some issues, cf. pl.VIIIA. 13 and 15, while their area of distribution is similar for both groups.

The Bituriges Cubi also used the obverse motif (pl.XI.1,2,5,8); they occupied an area contiguous with that of the Aedui, and probably had reasonably close political contact with them: cf BG 1.18.3 (Dumnorix of the Aedui married his mother to a Biturigan noble for political reasons). Early ABVCATOS staters of the Bituriges could be contemporary with these gold Chenôves staters; by weight Chenôves coins are roughly similar to ABVCATOS coins, and the period 120-90 would seem appropriate for the last Aeduan gold. Blanchet (1934) preferred the context of the wars between the Aedui, Arverni and Helvetii (70s-60s) or even the Caesarian war for the burial of the hoard, but this is surely rather late. While it is not impossible that gold continued in use among those Aedui with continued connections in the Centre, the late Aeduan gold is very rare and not likely to have been struck in quantity after the general switch to silver. That it did remain in use with a minority interested in relations with the Centre might

perhaps be suggested by the weight and also the types, though the evidence is very thin.

Blanchet rightly remarked on the androcephalous horse on the coin on plate VIIIA.15, which is a feature normally confined to late Armorican coins. He suggested an Armorican prototype for this coin, which if true is of great interest culturally. A further connexion between the coins of Chenôves type and Armorica is provided by the quarter-stater BN 3680 (1.81g) which has a worn reverse where the symbol is uncertain; its obverse is of derived 'Beaune' type as found on Chenôves coins (cf pl.VIIIA.17), but is of florid execution and has its ear treated in a way most common in eastern Armorica with three dots (⁘). This feature may perhaps be connected with the ultimately western 'dolphin' motif on the obverse, the use of varieties of 'Aquitanic' treatment of the hair on the obverses, and the rare androcephalous horse, in which case it would provide one of the several types of cultural association between the east of Gaul and the south and south-west (p. 246 below). For a further discussion of the gold issues of this north-eastern area see p.246-7below.

The KAΛETEΔOY issues of the Lingones (Colbert de Beaulieu 1966c; see map 7 and pl.II.16, with later varieties pl.II.17-8) have a normal weight of 1.90-1.94g, lighter therefore than the early Aeduan silver, and can fairly confidently be datedt to the first century, with a starting point in the time of Sulla, 83-78.[17a] The argument for dating the first KAΛETEΔOY coins to this period is based on the fact that they were at first a close copy of the denarii of P SVLA (208-c150, see pl.II.15-6). In particular the ligature of the V and L was copied exactly (Colbert de Beaulieu 1966c). For the space of three sets of obverse and reverse dies, all interlinked, the legend SVLA was retained, even though the space on the die was small, and it meant that the Celtic legend had to be squeezed in. After the three dies (a fairly short time), the SVLA legend was dropped. As it was repeated three times, it is unlikely to have been an engraver's mistake,

and the most plausible reason for adopting the prototype in question was in an attempt to compliment Sulla. The latter struck no coins in his own name, and the only coins available with the name of a Sulla upon them were the denarii used as prototype. It is a strong possibility that the Lingones, who undoubtedly issued the KAΛETEΔOY series, allied with Rome in the period in question; they were certainly friendly by 58 as Caesar could rely on them for his corn supply, and they collaborated in the war (BG 1.40). In the 70s the Lingones were faced with a choice: either to stick with a poor stater coinage or to join their neighbours the Aedui and Sequani in striking silver when they allied with Rome. The Aedui had allied in 121 or just before, and the Sequani before 58, perhaps even as early as the Aedui: in 102 they sent back a band of Teutones fugitives to Marius, after Aquae Sextiae. The SVL A legend was not merely mindless copying, in all probability, and its disappearance, if it was adopted for the reasons suggested by Colbert de Beaulieu, is explained by the disfavour of Sulla after his death.[18]

If, as seems likely, the adoption of silver as predominant currency metal could mark a political event, the first appearance of the Aeduan silver would come appropriately soon after their alliance with Rome in c.121 and the establishment of the Roman province by 118. The fact that the weight of the first silver Aeduan coins is little less than the early COMA 'horseman' coins of the Rhone valley (pl.II.6, 2.0-2.22g, ABT 65-6) makes it not unlikely that as early a date as this is possible; by weight they certainly stand between the first 'horseman' issues and the KAΛETEΔOY coins.

During the first century a large number of issues of silver on normal weight scales in the bracket 1.80-90g were minted in the east and north-east; it is outside the scope of this study to examine them in detail (map 8). It is virtually certain that they fall chronologically in the period from the 80s or 70s to the Caesarian war and beyond.[19] The wide dispersion of these later, often epigraphic, issues in big mixed hoards is connected

with the war with Rome; it is generally agreed that these silver coins were used to pay soldiers, including (very importantly) Gaulish auxiliaries (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:33; Dayet 1962, cf Cicero Pro Fonteio 6.13 and p. 501 below). While coin of Massilia and other Greek cities has been found in much of Gaul, virtually no Roman denarii have been found in a context dateable to before the Caesarian conquest. The finds at Saint-Gence (Hte.V., p.107 above) are among the earliest, dating possibly to the early first century. The fact that Roman denarii are very rarely found in a context dateable to before the conquest is noted by Colbert de Beaulieu (1966c, cf 1973a:33). He adds that Rolland established that Roman denarii were not current during the period of Celtic independence anywhere in Gaul, and concludes that the Roman army did not use denarii for the campaigns of 57-1, but instead used Celtic silver of standard weights such as those on maps 8-10.[20] It should be noted, however, that the battlefield of Alesia yielded a lot of denarii. In his publication of the finds in the battlefield, Colbert de Beaulieu (1955a) listed 473 Roman denarii, which constitute one in three of all finds of coins. This is certainly proof that the Roman army used Roman coins as well as Celtic. The latest denarii date to 54, so it is certain also that the army in the field under Caesar received funds from the treasury after the commencement of the war. I would suggest that the big mixed hoards of almost entirely standard Celtic silver are the collections of Gaulish units or individuals, paid to them in the capacity of auxiliaries. The Romans would probably not have wasted scanty funds from Italy on Celts who would be content with Celtic denominations; Roman soldiers who were eventually destined to return to the Mediterranean would perhaps have been paid in denarii. Possibly the Celtic denominations were 'commissioned' by the Roman army for the payment of auxiliaries, a suggestion I owe to Miss E.Wightman. Caesar had a very large number of auxiliaries in his army, both infantry and cavalry. Dayet (1962) argues that the progressive Romanization on the bronze of Togirix from his earliest coin to coins in

the name of Julius Togirix can be traced in the obverses: first he appears in a helmet of the type worn by auxiliaries, then in a Roman officer's helmet. Even if it is not an actual portrait on the coins, the progressive Romanization of the coinage is clear, as is the change in status of the helmet. Bronze coinage was probably not used primarily as soldiers' pay (though it could have been used perhaps for rations), but silver with the same legend, some of it very much older than the Gallic wars, did exist and is found in hoards with other standard silver, and was probably used for auxiliary or mercenary payment (map 9). See n.19 for the hoards.

In conclusion, the important point about these eastern Gaulish coinages with reference to the Centre is that silver coin on a weight standard of c.1.80-2.0g was in use to the exclusion of gold from the early first century at latest, and the introduction of this particular category of silver coinage would appear to coincide chronologically with the political consolidation of relations with the Roman republic.

2. MONNAIE À LA CROIX COINAGE IN THE GARONNE BASIN (Map 11).

In the south-west, silver coin predominated as it did in the east, and again, as before, it was only in the areas furthest from the Roman province and the Mediterranean area that the use of silver coexisted with use of a gold coinage. Information for this section is based principally on Allen (1969); Soutou (1969) reviewed this article, but his criticisms of detail do not materially affect the broad outline of Allen's work, which is what is most important for the present study. A similar chronology overall for monnaies à la croix was offered independently by Soutou (1968, 1969), and arguments for a condensed and late development of these coins (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:278f) are untenable, as I have argued elsewhere.[21]

Monnaies à la croix, so called from the characteristic reverse type of a cross with various symbols in the quarters, are typological derivations

from the coinage of the Greek colony of Rhode which was issued, probably at the end of the fourth or the early third century, at a normal weight of c.4.80g. I accept the date offered by Crawford (1969 nos.107,109; Allen 1969 postscript) for the hoards of Drieves and Valera in Spain (211-208), both of which contained worn and cut monnaies à la croix weighing 3.60, 3.52, 3.33, 3.33, 3.83g (Valera) and bearing types found in the big hoard of Béziers (Allen 1969 no 5). The Béziers hoard contained early monnaies à la croix weighing 4.60-4.70g together with later coins of 3.50-3.65g; in view of the date of the Spanish hoards, this hoard can be dated to the third century with confidence, and the heaviest monnaies à la croix can be dated to early in the century. The earliest hoard of Rhode imitations (Uzech, Allen 1969 no1) contained coins of 4.55-4.75g, not much under the weight of the original drachms; the earliest hoards of the type of monnaies à la croix, at the end of which stand the Béziers hoard, all contain coins with weights well over 4.0g (Allen 1969 nos. 2,4,5: Saint Capraise, Rouquette and Béziers). In contrast to Allen, I would put the Lestrade hoard later, not before the early second century (p.182 below) on account of the Poitou coins included in it. The date of Rouquette is also doubtful (p.260), and I would rather argue for the later second century in this case. It is more than likely that all monnaies à la croix weighing over 4.0g originated in the third century, however, although they continued in use well beyond it; similarly the coins in the Rouquette and Lestrade hoards could well have been minted some time before their burial.

At the other end of the chronological scale there are monnaies à la croix hoards susceptible of approximate dating. The hoard from Bompas (Pyr.Or., Allen 1969 no 22 and p 45) contained monnaies à la croix weighing 2.40-2.75g and Roman denarii. The latter are said by Allen to date down to 83; Crawford (1969) puts the latest (P SATRIENUS, no 290) slightly later, and the hoard is dated by him to soon after 78. Allen compares the coins examined from the Bompas hoard with the last light issues found at Vieille-Toulouse (Hte.Gar.).

Most Vieille-Toulouse coins weighed 2.0-2.25g; after about 75BC, activity in the oppidum declined, and coins in the 1.80g range are then found. The 2.0-2.25g coins are somewhat lighter than the lightest in the Bompas hoard, but the discrepancy does not necessarily suggest a significant time-gap between them, as the collector of the hoard was likely to have chosen good examples as being intrinsecally more valuable, while chance finds are not selective in this way. Allen's suggestion that the Bompas hoard was buried in the disturbance associated with the Sertorian war (78-7 BC) is therefore plausible, though owing to the later chronology for the Roman coins in it offered by Crawford, the burial will have been made in the aftermath of the war rather than in the build-up or action of it. The hoard contained coins considerably heavier than the average weights of the wave of hoards Allen suggested were to be associated with the Sertorian war (2.15-2.13g).[22] The 70s is certainly the earliest likely period for these hoards, and their light weight rather suggests a date somewhat later in the century, at least for some of them.

The Goutrens (Avey.) hoard (weights 2.15-2.25g, see appendix VII) contained some 'Aquitanic' group coins which could go back to the 70s and which continued in circulation until the Caesarian war. But these hoards certainly contain coins <u>minted</u> before the 50s; the hoards of Belvès and Montargis contain truly late issues, with average weights of 1.80-90g, the standard silver scale for most issues except in Poitou and Auvergne, and including the 'Aquitanic' type of coins.

The fall of Tolosa in 106 was probably an occasion for hoarding; Allen suggested that the wave of hoards of weights of c.2.50-3.15 occurred in this context.[23] A distinctly heavier group (c.3.15-3.55g) may also have had a single historical context; Allen's suggestion of the defeat of the Arverni and Ruteni in 121 and the establishment of the republican province may well be correct, at leas t for some of them.

It is naturally impossible to be absolutely confident of associating

particular hoards with known historical events, except perhaps in the case of the Caesarian war. Too little is known of Celtic history before the conquest for such attributions. The waves of hoards mentioned here and later in this section may in fact represent a decade or more of hoarding in each case, though with exceptions: the west Berry hoards discussed later (p.178f) are so closely similar that they may have been abandoned in one short period. However, the relatively large weight spans generally found within each wave of hoards would support the conclusion that they were not as a rule collected and abandoned on the same occasion.

* * * *

In conclusion of this outline, the chief points of importance concerning the coinages to the south and east of the Centre may be reviewed. Both to the east in the Rhone valley and to the south-west in the Garonne basin, native Celtic coinages were exclusively of silver, and from the end of the second century silver also replaced gold in the north-eastern region above Lyon. The silver coinages were mostly derived from Mediterranean prototypes: drachms of Rhode in the south-west, Romano-Campanian and Roman coins in the east; while in the southern area of Gaul included in the Roman province, some imitations of Massilia drachms were also struck (ABT:242-4).

Initially the south-west and the east had two separate weight systems, independent of each other. In the south-west, weights started from the drachms of Rhode and Emporiae at c.4.80g; in the east they started, before the Roman intervention, from light Massilia drachms of c.2.73-2.80g (ABT: 64, 259f). In both cases there was a gradual loss of weight over time, more rapid in the west and south-west than in the east. The coming together of the weight standards in both areas may be connected in all probability with the establishment of the Roman province throughout south, south-west and eastern France which would impose consistent conditions on both ends of the area for the first time in history. By the 70s-60s,

weights in the south-west and in the east were closely similar. The latest coins of Vieille-Toulouse (Hte.Gar.) in c.75-65 weighed c.1.84g; contemporary ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ coins in the east weighed 1.80-90g. This uniformity of weight in the silver-using areas outside the Centre continued into the Caesarian war: the late Belvès hoard of monnaies à la croix had a median weight of 1.80-1.90g which is comparable with eastern silver, though in individual cases coin weights dropped well below 1.80g in the conquest period.

SECTION II CHAPTER 3

CENTRAL GAULISH SILVER COINAGE.

Page

174 Group 1 : the Bridiers group.

178 Group 2 : the Poitou group.

179 ; the 'Pictones' group

188 : the 'Indre' group

192 Group 3 : the Aquitanic group.

194 : the severed head group

197 : the sword group

205 Other Central silver coinages.

205 : 1. Auvergne and the Massif central

216 : 2. Armorica

Chapter 3

CENTRAL GAULISH SILVER COINAGE.

Asterisked hoards are inventoried in appendix VII.

I shall discuss the silver coin minted in the Centre before turning to the gold which was the more universal currency medium in the area, firstly because the silver issues are relatively few, and secondly because they can be given approximate dates with more confidence than in the case of gold. In addition, they had useful connections with coinage in the silver-using areas outside the Centre outlined in the last chapter. It is of importance to bear in mind that all the Central silver coinages, with the exception of the Auvergne group, are derived from types of coins from Spain and the south-west of Gaul, in contrast to the types of the gold coinages which are derived from Macedonian prototypes via either the Rhone valley or the Alps in the opposite geographical direction. Nevertheless, the social constraints which determined the introduction of coinage in the first place were apparently similar throughout the Centre in the third century, so that coinage appeared almost simultaneously in different areas, albeit on different models.

The silver series in question may be divided for present purposes into four groups. I exclude the late southern issues associated with monnaies à la croix and mentioned by Allen (1969:56, here pl.XII.4), with a boar on the reverse; these are discussed in outline on p. 212 f below. Also excluded are the late silver issues on chopped flans LT X 3566, 3567, 3569, 3571, 3572, 3573, and LT XIV 4123 with the legend CVBIO which has nothing to do with the Bituriges Cubi and belongs with the other coins in this list.

The first and most obscure group is the earliest, consisting of heavy coins with types derived from silver Emporiae and Massilia drachms,

and gold staters of Philip II of Macedon (referred to henceforth as the Bridiers group: pl.I.5-10). The second or 'Poitou' group consists of the third phase coins conventionally attributed to the Pictones, and the typologically related second phase series once attributed to the Carnutes, which seems to have come from western Berry, especially the département Indre (pl.III and IIIA). The third or 'Aquitanic' group is late, almost certainly confined to the first century, and consists of two main streams, (a) the 'severed head' group (pl.V.2-3) and (b) the 'sword' group (pl.V.4-17) which includes the late series with the legend CAMBOTRE. These three groups have interconnections, and thier closest affinities are with monnaies à la croix. The fourth group is quite separate and comprises silver coins from the Massif Central, mostly attributed conventionally to the Arverni, and at least some of which bear the types of gold staters certainly from Auvergne; other issues included in the group are of uncertain provenance (pl.IV.4-16,19).22, 23-5). These coins may have some connection with silver coinages of south-eastern France near the Roman province, but not directly with monnaies à la croix. Other silver issues conventionally attributed to the Centre will be discussed in outline only, either because they are manifestly wartime or post-conquest coinages (eg. IIPAD, pl.IV.26) or because nothing useful is known about them (pl.IV. 17.18.20.21.24), or because they are probably not Central coinages in the strictest sense at all (pl.IV.27).

The chief groups of Central silver coinages were preceded in the south-west by an initial phase of more or less direct imitations of Massilia and Emporiae coins near to the weight standard of Emporiae and Rhode (c.4.80-90g).[24] The early copies of Emporiae in the BN collection, 2276-2307, have a weight span reaching higher than the weights of the Bridiers hoard, though it also includes coins of the weight and type of coins in the hoard (appendix VIII), and these Emporiae copies as well as the Bridiers group may be included in the first phase of Celtic coinage in

Gaul (p.156 above). The greatest number of specimens of Emporiae imitations seem to fall in the weight bracket 4.60-4.80g, and this is considerably heavier than the Bridiers mean of 4.30-4.50g. The heaviest Emporiae imitations are over 4.90g, on the same scale as the originals. As the Bridiers hoard must be dated to the mid third century at the latest (see below), it is probable that Emporiae and Massilia imitations on the scale of the originals commenced as early as the first Rhode imitations in the early third century. Whereas Rhode imitations were confined to the south-west of Gaul in the Garonne basin (map 3, 11), the distribution of the early imitations of Massilia and Emporiae drachms has a more northerly centre of gravity in all probability (map 12). Findpots are few (see list for map 12); Bridiers itself is well to the north of most stray finds, and as hoards normally occur where a coin type was current, this is some evidence for the general area of circulation of later stages of this first phase in the south-west. However, in view of the social conditions of the third century BC (section III ch. 4 and 8), the hoard is only of very uncertain value for pinpointing the origin of the Bridiers group.

Central silver group 1:

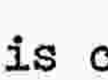
THE BRIDIERS GROUP.

The first phase of Celtic silver coinage in the Centre is represented by the hoard from *Bridiers in Creuse (pl.I.5-10, map 12). Emporiae, from whose coinage most types are derived, had two coinage designs. The first and heaviest was in use from the beginning of the fourth century until the end of the century (type pl.I.4b), and was the one most widely copied in Gaul. It had obv. head of Ceres and rev. a standing horse and winged victory. The second began at the end of the fourth century (type pl.I.4a) and is characterized by obv. head of Arethusa with two dolphins and rev. a pegasus in flight (Labrousse 1962). The obverse of this series served as model for a number of later Central coinages.

The principal types of the Bridiers hoard coins were taken from (a) the fourth century drachms of Emporiae whose weight standard of c.4.80g was the ultimate model, as with monnaies à la croix (pl.I.5-7); (b) from light Massilia drachms with very arched lion on the reverse (pl.I. 8-9). In this case the weight of the Massilia drachm (c.2.75g: ABT:234) was not adopted. (C) gold staters of Philip II of Macedon (pl.I.10). This element is unusual in that it is a case where types were borrowed from both gold and silver originals; the obverse is ultimately derived from the Ceres of heavy Emporiae coins (cf pl.I.9) and the reverse is comparable with early western Central gold copies of Philip staters (cf pl.VI.3,17). Pl.I.5 shows a similar mix of types, with Philip obverse and evolved Massilia reverse, but on an Emporiae/Rhode original weight scale.[25] The principal types represented in the Bridiers hoard are listed in appendix VII.

The significance of these different types is completely obscure, and too few find spots are recorded to localize varieties if they should be the

marks of different authorities. Stylistically there are considerable similarities between all of them, and their mixture in one hoard suggests that they were interchangeable, analogous with some monnaie à la croix collections. Of great importance to the present study is the appearance of 'Aquitanic' obverse treatment on the groups derived from Emporiae coins and Philip II staters, as the treatment became generalized for the western Central silver coinages and some gold later on.

Other important features began to appear with these early coins. On a light Bridiers type coin (4.13g) illustrated in the MMAG sale catalogue for Dec. 1972 (no 215) there is the earliest appearance known to me of the 'lunettes' motif of the Poitou coinage (pl.III.10 etc.). The coin in question has a fully Aquitanic obverse, stylistically somewhere between pl.I.9-10 and pl.III.5, and on the reverse the Emporiae type facing right, with the symbol  below. The bottom of the motif is damaged, and it could be  which is closer still to the Poitou motif (see p. 190 below). Further varieties of this early group are referred to on p. 196 below, and the list for map 12 (Grenade, Gers). Blanchet (1907) illustrated a coin from the Hunterian collection in Glasgow (4.53g) with <u>obv.</u> Ceres and <u>rev.</u> a horizontal ?boar attacking another vertically placed animal, and an indistinct symbol above. It would appear in the present state of the records that the varieties of this coinage are almost endless, a feature which is sometimes also found in the western and central coinages of the second main phase of the coinage also (p. 500 below).

The Bridiers hoard was clearly formed when this coinage was well established. This is apparent from the considerable variety of types found in the one hoard, the worn state of some of the coins, and the battered and broken condition of some of the dies. That coins of this type were in circulation at a time when early monnaies à la croix were already being struck is demonstrated by the overstrike of monnaies à la croix types on an Emporiae type coin weighing 4.30g (Allen 1969:38 and his pl.I.10).

The monnaies à la croix types are not clear, but are bound to be of the early or mid third century types because of the weight of the coin chosen for overstriking. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:289) doubts the authenticity of this coin. Another overstrike of this type of coin is shown at Blanchet 1907 (4.05g). In this case the overstruck types are also of the Bridiers group, perhaps suggesting that the types do in fact belong to different authorities, In the cases of both overstruck coins, the obverse and reverse were swapped over in the process.

A coin which may be a valuable clue for the chronology of this group is the specimen found in the river near Albias (Tarn-et-Garonne, Labrousse 1962). It weighed 4.58g in a worn state, so is among the earlier Bridiers group coins or later Emporiae imitations, being heavier than almost all the coins actually from the hoard. The obverse is a copy of the head of Arethusa, so not earlier than the end of the fourth century; the reverse is a 'Victory' type like that of pl.I.8. Both dies were broken. Hybrids of this type are known in Spain but it is uncertain whether they were ever made officially; if they had been, it would have had to be at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third. At any rate it would seem clear that the coins of the general Bridiers type of a weight in the region of 4.58g could have been produced at any time after the last years of the fourth century. If the Albias coin is a Spanish importation, its weight does not directly help to date the coins of southern Gaul; if it is a Gaulish production, the Bridiers coins may be of the mid or later third century. A BN coin of 'Emporiae imitation' type with dolphins on the obverse is lighter, 4.40g (BN 2305) and in the range of the Bridiers hoard itself; the reverse of this coin is transitional between the Bridiers group and some Poitou designs in the next group, with a horseman bearing spear and shield. It is almost certain that the various types of coin generically brought together here as the Bridiers group were of a number of different origins and had therefore separate developments.

It is, in conclusion, very likely that the heaviest of the Bridiers group of coins were in circulation from the first half of the third century, parallel with early monnaies à la croix, and that the Bridiers hoard itself was abandoned in or after the mid third century. Certainly they are earlier coins than the earliest Poitou group which may be dated to the second century; the latter is a characteristic second phase coinage, while the Bridiers group has the diffuse distribution and heavy weight characteristic of coinages of the first phase of Celtic coinage.

Central silver group 2:

THE POITOU GROUP.

(pl.III and IIIA.1-5; map 12)

There is a significant drop in weight between coins found in the Bridiers hoard and hoards of coins in the Poitou group, so called because the most characteristic and constant type in the group circulated in Poitou in the first century. With few exceptions, the obverse on all these coins is in some version of the 'Aquitanic' style. There are two chief subdivisions of this group.

A. 'Pictones' coins, ranging from the heavy coins of the type found at Saint Just, to the latest type found in the hoard of Saint Pierre de Maillé. The mounted warrior with a shield on the reverse eventually gave way to a winged rider or winged horse; symbols below the horse include rings, a hand, 'lunettes' or a 'fleur de lys'. It is not at all clear whether there was a single linear development through these types; possibly some are parallel to one another. But they appear to form one important group when taken together.

B. This group consists of Poitou coins typologically related to the first subdivision, but quite separate from most of them geographically; they will be referred to hereafter as the Indre group because of their geographical distribution. There are two principal groups of Indre coins: (i) with two horses superimposed on the reverse, (ii) with a wolf crouched over the horse on the reverse. A large number of minor types exists, including an enigmatic type of coin which was found in the hoard of Issoudun and Charnizay with Poitou types (pl.IIIA.2). The three in the BN collection (6014-6) are distinctly heavier than any of their contemporary Poitou coinages, and are typologically closest to the Bridiers tradition and the earliest coins of

the 'Pictones' group (cf pl.III.4). Yet all three are from the same pair of dies, suggesting either a small issue or that the mint was geographically close to the place of burial, and all three are in very fresh condition, suggesting that they had not been in circulation for any significant period. It is an open question whether these peculiar coins were a chnscious archaism, struck at the same period as the other Issoudun and Charnizay coins, or whether they were carefully guarded survivals of an earlier issue (unlikely?). Their reverse type is extremely unusual. Other minor issues related to 'Indre' and 'Pictones' coins include those illustrated at Pl.III. 9-11, cf 12 and IIIA.1-5.

A. THE 'PICTONES' GROUP.

The heaviest and therefore earliest known examples of this type (pl.III.1-2) are not found in the Bridiers hoard, and their weight of c.4.08g is considerably lighter. Stylistically they are more closely related to coins of the Bridiers type than they are to the later 'Pictones' group of coins which have a well developed regional style. The find spot for one of these early coins is known: BN 4460 (pl.III.1) is from Saint Just near Limoges (Hte.V.). Blanchet (ABT:297) mentioned in the context of this type the coin found at Saint-Yrieix-le-Déjàlat (Corr.) weighing 3.60g; the description in the original publication referred to by him there is not very precise, and would perhaps admit of comparison with the slightly later coin in the Bourges collection D965.1.6415 (pl.III.3, 3.94g) found in the hoard of Buxeuil (Indre), which contained a majority of 'Indre' types (Lalande 1888). The description given of the St.Yrieix coin is obv. head l. wearing a torc, rev. horseman galloping left, with three globules below. The weight of the St.Yrieix coin is apparently light for its type, unless it stands at the end of its series.

It is likely that these first 'Pictones' coins were produced toward the end of the third century and probably into the second (cf p.175

above). There were a great variety of coin types in the lighter range of 'Emporiae imitations'; the BN has a number of coins from c.4.40g downwards which bear the type of an armed horseman (see weight list for the Bridiers group, appendix VIII). It is probably correct to see the first consistent and voluminous major coin groups, such as the Poitou/Indre coinages, as drawing on particular issues among the many existing but not copious coinage types of the early and mid third century which undoubtedly lasted in use until the beginning of the second.

Although find spots are few, they appear to suggest circulation well to the sough and east of the area occupied by the historical civitas of the Pictones in the late first century. This discrepancy is in no way surprising; even supposing that there was a continuity of authorship, it cannot be assumed that the Celtic peoples occupied the same area for three centuries , neither is it necessarily the case that the users of the prototype and the issuers of later coins derived from it were one and the same. Cf p. 187 below: the late second century issues of derivatives of the types here under discussion certainly moved territorially from the east bank of the Vienne to the west bank, and the area occupied by the historical Pictones (map 12). In any case, the distributions of coin never exactly coincide with the known territorial limits of Gallo-Roman civitates with the exception, according to the work of Colbert de Beaulieu, of western Armorica. In view of such known disturbances as the movements of the Cimbri and Teutones in Gaul in the late second century and the movements of the Belgae (invasion of Britain c. 120-100) and of the eastern Celts and Germans (background to Ariovistus' excursions into Gaul and the subsequent movement of the Helvetii), it would be unwise to expect that the civitates of Central Gaul were already territorially discrete by the end of the second century. Indeed, the centralization in progress locally at the end of the second and the first century, as evidenced in the growth of the oppida and changes in the coinage, would point to the conclusion that the territory

and circumstances of peoples before that period were significantly different and probably less stable (see section III ch. 7 below).

The early 'Pictones' coins most likely form part of the same monetary phase of which the Bridiers hoard formed part, geographically located to the north of the monnaies à la croix region, and related to it, but deliberately distinct in choice of type. Unfortunately, however, there is insufficient evidence for more precise geographical location of these coins. One of the arguments in support of an early date for both the Bridiers and the 'Poitou prototypes' is that they are found scattered around the countryside and not in the major oppida and centres of dense population of the first century, as is the case with the later coinages such as the 'Aquitanic' group below. It will be seen that this phenomenon is also found in the same phase of the gold coinage in the Centre, and I would argue that it is a feature of the third and second century social conditions in Gaul (section III ch. 4 and 8).

The next chronological phase of the 'Pictones' coinage is represented by coins with a hand under the horse on the reverse (pl.III.4-6). In weight they are very homogeneous (appendix VIII), when allowance is made for the prevailing technology; coins of the Indre group below, probably struck in a time of crisis, and sharing dies (BN 6014-6) varied in weight to an appreciable extent: 3.82g, 3.79g, 3.85g. Following the classification of Colbert de Beaulieu (1971a) these types will be referred to as PI and PII. Though the weights of the first series are closely similar, his argument from size for the order of emission is probably valid. Size increased with each phase: PI averaged 14mm diametre; PII averaged 15mm; PIII averaged 17mm and PIV averaged 19mm. After this there was a big drop for the issues of Julius Duratius to 14mm at the end of the Caesarian war (pl.IIIA.6). Colbert de Beaulieu suggested that the small size of PI was related to Greco-Roman technique; he also recorded the similarity between the obverse of these coins and some monnaies à la croix. His argument that the weight

of PI was related to contemporary monnaies à la croix is surely correct.

PII, of characteristically Poitou type, appears in the hoard of *Issoudun and Charnizay (Indre); PI appears in the *Charnizay hoard (Indre et Loire); and PI or PII appears in the hoard of *Vierzon (Cher). PI or PII was found in the *Valençay (Indre) hoard and the *Paulnay (Indre) hoard. In all cases, coins of various 'Indre' varieties were associated with the PI or II coins. PII is typologically extremely close to coins of 'Indre' type found in these hoards (compare pl.III.5 and 13-14), though marginally heavier than the horse and wolf types with the same obverse design (appendix VIII).

The hoard of *Lestrade (Dord.) contained 600-700 worn monnaies à la croix with the 'rose well formed' and some fresh Indre type coins with horse and wolf. On the basis of this description of the monnaies à la croix, Allen (1969) suggested that this was one of the earliest hoards of monnaies à la croix, in the same group with the Béziers hoard, ie before 211. In view of the inclusion of 'Indre' coins, I think this is perhaps too early a date; the median weight of horse and wolf coins is 3.30-3.39g, and a numerically very large number weigh less still. This places them behind the earliest or prototype 'Pictones' group in time and also beyond the monnaies à la croix in the Béziers hoard (some 4.60-4.70g, most 3.50-3.65g). Nevertheless the numerous, though worn, early monnaies à la croix indicate that Lestrade is probably an early hoard, and it could put the start of the 'Indre' emissions as early as the beginning of the second century. This date would then imply that PI and PII coins were also appearing in the early century. The monnaies à la croix hoards whose median weights most closely correspond with the weight of 'Indre' coins and PI and PII are Allen (1969) nos.8-14, described as the first main wave of hoards of monnaies à la croix.[26] It is of interest that the group of hoards containing 'Pictones' coins and 'Indre' group issues are themselves the first wave of hoards of Central types, and a common sociological or

or political factor cannot entirely be ruled out. Allen suggested that these monnaie à la croix hoards could have been buried in connection with the war leading to the defeat of the Arverni and Ruteni in 121; at any rate a date in the mid or late second century is appropriate for them. Roman interference in the south of Gaul from 155/4 onward must have provided many ocasions for the loss of hoards, and indirect effects of the southern disturbances in Gaul could have been felt in the Centre which, as the archaeological record shows, had an appreciable degree of contact with the south-west.

PI and PII may therefore very likely have been issued from early in the second century, and appeared in hoards in the Indre area probably late in the second century. This was a period of social upheavals, and the time when in the Berry area the first oppida appeared (section III ch.7; p.128ff above and appendix II). It is very tempting to connect the hoarding and crisis minting of these Poitou coinages , as well as the radical changes in the local gold coinages, with the other archaeological evidence, and the second century is on those grounds alone the most suitable position in time for the Poitou coinages; the support of the other numismatic factors mentioned above are very welcome.

Once again, and for similar reasons, the geographical distribution of types is uncertain, but may have corresponded more or less closely with the distribution of 'Indre' types, as inclusion in hoards predominantly of that type would indicate. They are, however, always in a minority in such hoards. Only one stray find of either Poitou group is recorded, at Soings (L+Ch.), where in a context which has yielded numerous coins of all periods including important finds of this early phase of the coinage, one coin of the type pl.III.9 or IIIa.3 was found (see list to map 12).

PIII and PIV lack the symbol of a hand below the horse, which henceforth appears only on gold coins conventionally attributed to the Pictones in the first century. Instead they bear an abstract symbol (PIII)

sometimes referred to as 'lunettes' because of its appearance. A second variety is a sort of 'flower' (PIV, pl.III.7-8). By weight PIII is clearly earlier than PIV, with a median weight of 3.30-3.40g and another peak at 3.10-3.19g. PIII seems to appear in the *Valençay (Indre) hoard with 24 other silver coins of Poitou types (two horses, PI or PII, 'horseman crouched over the horse' probably type of pl. III.20-1, and wolf over horse), and also in the *Buxeuil hoard; the 'lunettes' symbol is shared by the two horses 'Indre' type (Pl.III.7 and 13-14). Stylistically therefore PIII is closely related to both PII and the Indre issues, though its weight and the fact that it may only appear in about two west Berry hoards may indicate that it is of later origin than the others, starting perhaps in the mid or late second century and not long before the emergence of PIV which can more confidently be attributed to an authority in Poitou on the basis of the distribution map.

PIV (pl.III.6) was a huge series, and its median weight of 2.90-2.99g is distinctly lighter than any of the Indre issues or PI, PII, and PIII (see appendix VIII). The most important specific difference between the PIV coinage and the PI-PIII, apart from its new circulation area, is the fact that it comes only in one set of types, and hoards do not contain a host of varieties as occurred in the western Berry hoards with the earlier and heavier Poitou coinages. PIV is therefore a typical coinage of the third and final phase of Gaulish independent coinage. If PI-PIII were being hoarded until the end of the second century, it would seem probable that PIV was a first century issue.

If the correlation in weight between PI and monnaies à la croix is taken seriously, and the process continued throughout, PIV would come into the range of coins associated with the fall of Tolosa; in the first century the drop in weights of monnaies à la croix is very rapid. It is just conceivable that PIV began at the end of the second century, but it is more likely that it started later, and that the weight of silver coin in this area

rather remote from the main monnaies à la croix region maintained a high weight well after it had dropped in the south. A severance of close links with the monnaies à la croix coinages might have resulted from the changed conditions in the Garonne basin after the establishment there of the Roman province. For whatever reason, some sort of severance of relationship did take place, since PIV apparently continued to be minted until the mid first century at a weight far higher than silver anywhere else in Central or southern Gaul. Colbert de Beaulieu (1971a) argued that PIV was current at the time of the Caesarian war on the basis of the hoard of Saint Pierre de Maillé (Vienne). In that hoard, 106 specimens of PIV were found together with one gold stater of the first century series pl.VIII.12, and one very worn bronze coin of the wolf and pegasus type current in Berry in the first century (pl.XIV.1-3).

Arguing from this bronze coin, Colbert de Beaulieu wanted to date the hoard to after the Caesarian war; I shall argue later (p.272f) that bronze coinage of this sort is not necessarily all of post-conquest date. The presence of a coin of this type does not therefore necessarily date this hoard to the period after the war. Equally, although the gold stater was indeed comparable in weight and fineness with Arvernian gold of the first century, this is not in itself a precise chronological indicator. In the first place, not all of the Arvernian staters in question may be dated to the 'last ten years of independence', and secondly, the weights of various Central gold coinages in the first century varied a great deal; weight cannot in the third phase of the coinage be used to help with dating to the extent that was possible in the first two unless there are other reasons that would render such an argument valid, such as typological or geographical coincidence. Neither of these conditions is fulfilled in this particular case. In fact, the gold stater in the Saint Pierre de Maillé hoard probably <u>is</u> of the first century, and coins minted at any time in the first century could have found their way into a hoard such as this one, which was probably abandoned on the eve of the

Caesarian war. The absence of any coins of Julius Togirix argues for the hoard having been buried before the end of the war.

There are other reasons to think that the Saint Pierre de Maillé hoard was buried and abandoned before the Caesarian war. Truly post-war hoards in the region have a quite different pattern of composition, thoroughly mixed, and with Pictones coins in a minority. *Vernon (Vienne), buried not before 45 on the evidence of Roman denarii included, weighed c.7kg in all, and only contained a few Pictones coins: 23 gold staters with a hand on the reverse, 8 with hand and SA, 23 silver Julius Duratius coins and about 7 silver PIV. Bonneuil (Vienne, ABT no 263) buried not before 50 because of the dates of Roman denarii in it, contained some Julius Duratius but apparently no other Pictones coins at all. Saint Pierre de Maillé stands in strong contrast with these post-war hoards. It is virtually homogeneous, with none even of the poor gold of the Pictones which circulated at the end of the pre-conquest period, and which were found in the Poitiers hoard (Vienne, ABT no.258, containing at least 236 PIV and 'some' Pictones gold). By comparison, Saint Pierre de Maillé is very like other hoards in the region: Vouillé (D-S., ABT no.234) which contained 390 PIV, average weight 3.23g; one of them was plated; Saint-Pompain (D-S., ABT no 237) which contained 150 PIV; Villeneuve-la-Comtesse (Ch.Mar., ABT no.32b) which contained 225 PIV. Surely these wholly or nearly homogeneous Pictones hoards should be dated to before the end of the Caesarian war, or at latest to during it. Absence from all of them of any coins of Julius Duratius is probably significant, as his citizenship must have been conferred soon after 51 (pl.IIIA.6).

It is reasonable, then, to suppose that PIV coins were current in at least the 60s and probably two or more decades earlier. The size of the issue is indicated by the fact that the 106 coins in the Saint Pierre de Maillé hoard shared almost no dies; the great variation in alloy, weight, and care of manufacture of the type suggests a reasonably long development of the technique of production including a late panic period. There are

grounds for thinking that there was an appreciable lapse of time between the end of PIII, contemporary with the late Indre issues, and the currency of PIV. Not only is there a noticeable stylistic break, especially on the reverse, where a winged horseman replaces the shield-bearing warrior, and 'lunettes' are replaced by the 'flower', but the alloy of the metal is often very poor in PIV, the weight is low, and there are no coins of PIII or Indre types recorded in hoards where PIV is found and vice versa. There is also an apparent shift in geographical distribution from west Berry (PI-PIII) to the other side of the river Vienne into Poitou, as shown on map 12 for PIV. It is possible that whatever events in the late second century ledt to the burst of lost hoards in Indre and the region, containing Indre and PI-III coins, also led to a movement of people westward, followed in time by the issue of PIV coins which were lighter and a development of PIII, itself a minority type to the east of the river Vienne in Berry. Certainly the hoarding in western Berry marks the end of the production of all Indre types as well apparently as of PI-III.

It is possible, then, that PIV began to be issued early in the first century, and that production continued until the Caesarian war. The final Pictones silver coinage, post-war, bearing the legend DVRAT IVLIOS (pl.IIIA.6) was on the contemporary standard light silver scale of the rest of eastern and southern Gaul, c.1.80-1.95g (ABT:67), but with individual specimens well under weight, as was not unusual after the war (appendix VIII). PIV had certainly ceased output by the time Julius Duratius coinage was in circulation, as the virtual absence of it from post-war hoards indicated. Its cumbersome weight and often poor alloy would perhaps have made it unpopular after the war, when the use of lighter, standardized, silver coin was generalized throughout the Centre.

A number of coins of types related to the Pictones series do not fit exactly into the categories outlined. Bourges coin D965.1.6411 (pl.III.9, 3.17g, cf pl.IIIA.3) seems both by style and weight to be intermediate between PIII and PIV. BN 6050 (pl.III.10-1, 3.33g) would again seem to be a

forerunner of PIV; the weight of both these coins could place them at the end of the second century. Bourges coin D965.1.6415 (pl.III.3) from the *Buxeuil (Indre) hoard, which also contained Indre coins of types with two horses, wolf over horse and this, is unusually heavy and does not fit neatly with known major series. Perhaps it is a forerunner of later series which survived to be included in a late second century hoard, or perhaps, like other miscellaneous types in the genral Poitou category, it is a small issue struck by a minor authority within the main Poitou group area. The peculiar gold coin BN 4069a (pl.III.12, 6.98g) is certainly a phenomenon of the latter type, and indeed seems to bear the same or similar motifs to those found on the anomalous Buxeuil coin. Its very poor weight would not be out of place in the early first century in the west, being comparable with Pictones, and crane and trefoil groups of gold (appendix VIII). The origin of the gold coin is unknown. The obscurity of these coins emphasizes the fact that little beyond the main series is known with any clarity about Central Celtic coinage, especially in the first two phases, and that precision in dating and attribution is seldom possible before the conquest.

B. <u>THE 'INDRE' GROUP</u>. (Pl.III.13-21, IIIA.1-2,4-5; Map 12)

The entire output of this group appears to fall in one weight-phase, corresponding to PI-III and especially with PI and PII. Coins of both main types are mixed in most major hoards of west Berry type: *Buxeuil (Indre), *Issoudun and Charnizay (Indre), *Valençay (Indre), *Ingrandes (Indre), and *Charnizay (I+L). Wolf and horse only are found in *Lestrade (Dord.) in fresh condition together with worn monnaies à la croix of apparently early types, and in the *Vierzon (Cher) hoard with PI or PII and pl.III.21 with crouching rider. In all hoards in the Cher/Indre area it appears that coins of 'Indre' group issues are in the great majority over 'Pictones' coins, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the hoards were buried within the area of the currency of 'Indre' group coinages. The Issoudun and

Charnizay hoard is the only one which I have been able to study in any detail (BN 5986-6032). It is apparent from the fairly worn state of some of the coins, the very few die identities, and the broken state of several of the dies used, that both major 'Indre' issues were large and in circulation for some considerable time before burial, probably throughout the period of currency of PII and PIII. It is also clear that at the end a very large number of coins were produced in a rush, regardless of the state of the dies: this phenomenon was to be repeated at the outbreak of the Caesarian war in many regions, and is a faint clue to the existence of troubled times which led to the abandonment of the west Berry hoards. Stylistically, both major Indre series (pl.III.13-17 and 18-19) are close to one another and to PII and PIII, with both of which they share typological features.

(i). THE 'TWO HORSES' SERIES. (pl.III.13-17; median weight 3.40-3.49).

The same 'lunettes' symbol found on PIII is found on one series of these coins (pl.III.13-4); the obverse BN 5986 (pl.III.13) is very close to that of a coin of PII type in the Bourges collection (D965.1.6412, 3.40g = pl.III.5). It is coins of this series which show most evidence of having gone through a final period of careless execution probably under pressure of extreme circumstances. Many dies are broken, dirty, or re-engraved until the features are barely recognizable, and the standard of striking of these poor coins is very much below that of the better examples of the type. Nearly all coins of this hasty execution are in fresh condition, and therefore minted only shortly before burial. Although no specimens appear to have had a cross on the cheek of the obverse as in the case of PII and the wolf and horse series, an X is found in the field on the reverse under the horses for part of the series, including some of the later and badly made specimens.

Colbert de Beaulieu (1971a) mentioned the cross on the cheek of some PII obverses and compared it to the denarius mark near the neck of

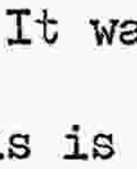
Roman issues. The cross or x also appears on the 'dolphin' series of monnaies à la croix (Allen 1969:43, here pl.I.13), coins which have a fairly long history, and were fully current down to the 70s, but which seem to have appeared first in hoards dateable to the last quarter of the second century, at a time when the Romans were first establishing themselves in Gaul. An ultimate origin in Roman coinage for the cross on the Indre coins, via monnaies à la croix, is both likely and appropriate at the end of the second century when the hoards were probably buried and abandoned; the cross or x appears to have been confined to the latest issues in the hoards to judge from their fresh condition as opposed to the sometimes rather well worn condition of coins without any form of cross.

(ii) THE WOLF AND HORSE SERIES. (pl.III.18-19, median weight 3.30-3.39g).

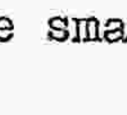
These coins are closely similar by weight and typology to (i) and to PII; there was not much development of the type over time, though there is some internal variation of type: the head on the obverse may be to left or to right, and there may or may not be a cross on the cheek. The reverse type is always to the right. It was possibly a short series, less long than the two horses type; this is suggested by the fact that the proportion of die identities found in the small number I have been able to examine is higher than the proportion for other types: out of 21 coins, 4 were from the same 2 sets of dies; 3 more were from 2 obverse and 2 reverse dies, and 2 more shared a reverse die.[27]

Typological interrelations between the three series PII, two horses, and wolf and horse may be expressed schematically:

(obv. with torc) - 2 horses - (X under rev. type)

‖ 

(obv. with torc) - PII -  cheek obv. PII

 ‖

 cheek obv. wolf and horse.

Other coin types appearing in Indre hoards are more mysterious. Above (p.178f) I mentioned the strange heavy coins, all three from the same dies, in very fresh condition, from the *Issoudun and Charnizay (Indre) hoard. Coins with the rider croughed over the horse on the reverse (pl.III.20-1, IIIA.4-5) are referred to by Blanchet in one west Berry hoard (*Valençay, Indre, ABT no.116), and although Blanchet does not record it, the *Vierzon (Cher) hoard contained at least one, now in the Bourges collection (D965.1.4824, pl.III.21). It is typologically quite distinct from normal Indre types, although the motifs under the horse and the version of the 'Aquitanic' hair on the obverse show some degree of relatedness, and the weight of the Vierzon coin (3.15g) is within the scale of other Indre coins. BN 6050(i) = pl.III.10, 3.33g is typologically related both to Pl.III.21 and to BN 6050 (pl.III.11) which, it was argued above, bears some relationship with PIV coins of the first century.[28] BN 6032 (pl.IIIA.1) from the Issoudun and Charnizay hoard is very light at 2.70g. Its obverse type is clearly derived from the treatment of coins of the Indre series, but the reverse is quite outside the normal series; relatedness to the Indre series is suggested by the motif of an animal above the principal horse, but there the analogies end. As most of these untypical issues are extremely rare, nothing more can be said of them than that they were contemporary with the late second century west Berry coinages, and that they were more or less closely related typologically to the main series.

The Poitou coinage may now be summed up schematically, the dates offered obviously being approximate.

PHASE	DATE		TYPE	
2nd	End III - early II	:	Prototypes of St.Just etc., c.4.08g.	
			Prototype of St.Yrieix, 3.60g.	
	II		PI	
			PII Indre coins	west Berry hds. c.120-100?
	End II - early I		PIII Indre coins	
3rd	Early I - 50s		PIV	Poitou hoards
	Post 51		Julius Duratius	Late mixed hoards

Central silver group 3:

THE AQUITANIC GROUP.

(Pl.V, map 13 and appendix VIII)

Coins of this group derive their description from the name customarily given to the treatemnt of the hair on the obverse, whereby the big locks resemble a jester's cap. Although a variety of the technique used was seen in the Poitou group, it is a quite distinctive style in itself. Coins of this group fall into two categories, (a) coins with a small head over the back of the horse on the reverse (the severed head group), and (b) a larger group presenting various symbols with the horse and sometimes written legends (sword group). The severed head group has a median weight of c.2.15-2.20g which is considerably higher than that of the sword group at 1.85-1.94g; this probably indicates that the severed head group started minting earlier, although it was still in circulation at the time of the Caesarian war in less quantities than coins of the sword group. The handful of very light severed head coins are probably representatives of a late stage in the production of the series. The sword group has a very consistent median weight of 1.85-1.94g, with most individual coins in the bracket 1.90-94g. This was the standard weight for major eastern and southern silver issues in the first century from c.75 onward (n.19), although as the distribution maps indicate, neither Aquitanic coinage had more than a regional circulation and is found in relatively few late mixed hoards outside the Centre.[29] Both types are found in the battlefield of Alesia and were therefore in use in 52 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a).

Outside evidence supporting a first century date for the currency of Aquitanic types is provided by one group of monnaies à la croix. The late hoard of Belvès (Dordogne, Allen 1969 no 29) contained monnaies à la croix weighing 1.80-1.90g, the obverse types of which are derived from coins of the Aquitanic group (pl.I.17, 18, which were chosen because they were most

directly copied; others are very much more abstracted from the original). Allen suggested a date around 75-50 for these coins, after the decline of activity at Vieille-Toulouse, where an example of the parent type for the Belvès coins was found. The hoard from *Montargis (Loiret) contained a worn Belvès type monnaie à la croix as well as two severed head coins in fine condition, four rather worn KAΛETEΔOY group coins, and one eastern silver coin in good condition. The mixed composition of this hoard suggests late burial associated with the Caesarian war; the fine condition of the severed head coins suggests recent minting (Colbert de Beaulieu 1959a).

The hoard from *Goutrens (Avey.), Allen (1969) no 36, which contained monnaies à la croix with a median weight of 2.15-2.25g and silver ingots, also contained some sword group coins. Allen suggested that the Goutrens hoard could have been buried in connection with the Sertorian wars around 78/7. However, the hoard group of which it formed part should perhaps come later in the century (p.168 above), which would accord with the most plausible chronology for the sword group. It is likely that this group did not commence minting until the mid 70s. The reasons for thinking this are (1) that the severed head group, which appears to have preceded it in time, is certainly a first century coinage; (2) in the period from c.75-70 monnaies à la croix in hoards have weights stabilized at c.1.80-1.90g after a steep drop from c.2.15-2.30g, to which the earlier severed head group coins approximate, and eastern silver coinage from the early 70s at latest had median weights of c.1.90g also; the 70s is therefore an appropriate moment for the adoption of a similar standard in the Centre after a slightly heavier severed head series of issues.

The distribution map (13) of both coinages of Aquitanic type suggests that the severed head group had currency in a more southerly region than did the sword group, being used perhaps along the northern fringe of the monnaies à la croix region, though both series are most concentrated in the region between the Vienne, Loire and Allier, in southern Berry and northern Limousin.

A. THE SEVERED HEAD GROUP. (Pl.V.2-3, map 13; ABT:413; Colbert de Beaulieu 1955d)

Colbert de Beaulieu (1955d) divided coins of this type into two main groups, A and B. A coins have one ring under the horse on the reverse, and B have three rings. He further subdivided A into four groups: (a) obv. head to the right, rev. horse to the right, severed head facing forward (pl.V.2); (b) obv. head facing left, rev. horse to the right, large and crude severed head facing the withers; (c) exactly as (a) but both types facing left; (d) obv. head to the left, rev. horse to the left, severed head facing the back of the horse. The flan for group B coins (pl.V.3) is normally larger than that for group A. Both types are apparently contemporary, or at least they circulated together at the end of the issue, since at Alesia Colbert de Beaulieu notes that there were found 5 group A coins and 7 group B.

The series had a long history. This is clear both from the typological development and from the very big weight span of the issue. The *Jalesche (Creuse) hoard, which is clearly of wartime date, contained only light coins of group A; of 31 coins in the hoard, 4 available weights are 1.25g, 1.37g, 1.38g and 1.40g. Fifteen group B coins were present, but their weights are not recorded in the literature. The Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard which is also late, though earlier than Jalesche, contained only one severed head coin (group A) at 1.02g. The heavy coins, over 2.0g for the most part, must be earlier by a significant period, or must have suffered a steep decline around the time of the Caesarian war.

Colbert de Beaulieu argued that the distribution for groups A and B does not seem to suggest output by a different agency. A is known from Grésigny (C-d'O), the Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard (Indre), the Vernon hoard (Vienne), the Jalesche hoard (Creuse), the Bénévent-l'Abbaye hoard (Creuse), Saint-Léger-le-Guéretois (Creuse), Saujon (Ch.Mar.), Bussières-Boffy (Hte.V), Yssandon (Corr.), Chastel-sur-Murat (Cant.). B is known from

Pommiers (Aisne), Boviolles (Meuse), the hoard from Lavilleneuve au Roi (Hte.M.), the hoard from Cheverny (L+Ch.). Levet (Cher), Grésigny (C-d'O.), the hoard of Tendu (Indre), the hoard of Vernon (Vienne), the hoard of Chauvigny (Vienne), the hoard of Jalesche (Creuse), Bourbon-Lancy (S+L) and Corent (P.D.). Possibly the greater representation of B in late hoards and at a distance from the normal southern concentration of severed head finds may suggest that it was most fully in circulation at the time of the Caesarian war. For fractional denominations found in excavations at Margerides (Corr,) see appendix XI and the list to map 13. This find is almost certain evidence of the first century use of the group.

Although there is no hard evidence for dating the beginning of the issue of severed head coins, the early first century would seem reasonable on general grounds. The series as a whole is very large, with few die identities between known specimens. The five typological varieties suggest a relatively long development of the tradition, probably extending up to the Caesarian war; group B coins are quite distinct typologically from A and for the most part are closer in the style of the obverse to sword group coins than were any gropu A issues. Group B coins are often very carelessly made using broken dies, which suggests crisis minting, compatible with circumstances associated with the Caesarian war.

The series started heavy, well over 2.0g, and ended very light (Jalesche coins), suggesting a lapse of time; it is probable that the series began before the sword group with its median weight of 1.90-1.94g in view of its higher original weight which could not be consistently maintained in the mid to late first century. Further, if tentative, evidence for this relative order within the Aquitanic coinages is that it was coins of severed head (A) group rather than (B) or sword group which provided the model for the obverses of the Belvès hoard monnaies à la croix, although this might be the result of the apparent more southerly distribution

of severed head coins. At any rate, as the weight of severed head coins is distinctly heavier than the Belvès coins copied from them, an earlier date is indicated, in the first decades of the first century. In addition, the original weights of severed head coins is close to the weights of the monnaies à la croix which Allen (1969) associated with the Sertorian war in the early 70s. There was a steep drop in their weight between then and the weight of the Belvès type monnaies à la croix later in the century; the severed head group could have begun to be minted with the last monnaies à la croix over 2.0g at the beginning of the first century. A connection in weight between the severed head group and monnaies à la croix is plausible in view of the history of coinage in the west and south-west of Gaul as we have seen in the cases of the Bridiers and Poitou coinages, and the fact of the borrowing by the Belvès group some 25 years later.

The ancestry of the reverse type of the severed head coins is obscure in detail, but Blanchet (ABT fig.44, here pl.V.1) illustrated an apparently early coin from Puy Duchalard in excavations ; he did not record its weight.[30] The reason why Blanchet illustrated it was to show that the head of the horse on the reverse was copied from the late Emporiae drachms which have the head of pegasus depicted as a croucing infant (see pl.I.4a: ABT:196).[31] He did not suggest it as a model for or forerunner of the severed head coins, but the arrangement of the reverse presents considerable similarities. Another early coin with a severed head motif, but this time under the horse, is illustrated by Blanchet (1907, in the Hunterian collection, Glasgow). It has no provenance, is of silver, 4.72g, obv. Bridiers style head of Ceres to the left, cf pl.I.8, and a dolphin behind; rev. a horse facing right of the type and posture of pl.I. 8-9, and with hooves shaped as downward-facing crescents. There is the 'victory' symbol above but a human head facing left on the exergue line, its hair stylized as a series of almost straight locks facing backward. One might possibly add BN 4558-60 (3.35, 2.72, 3.41g) which have on the

reverse a horseman with a shield, and a severed head below. As in the case of Poitou motifs, some regional traditions seem to have been adopted for the fully developed third phase coinages of Limousin and Berry.

The hoard of Bénévent-l'Abbaye (Creuse, appendix VII) is probably an early one. It is entirely composed of severed head coins, and the ines in the BN and Guéret collections are in fine condition. The absence of sword group coins and the good weight (2.10-2.15g) of the contents of the hoard is further evidence of its early date. The probable absence of group B coins from this hoard would tend to substantiate the claim that group B is a later type than A.

Colbert de Beaulieu (1955d) believed that the Lemovices could have been the authors of the severed head coinage. The distribution map is not as conclusive as for Pictones PIV coinage, though most of the findspots not in late mixed hoards do indeed fall within some of the lowland territory of the Gallo-Roman civitas of the Lemovices. In view of the length of probable circulation of the coinage it is probably unwise to attempt too precise an attribution.

B. SWORD GROUP. (Pl.V.4-19, map 13; ABT:412; Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c, 1956d.)

In his publication of the *Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre) hoard, Colbert de Beaulieu (1957c) divided the sword series into a series of groups:

I. EPIGRAPHIC COINS.

I1 CAMBOTRE

I2 CAM

I3 IVRC, IVRC/ /A (pl.V.14)

I4 VR//CA (pl.V.15)

I5 IVR//CA

I6 IVR//CAV

II. ANEPIGRAPHIC COINS.

II. ANEPIGRAPHIC COINS.

II1 Severed head.

II2 Types with sword:

II2a sword and star, var.(1) sexed horse (pl.V.4), var.(2) unsexed horse.

II2b sword and ring (pl.V.5)

II2c sword and 'flower', var. (1) 'flower' without central dot.
(2) 'flower' with central dot (pl.V.6)
(3) unsexed horse, straight line mane.

II2d sword and 'wheel' (pl.V.10)

II3 Types with branch or 'fern':

II3A frond with heavy branches and dotted ends:

II3Aa var. with ring (pl.V.7-8)

II3Ab var. with left-facing crescent under horse.

II3B Type with frond with sharp straight branches and three circles (pl.V.9): the obv. type is generally of a peculiar style on these coins, and the horse on the rev. is less stylized; all are very well engraved.

II4 Types with boar:

II4a boar and ring (pl.V.11)

II4b boar and X (pl.V.12)

II5 Type with a centre-dotted ring above and below a left-facing horse.

A half-denomination is known from a single example in the *Marcillat (Creuse) hoard (Blanchet 1910). It weighed 0.92g, was 0.09m in diametre and was thick; on the obverse was an 'Aquitanic' head to the left and a border of dots; on the reverse a horse with dotted mane stepping left as on other Aquitanic group sword type coins. Stylistically it was closest to CAMBOTRE horses on the reverse, but with the 'severed head' element of a line running between the knee and the withers. Above is a sword of the type on CAMBOTRE coins, with no middle rib and prominent dots at the hilt and at either edge of the top of the blade. A half hoop appears over the horse's back, and an uncertain symbol or no symbol below.

Of these series, CAMBOTRE (pl.V.17) stands apart stylistically. Most recorded finds are from late hoards: Poitiers, *Vernon, Chauvigny, *Jalesche, and *Moulins-sur-Céphons; none were found in the Alesia battlefield. It is likely therefore that CAMBOTRE was a late issue, though

of good weight (1.90-1.94g). The composition of the Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard with 13 CAMBOTRE coins in it is purely regional, and probably dateable to the Caesarian war rather than later. The absence of CAMBOTRE from Alesia may well be fortuitous as it was not a very large issue, and it is not unlikely that it may have begun to be produced shortly before 52. The fifteen specimens I have been able to examine come from thirteen obverse and eleven reverse dies of which one shows signs of having been re-engraved. BN 4132 (1.57g) is plated and is a poor copy or forgery of the types of CAMBOTRE. Possibly the author of the coins was 'commissioned' by the Romans to strike (p.164-5 above); Colbert de Beaulieu noted that the distribution of finds does not indicate a different circulation for CAMBOTRE than for sword group coins, and he suggested that the issue was produced either at a different time or by a 'division' of the same people (?Lemovices). If, however, it were a 'commissioned' issue, the distribution would be explained. CAM (pl.V.13) could possibly be an early issue of the same moneyer (ABT:413 n.4, but see p.201 below).[32] The rare coin BN 4112 (pl.V.18, 1.33g) is clearly derived from the obverse type of CAMBOTRE, and its light weight is compatible with its being a post-war issue of some sort. Nothing more is known about it.

By weight and type all the other issues in the sword group are closely related to one another. It is another huge series of issues; Colbert de Beaulieu estimated that over 300 dies were used to produce the coins in the Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard alone (596 coins); at about 10,000 coins potential output per pair of dies, it is clear that the original volume of the group must have been enormous.[33] The median weight for the group at 1.90-1.94g is lighter than that for the severed head group, and the first sword types were probably issued later. It is virtually impossible to establish a relative chronology among the various types, all of which circulated together in the same areas in the mid first century. Hoards are all well mixed. As I argued above (p.192f), it is probable that the first issues were in the 70s.

The significance of the different reverse types is obscure; the finds of twp different reverse dies far from home at Puy de Corent (P.D.), belonging to CAM and sword with pentagram coins, tends to suggest that the types indicate different aughorship of the various series. Some issues are clearly much longer and larger than ohhers, and the largest seem to have been II2a,b,c and II4b within which series die links are few. If anywhere, the area within which sword types are most numerous is to the north-east of the principal severed head region, in southern and western Berry (map 13, B4), but the geography of finds in not conclusive enough for a firm attribution of the coins to be made. There are a few chronological indications for certain issues of the group however:

1. A reverse CAM die was found at Corent (P.D.: ABT:413).

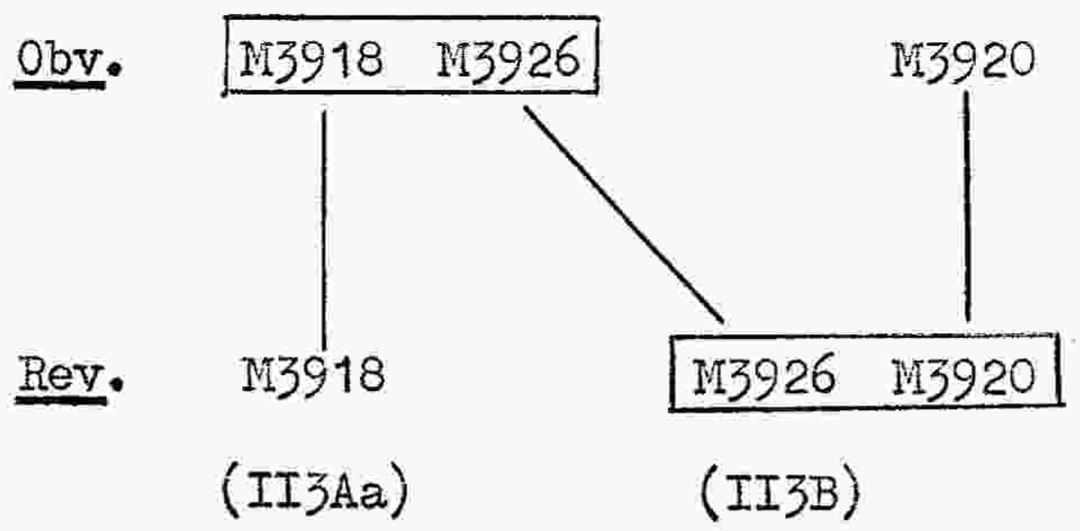
2. A reverse die of sword with pentagon type was found at Corent also (ABT:52).[34]

Thesw two reverse dies were probably lost at Puy de Corent in the course of the campaign of 52: Corent is well outside the normal centre of distribution of sword group coins, and dies would not normally be expected at the fringe of the main distribution area unless they were with an army. Both CAM and sword with pentagram series contain a large proportion of hastily made coins, which would be the result of rushed minting of coins for the war with Rome.

Stylistically CAM and sword with pentagram coins are very close indeed in treatment of the obverse: compare pl.V.13 (CAM) with V.19 (sword with pentagram). Some dies in these two series are so closely similar that it is probable that they were executed by the same artist. A furthers series, IVRCA coin groups I3 - I6 (pl.V.15) are of strongly similar typology on the obverse also the treatment of the eye in particular is the same on some coins of all these three series. IVRCA and CAM also share the reverse variation of the horse's mane treated as a straight line rather than as a row of dots. The three series CAM, IVRCA and sword with pentagram at

some point all probably shared the same diecutter; CAM and sword with pentagram were almost certainly still being struck in 52; all three are therefore probably late issues in the group. On the point of chronology, Blanchet (ABT:413 n.4) thought it unlikely that CAM was the predecessor of CAMBOTRE on the grounds that CAM was already an issue of the last years of independence. If it were a predecessor, the fact that it was in production in 52 would mean that CAMBOTRE is certainly a post-52 issue, and that therefore the Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard must be post war also, though its composition would be anomalous if it is so late. At present it is impossible to settle this question beyond doubt.

3. By a stroke of luck, the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye preserves three coins from the *Tendu (Indre) hoard which establish the order of two series, II3Aa (heavy branch and one ring) and II3B (straight branch, three rings and naturalistic horse), for which see pl.V.8-9. Coins of these two series are linked by obverse and reverse dies as follows:



M3926 has the obverse die of 3918 (pl.V.8) and the reverse of 3920 (pl.V.9). There can be no doubt of this linkage, as the reverse is the only one I have found of its sort, with a dotted mane, and both dies have minor breaks in them which are clearly visible in M3926. What is not absolutely clear is the order in which the two types were struck.

The obverse of M3926 seems to be in slightly worse condition than that of 3918, and therefore later; the reverse is in about the same condition as 3920, which is a better impression. For what it is worth, II3B coins seem slightly lighter than II3Aa (appendix VIII). If the

II3B series is later than that of II3Aa, as the superior engraving might suggest, then they follow a group whose coins are crudely executed and sometimes struck from badly reconditioned dies: II3Aa contains some of the worst made coins in the whole group. Possibly they constitute an emergency issue with the only really finely made obverse die of classic 'Aquitanic' type (pl.V.8) engraved at the end of the emergency before a change to the new style of obverse and reverse. The high standard of execution of II3B coins is comparable with that of CAMBOTRE coins, though of very different technique, and the choice of new styles may have marked some change of political significance. But this is speculation; all that is certain is that over three dies, the very crude II3Aa series and the fine II3B series are linked to one another.

The remaining series in the sword group do not as yet provide much help with ascertaining the relative order of issues in the group. There are few clues from typology: the very round eye found on the good obverse type of II3Aa (pl.V.8) is also found in the boar and circle series (II4a, pl.V.11) and in the sword with 'flower' series (II2c, pl.V.6). The eye with straight upper and curved lower lid of II2d (pl.V.10) is the predominant type for II4b (boar and X, pl.V.12); some of the crude heads of II3Aa are very like ones found in II4b. But the information at present available to me is only sufficient to show that the undoubted closeness in time of the emission of the various series in the sword group resulted in often close typological similarities between series, some of which (eg CAM, sword with pentagram and possibly IVRCA) were parallel, not consecutive, issues. A close study of the great hoards would be valuable, but as I was unable to gain admission to the Moulins-sur-Céphons hoard I could not carry out such a study myself. One noteworthy stylistic point is that <u>no</u> coins of sword type share dies with severed head coins, nor are there any significant similarities between the two groups other than general obverse treatment. A certain number of sword and 'flower' dies show influence by the technique of severed head A; perhaps this

engraving was influenced from the south, but it is the only part of the sword group to show serious typological relation to the severed head group. Sword group reverse types never display the curious treatment of the foreleg of the horse seen in severed head coins (pl.V.3, but see the fractional coin p.198 above), where a line runs in a curve from the withers to the knee. It is certainly the case that the severed head group and the sword group had separate developments.

Pl.V.16 (BN 4114) is a late issue; 4114-6 weigh 1.73, 1.75, 1.69g; 4114 and 4116 are from the same pair of dies. The type is not found at Alesia, but 5 were found in the late mixed hoard of *Cheverny (L+Ch.).

* * *

The typological results obtained from comparison of 'Aquitanic' coins may be schematized thus; CAMBOTRE and severed head A and B stand in categories of their own without significant interrelations with the other types.

Rev.	Obv. style	Obv. eye	Rev. mane on the horse.
⋕ ∘∘	new		dotted
⁂ ⊙	new and old	⬭ ⬭	straight except M3918
boar, ⊙	old	⬭ ⬭	straight
→ ⚲	old	⬭ ⬭	straight or dotted
→ ⊙	old	⬭ ⬭ ▽	straight
boar, X	old	▽	straight
→ ⊕	old	▽	straight
→ ✱	old	⬭	dotted
CAM	old	⬭	straight
⊃ ꟻ |	old	⬭	straight

Use of the sword group continued into the Gallo-Roman period. Unlike Pictones silver PIV which are rare in oppida apart from Poitiers, sword group coins are found in Gallo-Roman archaeological contexts, probably

because of their standardized weight which made them acceptable after the conquest. They have been found at La Groutte (Cher),1.70g; a plated one at Levet (Cher); at Levroux (Indre); at Roanne (Loire); at Boviolles (Meuse); and at Saint-Marcel (Indre: 4 CAM, 1.87-1.53g; sword with centre-dotted circle 2.02g; boar with X 2.09g). The good heavy weights of coins from Saint Marcel suggest that they are relatively early issues, and the types of both the anepigraphic coins found there as well as their enormous output as series, auggest that they were perhaps among the oldest issues in the group. It is a strong possibility that Saint Marcel was of importance inthe circulation of the sword group; not only are the coins found there of exceptionally good quality for stray finds, but the town stands roughly in the centre of the densest area of circulation of the sword group. Archaeological finds in the town have already shown that it was an oppidum of considerable importance in the first century (p.128f and appendix XII).

In conclusion, it seems fairly certain that the first major silver series to be struck in the region of Berry and Limousin were the two 'Aquitanic' groups, the severed head group early in the first century, followed by the sword group in the 70s. Both groups circulated until the Caesarian war, and for some time thereafter. They do not appear in any hoards dateable to before the 70s, and are mostly found in hoards of the mid first century, either homogeneous regional ones (*Tendu, *Moulins-sur-Céphons, Indre) buried probably in the early or mid 50s, or in late, post-war mixed ones. Scattered finds are made in late la Tène III or Gallo-Roman précoce contexts in some Central oppida.

OTHER CENTRAL SILVER COINAGES.

Although the silver series discussed above are the most important Central silver coinages in terms of volume of output and continuity over time, there are a few cases of silver issues elsewhere in areas whose predominant moinage was gold. For present purposes they may be divided into two groups, Auvergne and the Massif Central on the one hand, and Armorica on the other. The amount of material available to me to work on was small, and it has proved impossible for the present study to do more than suggest possible lines of future enquiry, and to draw some very tentative conclusions.

1. AUVERGNE AND THE MASSIF CENTRAL.

Very few find spots are known to me for the following silver issues. Some are typologically very close to gold issues which are probably or certainly from Auvergne and probably attributable to the Arverni of the first century. These silver issues are nevertheless for the most part earlier in origin than the late Arvernian silver coinages with the legends IIPAD, ADCANAVNOS and PICTILOS which probably all appeared for the first time in connextion with the Caesarian war, and which will therefore not be discussed here. These latter continued to be minted after the war: IIPAD and ADCANAVNOS are found in large numbers at Gergovie (P.D.), and bronze of that type was probably struck there (Hatt 1943, 1947). IIPAD, ADCANAVNOS and PICTILOS were found in the battlefield of Alesia, so were being minted by 52. Weights are given for them by Blanchet (ABT:65): IIPAD 2.10-2.40g, PICTILOS 2.25-2.35g, which are therefore similar to earlier regional issues.

1. Silver corresponding closely to stater types (pl.IV.4-15).

Very few fractions of staters of 'Arvernian' type are known; BN 3730 (pl.IX.19) is one of the rare examples, and the only one I found in the collections consulted. It is a possibility that in Auvergne the silver coins bearing types found on late gold staters were intended to fulfill some of the functions normally performed by gold quarter-staters and other fractions in Armorica, Berry and other Central gold-using areas, as well as to provide fractional sums impracticable in a gold coinage. The reasons for this apparent bimetallism are quite obscure, possibly connected with a shortage of gold and the presence of silver ore nearby, and might go far to explain the ability of the first century Arverni to preserve their gold coinage from the severe debasement experieneed in the west of the Centre.

It is clear from the types chosen that the silver coinages in question are not directly related to any contemporary 'Aquitanic' Central coinages, and they did not have such a large area of currency to judge from their few recorded findspots, confined to Auvergne. The somewhat isolated geography of Auvergne may have something to do with this, but political factors are probably also important, as the very tight distribution of the gold coinage would suggest, and the precocious urbanization of the Limagne valley (p.63f, and 496f below).

The first group of stater-related silver to be considered is the wheel and bird group (pl.IV.10-11 and appendix VIII). Of these coins Blanchet (ABT:422) remarked that they are found in Auvergne, and that their style and poor workmanship indicate a chronological position with the late gold issues of the Arverni of which Vercingetorix staters form a part.

The only find spot quoted by Blanchet (ibid. n.8) is Corent (P.D.); BN 3789 is from Corent, and the Musée Bargoin at Clermont-Ferrand has at least one example found in excavations at Gergovie (inventory no. 48-1-2129). These contexts demonstrate a first century use, if not origin, for the coinage. The wheel motif over the horse on the reverse sometimes

shows crescents in the quarters closely similar to the 'wheel' on the Auvergne gold stater pl.X.6. The obverse types are varied and sometimes so badly struck as to be unintelligible, but it would seem that the stater series to which they most closely approximate is that classed as I0 below (pl.X.6). This series of silver coins is by far the most numerous of the silver issues probably attributable to the Arverni or some division of that people, but there is no more reliable criterion for dating them than the observation of their typological similarity with staters current in the mid first century and the finds at Corent and Gergovie which suggest currency into the early Gallo-Roman period. Their weight is fairly consistent, though the small absolute number available to me for study may not be truly representative. The median weight appears to be 2.10-2.19g, and the majority are significantly heavier than the silver issues current further tot the west and the east in the mid first century.

Staters of group I (pl.IX-X) which were certainly in circulation in the mid first century have a few other less extensive corresponding issues of silver coins (pl.IV.4-9): BN 3770 (2.34g); BN 3820 (1.80g); BN 3865 (2.08g with legend CVNANOS) which has an obverse type closely similar to staters and silver of the group, but could have been issued at the time of the Caesarian war; BN 3833 (pl.IV.19) which at 0.94g has the same obverse type as the previously listed three coins, but a pegasus reverse: if it is a half denomination, the full coin would have a weight of c.1.88g. Two silver coins of the type BN 3812-3 (pl.IV.6) have been found at Vieille-Toulouse (Hte.Gar., Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:327). All these coins are likely to have been minted within a short period of one another, as it is more than likely that the dies were cut by one hand; the head with slightly negroid features found on these coins and staters with or without the legend CAS is very distinctive. The great variation in weight between the few coins available is therefore unlikely to be explained by a lapse of time, but rather by some deliberate mechanism now obscure.

Other silver coins apparently belonging to gold series I are shown on pl.IV. BN 3804 (1.84g) probably accompanies BN 3742 (pl.IX.12); 3770a (2.38g) probably goes with MAN 3385 (pl.IX.20), and BN 3781 (1.08g) was noted by Blanchet as accompanying BN 3699 (pl.IX.21; ABT:417). BN 3824 has some similarity with the types of BN 3738 (pl.IX.15), in particular the rectangular motif on the reverse, and the features of the face on the obverse.

Gold series II (pl. X,9-15) is a very poorly made issue with great variety of type, but normally a wolf or boar under the horse on the reverse. The gold is consistently careless in execution; there is a silver series of coins similarly careless in execution (sometimes nothing at all is visible on the obverse), and a similar variety of styles, but with types nevertheless close to these of the poor gold issues: pl.IV.12-15. The weights of these coins are consistent despite appearances; out of eleven examined, five fall in the bracket 2.20-2.29g and three in that of 2.30-2.39g, slightly higher therefore than the wheel and bird group.

2. Legend IIPOMIIDVOS (pl.IV.16).

Blanchet (ABT:423) noted that the lion on the reverse of these coins is derived from the highly arched lion on the later drachms of Massilia, but also comments that the high weight of c.2.40g of the coins in question indicates an earlier date for them than for the other silver coins of the region around and to the south of Auvergne. De Saulcy (DAG II:17) suggested that they be attributed to the Helvii; Changarnier suggested the Vellavii, according to Blanchet (ABT:423).

As can be seen from the weights of the silver coins above, the weight of IIPOMIIDVOS coins is not out of the range of several of them, and the silver coins IIPAD of the mid or late first century had a normal weight span of 2.10-2.40g on Blanchet's own admission (ABT:65). This is of relevance because the two heads that appear on the IIPOMIIDVOS coins are of precisely the same negroid cut as the CAS and other coins in stater

series I above, dateable to the first century. A late origin is further suggested by the circumstances of known finds: Blanchet (ABT:423 n.1) lists one from the late mixed hoard of Chantenay (Nièvre, hoard no.185, buried after 36), four from Alesia in the battlefield of 52, three from near Clermont-Ferrand, and Colbert de Beaulieu (1955a) adds a find at la Chapelle-Laurent (Cantal), associated with a coin or coins with legend IIPAD. The Massiliot origin of the reverse type is of interest, as it is in contrast with the westerly origin of coin types current in the rest of the Centre in so far as silver coinage is concerned.

3. Unclassified types (pl.IV.17-25).

It is in this category of coins that I have been able to make least progress through lack of material and findspots. Detailed study of these issues would surely be well rewarded. As it is, I can but record the few types I have come across in the hope that they may be of use in a later study.

The three coins BN 4025-7 (pl.IV.17-8, weight 1.84, 1.98, 2.52g) are listed with Arvernian coins in the BN catalogue, though there is no good reason for this attribution. BN 4026 was found in the late mixed hoard at *Vernon (Vienne), buried around 45 (ABT no.261), and though the high weight of 4027 would only be expected in either Arvernian or Pictones silver coinages, stylistically these coins do not appear to belong clearly to any major central gold or silver series.

The remaining illustrations on pl.IV are examples of isolated coin types in silver, none of which have recorded find spots, but all of which may well have come from the Auvergne or Massif Central. Although gold issues with similar types are not known to me, typologically these coins are close to the silver issues considered in this section. Appendix XI contains information on silver fractional coinages which may be of Central origin.

4. The 'Aeduan' group (pl.II.10).

These small silver coins with reverse type of a bird over the horse and a motif recalling an arrowhead below, are closely similar both typologically and by weight to silver issues attributed to the Aedui and certainly originating well to the east of Auvergne (pl.II.9; 11 is not discussed by Blanchet and would seem to be intermediate in type between the two series pl.II.9 and 10). The obverse die found at Saint-Symphorien-d'Ancelles (S+L, p.45 above) could have been used for either of these issues, though the disc at the neck of the head on the die is not normally found on coins of this type attributed to the Arverni. Of eleven 'Aeduan' type silver coins available to me, seven weighed 2.0-2.09g and four weighed 1.90-1.99g. ABT:404-6 and 64 records similar weights for the Aeduan lyre type (pl.II.9): 2.0-2.09g. Findspots for the lyre type as given by him (ABT:405 n.3) are Alise, several at Châlon-sur-Saône, 5 in the dredging of the Doubs, 3 at Bourbon-Lancy, 1 near Sémur, 11 at Mont Beuvray and in the hoard from Saint-Gengoux (no 209, S+L).

Blanchet asserts (ABT:418 n.1) that the bird and 'arrowhead' type are "certainly" Arvernian issues, without any argument. One would like to know his reasons, in view of the strong typological similarity, recognized by himself, with the eastern issues. The 'bird' on the reverse is in fact found on Aeduan gold staters of the type found in the *Chenôves (S+L) hoard, pl.VIIIA.18 for example. Perhaps he knew of find spots which he did not list; hoard no.200 ('Auvergne', a suspect provenance?) is the only one, and I have not been able to find any others inthe collections I have consulted. These coins are certainly quite distinct from any other silver coins of the Massif Central not only typologically but also by weight, since other series of roughly contemporary date seem to be heavier; the classification of Muret and Cahbouillet 'Arvernes sous la domination éduenne' is tendentious and requires argument. In the absence of conclusive geographical argument from find spots it would be wise to range these coins

with those of the lyre series and leave them without certain attribution. As to their dating, it is plausible to suppose them of the same age as the lyre series, ... which as argued above (p.161f) could have started just before 90 and continued in circulation if not in production for some decades.[35]

* * *

Certain points emerge from this survey of Arvernian and Massif Central silver coinages. First of all, although there are numerous types, none of them achieved the status or volume of output of the great Central coinages considered earlier in this section. Even the biggest remaining series, the wheel and bird group, and the group with a wolf or boar under the horse, remain in dozens rather than hundreds. It is a plausible hypothesis therefore that silver was very much an auxiliary currency in this area, and that it served a different purpose from that of gold (see appendix XIII). It is noteworthy that none of the hoards containing staters of contemporary types also contained any silver, and there are no hoards known consisting wholly or even largely of Massif Central silver. In ohter Central areas where both gold and silver coinages existed more or less side by side, hoards of both are found, though never mixed to any great extent: this is the case in the Pictones area and in Berry and Limousin. None of the 'auxiliary' central silver is reported from the battlefield of Alesia, though plenty of other Arvernian coinages appear, including silver of IIPAD, ADCANAVNOS and PICTILOS (Cf. Gilbert de Beaulieu 1955a).

Another point of importance is that the 'Arvernian' silver coinages discussed above are quite distinct from the other silver Central coinages in this chapter in several respects. Firstly, they are in a number of cases directly connected typologically with gold issues, and occasionally appear to be from dies cut by the same artist who cut the gold dies. There is therefore no typological reason to consider the silver coinage as quite

independent of the gold of the same types, whereas in all other Central cases, silver coinage is clearly distinct in type from the local gold.

Secondly, by weight most of the silver coins in question are distinct from the standard silver coinages of the first century, which both to the immediate east and west of Auvergne and the Massif Central weighed about 1.80-1.90g by the time of the Caesarian war. The only 'Arvernian' silver coinage which is definitely on a normal Central/eastern standard is the 'Aeduan' one, whose authorship is in any case questionable, and which alone of the coinages here considered has the normal characteristics of a major silver coinage unconnected with gold. There was only one heavy silver coinage in use in the Centre in the first century, the Pictones silver with its normal weight of c.2.90-2.99g. This heavy weight was explicable in terms of a gradual drop from much heavier prototypes, an explanation which is not available in the case of Auvergne which did not have a long history of coinage use either in silver or gold. The Auvergne weights must, therefore, be explained for instance by an independent correlation with a first century southern silver standard , or by reasons unknown.

The weight of the silver of Auvergne is apparently not directly related to any contemporary Central coinage, although one explanation for it is available, which would tend to connect it with the silver-using area immediately to the south and quite separate from the 'Aquitanic' group. Such a relationship would fit well with archaeological evidence for the cultural affinities of Auvergne as opposed to most of the Centre outside the Massif Central (p. 144ff).

Coins with the types of a head on the obverse and a boar on the reverse (eg pl.XII.4) may have been current in the region occupied by the Ruteni, whom we know to have had political ties with the Arverni: they were allies in the war of 121 and were among the first allies whom Vercingetorix sought in 52 (BG 1.45; 7.5,7). Allen (1969:54) noted that the people in the region in question did not use monnaies à la croix

until a fairly late date; coins over c.2.30g are not found there either singly or in hoards. Subsequently in the area there occurred a wave of hoards containing coins of c.2.15-2.30g: Mèze (Hér.), Lodève (Hér.), la Crousatié (Tarn), Castres (Tarn), Paulhe (Tarn), *Goutrens (Avey.) and perhaps la Fajolle (Hér.). These contained (a) a new sort of monnaies à la croix, poorly made, with on the obverse an outline head with the hair formed of several reversed S shapes, and (b) coins of the boar reverse type struck on the chopped flans characteristic of monnaies à la croix. Both types of coin are from very few dies, and therefore neither was an extensive series. It is worth noting that the *Goutrens (Avey.) hoard also contained 'Aquitanic' sword group coins of types BN 4092, 4117, 4097 and 4108. Coins with the boar reverse are only known certainly from these hoards, not from scattered finds; Allen suggested that these hoards could have been associated with the Sertorian war of the early 70s, though I would argue that Goutrens may be slightly later.

Allen, following Blanchet (ABT:285) suggested that the ultimate model for the boar reverse coins and also possibly coins with the legend SEQUANOIOTUOS, pl.II.12, whose normal weight was 1.80-90g, was the silver coinage of Avenio (Avignon). He recognized that the boar reverse coins in the Goutrens hoard and others, which weighed 2.20-2.30g, were of the same weight as Arvernian first century silver. A typological connection between the Arvernian silver coins and the Rutenian issues may be seen in the fact that the obverse type of the silver boar coins is very close stylistically to that of group IG Arvernian staters (compare pl.IX. 16-17 with XII.4). While the evidence linking these two groups of coinage are slight, it may be added in support that the archaeological evidence tended to suggest that Auvergne had indeed some relations with the southern parts of Gaul, but not the same ones as had the western areas ofthe Centre on the other side of the Massif Central (p.144ff). In numismatic terms, the relations between monnaies à la croix and the Poitou and 'Aquitanic' coinages were direct and sometimes close; the Massif Central

silver coinages in question here, on the other hand, and the gold coinages of the same area, were not directly connected in any way with the other Central ones, and instead had their only links - mostly in type borrowing and weight - with the 'Rutenian' issues of the first century.

Although it is evident that the silver of the Arverni was not their major currency, and by type was clearly derivative from gold, its weight, higher than contemporary silver coin to the east and west, may owe its standard indirectly to early first century monnaies à la croix weights via the Ruteni coinage, before the emergence of the Belvès type of monnaies à la croix at 1.80-1.90g. In this case it would be analogous as a phenomenon with the severed head 'Aquitanic' silver coinage which also seems to have started before the drop in weight of monnaies à la croix under 2.0g. But it must be noted that the severed head group almost certainly derived its weight standard quite independently of the Arverni; Allen (1969:53) very tentatively suggested that the Belvès type of monnaies à la croix which were typologically derived from the severed head group may have circulated in the region of Périgueux, though find spots are few. On general grounds of geography it is more than likely that the immediate relations of the severed head group users was with a region well to the west of the Rutêni, and the Petrocorii on the immediate southern border of the region are their natural contacts.

Though the weight of Arvernian silver may be explicable in terms of the contemporary Rutenian coinage and the declining standard of monnaies à la croix in the first century, it still remains the case that both silver and gold Arvernian currency stood in a class of their own in the Centre in the first century. Their types are unique, their weights are unique, and unconnected with coinages in Limousin and Berry to the immediate north and west, or with Aeduan and Rhone valley coinages in the east.

It may be objected to the above argument that the difference in weight between the coin types on which it is based are only slight. However, by

the first century, silver coinages in the Centre were made to quite precise standards which can be fairly accurately recovered. The weight lists (appendix VIII) illustrate this; it is clear from the chart that only a minority of Massif Central silver coins were on the same standard as contemporary 1.80-90g Aquitanic silver. As this was a period when both to the south-west and to the east all major silver types were on the 1.80-90g scale also, the difference in weight coupled with distinctive types is a fairly strong argument for the assertion that Arvernian and Rutenian silver issues stand outside the main stream of contemporary silver coinages.

A final point is that the Arvernian and Massif Central silver series here considered are stylistically distinct from all other important silver series of the Centre, for instance in the absence of 'Aquitanic' obverses. This taken together with the apparently small volume of all but two of the gold-related issues further supports the impression that this silver was of a different nature from the other Central silver coinages. Its behaviour is more like that of a bronze coinage (and in Auvergne the bronze of IIPAD and other epigraphic types are closely similar to silver types): like bronze, it appears to have had a strictly regional circulation. Tentatively, then, I would suggest that at least in the cases of silver issues bearing the types of gold staters, the silver formed part of the same coinage as the gold, being intended like a bronze coinage largely for small payments associated with town living and administration, and for subsistence payments for services rendered. If so, it is an open question why such a bimetallic system did not operate in that way elsewhere in Central Gaul.

2. ARMORICA. (Pl.IV.27)

In the first century billon coinage was produced in Armorica; although much billon is very debased silver or a debased gold/silver alloy, some at least gives the appearance of being acceptably silvery, and could not have passed as anything else.[36] The striking of billon followed, in some cases, without break upon a period of production of gold staters, and without any change of the types or size of the coin. It would appear, therefore, that billon was a poor substitute for a gold stater coinage (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:227), and the weight of most billon coins is that of the stater in a debased form (between 6.00 and 7.00g on average for late but not the worst productions). It is for this reason that billon, even in its purest silver form, cannot be regarded as a true silver coinage, but is instead a gold-substitute coinage issued under the pressure of circumstances. The fact that even the silver content in many cases dropped to so little that the coins still struck from the same sort of dies look rather more like bronze than precious metal is evidence for the progress of the debasement process, with silver billon being merely an early stage for those who had silver to coin.

There are further reasons to think that silver billon coinages in Armorica did not have the status of true silver issues. Remarkably few billon coins crossed the Loire, even during the Caesarian war when normal silver coinages were used for the payment of auxiliaries (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973c).[37] It was apparently therefore not interchangeable with Central silver coin, even the heavy Pictones PIV coinage. If its high weight is objected as the reason why it was not used in this capacity, it may further be argued that small denominations did exist (billon quarter-staters are illustrated at LT XXI, XXII, XXV, XXVI and XXVII), and even they are not found outside Armorica. Furthermore, Armorican silver billon is not found coexisting with heavy Pictones coins, although Pictones gold has strong typological affinities with neighbouring Armorican coinages, and itself

followed a similar pattern of debasement into near-bronze. Mid-first century Pictones staters had a composition of c.35-32% gold, 40-35% silver and the balance of bronze; late staters could have had as little as 20% fine metal (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c).

Billon, then, may legitimately be excluded from an examination of Central silver coinages. There are a few categories of what certainly are true silver coins of Armorican provenance, or so it would seem. Early silver coins seem to have existed: see appendix XIV and pl.XII.15. The weights of these coins are comparable with Poitou silver of the second century, and they could be contemporary. In all probability they were not a widespread phenomenon, however. Cf appendix XIII for Colbert de Beaulieu's comparison of them with gold of the same types.

The next aategory are the copies or forgeries of 'standard' Gaulish silver issues found in the Jersey hoard and illustrated in LT XXV and XXVI; the other contents of the hoard (ABT no 275, from Rozel) show that it was late, buried not before 39 ath the earliest. It is therefore not very remarkable that it should have contained copies of coins which by that time seem to have been in generalized use in most of Gaul, and appear in late western hoards such as *Vernon (Vienne) and on Gallo-Roman sites within Armorica itself such as Allonnes in Sarthe (appendix XII). As a number of the coins of this type, and true Central silver issues in the Vernon hoard, were deliberately bent or defaced, Blanchet may be right in suggesting that they were in part intended to be melted for other purposes rather than to be used in exchange (ABT:535-6). As all these copies are certainly of post-conquest origin, they are not of concern for a study of independent Celtic coinages except insofar as they emphasize the absence of such coinages in Armorica before the conquest.

The other category of silver coin of Armorican origin consists of those silver coins whose types are not directly derived from non-Armorican coinages. I have illustrated one of the few which could perhaps be of

pre-conquest date (pl.IV.27); others are to be found at LT XXVII and ABT:318 fig.224-5. The latter coins are again from the same Jersey hoard, and though of Armorican workmanship come into the same historical category as the copies of Central silver. They are likely to have been a response by some Armorican peoples to a need for currency compatible with the silver which after the conquest attained a generalized use throughout the Centre. Armorica remained somewhat isolated from the Centre even after the conquest, and seems to have continued production of billon staters at least until the 30s as evidenced in the late hoards; even such silver issues as those in question here were never apparently more than a sporadic phenomenon, and perhaps of minor importance. Unlike the case of Auvergne, the need (such as it may have been, which is an open question in Armorica) for small denominations was fulfilled at least in a large part by billon fractions as mentioned above. Small silver coins may have been either auxiliary to billon fractions or intended to be comparable with Central silver on the c.1.80g scale (or both). What is clear is that the appearance of this silver of types in the Rozel hoard was late and probably post-conquest, and not a normal characteristic of Armorican coinages. It is informative mainly about the confused period in the 20 years after the Caesarian war.

The other apparently Armorican silver coin (pl.IV.27) with varieties shown in LT XVIII 5973, 5980, 5967 and XXXIV 8515 which has a somewhat different reverse with a boar under the horse, seems to have been a short series of silver without an obvious close reference to a known gold issue. LT attributes all but 8515 to the Carnutes; the other coin is attributed to the Ambiani, for obscure reasons, (ABT:305 and fig 198). Finds are there recorded from Montfort-le-Rotrou and camp d'Amboise; Gallia 1957:203f records one at 1.70g from Allonnes (Sarthe), together with three fractions of clearly similar types of the series at 0.90, 0.70 and 0.70g. It is therefore very likely that these coins were struck outside the Centre; the context at Allonnes is almost certainly post-conquest, and it is a probability

that these coins were struck in the mid or late first century in response to a need for standard-weight silver in an area contiguous with the Centre. The reverse types of these coins are not unlike those of staters classed to the Andecavi (LT XXI 6745) which are also small denominations in billon, and of typically Armorican type. A light gold coin with a very similar helmeted obverse facing left (5.95g) but with on the reverse a ?warrior and a large bird is shown at Hirsch sale catalogue XIV (1905) p.1 no 9: by weight this would appear also to be a late coin, but its precise origin is unknown.

The Rozel (Jersey) hoard contained both small silver denominations and billon stater fractions, and the two may perhaps have circulated together at that time. The small silver issues mentioned above may have been struck as a silver coinage at the time of the Caesarian war, or more likely perhaps in the disturbances afterward for the payment of soldiers. Whatever the reasons for the striking of silver as such in Armorica, it is clear that it wa s almost entirely a late phenomenon, confined to the mid and late first century. All hoards dated to the 50s or earlier contain billon coins only, and it was not until the Rozel hoard in the 30s that it seems that silver circulated or was struck in the region, undoubtedly under the influence of the Roman conquest. Billon, even good silver billon, was not a true silver coinage, but a stater coinage deprived of gold, and in no way related to neighbouring true silver soinages such as Pictones PIV. On the oontrary, it was the Pictones gold rather than the silver which was most directly connected with Armorican coinages.

SECTION II CHAPTER 4

CENTRAL GAULISH GOLD COINAGE

Page

224 1. Early gold issues over 8.0g

224 : I close derivations from Philip II staters (groups Ii - Iviii)

229 : II early gold issues with celticized types (groups IIi - IIiii)

232 : early Armorican coins.

236 2. Gold issues under 8.0g and over 7.60g. (groups IIi - IIiv)

244 3. Central gold issues under 7.60g.

244 : group 1

246 : group 2

247 : group 3

247 : group 4 - Arvernian or Massif Central gold staters.

249 : group 5 - ABVDOS, ABVCATOS and SOLIMA.

250 : group 6 - crane and trefoil group.

253 : Group 7 - Pictones gold coins.

Chapter 4

CENTRAL GAULISH GOLD COINAGE.

As may be seen from distribution maps 5 and 14 to 17, gold coinage was used throughout the Centre: the virtual absence of recorded finds of coinage of any sort in the heights of the southern Massif Central is, for reasons explained earlier (p.12f), not necessarily an accurate record of the past, and is a considerable obstacle to understanding the late Iron Age, as it might be expected that vital early developments took place in the southern part of the Centre nearest to the Mediterranean.

Celtic gold coinage in Gaul was derived from Greek prototypes, in the case of Central gold, almost exclusively staters of Philip II of Macedon (359-336; pl.I.3), whose median weight was c.8.60g. For the distribution of finds in Central and neighbouring areas of Gaul see map 14-14a. The distribution would suggest an origin to the east of Gaulfor the Greek staters, in contrast with the south-western and Spanish origins of the prototypes of Central silver coinages.

It has been held that the original Macedonian coins were obtained by a northerly route from the east, via the Danube and Save valleys, and thence down the Rhone and along the Seine (eg Braemer 1953; Colbert de Beaulieu 1954c). Blanchet (ABT:208-9) argued that this was unlikely if not impossible, and pointed out that the Celts of the Danube and north of the Alps copied the silver tetradrachms of Philip, not the gold staters, and had an entirely silver coinage. The work of Forrer (1908 pl.1) provides detailed corroboration of this view, and supports Blanchet's thesis that most gold staters imitated by the Central Celts arrived in the Centre from the direction of Massilia. Blanchet (ABT:208-9) also soundly dismisses the romantic notion that plunder from Delphi could have provided the Celtic world with prototypes. Soutou (1969) thought that the first Philip staters

appeared in Gaul as a result of Massiliot commerce with the interior via the Rhone. He noted that Philip gold was in current use particularly with Asia Minor, and that Massilia had close maritime connections with the eastern Mediterranean; as she herself struck no gold, it is only natural that Philip staters should have had currency in Massilia and Gaul as a result. I shall argue below, however, (section III ch.8) that the occasion of the introduction of any Greek coinage to Gaul was not some form of long-distance trade, but in the course of Gaulish service for the Greeks as mercenaries. For a variety of eastern and western Mediterranean states and kings the Gauls were well established as a source of mercenaries; Philip staters were in wide use, but the Macedonian kings themselves, and Philip among the first, relied especially heavily throughout the late fourht and early to mid third century on Gaulish barbarians. Entry of staters to Gaul could therefore equally have come via a northern or a southern route depending on how the mercenaries travelled. In view of the distribution of the eardiest Gaulish gold copies (group Iii below, map 14a), it is a possibility that the Celts from the general area of Bourgogne and Franche-Comté served as mercenaries either for Macedonian armies or for states using Macedonian staters for pay in the fourth and third centuries; it would depend on the armies for which they served whether they travelled over the Alps or down the Rhone.

Imitation of staters of Philip II could, then, in theory have begun by the end of the fourth century, more or less at the same time as the first silver Celtic coins imitated from Rhode, Emporiae and Massilia drachms. In arguing this, I am in disagreement with Colbert de Beaulieu (eg. 1973a:170f) who maintains a very short chronology for Central coinage both silver and gold. He holds that the first Celtic Central coinage was Philip stater imitations in the third century, but struck solely by the Arverni; he asserts that they continued to have a 'monopoly' on the minting of coinage until the defeat of Bituitus in 121, after which, and not before which, the first regional coinages began to be produced.

I have given my reasons in detail elsewhere (n.21) for rejecting this chronology, and will not repeat them here except where it is unavoidable. I am not alone in holding a long chronology; Blanchet (ABT:212) recognized the extreme unlikelihood that the Arverni alone produced early copies, and his brief section on the early Philip imitations known to him provides good evidence in support of his view.[38]

In the following section I aim first of all to distinguish a number of separate types in the early gold coinage, which indicate that it was not a single, unified issue, and secondly to indicate the general areas of circulation of these coinages where find-spots make it possible. This will provide the basis of a refutation of Colbert de Beaulieu's view on the Arvernian "hegemony" (section III ch 8 below). Classification by type has proved with the earliest coinage to be the only practicable method of division for analytical purposes, and is open to the objection that false distinctions are easily made. The problems will only be resolved when many more coins are recorded with findspots; preliminary results here however are encouraging.

The section on Central Celtic gold coinage will be divided as follows:

1. Early gold issues over 8.0g typologically close to Greek originals and corresponding to the first phase of Gaulish coinage.

2. Issues between c.7.60g and 8.0g, corresponding to the second phase of the coinage and including several well-defined series.

3. Gold issues under c.7.60g; this category includes principally the later or third phase issues and shows a number of marked contrasts with the preceding weight-phases or categories.

This very broad division of the gold coinage is suggested by the distribution maps as well as by their weights and types, and the greatest break in continuity occurs around 7.60g, or between the second and third phases. Relatively few finds fall into the weight category 7.60-8.0g

(map 15); most finds numerically are either above or below that bracket, suggesting a significant change in this area. Most well defined and extensive series fall below a median weight of c.7.60g, and it is perhaps significant that countermarking in western Gaul appears to have occurred at one period only, when coin weights were at or just over 7.60g (appendix X). Allowance must be made, however, for quarter-staters which seem often to multiply up to less than their corresponding staters. I have put them on distribution maps without (a) numbers strictly by weight; maps 14a,15a and 16 a are done by type rather than weight and are therefore more accurate for these coins than the others. The lists of findspots make clear what I have done in each case. Because of the difficulties involved in handling the gold coinage, I shall leave discussion overall of the relative and absolute chronology until after examination of the individual types and series.

* * *

1. Early gold issues over 8.0g. (Pl.VI.1-11, map 14-14a)

These are the earliest Gold Celtic coins, closest both typologically and by weight to Macedonian prototypes. Coins over 8.0g may conveniently be divided into two broad categories, (i) those which remain faithful to the original types in detail and are generally the heaviest imitations; (ii) imitations usually lighter, which have introduced a number of new motifs into the types of the coins, and in the case of Armorican coins often do not have any version of the biga and charioteer reverse. One might compare this second sub-category of gold with the silver Bridiers group coins as opposed to Emporiae imitations of the earliest sort. Within each category there are a number of distinct types, sometimes with an appreciable regional circulation. Early 'Armorican' types should properly form a group of their own, apart from the main stream of Central coinage development, and are not discussed directly here although they are shown on the maps for comparison and argument.

I. <u>Close derivations from Philip II staters</u> (pl.VI.1-11).

These coins are thought of as coming from a single Central mint for instance by the authors of the BN classification system, where they are all classed to the Arvernai. This is superficially plausible because of their similar weights, good types, and sometimes consistent execution. Nevertheless, they may be divided into the several groups below.

Obviously, with a small and varied coinage such as the earliest Celtic issues, many more types will appear with research in time, and this list cannot be exhaustive. Similar phenomena in the early silver copies of Emporiae are equally intractable. However, I would strongly maintain that the various major groups below are typologically distinct from one another and consistent with themselves, which in itself is strong evidence that they were separate coinages. For comparative purposes, the same pattern of development of the early Celtic or native coinage appears in

the Balkans/Danube area (Preda 1973), and is in no way unlikely in Gaul. Eventually one or two major series emerged, but it was not until coinage weight had dropped to near 8.0g or less that the first truly extensive serids developed and may be distinguished from the others.

Group Ii (pl.VI.1).

This group presents the only case of die identity in the early coinages that I have found : BN 3620 and B 898.3.1 (8.15 and 8.35g respectively) share an obverse die, but have different reverse dies with the same head of Helios motif. No find spots are known, though they may lie behind later 'head of Helios' motif coinages in the west (p.236 below).

Group Iii (pl.VI.2).

The only truly extensive group of coins in the heaviest weight bracket have a very consistent obverse technique, with a heavy-featured face with a bulbous nose; a small 'epsilon' is found near the hairline in the field by the forehead on many, and is a feature which appears to link this group with the later IIiii under 8.0g (p.238f). The reverse seems always to bear the alpha-rho monogram which gradually degenerated into a triskeles. These coins are BN 3614 (8.38g); BM 26 (8.35g); BM 27 (8.32g); BM 28 (8.39g); BM 25 (8.17g); BN 3616 (8.32g) with die breaks on the cheek and neck; and BM 29 (8.40g) which has a bee instead of the normal symbol under the horse's legs.

This coinage seems to have provided the model for a number of neighbouring coinages (pl.XV). For a discussion of the significance of its distribution see section III ch 8. There is no typological connection between groups Ii and Iii, and no reason to think that they were from one mint. The bee or other anomalous reverse symbols for group Iii may be marks of different authorship, though it is impossible to be sure. Certainly the general technique of all Iii coins is very consistent.

Details of find spots may be found in the list for map 14; the diffuse distribution is characteristic of the first phase coinages, and it should especially be noted that finds are not made in Auvergne, which is a strong element in the argument against Arvernian authorship. It is noteworthy that a number have been found in the areas of north-eastern France and Switzerland where la Tène I-II civilization developed in the first place, and a case may be made for its origin in that area. For a discussion of the second phase continuation of this group (IIiii) see p. 238 f below.

Group Iiii (pl.VI.3).

Another example of the early imitations, but without findspots, and again stylistically distinct from both of the foregoing groups is BN 3620a (8.37g) whose reverse has a sort of 'flower' under the horses, undoubtedly derived from the head of Helios found on some Macedonian staters and ont the closer copies mentioned above (Ii). BN 4542 (8.32g) is also of this type, with legend ..]IΛΠOV and a head of Helios motif with ∨I to its right. Some resemblance in technique of diecutting and lettering is visible between coins of group Iiii and Ivi which had a distinctly eastern circulation; I would however at present distinguish the two groups from one another because of the different reverse symbol and because they are sufficiently distinct in design, although the similarities are worth noting.

Group Iiv. (pl.VI.4).

A further group is very distinct from the other heavy coins both stylistically and by its small size (much closer to the size of the Greek staters), and has a motif derived from the cantharos on some Macedonian originals. Find spots known are listed under map 14; it may be suggested with some confidence that this particular early copy was produced in the

west, probably to the north of the Loire; it is worth noting that already the hair on the obverse head is being treated in a free manner which foreshadows the more characteristic western treatments, and the test-mark on the Bordeaux-Saint-Clair stater which would tend to confirm its continued use in the west until the second century (appendix X).

Other varieties in the first group of heavy coins are less closely similar to the originals.

Group Iv. (Pl.VI.5).

This type almost certainly had an origin in the west or south-west of Gaul and has a trident on the reverse: find spots are listed for map 14, and give a fairly well defined picture. Again, the St.Philbert-de-Grandlieu coin shows a deep test-mark, suggesting western use of the type into the second century (appendix X). One coin of theis group closely similar to pl.VI.5 and weighing 7.80g was published by Blanchet (1922). It has been test-marked with a deep chisel-cut across the cheek on the obverse. Its origin was said to have been uncertain; the St.Quentin jeweller who had it in Blanchet's time got it from a dealer in the Midi who said it was 'from Auvergne', and Blanchet was rightly sceptical of the veracity of this information. At the time all Philip imitations were supposed to be Arvernian, so it was a natural prevenance to invent. Colbert de Beaulieu has shown this to be a forgery from the Saint Philbert coin in fact (1973a:97 n.130).

A more evolved version of the same type, which properly belongs with second-phase coinages, with the trident reduced to an E on the reverse, and the weight lowered to c.7.60g was found in the hoard of *Tayac (Gir.), *St.Médard-de-Guizières (Gir.) and the hoard of *Rouquette (Dord.). A further example with very evolved type is recorded by Blanchet (ABT:213) from near Agen, and he himself suggest s a westerly origin for the series. For the later coins see pl.VIII.8, VIIIA.1-3. This

'degenerate' coinage is the second case known to me of a direct continuation into the second phase of a typically first phase coinage. The other is second phase group IIiii (pl.VII.1) derived directly from first phase group Iii above, and also found in more or less the same area. In both cases the presence of the later coinage indicates the older date of the first one, and in the case of the present pair in the west, the Tayac hoard dateable to the late second century (appendix VII) virtually proves that the group Iv first phase coinage must have an origin well before that, plausibly in the third century, given the great weight and style difference between the two series and the fact that the only group Iv coin in the Tayac hoard was very worn.

Group Ivi. (pl.VI.6).

The coins BN 3618 (8.35g), BM 30 (8.28g) and B 959.29.1 (8.32g, from Ainay-le-Château, Allier) are part of a distinct group certainly of northern and eastern origin outside the Centre; for their distribution see the list for map 14. I include them here solely because of their inclusion under 'Arvernes' by the BN collection and because of their possible relation to group Iiii above. They are certainly a distinct coinage apart from others with a very roughly defined regional circulation typical of the first coinage phase; they are one of several important early coinages of northern and eastern Gaul (eg. Iviii below) which seems to have been in advance of most of the Centre in the development of an early gold coinage at least in terms of the number of extensive early series which remain in contrast with the few massive first phase precious metal coinages in the Centre. It is a plausible hypothesis that the Centre developed gold coinages as a result of contacts with the east and north of Gaul, in distinction to the south-westerly origin of its silver coinages in general.

Group Ivii. (pl.VI.7).

This group of three coins shares the same obverse die (if it can be called a die): BN 4844 (8.34g), BN 10289 (8.33g), and an example in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at St.Germain-en-Laye no 1732, which I could not find, but which was there in Blanchet's time and was found at Graçey in Cher (ABT:219). The legend ⁻EIƆILIVICO on the MAN example and BN 10289 is replaced on the other BN coin with a pseudo-legend. The one find spot is only very weak evidence for the Central provenance of this type, though it is one of the many early gold coins found in the Berry region (map B3), which seems to have been in advance of the rest of the Centre in the use of coinage.

Group Iviii (pl.VI.8).

This series is without recorded provenance, although a large number are known: BN 4833 (8.27g), 4832 (8.27g), 4834 (2.09g), Cahn sale Dec. 1920 no 19 (7.50g), Cahn sale Apr.1933 no 1639 (2.12g), no.1638 (8.04g), MMAG sale 1954 no 971 (2.02g), MMAG sale 1953 no 14 (1.93g), MMAG sale 1972 no 337 (8.22g), Kress sale Nov.1951 no 159 (2.0g), Kress sale Nov.1952 no 347 (2.0g, variant without laurels), Kress sale Dec.1955 no 308 (4.20g, with indistinct laurels), Kress sale Dec.1957 no 2473 (2.1g, without laurels). The resemblance of the obverse to that of group Ivi above might indicate an origin in the same or a contiguous area, though Blanchet (ABT:218) was rightly sceptical of attribution to the Aedui without further evidence. There is, however, no good reason to doubt that it is an early coinage from whatever area, pace Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:221 n.355).

Unclassified group I. (pl.VI.9-11).

Individual coins may be included in this first group, but as they are isolated examples or without provenance, little can be deduced from them here. This is the case with the stater BN 6411 (pl.VI.9) and a large number of stater fractions in the BN and elsewhere. Other cases are

BN 4837 (8.35g,=pl.VI.10) and BN 6947 (4.05g, = pl.VI.11), a heavy half-stater from Bayeux, is already Celticized to some extent. It may stand at the beginning of the development of one of the eastern Armorican gold coinages, or it may be a case of the early currencies of the Breton coast which had the half-stater as the largest denomination (p. 232f below). I exclude from the present discussion ABT pl.I.8 (8.50g) although it is a very heavy early coinage and may be among the earliest Celtic copies, because it is apparently of an origin outside the Centre: findspots are known near Geneva and at Saint-Ciergues near Langres (H.M.), overlapping therefore with some of the Iii coinage above. It is perhaps worth noting that of the coins of uncertain type but well over 8.0g (map 14 unclassified), a very large proportion are found in a belt of north-Central and eastern Gaul, especially Berry and Bourgogne, which accords with the distribution of finds of la Tène I-II warrior burials in French Gaul (p. 26).

* * *

II. Early gold issues with celticized types. (pl.VI.12-16).

In this group are included coins close in type to Philip staters, but with motifs introduced which clearly mark them apart from other early issues, and which on grounds of type and weight may generally be taken to be slightly later than the very close copies, though still of the first general phase of the coinage.

Group IIi. (pl.VI.12).

BN 5315 (8.05g, = pl.VI.12; with quarter-stater of the same type, LT XVI 5317, 2.01g) was represented in the hoard found at Crémieu (Isère, ABT no 126) apparently consisting of these coins only. The hoard is the only Gaulish one recorded outside Armorica consisting entirely of gold coins weighing around 8.0g, and in this it is remarkable. The coins are typologically close to the large group of staters group Iii above, found mostly in Bourgogne, Champagne and Franche-Comté, but with alterations now

to the obverse, and simplification of the reverse types (pl.XV). The weight of these coins is also less than that of the earlier gold series, though still high. The other find spots recorded for this type (list to map 14) suggest an easterly Gaulish origin for this issue, outside the Centre.

Group IIii. (pl.VI.13).

BN 3652 (pl.VI.13, 8.02g) has a normal Philip reverse type, close to the original, but an obverse type derived from Neapolis coinage (ABT:217); a similar coin is recorded by Blanchet from Essey near Nancy (M+M) well outside the Centre, and an apparently later and much more evolved version of the same types without recorded provenance is also noted by Blanchet (= BN 3653, 7.64g). In all probability this coinage developed well outside the Centre and is therefore outside the scope of this study despite its traditional attribution to the inevitable Arverni.

Other coins over 8.0g are still further than the previous issues from the Greek originals.

Group IIiii. (pl.VI.14-15).

Two quarter-staters in the BN collection, 3667A (2.05g) and 3630A (2.05g) are of good weight, and bear a version of the biga on the reverse, but on the obverse have a strongly Celtic head recalling known western techniques; similar coins, though not identical, were found in the *Soings (L+Ch.) hoard. Further suggestive evidence that pl.VI.14 is of centre-western origin or from the west is provided by the example of precisely this type (2.01g) illustrated in Kress sale catalogue for 7 Dec. 1957 no 2466, which has a light test-mark across the obverse. I have argued in appendix X that virtually all test-marking occurred in the west of Gaul in the second century, and a second century date for the present coins would not be inappropriate.

The stater B 840.65.7 (8.0g, pl.VI.16) has no recorded provenance;

Blanchet (ABT:215) thought it was found probably in the Berry rggion, and noted that another was found at *Soings (L+Ch., = Pl.VIIIA.4a). A further specimen comparable in type is in the BM at 7.92g (cf. pl.VIIIA.4 on the reverse, minus the symbol before the horse's nose). As the contents of the Soings hoard and other finds nearby were comparable with the coins grouped together here it is a strong likelihood that IIiii are regional coinages of the Berry/Touraine area.

Early Armorican coins, pl.XIII.1-10.

The coins in the 8.0g range which are typologically furthest from the Greek originals with regard to reverse types are generally of Armorican provenance. As this area is outside the scope of this study for later issues, I shall only pass quickly over tha main heavy gold issues of the area. Most of these heavy issues are remarkable for their high quality, and Blanchet (ABT:306-19) discussed and illustrated a large proportion of them. Maps 14-15a show the area within which most of these heavy issues are to be found in the west, north of the Loire and in Normandy and mostly clustered at river-mouths in the earlier stage (map 14) but inland in the next phase (map 15a). The list of find-spots with the maps give an account of the weights and types of coins of this sort (cf p.244+ below).

The sheer number remaining of early Armorican gold coins is far greater than the number of Central issues of similar date, and their geographical distribution as well asc choice of types and weight standard presents a strong contrast with Central gold and silver of similar date. It may be that the great valume of high weight Armorican coins is due to their production being continued longer than was the case in the Centre, but a more likely explanation for this phenomenon is that in those areas, especially at river mouths, a greater amount of early coinage was produced than elsewhere, and less was melted down or plundered subsequently. It is probable, to judge from the early spphistication of the coinage in this

whole area, that at an early date this was a privileged region with considerable disposal of wealth in gold; it is a great misfortune that the process of collapse of this wealth is so obscure. A suggested explanation for this phenomenon will be offered below (p. 492 f).

With reference to the stater pl.XIII.1 (BN 6068), Braemer (1953) argued for typological origin in the region of the Carnutes or Aulerci in eastern Armorica on the fringe of the Centre (cf discussion p. 244 f below). Scheers (1968) gave a superb discussion of the third century gold coinage of the people at the Somme and then Seine mouths, derived exclusively from prototypes struck in the third century (not later than 209) at Tarentum. Five different prototypes were used, and in the order of their emission at Tarentum, which suggested contemporaneity of the Gaulish and Greek coins. Only half- and quarter- staters were struck (this was also the case for the 'Baiocasses' and 'Aulerci Eburovices' who were striking gold in the second or possibly third centuries respectively). The phenomenon of striking small denominations only has analogies nearer the Centre, that of the gold series pl.XII .6-7 and XI.9, although the absolute standard on which these later coins were struck remains a puzzle. Direct maritime relations with Tarentum by the people in the area occupied in the first century by the Ambiani is therefore clearly demonstrated for the third century, and is of great importance. The following argument for the contact being maritime in nature is unnecessary, however (Scheers 1968:67-8):

> L'influence des Arverni ne peut pas être sous-estimée: ce peuple avait crée dans le centre de la Gaule un empire qui n'était pas politique, mais qui était fondé sur une suprématie économique sur les peuples voisins. Plus tard, Strabon se souviendra encore du commerce de ce peuple (4.4.3). Les relations des Ambiani avec Tarente N'ont pas pu passer par le peuple des Arverni, sinon l'influence de ceux-ci serait dominante et il y aurait lieu de douter que les Ambiani aient pu créer un numéraire propre et indépendant.

This is a quite incredible argument: so hard does the Arvernian 'economic monopoly' die. The people of Tarentum went by sea because they were a seafaring people, the land route across Gaul was long and expensive, and

the sea route to north-western Gaul was traditional. No doubt the stater from Finistère of the third century came there from Cyrene in the course of this sort of contact (list to map 14). Scheers connects the gold coin of the 'Ambiani' and contact with Tarentum with the tin trade (1968:68-9).

* * *

To conclude, if the early and heavy gold coinage of the Centre is taken as a whole, it is surely clear that it was produced from several different areas. Differences of this sort between coin types may be argued on the basis of typology alone, but there are also geographical differences. Some regions, for instance the river mouths and eastern Armorica were very active, but at least one mint inland immediately to the east of Central Gaul produced the extensive Iii series of gold staters with characteristic heavy features and 'epsilon' on the face, and in the south-west of the Centre itself there was the group Iv coinage near the Garonne mouth. For reasons which will be discussed in ch 8 of section III, it is in principle a gross anachronism to posit the centralized control of currency at the earliest stages of its introduction in Gaul. However, not enough find-spots are known for an absolutely conclusive distribution pattern of coin types to emerge. While distinctively Armorican coins appeared early and are confined to the west in neat clusters, the central and eastern gold issues are less eaky to localize. Nevertheless, the few provenances that are known suggest the general areas in which different groups may have been in use. The reasons for finding examples of the same group of coins over a wide area of Gaul in the first phase of coinage are not known for certain, and must lie in the social conditions relevant to the use of a valuable currency at that period; it is not inherently unlikely that there were direct exchange relations between peoples in the Massif Central and in the Reims area and Switzerland for instance. At the same period, fine gold coin was being struck in the Centre and on the north Armorican

and Belgic coast; Reims is slightly inland from the Ambiani (or the earlier occupants of the region at the Somme-Seine mouth); that there should be exchange of goods and services between wealthy persons or poeples in inland and coastal regions should not be surprising, and would explain the odd distribution of this particular early coinage (Iii). To invoke the 'Arvernian empire' in the context of the early coinage is not to offer a plausible answer to the problems of the coinage distribution, but to beg the question of the origin and purpose of the coinage, especially in the virtual absence of any early coin finds in Auvergne itself.

2. Gold issues under 8.0g and over 7.60g.

(Pl.VI.17-20, VII, VIII. VIIIA, map 15-15a)

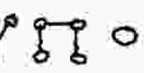
Differentiation of types became increasingly marked with coinages of a median weight under 8.0g. For the first times series with a considerable development may be traced, and clearly regionalized . issues are the rule. It will be argued later that for the most part these coinages under 8.0g belong to the second century, and do not extend beyond 100, and they may be characterized as belonging to the second phase of Gaulish coinage, contemporary with Poitou silver (except PIV) as argued above (p.178ff). There are at least two extensive series of Central gold coins in the present category (IIi and IIiii) and a number of smaller issues which are for the most part over 8.0g and therefore early (perhaps with an origin in the third century) but which include a long 'tail' under 8.0g.

Group IIi. (pl.VI.17)

These gold coins are attributed in the BN catalogue (4538-43) to the Lemovices, and two find spots are recofddd, at Limoges (Hte.V) and Moulins (Allier: list to map 15). Their weights are recorded as 7.76g, 8.15g, 7.56g, 7.70g, and 7.80g. The known find spots are not by any means sufficient for such a confident attribution, and as was explained above in connection with the early western silver coinages, it is wrong to assume that Gallo-Roman civitates with discernable borders and centralized currencies are traceable back beyond about the mid first century.

In favour of a westerly or southerly origin for this particular series of gold coins, however, a certain number os points amy be made. Colbert de Beaulieu (1952b) noted the reverse type similarity between the silver (I would argue, third century,) Bridiers hoard coins with biga reverse,

and these gold coins (pl I.10 and pl.VI.17 here), both of which have the flower-like motif derived from the Macedonian head of Helios. In addition, the treatment of the hair on the obverse is similar in gold BN 4543 and silver G 2736 (Bridiers hoard, pl.I.5), and to gold of the Aulerci Cenomani (LT XXIII 6818) though not exactly the same. It is apparent from Colbert de Beaulieu's argument (1952b) that the reverse motif in question in this series became current in certain Armorican coinages later; it is not unlikely, therefore, that this together with the stylistic similarities of some of these coins with coins from the Bridiers hoard mark this series as a western or south-western coinage.

A stylistic link with Touraine/Berry second phase coinages is provided by these coins of which a good example is illustrated in the Kress (Munich) sale catalogue for 17 Nov. 1952 no 357 (7.40g). The obverse of this is very closely similar to that of the coinage pl.VII.3 (cf degeneration pl.VII.19) with the small separated wisps of hair around the head, and the ear in all these coins is presented in the form of three globules  peculiar to eastern Armorican and Touraine coinages (p. 244 f below, cf. pl.VIIIA.4 and 7 from the *Soings hoard). The reverse is closely similar to that of the coin pl.VI.17, especially in the treatment of the horses: the heilos-flower motif is in the same position but treated as  . The legend is  (the first and last letters are off the flan). A quarter-stater of the exact type pl.VI.17 is shown in the Kress sale catalogue for 7 Dec. 1957 no 2554 (1.90g): <u>obv.</u> head to the fight very closely like pl.VI.17 ; <u>rev.</u> one horse of the type and posture of pl.VI.17, and a driver; the helios-flower motif is  and the legend in the exergue  . The coin is slightly scyphate. Perhaps the heavy stater type Iiii, BN 3620A (pl.VI.3) was a prototype for the later issues.

Group IIii. (pl.VI.18-20).

This second long series of coins found as both staters and fractions is characterized by a line scored across the obverse dies, running from neck to nose; the reverses were at first close to Philip stater originals and to Celtic first phase group Iii; they have a scorpion or alpha-tho monogram or star motif under the horses (pl.XV). Like the previously described series, this one probably had an extended history, though it began at a lower weight. There is both weight loss and development of type; the lightest coins have a simpligied reverse showing one horse (with six legs to suggest a second horse) and a wheel under the horses instead of the earlier motifs.[39] Two (BN 3657, 7.76g and BN 3668, 7.56g) are countermarked, (a) with a boar over whose back there is a decorative wavy line and (b) with a horse surmounted by a bird, = pl.VI.19. Blanchet thought these coins were produced further north than Auvergne (ABT:213), though I would argue for a more westerly origin on the evidence of the countermarks (appendix X). There are unfortunately so far no find-spots for certain information. I would argue that this group originated in the early second century or even at the end of the third, partly on the general grounds of weight and length of typological development, and partly because of the later and badly executed coins (pl.VI.19-20) which recall Touraine or western coins of a date probably in the late second century, for instance some Tayac hoard coins (pl.VIIIA.1-3) or pl.VIII.10-11.

Group IIiii. (pl.VII.1)

This third major series in the present category has a few find spots which suggest that it was current in the same general region as first phase group Iii (p.225f above and list to map 15). All are still fairly close imitations of Philip staters and a direct derivative from phase I group Iii in all probability (pl.XV), especially obvious in the earliest and heaviest examples. On some, a small E or trident (also found on some of the heavier Iii coins) is visible on the obverse in front of the forehead, and on the

reverse a form of the alpha-rho monogram or a triskeles is under the horses.[40] For the most part, the die cutting is very consistent, and the obverses in particular have a distinctive appearance with heavy nose and mouth, and sometimes a curious field on both dies with a gravelly texture (metal texture or dirt?).

Group IIiiia. (pl.VII. 2-3; pl.XV).

There are a few staters which are typologically closely related to the last group on the obverse, but which have varied reverses, all of which come from the same region in Berry and Touraine (list to map 15). B 908.12.1 (7.28g) was found at Avord (Cher, = pl.VII.2). B 910.2.1 (7.04g, pl.VII.3) was found near Gien (Loiret); Blanchet noted one from Issoudun (7.20g, ABT:215 and pl.1.2); another probably of the same type is also recorded from Couffi (L+Ch.) at 7.06g. BN 5949A (7.55g), whose obverse type is similar to that of the series under discussion, has the reverse type of the stater LT XIX 6055 (here pl.VIII.1-2) which was found at les Aubrais near Orleans (Loiret, 7.15g). Pl.VIII.1 is closely similar on the reverse to the coin from the *Soings (L+Ch.) hoard, pl.VIIIA. 4, and a further regional connection. Pl.XV reproduces a number of Berry/ Touraine types related to the heavier early or mid second century coinages, but which themselves are well under 8.0g and probably belong to the later second century: the typological connections between them are well defined.

As noted by Blanchet (ABT:214), the region around and including Berry was clearly important in an early stage of Celtic coinage, as can be seen from maps 14-15a and the lists with them, and the development of the early silver Poitou coinage. Two quarter-staters with types related to the series immediately above but with the obverse type to the left are from the region: B D965.1.4832 (1.88g) is from near Bourges (Cher) and B 868.2.18 (1.66g) is from near Bourges.

Group IIiiib. (pl.VII.5-7).

These coins, all found in Berry, are of types not precisely represented by staters from the area and are probably more akin to some eastern Armorican types (p.244f below).

Group IIiv. (pl.VII.8-9).

A further short series of coin, classed by the BN to the Arverni, has in all probability a more easterly origin. The developed form of a type of Aquitanic treatment of the obverse might lead to the drawing of analogies with the west: Blanchet (ABT:221) compared it to Poitou silver on the grounds of the moustache; compare also the gold quarter-staters on pl.VI. 15). In fact the know find-spot for the type is in the *Lapte (Hte.L.) hoard in which 11 were found. The high weights of the BN specimens of the type (not from Lapte) indicate an early issue, probably of the second century, as to the east of Auvergne gold coin in the early first century was much lighter than this (BN 3678 7.83g, 3670 7.64g, 3665 7.47g, 3679 7.81g, 3673 7.75g). The hoard of *Chenôves (S+L) contained related types (pl.VIIIA.13-18), 35 in all, 'appartenant presque tous sûrement à une série qui peut être qualifiée d'éduenne'. This is surely right; not only i s the region correct, but cf. pl.II.9-11 which are certainly 'Aeduan' silver coins. For further discussion of the gold coinage of this eastern region in the late second or first century see p. 161f above.

Bearing in mind the discussion of the Chenôves type coins, we can with some assurance recognize a collection of gold coins of successive dates in the area immediately to the east of the Centre: pl.VII.8-9 (Lapte, Hte.L), pl.VIII.17-18 (Lapte), pl.VIII.16 (Beaune, C.d'O and further east), and pl.VIIIA.13-18 (Chenôves, S+L). The most interesting single feature of this group is the fact that several individual motifs are shared with

Central - even west-Central - coinages.

Unclassified group II. (pl.VII.10-20, VIII.1-9).

There remain a few isolated types of coin which do not appear to be a part of a large series. BN 1970/86 (7.80g = pl.VII.10) appears to be the coin published by Laveissière (1968); it was found at Toulon-sur-Arroux (S+L) at shallow depth. It was 48% gold, 51% silver, 1% copper with traces of iron; Colbert de Beaulieu, quoted in the publication, considers it to be a second century coin 'probably after 121 because of the evolved type'. The coin may well be connected with heavier faithful Philip imitations from the east. BN 3669 (7.87g = pl.VII.11) appears to be related to the big Central series IIiii discussed above, but the decorations on the obverse set it apart and suggest western or Armorican workmanship. For these see also pl.XV. BN 6421A (7.94g = pl.VII.12) is probably also a more westerly production than the other coins in this section, though definite find spots are lacking.

Before turning to the major issues in the next group, it would be as well to note isolated coins whose weight attaches them to the next section, but whose types belong with this second phase of the coinage. As almost none of them have known findspots, there is little that can here be said of them. Pl.VII.13-20 and VIII.1-9 mostly belong with Central issues, with the exception for instance of VIII.4-5; BN 6067 was found at Annonay (Ard.) and the obverse technique of this stater is reminiscent of the early Rhone valley silver, cf pl.II.2. BN 3679A (7.42g = pl.VIII.9) is another obscure coin, included without reason with 'Arvernian' coins in the BN catalogue. It is analogous to the coin ABT:163 fig 16 on the obverse, of northern provenance. Another coin of precisely this type at 7.07g is illustrated at MMAG sale catalogue for Dec.1972 p.43 no 353, where it adds that it is 'comparable with BN 8915' found near Schaffhouse, and notes that others were found in Argovie and canton Berne. This is therefore certainly not a central Gaulish coin.

Two coins which do have recorded provenances but which are not of extensive issues are illustrated at pl.VII.19-20. B 965.1.4827 (7.08g) is from Feusines in Indre; B 897.22.1 (7.23g) as from le Dorat in Haute-Vienne. On the subject of this latter stater, Colbert de Beaulieu (1957a) made some peculiar observations. He compared it with Lapte hoard coin LT XI 3676 (here pl.VII.9) for the obverse or LT XI 3696, XII 3753, 3761. The driver is said to be analogous with that of the series LT XIII 4068, 4072 of the crane and trefoil series pl.XI.10 here; he put the coin in the early first century in the Massif Central. Not all of his analogies are helpful. Its prototype on the obverse is probably staters of Philip V of Macedon (220-179).

The series on pl.VIII.8 (BN 3654a 7.60g, 3654b 7.79g, 3621 7.83g) are included in the BN catalogue under 'Arverni', again without reason; no find spots are given and there are no typological reasons to include them with Arvernian coinages. These coins are in fact of the type found in the hoard of *Tayac (Gir,), pl.VIIIA.1-3, and were current in the south-west (p.227 above). Pl.VIII.7 (BN 3709, 7.35g) is probably related to the series pl.VIII.17-9, though only distantly: the obverse technique is similar. BN 3696 (6.90g), 3697 (6.87g), 3704 (7.89g) = pl.VIII.6 are also included wrongly among 'Arverni'; an origin in the west is possible on stylistic grounds. BN 4596 (6.70g, = pl.VIII.3) is another obscure coin, probably related to the eastern Armorican or 'Carnutes' coins pl.VIII. 1-2, VIIIA.4-10.

* * *

A few concluding remarks may now be made about the coinages weighing c.7.60-8,0g as a whole. In some cases they are directly derived from known first phase coinages, but the most striking feature of this phase in the Centre is that for the first time there are a large number of extensive coinage series of which at least a few have approximately

discernable distribution areas. The coinages are most often recognizeably related to Philip II coinage though in nearly all cases fully Celticized, and as was the case with the contemporary silver Central coinages, there are a very large number of varieties and sub-types of the main coinages, most of which at the moment lack a find-spot. See the paragraph on the *Soings (I+Ch.) hoard in appendix VII for some slight evidence supporting the thesis that coinage of the weights just discussed are approximately contemporary with coinage of the silver 'Poitou' group in the west Berry hoards probably in the second century. It may be tha case that most of the Centre had its first gold coinages inthe second phase of coinage development.

3. Central gold issues under 7.60g.

(pl.IX-XI, maps 16-17).

It is in the final, and lightest, period of Central gold coinage that the largest and best defined series developed. Some had a quite enormous output, and the earliest probable dating for them varies from the second century (group 2) which is therefore contemporary with some of the earlier coinages over 7.60g, to the first century (groups 4-7, most of which are clearly only of the first century). An important characteristic of this phase of the coinage is the dramatic change of coinage types in some areas, especially Berry, and the narrowing of current gold coinage types from very many to only a handful, each of which had a clearly defined area of distribution and was issued in a volume unknown before. Some areas, such as Auvergne and Poitou, appear to have had their first gold coinages only in this third phase. See section III ch.8 for discussion of these phenomena.

<u>Group 1</u> (pl.VIII.10-14, map 16).

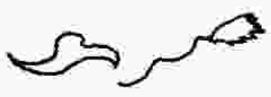
This series, which seems to belong to the west of the Centre, probably in the region of Touraine, falls into three subdivisions, each slightly lighter on average than the other (appendix VIII). The known findspots for the second group (the only one for which we have any) are Rivarennes (I+L), hoard of Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (Vienne) and Azay le Rideau (I+L). Little more is known about the whole series: I have put them together on the grounds that they all share the reversed lyre motif, and the second group appears to be a direct development of the types of the first, with a median weight of 7.30-7.50g. While the third group is probably associated with the first and second (it is probably an issue produced near the mid first century to judge from its low weight), it is nothworthy

that it could also have been derived from the good gold stater pl.VIII.15 classed by the BN to the Sequani and whose known provenances are in the north and east of Gaul (list for map 16). The resemblance between these two coinages may, however, be fortuitous. Vian (1954) discussed the gold stater with legend KARA (8.29g) described as and 'early Philip copy'; cf ABT pl.I.19, BN 5957, here pl.VIII.14, though the coins under discussion are said to be earlier and without a lyre, and no find spots are known for them.

Quarter-staters of all three groups of the series under discussion here are known; some (BN 6417 and BN 3646A, from group 2) have a strongly Armorican reverse typology, and the treatment of the obverse on some of the group 2 coins is very closely similar to that on coins attributed to the Aulerci Cenomani by the BN (pl.XII.13). An origin to the north-west of the Loire is therefore not unlikely for coins of the present group.

It is possible, in fact, that the group as a whole is a development from an earlier series of eastern Armorican gold coins in the region of 8.0g. The quarter-stater BN 6418 of the reverse type with  (1.92g), cf. 6420 (1.87g) and 6419 (1.87g) has the obverse of the type of 'Redones' coins pl.XIII.11, and the horse on the reverse has the very distinctive head of the same 'Redones' type with a long snout. The quarter-staters in question are, however, only one variety among at least four, all of which share the identical type of obverse and horse, but have the following symbols under the horse:

 BN 6423 (2.0g), 6424 (1.93g), 6425 (1.94g).

 BN 3620AA (8.04g), 6427 (1.90g), 6428 (1.93g): the quarter-staters have  only (type in *Soings hoard pl.VIIIA.8, with variety VIIIA.9. The fact that they are found in this hoard suggests currency in the second century at latest.)

 BN 6426 (2.0g)

As the types of all these coins are closely related with the types on pl.

XIII.1 and 4, it is virtually certain that the type originated in the Sarthe/Ille-et-Vilaine area although examples are found as far qway as Touraine at *Soings (I+L). The first . century coinage here under consideration is manifesily a derivative from one variety of the earlier issues, perhaps in the same way as PIV silver in the . first century developed from one west Berry second century variety; again there would seem to have been a geographical shift in the area of distribution, in this case toward the south. See p. 236f above for typological connections between this group and the earlier type at pl.VI.17, especially in the use in sub-group A of a modified Helios-head motif, and the treatment of the ear on the obverse.

Group 2 (pl.VIII.16).

This series of staters and fractions seems to have been in normal circulation not further west than Beaune (C.d'O: list to map 16; ABT:216), and for convenience will be referred to as 'Beaune' staters. A further substantial number were found however at a great distance in the late second century hoard of *Tayac (Gir.) which contained a peculiar mixture of gold types, some of them (eg Gallo-Belgic A of an arigin near the Somme mouth) not local to the area. This series from the east of Gaul is for the most part light (appendix VIII) and in its later stages is probably most comparable with the gold staters . which immediately preceded the introduction of silver in the Aedui region at a weight of c.7.15g. The ? early first century *Chenôves (S+L) hoard contained coins which bear a very derived reflection of the types of Beaune staters : pl.VIIIA.13-15 (p.161f above). The motif before the mouth on the obverse type, derived ultimately from coins of Emporiae with dolphins in front of the face is one which was popular to the west of the Centre, and appears also on late gold coinage in the Berry area. The treatment here, however, is very different from that of the truly Central coinages and more comparable with other eastern and northern types (cf.pl.VIII.18).

Group 3. (pl.VIII.17).

This series, like groups 1 and 2, may not strictly speaking be a Central coinage, as the two recorded find spots for it are the hoards of Lapte (Hte.L.) and Saint-Uze (Drôme). It must, however, be included as it is one of the few gold coinages onthe edges of the Centre which by the early first century were using silver. The coins central to the series (pl.VIII.17) have a median weight of 7.40-7.49g and were a short series; 9 obverse and 14 reverse dies were used, all but one of them linked (Colbert de Beaulieu 1958; Castelin 1961). Coins with reverse types to the right (B) appear from Castelin's work to have been struck before those with reverse type to the left (A), as they are heavier and there appears to have been a break in the series between the two types.[41]
A heavier coin (BN 5283, 7.93g:pl.VIII.18) is thought by Colbert de Beaulieu and Castelin to stand at the head of the series and to be earlier than them. Other coins appear to be related to the main stream of the series. BN 3627A (7.42g, pl.VIII.19) has a closely similar obverse type, but the cross on the cheek and the reverse type with cross, V and no visible lyre put it outside the series. Similarly pl.VIII.7 is very similar in the treatment of the obverse, but quite different on the reverse.

* * *

The remaining gold series are certainly Central.

Group 4. (pl.IX-X, maps 16-16a). Arvernian or Massif Central gold staters.

These coins were all in circulation at the time of the Caesarian war; most types, including epigraphic coins of Vercingetorix were found in the hoard of Pionsat (P.D.), ABT no.196 (cf list for map 16). All are on the same weight scale (appendix VIII) with median weights of 7.30-7.39g or 7.40-7.49g. Group I with its subdivisions and group II are typologically distinct, though the significance of the distinction is obscure: both overlapped in circulation, for not only is II well represented in the

Pionsat hoard, but the only other certain findspot for the group known to me is Chamalières (P.D.).[42] For the distribution of this group see map 16 and its list. In addition, a bronze coin with the lyre and triskeles on the reverse was found at Gergovie (BN 3821, 2.25g).

It is apparent, therefore, that these staters circulated in a well defined area in Auvergne and the region in the first century, with the densest concentration in the Limagne valley where the principal Arvernian urban complex was sited (p.63ff above). Find spots are not frequent enough for it to be determined whether there was a different area of circulation for group I and II, which are not typologically interrelated in the way in which the various staters of group I are. It is probable that the staters of both types, but particularly of group I, were issued over a fairly long period, for a great number of dies were consumed in their production, cut by a variety of hands. Epigraphic Vercingetorix staters alone (group IC) are known to have been struck from at least 11 obverse and 10 reverse dies, not all of which are interlinked (Colbert de Beaulieu 1966a). In this in fact group IC is unusual (and probably a smallish issue relative to others) as I have found few other die links in about 100 coins examined.[43]

Above (p.206f) I noted silver coins belonging to gold series; these are groups IA (BN 3770, 2.34g), which also has fairly extensive bronze issues and related silver and bronze of the late legend ADCANAVNOS; ID (BN 3804, 1.84g and 3813, 2.43g), with a bull's head under the horse; IF (BN 3824, 2.20g); IH does not have a silver issue known to me, but does have a quarter-stater (BN 3730, 1.85g); IJ has the silver BN 3781 (1.08g), possibly a half-denomination; IO is probably connected with the silver series with wheel and bird; the silver coin BN 3770A (2.38g) is either associated with IO or Ii, possibly the latter. Group II probably has the silver series with an animal under the horse on the reverse; for all of these see p.206ff above.

Group 5. (pl.XI.1-8, map 17; Colbert de Beaulieu 1956e, 1957c). Berry gold: ABVDOS, ABVCATOS and SOLIMA.

These staters and fractions are not common, but fortunately a number of find-spots are known, indicating circulation in the region of Berry, whence their traditional attribution to the Bituriges Cubi. Map 17 and the accompanying list illustrates this distribution. The issues are late: a SOLIMA gold coin appeared in the finds from the battlefield of 52 at Alesia, and in the hoard of *Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre), buried just before or during the Caesarian war, there were 4 ABVCATOS, 1 ABVDOS and two ABVDOS fractions. Further evidence for late circulation is provided in the fact that they turn up in significant numbers at Levroux 'Indre), and coinage found in 'urban' settlements like Levroux is almost never early in the Centre; B 894.24.1 (6.77g) and B 894.24.2 (6.84g) were found there and late mixed hoards in which coins of this group are found are *Vernon (Vienne) buried not before 45 and which contained 1 ABVDOS, Bonneuil (Vienne, ABT no 263) buried not before 50 and which contained ABVDOS and SOLIMA, and Civaux (Vienne, ABT no 264) buried not before c.50 and which containedd 2 ABVDOS. The weights of these coins is low, with a median weight of 6.80-6.89g, much lower than that of the Arvernian gold which was roughly contemporary, though heavier than the gold of the Pictones (below, group 7).

The heaviest coins in this group have no legend (pl.XI.1); B 951.5.1 (7.17g) was found at Ainay-le-Château (Allier). A quarter stater of this series, BN 4588, is also heavy at 1.81g. One ABVCATOS die is typologically close to these earlier coins (obv. die shared by BN 4173A, 6.86g and B 901.13.1, 6.62g, coins which also share the reverse die): pl.XI.2. Possibly ABVCATOS was the first of the series with legends, and although there are a number of die links available from a small number of coins (n.44), so far I have not found a link between ABVCATOS and ABVDOS coins, despite the close similarity of the dies on both sides. SOLIMA coins (pl.XI.8) form a distinct sub-group; the eagle has disappeared from the reverse, and

the die-cutting on the obverse is distinctive and different. The relatively high weight of the three I have been able to examine might suggest a high place in the series (BN 4196 = 7.03g), but this may be the result of selectivity on the part of the BN collection.[44]

Three features in particular may be noted of this coinage. Although it is found in approximately thesame area in which the heavier coins of the second phase gold coinage were found (group IIiii-IIiiib above and maps B3-B4), no haards or archaeological sites contain both ABVDOS types and earlier ones in association. There is a total stylistic break with the earlier regional issues, and the weight scale for ABVDOS has been fixed well below that of the better early series. Since there is a geographical overlap, the conclusion to be drawn in the face of the evidence is that ABVDOS and related issues were first century coinages, and IIiii and its relations were earlier, not continuing in use beyond the early first century at latest.

Group 6. (pl.XI.9-13, map 17). Crane and trefoil group.

The distribution of these coins is distinctly more southerly than that of the last group (Blanchet 1910 states that none are found in Berry: see list to map 17). Their low weight and appearance in the late hoards, however, suggests that they were contemporary; they appear in the *Jalesche (Creuse) and (?) *Vernon (Vienne) hoards. The latest specimens were little more than bronze, of thick lumpish appearance. There are, however, a few fine earlier coins of the group (pl.XI.9), whose weight for their size is above that of the later issues: BN 4080 (3.40g) and the specimen noted by Blanchet (ABT:295) from Saint-Jean-Trolimon (Fin,) are of the good gold type mentioned as weighing c.3.42-3.70g. This apparently low weight is not the result of debasement, as in the case of the later issues, but is the result of low denomination, perhaps equivalent to a half stater, and it is known that half- and quarter-stater standards were normal in Belgic and northern Armorican regions in the third and second centuries (p.233 above).

The weight under 4.0g for a half-stater would point perhaps to a late date, not before the second century and probably late in it.

Although Blanchet suggested that the Pictones may have issued these coins, I think it is much more likely that they came from the same southerly region as the Aquitanic silver coins discussed earlier (p.192f). This is not only suggested by the map, but also by the obverse dies of many of the coins which is especially close in style to types found on 'severed head' group Aquitanic silver coins, and which I argued above may have had a more southerly distribution than the other, 'sword' group. On the reverse the horse is treated in a very similar way also, notably in the treatment of the foreleg, which may be seen by comparing pl.XI.10 with pl.V.3. It is, nevertheless, true that these coins are also found toweard the west, and some dies bear dimtinct similarity to Poitou coinages: pl.XI.11-12 for instance.

Coins of this type fall into three broad categories:

a. Early, good coins of weight c.3.42-3.70g, with distinctly *Aquitanic' types (pl.XI.9).

b. Coins of poorer gold content, but still marked 'Aquitanic' diecutting, with weights c.4.55-4.59 for the most part (pl.XI.10, appendix VIII).

c. Coins often of very poor gold content, and types no longer so clearly 'Aquitanic', but more like Pictones gold or Armorican types (pl.XI.11-13). Weights are inconsistent, comparable with late Pictones gold (appendix VIII), a number on the scale 7.0-7.09g (including ANS specimens from the *Brive [Corr.] hoard), but with a good proportion under 6.0g. The quarter-staters of the type illustrated at pl.XI.13 (BM 49, 1.67g; B 962.X.4, 1.80g; BN 4091, 1.73g), all in poor gold alloy, probably belong with this group. The BM and B coins are from the same dies, the BM one being later as the reverse die is more seriously broken than on the Bourges coin. Group C coins may be the latest of the three groups: two examples at least (BN 4081, 5.76g and M 2682, 5.56g) were found at Corent (P.D.) which is

outside the normal area of circulation, and as two coins of the type (though not certainly of group C, as I have not seen them) have come from the Alesia battlefield, it seems possible that these two staters arrived at Corent in the same way as the silver sword group Aquitanic dies (p.200), in the course of the Caesarian war.

Group B may have been in circulation at the time of the Caesarian war alongside C, as the Musée du Berry in Bourges has a coin of this type (B 909.46.1, 4.58g) which is recorded as coming from Jalesche (Creuse); I have taken this to refer to the hoard of Aquitanic silver from Jalesche, which contained a typical mix of late silver as well as this coin, and is probably dateable to the 50s (appendix VII). This hoard is probably the same as that from Marcillat (see the appendix under Jalesche) which contained 13 group B staters and 4 quarter-staters.

Although there is an evident difference between the weights and style of diecutting of groups B and C, the reasons for them are uncertain. Group B are more consistent in their weights than C, but such a low standard is surprising; perhaps it is connected with the earlier gold weight, but in that case it is most unusual for the weight to rise rather than drop with debasement. Yet if they are a late issue strictly parallel with C, it is remarkable that the types which are exactly the same differ so much in the style of the diecutting, which is closely similar in detail to that used for heavy group A and for Aquitanic silver struck before and during the Caesarian war: the later severed head group B offers closest analogies (p.194f above). Perhaps the fact that a number of poor group C specimens have been found in oppida excavations (Puy du Tour, Puy du Chalard, cf Margerides, Corr.) is significant, as they may represent the final and most debased stage of the coinage, or a coinage primarily designed for 'urban' uses. The most interesting feature of the coinage, however, is its similarity in fabric and some later details of design not with Berry or Auvergne coinage, but with the gold of the Pictones which itself had greatest affinities

with Armorican issues in the first century. In some respects the crane and trefoil group behaved not unlike a first century Armorican billon coinage (the find in Finistère of the early type is suggestive of a history of contact between the two areas), though its distribution and diecutting also relate it to the western Centre.

Group 7. (pl.XI.14-17, map 17; Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c, ABT:296; Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a). Pictones gold coins.

Gold or debased gold Pictones staters had a long period of currency: Colbert de Beaulieu estimated at least 25 years, which is certainly a minimum. A large number of variations of style are exhibited, the one constatn factor in the design being an open hand on the reverse under a human-headed horse. As can be seen from the map (19), Pictones silver coins (mainly PIV with a 'fleur-de-lys' motif under the horse) and Pictones gold coins circulated in the same area, though gold had a far greater distribution to the north, north-west and south than did silver. It is ony rarely that both silver and gold are found in the same hoard, however; this happened in the hoard of Poitiers (ABT:no.258: 236 silver PIV and an unspecified quantity of gold staters with hand on the reverse) and *Vernon (Vienne, which among many other Celtic types contained 23 Pictones gold and at least 6 silver; Colbert de Beaulieu 1962 says that of 9 gold Vernon coins, one at 5.16g was plated). A number of plated coins are known and it was a poor series. Plating was also common for crane and trefoil coins above, and there were probably similar pressures upon both coinages in the first century. Otherwise Pictones hoards contain only silver or gold; Colbert de Beaulieu (1971a) suggested that the two series were neither issued from the same mint nor by the same authority, despite circulation in the same area, a conclusion with which I would agree.

It is apparent that there was a linear development of the series from heavy fairly good gold coins near to 7.0g, but the majority fall in the region of 6.40-6.59g (appendix VIII). Colbert de Beaulieu has demonstrated

that the coins previously classed to the Santones on the grounds that the letters SA flank the hand on the reverse, are in fact late issues in the same stater series as the rest of these coins, falling in a weight bracket not well represented by normal Pictones types (pl.XI.15). Coins with SA have the same distribution as other coins of the type with hand on the reverse: Saint-Martin-la-Rivière, 8 from Vernon, numerous at Niort, 1 at Grésigny. The theory once held that they were struck by the Santones is belied in addition by the fact that none are found in the region of Saintes, nor near Bordeaux (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962).

It is evident from the typology of the Pictones gold coins that they were strongly influenced by Armorican billon issues of the first century. Colbert de Beaulieu traced individual motifs shared by Pictones staters and staters of the Veneti and Nammetes (appendix XIV). In addition, the alloy used for many Pictones staters, which has a generally red or coppery appearance, is momparable with other Armorican billon issues, as is their weight.[45] A certain number of hoards to the north of the Loire contain a mixture of Pictones and Armorican billon staters: Savenay (L.Atl., ABT no 138, mixed with Nammetes coins); Saint-Dénoual (C.N., ABT no 43-4; 1500 Coriosolites coins and one Pictones); Pipriac (I+V., 600 Veneti, 2 or 3 Redones and 1 or 7 Pictones); Hardanges (May., ABT no 175; 30 Aulerci Cenomani, 1 Pictones): all of the coinages with which they are mixed are comparable with Pictones issues, particularly Veneti and Redones.

I cannot therefore accept Colbert de Beaulieu's interpretation of the scattered finds of Pictones coins north of the Loire (1962c:165):

> elle atteste assurément la fuite de refugiés à la fin de la guerre des Gaules, leur fuite devant les armées romaines opérant au sud de la Loire.

He was led to invoke the remnants of Dumnacus' army because of his conviction that gold coinages circulated within very definite limits to the exclusion of one another, in this case to the south of the Loire, and only exceeded these limits in the confused conditions of the Caesarian war.

Given the overlapping distribution of virtually all Central coinages, I think it is more probable that these coins found their way north in the course of the first century in a variety of ways not all of them necessarily connected with the war. The abandonment of hoards in this area may be due to the effects of the war, but that is a different matter from the manner of collection of their contents, and one might add that Pictones refugees would be unlikely to have such a high proportion of foreign money in relation to their own. The very fact of typological borrowing from the north by the authors of the gold Pictones coinage is an indication of at least close cultural contacy between neighbours, and this contact coupled with the close resemblance both in type and weight to neighbouring coinages suggests that exchange relations between the peoples could have led to some mixing in hoards, for the bullion value of the coins if for no other reason. Accidental inclusion cannot also be ruled out: how often do Irish coins find their ways into tills in England unnoticed? Close cultural contact as expressed in the coin types must lead to the suggestion that occasional payments took place between the parties with shared types, and this intercourse must inevitably have led to the occasional loss of a coin, or their includion in hoards, explaining the distribution map.

It is a noteworthy fact that the area of eastern Armorica where most stray Pictones coins are found is the same belt of territory which was first in the area to have a heavy gold coinage: maps 17 and 15a (cf 19) when compared show up this geographical region. Within this area, probably in the first century, there circulated the gold staters of the Aulerci Cenomani which have close typological affinities in the obverses of the gold coinage group 1 in this section which was in use just to the north of the Centre in Touraine. This region in eastern Armorica certainly had considerable influence on coinages to its south and east, and as may be seen on pl.XII.12-13, 16-18, coinages in this area themselves occasionally borrowed motifs from outside, and in particular, versions of the 'Aquitanic' treatment of the

hair on the obverse. But the predominant influence was of eastern Armorica on its neighbours rather than vice versa. It was surely not mere coincidence that the gold Pictones coinage of western Gaul is typologically related to eastern and southern Armorican coinages; the area constituted the most southerly extendion of the currency of Armorican billon coinages, unless the crane and trefoil group are to be included, and should be counted with them rather than with truly Central currencies. While the connections of western Gaul with the Garonne basin have been stressed hitherto in this study, its relations with the Armorican peninsula were clearly also of great importance and an archaeological analysis to examine them would probably be well rewarded.

The silver coinage in the saem Poitou area was not under any such cultural constraint however. There was no extensive Armorican silver coinage and the silver of the Pictones was of no use in the north; it is not found there, but <u>is</u> confined to the south of the Loire, and underwent a quite distinct stylistic development. The only point of comparison stylistically between the gold and silver coinages in question is that of 'Aquitanic' obverses; they are always found on the silver, and indeed it was on the silver that they developed fully in the first place. They are usually found on Pictones gold, with some fanciful variations in Armorican vein (eg pl.XI.16), and sometimes on eastern Armorican staters (pl.XII.18); but whereas the characteristically Armorican motif of a human-headed horse is normal on Pictones gold staters, neither it nor other Armorican motifs such as chains or small severed heads are ever found on Pictones silver. The only real connection that can be made stylistically between Pictones gold and silver is that the hand on the gold reverse was a feature in the PI-II second century Poitou coinage (pl.III.4-5), out of a variation of which the first century Pictones PIV silver type was derived.

While it is true, as stated by Colbert de Beaulieu (eg 1956f, 1973a:117f) that Armorican coinages normally remained within strict geographical limits, this observation should not be treated as a law.[46] To the east of Armorica, in the region under discussion (roughly départements Loire-Atlantique, Ille-et-Vilaine, Mayenne, Sarthe and Maine-et-Loire), there was a more complicated picture than further west in the peninsula, and whatever influence or importance it was that the peoples in that region had, it was partly at least expressed in terms of flourishing coinage and a less than tidy distribution of finds. It is a great pity that other archaeological evidence is so poor; it could do much to resolve the hazy picture, and might provide the basis of an explanation.

SECTION II CHAPTER 5

THE CHRONOLOGY OF CENTRAL GOLD COINAGES

Chapter 5

THE CHRONOLOGY OF CENTRAL GOLD COINAGES.

It is singularly difficult to establish any fixed points from which to date Central gold coinages. As in the case of silver, there was a noticeable drop in weight over time, and a visible debasement of the precious metal alloy; this much can be shown in diagrammatic form (appendix VIII). However, the drop in weight was not uniform throughout the Centre. Contemporary gold coinages in the mid first century were of quite different standards: Arvernian staters (c.7.30-7.39g), Berry staters (c.6.80-6.89g) and Pictones staters (c.6.40-6.49g) are all found in the battlefield at Alesia, and are all certainly coinages current in the mid first century; Armorican billon coinages were also very light (see n.45). Yet the earliest gold coins found throughout the Centre and eastern Armorica were of closely similar weights. While it is clear from appendix VIII that there was a gradual drop from early and homogeneous heavy weights to mid-first century very divergent weights, the details of the process are obscure.

For instance, it is clear from the examination of the gold coins group IIiii in the second phase weight bracket 7.60-8.9g above (p.238f), and from the distribution maps 14-16a and B3 that the Berry region had an important role to play in the early Central gold coinage. By the mid first century this gold coinage had ceased to be minted, and the coinage of the same area (ABVDOS group) weighed considerably less, and owed nothing typologically to the earlier series. Similarly, in Auvergne, the early Philip coins and imitations very occasionally found in the Limagne valley are obviously very much older than the first century staters of alien types, but the intermediate steps in the process- if any- are quite lost.

While it is apparent from the weight chart and from the comparative paucity of recorded finds in the bracket 7.60-8.0 (map 15) that there was a steep decline in coin weight from c.8.10 and over to c.7.70 and under, the reasons for it are lost, and can only be guessed at against a knowledge of the other archaeologically recorded social developments in the period. The collapse of the 'Arvernian empire' will not do as an explanation, if for no other reason than that it is inconceivable that the whole development of Central coinages under 7.70g (by far the majority of all coinages) should have taken place within the . space of about 70 years. Other objections will be considered below (p.495f).

The available dating indications for Central gold fall into two categories: hoards and typology.[47] A third hypothetical category is that of securely dated archaeological finds, but these are so far lacking for pre-first century types. The only gold coins found on la Tène III settlement sites are of the latest varieties (appendix XII), and as the absolute dating of late la Tène sites is in any case uncertain and sometimes dependent on the coins themselves, outside criteria for the dating of coins found in these circumstances are necessary, at least in the Centre.

The first noteworthy point about gold hoards is that very few indeed in the Centre are definitely early. The hoard of *Crémieu (Isère), containing 'several' staters and quarter-staters of the type pl.VI.12, at least some of which weigh over 8.0g, the 'hoard' of *Craon (May.) where two coins were found, 8.20 and 7.97g, one of them the type on pl.XIII.3, and the hoard found by the lake at *Soings (L+Ch.), which contained a gold collar, and 'Philip II imitations' of which the staters weighed between 7.74 and 7.79g, and the quarters 1.91g; and the hoard of *Tayac (Gir,) are possibly the only ones found so far, and of these only two are Central.

The contents of mixed silver and gold hoards would be of more help if details were clearer. The *Rouquette (Dord.) hoard contained 600

monnaies à la croix and 6 gold staters with developed types of Philip II, and on the reverse the trident symbol reduced to E and a legend of a row of ⊓⊓⊓. This is probably the type of the Tayac hoard (pl.VIIIA.1). Allen (1969) included the Rouquette hoard among the earliest hoards of monnaies à la croix, with weights of c.3.5-4.0g, contemporary with the *Lestrade (Dord.) hoard which contained with monnaies à la croix some fresh coins of 'Indre' type (p. 182). For the latter hoard I suggested a date in the second century, which might point to a similar date for Rouquette coins. This chronology is likely in view of the almost certain date of the Tayac hoard, but there are problems. Details of the Rouquette coins are obscure, and Allen was not certain that the monnaies à la croix in the hoard were strictly comparable with other hoards in the group in question. Weights for the gold coins are also lacking, and strict analogies are only tentative. Allen suggested that they were similar to those from the *Tayac (Gir.) hoard and the hoard from *S.Médard-de-Guizières (Gir.), and these are dateable to the late second century. The 73 blank flans (or schlüsselmünzen) and the staters in the Tayac hoard all weighed c.7.60g or more, which is heavy by the standards of gold in the west of the Centre, and almost certainly earlier than the first century when weights were much lower. The inclusion in the hoard of 'Beaune' staters (p.246 above) which preceded early first century gold developments to the east of the Centre further point to the second century. The Gallo-Belgic A coins in the Tayac hoard give an approximate date of c.120-100, and a connection with the movements of the Belgic peoples late in the second century is a likely context for the collection and abandonment of the Tayac hoard. For further discussion of its date see appendix VII.

Other mixed gold/silver hoards are much later than the few with heavy coins mentioned above. The hoard of Poitiers (Vienne, ABT no.258) contained 236 silver Pictones PIV coins and 'some' poor gold Pictones staters; the hoard of *Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (Vienne) contained 106 silver

Pictones PIV coins and one stater weighing 7.42g of the type on pl.VIII.12, as well as a worn bronze coin of the type on pl.XIV.2-3. Both of these hoards are probably of the mid first century, before the end of the Caesarian war, and the subsequent very mixed hoards associated with the period after 51.

Late hoards, however, are not very helpful for the accurate dating of the gold coinage, because it is virtually certain that all gold, with the exception of some Armorican billon, ceased to be struck after the Caesarian war. It is for this reason that such wartime or post-wartime hoards as that from Vivonne (Vienne, ABT no.259, containing 11 Pictones gold and one silver SOLIMA / COΛIMA) or *Vernon (Vienne) are of little use. The most that may be gained from them is the fact that some gold staters continued to be collected for bullion value after the war, but in reduced numbers owing to loss from circulation. The *Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre) hoard confirms the impression from finds at Levroux (Indre) and the battlefield of Alesia that ABVDOS group staters were in use in the mid first century, as it contained 4 ABVDOS and 1 ABVCATOS staters together with 3 ABVDOS fractions together with 615 silver 'Aquitanic' coins probably buried just before or during the Caesarian war. Contemporary hoards in Auvergne do not contain silver coinage, but are dateable to the mid first century on account of the epigraphic coins of Vercingetorix contained in some of them (p.247f above).

The battlefield at Alesia provides an indication of at least some of the gold Central coinages in circulation at the time of the battle in 52 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a). These were: 1 Pictones stater and 1 with SA reverse, 1 Vercingetorix stater, 1 SOLIMA stater, 2 anepigraphic group I Arvernian staters, 1 anepigraphic stater of the type of Vercingetorix with a helmeted head on the obverse, 2 staters of the type with crane and trefoil, and 1 ABVDOS stater. In proportion to all the finds in the battlefield this is very small: 10 gold, 246 silver, 140 bronze and 53 potin coins

were found; even though this is probably not an exhaustive list, the proportions are almost certainly representative.

If the contents of Central gold hoards are not helpful with dating any but the latest issues, the same is true of their geographical distribution. Virtually all the hoarding of gold in the Centre involved coins weighing under 7.60g, and as it is clear that Arvernian coins of 7.30g and over were contemporary with lighter more northern and westerly issues, much of the hoarding may have been contemporary, and probably connected with the Caesarian war. This hypothesis is supported by the distribution maps which show greatest hoarding for ABVDOS group and Arvernian gold coins in areas which were the sites of important phases of the war (Avaricum and Gergovia, both of which were besieged, and where armies were therefore encamped for a long time involving enormous destruction of property and loss of life, so loss of hoards): maps 16a, 17 and 19 show this pattern. It may be that some southern crane and trefoil hoards and some western Pictones hoards are also associated with the same period for the same reasons.

If all Central hoards, gold and silver, are considered together on the map, it appears that there were three important phases of hoarding, each specific to one area. The first, probably at the end of the second century concerned Poitou silver coinage in the western part of Berry. The gold hoard from by the lake at *Soings (L+Ch.) with its heavy coins of relatively developed second phase Berry/Touraine types may be associated with the other silver hoards: geographically it would certainly be possible. The coins in the Soings hoard must certainly precede the first century by which time they were obsolete in that region. If there is a connection between the west Berry hoards and the Soings hoard, it is a vital piece of information for the gold coinage intermediate between early Philip copies and the first century issues. Unfortunately certainty is impossible (see appendix VII); the evidence is merely suggestive. The late second

century therefore probably saw these Berry hoards as well as those at Tayac and therefore possibly Rouquette and Saint-Médard-de-Guizières.

The second phase of hoarding, associated with the Caesarian war, from its beginning in all probability, is that outlined immediately above, in Poitou, Limousin, Berry and Auvergne. Silver Aquitanic hoards (map 13) in Berry are associated with the gold ones. The third, associated with events at the end and immediately after the war, extending into the 40s, is in the west (and in Armorica, which is outside my plan). These are the silver, gold and especially mixed hoards in Poitou, particularly around the river Vienne. Some of them like *Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (Vienne) are probably prior to the war, but a number of them are unambiguously later.

In any one of the three areas where hoards are bunched, any one hoard may be of a different period from the hoards characteristic of the crisis which led to the greatest number being abandoned; in Poitou the whole of the war must have occasioned such hoards as that of Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé, though the cluster round Poitiers itself and the river Vienne stand apart and are later. Elsewhere in the Centre isolated late hoards are found dated to after the war. Hoarding probably went on to a greater or lesser extent at all times in the ancient world, for the sake of security; most of these would be unearthed by the owner in due course. It is in times of crisis, war in particular, that hoards are buried and not recovered because of the death or flight of the owner. It must be due to catastrophe on a large scale that a number of hoards of one type are abandoned in one area, as happened in Central Gaul in the three phases above. If the latter two are explicable in terms of the Caesarian war and its aftermath, the first one at the end of the second century needs another explanation. A connection with the inroads of the Cimbri and Teutones is a possibility, but too little is known of their movements and activities for the suggestion to carry much weight. For a discussion

of a possible explanation see p.451 below. It is noteworthy that no great wave of Central hoards of any sort in the Massif central region can be directly associated with the war in 121 culminating in the defeat of the Arvernian Bituitus by the Romans; no haards of any sort of the required date are found in Auvergne. Only the monnaies à la croix region provides hoards which might be associated with the wars (p.167). Perhaps the defeat was not the social catastrophe painted by the victors, or at any rate not the sort of disaster that caused loss of hoards at home due to the death of the owners. Alternatively, and on the evidence of the finds, quite likely, the Arverni were not then the great coiners of gold money they have been assumed to have been. While their neighbours to the north in Berry coined gold in a period uncertainly dateable but not later than the late second century, and fairly numerous coins are found scattered in the area,no finds are made for Auvergne, even in the immediate region of Clermont-Ferrand (P.D.) where the soil had been well dug, and only a very few finds have been made anywhere in the Limagne valley.

Hoards, then, have little to offer for the chronology of gold Central coinage, except in the last phase. Slight circumstantial evidence might indicate that the Soings hoard was contemporary with the Poitou hoards of the late second century, and the gold coins in that hoard weighed c.7.74-7.79g. It is also likely that the gold staters of evolved Philip II types found in Gironde hoards (Tayac and St.Médard-de-Guizières) and (if they are similar) in the Rouquette hoard in Dordogne may be of similar date, contemporary with early Poitou silver of 'Indre' types.

Stylistic analysis is a very uncertain tool for establishing chronology in Central gold coinage, and is most useful in support of other evidence. Colbert de Beaulieu (1955d) pointed out that there is a case of a Coriosolites billon stater with fully developed Armorican types

sharing a reverse die with another coin whose obverse was a 'classical' rendering of the head of Apollo of Philip staters. Yet for the latest Central coins, certain points of a chronological nature may be made from stylistic observations.

Aquitanic silver coins of the 'severed head' variety group B (pl.V.3) and gold coins with crane and trefoil reverse group A and B (pl.XI.9-10) have sufficiently similar treatement in detail for it to be deduced that they were produced in contiguous regions at the same period. As the silver coins were certainly confined to the first century, it is probable that the gold coins are of similar date, though the best gold specimens could be early in the century. Other cases are less clear-cut. Pl.XV shows a number of derivations of lighter weight from the early and heavy coinage of north-easterly provenance (phase I group Iii). We saw that the second phase coinages group IIiiia-b (p.239f) were found largely in Berry and Touraine. Their lighter weight and considerable stylistic development puts them after the heavy third century coinage which provided the prototype, but before the totally different Berry ABVDOS series, so that a second century date for the currency of the earlier Central coins is indicated.

A case was made by Blanchet (ABT:221) for connecting the gold coins of eastern provenance on pl.VII.8-9 with Poitou silver coins, partly on account of the moustache (cf pl.III.14).. But although a certain similarity exists, and the gold coins are apparently influenced by a form of Aquitanic treatment of the hair, the similarity between the two types of coin is not in itself strong enough to prove contemporaneity (p.240f above). The weight of the gold, however, falls within the range of the *Soings (L+Ch.) hoard and general contemporaneity with Poitou silver is therefore still a possibility, late in the second century perhaps. There is indeed some stylistic evidence to support a dating for these coins to the second century. The gold staters which overlapped with the first silver of the

Aedui (pl.II.8 and Chenôves hoard pl.VIIIA.13-18) are considerably lighter than the staters in question, though the latter may be a less easterly coinage. The reverse treatment, however, recalls that of the heavier staters, and the obverses show another remote derivation of the Aquitanic style in the case of the Chenôves coins. There is geographical contiguity, so it remains a possibility that the heavy staters are second century issues, prior to the early first century Aeduan gold (p. 161f above).

Slight evidence to suggest that gold of c.7.50g was current at the same period as the Poitou type second phase coinage in the second century may be seen in a coin illustrated in Kress sale catalogue for 7 Dec.1957 no 2492 (7.5g). A stater of '7.5g' has on the obverse a head to the right with a chain of dots behind it, very closely similar to the obverse of the coin pl.III. 14. The reverse is partly illegible, but there is a horse and driver, a wheel with four spokes behingd the horse which may be human-headed (therefore suggesting Armorican influence) and four obliquely vertical spokes below which could be the fingers of a hand. As 7.50g is well above the weight either of Berry ABVDOS group coins or Pictones staters showing an open hand, this possibly unique coin could be contemporary with the second phase Poitou coinages, as suggested by the style of its obverse type.

On a still earlier phase, it was noted (p.236f) that the early but already Celtic gold staters with reverse symbol derived from the head of Helios motif of Macedonian staters on pl.VI.17 bear notable resemblance to silver types from the Bridiers hoard. These gold staters weigh c.7.76g or more, and some are over 8.0g. If there was a chronological overlap, it would have occurred in the third century. Another and fully Celtic type of coin which shares Bridiers motifs is the Armorican gold half- or quarter-staters on pl.XIII. 6. On the reverse the same cauldron is found as on Bridiers coins pl.I.5-6, and also the peculisr motif of three arcs piled into a pyramid on the exergue line (cf pl.I.8): the motif is also on another Bridiers coin in Guéret, no.2737 which is similar. These

'Armorican' coins are early and are heavy (ABT:310; half-staters 4.15g, quarters 2.03g), and surely contemporary with some of the earliest 'Ambiani' coins in the late third century (Scheers 1968; p.232f above). Although their find-spots near Caen might argue against mutual influence between Bridiers and these coins, it is such a peculiar set of motifs, that coincidence would be very great if there was no connection at all, and a date to the third century for the gold and silver coins is highly probable.

The chronology for Celtic Central gold coinage may provisionally be summed up as follows.

FIRST PHASE.

Late fourth - early third century: earliest Philip imitations, c.8.30g+

Third century : first ceïticized coinage, c.8.0g+

SECOND PHASE.

Second century : Celtic gold in c.7.60g+ range, eg Berry issues which may be contemporary with Poitou silver, Tayac type gold, and 'Beaune' staters; ?Lapte hoard; Tayac hoard and others like it c.120-100; ?Soings hoard.

THIRD PHASE.

First century : development of light and often debased gold coinages on several different weight standards: Arvernian, ABVDOS, Pictones, crane and trefoil and various types of Armorican billon.

All gold production except in Armorica ceased with the end of the Caesarian war in the Centre.

A process which is not easily explicable in that which led to the abandonment of old types (prabably late in the second century) and the development of the often large series still current at the time of the Caesarian war. Although the defeat of the Arverni and Ruteni in 121 falls within the probable period of change, I do not think it can have been the single cause for the change; for this to be the case it would be necessary to presuppose a degree of political or economic centralization

in Gaul involving monetary control for which there is no reliable evidence, as will be argued below (p.378f, 495).

It is more likely that the explanation for the rather dramatic changes in the coinage toward the end of the second century (a time when the first bronze coin began to be made in the Centre as well, for which see the next chapter), is to be sought in connection with the appearance of permanent occupation in oppida. Oppida never provide the earliest coins of any precious metal series (ABT:484 n.1 and appendix XII here); the only qualification to this statement is issues originating in the first century, the earliest cases probably involving sword group Aquitanic coins at Saint-Marcel (Indre). As was pointed out in the section on archaeology, there is some reason to think that such sites as Aulnat (P.D.), Essalois (Loire), and possibly Châteaumeillant (Cher) were permanently occupied in the second century, while all the great oppida (eg Saint-Marcel, Indre; the Puy-de-Dôme sites; Puy du Tour, Corr. etc: p.150f above) were heavily occupied in the first century, sometimes early. This constituted a fundamental change in the pattern of settlement, and in the social organization of the region as well; it is only for the latest period of independence that it really makes any sense to refer to the civitates which, with their defined territories and local 'capitals', formed the basis of the organization of the Roman provinces (section III ch.7 below).

The appearance of oppida not only coincided, to all appearances, with a movement toward local centralization of political power based in oppida - a development which was by no means complete by the mid first century, but which is reflected in the historical record - but it also coincided with changes in coinage as noted above characterizing the third phase. There was the appearance of small change (small silver and then bronze in the south and west), and the appearance of large, distinctive, but also light gold coinages, with very distinct regional differences between them. While the Roman defeat of the Arverni and Ruteni in 121 may have been a

contributary factor in the process, at least in those areas, it is unlikely that an event of that nature could alone have initiated the rapid political and economic development of the Centre in the late second and first centuries. In fact, around 100 the phenomenon of oppida occupation was widespread in the Celtic world, in Central Europe and Britain as well as Gaul, and the period was one of upheavals, for instance the inroads of the Cimbri and Teutones, the Belgic movements towards Britain, and after 100 the German and Helvetian movements in eastern and northern Gaul. The Roman conquest of Southern Gaul was perhaps the most significant, but not the only, major event in the later second century. These questions, and their relation ot the development of the coinage, will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this study, particularly ch.8.

SECTION II CHAPTER 6

THE BRONZE AND POTIN COINAGES OF CENTRAL GAUL.

Page

269 The bronze and potin coinages of Central Gaul.

277 Conclusion.

Chapter 6

THE BRONZE AND POTIN COINAGES OF CENTRAL GAUL.

Although I cannot treat the bronze and potin coinages of Central Gaul in the detail which they deserve, it is necessary to make some general points about them in order to understand their value as historical information. The important question of the date of their introduction will be discussed below (p.272f). The obvious difference between the two classes of small denomination coinage lies in their manufacture. While bronze coins are defined as coins struck with two dies in the same manner as gold or silver coinage, potin coins are cast, normally in strips which are then chopped or chiselled into individual coins (ABT:56f; Allen 1971). Further differences are, however, apparent.

Most of the potin coins current in the Centre were derivations from the medium sized bronze of Massilia, with head of Apollo with long hair on the obverse, and a butting bull on the reverse (Allen 1971:245-51).[48] Bronze coins of Massilia and Emporiae as well as Celtiberian bronze or coins with Iberic legends have been found with some regularity in the Centre, though many of the finds are very late and irrelevant to the origins of the native coinage (maps 1a,1b). Prototypes were, however, probably readily to hand when the need to produce small bronze coins was felt. As has been argued by Allen (1971:130), the earliest imitations of Massilia bronze and especially the 'tête diabolique' type, appears to have occurred in a region 'somewhere at the head of the Rhône Valley or between it and the Loire' (ibid.:130). Colbert de Beaulieu (1970a) suggested the mid Loire. Early developments of the type appear to be concentrated near the Loire, for instance in the Ouldes (I+L) hoard or at Amboise (I+L, Allen 1971:131,143). Also found in the Centre proper are potin coins of

types originating to the east, in Burgundy, Franche-Comté, north Switzerland, Baden and Württemburg (Allen 1971:131): these are the rather large potins with on the obverse the head in a heavy outline and the wreath reduced to two (or three) parallel lines. It is probable that coins of this type with the animal on the reverse presented as a horned horse-like creature are dateable to at least c.75-60, and that they are contemporary (even in a hoard) with KA∧ETE△OY silver not necessarily of the latest types (Allen 1971:142 n.54). Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b:n.82) objected to the argument based on the Houssen hoard of 120-125 KA∧ETE△OY coins and 15 grosse tête potins on the grounds that it may not have been adequately described, but his dismissal of Allen's arguments on dating from hoards and other findspots is not convincing. It would be a pity to have to discredit all the hoard reports containing potin with other metals when, as will be argued, there are good reasons to think that potin and bronze did in fact exist in Gaul by the late second century.

Bronze coinages in the Centre are very much more varied in choice of types than are potin. Some of the principal types current in the Centre in the first century are illustrated at pl.XIV, which is not intended as more than general illustration. Figs.1-5 were principally confined to Berry, and 6-7 are also found in the area as well as further afield. Figs.8-11 are generally supposed to be concentrated to the north of the Loire, and despite their typological interrelatedness, are normally attributed to different areas. Fig.8 in particular had typological affinities with the gold coin on pl.XII.5, which seems to have originated in the Loire area.[49] Arvernian struck bronze was often extremely close in type to first century gold stater series (pl.XIV.14-15); a large number of bronze coins of stater group I types with the negroid head are known, as well as a bronze coin from Gergovie (pl.X.4) which is clearly related to other issues in the series. Bronze coins of IIPAD were issued in types closely similar to those of some IIPAD silver (pl.XIV.16), and certainly of the latter part of the first century.

A certain number of preliminary general points may be made about both bronze and potin coinage. Both were fully established by 52; the battlefield of Alesia contained 140 bronze and 53 potin coins against 246 silver and 10 gold (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a). Many types of bronze and potin coinage travelled little, and it seems that an individual type was originally designed to fulfill the needs of a relatively restricted area. Thus the potin illustrated at pl.XIV.22 was apparently confined in use to the area around Amboise (I+L, ABT:250) ;the potin with heavy head and three bands accounted for 5/6 of all finds of potin at Essalois (Loire: ABT:248), and coins with two or three bands are also characteristic of Mont Beuvray (Nièvre). The find-spots given above in n.49 indicate the relatively restricted circulation of some bronze types, though like potins, they travelled much more widely in the early conquest period when it would appear that bronze and potin coins came to form the greatest bulk of all coins in circulation in Gaul.[50]

It is noteworthy that by far the greatest number of bronze or potin coins are found in settlements, not as isolated finds in the countryside, and that in towns they normally form the major part of all coin finds (appendix XII). The use of bronze for small denomination coinage is likely, as in Greece, to have been preceded by, or at first accompanied by, the use of very small silver coins, and a large number of types of silver 'obols' are known, often of Central coinage types of the late second or first centuries (third phase coinages only), but the practice does not at the moment seem to have been carried out on the same huge scale as that of later bronze or potin issues. Massiliot obols or hemiobols are known from Central Gaulish oppida such as Châteaumeillant and Les Mersans at Saint-Marcel (Indre), and although findspots are often lacking, some Central provenances are known for some Celtic 'obols', while others may be placed there on the grounds of their type (appendix XI).

It is the absolute dating of bronze and potin, and the relative order of development as between the two types of coin, that are most problematical. Blanchet and Allen suggested that the first potin imitations of Massilia coins occurred during the second century; Colbert de Beaulieu (1964; 1966c; 1970a; 1973a:35 n.67,235f; 1973b) is adamant in arguing that potin and bronze cannot have been produced before the Caesarian war and that potin in particular is a late development. Tête diabolique potins, which I would argue with Allen are probably the earliest bronze coins in Central Gaul, are held by Colbert de Beaulieu (1970a) to be dated to 40-15 at the earliest.

It is worth looking for a moment at Colbert de Beaulieu's arguments. In his well-argued recent article (1973b) he quite rightly relied heavily on arguments from the historical and economic conditions under which potin and bronze coinage was developed. It is not with his method, but with his consequent deductions that I would differ. He argued that before the Caesarian war, homogeneous hoards were normal in Gaul, rather than mixed ones; since virtually all potin hoards are mixed, this suggested a post-conquest date for burial (p.8-9). Again, the very wide circulation of potin and bronze types, frequently found scattered all over Gaul, is typically a post-conquest phenomenon.

This is quite correct, but the fact that bronze and potin continued to be produced in increasing numbers after the conquest is not an argument in itself for postulating their invention in that context. Town living itself became a much more widespread phenomenon from the 50s onward, and blossomed especially in the last half of the first century as demonstrated at Mont Beuvray, Alise, Châteaumeillant and many others in section I above. In this context, a rapidly increasing volume of potin and bronze is to be expected. But town dwelling began in the Centre in the mid second century in some cases, and in most by the early first; something, and I would argue, 'obols' followed by potin and finally bronze,

had to fulfill the new need for a medium of exchange for persons who had no direct access to the primary needs of subsistence because they no longer lived on the land (p. 461f below).

Colbert de Beaulieu further argued for a late date for bronze and potin from the finds ont the Alesia battlefield (1973b:11). There, 197 bronze to 251 precious metal coins were found; there were 26 bronze types, 46 base gold and silver; of the bronze types, 6 were potin and 18 were struck out of a total of 53 and 140 coins respectively. He argued from this that although the battle context was not an aristocratic one, bronze was in a minority, so therefore bronze was not the major part of Gaulish currency that it was to be later. The latter part of this argument is quite correct: changed conditions after the conquest caused the total disappearance of gold and the increase to bronze and potin relative to silver. But the other argument will not stand. As has been shown by Griffith (1935) there were two types of pay in an ancient army: pay proper (reward for service) paid in precious metal after the service had been rendered, whether monthly or at the end of the campain; and subsistence pay, either in kind or in small change. Bronze coin first became acceptable in Greece in use for subsistence payments in the army. Now there is no reason whatever to suppose that Gaulish armies in 52 were given pay proper in bronze in view of the presence of precious metal currencies produced in vast quantities, nor that they were regularly paid bronze subsistence money rather than rations in kind. But even if they were paid bronze subsistence money on a regular basis, there is no reason to think that a large amount of it would have been unspent and lost on the battlefield, so that the amount actually found at Alesia on the battlefield is all the more striking. On the other hand, silver and gold pay, which was not designed to be spent immediately on food at special markets, would be expected from a battlefield: see the discussion on Gaulish mercenaries p. 420f below, which indicates that even 'plebeian' soldiers were paid, not the aristocrats only, for

arguments that Celtic gold and silver coinage was primarily designed to be military payment money, even in the first century. It is not therefore possible to argue from the two different categories of coins found at Alesia that because there were less small denominations, they were therefore rarer in general than gold and silver and were probably a new invention.

But the crux of Colbert de Beaulieu's argument in his article is where I would most strongly disagree. He argued (1973b:16ff) that Gaulish bronze (followed by the more cheaply made potin) originated in the first place as emergency replacement for precious metal coinage. He gave a number of uncontrovertible examples dating to the mid or later first century for the progressive debasement of gold or silver into bronze coin, and from these he generalized to the phenomenon of bronze coinage in general.

It is, of course, true that in some cases gold and silver coinage became so debased that it was replaced by bronze of the same types: Pictones and crane and trefoil coinages are good Central examples. It is also true that most Gaulish bronze types which borrowed types from Roman coins cannot be pre-conquest (p.24). But the question remains: is this the correct analysis of the origin of <u>all</u> Gaulish potin and bronze?

My first point is that there is some evidence to suggest that potin came before bronze of struck types. In archaeological contexts, potin is to my knowledge always found in lower levels than bronze, which is normally found in Gallo-Roman précoce contexts (appendix XII). Secondly, struck bronze in the Centre was sophisticated from the beginning, and subh issues as the Berry types were very large. This phenomenon suggests that the parties issuing the coin had a distinct conception of what was wanted; the coins were issued from dies in consistently cut designs instead of the comparatively haphazard and ad hoc method of potin production without strong local distinctions. In addition, bronze designs often had no

direct connection with gold or silver types and were apparently a separately designed coinage. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b:34) said it was 'normal' in Gaul to take Mediterranean prototypes for its coinage; but if potins came after the struck bronze, there is no available explanation which is at all satisfactory why Massilia should have provided the model rather than Roman or Celtic coinage.

My own preferred argument is that potin coinage preceded bronze, and was, as in Greece, a substitute for expensive and impractical 'obol' and even smaller silver denominations. Not only would a mid or late second century origin for potin in Central Gaul accord with the inferred development of social and economic conditions in that period (p. 508 below), but the choice of a Greek prototype for bronze would be quite appropriate after a period of use of a system of obols and fractional silver similar to Greek usage, at a time when no Roman coinage was used or copied in Gaul. Some archaeological evidence supports my connection of obols and early potins, for instance at Roanne where 20 potins with triple-banded obverse were found in the earliest level of pits dated to c.50-25, together with 2 Massiliot obols, while appendix XI indicates a number of early finds of obol coinages, all on 'urbanized' sites of a type where bronze and potin later predominated.

There is no way at the moment in which the question of the introduction of potin can be finally settled, and, as implicitly recognized by Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b), decision must ultimately rest on the merits of arguments from historical and economic conditions. Since Colbert de Beaulieu finds reason to hold a second century origin for potin to be inappropriate, he is forced to discredit what slim archaeological and hoard evidence there is for an early date. Thus he uses Crivelli's argument that the Ornavasso graves in Northern Italy are dateable to a period from the 'not early' first century BC to the post-Augustan period to support his thesis; some (worn) potins were found in the graves (1973b). Coins were a potin of the ?Leuci

with a degenerate quadruped, and a silver DIKOA (ABT:530-1). As the coins in the graves were worn, and had had to travel from Gaul, there is reason to think them older than the graves, while the graves themselves are not dated to the late first century and beyond without question. Allen (1971: 142-3) prefers, with Blanchet, a date in the 80s for the relevant burials.

Again, the Lattes (Hér.) hoard of monnaies à la croix of the second century was said to contain a 'tête diabolique' potin. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b:29) argued that as the jar containing the relevant part of the hoard was smashed before recovery, the potin could be a stray into it and should not be taken as part of the hoard. And because of his firm belief that bronze coinage must be very late, the presence of a single bronze coin of wolf and pegasus Berry type in the *Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé hoard (Vienne) was used to demonstrate that it must be a hoard of after 51 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a).

Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b:38-9) sums up his position:

> Il n'y a pas la moindre place pour l'introduction en Celtique au IIe siècle des numéraires de bronze. Il fallut attendre la guerre de 58 pour voir la monnaie réelle de valeur précieuse faire place à des signes nouveaux, de caractère fiduciaire dissimulé assez souvent par l'aspect doré des flans.
>
> Tout la structure de la numismatique gauloise s'effonderait, n'en n'y aurait plus de sens, s'il fallut forcer les faits pour admettre la création précoce des pièces de bronze et leur circulation en Gallia Comata à la fin du IIe siècle av.J-C ou même seulement avant la fin de l'indépendance.

On the contrary, I would argue that the whole fabric of Gaulish numismatics will not crumble if bronze started in the mid or late second century. Given a social development as outlined in the following section (ch.7), the introduction of small denominations and their replacement by bronze in a manner analogous to the process in Greece itself, is thoroughly appropriate at the time of the organization of the great Central oppida, just as is the great increase in use of bronze types after the conquest in the face of yet another set of new social factors. While I cannot disagree that the number and variety of bronze types increased from the period of the war, and that many originated after it, I would

maintain that it is most improbable that all bronze and potin were in origin debasements or replacements of full standard precious metal coinage during the period 58-52. The variety of bronze and potin types at Alesia surely indicate the existence already by 52 of a well developed bronze coinage, distinct in use from gold and silver which was still in use, which would be quite remarkable as a development over the space of six years. Acceptance of an early date accords with archaeological finds as well as with the probable course of Celtic social and political (and therefore monetary) development in the second to first centuries.

* * *

CONCLUSION.

For the sake of convenience for the following section, the results of the above study of the Central coinage may be summarized briefly.

CHRONOLOGY:

Gold: Original introduction of Philip II staters during the late fourth and early third century. Gold and silver Greek coins obviously continued to enter Gaul even after the establishemnt of a native coinage.

Third century: first Celtic coinages, over 8.0g. Coins from 8.30g from the early third century.

Second century: coins c.7.60g-8.0g, notably in Berry and the west; 'Beaune' staters in the east which appear in the Tayac hoard (Gir,).

c.120-100: Tayac hoard (Gir.), Rouquette (Dord.) hoard, Saint-Médard-de-Guizières (Gir.) hoard, ?Soings (L+Ch.) hoard, ?Lapte (Hte.L.) hoard, ??Chenôves (S+L) hoard.

First century: after sharp debasement, emergence fully fledged of major Central series which stayed in use until the Caesarian war, all 7.60g and less, owing no typological features to regional predecessors, and quite separate from one another in both type and weight. For Berry, ABVDOS type

under 7.0g, for Poitou type with hand on the reverse, under 7.0g; for Limousin and Berry type with crane and trefoil often well under 7.0g; for Auvergne, staters of several related types all c.7.30-7.50g (pl.IX-X).

Silver.: Original introduction of Emporiae and Rhode types to the south-west from about the end of the fourth century; Massilia coins present from the same time but less important as coinage prototype. Roman denarii in the Rhone valley from the late second century but not copied in the Centre. Punic coins in the lower Rhone region late in the third century were also not copied in the Centre.

Third century: first copies of Rhode and Emporiae coins in the Garonne area early in the century; third century coins over 4.0g.

mid third century: Bridiers (Creuse) hoard.

late third/early second century: prototypes of Poitou groups.

second century: Poitou groups PI-PIII and Indre types, c.3.30-3.40g.

early second century: Lestrade (Dord.) hoard.

c.120?: western Berry hoards (Valençay, Ingrandes, Charnizay etc.)

after 125: introduction of 'horseman' coins in the Rhone valley in imitation of Roman coins, and adoption of silver as the principal coinage metal by Aedui, Sequani and Lingones early in the first century.

First century: from early in the century Rhone valley and eastern silver coinages were standardized at c.1.80g, with exceptions. Auvergne silver over 2.0g probably related to the exceptions. In Poitou, silver PIV from c.80 or slightly earlier at c.2.90g. In Berry/Limousin, Aquitanic silver from c.80 or earlier, severed head group starting just over 2.0g and dropping to 1.80g and less; sword group at c.1.80-90g from the 70s. Regionalization of the types is parallelled in the contemporary development of the gold. Probably from the late second or early first century and certainly during the first century, sporadic attempts were made to mint small quantitées of tiny silver coins ('obols' or 'minims') under 1.0g, sometimes as little as c.0.30g. These are f ound exclusively in permanently occupied settlements or oppida and at major religious centres (Saint-Marcel, Roanne, Varennes-les-

Mâcon, Allonnes). During the first century, monnaies à la croix fell to the standard c.1.80g; after the Caesarian war lower weights are found in most Central silver coinages.

Bronze.: bronze prototypes were available from Massilia or Emporiae from the third century but were not copied until the development of town living which required the existence of a small medium of exchange.

c.120: one potin coin in the Lattes hoard, early type pl.XIV.22.

50s: 18 types of bronze and 6 of potin found at Alesia in the battlefield; 1 worn Berry bronze of the type with wolf's head and pegasus in the PIV silver hoard of Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (Vienne). Potin manufacture almost certainly preceded that of bronze struck with developed types; a date not long after the 80s would be suitable for tha : appearance of the first struck bronze in Berry and Auvergne.

TYPES:

A number of typological points may legitimately be made about the Central coinages. The 'Aquitanic' treatment of the obverse is confined with few exceptions to the west, and developed from the third century, first appearing on south-western copies of Emporiae drachms. Regional varieties in Poitou and Indre (second and first centuries) and in Limousin (first century) are characteristic; elements of the 'Aquitanic' treatment were occasionally borrowed by coinages on the fringes of the chief area of popularity, by monnaies à la croix, some Armorican coins, and occasionally Auvergne or eastern Gaulish gold coins. 'Aquitanic' and Armorican elements are combined in the first century gold (not silver) Poitou coinage.

Elements derived from the coins of Emporiae which provided the original prototypes for heavy western silver are still represented on first century gold Berry and silver Poitou coins; in the second century even on 'Aedui' and other eastern gold. Bronze of Emporiae was prototype for Berry first century bronze. First century Auvergne coinage is not in any

direct way related to Emporiae types. Western silver throughout its history is related to contemporary developments in the monnaies à la croix to the south-west; the sole exceptions belong to the first century when PIV silver in Poitou operated its own heavy standard above that of contemporary monnaies à la croix and Aquitanic silver. In Auvergne the silver coinage, much of which was over 2.0g, was probably related to contemporary coinages ultimately derived from Avignon, and circulating at over 2.0g to the south of Auvergne (eg. Ruteni).

It is therefore worth noting, in support of the evidence from some pottery types, that there was a general westward cultural orientation for the silver coinage of much of the Centre up to and including the first century; gold coinage on the other hand had an easterly origin, although the type development in most of the Centre shows the same westerly bias as the silver. It is only after c.80 that very marked (and in the case of Auvergne, exclusive) regional coinage types developed which owed little or nothing to previous more generalized Central techniques. For southern parts of the Centre (especially Lozère) seasonal movements of herds probably accounted for contact with the province ; direct affinities in both fortifications or building and in pottery with the western part of the Roman province (Hérault and ?Gard) can be found with some regularity in Aveyron, Cantal and Lozère. This contact may well be in the background to the development of the Central silver coinages and the types of the gold with their south-western and even Spanish influences.

SECTION III

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN CENTRAL GAUL BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

SECTION III CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Page

281 Introduction.

282 1. Problems with the textual evidence.

291 2. Problems of terminology.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this section to bring together the material presented in the previous sections, and to consider some of its implications for an understanding of the course of social development in Gaul in the fourth to first centuries. As before, discussion of any detail will be confined to the region defined as Central Gaul, and the period is determined by the limited extent of the available evidence.

Because of the fragmentary and ambiguous nature of most of the available evidence of all kinds, it is impossible to come to firm conclusions in this study. The most that can be expected is that the hypotheses offered should be consistent with the material at hand, and an attempt will be made to offer interpretations which may at least point toward the truth. It is because of the enormous lacunae in the direct evidence for Central Gaul that a rather disparate body of comparative material from ancient Europe and Ireland and recent primitive peoples has been used to help in the search for possible interpretations of the Gaulish material. Most of the detailed discussion will be concentrated on the second and first centuries, not only because there are reasonably extensive ancient texts for this period, but also because of the social changes which were taking place,

Evidence for social development will be drawn from three sources, archaeology, coins and literature. The detailed argument for the first two has been presented in the foregoing sections, and will be drawn on as necessary, while the texts which are relevant will be discussed below.

1. PROBLEMS WITH THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE.

The literary texts pose problems for two principal reasons. These are that the context of commentary on the Celts varies from serious ethnography to apologetics and anecdotes, and that observation of barbariand was not very acute by any of the surviving authors. Few writers tell us much about their sources, and we cannot be sure that much attempt was made at historical accuracy in description of the Celts of the fourth and third centuries particularly. Up to a point, most of the classical writers were operating with a caricature of Celtic society. In addition, given the purposes of the present study, there is the problem that none of the authors before Caesar had direct knowledge of the Celts in Gaul beyond the area within the Roman republican province, and on the Atlantic and Channel coasts. Poseidonios, writing probably in the early first century, is generally agreed to be the first important ethnographer of the Celts, but he would appear to have had knowledge only of the areas of independent Gaul within regular Roman influence: the Aedui and Sequani, the Cisrhenan Germans in Eastern Gaul, and part of the Garonne basin and Aquitaine (Tierney 1960). His knowledge of the Cimbri arose from Roman contact with them during the wars in the late second century rather than from personal knowledge of north-western Europe, and whether he really knew of the Mediomatrici of northern Gaul, for instance, is problematical (appendix XV). Polybius is a valuable early authority for the Gauls, as he claimed (3.59.7) to have travelled in Libya, Spain, Gaul and the sea outside in order to gain first-hand experience. However, it may be doubted that he knew Gaul beyond the Rhone valley, Midi, Garonne basin and Atlantic coast; even if he did, he, like the remaining redactions of Poseidonios, makes no mention of it.

It is worth questioning the status of generalized remarks about the Celts in the ancient writers. Comments arose either from first-hand observation by foreigners, which is bound to be superficial, or from reports

by Celts themselves. The latter, even if intelligible to their audience (Piggott 1968:111 on Diviciacus' lack of Latin, cf BG 1.19,47), were not necessarily more helpful than the first source as there are at least two sources of error - class bias (different people within a group will give different accounts of the status quo), and prejudices concerning other groups. These involve a tendency on the part of the informant to magnify his own group in relation to others, whether they be within his own people or outside it.[51] It is noteworthy how many first century civitates were described by themselves or by Caesar as the 'greatest' in Gaul. For these reasons, then, the ancient accounts must not be forced to bear a very great weight of interpretation.

Poseidonios, writing perhaps around 80, is generally held up as the best ancient authority on the Celts. However, the state of preservation of his account aggravates this already very great problem, as he is garbled in varying degrees by all his main redactors (Tierney 1960). In several other cases discussed below, an older account may be significantly altered by hindsight, particularly where Roman interests enter it. A further problem for the present study is that there are no accounts of a single area anywhere in Gaul which cover the whole of the four centuries under review, and therefore it is necessary constantly to infer changes over time from material which comes from disparate areas in the western Celtic world.

It is not proposed here to give a comprehensive account of all the ancient texts on the Celts. Tierney (1960) gives a good review of the ethnographic texts, to which I would not like to add; and a recent publication (Duval 1971) has collected together in a critical manner a full index of texts relating to the Celts of Gaul in the pre-Roman and Roman periods. Only texts of substantial importance to the task in hand will be discussed here.

The most reliable extensive accounts in this category are those of Polybius, Poseidonios and Caesar, as all three had the advantage of at

least some first-hand observation, and except in the case of Poseidonios, the original texts are wholly or largely extant. Polybius is of special importance as he wrote before the establishment of the Roman province in 121-118. He insists on the importance of clientship (hetaireia, 2.17.2: see p. 361 below). On the conduct of warfare he notes that the Celts became frustrated if not allowed to fight at close quarters (2.30.4f); that Celtic swords only slash (3.114.3); that under certain circumstances close-up fighting was not suited to Celtic methods (2.33); that Spaniards and Celts fought 'barbarian' cavalry battles by dismounting to fight on foot (3.115); that Celtic kings wore fine fancy armour when they intended to do duel in battle (3.62.5); and that the west coast of Gaul had only 'recently been discovered' and as yet had no name. Polybius probably visited Gaul in c.150 (Walbank 1957:4) and is likely to be following Fabius Pictor's third century account for the Roman wars with the Cisalpine Celts (Walbank 1957: ad 2.18-35). As Fabius fought at Telamon, these accounts are likely to be reliable on appearance and tactics providing Polybius reproduced them accurately.

Poseidonios' account was written as background to a history of the Roman wars in Gaul in 125-121 (Tierney 1960), and his interest in the Arverni and the personal history of Bituitus obviously stem from this. It is generally held that the ethnographical material in Poseidonios is the result of his own research; Tierney (1960) holds that he was responsible for the triple division of Aquitani, Celtae and Belgae and the emphasis found in Strabo (4.1.2) on the excellence of Caulish rivers for transport. I would not agree in every detail with Tierney who I think overestimated the role played by Poseidonios in Caesar's writings and underestimated the independent knowledge of Strabo (appendix XV). There is, however, an irreducible body of work certainly attributable to Poseidonios on the customs of the Celts which is of great value at least for the Rhone valley of the late second or early first century.[52]

Caesar was not a meticulous observer, and some of the things he reports are untrue, for instance BG 6.27 on the wildlife of the Hercynian forest, which has in fact been suspected of being an interpolation. In addition, the political ends for which he wrote up his commentaries led him at times to distort the chronology of events in his favour, or to disguise his mistakes (Stevens 1952). Piggott(1968:112) adduced good reasons for thinking that Caesar exaggerated the organization of the first century Druids, in line with his general presentation of Gaul as a united whole, necessary to his justification of his activities. However, Rambaud (1966) went perhaps to extremes in his attempts to discredit the Caesarian account. Rice Holmes (1911:538) more prudently pointed out that Caesar was ostensibly speaking of his own times, not blindly paraphrasing Poseidonios in the ethnographic chapters, and that he is unlikely to be wildly mistaken about the broad outlines of Celtic society after seven years in Gaul. I would therefore accept the opinion of Thompson (1965:vii) that

> The explicit assertions of Caesar and Tacitus are credible unless they are self-evidently erroneous (which they rarely are) or unless there is archaeological or other evidence (and there rarely is) with which they cannot reasonably be reconciled.

Later accounts, notably those of Strabo, Diodorus and Athenaeus, which drew heavily on Poseidonios for the Celts, were all written in the light of full Roman involvement in Gaul, as was the text of Livy which does not use Poseidonios in the extant books. Strabo gives valuable information about the early years of the conquest period, and Diodorus contains an important account of the overland tin trade which may be drawn from Timaeus' redaction of Pytheas (Diod.5.22, see p. 331 below; Walbank 1957: ad 3.57.3). If this is the case, the account ultimately goes back to the late fourth century, though on archaeological grounds it is probable that it was still true at the time of the conquest. Cicero, especially for the Pro Fonteio, acquired a certain knowledge of the republican province in 69 which sheds light on its condition then, but is not for obvious reasons informative about Gaul beyond the Cévennes. His most

useful remark in this respect, especially when taken with Diod.5.26.3, is at Pro Fonteio 9.19 where duties per amphora of wine are listed. The duty on wine going ad hostem in south-western Gaul, ie into the interior, has a duty of six denarii per amphora against two and a half to four for wine for internal use (a victoriatus being counted as half a denarius).

Livy's text is lost for the period in which the Romans were involved in Gaul, and his accounts of the Celts are principally confined to the invasions of Italy, the Punic wars, and the movements of the eastern Celts. For his account of the Italian invasions he followed a different source from that of Polybius, probably Timagenes or perhaps Nepos (Walbank 1957: ad 2.18-35; Grenier 1959:397). His use of these writers of the early principate would account for the peculiar bias of Livy's version discussed below.[53]

His extant text touches on Gaul only in the context of the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal in 218 and Hasdrubal in 207. In the latter case (Livy 27.39), he appears merely to have expanded on the brief remark of Polybius (11.1) that Hasdrubal had an easy crossing. In the former case (Livy 21.26f), although he follows very closely the account in Polybius,(3.41-50) for instance in the details of crossing the elephants, his account diverges noticeably in the matter of the relations between Hannibal and the Allobroges (Livy 21.31, Pol.3.49-50: see p.363f below for the texts).

Walbank (1957: ad 3.49.8) holds that these two accounts are reconcileable, and that the brothers in Polybius could have been Allobroges. As it stands, however, his account implies that it was not until 10 days' march from the 'Island' that Hannibal confronted the Allobrages, and that the brother put on the throne by him had been protecting the Carthaginian army from them; from the point when the brother's protection ended, Hannibal had considerable trouble from the Allobrages (Pol.3.50). Livy, on the other hand, knew the name of the restored brother (Brancus), does not

include Polybius' ethnographic digression on the Ardyes (3.47), and goes on to relate that the Allobrages were 'a people even in those days inferior to none in Gaul for power and fame', a clear reference to Roman experience of them. Livy insists that the brothers disputing the kingship at the 'Island' were Allobroges (21.31), and after Hannibal had 'settled the Allobrogan business' (by supporting Brancus), he proceeded to cross the Alps. There is no further word of the Allobfoges, and the peoples from whom he suffered continual assaults are nameless.

Perhaps the chief interest of the remaining portions of Livy on the Celts lies in this contrast with Polybius, and apparent references to evants in Gaul after 121. For instance the Arverni who are mentioned in passing in the context of 207 (Livy 27.39) are unknown to Polybius. The Allobroges play an important role in Livy's account of 218 and are called an important people 'even then' (21.31), while in Polybius their role is confined to that of the chief nuisance encountered by Hannibal in the Alps. Both Allobroges and Arverni played central parts in the war of 125-1, and it might be expected that any account of the crossing of Hannibal written after 121 might contain more information about his Celtic contacts than would an account such as that of Polybius written in the 140s.

There are further reasons to think that Livy was following sources with Roman interests. At 21.26 in the context of 218 he describes the Volcae as a powerful people with settlements both sides of the Rhone; Polybius does not name the Volcae anywhere. In view of the Roman wars with them in the decades immediately after the establishment of the Province, which culminated in the sack of Tolosa in 106, their mention in a late account of Hannibal is not surprising. A third case in point concerns the account of the original arrival of the Celts in northern Italy. Livy (5.34) lists as the earliest invaders Bituriges, Arverni, Aedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, Aulerci and Senones. Of these, Polybius has only heard of the Senones. Broadly speaking, the members of subsequent invasions are agreed by Livy and Polybius - Senones, Insubres (which Livy counts as a pagus of the

Aedui), Cenomani (who might be the same as Livy's earlier Aulerci, though they are never again called by that name), Boii and Lingones. There is no record except in Livy's story for the Bituriqan migration nor is there another account of the presence of the first list of peoples in northern Italy. The interesting thing aboutt the list from the point of view of Livy's historical perspective is that the peoples included are all leading forses in the great uprising in Gaul in 52/1, and it is difficult not to suspect a connection.[54]

For the purposes of the present study, the principal textual material of significant import should be briefly noted in chronological order. For the fourth and third centuries there is Livy 's account of the invasions and that of Diodorus. Diodorus, at least, had an early source. While the details of Livy's account of the first migration are suspicious, there are elements in it which make perfect sense, and in particular the fact of migration from somewhere in the region north-west of the Alps because of overpopulation. What may well be intrusive finds of la Tène I and II burials in Berry and Auvergne may mark the limit of substantial folk movement in Central Gaul for this period. Influences on the Garonne basin were also felt (p.25-6 above). The invasions of the east and Italy are well documented, and the apparent wealth and dense population of the Marne district noted by Déchelette (1914:1016, 1019f) is compatible with the broad outline of Livy's story. The Bituriges were one of the most advanced Central peoples in the first century (Appendix II), and at some point divided with a branch moving to the Gironde with the name Bituriges Vivisci, but it is impossible to accept at face value the story that it was they who were responsible for the invasions, just as the legends associated with the Arverni are largely spurious.[55] Fourth century Greek references to the Celts are principally of interest in that they almost all refer to their warrior qualities, and their insane fearlessness, features which were exploited from this period by the Hellenistic employers of mercenaries.[56]

For the third century there is little literary evidence relevant to Gaul. The principal contexts in which Celts are mentioned are (a) as mercenaries in the Hellenistic world in large numbers (p.420f below); (b) in the continuing wars in Italy between the Romans and the Celts with or without Etruscan or Carthaginian interference - for this Polybius at least had a contemporary source (p.284 above)[57]; (c) in the incursions of Celts into Greece and Asia Minor; (d) passing references to transalpine Celts, for instance as mercenaries or in the context of the Carthaginian crossingsof the Alps. In the late third century there are records of the existence of peoples bearing names still current in the first century: Allobroges certainly, and Volcae and Arverni in Livy (see p.286f above).

The second century is mainly represented in accounts of the wars of Rome in southern Gaul from 155/4 onwards; and one contemporary observer in the second century, Polybius, had some knowledge of the south of Gaul. Although Polybius' explicit references to Gaul in the second century are confined to his remark about Scipio and the whereabouts of Britain reported in Strabo 4.2.1, his personal observation led him (wrongly) to correct Pytheas (Strabo 4.2.1), and may have influenced other descriptions of the Celts. Roman accounts (eg Plut. Marius 11f) also focus on the wanderings of the Cimbri and Teutones, though these authors were more interested in the battles than in the details of the route they followed or their social organization. Throughout the accounts of the fourth to first centuries before Casear, it is noticeable that none of them profess to know anything that went on in the interior of Gaul.

The first century saw the first direct accounts of Central Gaul, principally Poseidonios and then Caesar. However, the only really full accounts of Gaul are from the early Principate, Strabo in particular, and they already contain much information about the immediate effects of conquest and provincialization. Of Strabo's themes, the most prominent are (a) that the Celts gave up warfare and settled down to agriculture and politics; (b) that Gaul was magnificently served with waterways which

made transport out of the province of her very abundant goods an easy matter.

It is clear, then, that although there is a moderate body of ancient evidence which discusses or at least mentions the Celts, there is nothing prior to Caesar's account which directly concerns the transalpine Celts beyond the Cévennes. The only, partial, exceptions are mentions of the Gaesatae in Polybius, and the tradition concerning the Arvernian Bituitus, his father Luernius, and his son Congenatus.

There is a further considerable difficulty in using the ancient authors to reconstruct the course of social change in Gaul, because they very rarely record any changes over time that occurred. Therefore standard modern accounts such as those of Jullian (1909) and Rice Holmes (1911) have an unconscious tendency to treat Celtic society as though it had been largely static in the period under consideration. But as Thompson (1965) has shown, important changes did take place in the barbarian societies of Europe, and it is a vital task to disentangle them as far as possible from the evidence. For Gaul, the only changes regularly recorded in the sources are the adoption under the conditions of trade or conquest of 'civilized' ways of life. These remarks are sometimes accompanied by the observation that the Celts were quick to learn or Philhellenes. Sherwin-White (1967) emphasized that Greek and Roman writers habitually compared barbarians with 'us', and that differences were especially noted. It is part of this habit of thought that led Strabo and others to record only noticeable changes in the direction of 'our customs'. In handling the source material, therefore, it is necessary to make explicit the implicit social observations contained in chance remarks. Such occasions are Caesar's apparent surprise at seeing chariot warfare in Britain (BG 4.33, 5.16), implying its absence in Gaul; his silence except in the explicit ethnography on the druids; and his comparisons between Celts and Belgae or Aquitani. Significant instances will be discussed below as they arise.

2. PROBLEMS OF TERMINOLOGY.

A final difficulty posed in using the ancient texts is their terminology, which can be imprecise or misleading. It is a well documented fact that a conquering power does not often concern itself with recording or perserving the details of alien social and political organization. In East Africa for instance, various 'tribes' did not exist until the British or missionaries more or less consciously invented them (Twaddle 1969; Argyle 1969; Bennett 1969). The insistence on the part of a colonial or imperial power that a certain sort of institution must exist for regular relations to be established whether this institution be a tribe, city or chief/king, is a widespread mechanism whereby such institutions are actually created among the subject or dependent people, regardless of whether the native social system in question is in fact capable of generating or sustaining these institutions in isolation (Sahlins 1968:38f; Meillassoux 1973;196-7; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1969:70; Beattie 1964:153f). Thompson (1965:37, 93f) has given a classic example in the case of 'kingship' in early Germany; the institution of kingship with coercive powers was foreign to the German society of that time, but it was one which from the point of view of the Romans was essential (the "take me to your leader" syndrome). In Gaul, the Romans, including Caesar, made use of kings, semetimes deliberately installed, for the purpose of securing their interests in return for some degree of guarantee that the king would have power among his people (Desjardins II:548f; Rice Holmes 1911:521; F.de Coulanges 1891:44f; p. 397f below). In a later example of this Tacitus narrates the Roman treatment of the Frisii:

> et natio Frisiorum, post rebellionem clade L.Apronii coeptam infensa aut male fida, datis obsidibus consedit apud agros a Corbulone descriptis : idem senatum, magistratus, leges imposuit. (Tac.Ann. 11.19)

The establishment of towns of a political status familiar to the Romans also occurred after the conquest (p.29f above). Caesar's use of puppet kings was unsatisfactory in places largely because it was an imposed system inadequately supported by force. In dealing with the terminology of the

Caesarian account, therefore, it must be remembered that there is a constant tension between what actually existed in Gaul, and what the Romans thought existed or brought into existence.

An important terminological problem in the Latin accounts of Gaul, principally in Caesar, is the use of civitas to describe the characteristic Celtic social and political unit (usually translated into English as 'tribe'). Even supposing that Caesar's usage was unambiguaus, a theoretical entity such as a 'tribe' may have lttle actual social cohesion, and be in a more or less constant state of internal conflict, only appearing to be a unit from the perspective of complete outsiders, though it will come together into a whole forcibly under the conditions of foreign imperialism (Sahlins 1968:12f). But Caesar seems to use civitas to mean two things: 'state' or 'government', referring to the constituted political organs of a people responsible for making public decisions, and 'people' or 'nationality', a looser term very like the Greek ethnos.[58] The difficulty with civitas in its political reference is that it is not specific to one particular type of government. It is used of Greek city-states as well as of the most barbarian Celts, between whose political systems there is little comparison. The clearest definiton of what Caesar regarded as typical of the civitas is that it was the largest Celtic political unit, consisting of smaller constituent parts:

> In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque sed paene etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum iudicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. (BG 6.11.2-3)

As we shall see below, however, (p.430f), it would be a mistake to assume that civitas meant the same thing throughout Gaul. Care mush therefore be taken in translating the word so as not to beg the question of the type of social organization in question: I shall argue below that 'tribe' is especially unsuitable in many cases.

The Greek term ethnos is a less politically precise word than the

Latin civitas, and for that reason probably a better ethnographic word than those based on polis which are strictly comparable with the Latin word. Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1972:92f) contrast the normal Greek political meaning of polis with that of ethnos, for instance Athens as against Aetolians, Thessalians or Macedonians. The critical factor is the presence or absence of city-focussed citizenship, and ethnê were the more archaic form of social and political structure. Some such distinction may underlie the reluctance of the Greek writers to apply the term polis or politeia to the Celtic peoples as political entities. The only uses of polis in Strabo refer to physical towns (polis as opposed to kômê, mêtropolis as opposed to polis: 4.1.11, 4.1.12; 4.3.2 polis and phrourion contrasted, etc.). Strabo in fact makes it clear that politeia was a thing the Celts were only achieving under Roman rule (4.1.5, 4.1.12, 4.1.14). Again, translation by 'tribe' is generally misleading.

Terms for settlements (oppidum, castellum, vicus, aedificium, polis and kômê) present problems not because of the ambiguity of their usage but because of our lack of knowledge of Celtic conditions, and will be discussed under the heading of Celtic settlement in ch 2 below.

As regards English terminology, I have avoided the use of the word 'tribe' for the Celts under discussion, preferring the non-committal 'people' instead. This is not because 'tribe' will necessarily in the long run prove to be inappropriate for some of them, but because it carries with it the notion of kinship-based social identity rather than a territorial classification. I shall argue in ch.7 below that although at an early stage 'tribe' in this sense may have been applicable to the Celts, it was probably not after the mid second century at latest in the Centre and probably elsewhere in Gaul. In addition the association of the word 'tribe' with very primitive and unstratified societies makes it unsuitable at any period for the la Tène Celts without clarification. While in fact 'tribe' is used today to cover a wide variety of social formations (Sahlins 1968), some of which probably share features with the Celts in Gaul, the nature

of the Celtic civitas in the first century is sufficiently varied and idiosyncratic to make it more advisable to use a neutral translation instead. In the cases where an archaic state organization had developed, and the pagus may possibly be compared with the post-Servian territorial tribes at Rome or the post-Kleisthenic territorially-based units at Athens (p.434)in its political function, 'tribe' still cannot be used with any sense of the Celtic civitas.[59]

F.de Coulanges (1891:8f) pointed out that neither Caesar nor any other author on the Celts mentioned tribes or clans in any normally recognizeable form, and therefore 'clan' is an inadmissable translation of pagus, and has rightly been rejected, as discussed by Rice Holmes (1911: 508). A clan is defined on the basis of kinship, and there are no clear indications whether Gaulish pagi ever claimed a common kinship or unified descent. It is certainly probable that they were by the first century purely territorial units made up of a number of smaller units - probably vici or villages together with isolated holdings - and a large number of different lineages would have coexisted inside each pagus. As some of the Gaulish civitates of the first century bore arguably more resemblance to political states than to anything else, while others were little changed from an earlier formation, the term 'people' has been chosen so as not to beg the question of their nature. For a fuller discussion of civitates see chapter 7 below.

SECTION III CHAPTER 2

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL SETTLEMENT.

Page

296 1. Agriculture in relation to social structure.

306 2. Rural settlement.

311 3. Oppida : a definition.

Chapter 2

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL SETTLEMENT.

Before turning to the social structure of the Celts of the fourth to first centuries, a brief outline should be given of the agricultural and mineral exploitation of Central Gaul. In dealing with any agrarian society, it is of the greatest importance to establish the ways in which tha natural resources of its territory were used, as it was from the land that surplus wealth was produced. However, within the scope of the present study it is impossible to give a detailed regional account of agriculture in the Iron Age, and only the broad outlines can be presented.

This is for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is virtually impossible, because of the poverty of most excavation in the region, to recover much detail about the use of resources in any of the important occupied sites. Work such as that done by Clarke (1972) for Glastonbury, Somerset, is out of the question from the available material for the sites discussed in section I. This drawback might be mitigated if in any one region there existed a comprehensive survey of Iron Age settlements, but this too is absolutely lacking. It is therefore very difficult or impossible to deduce from the settlement system the probable uses of the land in the late Iron Age.

And finally, it is not a sound procedure, in isolation from these two sources of information, to deduce the Iron Age resources from those present today. A number of important changes have taken place in the Centre: depopulation and reforestation of much of the Massif Central; deforestation at least since the Middle Ages in present agricultural areas (Naval I.H. 1942), as well as areas such as Puy-de-Dôme where wood for industrial purposes has been stripped since Roman times (Vigouroux 1962), while silting up and reclamation of coastal land has taken place

in Poitou and Saintonge (Pineau 1970). Modern population density has also been severely influenced by the development of industry which has both created new centres of dense population (Clermont-Ferrand grew in size between 1911 and the present from 85,000 to 230,000), and contributed largely to the peasant movement away from poor agricultural land to the cities. For these reasons, therefore, only a summary acoount of the agriculture in the Centre in the late Iron Age can be given. Detailed work on individual sites and their environment would be richly repaid, but for the moment is not available.

1. AGRICULTURE IN RELATION TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

Up to a point, the ancient textual evidence can be helpful on the agriculture of Gaul, though it is incapable of indicating development over time for reasons outlined above. Desjardins (1876:450f) has collected a wealth of references to cereal growing and animal husbandry in Roman Gaul, and it would not be worthwhile to repeat them here. Like most such compilations (eg Grenier 1959:385f), the available information is of limited value because of the period to which it is dateable - mostly Gallo-Roman - and because of the highly specific nature of the information. It is not enough to know for instance that the Cadurci, Calêbi, Ruteni, Bituriges and Morini made textiles (Pliny NH 19.1 (2) 8) without knowing also the relative importance of sheep or flax producing in those areas.

However, it was the opinion of Mediterranean writers such as Strabo that Gaul was in general extremely fertile; and as may be seen by contrast with similar types of commentary on the transrhenan Germans, this observation was of social relevance rather than merely geographical.

> [The Rhone] traverses a country which is the most favoured af all in that part of the world. For example, the same fruits are produced by the whole of Narbonitis as by Italy. As you proceed towards the north and the Cemmenus Mountain [Cévennes], the olive-planted and fig-bearing land indeed ceases, but the other things still grow. Also the vine, as you thus proceed, does not easily bring its fruit to maturity. All the rest of the country produces grain in large quantities, and millet, and nuts, and all kinds of live stock. And none of the country is untilled except parts where tilling is

precluded by swamps and woods. Yet these parts too are thickly peopled - more because of the largeness of the population than because of the industry of the people; for the women are not only prolific, but good nurses as well, while the men are fighters rather than farmers. But at the present time [early first century AD] they are compelled to till the soil, now that they have laid down their arms. (Strabo 4.1.2)

Food they have in very large quantities, along with milk and flesh of all sorts, but particularly the flesh of hogs, both fresh and salted. Their hogs run wild, and they are of exceptional height, boldness, and swiftness; ... And their flocks of sheep and herds of swine are so very large that they supply an abundance of the "sagi" and the salt-meat, not only to Rome, but to most parts of Italy as well. (Strabo 4.4.3, following Poseidonios)

The emphasis on livestock in the Poseidonios passage, referring therefore in all probability to the early first century and the south of Gaul where mountainous country predominated, is found later in Caesar and others for the 'barbarian' northern Celts and Germans, and is certainly of social relevance. The report of the export of salt pork is also of great interest, as it is evidence for a remarkably long-distance exchange before the Roman conquest of the interior of Gaul. In the absence of refrigeration, salting was the only means of preserving meat for a long period, and it is noteworthy that in the Jura area occupied by the Sequani there were abundant salt mines of importance from a very early period in antiquity, whose memory is preserved in such place-names as Salins and Lons-le-Saulnier (appendix IV). For salt meat from the Sequani being shipped to Rome see Strabo 4.3.2. Varro (R.R. 2.4.10) also mentions pork from Gaul:

> The Gauls make the best and largest flitches of them [sc. pigs]; it is a sign of their excellence that annually Comacine and Cavarine hams and shoulders are still imported from Gaul to Rome.

The Cavari, at least, were certainly a people of Narbonese Gaul near the Rhone delta (Str.4.1.12), who may have been the Gauls Poseidonios had in mind. Varro goes on th describe the fattening and salting of pigs in Cato's time in Cisalpine Gaul also.

It is noteworthy that Caesar never refers to any but the most backward Celts in the north, Armorica and Aquitaine as 'barbari' (eg. 3.23.2), and it was they who would appear from a moderate body of evidence to have put the most reliance on livestock while also having the least

centralized settlement pattern and political organization. The Menapii, Ubii, Eburones and south-eastern ('Belgic') Britons are particularly noted as having large numbers of cattle.[60] Of the Eburones Caesar says

> [Sugambri] primos Eburonum finis adeunt, multos ex fuga dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cuius sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. (BG 6.35.6)

Some form of cattle-clientage may have been customary in these areas, explaining the role of cattle as social wealth (see p. 354f below).

At the same time Caesar makes it clear that the peoples of this northern region were backward compared with the Celts of the Centre. The Menapii had no oppida, only vici and aedificia (BG 4.4.2, cf Dio 39.44.2 who said the Morini and Menapii had no poleis, only kalubai; BG 3.29.3 speaking of Morini and Menapii; BG 6.6.1 of the Morini), and the same is apparently ture of the Sugambri (BG 4.19.1). Of the Eburones, called at BG 5.28.1 'civitatem ignobilem atque humilem', it is said

> erat ... manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non praesidium quod se armis defenderet, sed in omnis partes dispersa multitudo. (BG 6.34.1)

The lack of effective centralized power among the Eburones is clear from the apology of the chieftain Ambiorix for their revolt in 54:

> neque id quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum aut iudicio aut voluntate sua fecisse sed coactu civitatis, suaque esse eiusmodi imperia ut non minus haberet iuris in se multitudo quam ipse in multitudinem. (BG 5.27.3)

There is no sound reason to disbelieve this statement. Caesar makes comparisons between the Belgic Gauls and the Germani (eg BG 1.1.3), and emphasizes that the Germani (whether Celtic or Teutonic) raised more livestock than crops, though their livestock was of poor quality compared with that of the Celts.[61]

Thompson (1965:4f, 17, 26f, 53) confirms the comments of Tacitus and Caesar that the Germans of the first centuries BC and AD despised agriculture to a greater or lesser degree, and kept livestock in preference. The associated social organization may in broad outline be compared with that of the Celts at the earliest period (below). Again there is a

correlation between a predominantly pastoral economy and dispersed settlement with little or no centralization of political power (Thompson 1965:29f).

> Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes .... (Tac. Ger. 16.1)
> Terra (of Germany) ... satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. (Tac. Ger. 5.1-3)

These cannot be treated as purely gepgraphical remarks (Thompson 1965:6); as with Strabo's comments on vine-growing in Gaul (the vine takes four times the labour input for cereals [Sherratt 1972:497]), the reason why fruit trees did not grow in Germany was that they did not form part of the German native economy, just as the German cattle and horses were poorer than Celtic ones because of the different social conditions under which they were raised, which did not require fine animals. Strabo (4.4.3) records that the Romans introduced better quality sheep into Gaul than those they found there; Pliny (NH 14.3 (1) 7-8) records that by the later first century AD the vine was being grown among the Arverni, Sequani and Helvii, and at (3).27 he refers to Biturigiaca vines (Bordeaux or Berry - both are still vine-producing).

An insight into the contrast between the early la Tène period and the later is given in a passage of Polybius describing the Celts of the early fourth century in north Italy soon after their settlement there.

> They live in unwalled villages (kata kômas ateichistous), without any superfluous furniture; for as they slept on beds of leaves and fed on meat and were exclusively occupied with war and agriculture, their lives were very simple, and they had no knowledge whatever of any art or science. Their possessions consisted of cattle and gold, because these were the only things they could carry about with them everywhere according to circumstances and shift wherever they chose. (Pol.2.17.9-11)

These Celts had settled in northern Italy, and so were no longer all still on the move. Slight corroborative evidence of the Polybian picture is given by the number of particularly rich female graves in northern Italy; gold torcs for instance seem confined to female burials (Déchelette 1914: 1088, 1209f?, not being found in male contexts until la Tène II. Possibly here we have a trace of a society where the exchange of women was still a

central social mechanism and where a person was still defined by his place in a kinship system rather than by his territorial origin.

It was not until the late la Tène period in Central Gaul that permanent town settlements inthe form of walled oppida have been found, and it is not unlikely that Polybius' account of the northern Italian Celts of the fourth century would be valid in broad outline for the Celts of the same period in Gaul. Evidence of the importance in the early la Tène periods in Gaul of concentrated and portable wealth has been furnished by the early Marne burials with chariots and finery, while the warrior character of male graves for both la Tène I and II is manifest. As for the pattern of settlement, Déchelette (1914:943f) records that in the Marne area there are largely unexcavated traces of numerous isolated round huts rather than nucleated settlements. In the first century, when conditions had changed considerably in Central Gaul, Caesar noted that it was a characteristic of the northern (Belgic and German) peoples as opposed to the Celtae or Central Celts that they were more 'warlike', and that the Central Celts had lost their reputation for valour through the enervating effects of civilization (BG 1.1.3, 1.2.2, 1.13.5, 1.28.5, 1.36.7, Strabo 4.4.2, 4.4.3). A close correlation therefore existed between 'heroic' life and uncentralized settlement patterns, as well as with emphasis on the herding and valuation of cattle (354 f below).

From an early period, however, it is apparent that the Celts of Gaul cultivated cereal crops on a large scale. Jullian (1909:267f) gives a list of cereal crops known by the Romans in Gaul, including several kinds of wheat, barley and millet, and he refers to instances known of practices such as marling to increase the fertility of the soil. Settled cereal cultivation was highly developed in the Centre by the first century and certainly lay behind the development of urban settlement. Cereal crops are capable of producing seven to ten times the calorific value per unit of land as livestock (Jarman 1972:137f; cf Sherratt 1972:491f);

while the pig, which the sources (and iconography) agree to have been an important part of the Celtic diet, has a very high reproductive rate, fattens well on refuse, or acorns in wooded country, and needs little or no labour to raise, particularly if left to run wild. The Celts had a reputation for high population,[62] and the traditional accounts of the reasons for the great migrations in the fourth century and that of the Helvetii in the first include as very important the factor of overpopulation in the original area:

> ... in imperio eius [sc. Ambigati] Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. (Livy 5.34.2)
>
> Id [ie to migrate] hoc facilius eis [sc. Helvetiis] persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: .... His rebus fiebat ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent: qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magne dolore adficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se finis habere arbitrabantur, ... (Caesar BG 1.2.3-5)

Other corroborative account s for the Helvetii are at BG 1.30.3 and Dio 38.31.2. The great migrations may usefully be regarded as one form of the first of two principal responses available in the face of population growth to its socially defined limits in one area. These are (a) to enlarge the area of land under cultivation, which may take the form either of making use of marginal land in the immediate vicinity if it is available, or to migrate to new territory; (b) to intensify exploitation of land already under cultivation. For a fuller discussion of Gallic response to this situation see chapter 7 below.

The largest civitates of first century Gaul, which were also the ones with the most markedly developed urban oppida, were ones possessing good or excellent arable land. These included the Bituriges Cubi (BG 7.17.3, 8.2.2), the Aedui (BG 1.16.1, 1.17.2, 1.48.2, 7.55.5) who were largely responsible for supplying the Roman army as well as themselves with corn early in the war, and the Carnutes (BG 7.3.1). The exceptional fertility of the valley of the Allier must underlie the prosperity of the Gergovie/ Clermont-Ferrand complex of settlements as against the relative poverty of

other Arvernian settlements in the Massif Central mountains: maps 16-16a demonstrate the clustering of coin finds in the valley region, suggesting intensive political and military activity there, not all of it connected necessarily with the Caesarian war. What are generally taken to be iron ploughshares appear for the first time in la Tène III contexts (Déchelette 1914:1378); the Musée du Berry in Bourges has one found in a multiple cremation burial at Dun sur Auron (Cher) with three standard la Tène III swords, in the area of Berry where the earliest and richest material and burials were also found (maps B1, B3). Elsewhere in Gaul there is evidence for the use probably during the la Tène period of ploughs with quartz pebbles for reinforcement, a technique still in use until modern times (Patte 1951, from Deux-Sèvres); while Gallic harvesting-machines which were animal-powered and cut off the ears so as to leave a long straw suitable for thatching, are well known from Gallo-Roman bas-reliefs (White 1967).

A substantial annual grain surplus is presupposed for the largest civitates not only by their ability under duress to support the Roman army during the wars in the 50s, but by the existence of native town life and a fine cavalry.[63] It is only in the cases of small peoples (Boii, BG 7.17.8) or the more pastoral economies of the north that shortage of corn was noticed by the invading Roman army. In all these cases the absence of a substantial surplus must be regarded not as the result primarily of unfavourable geography (although this may complicate the situation), but as the result of weakly stratified social organization, not requiring a high degree of exploitation of the agricultural population. Surplus, whether in subsistence goods or prestige goods, is not produced by the natural fertility of the soil, but as a result of the social need for it; and its production necessarily involves a greater or lesser degree of exploitation of the primary producers by a socially dominant class (Meillassoux 1960; Terray 1974; see chs.7-8 below).

The case of the Armorican shortage of grain in 56 (BG 3.7.3, 3.9.5) could be due to the fact that it was spring at the time; more likely it is a result of the organization of cereal agriculture on the granite uplands, exacerbated by the time of year. The recent upland population of Brittany is considerably smaller than that on the coast, and until the eighteenth century practised a form of shifting agriculture, the best that could be achieved on the poor soil. One or two harvests with 20-30 year fallows were not abnormal (Navy I.H. 1942:6f, 63f). The low level of trading activity in Brittany and Normandy in the first century, at least where foreign goods of luxury status are concerned (map 20-21), would support the hypothesis that there was little social need for intense agricultural exploitation to support a ruling class of the character common in Central civitates. The situation in Armorica was probably most comparable in the first century with that north of the Seine in Belgic Gaul.

A brief outline of the types of soil available for cultivation or pasturage in the Centre, and a correlation of this with recent population density, sheds some light on the background to the course of Iron Age social development in those areas, given the limitations stated above (p.295f).

For livestock, there is summer upland pasture in the limestone Causses, the Limousin plateau and the volcanic Massif Central; transhumance to high summer pastures has been practised in all upland areas in France until the present, and was probably practised in antiquity on closely similar routes (Dehn 1972; Soutou 1964; see map E). Lowland bocage pasture exists in Normandy, Brittany and Vendée, and saltmarsh pasture in the Vendée and on the Breton coasts. In recent times, cattle have played an important part in the economy in the Armorican peninsula (especially département Manche), Cantal, Haute-Loire, Allier and Saône-et-Loire. They graze in summer on the high pastures and are hay-fed in the valleys in winter. Sheep were important in the Massif Central (especially Lozère and Aveyron), on the salt marshes of the Brittany and Normandy coasts, and on drained marshes in Deux-Sèvres, Charente-Maritime and Charente.

Historically there has been very thin population in eastern Brittany, where it is wooded; population has been especially thin in Maine on the border between Normandy and Perche. This geological boundary of the volcanic uplands of Brittany and Normandy (map C) also formed the cultural and historical divide between the Armorican peoples and the Central Celts. The southern extension of the Armorican rocks into Vendée and away from the coast has recently supported a higher population than the sedimentaries around Poitiers; whether this was also the case in antiquity is open to question. Map 19 indicates that the greatest density of coin finds in Poitou is in the region of Poitiers and Niort, although the bulk of the agricultural population may have lived further north, as today. Jullian (1909:495) certainly considered the land of the Pictones and especially Santones as very fertile (cf Pineau 1970:46), and the string of fortifications on or associated with the river Clain south of Poitiers would suggest important concentrations of population in that region in the Iron Age (big map).

Gironde and Dordogne today support a heavy population; Dordogne at least may have done so in antiquity as it is littered with relics, and the Petrocorii, whose territory was roughly coextensive with the département, were a major iron-producing people (Str.4.2.2). In the Massif Central, plateaux over 1000m high are sparsely populated, though the volcanic soil is good and there are small towns as high as 1000m. The large map indicates that Iron Age enclosures were very rare over 1000m. The Limousin plateau up to 300m is densely populated agricultural land; it is largely a low plateau of granitic soils surrounding a high plateau of ancient eruptive rocks useful for summer pasture, though not rich enough to fatten cattle. On the high plateau agriculture is poor, but the lower plateau (Bresse) has deeper soil, a milder climate and supports cereals as well as having irrigated meadows where at present there is extensive fattening of cattle. Small towns such as Aubusson and Guéret in Creuse are situated at the junction of the high and low plateaux, and the area was certainly well

populated in antiquity, with oppida such as Puy de Gaudy near Guéret (Creuse) and a number of other fortifications in the same geological position between the two levels (see big map). Towns of regional importance at present, and an important cluster of Iron Age enclosures and oppida (eg Puy d'Yssandon, Puy du Chalard [Corr.] and Puy d'Issolou [Lot]) are found at the southern border of the main plateau - the modern towns include Brive (Corr. - a Celtic name - on fertile Triassic soil), and Tulle (Corr.). To the south of Brive is an oolite limestone plateat with a present thin population concentrated in the valleys. The plateau rises to c.300-500m and is known as the Petits Causses. At the south-eastern extremity of the massif central lie the Grands Causses, 750-1000m high, constituting a stony desert. Sheep can be raised there, and where agriculture is possible it is confined to the valleys and is occasionally good. This thin population continues across to the gate of Carcassonne, and the Causses form the southernmost extension of the Centre region under consideration. Population only increases again on the other side of the Cévennes towards Languedoc.

Auvergne is sparsely populated inthe south-east as far inland as Aubrac and Margeride (Corr.). The volcanic soils in Velay and Cantal-Dore somewhat compensate for the height of the area. The lava plateaux provide fine pasture and support a greater density of animals than the rest of the Massif Central. Valleys along the edges of the volcanic massif provide good agricultural land, and where the valleys are open and volcanic soil meets the poorer granites there are numerous small market towns and fair towns especially in Cantal and the Dore massifs; larger towns are on the limits of Cantal: Aurillac, Mauriac and St.Flour. Surveys have not revealed large oppida for this belt so far.

The north-east of the Massif Central is well and evenly populated; long tongues of Archaean rocks running northwards are lower and more agriculture is possible than further south except on the ridge of Forez between the Loire and Allier. This ridge forms the eastern limits of the

Centre for the present study, and provided the historical boundary between the Arverni and Aedui, a barrier of considerable political importance in the late Iron Age. Sedimentary basins in the north-east of the Massif Central permit denser settlement than higher up, and important among them is the Limagne along the Allier, which at its southern end was the site of the politically most advanced Arvernian communities (see large map for Aulnat, Côtes, Gergovie etc., P.D.). As the lowest levels are very wet, settlement has concentrated on the highlands either side of the Limagne, on the west especially at the foot of Dore and Puy de Dôme. For a long time Clermont-Ferrand was the market centre for Limagne, with Thiers as manufacturing town on the other side; the identification of Nemossus (Str.4.2.3 - 'mêtropolis of the Arverni') with Clermont-Ferrand, the Roman Augustonemetum, is fairly certain, and the nomenclature of the site suggests a religious centre of importance from an early date in the area. (Geographical information from Naval I.H. 1942)

2. RURAL SETTLEMENT.

Two types of rural settlement are recorded for most of Gaul, including the areas where reliance on livestock husbandry was greatest. These are the isolated farmstead (aedificium) and the village (vicus or kôme). That both were agricultural settlements is made clear from the contexts in which they are mentioned:

> pabulum secari non posse; necessario dispersos hostis ex aedificiis petere: hos omnis cotidie ab equitibus deligi posse. Praeterea salutis causa rei familiaris commoda neglegenda: vicos atque aedificia incendi oportere hoc spatio ab via quoqueversus quo pabulandi causa adire posse videantur. (BG 7.14.4-9)

(cf. BG 4.4.2 agros, aedificia, vicosque; 2.7.3; 8.7.2; 4.19.1). In other words, this quoted part of Vercingetorix's burnt earth policy was designed to prevent the invading army from finding food in the countryside.

Aedificium can simply mean a physical building or house, and as such

aedificia are referred to as standing inside oppida or vici in Caesar (BG 8.5.1; 3.6.4; 6.22.3). Otherwide the term is used for single holdings in the countryside, and in two cases Caesar varies his terminology for such farmsteads, emphasizing their character as privately-owned property: the Allobroges held 'vicos possessionesque' over the Rhone (BG 1.11.5), and speaking of the Helvetii he says they burnt

> oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia. (BG 1.5.2)

The only direct description of an aedificium in this sense is of the one in which Ambiorix of the Eburones took refuge in 53:

> sed hoc quoque factum est, quod aedificio circumdato silva, ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi aestus causa plerumque silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates, comites familiaresque eius angusto in loco paulisper equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt. (BG 6.30.3-4)

The suggestion here is of a moderately-sized establishment, partially defended by the wood where it stood or perhaps a stockade. Some sort of protection of stock and supplies against wolves or thieves would no doubt have been normal. As for the location of aedificia in woods or near waterways, it is worth noting the concentration of first and second phase coinages in Berry near the major waterways in the centre and east of the region (map B3). These coinages belong to the third and second centuries, before the permanent settlement of the major oppida there, and it is possible that there was a concentration of scattered settlement by the nobility of northern Berry in the region of the waterways in that period. This hypothesis remains to be tested by excavation.

Unfortunately, the proportion of isolated farmsteads to other forms of settlement in Central Gaul, or for any one area within it is impossible to estimate at present as surveys have not been carried out which would give the necessary information. An attempt by Boudet (1970) to reconstruct from Celtic place-names thought to have ended in -acum or -iacum in the département Cher, the number of villas in the early Roman period, is of little use as it has been shown that the premiss on which such arguments are based is ill founded. There are in principle very few French place-names

derived from personal names plus a suffix, as was once thought; such formations do not normally appear before the Middle Ages, and Celtic place-names were most often derived from natural features of the land on which they stood, for instance a cliff or a meander on the river. A full and excellent discussion of this subject, which includes an enlightening account of how the error came to be widely accepted, is given by Falc'hun (1966, 1970).

The second sort of rural settlement, the vicus or village, is equally well documented as characteristic of all of settled Gaul. Discussion of the relation of vici to the pagus or territorial unit of Celtic society must be deferred to ch.7 below. In the backward northern regions the vicus was the largest form of community (p.297f above), and a vicus (called polis, cf. Orosius 6.8.2 who called Octodurus - a vicus, see below - an oppidum) is known from the Alps as early as the late third century (p.363), although by the first century most regions had non-agricultural oppida as well. A vicus needed to be near a good source of water, and if there was a choice of a hill or a valley, the valley was normally chosen if it was not too wet. Unlkie oppida, with their defensive and primarily non-agricultural functions, a vicus was closely associated with its fields, and needed to be conveniently near them. Again we have a single description, this time of an Alpine case, Octodurus of the Veragri (see map, near lake Geneva):

> ... et ipse cum reliquis eius legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle, non magna adiecta planitie, altissimis montibus continetur. Cum hic in duas partis flumine dividetur, alteram partem eius vici Gallis concessit, alteram vacuam ab his relictam cohortibus attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit. (BG 3.1.4-6)

This description recalls Polybius' 'kômas ateichistous' of the Cisalpine Celts of the fourth century, and is probably like the 'polis' of the third century Alpine peoples encountered by Hannibal (p.363 below). The chief noteworthy features of Octodurus as a vicus are that it was in the valley, where the soil was sufficiently fertile for cultivation; when

frightened, the population of Octodurus took to the hills for protection (BG 3.2.1). It was on a watercourse, and was large enough for two cohorts (c.600) men to be crammed into half of it. Given that in this winter the settlement was crowded to at least twice its normal capacity, and probably much more, it may be guessed that the native population numbered some 8-900. In addition, the site was not defended with ramparts, as the Romans had to build their own. That vici were regarded as agricultural settlements and not strongholds is clear from the function of oppida and castella(uninhabited forts) as places of refuge in times of distress. For example in 51 the Bituriges who were engaged in agriculture (rura colentes), were caught in the open by Caesar's cavalry 'prius ... quam confugere in oppida possent' (BG 8.3.1); cf. 6.3.2 (Nervii) and 6.6.1 (Menapii). The only figure available for the relative numbers of vici to oppida in a civitas is that given for the Helvetii: 400 vici to 12 oppida (BG 1.5.2).

Until the mid-second or first century, when the first oppida were settled in the Centre, settlements would probably have fallen into one of the two categories above - isolated holding or nucleated village. Certainly in the final la Tène period oppida could not have existed without agricultural tribute or dues from rural settlements. Excavation has concentrated on oppida, and few settlements that could be regarded as vici have been examined. The largest non-defended sites, which served as regional market centres as well as agricultural settlements, from the greater number of village sites which have attracted interest. These include for instance Roanne (Loire) and Varennes-les-Mâcon (S+L.), for which see section I. Roanne was undefended (the hills behind it acted as refuge in time of trouble), and its position on the Loire had more to do with its placing than the quality of its marshy land. From at least the second century it had a major painted pottery industry which produced ware found as far away as Clermont-Ferrand and Gergovie (P.D.). Varennes-les-Mâcon is

on a tributary of the Saône, and consisted of round huts on sandy ground. Before the conquest it was producing two major series of wheel-turned pottery, and as at Roanne, very large numbers of coins (especially potin) are found there. The indications are, therefore, that Varennes was a local market centre as well as an agricultural establishment, in a subordinate relation to the big oppidum (Matisco) at Mâcon, and pottery probably produced at Varennes has been found in the small site of St.Symphorien-d'Ancelles in the same region.

In the Centre itself there are even fewer excavations of settlements which could be classed as vici. Perhaps the lower and poorer settlement on the slopes of Côtes (P.D.) at Clermont-Ferrand, which displays a lot of rough pottery near the stream, comes into this category, although it is obviously directly connected with the fortified towns around it; the same may be true of Chamalières (P.D.) also in the vicinity, which produced pottery on a fairly important scale and was an important cult centre. Gièvres (L+Ch.) which was in the Gallo-Roman précoce period an important pottery-producing centre for the region, may be comparable with Roanne, and was certainly not an oppidum; the valley of the Allier was apparently densely occupied in the period of the conquest. All these cases, however, are of the largest type of regional settlement, and I have not found a report of excavations of anything smaller which could strictly be called a village, nor of attempts to recover field systems in the case of settlements on agricultural land.[64]

3. OPPIDA : A DEFINITION.

At this point a definition of an oppidum should be offered. Bŕeň (1971: 19) offered a set of criteria for distinguishing Central European oppida from other enclosures. He held that the term is valid

> perhaps only for Celtic settlements of the first century, which were fortified and where there is found conclusive evidence of concentrated manufacture of pottery, iron, glass, or coin minting .... the importance of the oppidum as a manufacturing and 'industrial' centre [is] seen against the background of an extensive agricultural hinterland.
> Oppida are called for this reason the first Central European towns.

The three characteristic features of oppida in Gaul are (1) that they are forts, normally on a hill which in the majority of cases is at the end of a promontary formed by the confluence of two watercourses or the junction of two valleys; fortification may be in a variety of forms dependent on local resources and the period at which it was built; in Central Gaul it is normally a single principal wall with outside ditch, the wall being of dry stone or dry stone with wooden beams; (2) they are permanently occupied; (3) the inhabitants are not the local agricultural population to any significant extent, but are predominantly persons engaged in manufacturing, trading and politico-religious occupations. In all essential features, them, Central Gaulish oppida share the functions of Central European ones as defined by Bŕeň.

Castella, or mere fortresses or stockades, should therefore be distinguished from oppida. Such forts are not peculiar to the Celtic period and coexisted with oppida as places for refuge or periodic gatherings, or pens for seasonal activities associated with livestock husbandry. It is very difficult in many cases to distinguish these enclosures from oppida in much of Central Gaul because of lack of excavation. The case of Berry illustrates well the difficulties in estimating the functions of the remaining earthworks (appendix II and section I on Cher and Indre). If Caesar's report that the Bituriges had 20 or 21 'urbes' is correct (BG 7.15.1 - Avaricum is not included in the 20), then all of what Buchsenschutz (1968) classed as 'enceintes amorphes' must be oppida, as there are 21 of them.

Only three have been excavated to any great extent, and Bourges can be assumed to constitute a definite fourth: whether the others will in fact turn out to be oppida in the strict sense remains to be tested by excavation. It is perhaps unlikely. The Suessiones, who Caesar claims had twelve oppida under their authority of their king Galba (BG 2.4.7, cf. Orosius 6.7.20) certainly did not have within their territory twelve enclosures of fully developed oppidum type (large map).

Discussion of the social and economic functions of oppida will be presented below (ch.5-7). However, as illustration of the definition above, a certain amount of ancient textual evidence may be mentioned here. There are frequent clear references to the defensive functions of oppida,[65] for instance

> Facere, quod nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti ... neque se hostibus tradiderunt. (BG 7.77.12)

That oppida were defensive but different in other ways (at very least in size) from castella is implied at BG 2.29.2:[66]

> Aduatuci ... cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis, sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt.

as also when British oppida are contrasted unfavourably with Gaulish ones:

> oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursiones hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt. (BG 5.21.3)

Part of the contrast here lies in the fact that the Britons call it an oppidum when all it is in fact is an uninhabited fortress, or castellum.

There is further evidence that oppida were more than merely defensive, though there was a constant tension between the roles of fortress and town, as would be expected in the most prestigious settlements of a warrior aristocracy. Apart from the general reference, somewhat exaggerated, to the 'XX urbes' of the Bituriges (BG 7.15.1), Caesar refers to Alesia, Avaricum and Gergovia as urbes (BG 7.68.3, 7.15.4, 7.36.1, 7.47.4). The term urbs is indicative of a civilized city: Gades and Massilia are urbes for Caesar (BC 2.20.2, 1.34.4, 1.35.5 etc.). We may suspect emotive

colouring in its application to the three crucial seiges of the uprising in 52, though the archaeological evidence shows that the bigger oppida had by the Caesarian war developed into proper towns. Strabo distinguished between kômai (=vici) and poleis (=urbes) at 4.1.11: the political nobility of the Allobroges lived in the polis Vienne, which used to be a mere kôme. BG 2.4.7 might imply the association of oppida with the warrior nobility; Galba of the Suessiones agreed to contribute 15,000 armed men for the war against the Romans, and this figure was linked to his mastery of 12 oppida, suggesting a relevant connection between the two statistics. On the other hand, elsewhere Strabo referred to Bibracte as the phrourion (castellum) of the Aedui, for all its town development, while Cabillonum was called their polis (4.3.2). Déchelette (1914:938) remarked on the function of Cabillonum (Châlons-sur-Saône) as an important riverine port and market; this use of terminology is in accordance with Strabo's repeated theme of the change from warfare to agriculture and politics which occurred with the conquest. Bibracte was a bleak plateau, and was abandoned for occupation soon after the conquest, while Châlons flourished under Gallo-Roman conditions of exchange.

Other features of oppida are recorded in the sources. Caesar mentions that Alesia and Vesontio had arces or citadels, suggesting a distinction between the stronghold of the city and the larger inhabited area within the outer wall (BG 7.34.1, 1.38.6; cf. p.141 above). That there were open spaces in the oppida, used among other things for markets or assemblies, is implied at BG 7.28.1 where the forum at Avaricum is mentioned, and at 8.5.2 where Cenabum is said to have had enough open space to set up the tents of the Roman army. The stronghold feature of oppida made them suitable for military headquarters for the Romans and they provided storehouses for Celtic or Roman supplies.[67] It is one of the necessary features of inter-regional market centres or emporia, which in the first century in the Centre were also oppida, that they have considerable storage facilities (Sherratt 1972:513; Polanyi 1968[1963]).

The more than merely defensive nature of oppida is illustrated by the reluctance with which the scorched earth policy of Vercingetorix was adopted by the Bituriges. Although they let 20 be burnt, Vercingetorix was forced by the 'pleas of the Bituriges' to spare Avaricum, because it was

> pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae praesidio et ornamento sit civitati ... (BG 7.15.4)

and at 7.13.3 it is stated that to take Avaricum would mean to secure the defeat of the Bituriges.

The same political or ideological importance of oppida is expressed at BG 1.32.5, where Ariovistus' control of the Sequanian oppida is symbolic of his control of the people. The religious significance of many Gallic oppida is demonstrated by the temples found in them, and the number which kept a religious function long after their abandonment for occupation. Bourges (Avaricum) was never abandoned, being more of a hill than a mountain, and at present is the cathedral town of the Berry diocese. The political functions of Gergovia are illustrated by the career of Vercingetorix (BG 7.4.1-4). The first step against his seditious activities taken by the 'principes' was to expel him ex oppido Gergovia (7.4.3); when he strengthened his position he in turn expelled his former superiors from power: ex civitate (7.4.4). The two expulsions seem to be effectively the same thing, differing only in degree.

To support an oppidum, which was not directly involved in the production of food, but only in the production of luxury goods for exchange and the use of the aristocracy, a considerable agricultural surplus was necessary, and had to be secured from the vicinity of the settlement. Strabo 4.1.12 says that Nemausus (mêtropolis of the Volcae Arecomici) had 24 subordinate towns (hupêkooi kômai) paying tribute to it, and although this was under the conditions of Roman conquest, it is likely that villages always supported oppida in this way. Perhaps the same situation is implied when Strabo (4.3.2) said that Lugdunum 'presided' (prokathêtai) over the territory of the Segusiavi, although political

supremacy is also meant. It is noteworthy in this context that the major Central oppida are all in economically advantageous positions in their areas, with reasonable access to good agricultural land, mines, navigable waterways and pasture, or some combination of these (see maps for Berry and the large map). In their rold as <u>emporia</u> waterway transport was particularly important, and a number (eg Poitiers, see large map) were set at the first navigable point on a river (p. 326 below).

SECTION III CHAPTER 3

INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND EXCHANGE.

Page

316 1. Industry

324 2. Transport

329 3. Long-distance exchange

Chapter 3

INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND EXCHANGE.

1. INDUSTRY.

After agriculture, the broad outlines of Celtic industry should be sketched. This will not include the various specific forms of manufacture referred to in for instance Strabo and Pliny as coming from this or that civitas: Desjardins (1876:409f) and Grenier (1959) give summaries of this sort of information about local industries and crafts. The information is very miscellaneous, spread over a period of several centuries most of it Gallo-Roman, and there are no coherent surveys of a single area. It is therefore, for instance, impossible to gauge the relative importance locally of the available information about crafts and exports, and it is difficult not to descend to mere antiquarianism. This section therefore will be confined to major raw materials and their processing (where this was done on a large scale), and they will be considered primarily in terms of the exchange relations which their geographical distribution necessarily set up within Gaul as well as between Gaul and the Mediterranean.

This selectivity is further justified by the fact that where possible all civitates or smaller units were self-sufficient in most necessary raw materials. Many iron, gold, salt and other mineral sources which have long been abandoned because they are not profitable to work under the conditions of capitalism, were exploited in the Iron Age and Gallo-Roman periods. This is the case for instance with the rather poor gold ores in the Puy-de-Dôme region, and the nearby iron and lead-silver deposits (Vigouroux 1962). Such local sources could probably in fact contribute very considerably to the wealth of the local aristocracy or government; Déchelette (1914:1543) connected the prominence of Mont Beuvray/Bibracte (Nièvre) with the local

iron ores.

Vigouroux (1962) has pointed out that while from the late la Tène period an increasing degree of mass-production of pottery took place in specialized centres, throughout the Celtic and Roman periods smelting of metals from the ores was done more or less on the site of the mines. It shifted from place to place with the availability of wood of the necessary types, and was done dispersed in small establishments. One such small scale la Tène III mining/smelting operation is known from excavation of an iron-worker's hut from Tonnerre (Yonne, p.35 above). Some areas were so well endowed with one mineral that its extraction and working was a major industry: the forests of Berry are littered with debris from ancient iron working at various points (Desjardins 1876:411; cf map B1).

Besides political obstacles, the high cost of transport was a very large part of the reason for the use of poor local resources rather than importing refined minerals; it is noteworthy that for the la Tène I and II periods the quantity of gold and silver objects found in burials is strictly in inverse proportion to their distance from the sources of gold and silver ores. Silver objects are rare except in argentiferous areas (Déchelette 1914:1347f) and Déchelette (1914:1049) made the valid point that where burials in an area have a high concentration of one particular type of goods, these are probably local, as with the iron goods in Berry graves. It is for this reason that he believed carts and chariots to have been an important manufacture of the Marne region in la Tène I-II, perhaps for export in exchange for the rich Mediterranean goods found with them (Déchelette 1914:1021, 1185). The only two areas near the Centre where precious metal objects are at all numerous are (a) the Garonne basin which is rich in metal ores af all sorts, and (b) the region of Switzerland and the mid Rhine. In la Tène I-II in Switzerland there are found more gold and silver rings in burials than in the rest of Gaul put together (Déchelette 1914:1265, 1332f). Even in the rich Marne burials, gold objects were confined to small rings and bracelets and were clearly

very valuable indeed (Déchelette 1914:1030, 1265, 1346).

Precious metal resources may have affected the first century coinages to an important degree. The finest gold coinage in the Centre in the period was that of the Arverni, with a moderate gold content and higher weight than in neighbouring gold coinages (map 16-16a, appendix VIII), and the gold of Puy-de-Dôme is in the vicinity of Clermont-Ferrand and its surrounding complex of oppida. Similarly, the Massif Central or Arvernian silver coinages may well have relied heavily on local lead-silver deposits for bullion. Again, there is silver in eastern Brittany and the Armorican peninsula (Desjardins 1876:424 at Huelgoat, Fin.; Pinchemel 1969), but there is no gold, and this may well have influenced the abandonment of gold stater currency for silver billon in the early first century. In the earliest coinages of the Armorican region and Picardy it was normal only to have half- and quarter-stater denominations, quite possibly because of the scarcity and therefore high value of gold there (p.232f above and pl.XIII.6-10).

In view of the local availability in most areas of basic raw materials and food, it is principally those materials which are universally needed in large quantities and which are not adequately or at all available everywhere, which will have the sort of economic significance in question here. Some resources, which were to be of crucial importance to the Romans (wood for increased pottery and smelting industries, and stone for building and monuments), were of minor or no importance in the present sense in the Iron Age, when the most important goods in this category were probably metals and salt. What is in question here is not the local exchanges which took place in this period everywhere at a local or regional level between differing ecological areas; but long-distance exchange beyond the range of single socio-political units.

A geological map of Gaul (map F) can indicate the relative distribution of the principal sources of ores for essential and precious metals (iron,

copper, tin, gold and silver). However, more important than a bare record of the existence of ores is one of the historical exploitation of them, and there are two ways of recovering such a map. The first is by following indications in the ancient texts, especially Strabo and Pliny, and archaeological finds in recently-re-opened mines. In these cases we can be certain there was ancient mining. The drawbacks of this method are that the ancient sources mention only a few mines, some of which may be of Roman origin anyway; and that, because mining of its nature destroys its own evidence, (unlike a settlement which accumulates evidence in its refuse), traces of much ancient mining in the richer areas has long since been obliterated. Ramin (1965:17f, 24) pointed out that in the case of tin, the most readily worked sources were in alluvial deposits on the coastline and these were frequently worked out very early and have left no traces. Many of the oldest finds in mines in Gaul are Roman; partly this is due to a great expansion of mining activity in the Empire, but to some extent it must be due to Roman continuation of Celtic mines, destroying the earlier traces.

By the second method, place-names may be used to help pinpoint areas where metal ores used to be extracted and have now been used up or abandoned. The roots *aur-, *argent-, *ferr-, *sal-/ sel/ hal (salt) are found in numerous modern French place-names, and preserve the memory of pre-modern mining of sufficient significance to give a name to a settlement nearby. A list by département (appendix IV) of such names is given to indicate the approximate distribution of them throughout France. The most obvious conclusion from such a scatter of place-names is that there were small sources of salt and iron and to some extent gold in most départements of the Centre. Gold and silver are found in the Massif Central and Limousin; silver in Brittany. These were certainly known and used by the Celts, and may have provided the bulk of coinage needs, especially after the first Roman conquest when their annexation of the Midi may have made it less easy to get metals from that source by exchange. While there were many small local sources of raw materials (iron in particular), nevertheless if certain regions had

an overwhelming abundance of such a necessary material (iron for instance in Berry, Périgord and Rouergue in and near the Centre, as well as Yonne and Côte-d'Or in the east), it is probable that some was produced for exchange in raw or finished form as a result of the demand for it elsewhere against luxury goods. The early prominence of the Bourges area in Berry (maps B1, B3) may well be connected with the fact that it stands in the principal iron-bearing area; unlike the other major Berry oppida, Avaricum/Bourges is not placed at the junction of more than one ecological formation, but is in the midst of moderately fertile uplands which are heavily iron-bearing. Most la Tène I and II burials are in that region, and the importance of the iron was sufficient for it to be remarked on by Caesar (BG 7.22.2: apud eos [sc.Bituriges] magnae sunt ferrariae atque omne genus cunicularum notum atque usitatum est).

One crucial metal which is extremely rare in Gaul is copper. There is none in most of the Centre; the only nearby sources are in Tarn, Ariège, around Sos (cf BG 3.21.3) and in Hérault; to the east there are good sources in the département Rhône (Chessy-les-Mines, still producing in the nineteenth century), and especially near Lyon (Desjardins 1876:418-20). For sources associated with tin see appendix III. But by far the richest sources of copper available by exchange to the Centre were in Spain and the Pyrenees, and it is possible that if any single form of exchange was responsible for the evident cultural connections between the Centre of France and northern Spain and Aquitaine, it was copper rather than the tin which has sometimes been suggested (eg Soutou 1969).

Coinage motifs derived from Emporiae, and actual finds of Spanish coins in the Centre have been discussed in section II, as also pottery of Tolosan origin in the Centre (p.144ff above); the low land on the west of Gaul and the disposition of the waterways of the Loire and Garonne made exchange between the Centre, the south-west and Spain very straightforward. The majority of the copper used in the Centre must

therefore have come from Aquitaine and Provence. There are various reasons to think that copper rather than tin was, if any one thing, most likely to have been a constatn factor in continuing exchanges between the south-west and the Centre.

Much has been written about the tin trade (see appendix III for some discussion), and it has apparently been assumed that all the known trade routes must have left traces in the material culture of the peoples passed through, for instance in a trail of scattered coinage finds. Trade can, of course, be one of the most important features in the relations between peoples (p. 333f, 448f below), and be closely associated with the development of specific cultural or social features. But this need not always be the case, for instance if goods of little interest to a people simply pass through their territory, and there are few or no regular and formal exchanges between the traders carrying these goods and the authorities of the peoples passed through; tolls might be required but nothing more than that. The whole subject of the tin trade between the Mediterranean and Britain via Gaul is beset with problems to which there is no clear solution at present. However, I would suggest that while there is archaeological and cultural evidence for regular contact between the west and the south-west of Gaul and between the west of Gaul and eastern Armorica, there is none of much importance between the west and the south-east of Gaul in the region of the Rhone delta, despite the fact that one tin route recorded in the sources (Diodorus 5.22, p. 331 below and appendix III) went precisely from western Armorica to Massilia 'through the middle of Keltike' or Central Gaul. I would like to argue that tin was not the principal preoccupation of the Central and western Gaulish peoples in their long-distance exchanges, not least because tin existed in what were probably adequate quantities in Central and western Gaul, but that other goods were of more importance, such as the virtually absent copper and, probably, salt. In addition, it may be questioned whether long-distance trade is the only available explanation for coin and other archaeological distributions;

diplomatic relations of other sorts could equally be responsible, or even perhaps annual movements of shepherds who may have included well-born persons (Dehn 1972). Therefore the cultural characteristics displayed by the various regions of Gaul cannot, without individual justification, be taken as evidence of trading relations of a particular sort.

The principal routes by which tin reached the Mediterranean from the Scilly Isles, Cornwall and Armorica were either down the Seine and Rhone, or through the Garonne, or, earliest of all, around Spain by sea. None of these documented routes involves a chain of exchange through Central France to the Garonne basin, as would be demanded if the cultural evidence linking western, Central-western and south-western Gaul was due to the tin trade. It would only be plausible if Armorican tin and tin landed in Armorica from Britain was brought south overland to the Garonne, a procedure which might be though unlikely for seaborne tin from Britain in view of the lesser expense and quicker transport of metal by sea, while in the perioff for which coinage and pottery evidence in question are relevant it is uncertain whether Armorican tin was produced for Mediterranean consumption in anything like the quantities presupposed by the argument from the cultural evidence.

The presence of moderately rich native sources of tin in Loire-Maritime and Haute-Vienne, Corrèze and Creuse (Ramin 1965:45f; Desjardins 1876:421; Deffontaines and Delamarre 1956:117, see appendix III) make it very unlikely that the Central Celts (who had no copper) would have been as concerned about the tin from Britain as were the Mediterranean peoples, and therefore have had major diplomatic and exchange relations with western Gaul on that basis. Whether any Central tin or Armorican tin was imported by the Aquitaine copper-producing peoples is a question which cannot at present be answered, and a subject on which the ancient sources are silent. If it was, then there may have been a reciprocal trade in metals between the south-west and the Centre.

A second vital mineral which would have encouraged continuing contact between the Centre and the coast was salt. Place-names suggest that small quantities, possibly not of very high quality, were found scattered in many areas, but the principal source of salt for most of the area until modern times has been the west coast (Sanquier and Galliou 1972; André 1962; Pineau 1970:43). Regular exchange with the inland regions of Gaul was necessary particularly for salt-producing communities south of the Loire, as there were virtually no native metal sources in that region and sometimes extremely poor agricultural land. The archaeological evidence for salt-making establishments on the Charentes coast (p.116f above) suggests that, like iron-smelting, it was generally done in small and dispersed sites. The comparative absence of foreign imports in many salt-making works on this part of the coast would suggest that most if not all of the salt was consumed by Celts.

2. TRANSPORT.

Overland transport costs were extremely high in antiquity, and waterways which were navigable were of very great economic importance as a result. Mr.de Ste.Croix has drawn my attention to a passage of Libanius written in AD 365 which illustrates this point well:

> He [sc. Julian] took counsel for the greatest of the islands under the sun, that lies surrounded by ocean. He sent accountants there to supervise the expenditure that was nominally made upon military objectives but was in fact a source of revenue to the generals. .... and he also did something else of much more importance and designed for the security of Gaul in particular. It had long ago been the practice to bring corn from the island, first by sea and then up the Rhine. Since the time the barbarians had gained control, they had not allowed it passage, and the ships had long been hauled ashore and left to rot. Some few continued to ply, but since they discharged their cargo in coastal ports, the corn had to be conveyed by waggons instead of river transport, and that was a very expensive undertaking. Julian therefore set about renewing the practice ... [and] produced more ships than before and considered means whereby the river should be opened up for the passage of his corn. (Libanius XVIII.82-3)

The range of travel of all but luxury goods was not great as noted above; even though timber could efficiently be floated on streams not otherwise navigable (Vigouroux 1962), before the Roman period the transport and supply of timber was not highly organized and it is not surprising to find that the classic murus Gallicus walls with wooden beams and iron braces are confined to stony, well-wooded areas well supplied with iron ore. Absence of any of these materials could affect decisively the mode of fortification. Déchelette (1914:994) estimated that a single murus Gallicus (Murcens in Lot) required 13,500 cubic metres of wood and 11,200 kilogrammes of iron nails, while that at Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) needed c.40,000 cubic metres of wood. From these figures alone some indication is given of the economic and political resources necessary for the construction and maintenance of the oppida.

Transport in Gaul by river or overland was good, and furnished an important source of income in taxes for peoples who could control key places on the routes. Some indication perhaps of the relative importance of river transport as opposed to roads in Gaul, apart from the Libanius

passage above, is given by Strabo's comparison of Nemausus (on the main road between Spain and Italy) with Narbo (on the river Atax, between the Garonne basin and the Mediterranean, cf. Str.4.1.14):

> Now the mętropolis of the Arecomisci is Nemausus, which, although it falls considerably short of Narbo in its throng of foreigners and of merchants [kata men ton allotrion ochlon kai ton emporikon], surpasses Narbo in that of citizens [ton politikon]; for it has subject to its authority 24 villages .... paying tribute; and it also has what is called the 'Latin right' .... The city is situated on the road that leads from Iberia into Italy, which, although it is easy to travel in summer, is muddy and also flooded by the rivers in winter and spring. (Strabo 4.1.12)

He goes on to describe the difficulties of using the road when the many streams it crossed were in spring torrent. The road was more of military than economic use; Narbo, on the other hand, was ideally suited for the transport of goods because of its position on a river between Gaul and the sea, and was an important town well before the Roman conquest of southern Gaul.

Some indication of the impressive nature of the French river systems in the opinion of Mediterranean observers unused in their area to using long navigable waterways is given by Strabo:

> But it is above all worth while to note again a characteristic of this region which I have spoken of before [4.1.2] - the harmonious arrangement of the country with reference, not only to the rivers, but also to the sea, alike both the outer sea and the inner; for one might find, if he set his thoughts upon the matter, that this is not the least factor in the excellence of the regions - I mean the fact that the necessities of life are with ease interchanged by every one with every one else and that the advantages which have arisen therefrom are common to all; but especially so at present, when being at leisure from the weapons of war, the people are tilling the country diligently, and are devising for themselves modes of life that are civil. Therefore, in the cases of this sort, one might believe that there is confirmatory evidence for the workings of Providence, since the regions are laid out, not in a fortuitous way, but as though in accordance with some calculated plan. (Strabo 4.1.14)

He then goes on to describe the individual transport routes, (a) up the Rhone and its tributaries, then up the Arar and Dubis, then down the Seine to the Ocean and Britain; (b) up the Rhone and then overland to the Loire; (c) from Narbo overland to the Garonne.

Income from river crossings and certain roads in the form of tolls

is fairly well documented. Déchelette (1914:937f) suggested that the prosperity and function of la Tène in Switzerland and Châlons-sur-Saône (Cabillonum) were bound up with their position on important transport routes, and that la Tène in particular was probably a toll station. The prosperity of Essalois (Loire), Puy du Tour (Corr,), Puy d'Issolu (Lot, on the Dordogne), and the string of major enclosures on the Clain in Vienne which includes the oppidum Lemonum/Poitiers (Vienne) at the point where the river widens to become properly navigable, was likely to have been a direct result of their commanding positions on major rivers, Many oppida are known to have provided crossing of the river with bridges rather than just fords; for instance Cenabum was near 'pons fluminis Ligeris' (BG 7.11.6), and there were bridges at Metiosedum of the Senones, which was on a river island (BG 7.58.5) and is mentioned in a context clearly implying that it was an important stage on a transport route, and at Lutetia of the Parisii, likewise an island oppidum in the Seine (BG 7.58.6). In the case of Lutetia, bridges in the plural are referred to. Map B3 shows a suggestive correlation of navigable waterways (and especially confluences) with finds of coins of the second and first centuries in Berry, suggesting a concentration of activity and perhaps settlement by the coin-using class in that area. The bridges at oppida not only emphasize their importance as centres of exchange, but the technical virtuosity of the first century Celts.

A good body of textual evidence exists for the payment of transport tolls in Gaul, and for their importance for those who could command them. Portoria and telê are the normal terms used for them. There are good references in particular to the Alps, where tolls were especially easy to levy because of the limited choice of routes available to a traveller. BG 3.1.2 refers to the tolls levied by Alpine peoples from traders, which were a great inconvenience; Strabo gives a full account of the activities of one of these 'troublesome' peoples, the Salassi, which sheds considerable light on the economic circumstances of such a people and is therefore

worth quoting rather fully.

> Most of the country of the Salassi lies in a deep glen, the district being shut in by both mountains, whereas a certain part of their territory stretches up to the mountain-crests that lie above. Accordingly the road for all who pass over the mountains from Italy runs through the aforesaid glen. [probably the Great Saint Bernard pass] ... The country of the Salassi has gold mines also, which in former times, when the Salassi were powerful, they kept possession of, just as they were also masters of the passes. The Durias river was of the greatest aid to them in their mining - I mean in washing the gold; and therefore, in making the water branch offf to numerous places, they used to empty the common bed completely. But although this was helpful tothe Salassi in their hunt for the gold, it distressed the people who farmed the plains below them, because their country was deprived of irrigation; ... And for this reason both tribes were continually at war with each other. But after the Romans got the mastery, the Salassi were thrown out of their gold-works and country too; however, since they still had possession of the mountains, they sold the water to the publicans who had contracted to work the gold mines; but on account of the greediness of the publicans the Salassi were always in disagreement with them too.... Until quite recently, indeed, ... they were still powerful, and, in accordance with their custom of brigandage, inflicted much damage upon those who passed through their country over the mountains; at any rate, they exacted even from Decimus Brutus, on his flight from Mutina [43 BC] a toll of a drachma per man; and when Messala was wintering near their country, he had to pay for wood, cash down, not only for his fire-wood but also for the elm-wood used for javelins and the wood used for gymnastic purposes. And once these men robbed even Julius Caesar of money and threw crags upon his legions under the pretext that they were making roads or bridging rivers. Later on, however, Augustus completely overthrew them, and sold all of them as booty ... (Strabo 4.6.7)

The 'brigandage' of these people was necessary in the absence of extensive fertile land, in order to be able to exchange for the necessities of life; it was possible because they held one of the only good passes between Italy and eastern Gaul.

<u>BG</u> 1.18.3-4 refers to Aeduan portoria and land-tax (vectigalia); Strabo 4.1.8 notes that the Massiliots grew rich on tolls exacted from traffic going both up and down the Rhone canal cut by Marius. Strabo 4.3.2 gives an account of the continuous struggle between the Aedui and Sequani for possession of the tolls on the Arar:

> each tribe claimed that the Arar belonged to it [was <u>idion</u>] and that it owned the transportation tolls [<u>ta diagôgika telê</u>].

Gallo-Roman tolls on the Arar are mentioned by Strabo 4.3.2 and at 4.5.3 he refers to the duties on cargoes entering and leaving Britain as being

so heavy that there was no need for the administrative problems that would have been raised had a formal tribute been levied. Possibly this was precisely the Roman attitude to the Arverni and Ruteni in 121. Caesar (BG 1.45.2) says

> Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos a Q Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium imposuisset.

It would have been a big administrative undertaking to tax the Arverni and Ruteni who lived in and beyond the Cévennes, but the vast number of Roman inports into those areas in the period between 121 and the Caesarian conquest are evidence for the benefits in captives and raw materials which the Romans reaped from Central Gaul without having to annex it.

3. LONG DISTANCE EXCHANGE.

At this point it would be appropriate to consider the evidence for long-distance trade between Gaul and the Mediterranean and between the Celts themselves; it is in the nature of the evidence that most of the written accounts refer to the former category. In particular it is important to consider the institution of ports of trade or <u>emporia</u>. (For a fuller discussion of types of trade see chapter 8 below).

An <u>emporion</u> or port of trade is the place where long-distance exchange takes place (Finkelstein [Finley] 1935), or any bulk exchange involving goods from outside the community. This is in distinction from the <u>agora</u> where exchange of goods bought and resold entirely within the community takes place (p. 466 f below). At <u>emporia</u> of the sort in question in Gaul, the principal exchanges were normally conducted in goods of specific sorts, which were directly exchanged for one another without the mediateon of coin or any other medium of exchange. This trade between communities normally took place at 'neutral' sites, or places guaranteed safe from attack by religious or political means. In the Celtic case, these became centres of population by the second century. The term <u>emporion</u> is used primarily in barbarian contexts to refer to this sort of trading depot, and characteristic sites are on coasts or rivers, or on the border between distinct ecological areas, although the same principle of exchange is involved at regional 'fair' centres for the periodic exchange of produce at short distance within a single people. Sites for the enclosures for the latter sort of exchanges may be on isolated hilltops easily accessible to the surrounding countryside rather than on rivers and long-distance transport routes, and did not necessarily become foci of permanent settlement (Sherratt 1972:513f).

A number of major <u>emporia</u> in Gaul are mentioned as such in the sources, excluding specifically Greek or Carthaginian settlements (Emporiae in Spain, Rhode and Massilia). Oddly enough, Massilia's trading activities

which are made so much of in the modern literature, are scarcely toughed on by Strabo, who has much to say of the city in other respects (4.1.4-5).

There was Corbilo on the Loire, possibly in the region of Ancenis (L.Atl.), which the mention in Strabo connects with Britain, probably in the late third century:

> Formerly there was an emporium on this river [Loire], called Corbilo, with respect to which Polybius, calling to mind the fabulous stories of Pytheas has said, "Although no one af all the Massiliotes who conversed with Scipio was able, when questioned by Scipio about Britain, to tell anything worth recording, nor yet any one of the people from Narbo or of those from Corbilo though these were the best of the cities [poleis] in that country ... (Strabo 4.2.1)

Nothing is heard again of Corbilo, and its site is mugh disputed (Lantier 1951:175 - early wooden landing-stage at Ancenis; Pineau 1970:42f; Jullian 1909:227 - Nantes; Ramin 1965:119f). Ramin offers an attractive argument that the reason for the absence of archaeological evidence for Corbilo's site is that an emporion need not be a settled town, but may be a deserted enclosure which may even move according to circumstances. He offers a number of places off the Loire estuary which have names which may bear traces of the site's name. However, this argument does not face the problem that Polybius expressly says that Corbilo was one of the two greatest poleis or cities of their day, comparable with Narbo which certainly had an oppidum, so that at least a temporarily settled site is indicated.

For a discussion of the possibility of the connection of the early cluster of coinage in the Ancenis area with an emporion there in the third century or early second see below, p. 332, 334 f , and for further discussion of the tin trade and Corbilo see appendix III.

The Veneti are said to have had an emporion in Britain (Str.4.4.1), and Caesaar's account (BG 3.8.1-2) speaks of their ships used for sailing to Britain and says they exacted taxes (vectigalia) from 'nearly all who used that sea'. The importance of the sea for some of the Armorican peoples is implicit not only in their mame (Ar-mor, of the sea :Naval I.H.

1942:6), but in the representations of ships on some coins of that area, eg. pl.XIII.9 or LT XX 6927-8. Caesar would appear to have known that Armoricus was derived from the word for sea from the repeated expression that they were 'Oceano coniunctae' (BG 7.75.4, 8.31.4, Str.4.4.1 parôkeanitôn; cf appendix III).

Strabo (4.2.1) mentions Bordeaux (Burdigala) as emporion of the Bituriges Vivisci, and says that it was situated on a lagoon formed by the outlets of the river Garonne, and payed no tribute to the Aquitanians. It was in a classic position, on the border between Aquitaine and Gaul, as well as on the sea at the outlet of a major river communicating with the Mediterranean region. All these emporia concern the west coast of Gaul, and a particular instance of long distance trade between Britain and the Mediterranean via Gaul is given by Diodorus (see appendix III for further discussion). One should compare Str.3.2.9 where he reports Poseidonios as saying that tin from Britain (as distinct from the Cassiterides) was brought to Massilia.

> The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerion are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilized manner of life because of their intercourse with merchants (emporoi) of other peoples. They it is who work the tin, ... then they work it into pieces the size of knuckle-bones and convey it to an island which lies off Britain and is called Ictis; for at the time of ebb-tide the space between this island and the mainland becomes dry and they can take the tin in large quantities over to the island on their wagons. ... On the island of Ictis the merchants (emporoi) purchase the tin from the natives and carry it from there across the strait to Galatia; and finally, making their way on foot through Gaul for some 30 days they bring their wares on horseback to the mouth of the river Rhone. (Diod.5.22.1-4)

This is another classic siting for an emporion - separated from the mainland by a peninsula or strait - a location particularly favoured by the Phoenicians who were for a long time in command of this particular source of tin (Moscati 1973). Strabo refers to another route by which the tin was obtained, this time around Spain, coming from the Cassiterides, and gives details of the exchange itself:

> [The inhabitants of the Cassiterides] have mines of tin and lead, and they give these metals and the hides from their cattle to the emporoi in return for pottery, salt, and copper-work. Now in former times it was the Phoenicians alone who carried out this trade (emporian), for they kept the voyage hidden from everyone else .... (Strabo 3.5.11).

Strabo goes on th say how the route was discovered by the Romans, culminating in Crassus' trip there in ? 56.

To these instances of emporion-trade on the west coast of Gaul and the south coast of Britain should be added the recent analysis as emporion of the site of Hengistbury Head in Hampshire (Cunliffe 1974:97f, 148f), which lies at the junction of the Durotrigan Britons in the south-west, the Belgic Britons in the south-east, and the Armorican Gauls by sea to the south. Although coin played no direct part in the conduct of trade at emporia (ch 8 below), the early development of Celtic coin in tight clusters at major river mouths in the third century in Gaul (the Somme, Seine and Loire particularly: map 14a, 18), may well be connected indirectly with Celtic trade with the Mediterranean region. This is because in order to obtain disposal fo the goods nececessary to exchange for foreign products whose possession is essential to the maintenance of the social position of the ruling class, a high degree of social coercion may be required over the population or over slaves, and strong petty kingships may as a result assert themselves during the active existence of foreign trade at those particular points, even though autocratic kingship may be foreign to the native social system. These kings might strike coin for payments associated with their administration.

As pointed out by Thompson (1965:10) Tacitus himself realized this principle (Ger. 44.2):'as wealth accumulates in a primitive society, power - and he means coercive power - tends to become concentrated in one central authority.' This happened in west Africa during the official slave trade (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1969). Although it is by no means an essential development in the face of foreign trade, it is at least sufficiently compatible with what is known of the hierarchical structure of Celtic

society, and with the coinage evidence, to suggest that some sort of small and wealthy kingships asserted themselves around the emporia at the great river-mouths. Pertinent to this point is the observation by Thompson (1965:68f) that the first successful Germanic autocrat, Maroboduus, asserted himself precisely at the point where Roman influence and trading with the Germans was most intense, and private ownership was most developed. A comparable contrast with their neighbours in terms of social development by the peoples (or chieftains) at the trading ports on the rivers in the third century might underlie the coinage evidence, but obviously this can only be speculation.

In this context it would be relevant to record the existence of a small but significant body of texts which attribute 'civilizing' influences to trade with foreigners, sometimes described as a 'softening' effect.[68] The process involved is that described by Thompson (1965) for the Germans, and the social results of extensive trade by the Celts with the Italians and Romans will be considered below (p.449f). Above (p.331) I quoted a passage from Diodorus which stated that the inhabitants of Belerion had adopted a 'civilized manner of life ' (exêmeromenoi tas agôgas) as a result of contact with emporoi (Diod.5.22.1); Tacitus equates trade and cultus (Ger. 17.1). BG 6.24.5-6 equates contact with the province and 'transmarinarum rerum' with loss of martial prowess; the Belgae are said to be the strongest (fortissimi) of the Celts

> propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important ... (BG 1.1.3)

and also because they lived next to the Germans and were continually at war with them. That this continual warfare was not the real reason for their prowess is proven by comparison with BG 6.24.5-6 where the Celts in contact with foreigh ways became soft and were continually beaten in battle by the Germans (rather than being toughened up by them). The Ubii, who were 'much frequented by merchants' and had taken on Gallic ways are called a 'civitas ampla atque florens' (BG 4.3.3),

and were harrassed by the wild Suebi to the point of paying a tribute. The connection with trade is not coincidental.

Further texts on the rough northern peoples of Gaul emphasize the reluctance they showed to import foreign goods precisely because of the threat which the establishment of foreign trade would pose to their relatively unstratified social order. Of the Nervii Caesar discovered

> nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus; nihil pati . vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium inferri, quod eis rebul relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent: esse homines feros magnaeque virtutui; ... (BG 2.15.4) cf Oros.6.7.13.

Similarly for the Suebi, on whose unstratified social structure at the period in question see Thompson (1965):

> Mercatoribus est aditus magis eo ut quae bello ceperint quibus vendant habeant, quam quo ullam rem ad se importari desiderent. ... Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur. (BG 4.2.1, 6)

The objections here to the import of wine are not, as might appear at first glance, expressions of teetotalism, for beer and honey-wine had long been known in western Europe. Rather they are objections to the import of the single most characteristic foreign import of the period, which was of luxury status, and for the Celts in Central Gaul, played an important role in the social competition of the ruling class. We saw above that oppida and emporia were on the same sites in the first century, and that the northern peoples of Gaul (who refused luxury trade) had none; it was the 'soft' living which was represented in the Centre by the existence of a political class and towns which the 'wild' northern warrior peoples were resisting.

If there were strong petty kingships on the river-mouths in the third or early second centuries (precisely the period of Corbilo's great reputation (p.330 above), they did not apparently outlast the heyday of Greek or Carthaginian trade with that coast, as the greatly modified second- and first-century coin distribution maps would indicate (maps 18-19). Tentatively, the apparent demise of Corbilo suggested by the absence of later

mention of it in any of the literature might be connected with this phenomenon. Since early coinage is a political rather than an economic fossil, this connection of the coin distribution and a temporary centralized social formation is not altogether implausible though incapable of proof. In partial support of the hypothesis, there are scraps of archaeological evidence suggesting an early but apparently temporary phase of prosperity for a section of the population in Picardy and Armorica: Déchelette (1914:1060 = map III) shows numerous early la Tène burials in the Amiens region, where one coin cluster centred, and for Brittany the fortified site of St.Jean Trolimon (Fin.) contained some impressive la Tène I finds and burials (Déchelette 1914:945, 1060f).

Not all emporia were on the coast; navigable rivers could provide a suitable location, and Cenabum (Orleans) is referred to as emporion by Strabo (4. 3.3). In addition, in the context of 218, Polybius recorded that there were numerous dugout canoes on the Rhone becaues riverine peoples were accustomed to use emporia in the Mediterranean (3.42.2). Other inland sites referred to as emporia are Narbo and Arelate (Str.4.1.6), Lugdunum (Str.4.3.2) and Genua of the Ligures (Str.4.6.1). Although the ports at which the trade was conducted are not recorded, Diodorus describes the important trade between Italians and the Celts for slaves against wine:

> The Gauls are exceedingly addicted to the use of wine and fill themselves with the wine which is brought into their country by merchants (emporoi), drinking it unmixed, and since they partake of this drink without moderation by reason of their craving for it, when they are drunken they fall into a stupor or a state of madness. Consequently many of the Italian traders (emporoi), induced by the greed which characterizes them, believe that the love of wine of these Gauls is their own godsend. For they transport the wine on the navigable rivers by means of boats and through the level plain on wagons, and receive an incredible price for it; for in exchange for a jar of wine they receive a slave, getting a servant in return for the drink. (Diod.5.26.3)

This probably refers at least to the early first century, as it is one of the passages which Tierney (1960) considers to have come from Poseidonios. Cicero Pro Fonteio 9.19 makes reference to duties on amphoras of wine leaving the province for the interior of Gaul (p.285-6 above), yet another

way in which the Romans profited from the trade in wine with the Gauls. Maps 20-1 illustrate the wide distribution of amphoras and Campanian ware (mostly drinking vessels) into Gaul; Peacock (1971) discussed the wine trade between Italy and Gaul, sometimes in fine Falernian and Caecuban wines, and the evidence for seaborne trade along the Atlantic and Channel coasts and with Britain before the conquest, Perhaps barbarian slaves were an important element in Italian agricultural slavery; for what it is worth, Orosius 5.24.5 says that Spartacus in the 70s had 'Gallos auxiliatores Germanosque'.

The significance of the Diodorus passage is very great. The Cicero remark suggests the normality of wine trade 'ad hostem', and as was shown in the case of West Africa, consistent foreign demand for slaves against coveted prestige and luxury goods can have a catastrophic effect on the relations between peoples (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1969). In the case of Gaul, the social mechanism whereby slaves were obtained was radically different from that described by Coquery-Vidrovitch for west Africa, where slaves formed part of the normal routine of exchange of persons within the lineage system. In Gaul, slaves were primarily obtained in war: examples in the texts include Dio 40.42.1, BG 1.11.3 and 3.16.2. Slavery probably played a relatively unimportant part in Gaulish agricultural production, unlike Italy where from the second century considerable numbers were used in agriculture and mass-production manufacturing. An example of the contrast between Gaul and Italy in this respect is the production of Arretine ware in Italy, largely by slaves, and the production in Gaul of sigillated ware, which is thought to have been made mostly by free artisans. Within the system of clientage which was found in Gaul, sufficient dependent labour for the extraction of a large agricultural surplus could be obtained without recourse to large scale chattel slavery.

The extent to which captives were used for tasks such as mining which could involve hard, continuous, labour and often death is unfortunately

unknown. Orgetorix's familia of 10,000 (BG 1.4.2) might possibly have included a large number of captives destined to work in the production af minerals (for instance Swiss gold), or other raw materials for Orgetorix's befiefit; that this is not impossible is suggested by the numbers of captives working for the warrior kings and chiefs of west African states in the nineteenth century: 40,000 in the Ashanti gold mines in 1848, and 8-10,000 engaged in gold washing in the rivers during the rainy season each year (Terray 1974:326-8). Free men could also work for gold, but the aristocracy maintained its position because it could dispose of captive labour to extract far more gold than any individual head of a family could, even using his whole family in the work. As a result, the practical possibilities for commoners to become wealthy were remote, especially since they could not neglect agriculture for long.

Large-scale Roman and Italian demand for slaves in exchange for wine, especially from the 120s and the establishment of the Roman province, which is perhaps reflected in the vast number of amphoras and drinking-vessels dating from then in the Centre, may have stimulated the already normal raiding activities of the Celts (undertaken for goods, captives, cattle and the acquisition of a warrior reputation) into warfare on a more intense scale with the object of capture of slaves for exchange; a quite different activity from the capture of prisoners of war for labour purposes or as hostages who were in principle recoverable by a further act of war. The prestige and luxury goods acquired from the Romans by the exchange of slaves and raw materials, as well as the military strength resulting from successful warfare, were probably factors in the development of the centralized political and military authorities of the first century in Central Gaul.

It is undoubtedly true, as argued by Coquery-Vidrovitch (1969) and Sherratt (1972:510f) that th e institution of centralized state government is very often closely associated with the presence of large-scale long-distance trade as an important feature of the functioning of a society.

Terray (1974:323f) has argued convincingly that control of long-distance trade by local aristocracies is very rarely achieved by control of the traders themselves: this would only be possible where (as in the Alps or in the case of certain river routes) there was no choice of transport routes so that traders could be forced to pay tolls of passage. In most cases a choice of routes was available, and traders would choose the routes and markets most favourable to them. Control of long-distance trade was therefore most commonly achieved by control of a subject population and possibly captive slaves who would provide the surplus goods which could be exchanged with traders and attract them to a particular aristocracy's territory. This process was most often of a diplomatic nature rather than an economic one, as the largest and most important expeditions might be led by a son or relative of the originator of the enterprise - a king or chief - and relations with the trader would therefore constitute a political connection of some importance (p.339-40 below). High-born traders of this sort, of course, would be found only among the Celts themselves, though foreign traders might be treated as though they too were important persons out of ignorance. Local aristocracies are in a suppliant relationship to traders wherever there are several possible routes they could take, and competition for the attendance of traders could lead to increased exploitation of the primary producers, whether free or slave, for goods with which to exchange, and therefore lead also to the emergence of the various forms of control typical of the early state (see ch.7 below).

The increasing degree to which imported goods became essential elements of aristocratic life in Gaul probably encouraged the development of towns at the best sites for long-distance exchange; the consolidation of coercive power over the people was essential in order to ensure both the military (resources and the increased agricultural and mineral surplus necessary to support a town population and the needs of trade. The need for protection from powerful neighbours intent on some kidnapping

may have been a contributory factor in the coalescing of the several independent units within a single civitas area under a single more or less effective state authority (ch.7 below). It is unlikely to be a mere coincidence that the most highly developed civitates in a political sense were also those which imported the most wine, compared with the absence of amphoras from Armorica and northern Belgic Gaul.

Most of the textual evidence naturally refers to trade in which the Mediterranean communities were involved. There is, however, some reference to internal Celtic trade of an emporion variety. At its smallest scale (below) exchange of goods between settlements unequally supplied occurred at a very local level. On a somewhet larger scale, a passage from Strabo (4.5.3) records that imports to Britain from Celtica were 'ivory chains, necklaces, amber-gems, glass vessels and other such petty goods'; exports from Britain (Str.4.5.2) were grain, cattle, gold, silver, iron, hides, slaves and hunting dogs also used in battle. Caesar records (BG 5.12.5) that Britain had to import copper, no doubt from Spain or south-western Gaul.

The textual as well as the archaeological evidence points towards the location of emporia in oppida which were also inhabited apparently by the political nobility (Déchelette 1914:948). Caesar records at BG 4.5.2 that merchants were a major source of information for the people, and attracted large crowds around them in the oppida. BG 1.39.1 would also seem to imply that the merchants taking news to Vesontio went there in the normal course of their travel. As bearers of news, merchants were of great importance becauseof their travels; the attempts of Scipio to find out from them about Britain (p.330) were paralelled by Caesar's efforts in the early 50s: BG 4.20.3, 4.21.5.[69]

It is a great misfortune that there is no direct evidence for the social status of these Celtic merchants. It would, for instance, be of immense value to know whether sons of chiefs or kings would lead expeditions

of captive porters carrying gold and other major valuables as occurred in some warrior aristocracies and kingdoms in nineteenth century west Africa (Terray 1974:323,329). There is for instance the case of the Ashanti, not by any means exceptional (Terray 1974:323):

> Here only kings and great figures engage in trade, as I do [spoken by the king] .... If they come from another country to trade at Kumasi, they display friendship and make me a gift; after that I most certainly cannot ask them for gold when they come and buy commodities. Moreover, some of the traders are the sons or brothers of kings, or great captains; I cannot say to them : give me some gold; I must give them gold and provisions and sent them back to their land happy and wealthy so that in other countries it may be known that I am a great king and that I know what is correct.

Such traders did not have a monopoly on trading activity. In fact, any person who could find the means to organize an expedition was free to do so, but only kings and chiefs could obtain the resources in slaves and raw materials to conduct these exchanges on a big scale and regularly. The question of the status of Celtic traders must for the moment be left completely open. It is suggestive, however, of the possible involvement of members of the ruling class that the most prestigious emporia were all apparently located at oppida which were also of major political importance in contrast for instance to the Gyaman kingdom in west Africa where the trading people were of a separate race and the largest town, Bondoukou, which was the great trading centre, was of no political importance whatever. It should, however, be added that even if Celtic nobles did on occasion lead trading expeditions, this should not be taken as a suggestion that traders as such had any special political influence (p.465f below). The situation was rather that diplomatic relations between different aristocracies could take the form of large-scale and regular exchanges of goods, the profitability of which was not the main object of the relationship.

In all probability emporia already existing developed into oppida of importance afterwards, although archaeological evidence for this is unclear. Sherratt (1972:510f) argues that oppida are necessarily

always emporia, as part of his definition of oppida as urban centres of population which also served as administrative and manufacturing centres. The neutrality which is of the greatest importance at ports of trade, so that the exchange may be conducted securely and on a regular basis, may originally have been guaranteed by religious rather than overtly political means: in this context the scarcity of finds of weapons in oppida of all areas may be significant (Břeň 1971). Military finds are commonest at toll-posts near river crossings, as at la Tène and Cabillonum (Déchelette 1914:938, 1111).[70] In the case of Celtic oppida, the role of the privileged learned class may have been important, with their political influence, military immunities, and freedom of movement, a class which at its lower levels included the craftsmen who were certainly resident in the oppida. It has already been noted that in many cases oppida are known to have been important religious centres, and we are entitled to wonder whether a number of traders were also drawn from this class.

The existence, then, of long-distance trade conducted at the big Central oppida can hardly be denied. It was certainly true of Celtic oppida in Central Europe. Collis (1971:97) refers to resident traders at Magdalensberg; Staré Hradisko would appear to have specialized in the amber trade; and in several of them, as in Gaul, extensive manufacturing of metal and ornamental goods was done (Břeň 1971; Krämer 1960). It is certainly implied in the quantities of foreign goods found in oppida in contrast with settlements of other sorts: to take only one example, the extremely large numbers of amphoras at Châteaumeillant (Cher) and Saint-Gence (Hte.V.), and the oppidum at Saint-Marcel (Indre) was obviously of major interregional importance (for these and others see section I).

The oppida of Central Gaul would appear normally to have contained a quarter where luxury goods were made, especially metal goods, and the implication is that they were at least in part produced for exchange. Sherratt (1972:510) argued that it is a typical feature of redistribution

centres that craftsmen are attached to them; in accordance with the existing hierarchy of redistribution centres from the purely local to the 'international', the goods produced at oppida, where inter-regional exchange took place in addition to direct contact between communities at the highest social level, are commonly of a more prestigious quality than those produced at dependent centres. For example, oppida produced not only luxury pottery but metal, glass, and probably coins, while at centres such as Roanne or Gièvres, pottery for regional distribution predominates. Bourges was situated, as we have seen, in the midst of iron-working establishments, and there were iron works near other of the Berry oppida (map B1): it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Bourges was, apart from a political and religious centre of importance, a key <u>emporion</u> for iron goods. The well-known interconnections of the big oppida, including for instance the apparent close connections between Bibracte (Nièvre) and Stradonice in Bohemia (Déchelette 1914:920, 982; Vetters 1956; Collis 1971:100) which were apparently not mediated in any way, further suggest that they were the places where long-distance exchange between Celtic communities took place. Later, under the Roman administration, Roman roads of sufficient importance to be recorded in the Table of Peutinger or the Itinerary of Antonine run from oppidum to oppidum.

At a local level, there were permanently settled market centres of less importance and size than the big oppida, and politically dependent on them, which served to redistribute the produce of the various ecological sectors of their catchment areas, while in addition producing various goods for exchange such as pottery made on the wheel or painted, and perhaps textiles and small valuables; towns of the type discussed above (p.309f) such as Roanne, Gièvres, or Varennes-les-Mâcon come into this category. One account of local exchange of this order is recorded for an Alpine area by Strabo (4.6.9): the Celts in the hills exchanged resin, pitch, torch-pine, honey, wax and cheese for food from the valleys. The Salassi (p.327 above) will have depended largely on this sort of exchange.

Exchange at this local level was able to occur at markets within perhaps two hours' walk of the agricultural settlements they served, and need only have happened periodically in the manner of fairs (cf Clarke 1972 for the Glastonbury area in Somerset); some of the many rectangular enclosures without apparent permanent settlement may have been used for periodic fairs. Piggott (1968:49) described early Irish fairs as being periodic gatherings where old and new laws were recited, proclamations made, poems declaimed, sports held including horse-racing, and a market held. He added that they often took place at ancient tumulus cemetaries or sacred sites: the enormous amounts of small change frequently found at religious sites such as at Allonnes in Sarthe (appendix XII) may be an indication of the existence of comparable institutions in Gaul. Exchange at this level would not normally involve direct foreign trade, which occurred in the oppida, probably even to the exclusion of large fegional market centres with permanent populations such as Raanne, which may at most have dealt with very small-scale exchange in foreign goods.

SECTION III CHAPTER 4

CELTIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FROM THE FOURTH TO SECOND CENTURIES.

Page

347 1. The Irish evidence.

359 2. Fourth and third century Continental Celtic society.

373 3. Second century Continental Celtic society.

Chapter 4

CELTIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FROM THE FOURTH TO SECOND CENTURIES.

It is necessarily difficult to give anything approaching a satisfactory account of the social structure of Central Gaul in this period because of the weaknesses in the evidence outlined at the outset. There is no case of a narrative which covers the whole period for any one area or civitas, and extrapolation from one case to another is an unreliable procedure. Caesar himself noted that the Celtic peoples differed from one another in language, laws and customs (BG 1.1.2) and the best information on specific cases is from regions as diverse as the Aedui, the Arverni and the northern peoples (especially Treveri and Eburones). The use of comparative material from the early Irish laws and epics has been questioned by some (eg F.de Coulanges 1891:1; Jullian 1909:13), and the society described in them is in important respects different from that of Gaul in the late second and first centuries. However, it is not so far out for the earlier centuries, and the nature of the evidence for Gaul particularly in the earlier la Tène period is so fragmentary that the use of comparative material is necessary in order to shed light on the direct testimony, and to formulate hypotheses which might explain the evidence. Providing that later accounts are not transferred uncritically to the Gaulish material, there is much that can be very illuminating and indeed bears an ultimate historical relation to continental Gaulish society (Jackson 1964; Charles-Edwards 1972).

From its earliest appearance in history, la Tène Celtic society was class divided. Caesar gives the most explicit remaining account of social divisions in Gaul, and although he may be oversimplifying, his account is nevertheless of central importance to the analysis of Celtic social structure. In order to attain an understanding of the nature of the social changes that lie behind the material evidence for change, it

is essential to grasp the mechanism whereby surplus was obtained by the ruling class from the primary producers, and the basis of the social inequality in Gaul. Caesar's account goes some way to shedding light on this question.

> In omni Gallia eorum hominum qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus, quibus in hos eadem omnia sunt iura quae dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad hos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. ... Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quot annis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut inlatas propulsarent), omnes in bello versantur; atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientisque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt. (BG 6.13.1-4, 15.1-2)

The three basic social categories, therefore, were the nobles or 'equites' who were the effective ruling class and a warrior aristocracy; the 'druids' who were a privileged learned class subdivided into priests, poets, soothsayers, and craftsmen,under the patronage of the nobility; and the 'plebs' or common freemen who had few privileges or rights, and who were held in varying degrees of dependence or clientage to the ruling classes. The evidence for the whole period up to the first century is almost entirely concerned with the ruling classes because of the type of written evidence available, so that our knowledge of Celtic society for most of its history is extremely lopsided.

This categorization of the three classes of Gaulish society as described by Caesar is fundamental not only to Celtic society in Gaul for the whole of its history from the first moment we hear of it, but also to early Ireland and Wales, and is probably a characteristic Celtic form of social organization. For reasons stated above (p.285) and because of its congruence with the other evidence, I believe Caesar's report to be valid for the first century, while it is also descriptive of the previous phase of Celtic social development. Whether it was

directly drawn from Poseidonios (Tierney 1960) or whether it was adapted affects its accuracy only to a negligible degree. Reasons for a decline by the first century of the social power of the learned class, relative to what it had been previously, which I would connect directly with the development of the state, will be discussed below.

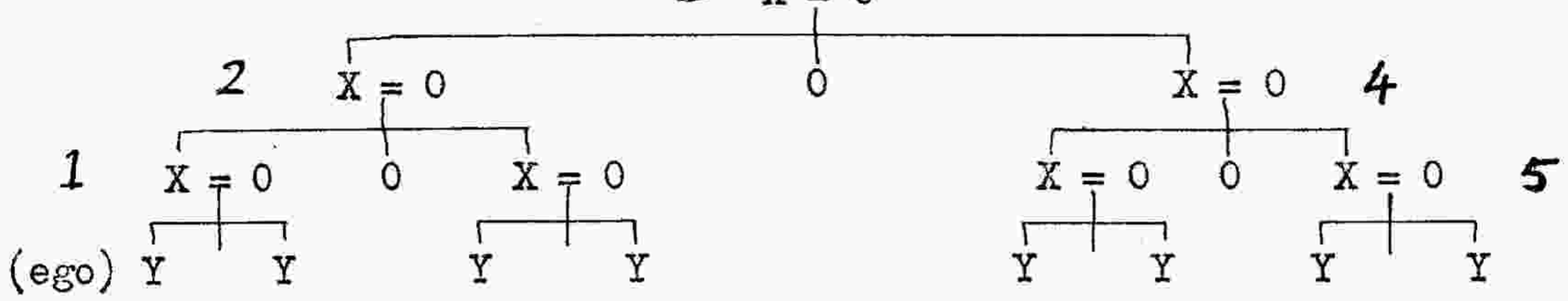
1. THE IRISH EVIDENCE.

Before turning to the rather scanty Gaulish and northern Italian evidence, it is worth reviewing in outline the best comparative evidence for Celtic social structure which is particularly pertinent to the fourth to second centuries in Gaul. It concerns a period of Irish social development most closely comparable with the first and second la Tène periods in Gaul, for reasons to be discussed below. In particular, light is shed on family structure and some of the mechanisms of coercion and exaction of tributes for which there is practically no direct Gaulish evidence. Obviously, details will vary from place to place, but as will be seen below, it is a strong probability that in general outline the same social formations were to be found in early Gaul and in early Ireland. The greatest changes came with the emergence of the state, and these will be discussdd with the first century material in chapters 5-7.

In outline, Irish society before the seventh century AD, and probably before the fifth century AD, had the king of a province at the top of the social hierarchy, with the principal nobles immdiately below him, followed by the inferior nobles, all of whom were important warriors. Below the nobility were non-noble freemen (the bóaire class below) who were primarily landowning but also included superior craftsmen and especially the blacksmith who as maker of weapons was a very important person in the social structure: he may also have been reputed to have supernatural powers. Below this class were the unfree persons, men with no political power and no right to bear arms. They were propertyless persons, tenant farmers or inferior craftsmen (Jackson 1964:9f).

Charles-Edwards (1972) has analyzed the basic structure of the pre-seventh century AD Irish kindred, which was the primary unit of the society. The normal freeman (bóaire), with full legal rights, had to possess a certain minimum qualification in land. He could lose his status as bóaire is he had too many heirs for the land available, so that

each could not receive the minimum. The kindred (which in this form probably came with the Celts from the continent, and is therefore probably to be found among the Celts of Gaul as well), consisted of an agnatic group of four generations, or the descendants of a common great-grandfather:



For the purposes of inheritance of land the youngest generation were treated as minors and unable to set up house and farm independently. Above them was a three-generation group of five units, so that five basic holdings was the land of the lineage. The figure of five units was used by the early Irish law tracts and is schematic rather than a strict description of reality in any given family (Charles-Edwards 1972:17). A noble was one who had dependent on him and paying dues at least five units, or a whole lineage. It would appear that grades of nobleman (p. 350 below) went by the multiple of five units they held in vassalage.[71] The most characteristic single feature of the Irish nobility was that it was a warrior class. Irish heroes were called <u>eirr</u> meaning literally 'chariot-men' (Jackson 1964:17f), to which one might compare the Gallic 'equites' for the equivalent nobility at a time when Celts in Gaul were no longer using war chariots and the horse was apparently the characteristic status symbol of the noble warrior. On coming of age each young freeman or noble was ceremonially presented with a set of weapons, the <u>gaisced</u>, consisting of spear and shield, and was mounted on a chariot. It was the Ulster custom for the new warrior then to gather his men and lead them on a raid against the nearest hostile district with the intention of returning with spoils of cattle (Jackson 1964:18). The Old Irish epics are all in one way or another directly concerned to extol the warrior virtues of the

nobility.

Below the freeman, who was a man of reasonable property in land and materials, and might have a retinue, there were degrees of semi-free and unfree persons (Charles-Edwards 1972). At the bottom were slaves, distinguished by the fact that they were completely dependent on their lord. If the kindred of a freeman could not provide him with the land qualification for a bóaire, he and his whole kindred became semi-free, at least before the seventh century AD. As the unit of land necessary for a bóaire was probably too large to be worked by his family alone, he probably had to have dependents, of unfree or semi-free status. In a tract devoted to semi-freemen, it states that unless he becomes unfree, his honour-price is paid in accordance with half of his property, a sure sign of social degradation.

The society in which these definitions belong has been characterized as "tribal, rural, hierarchical and familiar" (Dillon 1954). The territorial unit or túath he translates as tribe for want of a better word; these units, about the size of a modern Barony, were under the rule of a king or rí, who had authority (although little or no coercive power) in his túath. There was nothing resembling administrative machinery, and there were no towns of any description; therefore, in so far as there was any 'government', it resided in the person of the rí. The rí might himself have an overlord to whom he paid hostages and tribute (which he exacted from his túath), but the overlord had no direct sovereignty over the minor king's túath. The highest sort of king possible was the king of a province: Ulster had 35 túath units (Piggott 1968:48). Not only were there no towns, but there were no villages; the isolated holding was the characteristic mode of exploitation of the land. In this respect early Ireland contrasts sharply with Gaul, as it would appear then from the early la Tène period there were villages in at least northern Italy and the Alps, and small villages in the Marne region (Déchelette 1914:943f).

The king was normally able in each túath to trace descent to some ancestral deity, and was elaborately inaugurated, but succession was not automatic, and was in theory open to any member of the dynastic family within the basic four-generation group. The Annals are therefore full of cases of disputed succession, and we shall see below that the same was undoubtedly the case in Gaul.

After the king came the 'grades of nobility', though the legally defined distinctions within the aristocracy probably had little meaning in practice. The most important distinction was between persons of noble birth, whose family trees were preserved in the genealogies, and the commoner. The aristocracy consisted of the warrior class freed from productive labour, and they were patrons of poets, artisans and craftsmen. There was a third class of free men between nobility and commoners, most closely associated with the nobility, and like the nobility largely maintained by the labour of dependent persons of unfree or semi-free status, as well as receiving patronage from the nobles. These were the 'men of art' (aes dána) whose skill gave them a status not attributable to their birth. (On reasons for the 'casting' of those who have socially necessary skills see Meillassoux 1960:48). These were the lawyers, physicians, skilled wrights, jewellers, poets, historians and musicians. Traders, whose freedom of movement might associate them with this class, do not seem to have been distinguished as a separate profession from the other statuses they may have had as noblemen or freemen, a point which is of importance in relation to the discussion of p.339f above. Skilled craftsmen were an inferior category of aes dána; the higher ranks included druids and filí.

This learned class was of immense importance in a society without towns or centralized institutions (Greene 1954; Dillon 1954). Members of it alone had the right to cross túath borders unchallenged, and in Ireland at least it was the only 'national' institution. It is probable

for instance that this class was responsible for the standard literary language which shows no dialects whether written in Ireland or in continental monasteries. The social function of this class in a society like that of early Ireland was that it preserved the traditional law in an illiterate society, and was also the bearer of the sacred traditions. This authority and knowledge gave members of the learned class thier power, as there were no military or political resources on which a comparable authority could otherwise have been based. Being the possessors of necessary social and religious tradition lies at the roots of the effective authority of senior groups even in the most primitive societies, as in them it is the only mechanism whereby privilege and control of junior sections of the community can be maintained (Meillassoux 1960; Dupré and Rey 1973). One might make comparison also with the biru or 'learned' class in Ruanda, a society which in many ways is analogous in its social structure, lack of large nucleated settlements with administrative functions (although they did have villages) and especially in its clientage relations with early Gaul. There the biru were guardians of the sacred traditions which they kept secret and transmitted orally, and especially the rules for the choice of the king, rituals used in wars and the care of cattle (on which their clientage system was based), what to do in famine and all the other rules of the collective life of the Ruanda.(Maquet 1972:103, 124). Biru had privileged domains, were of very great political importance associated very closely with the ruling Tutsi, and were free from tribute. They could not be interfered with by either of the principal agents of authority, the cattle chiefs or the land chiefs (ibid.:126ff). Their authority therefore was based not on overt power but on their guardianship of essential traditions and their functions in religion and the institutional life of the Ruanda. Analogously, in Ireland, as in Ruanda (ibid.:124ff), respect was paid to the king at Tara because of his sacred status, not because of actual political or military coercive power.

In every túath, the rí would have a few officers who had limited functions of government, but his authority to levy tribute within the túath rested on custom, and his support of numerous clients, not on overt force. He could not create or repeal legislation, but relied on interpretations of the existing law given by jurists. The rí had no jurisdiction within the kindreds of the túath or between them; it was up to them to settle feuds themselves with the help of jurists. In the event of a judgement being give, the rí had neither right nor power to enforse the judgement. The law was based on the powers of traditional custom formulated and applied by a learned professional elite, which was the basis of their inormous social authority.

At first the druids interpreted the law, but later a separate class of jurists separated from them, leaving druids as magicians, and it is possible (p. 376 below) that a similar specialization within the learned class took place in Gaul. The chief mechanism whereby compulsion was secured in Ireland was the system of suretyship, and it was highly developed and connected with the more general system of clientage (below). There were three kinds of surety: (1) a man who guaranteed to answer with his own property for his principal's default; (2) the personal-surety who pledged his own person and freedom; if the principal defaulted, the surety had to surrender himself as hostage to the defrauded party - this was probably the oldest form; (3) the enforcing surety, who was the most important type. He was always a man of higher rank than the principal, and pledged his honour that the principal would fulfil the particular duty which he warranted. If the principal broke faith, the surety would not only compel him to discharge his obligation, but would also exact a heavy penalty to the amount of the surety's honour-price as compensation for the insult to his honour. The most important legal transactions would need all three sorts of surety, so it was difficult to default with impunity.

Although the ancient texts say nothing directly about suretyship in Gaul, the use of hostages as sureties for the payment of tribute is widely attested in Caesar. They are too frequent to need exhaustive citation; some of the more striking include BG 1.31.12 where Ariovistus demanded sons of the Aeduan nobility as gostages for their submission and payment of tribute; 1.31.7 where he got them from the Sequani, again nobles being demanded as sureties; 6.2.2, a particularly clear case:

> Interfecto Indutiomaro, ut docuimus, ad eius propinquos a Treveris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt. Cum ab proximis impetrare non possent, iure iurando inter se confirmant obsidibusque de pecunia cavent; Ambiorigem sibi societate et foedere adiungunt. (BG 6.2.1-2)

In this case hostages acted as sureties for an alliance rather than for payment of tribute to an overlord. The same use of sureties for alliance is attested for instance at BG 1.9.4, where the Helvetii and their allies swapped sureties on the occasion of the migration of 58. Vercingetorix insisted on hostages from the allies in the revolt of 52 (BG 7.64.1).

A related Irish practice was fosterage, which like suretyship was a facet of the clientage system. The young sons of an inferior noble would be sent to be brought up in the household of a superior noble or the king, where they would be trained in the arts of war and warrior virtues: in effect they were also hostages in the hands of the chief. The bond established between foster-father and foster-son and in particular between foster-brothers was very close and was a n important cohesive force within the nobility. Whether the taking of sons of nobles as hostages in Gaul was in any way related to this practice is uncertain although not unlikely: it would look virtually indistinguishable to a foreigner.

In Ireland, these sorts of arrangement normally only operated within the túath, though there were arrangements between tribes which might be made, ranging from truces to treaties. In the event of war, its effects were mitigated by the presence within each túath of neutral zones immune from bloodshed and plunder, which included the pagan sanctuaries and, later, church land. Also included were the lands and chattels of

the 'men of art', so that ordinary non-combatant freemen could flee from war by taking their persons and herds to the nearest sanctuary for the duration.

The laws say little beyond defining the status and duties of the common freeman; he tilled the soil, paid taxes in food-rent to the king and usually stood in the relation of clientship to a neighbouring nobleman who, in return for a fixed tribute in provisions and a certain amount of labour services including attendance in his retinue on public occasions, would advance him stock to graze his land and guaranteed him limited protectionagainst other powerful neighbours and especially protection at law(Dillon 1954, Jackson 1964). The Irish word for a client, céile, means literally 'companion' probably because of his duty to take part in a retinue; the use by Polybius of hetaireia to describe north Italian Celtic clientage (p. 361 below) may be a direct translation of a cognate word.

Clientship was a t the root of a nobleman's prosperity and his social stadning, and his status was assessed by the number of his clients. Law tracts distinguish two sorts of clientship which differ in the nature of the contract: 'free' clientship and 'base' clientship. The relation between lord and 'free' client consisted of a grant (rath) of cattle by the lord in return for a fixed rent in kind and labour-service from the client. The rent was calculated as an annual payment for seven years equivalent to one third of the value of the grant. In 'base' clientage the client got, in addition to the grant, a payment equal to the lord's honour-price, and thus the lord got additional rights over him, for instance he had a right to a third share of the penalty if his client was killed. Both types of client remained free men and the relationship could be repudiated by either party on certain conditions. This clientage relationship between freemen should probably be distinguished from the automatically dependent relationship of unfree and semi-free persons to the nobility and freemen. The tract on 'base' clientship gives as annual rent for six cows: a calf of the value of three sacks of wheat, a salted pig, eight sacks of

malt, a sack of wheat, and three handfulls of rush candles. Slaves were mostly captives in war, and are seldom mentioned (Dillon and Chadwick 1973: 128).

Another society with a warrior aristocracy and with clientage as the principal institution of social control by them was the Ruanda (Maquet 1972). On their 'learned' class see p.351 above. In Ruanda, the king owned in principle all the land and the cattle, and was client to no one, but it was principally by manipulation of ownership of cattle that the king controlled the nobility and they in turn controlled the rest of the Tutsi and also the agricultural Hutu (Maquet 1972:91f, 121f). The Tutsi were a small proportion of the population (c.10-15%) but were the dominant class, ethnically distinct from the Hutu who were the vast majority of the population, and the Twa who were a small proportion irrevocably at the bottom of the scale. The Tutsi were warriors and pastoralists; the king was always Tutsi and all Tutsi owned cattle. Some Hutu owned cattle, but almost entirely held them by clientage; they were primarily agriculturalists (ibid.:113-4, 129f). Cattle were a special category of goods, the characteristic property of nobles (the most aristocratic nobles never ate agricultural produce which was associated with the Hutu, but had an almost entirely liquid diet of alcohol and cows' milk and blood); the Tutsi despised agriculture which was entirely left to the Hutu, although a Tutsi would own land which would be worked for him by Hutu clients. Only the ownership of cattle could permit a Hutu to marry a Tutsi girl and so rise in the social structure. The effective disposal of cattle was the principal institutionalized means of acquiring power, and a patron received labour services from both Hutu and Tutsi clients and agricultural surplus from Hutu clients only, through the mechanism of clientage (ibid.: 121f, 129-30).

> Cattle were therefore a valuable form of wealth, and they were not raised to be eaten (it was not forbidden to eat beef, but it

usually only happened if a cow died or had to be slaughtered). The cattle instead were raided as a means of operating the clientage system. The lord held the bare ownership of his cattle; he would give one or many cows to a man who came to him to put himself under his patronage and protection, and would get in return services such as accompaniment on journeys, labour in his fields (this only from Hutu clients), and periodic gifts of beer. The lord fetained the ownership of the cows thus extended, and also any heifers or cows produced by them (ibid.:91). The lord therefore retained ownership of (and the right to claim back) all the female and therefore productive animals held by his client, a point which is some importance and not made by Maquet or the commentators on Irish clientage; had the client been able to own fully the female offspring of a cow lent to him in clientage he would have obtained the basis for an independent cow herd of his own and therefore social independence. One should compare this Irish clientage dues (n.71 + p.354-5): a cow (productive cattle) is a higher rent than a steer (unproductive cattle). A client in Ruanda received the usufruct of the cows he was extended: he could dispose of their milk, the male calves and the dead carcases of the cows themselves. A client could use the cows he was extended to obtain clients for himself, and in fact except for the King, Tutsi were all clients of one another right to the top of the pyramid. The king had as clients the most important divisional chiefs, they had as clients lesser nobles and so on, while in addition to Tutsi clients, Hutu clients provided agricultural and labour services for all levels of the aristocracy. It was virtually impossible to survive socially as a Tutsi or Hutu without being a client as it provided legal and other protection as well as ensuring a supply of cows. The Ruanda also had slaves who were captives of war or the very poor (the word for a male slave originally designated the very poor: ibid.:95), and they were distinguished by their total dependence on their lord.

It is tempting to connect the use of cattle in Irish or Ruanda clientage with the northern Celtic 'barbarians' in Caesar who counted

cattle as their chief wealth (p.297f above) or the early northern Italian Celts in Polybius (p. 361 below). Cunliffe (1974:174f, 177) has suggested that cattle may have been kept in significant numbers in Britain near the hill-forts, perhaps as part of a clientage system. Control of cattle can be a powerful form of control by cattle-owners over the acquisition of wealth and social status by others, even permitting the erection of state apparatus (p. 435 below). However, it is a less powerful basis of social control than the control of land ownership and thereby the means of agricultural production. Under systems of cattle clientage, although land and its produce may form part of the clientage relationship, it would appear that it was a secondary element, dependent on the relationship established by means of a grant of cows. At what stage social control by means of land grants, manipulation of debts in agricultural surplus and money grants instead of by grants in cows, was acquired by the Gaulish ruling class is of course unknown, and perhaps cattle clientage persisted in the countryside up to the Roman conquest, but cattle-based clientage was probably obsolete for the ruling class in most of Central Gaul by the first century as the principal means of operating both noble and base clientage. The evidence points to extensive cattle herding being typical only of northern Gaul and other 'backward' areas, and I would suggest that other and more powerful means of ensuring the indebtedness and therefore dependence of the population had been found by then. I would suggest that the land itself formed this basis by means of leasing or lending, perhaps supported by monetary loans, but of course there is no proof, only the suggestive evidence of the apparent condition of indebtedness of the first century agricultural population (p. 417f below). In the context of the probable course of development of the late Gaulish state (ch.7 below), clientage based on land and other subsidiary loans would be more appropriate than 'barbarian' cattle clientage; if so, it would form an additional reason for the fear of long-distance trade by the Nervii and other 'barbarians' (p.333f above), who could see the association

of luxury trade , and town living, with the gradual obsolescence of the traditional Celtic basis of clientage and its attendant traditions of raiding and heroic warfare.

The use to which comparative evidence of the sort above can be put in interpreting an archaeological site has been shown to great effect by Clarke (1972) in discussing Glastonbury (Somerset), where the evidence of excavation was fully compatible with the structure of a bóaire's kindred as outlined above. Returning to Caesar's synopsis, it is clear that what he says is also in accordance with the basic structure of the Irish system. He says there were two principal classes, the plebs who were of no account politically and correspond to the unfree classes, and the equites plus druids who consist of nobility plus freemen and the learned class; the druids were of great authority because of their legal activity as well as their sacred offices, and it is implied that they moved freely in Gaul. Like the aes dána, they are described as forming a coherent body. The warrior character of the equites is stressed (and note that the senior freeman [n.71] has a fine horse), and so is the clientage system. At BG 6.14.1 the druids are said to be exemt from military service, which recalls the inviolability of their property in Ireland. As we shall see later, there is also some evidence for the existence of degrees of semi-free and unfree persons in Gaul of lower status than common freemen or clients.

2. FOURTH AND THIRD CENTURY CONTINENTAL CELTIC SOCIETY.

Before returning in more detail to the social structure of the Gaulish Celts of the first century where the evidence is fullest, the available information for the preceding centuries should be considered. Although the information is scanty, for reasons given above, it is fortunate that the Irish evidence is of most help at this stage. We have seen that before the mid-second century there were no towns or oppida in Gaul, although unlike Ireland, there were nucleated villages from at least the third centruy, depending partly on the local geography. In addition, in Gaul there was a native coinage from the late fourth or early third century, a feature absent throughout in Ireland. Chariot warfare and heroic combat which persisted for a long time in Ireland, were also abandoned at an early stage in Gaul, at least in the role of characteristic battle-tactics, probably by the early second century in most places (p.25, 366f). However, there are in many respects close comparisons to be made between heroic Ireland and Gaul before the second century, which constitute important social indicators; for instance the descriptions in Poseidonios of Celtic feasting which if they are describing the background to the Roman wars, ostensibly refer to at least the second century, and have often been compared in detail with slosely similar episodes in Irish epic (Dillon and Chadwick 1973:307-8; Jackson 1964:20f).

Textual evidence for the Celts of the fourth and third centuries does not unfortunately refer to Gaul itself, except in so far as the invaders of Italy came from a common source with Gaulish peoples such as the Senones and Lingones in the Seine basin. In particular there is no unambiguous reference to any but the warrior class and their retinues. Livy (probably following Timagenes) described a tradition for the migrations of the fifth century which led to expansion of the aristocratic la Tène culture as well as the dispersion of specific names of peoples in Gaul, and folk movements into Italy and Central Europe. As we saw above (p.287f), the details of the names of the invaders of Italy as well as the supposed

date of the original movement are suspicious, but otherwise the story has a certain plausibility.

> Prisco Tarquinio regnante Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit. ii regem Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque cum sua tum publica praepollens, quod in imperio eius Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare praegravante turba regnum cupiens, Bellovesum ac Segovesum sororis filios, inpigros iuvenes, missurum se esse in quas dii dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit: quantum ipsi vellent numerum hominum excirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset. (Livy 5.34.1-4)

In an agnatic kindred, a mother's brother is a very close relative, comparable with a natural father, and the relationship of the king and his nephews has an authentic ring for a Celtic legend. In the event of great population growth it becomes difficult for the status of kindreds to be maintained with a limited amount of land (Charles-Edwards 1972), and one solution to the problem which was resorted to from time to time was the movement to completely new territory outside the 'tribe' of a significant proportion of the population who would otherwise have suffered a loss of status on coming into inheritance. The fact of the mixed content of the migrating sections is also plausible, as it is a regular feature of emigration due to overpopulation that the excess of a number of communities should take part in order to permit the remnants at home to grow again (Sherratt 1972:501). Despite the suspicious content of the inventory of migrating peoples, therefore, the Livy passage contains at least a kernel of historical information about this early period.

The first good description of Celtic social structure is in Polybius, who described the Celts who had recently arrived in northern Italy. Ostensibly the passage refers to the fourth century, though Grenier (1959:399) thought it was really a second-century picture. The passage, Pol. 2.17.9-12 is quoted above at p.299, and states that the Celts lived in unwalled villages, fed on meat, were exclusively engaged in warfare and agriculture, had no art or science, and counted cattle and gold as their chief possessions because they could take them with them as they moved.

He continues:

> They treated comradeship (hetaireia)as of the greatest importance, those among them being the most feared and most powerful who were thought to have the largest number of attendants (therapeuontas) and retainers (sumperipheromenous). (Pol.2.17.12)

As the Cisalpine Celts certainly had important oppida later on such as Mediolanum (Which Livy 5.34.9 believed to have been founded immediately after the arrival of the Insubres),[72] the Polybius passage may be a very old tradition. The statement that the Celts had no art or science has been taken to mean that they had no druids (Desjardins 1876:205, 201, II:515), but that is to put too much stress on the passage. Surely its force is that the Celts were 'barbarians', 'uncivilized', not that they had no native learned class, which would be truly remarkable. The emphasis on the existence of clientage is one of the most important features of this early picture. His use of hetaireia to describe the relationship recalls the Irish céile or 'companion', as the term for a client (p.354 above), and in view of Polybius' use of the apparent translation-word sumperipheromenoi (below), this would seem to be another translation.

This passage demonstrates that already we are dealing with a class-divided and hierarchical society, whose aristocracy was principally engaged in warrior pursuits, not production. The remark about wealth in cattle might be taken to allude to a form of cattle-based clientage such as the early Irish had (p. 354ff above), though this is obviously speculation. As yet the Celts had not settled down to the very intensive cereal cultivation characteristc of much of northern Italy under Roman domination, and also characteristic of the Centre of Gaul in Caesar's day. In addition, Polybius apparently makes a distinction between two grades of client, a distinction found in a number of other sources (p. 380f below) and probably reflecting the distinction between free clients and unfree or semi-free dependents: therapeuontes are probably unarmed and the poorest sort of retainer, shieldbearers and charioteers who could be clients paying labour-services, or the semi-free; sumperipheromenoi

were warriors, but of client status.

In a third century context (236 and 231) Polybius narrates incidents which shed a little more light on the social and military organization in northern Italy. Of particular interest is the implied division of the socially dominant class into nobles and chiefs on the one hand (proestôtes, hêgoumenoi, basileis), and free warriors (plêthos) on the other. The unfree and semi-free parts of the population are scarcely if ever alluded to, as in the Ulster epics which also concerned 'military' history.

A first set of passages relate mainly to the relations between the nobility and the warriors.

> At first these advances [to the Alpine Gauls for military aid against the Romans] were made secretly by their chiefs (hêgoumenôn) without the knowledge of the multitude (plêthos); so that when a force of Transalpine Gauls advanced as far as Ariminum the Boian populace (ta plêthê) were suspicious of them, and quarreling with their own leaders (próestôtas) as well as with the strangers, killed their kings (basileis) Atis and Galatos, and had a pitched battle with the other Gauls in which many fell on either side. (Pol.2.21.4-5)

The Gaesatae who were eventually hired from beyond the Alps by the Insubres and Boii (Pol.2.22.1-2), were led by two kings (basileis), Concolitanus and Aneroëstes, and the forces they brought were 'distinguished' (endoxoteroi) (2.22.6), and 'well equipped' (polutelê : 2.23.1).

> A council of warriors (or perhaps of nobility only) is described:
>
> The leaders of the Gauls (hêgemones), on seeing the camp-fires at night, surmised that the enemy had arrived and held a council (sunedreuon) at which king Aneroëstes expressed the opinion, that having captured so much booty (for it appears that the quantity of slaves, cattle and miscellaneous spoils was enormous), they should not give battle again nor risk the fortune of the whole enterprise, but return home in safety, and having got rid of all their encumbrances and lightened themselves, return and, if advisable, try issues with the Romans. It was decided under the circumstances to take the course recommended by Aneroëstes, and having come to this resolution in the night, they broke camp before daybreak and retreated along the sea-coast through Etruria. (Pol.2.26.4-7)

It is important to note that the coexistence of several leaders within a people is presupposed in these accounts (cf Pol.2.35.1 hoi proestôtes tôn Insoubrôn). There is no evidence from these or any of the fourth and third century passages for any form of centralized authority whether in

the person of a single king (the Boii had at least two, and the Gaesatae had two), or a council of elders or senate.

In a different context, this time in the Alps, information of social interest is given by Polybius and Livy. In the context of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps in 218, Polybius described the contest for the chieftainship at the 'Island' on the Rhone, 'a populous district producing an abundance of corn' (3.49.5):

> he found two brothers disputing the kingship (basileia) and posted over against each other with their armies, and on the elder one making overtures to him and begging him to assist in establishing him on the throne (archê), he consented, it being a matter almost of certainty that under present circumstances this would be of great service to him. Having united with him therefore to attack and expel the other, he derived great assistance from the victor; for not only did he furnish the army with plenty of corn and other provisions, but he replaced all their old and worn weapons with new ones, thus freshening up the whole force very opportunely. He also supplied them with warm clothing and foot-wear, things of the greatest possible service to them in crossing the mountains. But the most important of all was, that the Carthaginians being not at all easy on the subject of their passage through the territory of the Allobroges, he protected them in the rear with his own forces and enabled them to reach the foot of the pass in safety. (Pol.3.49.8-13)

He goes on to say that as long as the Carthaginians were on flat country, they were left alone by the chiefs (hêgemones) of the Allobroges, as they were afraid of the cavalry and the 'barbarians' escorting them, but when the escorts went home and Hannibal entered mountainous country, the hêgemones of the Allobroges harassed them (3.50.1-3). The Carthaginians received protection for the space of 10 days' march. The practice of the Allobroges was to maintain a position on high spots over the road by day but to retire to a town (polis: Pol.3.50.7, cf p.308 above); after routing them the Carthaginians sacked the polis. It was empty as all the inhabitants had left in hope of pillage, and Hannibal captured in it a number of pack animals and horses of his own that had been stolen, plus supply of corn and cattle sufficient for his army for two or three days (3.51.10-2).

The dispute between the brothers for the 'kingship' recalls the mode

of succession known in early Ireland (p.350 above); first-century cases are also known, for instance that of Indutiomarus of the Treveri: on his death, the Treveri gave the imperium he had had to his relatives (BG 6.2.2), and the quarrel between Diviciacus and Dumnorix of the Aedui is of this type (BG 1.3.5, 1.20.2). The account Livy gives of the quarrel of the brothers on the 'Island' differs significantly from that of Polybius, and is nearer in detail to the first century incidents in Caesar. In particular, he mentions that the elder brother had been king and was ousted; that his name was known, and that the 'senate' or council of elders was responsible for the decision to reinstate him. No protection of the Carthaginian army is mentioned in the Livian account. Livy also records that the 'Island' was formed by the confluence of the Isère and Rhone.

> incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. tum discors erat. regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit. ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogebant. sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, ... (Livy 21.31.5-9)

A second set of passages relate to the technical aspects of Celtic warfare before the second century. A description of the Gallic opposition in 225 to the Romans at Telamon is very important for what it tells of Gallic military discipline in this early period, and the probability that it comes from an eye-witness account enhances its interest (p.284). As it speaks best for itself a fairly lengthy quotation would be useful.

> The Celts had drawn up facing their rear, from which they expected Aemilius to attack, the Gaesatae from the Alps and behind them the Insubres, and facing in the opposite direction, ready to meet the attack of Gaius' legions, they placed the Taurisci and the Boii from the right bank of the Po. Their wagons and chariots they stationed at the extremity of either wing and collected their booty on one of the neighbouring hills with a protecting force round it. This order of the Celtic forces, facing both ways, not only presented a formidable appearance, but was well adapted to the exigencies of the situation. The Insubres and Boii wore their trousers and light cloaks, but the Gaesatae had discarded these garments owing to their proud confidence in themselves, and stood

naked, with nothing but their arms, in front of the whole army, thinking that thus they would be more efficient, as some of the ground was overgrown with brambles which would catch on their clothes and impede the use of their weapons. At first the battle was confined to the hill, all the armies gazing on it, so great were the numbers of cavalry from each host combating there pell-mell. In this action Gaius the Consul fell in the mellay fighting with desperate courage, and his head was brought to the Celtic kings (basileas); but the Roman cavalry ... at length overmastered the enemy and gained possession of the hill. The infantry were now close upon each other ... (Pol.2.28.3-11).

... [The Romans] were terrified by the fine order of the Celtic host and the dreadful din, for there were innumerable horn-blowers and trumpeters, and, as the whole army were shouting their war-cries at the same time, there was such a tumult of sound that it seemed that not only the trumpets and the soldiers but all the country round had got a voice and caught up the cry. Very terrifying too were the appearance and the gestures of the naked warriors in front, all in the prime of life, and finely built men, and all the leading companies richly adorned with gold torques and armlets. (Pol.2.29.5-8) ... But when the javelineers advanced, as is their usage, from the ranks of the Roman legions and began to hurl their javelins in well-aimed volleys, the Celts in the rear ranks were indeed well protected by their trousers and cloaks, but it fell out far otherwise than they had expected with the naked men in front, and they found themselves in a very different and helpless predicament. For the Gaulish shield does not cover the whole body; so that their nakedness was a disadvantage, and the bigger they were the better chance had the missiles of going home. At length, unable to drive off the javelineers owing to the distance and the hail of javelins, and reduced to the utmost distress and perplexity, some of them, in their impotent rage, rushed wildly on the enemy and sacrificed their lives, while others, retreating step by step on the ranks of their comrades, threw them into disorder by their display of faint-heartedness. Thus was the spirit of the Gaesatae broken down by the javelineers; but the main body of the Insubres, Boii and Taurisci, once the javelineers had withdrawn into the ranks and the Roman maniples attacked them, met the enemy and kept up a stubborn hand-to-hand combat. For, though being almost cut to pieces, they held their ground, equal to their foes in courage, and inferior only, as a force and individually, in their arms. The Roman shields, it should be added, were afar more serviceable for defence and their swords for attack, the Gaulish sword being only good for a cut and not a thrust. (Pol.2.30.1-8)

They were finally defeated by the Roman cavalry; king Concolitanus was taken prisoner and Aneroëstes committed suicide after flight with 'a few followers'.

Above (p.24ff) the principal changes in military weapons in the la Tène period were summarized. The use of a line of battle which could be referred to generically as a phalanx or testudo (Livy 5.43.2 for the fourth century; 10.29.6, 12 wedge formation and testudo) would explain the adoption of a protective metal boss for the shields, and the degree of authority the war leaders had over their various contingents is shown by the organization at Telamon to have been considerable, though in the stress of

impending defeat the ranks were broken and something reminiscent of heroic combat ensued.

It is noteworthy that although chariots and wagons are mentioned as stationed at both wings at Telamon, they are not said to play a part in the battle. Their use is described in Livy (10.28.9 = 295 BC): they were intended to wait for their cue and then burst into action; he, too, mentions 'essedis carrisque', and says they were used to terrify the cavalry. It is odd, however, that they were not an important feature at Telamon, perhaps suggesting that their use was becoming peripheral in battle. Caesar found chariot-fighting a novelty when he met it in Britain in 55 and 54 (BG 4.33, 5.16), suggesting that he had not met it in Gaul. Its characteristic feature was absence of ordered battle-lines, which made it a formidable opposition to the Romans. The chariots would drive all over the place and the warriors would throw their spears from them, disrupting the infantry ranks; then they would drive into the cavalry squadrons and get out and fight on foot, the chariots retiring to a short distance in a bunch to be resorted to at the end (cf. Diod.5.29.1, p.374 below). Thus they got the benefit of horses' speed and infantry stability. This would suggest that the British nobility fought cavalry on foot (cf the German method of fighting cavalry on foot, BG 4.2.2); at Telamon there was a cavalry battle, but the identity of the combatants is not revealed, and the Celts had cavalry of their own (Pol.2.25.10). Polybius again mentioned the Celts' chariots at 2.33.4 where in 225 they are said to have had 50,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry and chariots. Chariots and wagons were at one time a peculiarly Celtic battle tactic, so far as the Romans were concerned (Déchelette 1914:1198 suggests that an important number of words in Latin for carts and chariots come from Celtic words, cf Harbison 1969:49f), and it may be that memory of the early invasions of the Celts in Italy lie behind the use of portrayal of chariots on coins of the second and first century (p.25 above); it was a familiar theme in Roman legend rather than a contemporary historical fact about Celtic warfare. Déchelette

(1914:1180f, 1196, cf Harbison 1969) argued that by 121 chariots in Gaul were being abandoned except for ceremonial purposes and luxury transport.

The composition of these early Celtic armies may be tentatively suggested. They were drawn up by national groups, as in Vercingetorix's armies of the first century. The nobility ('equites', cf Irish eirr, p.348 above) probably constituted the cavalry and chariot forces, and the rest of the warrior class the infantry. The Gaesatae ('who are called Gaesatae because they serve for hire - dia to misthou strateuein - this being the proper meaning of the word, Pol.2.22.1) were finely adorned, and clearly not of the poor and semi-free class as first century mercenaries are described (p. 400 below). Probably they were the personal retinue of the 'kings' who led them (more properly described as military chiefs), and they may have assembled from many parts for the expedition.

The nomenclature of the Gaesatae is of some interest. Literally the word probably meant 'warrior' (not 'mercenary'). Jackson (1964:16f) records that the spear and shield were the characteristic weapons of the Irish warrior (with a longsword they are the normal grave goods of la Tène Gaulish warriors); these weapons, called collectively gaisced were presented to Irish youths on reaching manhood and warrior status. The word for a warrior, gaiscedach, literally 'one bearing spear and shield', is very like the Gaulish Gaesatae. In view of the known use of gaesos for the Gallis spear or javelin in Gaul (BG 3.4.1), it is tempting to see in the Gaesatae only one instance of a more widespread practice of inviting a force of free warriors and even inferior nobles led by high-ranking leaders, to fight for reward and spoils and a good reputation. In this case it would be one feature of the complex interrelations which probably existed between the Celtic aristocracies at all periods.
Cf. p. 378 below:Appian Celt. 12 records doruphoroi (spearsmen) in attendance on a high ranking ambassador, and spearsmen take full part, although in an inferior capacity, at big feasts (Athenaeus 4.36, p. 375 below).

Pol.2.22.2 described the offer of gold payment and the prospect of spoils which attracted the Gaesatae. They had every intention of returning home enriched and glorious at the end of the campaign, as the passage quoted on p.362 (Pol.2.26.4-7) indicates. In the description of Telamon there is no systematic single combat or scattered fighting in kinship groups as Thompson (1965) described for the early Germans, or the heroic tactics Caesar described for the first century Britons. There is already evidence of considerable military discipline and therefore some degree of social control on the part of the nobility which at least extended totheir own retinues.[73]

Later in the context of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, Celtic military practices are alluded to in the contests arranged somewhat sadistically by Hannibal among Celtic prisoners of war selected from among those who had molested the march in the high Alps.

> Placing them in the middle of the meeting he exhibited some Gaulish suits of armour, such as their kings (basileis) are wont to deck themselves with when about to engage in single combat. In addition to these he placed there some horses and had some rich military cloaks (sagoi) brought in. He then asked the young men which of them was willing to do combat with each other, the prizes exhibited being destined for the victor, while the vanquished would be delivered by death from his present misery. When all shouted with one voice that they were willing to fight, he ordered them to draw lots, and the two on whom the lot fell to arm themselves and do combat. The young men, the moment they heard this, lifted up their hands and prayed th the gods, each eager to be himself one of the chosen. When the result was announced, those on whom the lot had fallen were overjoyed and the rest mournful and dejected, and after the combat was over the remaining prisoners congratulated the fallen champion no less than the victor, as having been set free from many and grievous evils which they themselves were left alive to suffer. (Pol.3.62.5-10)

The young warriors are most likely to be members of the nobility or at worst the free warrior class, and the tradition of heroic combat had clearly not died out. The fact that kings or chiefs word especially splendid clothing for single combat emphasizes the hierarchical ordering of the society and the dominance of warrior values. For a very early example of single combat see Livy 7.10-11 = 361 BC, where the defeat of the champion was catastrophically dispiriting to the Celts.

Details of the battle practices of the Celts at the time of the Punic wars include such 'heroic' features as head-hunting (Pol.3.67.3; cf 2.28.10; where the consul's head was taken to the Celtic basileis at Telamon), and the use of war chariots, possibly in an attenuated form. The Gaesatae who fought in the front rank at Telamon were in the prime of life and richly adorned, and the contests in the Alps suggest the persistence of traditions of single-combat by chiefs.

It is evident from these accounts of the third and fourth centuries that the only Celts who attracted the attention of the historians were the warrior class, and therefore the picture is distorted. One should add that inthe third century in particular the most frequent references to the Celts outside the context of their assaults on the Romans and Greeks are to their role as mercenaries in the Hellenistic armies (Griffith 1935; p. 420 f). Their use in this way was understandable in view of their reputation as fearless, even reckless, warriors, and they were used as the equivalent of cannon-fodder with considerable regularity. The extent to which service in Hellenistic armies trained the Celts in methods of warfare cannot precisely be determined. They were not used in the Macedonian phalanx (Griffith 1935:320), but it may well be that experience in comparable formations contributed to the development of methods of fighting in lines which could be called a 'phalanx' (BG 1.24.4, 1.52.4) or 'testudo' (Livy 10.29.6-12). Possibly connected with this is the absence of rigorous lines of battle among the Irish and the early Britons, who did not have a mercenary background like the Continental Celts (BG 4.33, 5.16). The introduction of a metal boss for the shield in la Tène II, which corresponds with the period of greatest mercenary experience for the Greeks, and its improvement in la Tène III may well point towards the introduction and improvement of 'phalanx' tactics. However, the Celts kept to the end their own distinctive weaponry and in particular the longsword most suited to cavalry warfare, even when in close contact with the Greeks or Etruscans

(Déchelette 1914:1088f).

The principal points regarding the social and military organization of the Celts from this period, then, are firstly that warrior bands were well equipped, composed almost certainly of free men, and led by a person or persons of higher social standing. One indication perhaps of the relative social position of members of a mercenary contingent (with which the Gaesatae might be compared) is given in the promise of pay probably to be given at the end of the campaign in a single sum to the Bastarnian king Claodicus by Perseus: 5 gold staters per infantryman, 10 per cavalryman, and 1000 for their leader (Livy 44.26). As this was not money for subsistence, but the reward for service, it is of direct social relevance. It is inconceivable that semi-free or unfree persons should have received the same pay as free infantry warriors, and the presumption is that only freemen were concerned. One may recall that all the Irish unfree and semi-free were non-combatant.

The second chief point of interest concerns the status of the chiefs. In the passages quoted above it is clear that there were normally several chiefs for a single people whether in the Alps or Cisalpine Gaul; Livy 21.34.1 refers to the elder 'principes castellorum' in the Alps making treacherous arrangements with Hannibal, each apparently acting for his own castellum, and offering to supply hostages. The chiefs in all these instances, even at 'castellum' level, would appear to have had the power to act on their own initiative without having necessarily to consult their peoples at large (eg p.362 above = Pol.2.21.4-5) or having to consult a higher authority.

One thing that seems definitely to be lacking in this period is any centralized authority with coercive powers among the Celts: the greatest degree of coercion probably exhibited itself in the military organization under a leader, but not at a higher social level. More often than not a plurality of leaders or chiefs within a people is alluded to, and although

the range of influence of a single king might be as large as that of the 'Island' king (10 days' march from side to side of his territory), the incident among the Cisalpine Celts which led to an uprising (p.362) suggests that the authority of these kings rested on custom and the confidence they could inspire among the warriors rather than on any effective force. 'Proestôtes' and 'principes' may refer to nable leaders of retinues in the first place, and their standing with their retinues was entirely dependent on the personal confidence they could inspire. I would suggest from the available evidence that the functions of the state were little more developed at this period than they were in early Ireland.[74] Such government as there was would appear to have rested in the limited powers of the kings or chieftains, who were mostly concerned with the conduct of war and relations with other chieftains of foreigners. Within the people, there is no reason to think that the kindreds did not still see to their own affairs in most sorts of dispute, probably guided by a learned class. Clientage was already developed, and was undoubtedly the basis of the position of the upper classes who were freed from productive labour. We shall see below that there is second century evidence for the existence in addition of a very structured and powerful learned class, but the existence at least of specialized craftsmen in the fourth and third centuries is manifest in the references to and remains of fine gold and silver work, or the 'hallmarks' on some la Tène II swords (Déchelette 1914:1117).

Little information is given on settlement because of the nature of the records. Only the polis in the Alps is definitely described in the language appropriate to a place where people live, although the fact that the whole population could be out plundering might suggest that it was a small village. The geography of the Alps may have encouraged nucleated settlement from a very early date. Apart from this reference, there is no sure evidence of the existence of towns or oppida in the texts any more than in the archaeology. Mediolanum of the Insubres was

certainly a refuge place, but is not described in terms appropriate to a Celtic oppidum as it would be described in the first century in Gaul.

The struggle for the chiefdom at the 'Island' confirms the existence of a hierarchical ordering of society, with a royal kindred in a privileged position, and the story is fully in accordance with the hypothesis that among the continental Celts, as with the Irish, succession was not determined by primogeniture but ran in the kindred as a whole. As we shall see later, there is confirmatory evidence from the first century for this principle. The amount and types of goods which the victorious brother had at his disposal to give to the Carthaginians further presupposes the existence of a hierarchical social structure, with the king at the top having at his disposal considerable quantities of prestige and luxury goods, and particularly martial goods, which he could only have obtained through tributes of various sorts.

The only mention of a 'multitude' (Pol.2.21.4-5, p.362 above) is clearly a reference to the warriors subordinate to the kings, for they were in a position to run a pitched battle of their own. The assembly of warriors is an ancient institution found among comparable societies (Thompson 1965:15, 41f), and the armatum concilium is a known Gallic institution: Livy 21.20.1 mentions it in the context of 218. Polybius 2.26.4 (p.362 above) may refer to a warrior assembly, but more likely to a council of chieftains only; the existence of a 'senate' of elders of a people is only attested in the Livian account of the chieftainship struggle at the 'Island', though the actions of the 'principes castellorum' (above) in agreement with one another might suggest the existence of a council where they came to this decision.

3. SECOND CENTURY CONTINENTAL CELTIC SOCIETY.

The best evidence referring to social structure in Gaul in the second century comes from Poseidonios, who was ostensibly describing the Celts involved in the war with Rome in the 120s although in fact writing some 40 years later. It must therefore not be taken uncritically to refer to a period before the end of the second cnetury at earliest, although it will be argued that in many details the description is only appropriate to the la Tène II period which in the Centre ended around the mid second century. Although Poseidonios was eloquent concerning the Celts of the south of Gaul and the lower Rhone valley, as inthe case of the fourth and third century material, it is difficult to know the extent to which it is valid for the Centre of Gaul beyond the Cévennes. For instance, the Celto-Ligurian towns or oppida of the south of France such as Entremont near Aix (B.Rh.), which have shown proof of ritual head-hunting and displays attributable to the time of the wars of the 120s (Tierney 1960: 206, n.87; JaCkson 1964:37) have no parallel in the Centre in terms of monumental architecture and opulence, nor is this ritual known elsewhere in this form.[75] An additional reason to think that Poseidonios only knew wr described the Celts of the Rhone valley area is the remark repeated by Athenaeus (151E-152D, p. 375 below) that their wine came from Massilia. This would only be true of the Celts of the eastern Massif Central and the Rhone valley, not those of western Gaul and the Garonne basin (p.144f above). The geographical origin of the Arverni who fought with the Allobroges in the war is also questionable; they could be from the mountainous southern area sometimes in the first century confuded with the Arverni, but also known by the ethnic names of the Gabales and Vellavii, and closest both to the Roman province and the Allobroges (p. 438 below). It might be noted that if the father of Bituitus was scattering coin (p. 376 below) it was not in Auvergne, where there was no coinage at the time. The participation in the war of Arverni from Puy-de-Dôme may be thought improbable although not out of the question in view of their early political

development and their first-century connections with the Ruteni and Cadurci in the south (BG 7.4.6, 7.5.1; cf. p.212f above).

In general it is difficult to see much evidence of changed conditions between the second and earlier centuries when considering only the written evidence. Diodorus, following Poseidonios, gives a number of accounts of the social customs of the Celts. As it speaks best for itself, again a fairly lengthy quotation is appropriate.

> For their journeys and in battle they use two-horse chariots, the chariot carrying both charioteer and chieftain (parabatên). When they meet with cavalry in battle they cast their javelins at the enemy and then descending from the chariot join battle with their swords. Some of them so far despise death that they descend to do battle, unclothed except for a girdle. They bring into battle as their attendants (therapeuontes) freemen chosen from among the poorer classes (eleutherous ek tôn penetôn), whom they use as charioteers and shield-bearers in battle. When the armies are drawn up in battle array they are wont to advance before the battle-line (parataxeis) and to challenge the bravest of their opponents to single combat, and at the same time brandish before them their arms so as to terrify their foe. And when some one accepts their challenge to battle, they loudly recite the deeds of valour of their ancestors and proclaim their own valorous quality, at the same time abusing and making little of their opponent and generally attempting to rob him beforehand of his fighting spirit. They cut off the heads of their enemies slain in battle and attach them to the necks of their horses ... (Diod. 5.29.1-4)
>
> They also have lyric poets whom they call bards. They sing to the accompaniment of instruments resembling lyres, sometimes a eulogy and sometimes a satire. They have also certain philosophers and theologians who are treated with special honour, whom they call Druids. They further make use of seers, thinking them worthy of high praise. These latter by their augural observances and by the sacrifice of sacrificial animals can foretell the future and they hold the people subject to them. In particular when enquiring into matters of great import they have a strange and incredible custom; they devote a human being to death and stab him with a dagger in the region above the diaphragm, and when he has fallen they foretell the future from his fall and from the convulsions of his limbs, and, moreover, from the spurting of the blood, placing their trust in o some ancient and long-continued observation of these practices. Their custom is that no one should offer sacrifice without a philosopher; for they say that thanks should be offered to the gods by those skilled in the divine nature, as though they were people who can speak their language, and through them also they hold that benefits should be asked. And it is not only in the needs of peace but in war also that they carefully obey these men and their song-loving poets, and this is true not only of their friends but also of their enemies. For oftentimes as armies approach each other in line of battle with their swords drawn and their spears raised for the charge these men come forth between them and stop the conflict, as though they had spell-bound some kind of wild animals. (Diod. 5.31.2-5)

> When dining they all sit not on chairs, but on the earth, strewing beneath them the skins of wolves or dogs. At their meals they are served by their youngest grown-up children, both boys and girls. Beside them are hearths blazing with fire, with cauldrons and spits containing large pieces of meat. Brave warriors they honour with the finest portions of the meat, just as Homer introduces Ajax, honoured by the chieftains, when he conquered Hector in single combat: 'He honoured Ajax with the full-length chine'. They also invite strangers to their banquets and only after the meal is over do they ask who they are and of what they stand in need. At dinner they are wont to be moved by chance remarks to wordy disputes, and, after a challenge, to fight in single combat, regarding their lives as naught; for the belief of Pythagoras is strong among them, that the souls of men are immortal, and that after a definite number of years they live a second life when the soul passes into another body. This is the reason why some people at the burial of the dead cast upon the pyre letters written to their dead relatives, thinking that the dead will be able to read them. (Diod. 5.28.4-6)

Various points in this summary picture are enlarged upon by other authors drawing on Poseidonios. Athenaeus says the Celts eat a small number of loaves of bread, and a large amount of meat at their feasts either boiled or roasted on charcoal, while the Celts on the Mediterranean coast also eat fish, and that they put cummin in their drinks. They are said also to dislike olive oil.

> When a large number dine together they sit around in a circle with the most influential man in the centre, like the leader of the chorus, whether he surpasses the others in warlike skill, or nobility of family, or wealth. Beside him sits the host and next on either side the others in order of distinction. Their shieldsmen stand behind them while their spearsmen are seated in a circle on the opposite side and feast in common like their lords. The servers (hoi diakonountes) bear around the drink in terracotta or silver jars like spouted cups. The trenchers on which they serve the food are also of these materials, while with others they are made of bronze, or are woven or wooden baskets. The drink of the wealthy classes (ploutousin) is wine imported from Italy and the territory of Massilia, This is unadulterated, but sometimes a little water is added. The lower classes (hupodeesteroi) drink wheaten beer prepared with honey, but most people drink it plain. It is called corma. They use a common cup, drinking a little at a time, not more than a mouthful, but they do it rather frequently. The slave (pais) serves the cup towards the right, (not) towards the left. That is the method of service. In the same way they do reverence to the gods, turning towards the right. (Athenaeus IV.36, 151E-152D).

At IV.40, 154A-C Athenaeus reports the single-combats that occurred at feasts, whether in mock or in earnest; the story goes that 'in former times' when the hindquarters were served, the bravest hero took the thigh piece, and if another man claimed it there would be a single-combat to decide the question. Exactly this practice is known in Irish epics, in particular

the story of Mac da Thó's pig (Dillon and Chadwick 1973:307-8). The importance of feasting as an occasion for social competition among the nobility is manifest in the ancient Gaulish as well as the Irish tradition. At VI.49, 246C Athenaeus refers to praise-poetry in battle, pronounced by 'parasitoi', the term for people who accompany the nobles both in battle and in peace; he also mentions the Bards who deliver sung praises. In a further important passage he described the activity of one chieftain, the father of Bituitus who was 'king' of the Arverni in 121, so that the passage refers to the mid second century:

> Louernios ... in an attempt to win popular favour (dêmagôgounta)... rode in a chariot over the plains distributing gold ans silver to the tens of thousands of Celts who followed him; moreover, he made a square enclosure (phragma) one and a half miles each way, within which he filled vats with expensive liquor and prepared so great a quantity of food that for many days all who wished could enter and enjoy the feast prepared, being served without a break by the attendants (adialeiptôs diakonoumenous). And when at length he fixed a day for the ending of the feast, a Celtic poet who arrived too late met Louernios and composed a song magnifying his greatness and lamenting his own late arrival. Louernios was very pleased and asked for a bag of gold and threw it to the poet who ran beside his chariot. The poet picked it up and sang another song saying that the very tracks made by his chariot on the earth gave gold and largesse to mankind. (Athenaeus VI.49, 246C).

The son of this man, Bituitus 'rex Arvernorum' was captured in 121 by the Romans, and his son Congenatus was imprisoned with him to stop him returning to Gaul and causing a recrudescence of the war (Livy ep. 61); clearly this was an influential family. Strabo (4.4.4), also following Poseidonios, gives the same account, but more briefly, of the status of the learned class as that above from Diodorus; his main contribution is to say that there are three classes of men held especially in honour: the Bards, the Vates and the Druids, and adds that the Druids arbitrate in cases of murder, and that many such cases is a good omen for the fertility of the crops.

I have quoted at some length because the evidence speaks best for itself. A certain number of points may be made about it. In the Poseidonian tradition, the position of the learned class is stressed, and the fact that it had divided into at least three specialized categories of bards, seers

and 'philosophers' is significant: it suggests a long development of the class and invites comparison with early Ireland. When we come to the first century material, and Caesar's testimony, there is the problem that many commentators believe the tradition on the druids to have been exaggerated for a variety of political and ideological reasons (p. 407f and appendix XV). While this certainly is a problem which has to be faced, the consistency of Poseidonios' and Caesar's accounts with what is known to have been the situation in early Ireland, and in societies which are in important respects comparable with the early Celts such as Ruanda, demands that we take the evidence seriously unless it can be proved to be implausible. I would argue that it is not only a credible account, at least for the period before the formation of the state as it was known by the first century, but also that it deserves serious consideration because of the fact that Classical observers (who had extensive contact with many sorts of barbarians) only described such a religio-juridical class in two societies, the Gaulish and British Celts.

The evidence for the second century insists that this class had the greatest effective social authority, although the dominant class, whose activities and values are foremost in all the evidence, was the warrior aristocracy who patronized a learned stratum. As argued above, it is in a decentralized social formation that this sort of organization is most likely to develop, and it was not until the close of the second century, in the Centre at any rate, that a high degree of centralized political authority was established at the same time as the settlement of towns with primarily political and administrative functions. Since Poseidonios was describing southern Gaul, which had a very different cultural tradition from that of Central Gaul because of its close relationship with Mediterranean peoples, his description cannot be taken literally to be true of the whole of Gaul. However, it will be argued below that Caesar's evidence for the first century would seem to suggest that at the same period a similar situation was found in Central Gaul. The presence in the Centre

of a learned class, whether or not it was fully developed into specialized categories, is a strong possibility from the earliest times.

There is a tatal absence in the ethnographers of any reference to autocratic power on the part of chieftains; there are no tyrants for instance in the tradition for the western Celts before the first century, and the importance of bardic praise-poetry is characteristic of a social order where authority and prestige rest on personal ability to maintain the confidence of a retinue. Appian had a source which described the bard of Bituitus of the Arverni in 121:

> an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges (!) met him [sc. Domitius], arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants (doruphoroi) also adorned, and by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as bodyguards. A musician too was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery and his wealth; and it is for this reason chiefly that ambassadors of distinction take such persons along with them. But this one, though he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing. (Appian Celt. 12)

Fear of satire, which could lead to the disintegration of the confidence of a retinue, sould be a powerful influence on the actions of a Celtic noble, and the same social forces underlie the power of insult (cf the importance of right and left in the Athenaeus passage p.375 above (Jackson 1964:42), and the institution in Ireland of honour-price.

The insistence by the sources on the customary power of the learned class not only accords with what is known of the operation of Celtic society in Ireland in a comparably (or more pronouncedly) decentralized situation, but further casts doubt on the existence of an imperial authority in Central Gaul in the third and second centuries (the 'Arvernian empire') as expounded by Camille Jullian (1909:544f) and Colbert de Beaulieu (1973:170f). I have discussed elsewhere the historical and economic arguments for rejecting the exaggerated account in Strabo (4.2.2) and the modern French accounts, and need not repeat them here.[76]

There is a plausible sense that could be given to the Strabo passage, compatible with the tradition that the Arverni were a powerful and rich people

as well as with the most likely social conditions of the period, and that is that the wealthiest and most prestigious Arvernian chieftain may have been held in respect and received tribute from a number of neighbouring chieftains, somewhat in the manner of provincial kings in Ireland. One might compare the authority of Diviciacus of the Suessiones in the generation before Caesar, called 'totius Galliae potentissimum (regem)' (BG 2.4.7). This is an obvious - perhaps bardic- exaggeration, and the nature of his successor Galba's authority must have applied to him too; Galba was given supreme command in war 'propter iustitiam prudentiamque suam' (BG 2.4.8). However, it would appear that Diviciacus was in receipt of tribute from a wide area in virtue of his reputation.

The position of such 'kings' was not only honorific, but also profitable for the king, although he had no actual powers of coercion over the tributary peoples; in that sense therefore there was no empire in any normal sense of the wordin third and second century Auvergne. Cooperation of the tributary people was secured, as noted above (p. 353) by the taking of hostages as sureties. Humiliation and defeat by the Romans would certainly have caused the falling away of tributary kings, which is not the same thing as the break-up of an empire which involves the collapse of administrative machinery; the dispersion of a Celtic clientela was not of a nature to leave any evidence readily traceable in the archaeological or numismatic record. A small scrap of evidence which might point to the possibility of some truth in the Arvernian tradition, if and only if the Arverni of Puy-de-Dôme were involved in the war of 121, is that from the early second century there was an oppidum/town at Aulnat (p.63f), so far the earliest of its sort known in the Centre and perhaps indicative of exceptional political and economic development.

So far, therefore, as the warrior class and the learned class are concerned, the second century evidence (which almost exclusively refers to southern Gaul) points towards a society similar in outline as well as in many details to that found inthe Irish law tracts and the epics. It

is an aristocratic, warrior society; Diodorus was right to compare the Celtic feasts with Homeric stories, and it is also legitimate to compare them and some of the battle descriptions with such epics as the Táin (Kinsella 1970).

For the commoners there is little information. Diodorus (5.29.2, p.374 above) says that shield-bearers and charioteers come from the poor freemen; Athenaeus (IV.36, p.375 above) says shield-bearers stand behind their lords at feasts, while spearsmen sit in a separate circle and partake of the food. There is, then, a distinction in rank between the two classes of attendant: the latter were combatant while shield-bearers and charioteers were not armed. Probably underlying the references to shield-bearers, charioteers and spearsmen are degrees of clientage and labour-service, the most menial being the non-combatant varieties who may have been from the unfree or semi-free to judge from their lowly role at feasts. The spearsmen are probably from the common warriors (cf the attendants of the ambassador, p.378 above, described as doruphoroi), dependent on the nobles in a superior degree of clientage, but bound at least to accompany their lords on important occasions (p.354-5). It may be relevant to recall here that the root of the name of the third century Gallic mercenaries, Gaesatae, is from the word gaesos, a spear (Walbank 1957:194; cf BG 3.4.1 and p.367 above): warriors were 'spearsmen'. The spear was the characteristic weapon of the 'phalanx' type of battle formation (Snodgrass 1965).[77]

The importance of giving feasts and making conspicuous displays of generosity in a society where authority is based not on the operation of administrative state apparatus but on personal ability to maintain a reputation and a retinue, is very great. There are a number of anthropological parallels for the sort of institution described in the second century material, as well as for the place of poets to praise or satirize, and keep alive the memory of heroic deeds (ch 8 below). The only other reference to the lower classes before the first century is in Caesar, perhaps a reference back to Poseidonios:

> ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes quos ab eis dilectos esse constabat iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur. (BG 6.19.5)

Caesar clearly implies that these suttee practices had been abandoned in Gaul by his time; possible archaeological traces of them from la Tène II are recorded by Déchelette (1914:1035), in the form of multiple burials; their social interest lies in the very high degree of subordination of the dependent classes already in these early periods.

On the technical aspects of warfare at this period, Diodorus 5.29.2 (p. 374 above) and 5.30.3-4 (below) gives a description of armoury which is precisely that of la Tène II (p.24f above), particularly in details such as metal chains for slinging the swords and flame-shaped spear-heads (Déchelette 1914:1116). The chariot-warfare described is the same as that in earlier centuries in Gaul and in Britain at the time of Caesar (p.366 above).

> For armour they use long shields, as high as a man, which are wrought in a manner peculiar to them, some of them even having the figures of animals embossed on them in bronze, and these are skilfully worked with an eye not only to beauty but also to protection. On their heads they put bronze helmets which have large embossed figures standing out from them and give an appearance of great size to those who wear them; for in some cases horns are attached to the helmet so as to form a single piece, in other cases images of the fore-parts of birds or four-footed animals. Their trumpets are of peculiar nature and such as barbarians use, for when they are blown upon they give forth a harsh sound, appropriate to the tumult of war. Some of them have iron cuirasses, chain-wrought, but others are satisfied with the armour which Nature has given them and go into battle naked. In place of the short sword they carry long broad-swords which are hung on chains of iron or bronze and are worn along the right flank. And some of them gather up their shirts with belts plated with gold or silver. The spears they brandish, which they call lanciae, have iron heads a cubit in length and even more, and a little under two palms in breadth; for their swords are not shorter than the javelins of other peoples, and the heads of their javelins are longer than the swords of others. Some of these javelins come from the forge straight, others twist in and out in spiral shapes for their entire length, the purpose being that the thrust may not only cut the flesh, but mangle it as well, and that the withdrawal of the spear may lacerate the wound. (Diod. 5.30.2-4)

In general, the description of battle-order, including the practice of single-combat before the lines, recalls the normal warfare of the third and fourth centuries as outlined above. In particular there is the same lack of defensive body-armour for most warriors; the expense of weapons

in terms of the amount of iron used and the craftsmen's skill involved in their manufacture at this stage, is remarkably high.

SECTION III CHAPTER 5.

CELTIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN CENTRAL GAUL IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

Page

385 1. The first century ruling class: organs of government.

393 2. 'Kings' and 'tyrants'.

401 3. Decision-making bodies.

406 4. The first century learned class.

Chapter 5

CELTIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN CENTRAL GAUL IN THE FIRST CENTURY.

From about 120 there occurred a number of upheavals in Gaul which have been recorded in a variety of ways. There were folk movements (not necessarily on a very large scale, but significant) from Belgic Gaul to Britain (Allen 1961; Cunliffe 1974). In the last decades the Cimbri and Teutones with various Celtic accretions were moving around Gaul looking in vain for somewhere to settle (de Vries 1957). From 121 the Romans were firmly established in the Midi with increasing effects upon those parts of Gaul with which they were in contact. An alliance was made with the Aedui just before 122/1, and in the succeeding decades with other peoples in the upper Rhone valley and the Seine basin, notably the Sequani and probably Lingones. Changes in the coinages in this area and in the Garonne basin attributable to Roman influence were discussed in section II (p.157, 167ff, cf ch.8 below). Bearing in mind that the Celts of whom Caesar spoke were almost without exception ones not known from earlier sources, the evidence for first century social organization in Gaul may be considered.

One point which immediately becomes apparent in using Caesar for this purpose is that instead of being confronted with isolated cases or generalizations, there is available for the first time a certain amount of specific information about individual peoples. This in turn makes it clear that generalizations from it to the Central Celts in general is unsound in detail, and that the generalizations made by Caesar himself are unlikely to be true of any one case, but only in broad outline. The same is true of course of the earlier evidence, but where there was only a tiny body of example to work from, the difficulties were less apparent. I shall not attempt to give a full dossier of the political institutions in

many civitates in Gaul, as this has been done by several others, notably F.de Coulanges (1891), Jullian (1909:38f) and Rice Holmes (1911:504f). The principal political institutions weill be discussed here, but in a discussion of this nature it is not af any help to attempt a catalogue of antiquarian material relating to very diverse and unconnected peoples simply to provide additional illustration of the argument. This is especially the case when the sources and interpretation of small scraps of evidence containing this information are dubious or depend for their decipherment on knowledge in any case acquired from the main body of roughly contemporary evidence. Instead, I have concentrated on those areas which either illuminate the basis of the political and social structure, or show evidence of change from earlier centuries.

At the outset (p.345 above) we saw that Caesar divided Celtic society into an upper class and a plebs. In this his social analysis is more explicit than that of Poseidonios, so far as we know it (appendix XV). The upper class was divided into two sections, (a) the equites who were the warrior class (omnes in bello versantur), and whose prestige was counted in the number of ambacti and clients they could muster; (b) the druids, whom he does not divide into sub-groups, but says controlled religion and jurisdiction. In many respects his account is like that of Poseidonios (p.374 above), but with significant additions which would suggest strongly that Caesar was speaking of his own times about an institution which had existed for centuries (cf P.284f above). The plebs he does not subdivide, but simply says that they were treated as though they were slaves, and had no political significance. In the following discussion, the ruling class will be taken first as the evidence for it is most direct and it provides comparison with earlier centuries; the plebs will be discussed afterwards. I have taken it that 'equites' covers all warriors, including those of client status, while 'plebs' are the whole body of unfree and semi-free persons with no land of their own and close ties of bondage to the nobility (p.345, 349, 354ff, 380f above).

1. THE FIRST CENTURY RULING CLASS: ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT.

Strabo makes perhaps the most categorical generalization about Celtic government before the Conquest:

> The greater number of their governments used to be aristocratic (aristokratikai) although in the olden time only one leader (hêgemôn) was chosen, annually; and so, likewise, for war, only one man was declared general by the multitude (hupo tou plêthous). (Str.4.4.3)

He is referring to the pre-conquest period, and perhaps generalizing from Caesarian commentaries for the elected magistrates (eg the Aeduan Vergobretos, BG 1.16.5, etc.) and for the choice of generals (Rice Holmes 1911:536 suggested BG 7.63.6 for the source of Strabo's comment on generals). However, it is virtually certain that he is not referring to a still earlier period, as there is no evidence whatever that the various kings and leaders in the fourth to second centuries were ever annual; 'king' or basileus, terms used with regularity for that period (see marked quotations in ch.4), are not used without explicit qualification for an annual magistracy.

The question, then, that must be asked for the first century is the extent to which a centralized governmental apparatus had developed in the various peoples at the expense of the old conduct of politics. The latter was characterized by the freedom of any noble to challenge the position of another by collecting a retinue of warriors and fighting it out, or by drawing away his support by more magnificent displays of largesse and feasting and a superior reputation in battle. There were no institutionalized positions of coercive political power, which is to say that there were no organs of state: at most a council of elders would appear to have had a consultative function. The learned class had the power to arbitrate in disputes and is said to have had authority to prevent warfare, but apart from this class there is no institution attested in the evidence which claimed authority over the warrior nobility of the civitas. Such cohesion as there may have been within a single people was probably achieved by the maintenance by one noble or 'king' of other nobles in a subordinate and tributary status, but his authority could go no further than that: he

had in all probability no right to interfere directly with the people subject to the subordinate nobles. Disillusionment of the latter with the 'king' could mean the end of their obedience to him.

Ties of clientage and dependence operated not only at a 'private' but at a 'public' level. The preciae basis and composition of the pagus and civitas are not absolutely certain (ch.7), but I think it is clear that in principle by the first century the pagus was a territorially-based unit independent in some respects, but which also acknowledged some degree of incorporation in a larger unit, the civitas, which normally consisted of several pagi. In practice at an early stage this acknowledgement took the form perhaps of one pagus being dominant in each civitas and collecting tribute from the others, but this is uncertain. The central government in the first century in advanced civitates may have been composed of representatives from all the pagi and not belonged to one alone. In origin, however, the independence of each pagus was very great and it is possible that before they reached their first century status pagi were not defined as parts of a whole, but were each units with a composition derived from a history of agglomeration of ties of dependence by their nobility who were probably a hereditary group. The period during which changes to the probable first century situation occurred in central civitates is of course unknown, but it had almost certainly occurred by the late second century in most areas; whether it ever happened in the backward areas such as the Alps is doubtful (ch 7 below).

Something of the old organization and independence probably remained in the ability of the first century pagi to act on their own initiative against the will or without the knowledge of the civitas suthorities: BG 4.22.1-5 (Morini), Livy ep. 65 (Tigurini), BG 1.27.4, 1.12.5 (Helvetii), BG 7.64.6 (Arverni). Grenier (1959:407) is probably right in characterizing pagi as the basic unit of the Gallic army; the corollary of this is that a pagus leader was potentially a powerful individual, even in the first century being in the tradition of the earlier 'kings' whose principal

function was that of war-lord. We shall see a number of good examples of the persistence of the war-lord tradition into the first century, with the difficulties it created for the 'civil' organs of state.

That in the first century there were some such organs is clear not only from Strabo's generalized account, but in various notices in Caesar. Two institutions are particularly worthy of note, those of magistrates and senates.[78] The Aedui provide the best documented example of the function of the magistracy, though it must be borne in mind that they were unusually well developed politically.

Like all civitates mentioned in any detail in Caesar, the Aedui had a politically dominant stratum within the ruling class broadly referred to as 'principes' (. , BG 1.16.5f). They had an annual magistrate called a Vergobretos, who had life and death powers in the civitas (1.16.5), and had 'kingly' power (regia potestas: 7.32.3). They had had the institution for some time (antiquitus creari: 7.32.3).[79] There was only one such magistrate every year, but in 52 two were claiming to have been inaugurated legally ('legibus'). Convictolitavis, 'florentem et inlustrem adulescentem', had in fact been invested legally:

> qui per sacerdotes more civitatis intermissis magistratibus esset creatus. (BG 7.33.3)

Cotus was the other,

> antiquissima familia natum atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae et magnae cognationis, cuius frater Valetiacus proximo anno eundem magistratum gesserit. (BG 7.32.4)

The quarrel was serious, the senate and the people were in arms, and rival clientelae were drawn up ready for conflict. It transpired that Cotus had been invested illegally on two grounds, firstly becauee it had been done in secret among a few people at the wrong time and place; and secondly because the laws lay down that two members of the same family could not in the lifetime of the other hold the magistracy or even sit in the senate (BG 7.33.3). Another restriction on the Vergobretos was that he could not by law leave the territory of the civitas during his office (7.33.2).

The election was referred to as 'comitia' (7.67.7), but there is no reason to take this to mean a popular election; as we shall see later it would appear thet the franchise in Gaulish states was probably restricted to the oligarchy or at most to the armed section of the population. Possibly the election was held by the 'concilium Aeduorum' (BG 5.6.2), which is likely to have been a council of the nobility separate from and larger than the senate.

From the Aeduan situatinn in 52 a number of points concerning the magistracy arise. The most important are the restrictions on the holder, who, although he had 'regal' power, and powers of life and daath over the population (that being the obvious interpretation of 'inter suos' at BG 1.16.5), is prevented as far as possible from acquiring the most important attributes of a Celtic 'king' in the ancient sense: prestige from warfare. He holds power for one year only; he is not allowed out of the country, so cannot lead an army; and his relatives are not permitted to join him in the formal organs of government (magistracy and senate), which would appear to be a measure to prevent the genesis of a 'royal' kindred in a position of legal power (cf p. 363f in the third century). We may note that the illegal Cotus is described as 'magnae cognationis' - with a powerful lineage.

Although Caesar does not say which the 'better ordered states' are, he does at BG 6.20.3 describe what would appear to be another mechanism developed by some to circumscribe the powers of individual nobles:

> Quae civitates commodius suam rem publicam administrare existimantur habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore aut fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio communicet: quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus quae visa sunt occultant, quaeque esse ex usu iudicaverunt multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur. (BG 6.20.3)

The absolute authority of the magistrates is here again emphasized, as well as the impotence of the 'multitude', and the suggestion is that the 'kingly' power of the magistrate refers not to the traditional sort of Celtic kingship,

which was a warrior chiefdom, but to another sense of the word which denoted the central figure in the atate, with absolute power over the population.

Various remarks are made by Caesar which point toward the existence in the first century of some state apparatus in some civitates. 'Laws' (leges) are mentioned at BG 1.3.2, 1.4.1 (Helvetii), 7.33.3 (Aedui) and 6.20,3, all with reference to the state. We shall see shortly the most characteristic cases in the conflicts between powerful nobles, who in many cases carried on the old tradition of Celtic politics, and the 'civil' authorities.

There are further minor references to episodes pointing to the existence of the state. On two occasions we learn of public confiscation of a noble's goods, which presupposes the existence of a centralized authority enabled to interfere with the property of the people, a feature absent in early Celtic society: BG 5.56.3, in the Treveri, Cingetorix's property was made public by Indutiomarus as punishment for Romanizing, and it was done at the armed assembly of warriors; BG 7.43.2, the Aedui (the specific body is not named) made public the goods of Litaviccus and his brothers, for their revolt from the Romans. In addition an enquiry (quaestio) was to be instituted into the destruction of Roman property in the revolt, which is further indication of the existence of centralized pplitical institutions among the Aedui.

F.de Coulanges (1891:21) argued that the protection and jurisdiction of the nobles over their clients (BG 6.13) was by Caesar's time being replaced - at least in principle - by courts which are an organ of the state. However, as the events narrated by Caesar show, the state in Gaul had not yet succeeded completely in suppressing the individual powers of the nobles. Jurisdiction was in any case not confined within the civitas, if Caesar's account of the druidic annual assembly has a basis in fact (BG 6.13.11): in this case jurisdiction quite independent of individual state authorities took place. There is no good reason to disbelieve the existence of such

assemblies (though perhaps it is exaggerated to say that there was only one for all of Celtic and Belgic Gaul), and it is probable not least because of the savage repression of them by the Romans, that in the first century the social and political power of the juridical class was still strong.

There are further indications of the existence in the first century of small states properly so called. Cases of shared government between 'civitates' will be discussed below in ch.7; the clearest example occurs at BG 2.3.5 (Remi and Suessiones), and the description presupposes a centralized form of government. At one point (BG 1.4.3) the civitas and the magistrates of the Helvetii are assumed to be synonymous, and the magistrates had the right to summon an army from the fields to put down the noble Orgetorix. At BG 1.18.3 it is mentioned that the Aeduan transportation tolls and land-tax (portoria, vectigalia) were farmed out at auction, and Caesar uses language proper to Roman tax-auctions about the system (F de Coulanges 1891:17). The existence of such a system presupposes a central government which sells the contracts. The implied

contrast between the Gauls and the Germans also points towards the existence of centralized authorities in Gaul, as it is said of the Germans:

> in pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos iud dicunt controversiasque minuunt. (BG 6.23.5)

Senates are mentioned with some regularity in Caesar, and would appear to have been the main organ of civitas government in the first century (cf. Jullian 1909:49f). The Remi had 'principes' and a senate (BG 2.5.1); as retribution for their revolt in 56 the Veneti had their entire senate executed by Caesar thereby implying that they were held responsible (BG 3.16.4); The Aulerci Eburovices and the Lexovii executed their own senate(s) in 56 because they would not consent to starting a war with the Romans (BG 3.17.3); the senate and magistrate of the Aedui are consistently linked in questions of government or decision-making (see above; also BG 7.55.4, 7.33.2); it was said about Correus of the Bellovaci that

> numquam enim senatum tantum in civitate illo vivo quantum imperitam plebem potuisse. (BG 8.21.4)

The Nervii (BG 2.28.2) claimed a normal senate of 600, with an armed population of 60,000. The senate and 'principes' of the Ubii are referred to at BG 4.11.3, and are expected to be the bodies to take an oath of loyalty to Caesar. The Senones senate is referred to at BG 5.54.3, where their refusal to come to apologize on demand was taken as evidence of the disaffection of the Senones as a whole. It is implied that they were directly responsible for the execution of Caesar's royal appointee there, Cavarinus.

The composition of these senates was certainly noble; Jullian (1909:48) thought they were the military chiefs of villages (one might compare the third century principes castellorum, p.370 above); Bulliot[80] thought they were a body consisting of all the landowners, which is highly improbable (Rice Holmes 1911:507). Rice Holmes (1911:508f) thought they were probably chiefs of villages and pagus magistrates. The compositions suggested by Jullian and Rice Holmes probably come nlose to the truth; a larger council of nobility such as the concilium Aeduorum (BG 5.6.2) may have included all large landowners or perhaps all warriors, who would also be landowners (p.347f above), though there is no evidence for its precise composition. However, in view of the existence of councils of the tribal nobility in less advanced social systems, for instance the early Germans (Thompson 1965:47), it is not unlikely that such a body existed among the Gauls from an early date, with the senates emerging as a specialized body drawn up on legally defined principles from the larger class of 'optimates'. This sort of body must not be confuded with the 'armatum concilium' or assembly of warriors which is a very much earlier institution (cf Pol.2.26.4, Livy 21.20), and which continued in existence at least for decidions concerning the conduct of warfare. Among the Treveri, and perhaps elsewhere, 'civil' decisions such as the confiscation of goods could also be taken there (p.389 above).

The Aeduan ruling class is characterized as 'omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum' (BG 1.31.6), and 'omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas, ... principes civitatis' (BG 7.38.2), whose loss was considered a political catastrophe.[81] One might compare BG 5.3.6 where Indutiomarus of the Treveri made the disingenuous apology that

> sese idcirco ab suis discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laberetur. (BG 5.3.6)

The importance of 'principes' outside the senate in the civitates is clear not only from the activity of individuals of whom we are told, but by the frequency with which the loyalty of civitates was secured by the taking of their children as hostages (eg BG 2.5.1, Remi; cf Irish practices p.352f above). The promises of the senates were clearly not sufficient to guarantee the good behaviour of the civitates. Indeed, Caesar made it a practice to keep a considerable number of principes in his camp, as much to keep an eye on them as to use them as auxiliary commanders (eg BG 1.16.5, 5.6.4f).

The senate, then, may be regarded in the first century as the basic organ of centralized government in Central Gaul, with varying degrees of executive power in the civitas. The precariousness of their authority at times is illustrated in the behaviour of the Aulerci and Lexovii, or the case of Correus of the Bellovaci; other cases where the authority of a noble could not be held in check are seen below. However, the important point is that there would seem to have been an important development of institutionalized state machinery by the mid-first century, which was at its fullest perhaps among the Aedui. That senates nommally met in oppida, as was appropriate to their function as central organs of government, is virtually certain: eg. BG 7.55.4 (Bibracte), 7.33.2 (Decetia). The status of certain oppida (eg Bibracte, 'quod est oppidum apud eos [sc. Aeduos] maximae auctoritatis : BG 7.55.4; Avaricum, 'pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae praesidio et ornamento sit civitati':

BG 7.15.4) may be due to their being the normal seats of the civitas senate.

2. 'KINGS' AND 'TYRANTS'.

That at least in some cases there was a strongly oligarchical tendency in the governments of Central civitates is implied in the objections some of them had to the excessive political or military influence of a single person who might or might not be termed 'rex'. Jullian (1909:44, 39; cf Rice Holmes 1911:504) held that royalty was a normal institution in Hannibal's time, but that by about 100 kings had been expelled in most places. This should not be expressed as an expulsion of kings, which assumes the prior existence of an established institution with consolidated power, but rather as the development for the first time in Central Gaul of centralized institutions which were constituted on oligarchic lines, and which as a result attempted to circumscribe the influence of any single supreme noble who might try to take for himself an autocratic position in the now enlarged political units.

Under earlier conditions, the formal limitations on the rights of the nobility would appear to have been few, but the power they could wield was also limited. Jullian was correct to point out that changes had occurred by the first century. We saw that in the Aeduan case above the civil magistrate and the composition of the senate were controlled by law, and that checks were apparently devised with the aim of preventing the emergence of tyrant-figures. Another good case is reported for the Arverni, in the discussion of Vercingetorix's career and that of his father (BG 7.4 ff).

In 52, Vercingetorix was young (adulescens). His father, Celtillus, had become too powerful (principatum . Galliae totius obtinuerat), and was executed 'a civitate' for desiring kingship (quod regnum appetebat). We saw above that civitas can be synonymous with the civil authorities (BG 1.4.3 for instance). Strabo (4.2.3) says Vercingetorix was born at Gergovia. Caesar records that in 52, on hearing of the revolt started by

the Senones and Carnutes in the north, he called together his clients and got them to arm for war. His father-in-law, Gobannitio, tried to stop him, with the rest of the 'principes', and he was expelled from the oppidum Gergovia. This, then, would appear to be the activity of the civil authorities. Vercingetorix proceeded to hold a levy 'in agris ... egentium ac perditorum', and with this army and anyone from the civitas who joined in, which amounted to a considerable force, he expelled 'a civitate' those who had previously expelled him. This is one of the best examples of the tension between the civil authorities and powerful nobles, often supported by a 'rabble' army, of which more will be said below. After this action, Vercingetorix 'rex ab suis appellatur': he was acclaimed king. He was therefore not a king in the normally understood sense of the word, as a member of a royal line succeeding to an established institutional position, but was a war-lord, whose position depended on his maintenance of a powerful army. This point is made forcibly where the Aeduan challenge to the leadership of the revolt of 52 is described, and the way in which Vercingetorix's position was confirmed:

> Petunt a Vercingetorige Aedui ut ad se veniat rationesque belli gerendi communicet. Re impetrata contendunt ut ipsis summa imperi tradatur et re in controversiam deducta totius Galliae concilium Bibracte indicitur. Eodem conveniunt undique frequentes. Multitudinis suffragiis res permittitur: ad unum omnes Vercingetorigem probant imperatorem. ... Magno dolore Aedui ferunt se deiectos principatu, ... (BG 7.63.4-6, 8)

The objections to a kingship on the part of the ruling Arverni of Vercingetorix's father's generation is clear, as was their opposition to Vercingetorix himself starting a war in 52 without their consent.

Another example of a person severely opposed by the civil authorities for aspiring to 'regnum' was Orgetorix of the Helvetii, and his career illustrates again the tension between apparently oligarchic governments and very powerful nobles. Orgetorix was called 'longe nobilissimus et ditissimus' of the Helvetii (BG 1.2.1) and his ambition to secure 'regnum' in his people was emphasized (BG 1.2.1), glossed at BG 1.2.2 as being equivalent to 'totius Galliae imperium' for the Helvetii. He was chosen

to make arrangements for the migration (BG 1.3.3), and his principal recorded actions were to offer regnum in their own civitates, and imperium in Gaul, to two other influential Celts, Dumnorix of the Aedui and Casticus of the Sequani. In furtherance of his ambitions he married his daughter to Dumnorix (BG 1.3.5), and the latter married his mother off to an influential noble of the Bituriges, and his maternal sisters and other female relatives to nobles of other civitates (BG 1.18.6). It turned out that this had not been the intention of the Helvetii, and Orgetorix was summoned to stand trial (BG 1.4.1): this reaction on the part of the civitas recalls that of the Arverni in the cases of Celtillus and Vercingetorix. Orgetorix summoned a large personal retinue of 'slaves' (familia), clients and debtors (BG 1.4.2), considerably over 10,000 according to the account, who effectively prevented his trial taking place. It is interesting that there was a statutory penalty for his offence (being burnt alive), and possibly the Helvetii had a series of formal restraints on the exercise of personal power, as did the Aedui, though similarly ineffectual. Orgetorix died in suspicious circumstances before the saga could be continued.

Dumnorix of the Aedui provides a third case of the tension between civil authorities and nobles with great economic power and large retinues (BG 1.3 ff). He was brother of Diviciacus whom we know to have been a druid, and both were among the 'principes' of the Aedui whom Caesar kept in his sight in camp (BG 1.3.5). He allied with Orgetorix, married his daughter, and supported him in his regnum (BG 1.3.7). His authority among the Aedui is described as great (aspiring to regnum: BG 1.3.7):

> qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat. (BG 1.3.5)
> esse non nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. (BG 1.17.1)

Here the conflict with the authorities is explicit. Dumnorix was able to prevent the 'multitudo' from supplying the corn it ought to for the Roman army (BG 1.17.2), and he controlled the Aeduan taxes and tolls because no-one dared to bid against him for the contract (BG 1.18.3). Clearly the

tax-farming system did not here operate properly in the interests of the civil authorities, as it was apparently so easily controlled by a powerfuk noble. The result of the income ffom the taxes was that Dumnorix was able to support and increase his retinue, and was in a position to purchase support (BG 1.18.4f); the personal retinue always with him was mounted (and therefore expensive and prestigious), ahd he had a variety of foreign connections and alliances ranging from his relationship with Orgetorix to marriage alliances with the Bituriges and other civitates (BG 1.18.6f). His influence with the Sequani was also said to be great (BG 1.9.3f) because of his 'gratia et largitio', and his lust for 'regnum' is emphasized. In order to achieve this it was his aim to have as many civitates as possible indebted to him (BG 1.9.3-4) on the old Celtic clientage principle. It also emerges that Dumnorix was able to conduct politics on this public scale withoug the consent or knowledge of the official government (BG 1.19.1). Dumnorix was a noble in an old tradition, and the motifs chosen for some of his coinage (assuming it th be the same Dumnorix: pl.II.22-23) perhaps underline this.

These are perhaps the best illustrations of the phenomenon of the power of nobles with large retinues to conduct their own affairs at a public level against the will of the senate and other of the principes of Gallic civitates of the 'well administered' category. Other less fully documented cases will be considered below.

There are a few cases of royal kingships near the Centre region in the early or mid-first century which serve either to illustrate the disappearance of the institution, or to show its deep unpopularity with the oligarchies. BG 7.20.2 for instance illustrates the suspicion of regnum by many Celts of the period, especially if it was propped up by Rome and therefore was of the autocratic variety.

Casticus of the Sequani, who with Orgetorix and Dumnorix, is said to have formed an agreement to take up 'kingships' and to rule Gaul (BG 1.3.4),

was the son of Catamantaloedis who had been king in the generation before Caesar and had been entitled 'amicus' by the Roman senate.[82] It is therefore implied that there was not a kingship in the Sequani in Casticus' own generation. Tasgetius (BG 5.25.1, 5.29.2) of the Carnutes was a noble, 'summo loco natus' and of royal descent (cuius maiores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant). Caesar found him helpful, so installed him as king in 56; after three years he was assassinated by his enemies in the civitas, and it was thought by Sabinus, Caesar's general, that he would not have been murdered if Caesar had not left Gaul for Italy in the winter of 54. Cavarinus (BG 5.54.2f, 6.5.2f) was set up as king of the Senones by Caesar, and his brother Moritasgus had been king when Caesar arrived; their ancestors had been kings. In this case Caesar would appear to have made use of a legitimate form of succession to 'kingship' within a royal kindred, comparable with the intervention of Hannibal at the 'Island' in 218 (p.363 above). In 54 the Senones 'publico consilio' attempted to assassinate Cavarinus, but he fled. After they had pursued him as far as the border, they expelled him 'regno domoque'. Caesar wanted the whole Senones senate to come to apologize, but they refused. In the spring of 53 Cavarinus reappears as a Senones cavalry leader on Caesar's side.

In the case of the Senones alone of all these cases there appears to have been a native 'King' in the fifties; in the other two cases, and in the case of Cavarinus as well, the king was connected with Rome as an 'amicus' or direct appointee. The preference by the Romans for a recognizeable institution such as a kingship in their public dealings is a well known and widespread phenomenon (Thompson 1965:72f for Germany; Desjardins II: 548f; Rice Holmes 1911:520f for Gaul; see p.291 above). Other 'kings' are mentioned in Caesar who either owed their positions to himself or were 'amici' of Rome; for instance Commius of the Atrebates, a Caesarian appointee who benefited much from his Roman support until his defection.[83] Teutomatus king of the Nitiobriges (BG 7.31.5, 7.46.5) was son of Ollovico whose position is not stated to be that of king, but was

granted the status of 'amicus' by the Roman senate. The grandfather of Piso the Aquitanian (BG 4.12.4) had been rex in his civitas, and made 'amicus' by the Roman senate. Ariovistus the 'king' of the Germani was also made 'amicus' in Caesar's consulate (BG 1.35.2).

It is in fact a mistake to take too literally the appellation 'rex' or 'king' in Caesar. As we have seen from the earlier material, a king could be little more than a war-lord or military commander, and there could be terminological swapping between 'king' and 'chief' (dux, hêgemôn, princeps) throughout the literature on the Celts. In an unacknowledged quotation, Piggott (1968:48) aptly describes the Celtic 'kingship' as "petty invading chieftains whose lives were spent in marauding one another's territory and preying on their subject peoples". In a couple of cases noted above there were 'royal' families, but this was by no means essential to the political or military position described as 'king'. No family connection is made between the Suessian kings Diviciacus and Galba (BG 2.4.7f, 2.13.1). The latter owed his position to 'iustitiam prudentiamque suam'. Catuvolcus of the Eburones is styled 'rex dimidiae partis Eburonum' (BG 6.31.5), but the other half of the 'imperium' which was held by Ambiorix is not called a regnum: 'suaque esse eiusmodi imperia ut non minus haberet iuris in se multitudo quam ipse in multitudinem' (BG 5.27.1). Adiatunnus, called king of the Sontiates (BG 3.22.1) was a conventional war-leader, and the title does not enlarge our knowledge of his role.

Other military commanders apparently of exactly comparable authority on the field with those called 'king' are merely called 'dux' or 'princeps'. These include such notable leaders as Correus of the Bellovaci (dux: BG 8.6), Cotuatus (dux: BG 7.3.1); Conconnetodumnus (dux: BG 7.3.1); Viridovix (summam imperii: BG 3.17.2); Dumnacus (dux: BG 8.26), who on the surrender of the Andes and other Armorican peoples was expelled from his civitas (BG 8.31.5); Camulogenus (summa imperii: BG 7.57.3), who was given the position despite his great age 'propter singularem scientiam rei militaris';

Vertiscus (BG 8.12.4f, princeps civitatis and praefectus equitum, who though aged was not for that reason allowed not to lead in war); Divico (dux: BG 1.13); Boduognatus (dux; summam imperium: BG 2.23.4); Ambiorix (imperium: BG 5.27.1). Principatus could be used as a synonym for the position sometimes called regal, of Dumnorix (BG 1.3.5, 1.17.3), Celtillus (BG 7.4.1), Indutiomarus and Cingetorix (BG 5.3.2-3, 6.8.8: principatus atque imperium). The quarrel of the latter pair (who were father-in-law and son-in-law) is very like that of the 'kingship' dispute in 218 at the 'Island' (p.363), and was undoubtedly a not uncommon occurrence in Celtic civitates.

'Rex' and 'regnum', then, sometimes amount to little more than terms of abuse (as they were in Roman politics) for positions which, when on the Roman side, would merit the honourable title of 'princeps' or 'praefectus', and it is noteworthy that it is only the retinues of the important anti-Roman leaders which are described as full of the scum of the earth. It is difficult to say whether this is because only leaders hostile to the Romans (or not supported by the official civitas resources) were forced to call on the normally unarmed population, or whether it is only mentioned in their cases because if could be made to seem a symptom of their desperate hostility. I shall argue below that it was a new feature in Celtic warfare for the lowest class to be armed, and that it probably occurred because it was only by acquiring an army in this way that a noble could hope to gather the forces necessary to assert himself effectively within a political unit with the resources of the first century civitas. Whether the civitas authorities also used lower class soldiers is uncertain; possibly they did not if they could rely on levying the full warrior strength of the civitas.

It is of interest to note the four instances where the compositions of major rebel leaders' armies are described.

Viridovix of the Venelli (BG 3.17.4):

> magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spe praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agri cultura et cotidiano labore revocabat.

Drappes of the Senones (BG 8.30.1):

> ut primum defecerat Gallia, collectis undique perditis hominibus, servis ad libertatem vocatis, exsulibus omnium civitatum ascitis, receptis latronibus ... non amplius hominum duobus milibus ex fuga collectis ...

Vercingetorix of the Arverni (BG 7.4.3):

> atque in agris habet dilectum egentium ac perditorum ... (in addition to his own clients)

Indutiomarus of the Treveri (BG 5.55.3):

> exsulis damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se allicere coepit.

The same class of noble leaders are described as having power with the plebs (that is, illegal power, against that of the senate): Convictolitavis stirred the plebs to frenzy (BG 7.42.4, cf 7.13.2); Correus of the Bellovaci incited the multitude (BG 8.21.4) -

> numquam enim senatum tantum in civitate illo vivo quantum imperitam plebem potuisse (BG 8.22.2)

The generalized possibility that powerful leaders, that is to say, persons who could bring together a retinue large enough to be an army, could be in a 'regal' position is stated as one of the excuses for the extension of the Caesarian war in Gaul, because such persons would not tolerate Roman rule (BG 2.1.4, cf Dumnorix's statement that he would prefer Gallic to Roman rule, BG 1.17.3).

The immediate result of the acquisition of a large retinue by a noble was his greatly enhanced prestige in the opinion of neighbouring peoples as well as of the civitas, and therefore the acquisition of still greater authority. This was the case precisely with Dumnorix and Vercingetorix as seen above, and the process is described in detail in the case of Indutiomarus of the Treveri:

> Hac spe lapsus [of hiring German mercenaries] Indutiomarus nihilo minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exsules damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se allicere coepit. Ac tantam sibi iam his rebus in Gallia auctoritatem comparaverat ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent. (BG 5.55.3-4)

Care must always be taken when dealing with Caesar's accounts of individuals, as argued by Rambaud (1966), since he is inclined whenever possible to find a person to put at the centre of any important event: for instance he blames Orgetorix for the migration of the Helvetii, which even by his own account was clearly undertaken for other than personal reasons. However, in the light of the history of Celtic society, it is very probable that personal authority based on the clientage system and the control of wealth was of fundamental importance even in the first century, and not easily circumscribed in the early stages of development of the oligarchically constituted state. The cases outlined above show, I hope, the ways in which there was conflict between on the one hand the civil authorities which by now existed in most of Gaul, and were at least in some cases carefully constituted to prevent any of their members rising to permanent importance; and on the other, the traditional modes of acquisition of personal authority on the part of members of the nobility which under certain circumstances could lead to open confrontation.

3. DECISION-MAKING BODIES.

The composition of the decision-making bodies of the <u>civitates</u> of Central Gaul must be briefly discussed before turning to the plebs. The senates were treated of above (p.390f). It is sometimes held that the references to 'plebeian' armies and the reliance of Dumnorix, Vercingetorix and such leaders on the 'plebs' or 'multitudo' is evidence that in the first century the lower class was not really in the totally impotent position described by Caesar (<u>BG</u> 6.13.1, p.345 above; Desjardins II:539f). However, there is not the smallest scrap of evidence that there were popular assemblies even among the Aedui, and Rice Holmes (1911:540) is

right to argue that the mere fact that the plebs and the poor could be mobilized is no proof of the existence of a democratic movement. We have seen that the senates were, where there is any evidence, composed of 'principes' or nobles; and Strabo (4.4.3), referring to Gallic governments as 'aristocratic', is implicitly denying the existence of popular institutions. When we look at the likely composition of the 'plebs' or 'multitudo' which was occasionally in a decision-making position it becomes clear that this was not a case of the suffrage of all the citizens of a civitas, for instance, but of the decisions of a warrior council, and we saw above (p.347ff) that warrior status rested on a property qualification. In nearly all cases where it is mentioned in the context of decision-making, the multitudo or plebs (and Greek plêthos) refers to armies.

Strabo (4.4.3, p.385 above) referred to the plêthos choosing army commanders. These must be the armed population, persons of free client status or above. The same term was used in the third century for the warriors who executed their kings and carried on their own war in northern Italy: clearly not the unfree or semi-free agricultural plebs (p.362 above). Later in the same passage Strabo described the conduct of such assemblies (sunedrion, the same term used for the council of chieftains in the third century, Pol.3.26.4, p.362 above):

> There is a procedure that takes place at their assemblies which is peculiar to them: if a man disturbs the speaker and heckles him, the sargeant-at-arms (hupêretês) approaches him with a drawn sword; if he does not stop, the sargeant-at-arms does the same thing a second time, and also a third time, but at last cuts off enough of the man's sagus to make it useless for the future. (Strabo 4.4.3)

This is clearly an armed assembly as the sword and wearing of the warrior's cloak indicate; as the passage is from Poseidonios it could well be referring to the pre-conquest period in the second century. Livy 21.20 described an armed assembly in 218: there was an uproar against the proposals, 'ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur', 'iuventus' here being the body of warriors. For the 50s Caesar described the Gallic 'armatum concilium' which appears to be exactly the same institution:

> Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli, quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt: qui ex eis novissimus convenit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus crŭciatibus adfectus necaretur. (BG 5.56.2)

This council was called by Indutiomarus of the Treveri; first it declared Cingetorix, Indutiomarus' son-in-law and rival for the 'principatus', a public enemy and confiscated his goods; then he announced his intention to comply with the call from the Carnutes and Senones for help, and to attack the Remi. Caesar's use of the term puberes recalls Livy's iuventus above, and the use of multitude to mean the rest of the warriors is significant. Another such concilium is described, this time held by Vercingetorix (BG 7.14-15). In his capacity as military leader he announced his plans for the assembly's ratification, this time advocating a scorched earth policy.

It is reasonably clear from all the examples of armed councils that only the leaders could initiate measures (cf the treatment of hecklers described above), and at BG 6.20.3 it is stated that the people at large could not initiate discussion in the civitas, and could only be heard through the concilium, probably the council of all nobles or leaders of retinues. In the case of Vercingetorix's armed assembly, the plans he put forward were modified by the 'pleading of the Bituriges', but this does not invalidate the main principle that at these assemblies initiatives came normally from the leaders, not from the floor. That the 'multitude' at Indutiomarus' council were armed is expressly stated, and the same is implied by the context of Vercingetorix's assemblies in 52. A further enstance of these was the armed council held to confirm Vercingetorix in the generalship of the war at the expense of the Aedui who were trying to muscle in (BG 7.63.4-6, 8 p.394 above). The context makes it extremely unlikely that this 'council of all Gaul' could be anything but an exceptional and extended version of the armed warrior council.

The 'commune Belgarum concilium' (BG 2.4.4) would appear to be another instance of an exceptional military council instituted for the

particular war in progress. One might compare the meetings of chiefs mentionedd at BG 7.1.2f - clearly not in any way 'popular', and indeed confined to the nobility without the common warriors - to decide on what to do in face of the Romans; BG 7.75 (concilium principum) to decide on reinforcements for the Alesia campaign; and BG 5.53.4, secret councils of war about rebellion. The Romans probably drew on the possibility of this sort of assembly of chiefs for the 'concilium totius Galliae';[84] the characteristically Roman condemnation 'aqua et igni' (BG 6.44) at one of these councils is not unlike comparable Celtic sentences for instance at Indutiomarus' assembly above. A further instance of the armed assembly is indicated at BG 8.20.2 to decide on the surrender of the Bellovaci in 51, and was summoned by trumpet.

When it is said by Caesar from time to time, normally in the form of an apology for rebellious conduct, that it had been the fault of the plebs that the action had been taken, this should not be taken in isolation from what is otherwise known of the conduct of Celtic politics, and interpreted as proof of the existence of political power belonging to the people.

A case in which the armed council is said to have forced the leaders into action unwillingly is narrated at BG 3.18. Correus of the Bellovaci, with the backing of the 'inexperienced plebs' (his army) had more power than the senate (BG 8.21.4), and he is called 'concitator multitudinis'. Dumnorix was a favourite with the 'plebs'(BG 1.3.5, 1.17.1). Ambiorix had no more authority over the 'multitude' than they had over him, a clear expression of how the clientage system worked in the 'civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum' (BG 5.28.1, 5.27.3). The 'plebs' was held responsible for provoking the Roman sack of Noviodunum (Biturigum), and their leaders were arrested (BG 7.13.2, 'eos quorum opera plebem concitatam existimabant'). The 'multitude' addressed by Litaviccus at BG 7.38.4 is an army of 10,000 Aeduan reinforcements. BG 7.21.1 associates the 'multitude' and the army: 'conclamat omnis multitudo et

suo more armis concrepat'. In none of these cases is the politically significant 'multitude' anything other than the army. Even the 'vulgus' at BG 7.28.6 and 7.15.6 are clearly constituents of military gatherings. It may, therefore be stated with some confidence that the 'plebs' or 'multitudo', whenever it appears in a political context, in general refers to the common warriors or members of a retinue, unless there is good reason to think otherwise.[85]

* * *

The acquisition of a big retinue was all-important for a Gallic leader, and was the foundation of his power; but it could be a double-edged weapon, for if he failed to fulfil the expectations of the least subject, and therefore most important, of his clients he risked losing their support (BG 6.11.4, F de Coulanges 1891:13f). In a moment we must consider the probable composition of a retinue such as the great first century nobles had; for the moment a few of the more telling remarks above will serve to illustrate the double-edgedness of the institution, which lay behind the complaints that the 'plebs' were responsible for incautious action. It must of course be borne in mind that the 'Plebs' in this sense has a wider reference that Caesar's narrow definition of them as the politically impotent and semi-servile class. In political contexts 'plebs' also includes the common warriors who were men of at least a minimal property qualification and therefore of the lowest rank of freemen.

One thing in particular which the retinue or army expected was spoils: we saw the example of Viridovix's army (p.400 above, BG 3.17.4); the same is hinted at at BG 8.7.7:

> Constituisse autem Bellovacos omnium principum consensu, summa plebis cupiditate ... offerre se ad dimicandum.

Failure in war, and therefore failure to obtain spoils, would result in the loss both of retinue and influence, while offering to lead a war was a good way to attract a retinue.

Although it is incapable of watertight proof because of the nature of the evidence, it would seem to be the case that in the Celtic first century civitates direct political power was confined to the 'equites', which consisted of persons whose status ranged from eques to noble or 'princeps', and to the learned class patronized by them. They alone could sit in the senate and council, and by definition could command a retinue of greater or lesser size composed of persons of lower standing; the latter were also the source of the majority of their incomes. One person we know of, Viridomarus of the Aedui (BG 7.39.1) proves that it was not in principle impossible to rise from a lowly position to that of a 'princeps' (he was helped on his way by Caesar), but it cannot have been very common for a person unaided by someone from outside to rise from very low status to very high because of the sheer expense of it. As for the 'plebs' in the strict sense, there is no evidence at all that they were not in the first century in the politically impotent position described by Caesar. The only circumstance under which even the commoner freeman could have any effective power was as armed member of a retinue in the armed assembly, and even there, it is questionable whether the poorest class of soldier had much influence.

4. THE FIRST CENTURY LEARNED CLASS.

A few words should be said at this point about the learned class which was associated with the equites: Diviciacus of the Aedui, for instance, was a druid and of noble family, intimate with the government, of great political influence, and had been very wealthy. On p.350f above the various categories of person included in this class were enumerated. The sources of their income are not explicitly described in any of our sources and can only be guessed at. Undoubtedly they had land and probably tenants and slaves; their immunity from taxation was helpful, and handouts from rich patrons positively lucrative. Caesar describes druids in one passage only, which comes perhaps as a surprise when no mention of them had been

made in any context before; but this omission is susceptible to a number of explanations.

> Illi rebus devinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur: ad hos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt et, se quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de hereditate, de finibus controversia est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt; si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus druidibus praeest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem, Hoc mortuo, aut si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate succedit, aut, si sunt plures pares, suffragio druidum, non numquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique qui controversias habent conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent. Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimantur, et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur. (14) Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiae vacationem omniumque rerum haben immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquique mittuntur. (BG 6.13.4-14.2)

Various features of the education are added (BG 6.13.3-6): they include the learning of incredible amounts of verse by heart, since nothing was committed to writing on principle, though it is alleged that when they did write (publicis privatisque rationibus) they used Greek characters.[86] It took twenty years to learn the craft, and they learnt about the movements of the stars, the size of the earth and heavens, natural science and the gods.

Caesar does not divide the 'druids' into separate categories as did Poseidonios (p.376 ff), and much of the above information about druids seems to have been commonplace in the ancient writers: Cicero appears to have learnt the same sort of thing from Diviciacus the Aeduan who had had druidic training and stayed with him in Rome in 62 (de Div.1.41). Sherwin-White (1967:10f) pointed out that because there was nothing in Greco-Roman society which approximated to the druidic class, it was always singled out for remark by the commentators. But Caesar adds information not found in the other accounts, in particular the irrevocable excommunication

they could pass, and their immunity from tribute and military service. I would therefore maintain that this section is not a blind copying or paraphrase of Poseidonios (appendix XV). Later (p. 477f) we shall see examples of the immunity of religious places from plunder; Caesar himself remarked on the Celtic habit of keeping valuable treasure in sacred places (BG 6.17.4-5) which he plundered to great advantage (Suetonius DJ 54), and this immunity is remarkably parallel with that of sacred places in Ireland (p.353f). It is noteworthy in this context that oppida, with their defensive functions, were often also religious centres, and that few arms are ever found in them.

Although it is true that Caesar refers to druids nowhere else in the BG, it would be a mistake to discount completely their role in first century Gaul, particularly in religious and legal matters. There is no context in the narrative of the BG when the normal activities of a judicial or religious class would be expected to call for comment, since the dominant military and political class was Caesar's immediate opponent. Similarly in the Irish epics which concern the activities of the warrior aristocracy, the learned class features only as an accessory to the plots and references to religion are especially rare to the extent that almost nothing can be learnt of their religious beliefs. Yet we have seen (p.376 ff) that the 'druidic' class was of the highest importance in early Irish society and also in Gaulish society at least up to Poseidonios' time. Silence in Caesar must therefore not be regarded as proof of the impotence of the 'druidic' class in the first century.

However, the development probably during the second century of state apparatus in which the already dominant position of the warrior ruling class was consolidated, and centralized institutions were set up which may perhaps have had some of the judicial functions previously reserved for the learned class in a less formally institutionalized manner, must necessarily have weakened the power of this learned class in comparison with its position in a decentralized social structure. With the development of political institutions manned by the warrior class which assumed ever-increasing

coercive authority, the maintenance especially of the traditions necessary for the transfer of authority would probably have been removed from the learned . class and replaced by selection or election on publicly known principles ('laws'); the priests would thenceforth merely sanction or confirm the selection as in the case of the 'regal' Vergobretos of the Aedui. However, there is no reason to believe that the learned class did not in the first . century (when the Celts were still for all practical purposes illiterate) still provide interpretation of the law in the civitates; 'priests' certainly conferred or confirmed the annual magistracy among the Aedui for instance, although it is probable that the candidate was not chosen directly by the priest but according to 'laws', a clear instance of the operation of state functions (BG 7.33.3). It has often been noted that the man Caesar singled out for blame as the real ringleader of the great revolt in 52/1 (the Carnutan Gutuater or Cotuatus: BG 8.38, 7.3) has no personal name, but a title meaning 'priest' (Rice Holmes 1911:831; Hatt 1970:67). If, as is not unlikely, Caesar's account of the driuds greatly exaggerates the extent of their centralized organization and their connection with Britain in order to serve his political purposes, the role of Gutuater may provide some explanation, as it was with the massacre of Roman equites at Cenabum of the Carnutes that the great rising began, and the nightly conspiratorial gatherings to plan the revolt (BG 7.1.4) seems a conscious echo of the gatherings of the druids for other purposes (BG 6.13.10).

Druids, however their class was subdivided, still continued under the empire,[87] and I would argue that their influence with the ruling class before the conquest was almost certainly very great, though admitting that Caesar had political motives connected with his conception of Gaul as a single enemy which could lead him to exaggerate the extent to which the learned class of Gaul was homogeneous and coordinated. It is not difficult to make the leap from the existence of a similar institution in all Gaulish civitates, especially when it had the special mobility and

training characteristic of parts of the class, to the conclusion that it was a centrally organized system capable of conspiracy. The objection that because Diviciacus the Aeduan druid took part in military leadership, therefore the druidical class in Gaul was in steep decline (Desjardins II:530) may be true for the Aedui, and if so sould be an additional indication of their exceptional political development: F de Coulanges (1891:30f) noted that it was Caesar, and not a druid, who mediated in the magistracy disputes in 52 (BG 7.33). But this is not at all necessarily the case for the Central Gaulish civitates,

Druids continued after the conquest ot exist at least in the roles of sercerers and . . magicians, as they did after the coming of Christianity to Ireland.[88] But the learned class did not consist only of the religious specialists even though these were the most outlandish in the view of the classical writers; there were other groups with immense social importance and the religious class may either have had the juridical functions described by Caesar as well, or they may have been to some extent separated as suggested by Poseidonios in the case of the second century southern Celts. By the time the Druids acquired the reputation of being mere sorcerers, their social influence had been broken by conquest and persecution; Roman administration conmpletely replaced native Celtic institutions, and civil authority lay in the state apparatus. Although the barbarous religious practices of the Celts were singled out for abuse by the 'civilized' Mediterranean writers, it was surely not this alone which called for such dedicated suppression by the Roman authorities under the early empire (Nock 1972:759-60). Instead, as happened in the case of Ireland when it first came under British rule, the presence of a juridical class which gave the impression of being systematic and centrally organized (whether or not this was strictly true) and which was in Gaul conndected with religious practices, posed a direct threat to the colonial administration because of its power to challenge the loyalties of the ruling class. In order to win full

acceptance once and for all of Roman law and customs by the ruling class, the Celtic legal and juridical system which was an integral part of the barbarian and archaic Celtic social systems had to be abolished. Its persistence as a problem into the mid first century AD is surely evidence that it was still of importance at the time of the conquest.

Before the conquest, the authority of the class which interpreted the law may have been relatively unchallenged.[89] The extent to which the legal and juridical influence of the learned class was being replaced before the conquest by state institutions of the ruling class will have differed very much according to the area under consideration, and absence of any reference to it in Caesar is not proof that the druidic class had gone completely into the background; in its heyday in the fourth to second centuries it is never mentioned except in ethnographic passages either. However, a hypothesis that may be put forward in the light of comparative evidence and the apparent composition of the ruling class in some civitates, is that in the late second and first centuries in Central Gaul, the state and centralized government grew at the expense of the ancient conduct of Celtic government by customary interpretation of orally transmitted laws by a specialized class separate from but dependent on the dominant warrior aristocracy. This is not to say that the learned class did not continue to exercise its previous functions in the transmission of oral traditions of history, law and religion, because it almost certainly did, The suggestion is rather that in the most politically developed civitates there is for the first time evidence for the existence of political institutions constituted for the benefit of a ruling stratum drawn from the warrior equites, which must to some extent have usurped the exclusive earlier functions of the learned class within the civitates.

SECTION III CHAPTER 6.

THE CELTIC 'PLEBS' AND SOURCES OF SURPLUS WEALTH FOR THE NOBILITY.

Page

415 1. The agricultural plebs

417 2. Degrees of clientage.

420. 3. Mercenaries.

426 4. Clientage and the production of surplus wealth.

Chapter 6

THE CELTIC 'PLEBS', AND SOURCES OF SURPLUS WEALTH FOR THE NOBILITY.

It will have been noticed that nothing has been said about land-holding in Gaul, although this is a question of the utmost importance in understanding the distribution of power in an agrarian society. This is because of the almost total and irredeemable silence of the sources, and it is a fundamental failure. The Celts certainly had private property in land, and this was at the root of the social power of the ruling class; little more can be said. We know nothing of the terms on which land was held by the 'plebs'. In principle land may be held either by free peasant owners or by tenants of a landlord; the latter may owe a fixed rent in kind, a fixed rent in money or a share of the crop. Land belonging to a landlord may also be worked by serfs tied to the land or by slaves. Which of these various alternatives existed in Gaul is unknown. Tenancy existed in Ireland (p.347ff) and since the unfree and semi-free Celts did not own much or any land, it may be presumed that some or most of them were tenants if they were engaged in agriculture. The existence of agrarian debt (p. 419 below) would further suggest that fixed rents rather than shares were demanded, as only fixed rent can normally lead to indebtedness. Beyond these broad possibilities, however, it is not at present possible to go.

The contrast implied in BG 6.22 between the Germans (who had as yet no private property in land) and the Celts only sheds a rather limited light on the subject, in so far as it implies very clearly that the Celts held private property in land and that land was recognized as a source of wealth.

> Agri culturae non student [Germani], maiorque ~~a~~ pars eorum victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut finis habet proprios; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui +cum+ una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Eius rei multas adferunt causas: ne assidua consuetudine capti studium belli gerendi agri cultura commutent; ne latos finis parare studeant, potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellent; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat. (BG 6.22.1-4).

Above (p.407) :BG 6.13.5, the druids were said to have been arbiters in cases of disputes over inheritance and boundaries, which is further proof of the existence of private property in land. That the 'aedificia' or scattered farmsteads were private property is indicated in their description as 'possessiones' and 'privata aedificia' at BG 1.11.5 and 1.5.2. We saw also the case of confiscation of property of a renegade noble (p. 389). But, regrettable as it is, there is nothing in the available textual sources which gives the necessary information about the methods used to allocate and control the land of a civitas which would illuminate the question of the basis on which rent or taxes were obtained. We are driven into descriptions of the 'plebs' for what little information there is.

There is an ambiguity in the use of the catch-all terms 'plebs' and 'multitudo' or 'vulgus' which makes it difficult to know what sort of persons are in question. In the case of the armed multitude above, we can be reasonably sure that in principle they were landed free commoners and of the warrior class, like the spearsmen of the fourth to second centuries, rather than the agricultural semi- or unfree population. The latter may have been called upon in emergencies and during wars to pay some labour service away from the land, but in large numbers the removal of men without dependents from the work of agriculture would have had a disastrous effect on an intensive agriculture such as that of the Central Celts in the first century.

In addition there was the problem of arming the 'plebs': they were too poor to provide their own arms , and in earlier centuries played a non-combatant role. Thompson (1965:57) argued for a

preponderance of the sons of nobles in the German retinues of the first century AD for these reasons as well as social ones; evidence that the first century Gallic nobles armed some of the poor will be considered below, and probably was an important innovation. These were the 'perditi and egentes' (p.400 above); if they were armed by their leader, as the contexts would suggest, this presupposes that an even greater fortune was spent on first century armies than on the mercenaries of the fourth and second, who at least turned up well armed even if they needed pay in gold at the end. Possibly the uniformity of la Tène III armoury reflects a degree of mass-production unknown before, when the individuality and craftsmanship displayed in the manufacture of arms may reflect a different purpose in their production. It should be added, however, that Thompson (1965:59) puts down the uniformity of German arms in Tacitus' time to the 'international' retinues of the nobles in which warriors from all over the German world were armed alike, so mass-production is only one possible explanation. Certainly German chieftains of Tacitus' day were able to arm their retinues (Thompson 1965:50), so it was not economically out of the question for the much richer Celtic nobles of the first century to have done so. Basic arms were not very much more expensive than in the earlier periods: better and longer swords were the chief extra cost (p.26f above), and body armour was not worn by the common warriors. Dio 38.49-50 describes Ambiorix's Germans as having no helmets, although they had sophisticated phalanx tactics.

In order to disentangle to some extent the composition of the 'plebs', I shall look first at the evidence for the agricultural population, then at the status and duties of clients, and thirdly at mercenaries.

1. THE AGRICULTURAL PLEBS.

Caesar makes the generalized remark about the condition of the plebs:

> nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus, quibus in hos eadem omnia sunt iura quae dominis in servos. (BG 6.13.1-2)

By this Caesar is ostensibly referring to all those who are not 'equites',

and therefore probably those with a status less than that of freeman (p.347ff above). We have seen that he is undoubtedly correct in saying that they played no formal part in politics. In an agrarian society, such persons would in principle be engaged in agriculture. Unfortunately, the few notices in Caesar concerning the agricultural population are not very informative. He records Dumnorix's authority with the Aeduan plebs:

> Hos [ie Dumnorigem] seditiosa atque . . . improba oratione multitudinem deterrere ne frumentum conferant quod debeant ... (BG 1.17.2)

Nothing more about the status of the 'multitude' here is said than that it obeyed Dumnorix, however, and thet it owed a levy in corn to the government which supplied it to the Roman army. Again, at BG 8.7.2 it is assumed that the inhabitants of the rural aedificia of the Bellovaci were normally there to till the land, and the context somewhat suggests that they were non-combatant:

> paucos in aedificiis esse inventos, atque hos, non qui agrorum colendorum causa remansissent - namque esse undique diligenter demigratum - sed qui speculandi causa essent remissi. (BG 8.7.2)

Another passage which hints that the bulk of the agricultural population (of the Nervii) were non-combatant and should take refuge in war is at BG 6.3.2; the agricultural 'plebs' of the Bituriges is similarly mentioned at BG 8.3.1:

> rura colentes prius ab equitatu opprimerentur quam confugere in oppida possent. (BG 8.3.1)

One might compare BG 6.30.1 and 6.4.1.

If, then, probably the greatest proportion of the rural population was non-combatant and engaged in full-time agriculture, it is nevertheless

true that a certain element in some Celtic armies of the first century was drawn from the fields, whether as a 'levy' (perhaps to pay labour-service) or as volunteers. The Helvetian magistrates summoned a levy from the fields to suppress Orgetorix in c.59 ('multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent': BG 1.4.3); whether these were semi-free, unfree or perhaps poorer freemen is of course not stated. The latter, at least, could arm themselves. Viridovix of the Veneili collected an army of 'rabble' who are said to have preferred the chance of spoils to the prospect of 'agri cultura et cotidiano labore' (BG 3.17.4, p.400 above). Vercingetorix collected, in addition to his already-existing clients, a 'rabble' from the fields (BG 7.4.3); a distinction in status is implied. Whether the use of the term dilectus for his action is to be taken literally in the sense of summoning people with an obligation to serve, or whether it means he was collecting a volunteer army of mercenaries is not stated.

A question that should be asked but cannot be answered with absolute confidence from the available evidence is whether there was in the first century a property qualification for service as a warrior, and what difference there was between those who provided their own arms and those who were armed by their leader (if indeed this occurred). Certainly in an early period a land qualification was necessary since all freemen were warriors and vice versa (p.347ff); for the first century the beginning of an answer may be found in the composition of some armies. We shall see below that mercenary service was a standard institution for the Celts, but as shown by Griffith (1935:323, cf Parke 1933:160f; Fuks 1972) the characterization of the men who sold their labour in this way as exiles, condemned, thieves, desperadoes and scum (p.400 above) was a commonplace description for people of all sorts including both well-born adventurers and the very poor who could not live off the land any longer and had to find a livelihood as a soldier. Vercingetorix's army certainly included 'egentes' (BG 7.4.3). These were precisely the

the categories of Greeks who formed the bulk of mercenary armies in the Hellenistic period, and the application of the same language to the supplementary armies of the mid-first century in Gaul may be significant. One thing is certain of them, that they were or had become landless or short of land and therefore less than fully free. People in the position described as 'egentes' cannot be expected to have armed themselves fully, but the sources are silent as to whether they were armed by their general or whether they were deployed as light-armed soldiers using stones and slings rather than the spear, sword and shield of the full warrior. Caesar does not particularly mention light-armed troops, and the obvious inference is that in the first century they werearmed for combat, whereas in the earlier Celtic period Diodorus and Athenaeus (p.374ff) would suggest that the poor provided only menial personal service for the nobles in warfare. Clearly this is a very important development and a new object of expenditure on the part of the nobles who had therefore to increase their exactions from the agricultural and industrial 'plebs' and slaves in order to obtain the necessary resources.

2. DEGREES OF CLIENTAGE.

Probably a fourfold distinction must be drawn among the constituents of a first-century army: (1) the personal and permanent retinue of the leader, who were of the highest social standing, predominantly of the warrior class, and not engaged in agriculture; (2) freemen of client status from among the agricultural population who might have dependents to take their place when they were away, and were probably expected to provide some arms; (3) persons of less than free status, from the agricultural population, who had to serve from a variety of obligations such as debt, would not have dependents beyond their families to work the land in their absence, and could probably not provide arms; (4) mercenaries, who so long as they were paid could be professional soldiers, and who were drawn from a range of statuses, including the destitute and those

who for political reasons could not live in their own countries.

It would appear that the core of the support of the Celtic leaders about whom we are told consisted of their clients (cf the hetairoi of Philip of Macedon : Parke 1933:160), and these were not all of a single type. The common feature of all of them is that they were obliged by honour or contract to serve for their lord, and they received from him either their upkeep and a good social position (in the case of well-born clients, for instance Dumnorix's personal retinue of horsemen BG 1.18.6), or protection, and loans or tolerance of their debts in the case of the lower classes of client. That a retinue or 'clientela' lay at the root of Celtic social authority has been shown above, and was true from the earliest period. For the first century, a number of cases of the use of a retinue in the pursuit of pqwer are documented. Those recorded above in the last chapter need not be repeated; additional examples include BG 8.32.2 where Lucterius is said to have had the oppidum of Uxellodunum in his clientela, and was therefore a perdon of considerable influence; at BG 7.32.6 the use of rival clientelae to fight out a political dispute among the Aedui is mentioned. Caesar says of the 'equites' class in general that

> eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt. (BG 6.15.2, cf 6.11.3-4)

This reference to ambacti and clients, implying a distinction between them, recalls the passage of Polybius (2.17.12) quoted above on p.361, where retinues were said to be made up of therapeuontes and sumperipheromenoi. The latter are sometimes taken to be a translation of 'ambacti' (Rice Holmes 1911:514), which is glossed in Latin by Festus as 'ambactus apud Ennium Gallica lingua servus appellatur', and in a gloss to Festus as 'doulos misthôtos'.[90] Rice Holmes, probably rightly, thought it referred to an inferior client. Diodorus (p.374 above) used therapeuontes for the unarmed charioteers and shield-bearers taken to battle by the warriors of the second century or earlier, and said they were from the free poor

(eleutherous ek tôn penêtôn). Caesar (BG 6.13.2) says that the conditions under which the plebs attained 'almost the position of slaves' ware debt, severe tribute, and injury from the powerful (in the context this means acts of war on property: BG 6.15.1); the degree of clientage here in question is described by Caesar as being that of virtual slavery.

Other instances of the use of clients of low status are found in Caesar. Orgetorix (BG 1.4.2) had three categories of retainers whom he could summon to his defence: 10,000 persons who constituted 'omnem suam familiam', which in normal Latin would indicate slaves (see below p.429); clients; and obaerati, or debtors, 'of whom he had a large number'. Varro (LL 7.105 - White 1970:378) defined an obaeratus : 'a free man who gives labour service like a slave (in servitutem) until he can pay off the debt he owes is called a bondsman (nexus) as one burdened with debt', Orgetorix's obaerati would therefore be his most dependent clients and be of low social status. These categories of retainer accord with Caesar's general statement and the definition of ambactus above.

It is implied that Vercingetorix had two categories of supporters besides members of the civitas who joined him: his clients, whom he 'summoned together' (BG 7.4.1) and his 'dilectum egentium ac perditorum' in the fields (BG 7.4.3). Again, these latter will have been of lower status than his clients and possibly have been unfree or semi-free. Dumnorix (BG 1.18.5) is only said explicitly to have had cavalrymen in his retinue, but his authority over the agricultural plebs, to prevent them contributing corn for the Romans, implies that he also had lower class dependents (BG 1.17.2). In all these cases it would make sense to take 'clients' to be genreally of higher rank (all probably freemen) than the other categories of supporter. A further distinction verbally between slaves and clients is made at BG 6.19.5: both categories were at one time cremated with their lords at funerals.

That the institution of clientage ensured the leader a minimum amount of support is clear, and there is some indication that it was impossible for the hard core of clients to desert their lord:

> Litaviccus [who was Aeduan] cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos ... (BG 7.40.7)

A more extreme form of the system existed in Aquitania, where the clients of this category (600 in the case of king Adiatunnus of the Sontiates) were bound to die if their lord was killed: the word 'devoti' is used of them (BG 3.22.2). It is difficult to believe that the closest retainers of a Celtic noble could have been full-time farmers as well, and the presumption is that they were freed from agriculture not anly because they were partially maintained by the noble, but beeause they themselves had dependents of lower status to work their land. Certainly Dumnorix's cavalry can only have been young nobles, pace Rice Holmes (1911:513).

3. MERCENARIES.

The existence of mercenary service as a source of income or wealth is well documented for the Celts from the early fourth century onward. The heyday of the Hellenistic use of barbarian soldiers, especially Celtic, was from the last thirty years of the fourth century until the first thirty years of the third, with a run-down in their use during the second and cessation by the first . (Griffith 1935:320-1). Carthage used western Celts and Iberians from the early fourth century, and ceased to do so by 202 (Griffith 1935:207f, 233). In the period under consideration in the present study, we hear of Celts as mercenaries for the Carthaginians (Pol.1.17.4 in 263; 3.114 in 216) and the Massiliots (Pol.3.41.9 in 218).

> The most important development of mercenary service in Macedonia in the third century and after is the great increase of barbarian soldiers. It was accompanied by a decline in the number of Greek mercenaries in Macedonian pay. ... The greatest acquisition was the Gauls. From the time when Antigonus Gonatas used Gauls to help him conquer his kingdom, to the time when Perseus came within an ace of employing a whole Gallic nation in arms against Rome, the Kings of Macedonia were probably never without some of these brave mercenary soldiers in their pay. (Griffith 1935:78-9)

> Gauls were at the moment [early third century] perhaps the cheapest, certainly the most plentiful, soldiers in Greece. (ibid.:66)

From the late third until the early second century, barbarians probably outnumbered Greeks in Hellenistic armies (ibid.:254). The significance of this for the introduction of coinage to Gaul will be discussed in chapter 8.

Griffith (1935:253) narrated the history of one such mercenary army of Gauls in the late 230s, which contrasts with that of the Gaesatae above. It is drawn from Polybius (2.5.4 ff). They were at first expelled from their own land by their compatriots, and entered the service of Carthage. They were sent to Sicily, where they quarrelled with their general about pay and tried to sack Acragas which they were supposed to be guarding. There were some 3000 of them at this point. Next, at Eryx, they tried to betray it and its garrison to the Romans; when this was foiled, they deserted to the Romans. Then they sacked a temple and made themselves so unpopular with the Romans that they were disarmed and put on a ship, and forbidden to set foot in Italy. They sailed to Epirus where they were given garrison duty at Phoenice; only 800 were left at this stage. The last that is heard of them is that they betrayed Phoenice to the Illyrian raiders of Queen Teuta.

The Celts did not serve as mercenaries only for the Greeks. There were the Gaesatae who were hired by other Celts (p.367 above).

> ... The Insubres and Boii made a league and sent messengers to the Gauls dwelling among the Alps and near the Rhone, who are called Gaesatae because they serve for hire (<u>dia to misthou strateuein</u>) (Pol.2.22.1)

Literally their name meant 'spearsmen' or 'warriors', but Polybius is clear that their obvious distinction was that they were mercenaries. They could be hired in thousands: 30,000 reinforcements were engaged (<u>epi to misthousai</u>) in 222 (Pol.2.34.2). First-century mercenaries are variously recorded. <u>BG</u> 1.31.4: the Arverni and Sequani hired Germans c.70-65. The history of this relationship is interesting, in terms of what the mercenary force wanted:

> Hi [Aedui and Arverni] cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia XV Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos pluris: nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et viginti milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque clientis semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatem amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, ... coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis et iure iurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos quo minus perpetuo sub illorum dicione atque imperio essent. ... Sed peius victoribus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere iuberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum XXIIII ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. (BG 1.31.4-11)

The relationship between the Germans and the Sequani recalls that of the Galatians and Attalus in the east; land was expected as one of the payments for service.

Mercenaries were extremely expensive, and in the Hellenistic world only kings and tyrants could afford to use them extensively, by dint of heavy taxation (Griffith 1935:89). This feature is of interest in the first century Gaulish situation, as a contributary factor in the indebtedness of the 'plebs'. Germans, whom Caesar several times cast in the role of mercenaries for the Celts, were hired by the Treveri and Indutiomarus (BG 5.55.1, 6.2.1-2) and part of their pay was in coin. Obviously, in the case of mercenaries like the Gaesatae, who intended to go home again, land was not a feature in their payment. In the case of others who were exiles of one sort or another, land must have figured in the contract in the end (the Aeduan adoption of the Boii is probably a case in point - ch.7). This would also be the case with peoples in the course of folk movement such as the Galatians and the first century Germans: mercenary service for large numbers was a good inducement to move in a particular direction.

The examples above are the most explicit passages referring to mercenaries in Caesar. Other passages which refer to the use of bribes or inducements for support and therefore virtually to the hiring of mercenaries are BG 7.63.2 - the Aedui sollicited support 'quantum ... pecunia

valent ...'; BG 7.64.8 - Vercingetorix bribed the principes of the Allobroges with money; BG 1.9.3 - Dumnorix had great influence with the Sequani on account of his 'gratia' and 'largitio'; BG 7.31.1 - Vercingetorix enlarged his alliance with 'gifts and promises'; BG 1.44.1-2 alludes to Ariovistus having been paid to enter Gaul; Orosius 5.16. 14 refers to bribery of Alpine peoples during the Cimbric and Teutones invasions with 'gold, cups, food and baths (lavacra)'. BG 7.37.1 refers to money collected by Convictolitavis and his friends among the Aedui for expenditure on bribes. Analogous passages are found at BG 1.18.3: Dumnorix's liberalitas with the plebs; 1.18.4 his 'facultates ad largiendum magnas'; 3.17.3-4 refers to Viridovix's mercenaries hoping for spoils; 5.55.3-4 says Indutiomarus got support by offers of 'magnis praemiis'; 2.1.4 refers to the 'ad homines conducendos facultates' of potential rebel leaders.

Offers of money to chiefs could be one recognized way of hiring mercenaries, as it was only by bribing a Celtic noble that the service of his whole retinue could be obtained. This process is well documented in the case of the attempted hiring of the Bastarnae by Perseus in 168, through their 'king' Claodicus (Griffith 1935:75, Livy 44.26), and Hannibal probably obtained some of his mercenaries through their chieftains (ibid.:229) However, there was no one standard method of recruiting, and volunteer mercenaries without a leader are presupposed in some of the first century evidence and probably existed earlier (Griffith 1935:229, 254). BG 5.56.1 mentions 'voluntariorum copias' of the Senones, Carnutes, Nervii and Aduatuci. The reputation of the Celts for greediness for money (eg Diod. 5.27) is probably closely connected with their readiness to serve as mercenaries. The anecdote in Polyaenus 4.17 of Celtic mercenaries' payday (a reference I owe to Miss E.Wightman) makes this connection inevitable.

The significance of the first century mercenaries of the sort described in the armies of Viridovix, Drappes, Vercingetorix and Indutiomarus (p.400) is very great. In all probability they provide firm evidence that the size

of the personal army which a noble could amass was greater than in previous centuries, and it implies that the leaders concerned had a great deal of wealth to dispose of. Expected spoils could provide a large inducement to serve, but tha standard mercenary pay had to be founda as well; Hellenistic monarchs were on occasion forced to desperate fiddling of dates and other devices to pay off their debts to their mercenaries. Probably in Gaul heavy taxation of the agricultural population was the major source of income for this purpose, certainly to feed standing retinues; the example of Dumnorix wou oould control the transportation tolls and taxes of the Aedui to a great degree shows that there were other means as wèll by which the necessary income could be secured, The Aeduan vectigalia were of course squeezed out of the 'plebs'.

For the full-time lasting support of a military retinue and mercenaries, however, a constant supply of plunder was necessary as well as pay, and the reputation of the Celts in Caesar's day for constant warfare with each other must have been fostered among other things by the social need for the nobility to maintain their status by keeping up a large following. In turn, the continual raiding, and impoverishment of the plebs by taxation, would have led to a constant supply of people willing or forced to sell themselves as soldiers.

I would like to put forward the hypothesis that the ending of the option of mercenary service in the Hellenistic armies during the second century contributed to the social crisis which is marked by the consolidation of centralized political power in the late second century. From the second century there was no outlet except within Gaul itself for the achievement of a warrior reputation by the nobility. Whereas formerly individual nobles could go abroad to win wealth and a reputation (and a home, if he had left because of the lack of enough land to support his status), this now had to be done within Gaul itself, involving warfare only with peoples who, unlike distant Mediterranean enemies, would come marauding back at one's own land. Not only therefore did the Gallic

peoples have to bear a possibly much increased incidence of destruction by war, but whereas formerly the pay and plunder for mercenary nobles came to a large extent from outside the Gallic world, now it had to be found entirely within it, ultimately at the expense of the agricultural population and possibly industrial slaves. In addition, the option of finding a new home abroad for surplus population was drastically reduced, and possibly led to intensification of the use of the availble land at home in Gaul with all the social consequences entailed in such a process.

A few words could be added now about first century military tactics. The 'phalanx', which we have seen to be a feature of earlier warfare, is found again in the Caesarian war : BG 1.24.4, 1.25 (Helvetii) and 1.52.4 (Germani). Strabo considered it the basic reason for the easy defeat of the organized Celts that they fought in massed armies, as opposed to the Spaniards who fought in guerrilla fashion (lêstikôs): Str.3.4.5, 4.4.2. Examples of Celtic attempts to adapt Roman fighting practices for use against them were seldom very successful, though faith was clearly put in them: Ambiorix got Roman prisoners to teach him how to conduct circumvallation (Oros. 6.10.3, Dio 40.7.2), which may be compared with the native Gallic methods of seige warfare which in themselves took a very high degree of coordination and discipline (BG 2.6.2-4). At BG 3.23.5 the Aquitanians are said to have elected as leaders against the Romans men who had served with Sertorius in the 70s, and learnt such Roman tactics as the building of castra. Vercingetorix seems to have realized the futility of trying to beat the Romans on their own terms, in pitched battles, and his scorched earth policy as described at BG 7.14f is in effect a plan to revert to tactics not unlike those normally practised by the northern Gauls whom the Romans found so difficult to defeat. He combined with this plan, however, a military discipline unfamiliar to his army, and some Roman methods : 'primumque eo tempore Galli castra munire instituerunt' (BG 7.30.4).

The evidence, then, would suggest that from an early date the retinue of warrior nobles included armed (therefore respectably-off) freemen and unarmed or semi-armed poor freemen and debtors, and that by the first century they also could include hired mercenaries of the poorest unfree class and foreigners, who were almost certainly armed at the noble's expense. Caesar emphasized the role that debt played in ensuring the dependence of the poor on the nobles, and it is quite likely that the corollary of the political developments of the late second and first centuries was the increased indebtedness of the agricultural population. However, the comparative material from Ireland (p.347ff) suggests that indebtedness was to a greater or lesser degree a feature of all clientship relationships for the Celts, and was indeed the principal mechanism whereby the nobility obtained the surplus necessary to support their activities as a warrior aristocracy.

4. CLIENTAGE AND THE PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS WEALTH.

In the nature of the surviving evidence, there is little that is directly informative about the tributes paid by the 'plebs' to the nobles. That it was definitely a feature of the relationship is assumed, for instance, in the statement that druids (or the learned class) paid no tributes (BG 6.14.1, 'neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt') - presumably the same tributes with which the plebs were oppressed (BG 6.13.2 'magnitudine tributorum'). Again, the agricultural plebs of the Aedui were the direct source of contributions of corn for the supply of the Roman army, on top, probably, of the tributes they would have had anyway to pay to the Aeduan authorities (BG 1.17.3). A small but significant passage on this subject concerns the Boii, who were the remnant of the contingent which set out with the Helvetii in 58, and after defeat were given Aeduan land to live on; they were expected by Caesar to provide corn along with the Aedui, but were unable to successfully:

> quod civitas erat exigua et infirma, celeriter quod habuerunt consumpserunt. (BG 7.17.2)

The ability of the Boii to provide corn is thus linked with the condition of their civitas: they could not provide a surplus because they were too small and politically too weak. The Aedui on the other hand had the population, and more importantly, the political means of compelling a large agricultural surplus.

The first material source of surplus wealth was the herds and harvests of the civitas supported by mineral resources and obtained through channels of traditional payment by dependents to their lords in pyramidal fashion. There were other sources, however, which were also ancient. First century states certainly had a range of tolls on transport passing through waterways or roads which it could control (p.326f above), and from these or the sale of contracts to collect them, the central government could obtain an income. A third source, which could be very ancient, lay in the payment either to a 'king' or to a civitas authority of tribute from dependent peoples, which was in fact an extension on a 'public' scale of the clientage system. This source must have been a very important item in terms of size, and is well documented.

Ambiorix (BG 5.27.2) had paid stipendia to the Aduatuci until freed by Caesar. Orgetorix or the Helvetii had plans in the late sixties to move to fruitful land in Gaul, and to have the other peoples as stipendarii (BG 1.30.3). Ariovistus was receiving vectigalia or stipendium annually from the Aedui (BG 1.36.3-5). The Veneti received vectigalia from most peoples who used the coastal seas (BG 3.8.1: this could be taxes on cargoes rather than a strict tribute). The Aedui received stipendia from the Boii who had been placed in the relation of 'attributi' to them by Caesar (BG 7.9.6, 7.10.1). The Ubii had to pay vectigalia to the Suebi, which resulted in their being made 'multo humiliores infirmioresque' (BG 4.3.4). The Morini paid tribute to Commius (were attributi) : BG 7.76.1; the Suessiones paid tribute to the Remi (BG 8.6.2), though Caesar was probably responsible for both of these. The paying of tribute in this way was not only a powerful source of income for the recipient, but, in accordance

with the operation of Celtic politics, also a direct source of authority as may be seen in the career of Ariovistus (BG 1.31 f). Giving tribute was a sign of being in an inferior and dependent position, and frequently hostages were given as well, to ensure that the tribute was paid.

A final source of wealth was from warfare, which in the form of loot would benefit the army concerned, and in the form of conquest would either win a subject people to pay stipendia as in the case of the reported German conquest of parts of the Sequani and Aedui, or increase the land available for direct exploitation - again a feature of the German conquests. The latter was the object of the migrations wherever we are given a serious reason. The impoverished condition of much of the first century agricultural population in Gaul, if Caesar's account is accurate, almost certainly is the result of continuous and perhaps encreasing exactions of tribute in kind over the years, and especially from the period of the establishment of large towns and centralized governments with their additional expenses parasitic on the countryside.

Slavery is a subject on which very little is known for Gaul. Slaves certainly existed, even at an early date (Polyb.2.26.4-6; BG 6.19.5), and a personal slave belonging to a Nervian friendly to the Romans played a prominent part in the rescue of . Q Cicero's camp (BG 5.45.2, 5.49.2). Enslavement was normally the result of capture in war (Pol.2.26.4, BG 7.42.3, 1.27.4), for which there was ample opportunity at all periods in Celtic history.[91] The existence by the first century of a significant use of slavery in Gaul is implied at BG 8.30.1 where Drappes included slaves in his 'rabble' army with the promise of freedom.

Within the clientage system it is fairly clear that a large agricultural surplus could be extracted by the nobility, and perhaps the use of slavery in agriculture was not widespread or necessary. But it may be asked whether captives were not used in other industries such as mining and smelting which needed a high labour input (p.336f above). In

industries whose product such as gold was directly enriching, it would have been in the interests of the nobility that the larges t possible number of persons should be labouring for them in total dependence so that they would obtain all the raw material for their own use. Slavery was widespread in Noricum, another Celtic area, long before the Roman conquest (Alföldy 1974:43f) and slaves are found in the Celtic kings' court there as early as 170. Their use in Gaul is therefore not impossible, and the fact that captives played an important part in exchange with the Romans for luxury goods (p.335f) ..... : is evidence rather for the extension of an existing phenomenon (the enslavement of captives) than the introduction of an entirely new practice: the novelty lay not in enslavement but in the exchange rather than direct use of the captives. In the first century slaves may very well have been an essential source of surplus labour for the aristocracy, especially where mining or transport were concerned; but although I would expect this to have been the case, proof is at present lacking. One slight hint perhaps lies in Caesar's use of familia for 10,000 of Orgetorix's following (BG 1.4.2); these persons are distinct from clients and obaerate, and the normal Roman sense of the word would indicate slaves. This is the obvious meaning of the Latin, rather than for instance 'retinue' which is a translation which avoids the problem of its exact composition. Hugh though the number is, I am not convinced that 10,000 slaves from mines (and Switzerland has good precious metal ores, especially gold) and services is an impossible number for a quasi-regal figure (p.337 above).

SECTION III CHAPTER 7.

CIVITATES AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE STATE.

Page

430 Civitates and the emergence of the state.

442 Political unification : a model for Central Gaul.

Chapter 7

CIVITATES AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE STATE.

It would be appropriate at this point to consider the nature of the Gallic civitas. We have seen (p.292f) that the Latin use of the term is somewhat ambiguous, but it is generally used in the sense of 'the state' or 'the people' (F de Coulanges 1891:8f; Jullian 1909:23).[92]

The discussion above of organs of state in the first century included evidence that the civitas and the magistrates or senate (BG 1.4.3) could on occasion be thought of as synonymous, and it is clear that at that period there were to be found in Central Gaul peoples who had developed much of the administrative and political machinery characteristic of an archaic state. However, it is obviously only in the latest la Tène period, after the mid second century in all probability, that civitas could be translated as 'state' to mean the centralized government of a whole people in contradistinction to the constituent territorial parts of the state, or pagi. Even then the degree to which this is a correct translation must vary with the degree to which centralized institutions of this sort had been established.

Rice Holmes (1911:348) offers a good definition of the territory of a civitas (which he calls 'tribe':p.20) as the area within which it was for the moment able to collect revenue. In the most advanced cases this territory comprised several pagi or basic administrative units territorially defined, and the civitas had the sense both of the corporate unit comprising all the constituent pagi, and of the administrative structure by means of which tribute and taxes were collected and which was probably located physically in a single oppidum. But in many cases this was probably not the case, and the highest authority in some areas

may have been able to collect tribute only from a single pagus-unit in a direct line of development from an earlier and very fragmented social structure. In these areas although there was probably an acknowledgement of a common 'nationality' between the various socio-political units which could be said therefore to belong to a civitas, it did not necessarily have the same significance as in Central Gaul where the civitas also had a coercive presence in the form of a centralized state administration over and above the pagus units. Therefore translation of civitas as 'state' will not do in all cases: civitas might, as suggested by F de Coulanges (1891:8f), often be a 'moral' or 'ideological' unit rather than an effective administrative entity with coercive powers. We shall see cases of independent activity by pagi of some of the less fully centralized civitates of the first century, which underline this point.

Nevertheless, the first century civitas was, at least in the Centre, to a greater or lesser degree a real entity, with territorial limits. Hence there could be a ban on the Aeduan Vergobretos from leaving the civitas, and sentences of exile from the civitas as that on Vercingetorix's opponents or Dumnacus of the Andes. Rice Holmes (1911:673) rightly considered that fines means not simply 'borders', but the territory of the people as a whole, as in the expression 'per fines': note that Dumnacus' exile (BG 8.31.5) was expressed as expulsion 'suis finibus'.

A civitas was composed of several pagi (eg BG 6.11.2), which were, even in the first century, basic military units. BG 1.12.4-5 records that the Helvetii had four pagi (called phula by Strabo 4.3.3), including the pagus Verbigenus (BG 1.27.4) which took the unilateral decision to go home after defeat. Livy ep. 65 refers to the Tigurinus pagus of the Helvetii who joined the Cimbri and Teutones and defeated Cassius in 107 (cf BG 1.12.4); its exodus from Switzerland is expressed as secession 'a civitate' by Livy. At BG 4.22.5 the Morini are stated to have had a number of pagi, some of which refused to send legates to the Romans, thereby acting independently of the civitas. The Arverni also had several pagi, of which those

geographically nearest to the Gabales were sent with them to attack the Helvii, clearly indicating that they were both territorial and military units (BG 7.64.6).

Caesar also uses the term pagus of the Germans to describe a less advanced situation;(BG 6.23.5, 1.37.3, 4.1.4); Thompson (1965:11f, 15) has argued that these were each a tribe made up of basic kindreds, with a tribal council which would allocate land. They were not therefore primarily defined by territorial but by tribal membership. Similar arguments have been put forward about the nature of Celtic pagi, although there were a number of important differences between the two types of socio-political unit. Jullian (1909:15-6) suggested that they were the indivisible unit of public, military and civil life with a coherent territory, and that these tribal territories were the smallest and most tenacious spatial divisions in Gaul; the pagi or 'tribes' were a collection of families with communal leaders, a single name, collective rules and lived a similar life in one area. This is very like Thompson's conception of the Germanic pagi, and could be a development from a comparable situation in the distant Celtic past. A very similar argument is propounded by Rice Holmes (1911:20f, 508): each pagus had its own magistrate, was originally more or less independent, and sent separate contingents to the army. This sort of picture which recalls that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus for archaic Rome (see below) is surely correct; the difficulty is to know whether with centralization the size of pagi grew in the Centre, while their numbers diminished, as might be expected on general grounds.

The first century pagus probably had politically determined characteristics which were significantly different from earlier periods when political centralization was weak and the pagus may have been the largest normal political unit. In this situation, the composition of the pagus would have been determined by the kinship and dependence ties of its aristocracy somewhat, perhaps, like a Highland clan; the territory from which it derived its livelihood 'belonged' to it, but was not the primary definition

of the pagus as such. In a situation where settlement was dispersed and the aristocracy would appear not to have had characteristic nucleated settlements for administrative and other 'noble' functions (oppida), it is not unlikely that a clan-like social organization could have been found. The fact that such institutions existed in Scotland and Ireland is evidence that Celtic society could generate such a system, although there is of course no direct evidence that it existed at any period in Gaul. It is merely a probability (p. 359-72 above).

However, by the first century the emergence of the state had made definitive changes in Celtic society, and it is virtually certain that at some stage in the process of centralization (probably at the time when oppida became a political necessity) the territory of each civitas, under the control now of a recently consolidated nobility, was formally delimited and subdivided on lines best suited to the collection of tributes. A division on a territorial basis for this purpose was widely used by societies at a comparable stage of development of an archaic state, and it is probable that it occurred in Gaul at this period. Although political and ideological reasons for the reorganization of 'tribes' and districts may be prominent in accounts of these reorganizations, it is abundantly clear that the most fundamental driving force behind the process (often, it may be noted, attributed to the activity of a named king or lawgiver who is among the earliest historical figures in a state's records, and therefore in direct historical continuity with a 'classical' present) is the need for the ruling class to consolidate control of taxation and a military levy in favour of a central government, and to weaken the powers of the old nobility of the previous constituent parts of the state. Naturally the reorganization was not always effective overnight, as the powers of nobles, especially when founded on a clientage system as in Gaul or Ruanda (below) was not easily circumscribed.

Two examples may be cited which, together with the first century evidence for the existence of state organization in Gaul, shed light on the probable reasons for, and possibly the course of, internal rearrangements during the second century.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.14.1-4; 15.2-6) describes Servius Tullius' reorganization of the Roman state in the archaic period. Previously there are said to have been three 'tribes' of Romans, membership of which appears to have been hereditary. Rome had grown since this division was politically efficient, and he created four new 'tribes' on the basis of the geographical location of the population in Rome. Membership was therefore now based on physical location; one might compare Kleisthenes' reforms at Athens in a comparable phase of state development. Servius' new local tribes were to be the basis of the levy, taxes and services, and commanders were appointed over each tribe who had to know the whole population; annual festivals were instituted at each street which were probably used - on analogy with pagus festivals - for the purposes of administration as well as celebration, since they were the only occasion on which the whole population was assembled. The territory of Rome was further subdivided into pagi or city districts; each was to have a refuge spot for times of trouble and each had to have a governor who had to know the names of all the farmers and their lands, and had to gather the levy and collect taxes. Altars were to be established and an annual festival arranged to be an occasion for taking the census. So the organization of both tribes and pagi was primarily for the purposes of the military levy and taxes.

Caesar uses the term pagi for the constituent units of a Gallic civitas, and may have had the Roman tradition in mind in using the term. However, his terminology was probably based on his identification of Gallia as a whole (Gallia omnis or tota are frequent expressions), and therefore a 'nation'; this false notion led to the assimilation of

civitates to 'tribes' and pagi to Roman pagi as being a subdivision of a subdivision, when in reality the civitas was the 'nation', and the pagi the 'tribes'. Interestingly, Strabo once uses phula for pagus (Str.4.3.3) recalling the Roman 'tribe' and the phula of Kleistenes' largest territorially based subdivision of Athenian archaic society. In Gaul, as in Rome or Ruanda (below), the pagus probably had subdivisions: in Gaul there would be primary and secondary subdivisions in all probability, the vicus being the smallest, tributary to larger units above them: the twenty 'urbes' of the Bituriges could have been the administrative centres of these units (BG 7.15.1), like Roman pagi or Ruanda 'hills'.

Ruanda in Africa provides the second illuminating comparison with Gaul in some respects (cf p.355 above). The cattle-herding aristocracy, headed by a king who was the only member of the society who was client to no-one, instituted a subdivision of the whole population for tribute purposes. The districts of the territory were subdivided into 'hills', each with a hill-chief who supervised tributes and got them from the appointed representative of the lineage heads of the various neighbourhoods of the hill, comparable probably to Gaulish vici (Maquet 1972:102f). The officials or 'chiefs' at each level of the administration took a cut from the tributes, and although it is unwise to make equations between institutions in different societies, the underlying reasons are clear for this type of arrangement of the territory of a state where some degree of centralized authority existed and maintained itself by tributes and clientage relationships. I would argue that in all these cases where this sort of organization of the territory and the people took place in an archaic society the underlying reason was the need by the central authorities to ensure the flow of tribute and military resources to the centre. No one social system is presupposed, however; the case of Ruanda demonstrates that the persistence of a traditional system of kinship organization, and the lack of large and permanent nucleated settlements for administration and trade is not imcompatible with the establishment of a complex system

of state administration, although it goes far to demonstrate the fiscal origin of the pyramidal subdivision of the population and the territory subject to the central government. Although the case of Ruanda is illumminating in many ways, there are reasons to think that by the second or first century the Central Celts had more in common with the archaic Italians than with east African pastoral warriors.

Unfortunately, for the period before the late secnnd century we have no direct information for the internal organization of the peoples in Gaul except that there was no single central authority with effective coercive powers in any of them. Although in the first century the pagus seems to have been the smallest political and militaxy unit, each pagus certainly comprised numerous villages and isolated holdings, and it is not unlikely that there was a period when even smaller units were effectively independent. By the first century however the villages or vici all probably paid tribute to one or other local pagus centre or oppidum (eg Nemausus, Str.4.1.12, p.314 above) as a result of the social and political changes during the secnnd century, and these centres again would be subordinate in theory to the government in a single civitas centre. Earlier, however, there was probably at most a periodic consultative council .. in the civitas or pagus of tribal elders or chieftains. Livy 21.34.2 spoke of the 'principes castellorum' who were small chieftains; at this stage perhaps the pagi as known in the first century in the Centre were not yet wverywhere the clearly defined and unified territorial units consisting of several smaller village or family units which they were to be later.

There is, as argued above, aome reason to think that during the period in which the first century civitates were taking shape, unificati on was proceeding also as part of the same process at pagus level. This is largely because of the references to independent actions on the part of numerous chieftains and military leaders in some of the peoples before the second century in contrast to concerted pagus actions in the first. Although there is no watertight proof of it, the disposition and characteristics of

the four major oppida of Berry (maps B1-2) could be interpreted to indicate that they were pagus centres where local administration and certainly interregional trade was conducted, and that they were the end-products of a process of centralization invilving a number of smaller local units. There is certainly no archaeological evidence to suggest at the moment that any were in a dependent position on any other, and it is entirely due to historical texts that we know of the privileged political position of Avaricum. We are entitled to ask to what degree Avaricum could have coerced St.Marcel or Châteaumeillant if they were in dispute, yet all belonged to the civitas of the Bituriges Cubi.

A few cases mentioned by Caesar illustrate the difficulties involved in using generalizations about the nature of Celtic civitates as well as showing the possible course of their development from a less centralized social and economic situation. In dealing with these cases the constant question is : what was the status of a pagus ? In some cases it is difficult to see why civitas should be the term for a people rather than pagus and vice versa, and one case that comes to mind is that of Alesia of the Mandubii. A glance at the map will show that this people was surrounded by Lingones territory; there is no coinage attributable to Alesia (although this is not in itself evidence that the Mandubii were not a true civitas), and it is justifiable to ask whether the Mandubii were not in fact a pagus, or rather a civitas which was of one section only , not several. The strongly religious character of the region of the sources of the Seine (p.39ff above) may have given it a sort of autonomy, but on the other hand, it may only be the role which Alesia played in the Caesarian war which has boosted its hinterland to civitas status in the sources. This sort of problem runs throughout the Celtic peoples.

Two examples from Belgic Gaul illustrate this problem.

1. ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos [Remorum], qui eodem iure et isdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint quin cum his consentirent. (BG 2.3.5)

> 2. Confines erant hi [Parisii] Senonibus civitatemque patrum memoria coniunxerant, sed ab hoc consilio afuisse existimabantur. (BG 6.3.5)

In the first case, the Suessiones and Remi were not fully separate: they shared a government, yet acted in separate directions over the Romans. We would think that they were therefore separate pagi of a civitas, except that in the history of the war they are treated as separate civitates. Quite probably this is the direct result of Roman interference in Celtic social structure and political development. The fierce loyalty of the Remi (BG 7.63.7, 5.54.4) was almost certainly the result of their having been boosted by Caesar from the position of a section of a state to that of head of a clientela numbering civitates of the rank of the Carnutes (BG 6.4.4, cf 6.12.9). In the second case above, the Parisii and Senones are said to have been a single civitas in the last generation, but had by the 50s split into two independent civitates.

It may be significant that both of these good cases of active development are Belgic; Jullian (1909:22) believed that the Belgae were the last Gauls to assume civitas form, and that the Belgic civitates properly so called were found in the best cultivated regions rather than in the north where the backward Morini, Menapii and Eburones were found.

Other cases which illustrate the difficulties of identifying the Gaulish civitas are provided bytwo Central cases. The first concerns the Arverni. BG 7.8.2 makes it clear that Caesar considered himself to have entered Arvernian territory as soon as he had crossed the Cévennes from Provence, and at BG 7.7.5 and 7.8.2 he states that the Helvii were immediate neighbours of the Arverni, separated from them by the Cévennes. In both cases he has ignored the nomenclature of the two southern peoples attached to or within Arvernian territory, the Vellavii and Gabales. Yet he knew of the existence of the Gabales as distinct from the Arverni (BG 7.64.6), and Strabo (4.2.2) says of the Vellavii that they were 'once included within the boundaries of the Arverni (prosôrizonto) but

now are ranked as autonomous'. We may suppose that the status of these peoples was somewhat unclear vis à vis their political distance from the Arverni to whom thay paid their tribute. Again, as in the case of the Mandubii, the question arises as to their status; probably it is wrong to want exactness in terminology in Gaul.

The second case is that of the Boii surviving the Helvetian migration who were planted on Aeduan territory on the invitation of the latter and with Caesar's consent or encouragement (BG 7.9.6).

> Boios, petentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit, quibus illi agros dederunt, quosque postea in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt. (BG 1.28.5)

This 'free' condition is somewhat contradicted by the fact that they did in fact pay stipendia to the Aedui; they were apparently given border country to live in (BG 7.9.6, 7.10.1, 7.17.2). They were therefore a valued addition to the Aeduan clientela. Yet BG 7.17.2 makes it clear that they could be considered a civitas, albeit a weak one. Maine (1875:92-3) discussed an Irish practice which might shed light on the status of these semi-incorporated peoples. A large amount of common tribal land constituted the 'waste' of the tribe and was constantly being brought under tillage or permanent pasture by settlements of tribesmen. On it, also, cultivators of servile status were allowed to squat, especially near the borders. The origin of the place-name *Equoranda could perhaps lie in this practice (appendix II).

> It is the part of the territory over which the authority of the Chief tends steadily to increase, and here it is that he settles his 'fuidhir', or stranger-tenants, a very important class - the outlaws and 'broken' men from other tribes who come to him for protection, and who are only connected with their new tribe by their dependence on its chief, and through the responsibility which he incurs for them. (Maine 1875:93)

Not only does this give us an insight into why in the space of seven years from their original settlement the Boii could not yet produce a good grain surplus (poverty of the soil), but it also sheds light on the 'exiles and condemned' who formed part of the mercenary retinues of the great

nobles described above (p.400): very likely they were offered land as well as a wage.

If in principle it was possible for a people to divide into two civitates in the process of centralization of authority, it must be that pagi as known in the first century were developing administrative machinery of their own prior to that of the civitas as a whole, and which only in the case of fully centralized civitates was largely assumed by the central government. Thus for instance it would be fully in accordance with what we have disentangled of Celtic social organization to argue that the pagi would in principle see to their own tolls and taxes as well as their own military organization (which they certainly did), unless these had been assumed by the civitas authorities by a further step in the process of unification. It is likely that some such mechanism accounts for the use of two or more coinages at the same time in the first century in Poitou and Berry and possibly Auvergne. Jullian (1909:61) indeed argued that there were no real capitals in Gaul, and that civic life was dispersed among the pagi and villages.

It is probably wrong to imagine that even in the first century any but the peoples with the most highly centralized political administration had a fully unified state as they would be understood in the Mediterranean area for instance. In tribal societies where social identity consists primarily in kinship ties rather than locality which is secondary (a situation which may have obtained in Gaul in the early la Tène period as in early Ireland), it is normal for there to be a hazy transition area between peoples where the culture is mixed, and it is almost impossible to draw sharp geographical divisions between them (Sahlins 1968:16f). It is this situation which underlies the artificiality of many tribal divisions imposed by European colonial administrations. For many of the more backward parts of Gaul even in the first century, the same must have been true to some extent. It is an accepted principle that the pre-1789 diocese borders

in France generally follow the administrative boundaries fixed by the Romans, and that these in principle followed the independent civitas borders. However, it cannot be mere coincidence that the reconstruction of civitas borders for the peoples of Aquitaine, the Alps, Brittany, Normandy, and the far north of France is virtually impossible on this principle (Riee Holmes 1911:346f, 351f). Jullian (1909:22f) argued in fact that the Alpine peoples never went beyond the stage when the pagus in the older sense of the word was the largest political unit, ao that there were always an enormous number of small independent peoples there rather than a few large ones. The long catalogue of Alpine peoples conquered by Augustus and recorded on his monument in Alpes Maritimes (Ehrenberg and Jones no. 40) would tend to confirm this opinion.

The explanation of the difficulties with the diocese borders in these backward areas may be that they - and the Roman administrative boundaries that lie behind them - were to a large extent artificially imposed, in contrast with the Centre where there had been a native history of political centralization and consolidation together with formal division of the territory for administrative purposes, which the Roman administration adopted with a minimum of alteration. Most of the changes made were probably done for political reasons as rewards or punishments rather than to tidy up the map (Rice Holmes 1911:346f). The course of the process of political and economic unification in the Centre was directly connected with the need of the ruling class to secure increasing economic surplus from the natural resources available, and therefore the great Central civitates have, as has been frequently noted, naturally occurring geographical boundaries of waste land, whether mountains, marshes or infertile scrub which form a barrier to easy communication (Dion 1949; Jullian 1909:31; Rice Holmes 1911:25). Before unification, all these areas would have been inhabited by a number of social units of pagus size or less, with more or less independent chieftains, who nevertheless to a greater or lesser degree acknowledged a common regional name analogous perhaps with the provinces in Ireland. This

situation probably persisted into the first century in the more backward parts of Gaul. The difference introduced by the process of centralization lay in the increasing coercion which could be exercised by a decreasing number of centres of political power over the mass of the population, and perhaps formal reorganization of the territory at some point after the organization of early state administration. The correlation therefore between modern regions, early modern duchies and dioceses, and ancient civitates for the Centre is by no means fortuitous, but is the result of an early historical process by which in this privileged area the resources of entire geographical regions were exploited to the fullest socially necessary extent given the prevailing conditions of transport and communications. Elsewhere in Gaul this situation was apparently not reached in pre-Roman times, and the Roman administrative boundaries did not correspond to Celtic social realities. Therefore the outlines of Celtic territories in these areas are lost.

POLITICAL UNIFICATION : A MODEL FOR CENTRAL GAUL.

I would like to put forward a hypothesis to explain the social background to the appearance of oppida in the second century, and to account for some of the other material and historical changes which took plaee then. Obviously it will be speculative, and is not supposed to correspond to the actual course of history expept in broad outline. It is hoped, however, that it does at least take into account the available evidence, and offer a suggestion that could explain the material developments.

A number of events in the second century were probably factors in the process of civitas unification and the development of the state which had its most striking material evidence in the emergence of the oppida. One undoubted factor was the natural growth of the population. Various attempts have been made to estimate the population of Gaul in the first

century (Jullian 1909:2 f; Rice Holmes 1911: 237f, 340f), and it is obviously impossible at present to hope for absolute figures. However, it is a plausible hypothesis that there was a significant and critical population increase in Gaul during la Tène II which was not apparently alleviated (as during la Tène I - early II) by large-scale migration.

This is likely on the general grounds of the good nutrition available in the area at the time, the occasional evidence of intensified agriculture from la Tène III (for instance iron ploughshares), trade specialization for instance in pottery manufacture which is often an indication of a growing population (Nicklin 1971), and especially the changes in settlement pattern which under ancient conditions presuppose a large exploited agricultural population. Under the conditions of Celtic society, where social status was ultimately dependent on landholding criteria, the natural growth of the population in a community would inevitably lead to the point where the available land would not suffice to maintain the status of all its members. There was only one solution to the problem without radically altering the existing conditions of production, and that was the emigration of a sufficient propertion of the population to restore the balance and allow the old community to grow again. Sherratt (1972:501f) argues that people for new villages in this type of situation are typically drawn from several existing ones, a process which helps to stabilize the situation in a wider area; preferential emigration of males is also a normal practice. We have seen above the mixed composition of the big Celtic migrations including that of the Helvetii and Cimbri and Teutones which correspond to this pattern. The early migrations (p.360 above), probably also of mixed composition, were in the la Tène II period bound up with the customary use of Gallic mercenaries by Hellenistic monarchs whose offer of money or land (as in the case of Attalus) had a decisive influence on the direction taken for the folk movement. It is a possibility that the ending of the use of mercenaries on a large scale during the second century may have had much to do with the social changes throughout

the Celtic world at that period.(see below)

When the people as a whole still owned potentially fertile land comparable with that emigrated from, then the result of fission would simply be the setting up of a new community of the same sort as the old ones. This possibility, however, was probably very rare by the la Tène period in Gaul, and from the beginning the first mode of emigration was resorted to, namely the mass exodus of surplus population from a number of communities in search of high-quality land outside their original territories. As late as 58 the Helvetii attempted one such exodus (BG 1.2.4-5, 1.10.1-2).

However, the evidence points towards widespread resort also to a second major alternative response to a growing population, probably from early in the la Tène period if not before, and to an increasing extent especially in the Centre in the late la Tène period. This alternative consists in the settlement of increasing amounts of agriculturally marginal land. As expressed by Sherratt (1972:502f, 505f), this solution meant that the 'mechanical' solidarity of the juxtaposition in one area of numerous similar and potentially independent communities must be replaced by the 'organic' solidarity of dissimilar ones which cannot all exist except by exchange of products: the people on marginal land are dependent for an important part of their subsistence on communities on good agricultural land. One such documented case for an Alpine people has been quoted above (p.342).

However, this exchange of products between communities necessitates the production of a standard surplus on both sides, which can only be obtained by intensified labour input. One typical sign of the specialization of production for exchange associated with the process of local centralization is the adoption of wheel-made pottery for some classes of goods, and this occurred generally in Central Gaul early in la Tène III. A radical change in the manner and organization of production of ceramics will

normally occur only if it is economically and socially necessary (Thompson 1965:7; Nicklin 1971).

We have seen that la Tène Celtic society was characterized by the presence of a social élite from its earliest stage, and it was this class which, by the operation of clientage, could coerce the primary producers while being itself freed from productive agricultural labour. The ruling class in any community was able to ensure that standard surplusses for exchange were produced and it was without doubt this class in any region which was primarily responsible for organizing markets. The surplus obtained by the warrior class through taxes and tributes from the dependent and labouring (largely agricultural) population was used to support them and the learned class . whom they patronized, and enabled them to devote their time entirely to the conduct of activities specific to their class, such as 'heroic' warfare, displays of hospitality and luxury exchange; while the prestige goods acquired in the conduct of these activities and by prestation from their dependent craftsmen enabled them to perpetuate their privileged and coercive social position in relation to the agricultural population.

The most noticeable development in this situation over the la Tène period as a whole is the growth in the differential in absolute terms between the wealth of the élite and that of the normal commoner, at its most extreme at the point of the fullest development of the state. This is in no way coincidental, since the state itself has its origin in the need for a ruling class to increase its degree of exploitation of the producing classes beyond the limits possible within a society without organized coercive institutions. The classic organs of the early state - codified laws, regular magistracies and a 'senate' or other assembly of the ruling class drawn up on clearly defined principles - is often described as having a 'neutralizing' function in society, preventing social conflict within the ruling class or between it and the producing

class. This is not the most accurate description of the state, however, for the primary purpose of state institutions is to enable the efficient extraction of surplus labour by the ruling class from the producing classes at a level which would not be possible in terms of the number and type of persons coerced or the amount of surplus demanded without organized and coordinated activity on the part of the ruling class. The institutions of the state enable the ruling class to maintain and reproduce its dominant position always at the expense of an agricultural population and slaves in the ancient world.[93]

The state, then, was able to command a greater surplus than any single previous social authority could have done. Dumnorix, who was able personally to dispose of some of the Aeduan state revenue, was able to support a personal retinue of a size and status surely out of the question for a Marnian noble, and the same is true of the other great nobles with private armies described above in the first century. The centralized state itself necessarily controlled a larger absolute income than smaller social units, and the very existence of oppida in the Celtic sense is material evidence of the resources which the civitas or pagus ruling class could then dispose of. Relevant in this context is the observation of Griffith (1935:89) that in Greece it was normally only tyrants, who were in personal control of the state revenues and who could step up taxation to a level unacceptable politically in an oligarchy or democracy, who could afford to keep mercenaries on a significant scale. In the third century, several north Italian Celtic peoples clubbed together to hire the Gaesatae; in the first, there were nobles and civitates who could hire on their own.

The process of political centralization in Gaul which took the form of the emergent state was undoubtedly encouraged by the competition of ruling groups needing to control ever-increasing resources to support their activities. Not irrelevant in this context is the almost universal ancient judgement on the Celts as being greedy for wealth in money and

kind (especially cattle, gold and wine), eg. Diod.5.27, Livy 10.10f and BG 6.17.1 (on the attributes of the chief Celtic god). The possession of wealth was a basic necessity for Celtic social composition; the ambassador's bard in Appian Celt. 12 sang of the 'birth, bravery and wealth' of his patron (cf Athenaeus IV.36, p.375 above; BG 1.2.1). For a fuller discussion of the role of wealth see ch, 8.

The intensification of agriculture and increasing settlement on marginal land, with resulting specialization of production by different settlements, encouraged not only the development of socially dominant classes to organize and profit from production and exchange, but also the institution of a hierarchy of settlements, notably in the form of privileged centre places where exchange and associated manufacturing took place together with administrative functions, surrounded by a catchment area within convenient transport distance of it in which specialized agricultural, pastoral and mining communities were located (Sherratt 1972:499; Beattie 1964:188f). Small periodic markets for local exchange, which were within a few hours' walk of the primary settlements, were in their turn subordinate to larger regional markets; and it was the largest and most central of these which developed into oppida, and at which not only regional but inter-regional exchange was conducted as argued above (p.340ff). In this way local ruling classes were best positioned physically both for the exchange of surplus products on a large scale for luxury goods from outside, thus obtaining the goods necessary for the pursuit of their characteristic social activities, and also for the administration of their subject territory. On map B2 the siting of Levroux, Saint-Marcel and Châteaumeillant illustrate this principle of geographical location; Bourges is in a somewhat different situation, with emphasis on access to navigable waterways, and abundant iron ores rather than a variety of agricultural produce. In all directions in the immediate vicinity of Bourges, cereals and sheep were probably then, as now, the predominant produce of agriculture.

The existence in Celtic la Tène society not only of a non-producing warrior ruling class but also of a juridical, religious and artisan élite patronized by the socially dominant warrior class and likewise freed from direct agricultural production, presupposes a high level of exploitation of the dependent agricultural population, proportional to the level of social and material development of the ruling classes. The role of valuable élite goods in social competition, goods which were inaccessible under normal conditions to any but the privileged classes, is well known and will be discussed in chapter 8. Control of their acquisition and exchange was therefore all-important, and in Gaul such goods were wither from the Mediterranean area and obtained by exchange at ports of trade, or they were manufactured by Celtic craftsmen dependent on the nobles and obtained by prestation within the people or by exchange and plunder outside it. The first century oppida combined the functions of port of trade and manufacturing centre for this class of goods, and it is only to be expected that they should also have housed the religious and political functions of the ruling classes as well. Oppida are therefore a most important fossil of social change.

A number of factors besides sheer growth of population must have contributed to the social crisis which was resolved in the development in places of archaic state organization. First among them may have been the ending of the option of mercenary warfare abroad as a source of wealth and status by a significant proportion of the warrior class in many places. As argued above (p 424f), whereas this status could previously have been acquired at the expense of foreign nations and against enemies who could not strike back, it now had to be secured entirely at the expense of other Celts. Successful raiding provided a source of income for the community, as it supplemented the produce from the land and in particular provided prestige goods and led to tribute; it was for that reason among others the characteristic social activity of the élite. However, when there was from the second century no outlet outside Gaul for this activity, and

wealth and prestige had exclusively to be won near home, it is likely that the normal incidence of raiding and more serious conflict increased, with adverse effects on agriculture.

On its own, this factor might not have been critical, although, as in Greece, the number of 'unemployed' mercenaries could perhaps have constituted a social problem (Fuks 1972). The establishment of the Roman province in the south of Gaul, however, did have a catalytic effect on Celtic social development, particularly in conjunction with the factors of population increase and possibly intensified warfare. The existence of vast amounts of imported amphoras and drinking-ware from Italy in the second and first centuries in those parts of Gaul where political centralization took place most fully is closely connected with the unification process itself. Trade with foreigners did not occur casually; examples are known of resistance to trade in wine on the grounds that its importation would lead to social changes characterized by a loss of barbarian warrior values, and these examples concern the least developed northern area: the Nervii (BG 2.15.3-4) and the Belgae in general (BG 1.1.3) - see p. 333f above. The Central Celts, on the other hand, clearly welcomed and indeed encouraged this trade. Feasting, as we saw in ch.4, was an institution with a crucial role in providing social competition among the nobility, and wine was above all a luxury drink. As the cases for instance of Dumnorix and Orgetorix clearly demonstrate, wealth and the acquisition of coercive power are directly linked: Tacitus made this point concerning the Germans (Thompson 1965:10), and it was certainly true of the Celts.

The availability of enormous amounts of luxury goods from Italy cannot have had a neutral effect on the Celtic social order, especially if a significant amount of the wine was obtained in exchange for spoils of war coveted by the Romans - captives in particular (p.335 above). Even if captives were not the only or even the principal item exchanged for wine the same social results would have occurred in Gaul: if, let us say,

mineral resources were exchanged for wine, the increased volume of amphoras and Campanian ware suggests an increased amount of raw material exported, and to have increased the extraction of minerals on a large scale would have necessitated either increased exploitation of a free mining population or an increase in the number of captives used as slaves, so that the nobility could dispose of the largest amounts of mineral to exchange with the foreigners. Either way state apparatus would be likely to be developed (cf Terray 1974 in west Africa, where this did in fact happen), and in the latter case, warfare also would have increased. But in fact we know that captives did form an important element in the exchanges with Rome, and we know that the Celtic ruling class were a warrior aristocracy, so the probability is very strong in favour of an increased incidence in warfare in the second century. It is not difficult, then, to imagine that a crisis arose where the warrior activities of local nobles became increasingly less productive in their own terms, by destruction of crops, disruption of herds, and the loss of men on a scale perhaps not known under normal conditions. Instead of captives being kept as hostages or slaves, they were sent out of the country, and were therefore irrecoverable. In such a situation, given the already-existing hierarchical structure of Celtic society, it would seem a logical development for a decreasing number of nobles or ruling groups within the people to have acquired control of smaller and weaker groups. Clientage, after all, provided a degree of protection for the client as well as surplus and prestige for the patron, as Caesar knew (BG 6.13.2). The result of this would have been to concentrate a greater amount of surplus for exchange, and manpower for warfare, in their own hands.

In order to ensure this control and organize the collection of tribute over areas and numbers of people now substantially larger than ever before, some state administration in the form at least of executive officers of a council must have become necessary, while the increased surplus which was acquired by one central authority rather than being

spread over several, was able to support a higher standard of living and a greater volume of foreign exchange than ever before.

I would tentatively suggest that the first oppida on the scale of the four big Berry oppida, or those in Puy-de-Dôme and Corrèze, began to take their characteristic form from the mid second century, accelerating at the end of the century with the establishment of the full Roman province in the south. The wave of late second century silver Berry coin hoards could be a material trace of unsettled times, and the inroads of the Cimbri and Teutones at the end of the second century may have contributed to the pace of change in areas affected by them. The process of unification of the several units of this size (perhaps to be identified with pagi) under a single authority was probably not every where complete by the 50s, as the instances of weakness in the central governments during the war, outlined above (p.393ff) would suggest.

The development of state administration may therefore have had two root causes. Firstly the ruling classes were forced to consolidate coercive power over the people at large, and especially over minor nobles, in order to secure the resources in taxes and manpower to support their existence as a warrior aristocracy. Part of this process probably took the form of intensified foreign exchange both within Gaul (with its attendant tolls on transport) and with Mediterranean peoples in captives and raw materials against the luxury goods essential to the conduct of aristocratic life. This process would encourage the development of oppida as ports of trade under the control of the aristocracy, and focuses of political and religious life. The second factor in the process was pressure to evolve institutions which could effectively regulate the status of the nobility and the conduct of warfare which if unchecked would become counterproductive.

Since warfare was a primary source in Celtic society of the acquisition of valuables, captives, and, on occasion, land or revenues by annexation

or conquest, this was an extremely important area to have under control. As is abundantly clear already, the historical details are lost for this critical period of transition from barbarism to archaic statehood. However, what little is known of some of the first century state institutions points toward the development of mechanisms designed among other things presisely to control the warrior activities of the nobility at large in the interests of the political ruling class: these were the Aeduan senate which was probably a corporate body of nobles selected throughout the civitas in such a way as to prevent the emergence of any one dominany family within them; the Aeduan annual magistrate with his 'regal' powers and absolute coercion within the state, at least in theory, but who was forbidden to go abroad, and could not therefore be a great warrior as well; and the statutory powers of the Helvetii to execute any noble aspiring to 'regnum', which it is clear from Orgetorix's case meant autocratic power in the old Celtic tradition, but with the new feature of the resources of the whole state behind it (see ch.5 above). TheArverni within living memory of Caesar's generation had executed one of their nobles, Celtillus, who had tried to do the same thing, while Vercingetorix was fiercely opposed for playing a comparable role. It would seem, then, that the Arvernian archaic state was at least two generations old in the fifties. Had Vercingetorix won the war, his power would have been very great, and this was surely the basis of the opposition to him, at least in the context set up by Caesar. We saw above the degree to which even in the mid first century the state organization could be successfully circumvented by large nubles with private means, an indication of the rudimentary degree to which it had developed.

Lastly, it would be appropriate to point out some of the features which the first century Gallic civitates shared with some typically archaic Greek states (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1972:92f; for parallels with Servian Rome see p.434f above). The notion of citizenship did not reside in any town, but in the people, like a Greek ethnos: within Celtic Gaul

there was no people called after their towns. Instead, oppida had their own names, qualified by the namd of the people whese they were. The notion of citizens/foreigners as an absolute divide was also not highly developed as it necessarily was in a classical state or polis: Dumnorix, Orgetorix, Casticus and the Biturigan noble intermarried for political purposes, and this sort of dynastic marriage was a common device among Greek archaic nobilities also (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1972: 110). The ambiguous nationality of some dependent parts of the civitas probably form part of this feature. There was no absolute division between free man and slave, the free man being a full citizen, as there was in a classical state (Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1972:95). The Celts had slaves (BG 1.4.2, 5.45, 6.19, 8.30, Pol.2.26.4-6; p.428f), probably mostly captives in war, and they were in the most totally dependent position socially. But other groups of men withih the community, the semi-free and even ones who counted as free men, were in descending degrees of personal dependence from the landless and debt-bondsmen who were virtually slaves, to noble clients who were free to terminate the relationship if the lord did not lead them to plunder and prestige. As a result of the range of dependent statuses of much of the population, there was no question of a theoretically homogeneous body of citizen-plebs being in a position to acquire the elements of political power for instance in the form of a popular assembly.

None of the ancient writers says anything directly about the place of lineage relationships in Celtic society, though a certain amount may be gleaned from the transfer of power, at least for the nobility. There is no reason to suppose that they were not at an early stage the basis of social organization, as they were in Irish society, although we do not know what if any changes had been made during the second century in the period of the development of archaic state organization. This is one of the most crucial gaps of all in the social evidence for the pre-Roman period.

The dependent and 'semi-servile' condition of the lower classes ensured the agricultural surplus necessary to support the nobility and their towns and administration, and the extent to which slavery was a source of surplus labour for instance in mining is uncertain. If they were confined to relatively few functions, it might help to explain why (a) captives provided a good thing to export in exchange for wine, being private property and possibly obtained in large numbers by the nobility, but not in themselves very highly valued or needed in indefinite numbers; (b) Gallo-Roman industries, for instance the Central ceramic industries, were manned by free men, not slaves, there being no tradition of large-scale chattel slavery in manufacturing in Gaul.

It is, however, significant that it was not until the Gallo-Roman précoce period that town life attained its fullness (cf Strabo on the subject of <u>politeia</u> in the epilogue below). It was only in this period, in the century immediately after the conquest, that there was a truly extensive pottery industry and the greatest use of small change in the towns - a necessary feature of town life dependent on the exchange of commodities. F de Coulanges (1891:33) argued that there was no apparent urban class yet in Caesar's time in Gaul, and that towns in the form of oppida were not yet dense centres of population. At <u>BG</u> 2.12 there were few defenders in a town taken by surprise; one might compare the <u>polis</u> in the Alps in the third century (p.363 above). Although the absence of defenders does not necessarily imply that a non-combatant population was also absent, it does seem that the full development of the oppida as towns was not complete until immediately after the Caesarian war. The war may be regarded as having interrupted the native process of political centralization before it was fully complete, and at its most advanced it is probable that the level of political development which had been reached was no further advanced than the early archaic period in Greece or Rome, at the time of the great lawgivers and reformers.

SECTION III CHAPTER 8.

USES OF WEALTH AND THE ORIGINS OF CELTIC COINAGE IN CENTRAL GAUL.

Page

457 Theory of coinage.

464 1. Modes of exchange and the role of coinage.

469 2. Uses of wealth in early society.

476 3. Uses of wealth by the Celts and the origin of coinage.

487 4. The authority for Celtic coinage.

Chapter 8

USES OF WEALTH AND THE ORIGINS OF CELTIC COINAGE IN CENTRAL GAUL.

Before discussing the origin and uses of coin in Gaul, a number of preliminary points must be made about ancient coinage and wealth as a basis for discussion. Coinage shared some of the traditional functions of wealth, and up to a point could replace some of its traditional forms; however, coined money had properties peculiar to it which make the occasion of its introduction of considerable social interest. In its socially developed form, coinage performs three main functions.

1. It is a measure of value: in this function, precious metal coin only is in question. A coin's denomination is the official guarantee that it weighs a certain amount, and it is the weight of gold or silver in the coin which represents the value of other goods. In effect, the metal is bartered for other goods, with the important qualification that officially stamped coin in its own normal sphere of circulation normally passes by face value rahher than by strict weight (p. 488 f below). Whenever precious metals in weighed amounts may be exchanged for more than one sort of goods they function as common measure of value, and permit comparison between the value of other goods which may be exchanged for them. This function as measure of value operates in barter exchange, and coinage is not by any means the necessary form which a measure of value must take. There have been a variety of ways of measuring value in early societies; sometimes a purely notional standard of account, or objects such as cows or hides may be used (Polanyi 1968 [1966]; Marx 1971:153). Coinage, when introduced for other reasons into a society, has the privilege in exchange that under normal conditions coins are uniform in a way in which cows or hides are not, and if it has been introduced as a standard means of payment,

it will normally be re-usable without individual verification, so that it functions particularly well as a standard measure of value.

2. The second function of coin is as a general medium of exchange of commodities, to facilitate their exchange. In this respect coin itself does not act as a commodity, and its actual value id of no relevance, so that this function is not specific to precious metal coinage. Bronze coin, and various token materials function well in this respect, since they are cheap and easily handled. Primitive moneys (cowrie, rice etc.) have in places acted as limited media of exchange, being confined within strictly defined spheres usually of subsistence goods: valuable media of exchange were in these societies confined to the circulation of valuable goods (Meillassoux 1960:64). In these cases there was no possible use for a universal medium of exchange such as developed coinage provides, and the introduction of European coinage has caused social problems in some primitive societies. The generalized use of money in exchange for any sort of goods at all presupposes the production of commodities for exchange rather than for immediate use throughout society, which did not occur in the ancient world (Godelier 1972:43; Marx 1971:86f, 1973:199f). In this respect, therefore, coinage had only a partial development before modern times and in the ancient world coinage was never struck for the purpose of facilitating the exchange of goods (see below). The extent to which coinage struck for other purposes became to be used as a standard medium of exchange of goods was determined by the extent to which production for exchange was a social and economic necessity in a particular ancient society. Bronze coinage, which could be used conveniently in this role, and may have been issued for subsistence wages which would be spent on food, was confined in any quantities to town sites and market sites in Gaul, and was not extensively used until the conquest period. In no case was ancient coin produced by a government with the needs of trade in view, although its regular use in exchange

quickly came to be regarded as its characteristic feature, and payment of ration-money to armies with the intention that it be spent on food was one of the earliest uses of bronze coin.

3. In its thrid function, coinage acts as the general representative of wealth, although wealth comes to be equated solely with money only when production of commodities for exchange is generalized throughout society under capitalism, and therefore in principle coin may be exchanged for anything at all (Marx 1971:133f; 1973:216f). Only a partial realization of this function was possible therefore in ancient society. Precious metal coin which was the first form which coinage took in the ancient world is a particular commodity with its own value, which was developed from the practice of giving rewards and payments in weighed but unstamped amounts of precious metal. Precious metal coin therefore retains the attribute of being able to be changed into and out of other forms of stored wealth (silver plate, and jewellery for instance), and used inthe ways in which gold and silver objects of other sorts could be used, for payments, largesse and the pursuit of prestige. In this role, therefore, precious metal coinage develops directly from the traditional functions of wealth in an early society, and the earliest uses of coinage in the ancient world were official payments for services and discharge of obligations, sometimes following the use of weighed out but unstamped pieces of metal, as in a Spanish case noted by Strabo (3.3.7. See also Kraay 1964:89f; Crawford 1970:45f; Cook 1958; Polanyi 1968 [1957]).

As a means of payment which can discharge a range of obligations, coin acts as a versatile form of wealth, and characteristically the earliest denominations struck in the ancient world were heavy and valuable. Precious metal coinage may readily be accumulated or hoarded as a store of wealth for future use as coin or bullion. The possession of private wealth was able to maintain and reproduce social inequality and personal

power in ancient and primitive society because it was used to produce indebtedness and therefore social dependence; the fact that coin provided a good form of concentrated wealth made it the object of deep suspicion among peoples were class divisions were weakly developed or absent - the same social response as the objections to the import of wine in Belgic Gaul, but at a most acute level (Polanyi 1957:253; Godelier 1972). The acquisition of coin or prestige goods in trade, cash cropping, or emigration can enrich commoners who should not be able to obtain them and become rich, and this can provide a threat to the established social control of wealth (Beattie 1964:256f; Meillassoux 1960:63f).

Diodorus provides an example of this response to coin from the primitive people of the Balearic islands in the third century:

> Silver and gold money is not used by them at all, and as a general practice its importation to the island is prevented, ... Consequently, in order that their possessions should consist in that against which no one would have designs, they have made wealth in gold and silver alien from themselves. And so, in keeping with this decision of theirs, when in early times they served once in the campaigns of the Carthaginians, they did not bring back their pay to their native land but spent it all upon the purchase of women and wine. (Diod.5.17.4)

Thompson (1965:10,16,20) discussed the connection between accumulated wealth and the first occurrence of despotism among the Germans; slaves and cattle were their private possessions and could be sold to the Romans for luxury goods, and this served to establish and intensify social inequalities; one might compare BG 6.22.3-4 for German objections to coin in Caesar's time. Tacitus (Ger. 5) described their acquisition of some coinage in trade, coinage at this stage being accepted as one foreign luxury object among others, rather than a true currency. Polanyi (1968[1966]:286) quoted king Gezo of Dahomey in the 1860s as saying to Burton that although there was gold in the neighbouring mountains, he preferred cowrie money for two reasons, firstly because it could not be counterfeited and secondly because no man could become secretly rich as he would need a mountain of it to do so. Sahlins (1968:87) quoted a Tongan chief, Finow's, objections

to coined money in 1827:

> If it were made of iron and could be converted into knives, axes and chisels, there would be some sense in placing a value on it; but as it is, I see none .... Certainly, money is much handier, and more convenient, but then, as it will not spoil by being kept, people will store it up, instead of sharing it out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become selfish; whereas, if provisions were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, as being both the most useful and the most necessary, he could not store it up, for it would spoil, and so he would be obliged either to exchange it away for something useful, or share it to his neighbours, and inferior chiefs and dependants, for nothing. I understand now what it is that makes the Papalangis [= Europeans] so selfish - it is this money.

* * *

The use of coinage as general means of exchange rapidly became its most characteristic feature even though that was not the purpose for which it was coined by governments, and it is because this function is peculiar to coinage that the presence of coin in the ancient world is so often unhesitatingly equated with trading activities in the literature. This confusion is made possible partly by a failure to distinguish between the purpose for which coin was struck - to discharge government payments primarily to the army - and its popular use in society, and also by a failure to distinguish between types of trade which require no medium of exchange (normally long-distance trade between communities in specific goods, directly exchanged, or redistributive exchange locally between settlements which are unequally supplied with necessities), and the type of retail trade typical of permanently settled non-agricultural towns, conducted by middlemen who do business in a single locality and expect to live on the proceeds, a type of trade which generally does require some medium of exchange. The latter type of petty retail trading presupposes a gap between buying and selling; instead of a direct exchange of goods by barter by the producers, for their use value, this exchange takes place typically between parties who are not both

engaged in production and money must be exchanged on one side for the goods. This distinction between types of trade was recognized as long ago as Aristotle (Politics 1257a-b), who realized the potential for cash profit making on mediated exchange, and the production for sale and profit instead of for use. Persons who are withdrawn from agricultural production and have no country estates to supply them, especially soldiers and town-living artisans and labourers, received coin in payments for subsistence which they had then to use to buy their necessary food and manufactured goods.

Although it was recognized that this was what coin would be re-used for, ancient coinage was not produced, as it is now, in order to supply a circulating medium sufficient for the needs of the market, but in order to discharge official payments, in particular to the army; the volume of Roman republican issues is closely linked with the number of legions in the field at any given time, for instacne (Crawford 1971:46). In addition to their pay, Hellenistic armies were frequentiy given a coin payment (sometimes in bronze) instead of rations in kind, and a market would be set up for the coin to be spent on food by individual soldiers (Griffith 1935:264f; Polanyi 1957; de Ste.Croix 1972:399-400). This is a particularly clear case of exchange depending on the use of coin; however, coin paid to individuals for purposes other than rationing also acquired a widespread use in exchange, especially in towns where much of the population could not have subsisted without a medium of exchange. But this use was not the immediate reason for the issue of coinage, and even the Roman republican and early imperial governments never produced money for the purposes of circulation or to correct the intermittent critical shortages of money (Crawford 1970:45f). Coinage, as study of primitive

curreneies has shown, is not the only possible means of exchange for subsistence goods, although, if for reasons of government finance small denominations are struck, it provides a good one.

The origin of Gaulish coinage has, nevertheless, commonly been connected with long-distance trade.[94] Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:172-4, 180, 183) is an outspoken exponent of this origin for the coinage, and the existence of a monopoly in minting in Central Gaul by the Arverni during the third and second centuries. They are held to have had a sort of commercial empire in Central Gaul, while a comparable Belgic organization existed further north. He holds that in the fourth to third centuries in Gaul (at the beginning of the 'Arvernian hégemony') the flow of commodities (marchandises) was being impeded 'parfois de manière insupportable' because the traders had to ask for protection from one authority after another on their way (1973a:173). On p.180 he speaks of the systematic organization of routes and markets by the Arverni and of commercial rivalry. On p.183 he speaks of sub-contractors and wholesalers shrewd enough to use currency, and of the 'multiples inconvénients auxquels eussent exposée la liberté et par conséquent la concurrence chez les peuples dont l'économie encore primitive commandait la vie de la cité. Il fallait une seule monnaie ...' On p.172 he speaks of 'trafiquants' who forged Philip staters to save having to get them from the Mediterranean region. Scheers (1968) connects the tight clustering of third century 'Ambiani' coinage on the lower Somme with the tin trade from Britain, the proposed route apparently being Cornwall - Picardy - Tarentum. While this may be an accurate description (appendix III), the coinage is not connected directly with the trade as such. Soutou (1969) connects the region in which monnaies à la croix circulated with the tin trade, this time running from Britain to Armorica and thence to Narbo and Massilia, via Allonnes in Sarthe where heavy and early monnaies à la croix and numerous other coins have been found of all dates, in an overtly religious context; he further states that the earliest Philip II coins entered Gaul by trade up the Rhone valley (Soutou 1969:101).

1. MODES OF EXCHANGE AND THE ROLE OF COINAGE.

Three modes of exchange of goods may be distinguished: exchange of gifts, administered trade and petty local trade.

1. Gift exchange is not a true exchange in economic terms, but is a wholly social activity affecting the status and relationships of the parties involved (Meillassoux 1960; 1972; Sherratt 1972:506). It was of great importance in Celtic social relations, but is of no relevance to the development of the coinage.

2. 'Administered trade' is the term used for institutionalized exchange of specific goods between communities (p.329ff above). Its distinguishing feature is that it is the exchange of particular goods needed on both sides, for instance slaves for wine, or manufactured goods for tin as in the examples in chapter 3 above. Aristotle (Politics 1257a) characterized this sort of exchange as a re-establishment of natural equilibrium - it is based on the social and economic needs for certain goods, whether for subsistence of for social competition. At its most primitive, in 'silent trade', neither party meets directly (Herodotus 4.196; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1969:73; Revere 1957:52). Between archaic communities it required well-defined trading ports and agreements or treaties to guarantee the safe conduct of the trade (Polanyi 1968 [1963]:238f, 243, 249). Neutrality of coastal emporia could be safeguarded by agreement of the hinterland empires, consensus of trading powers or by reliance on the port's own naval strength (Polanyi 1968[1963]:249).[95]

It has now been adequately demonstrated that an all-purpose currency has no place in this sort of trade (Polanyi 1957:86f, 195; Revere 1957:51f; Polanyi 1968[1957]:202). Evidence presented above (ch.3) documents the existence of 'administered' trade by direct exchange in Gaul. Numismatic evidence from the ancient world also strongly supports this conclusion. The Carthaginians, for whom trade provided a large part of the city's income, were slow to adopt coin (Moscati 1973; cf Polanyi 1957:265).

Although tin is often introduced into discussion of Celtic numismatics, very little coin is found in Cornwall for the pre-conquest period, and none consistently enough to link with the tin trade (O.S.map of Britain in the Iron Age; Cunliffe 1974:148f; cf Allen 1961; Laing 1968; see appendix III). The absence of pre-conquest Roman coin in Gaul, at a period when amphoras from Italy were imported on a large scale, is eloquent proof that the Romans did not use coin in trade with the barbarians.

Kraay (1964) has presented good evidence against the supposition that the Greeks introduced coin for trade, whether long-distance or retail, and continues:

> We must conclude that coinage was not devised to meet the needs of foreign trade, and that, in so far as it came to do so, this was a secondary development. (p.88)
> The use of coin in retail trade, which even at the end of the fifth century, was confined to a few of the more economically advanced states, cannot be regarded as its original purpose. (p.89)

Crawford (1970) presents Roman evidence which comes to the same conclusions. In addition to the evidence that they did not travel in foreign trade, Kraay (1964) argues rightly that the early denominations of coinage in Greece (and this is also true for Gaul) are of far too high a value for use in trade of a daily nature.

Further reason to be confident that ancient coin was not introduced or issued for the needs of trade is the social position of traders. In Gaul and similar societies where relatives of nobles might lead caravans of precious goods (p.339ff above), the commercial aspect of the exchange was secondary to the diplomatic relationship, and the 'traders' were not defined as merchants but as noblement. In later Gaul, and in other, more developed, ancient societies, emporoi engaged in the organization of long-distance trade, owning ships rather than actually conducting the trade, might be members of the ruling class but were seldom if ever active politicians (de Ste.Croix 1972:265-7, 393-6, 252-4; cf Crawford 1970; Terray 1974:321f, 329). Exceptions are confined to trading cities such as Carthage (Moscati 1973:172f, 224; Polanyi 1957:260). It is

unthinkable that professional traders as a group in any ancient society should have had the political influence to have had a coinage struck for their benefit, and among less developed societies than in the Mediterranean region traders were often the object of fear because of the threat which their activities represented to the established social order, and they might be socially isolated from the community (Meillassoux 1960; cf Sahlins 1968:19f). An even lower social position was held by the kapêlos or petty retail trader at a purely local level, whose livelihood was dependent on making a money profit on buying and selling small amounts of goods, notably foodstuffs (Polanyi 1957:259). The most fundamental distinction between the two types of trade was the location of it. The emporoi travelled or caused goods to be brought from a distance; the kapêlos operated entirely in one place, both buying and reselling there (Finkelstein [Finley] 1935). Aristotle (Politics 1257 a-b) and Cicero (de Off. 1.150-1) provide good statements of the social positions of emporos and kapêlos, at top and bottom of the scale respectively. As early as the fifth century, Herodotus (1.153) made the king of Persia refer to petty local retailing as a cheating process, while Cicero called it telling lies.

Purely local petty trade can under certain circumstances, especially where the difference in wealth between the ruling group and the socially subordinate producing class is not absolutely great, be a source of social conflict, since it is possible for the producers of food to exchange some for small amounts of luxury goods (iron for instance) from traders engaged in administered trade who must eat while abroad (Meillassoux 1960:53f). They thereby acquire elements of high social statu s outside the normal channels.

3. The third mode of trade, then, is petty local retailing, or Polanyi's market trade, characterized by the fact that the trader does not travel, but buys and sells again in one community. Its primary character therefore is that it is not an exchange between communities as a whole, but between

individual sellers and buyers of goods within a community. 'Administered' trade, whether at an international or regional level, is a public or communal activity, whereby goods of a whole community are exchanged for those of another, according to needs; objects sought in exchange were for instance food lacking locally as in the Alps (p.342 above) or valuables for the ruling class who would use them in 'community' activities such as warfare, marriages or feasts. This kind of trade was characteristically organized by treaty or agreement made by the ruling class or king who represented the community; it was this 'public' aspect which made the emporos respectable by association even when he was not already a member of the nobility (p. 339f). The language of Cicero and Aristotle in the passages referred to above emphasized this political or communal aspect; Neale (1957:358) expressed this as long-distance trade existing not for economic benefits in the first place, though it might have had that side effect (cf Polanyi 1957:263; Dupré and Rey 1973:149; Meillassoux 1960:61f).

Petty local retail trade on the other hand is not conducted at inter-community level, and the individual kapêlos bought and re-sold goods within the community to produce a private profit, while the buyer was not the community in the form of the government or king, but an individual. This form of trading became a social necessity when there was for the first time a substantial permanent body of persons who could no longer obtain food directly from agriculture and therefore get manufactured goods by barter, and vice versa, and who were not supported in kind by landed patrons. Such persons, as noted above, were in the ancient world primarily soldiers of standing armies, and landless labourers, artisans and employees in towns. The need for them to eat and clothe themselves encouraged the institution of permanent local markets especially for food (often already prepared) and therefore the production of food and manufactured goods for this exchange. Us e of markets was not confined to the poor, however, and similar retail trade in luxury

goods. and food was made use of by most residents in the larger ancient towns and cities. The existence of small-denomination coinage greatly facilitated this exchange and made it possible for a class of middlemen or <u>kapêloi</u> to make a living on the difference between the price of buying good from primary producers or importers and selling it in the market.

Had coinage not existed, as in other societies, money of a different sort could have been used in this process. Polanyi (1968[1963]:256) makes the point that the earliest local markets of this type in most societies were for fresh food for general consumption, which includes special markets for the provisioning of armies on campaign (Griffith 1935; Polanyi 1957:83f; de Ste.Croix 1972:399f). In west Africa, cowrie money was developed with the institution of centralized political structures associated with foreign trade, and the concurrent establishment of food markets: cowrie was preferred to gold dust for convenience and because it was difficult to cheat with it (Polanyi 1968[1966]:286-7). Elsewhere (1968[1944]:7; 1968[1966]:296) Polanyi argued that there was a twofold currency system in the ancient empires he studied, one (usually metal) for the payment of salaries, and used to pay taxes; another ('small change) for subsidence payments and to be used on food. Such payments were in fact, as in Greek armies, originally paid in kind rather than cash and often continued to be so. In the early development of ancient money a similar distinction between salary-money and subsistence-money can be made.

So far as coinage is concerned, however, neither kind of trade is directly relevant to its production in the ancient world; but the existence of petty local market trade goes far to explain the great predominance of bronze coin finds in towns or oppida, where such retail markets were held and the non-producing population clustered, rather than in the countryside and farming villages (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a; Collis 1971:79; Crawford 1970). In so far as ancient coin did form an element in foreign trade, it did so as fancy bullion rather than as official coin. Thompson (1965:23f) noted

that the first Roman coins in Germany were treated as ornaments and commodities by the Germans (cf Tacitus Ger.5.3), which is a good instance of this phenomenon.

2. USES OF WEALTH IN EARLY SOCIETY.

It would be correct to begin a discussion of the origins of coinage among the Celts with a consideration of a number of theoretical points concerning wealth and its uses in primitive and archaic communities, as coinage may be regarded as a specialised thype of valuable goods before it is a medium of exchange.

The relations of production in any society determine, among other things, the dominant social preoccupations of the ruling class. Thus in a society where surplus labuur (which alone provides the goods which directly or by exchange become the wealth of the exploiting class), was extracted through clientage relations and some slavery, and where ownership of land was an essential element in the social control of clients and dependents, it is to be expected that for the ruling class the pursuit of military acitivity was the highest social value. In turn, wealth was defined as those goods which were proper to the pursuit of the principal preoccupation of the ruling class, and which it controlled and used in order to maintain and reproduce its social position. The particular hierarchy of social values operating in an ancient society may be identified by its allocation of resources, for instance the amount set aside for the Etruscan or Egyptian dead, or for the upkeep of the Tibetan Lamaseries, or the maintenance of chiefs or gods or the provision of festivals (Godelier 1972:263, 271, 287f). Social competition within a group begins beyond the level pf problems of subsistence, and involves in general not the loss of physical existence but the loss or gain of social status. Polanyi (1957:255) argued that there was a universal ban in primitive and archaic societies of transactions of a gainful nature with

food and foodstuffs; Godelier (1972:289) argued that this was the reason why land was not for sale in the market-place.

In every society, there is a definite field open for social competition, determined by the relations of production and the consequent dominance of certain social relations over others, for instance kinship, warfare, politics or religion.[96] Nash showed that in Mexico the Indians of the state of Chiapas knew the rules for maximizing monetary gain, but that the ends each one in fact strove for were objectives to which value was attributed otherwise than because of expected monetary gain. Each man in fact tried to pass through the entire cycle of communal offices, civil, and religious, which would confer on him important rank in the group's hierarchy (Godelier 1972:316 for the quotation). These Indians never experienced economic expansion in the capitalist sense (a) because of their low technological level, (b) because of lack of land, (c) because their accumulated wealth was periodically drained away in carrying out religious and secular functions of the community, not in investment for productive purposes. Likewise Godelier (1972:273) related how the Siane of New Guinea acquired steel axes instead of their traditional stone ones, and as a result they spent 50% of their time on subsistence activities instead of 80%. The time 'saved' was devoted not to increasing their material means of subsistence, but to increasing non-economic activities such as festivals, war and travel. In primitive and archaic society, wealth may best be regarded as of a social rather than an economic nature.

In primitive and weakly stratified societies, goods are normally divided into several categories, each of which is used to perform a specific set of social functions. Typical sets of categories are subsistence goods (land, food), prestige goods (slaves, cattle, metal), and women (Tiv of Nigeria: Godelier 1972:297); or subsistence goods (produce of agriculture and food-gathering, and crafts), luxury goods

(tobacco, palm-oil, salt, pandanus nuts), precious goods (shells, bird of paradise feathers, ornamented axes, and pigs, all of which were parts of the ritual expenditure on the occasions of weddings, initiations, peace treaties and religious festivals: Siane of New Guinea: Godelier 1972:298).

Control of precious or prestige goods enables senior groups to maintain and reproduce their social positions, because these goods alone may be used to pay bridewealth and fines (Meillassoux 1960:51f; Dupré and Rey 1973:145-6). Wealth therefore constitutes a collective weapon of senior groups or lineages, and a number of devoces are used to prevent the acquisition of prestige goods by juniors. This prevention is necessary, as possession of these goods means the acquisition of the elements of social power and independence (Meillassoux 1960:55). Restrictions include the impossibility of exchange of one type of goods against another to prevent the conversion of subsistence goods (which are available freely to all members of society and are produced by juniors) into prestige and matrimonial goods. If in the course of foreign trade, amounts of precious goods do become available to juniors, for instance by their exchanging food for small amounts of them with traders who must eat, then the price or composition of bridewealth and fines will be altered to restore the barriers to juniors. Similarly the social position of smiths who produce iron from ores will often be severely circumscribed, as iron is typically an élite good (Meillassoux 1960:41f, 62; Dupré and Rey 1973:150).

The underlying principle in the social function of wealth - and it is this principle which is relevant to a class society like the Celts - is that the transfer of goods directly affects the status of both parties to the exchange. Prestige goods are objects of prestation when passed from the junior who made them or who owed them to an elder, but they are gifts when the transaction is in the opposite direction, or between elders. To receive a prestation is to show superiority, and to give gifts is to display equality or superiority; to accept without giving back (ie

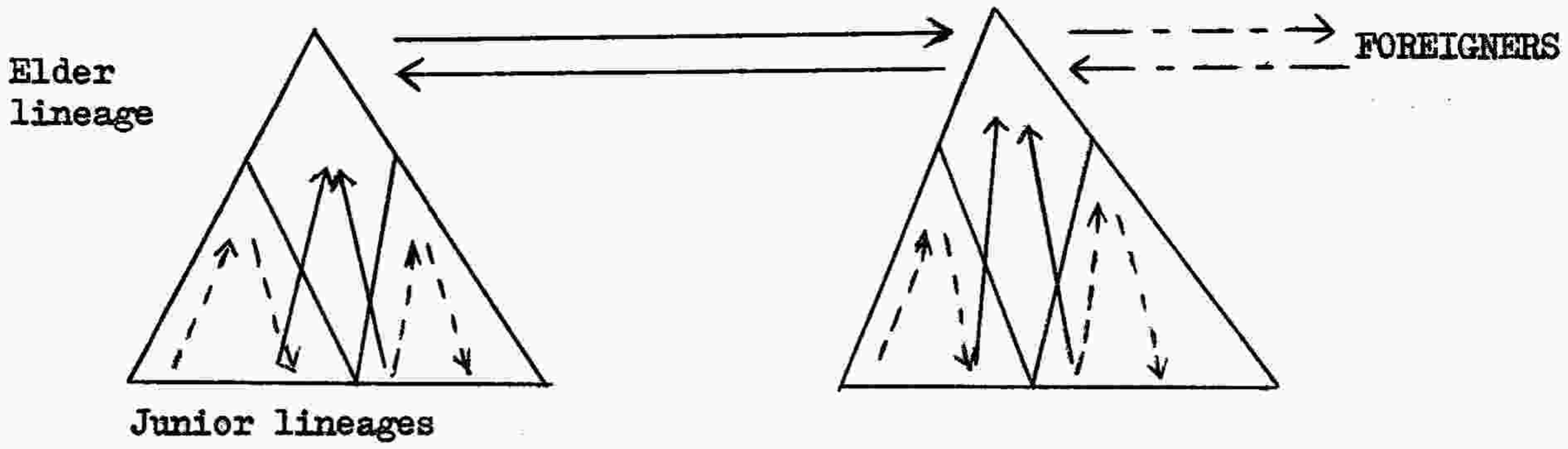
entering into a debt) is to become subordinate (Meillassoux 1960:41f, 55). Similarly, a wealthy man can pay fines without losing social status, while a poorer man may suffer actual social degradation by having to borrow or losing all his wealth (Polanyi 1968[1957]:182, 197f). Great efforts will therefore be made by senior groups to maintain their traditional mechanisms of circulation of goods and thereby control of their position. In particular, juniors must be prevented from acquiring the goods which would make them independent outside the normal functioning of the society.

There are two consequences of this principle. The first is that in theory in primitive societies such as described above, goods never confront one another directly in exchange as they do in the market; when they change hands in prestation, redistribution and gift this does not involve the exchange of something for something else against which it could be measured (Meillassoux 1972:100). There is therefore no exchange value (Meillassoux 1960:56f). In the absence of exchange value, there is no place for a general medium of exchange such as coinage.

The second consequence is that where exchange between goods in any category does become socially necessary, for instance because of the specialized geographical position of a community, and a medium of exchange is developed, there will be different exchange media or 'special-purpose moneys' for each social category of goods. These special moneys are under no circumstances interchangeable with one another any more than the goods themselves from different categories. Thus for instance in fourteenth century Nigerian empires, thick and thin copper wires were used in exchange: thin ones were paid as wages and could buy firewood and millet only; thick ones could buy anything including élite goods, a system which ensured the standard of living of the wealthy class (Polanyi 1968[1966]:282). Similarly, in the fourteenth century in the Maldive Islands of India, cowrie could buy rice for the poor, but not buy gold in any quantities whatever (ibid.:298). The introduction of European money into many primitive

societies caused problems; the Tiv invented a fourth category of goods - European money and European manufactured goods which could be interchanged for one another; the Siane put coins in the category of luxury goods available to anyone who could afford them and notes in that of precious goods, confined to the élites, and could not comprehend that they could be interchanged. The appearence of European money constitutes a threat to these unstratified societies because of its all-purpose function in exchange which is contrary to primitive usage, and if not preventéd would disrupt the traditional circulation of goods and thereby disrupt the social organization (Godelier 1972:297). The literature on primitive currencies abounds with other examples of 'special-purpose' moneys, confined to use in one major category of goods, In all cases, the most fundamental divide is between goods produced by the junior or lower orders of the society (subsistence goods) and those proper to the senior or ruling group (prestige and ritual goods).[97] Exchange with foreigners is conducted at the level of the elders of the group or the ruling class, and goods thereby obtained in principle enrich them only; the goods given in this exchange are obtained by preststion or taxation from the subordinate members of the community, and their composition is determined by the nature of the trade; it is a common phenomenon for socially valueless goods to be turned into valuables and objects of presiation by the demand for them by foreign traders (Meillassoux 1960:63f).

It is in this way that foreign trade can be a n important factor in the occurrence of a striking increase in the social power of the ruling group. They increase their demands on the subject population in order to exchange with foreigners, and the goods they obtain are precious and therefore of the class which enables them to extend their control by its use in payments, gifts and loans. Schematically this may be expressed:



Products: { Prestige ——————
Subsistence — — — — — —

Trade goods: Prestige —— - —— - ——

In unstratified or weakly stratified societies where no privilieged social group has . control of the land or means of production, social control by elders can only be exercised through control over the status of persons, achieved by their control of women and thnse goods whose acquisition will in the long run enable juniors to become elders. In addition elders have the right to give recalcitrant juniors to other lineages as slaves. In such societies, the categorization of goods is at its most rigid, and any threat to disrupt the organization of exchange is a threat to the society itself (Meillassoux 1960; id.1972; id.1973; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1969; Dupré and Rey 1973). It is these societies which might be expected to resist the use of coinage or the introduction of foreign trade likely to favour the growth of a ruling class.

In the case of stratified societies whose ruling class has been able to obtain control of the ownership of land and its use, this in itself is an efficient form of control over the status of the exploited classes, and therefore the earlier rigid categorization of goods can be allowed to some extent to relax. Control of the circulation of products and persons is no longer the most important mechanism of social control; control

of the means of production, land in particular, has taken its place. In addition it is not essential for the ruling class to have an absolute monopoly on the products which can be exchanged for luxury goods. Because a ruling class can command (eventually only by establishing a state) a far greater surplus than any individual commoner, the small amounts of wealth privately acquired by persons outside the ruling class is not a threat to the social order and may be tolerated. Hence coinage can be used with impunity, since the ruling class is assured of its disposal of by far the greatest amount of luxury goods and wealth in the society.

Wealth in the form of land, and goods readily accessible only to the ruling classes, continues in a class society such as that of the Celts, to play a central role in social competition. Foremost among prestige goods of this sort are spoils of war, foreign goods and craftsmen's work especially in precious metals. We have seen that in Celtic society craftsmen were a part of the learned class, and under the patronage of the warrior aristocracy who therefore controlled their products, and that the warrior class were responsible for the organization of foreign trade culminating in the development of the great oppida. We have also seen that through the clientage system which involved the advancement of production goods such as cattle from the earliest times, and possibly the grant of land which was probably the principal mechanism later, the ownership of wealth gave direct power over persons to a Celtic noble. In addition, his warrior activities assured him of the disposal of the labour of any slaves which he might need. It is abundantly clear from the ancient evidence and from the numerous early Celtic warrior burials that the dominant social class were warriors, and that social competition took place most centrally in this sphere. It is to be expected, then, that the principal uses of wealth among the Celts were connected with the social activities of this class.

3. USES OF WEALTH BY THE CELTS AND THE ORIGIN OF COINAGE.

Gold and silver jewellery, the means of feasting, and, later, coinage, are together with horses, chariots and arms, the means of the traditional conduct of 'heroic' life, and as such are in the control of the warrior aristocracy. The sources contain a reasonable amount of information about the uses of wealth by the Celts which do not specifically relate to coinage, and it is important to consider these first before turning to the problems of the origins of Celtic coinage.

That wealth was accumulated in the form of gold and silver objects and in livestock (especially cattle) is clear from an early date. Polybius (2.17.11, p.299 above) made that observation directly for the Celts of the fourth century in Italy. For great herds of cattle as characteristic of the backward areas in northern Gaul and Germany see p.297ff above; Tac. Ger. 5.1-3 records that wealth (opes) among the Germans was counted in numbers of cattle but that they also gave silver vases to envoys and principes. Strabo (4.4.5) refers to Celtic love of ornament; specific references to gold ornaments and torcs in particular are to be found in Polybius (2.31.5: torcs in spoils captured by the Romans and deposited in the Capitol), Vergil (Aen. 8.660, 662), Propertius (4.10.43), Polybius (2.29.7: gold torcs and armlets worn in battle), BG 7.47.5 (precious ornaments of the matres familiae of Gergovia). Reference is also made to the precious metals used for chariots or carriages and for arms: Pliny (NH 34.48) records the silver-dipping process applied to 'esseda colisataque' at Alesia or among the Bituriges; Florus Bell.Allob.59 mentions 'Bituitus discoloribus in armis, argenteoque carpento'.

Caesar gives an invaluable account on one of the ways in which the Celts controlled the acquisition of wealth by the common warriors and the 'plebs'.

> Hiic [sc. Marte] cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea quae bello ceperint plerumque devovent: quae superaverint, animalia capta immolant, reliquasque res in unum licum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet, neque saepe accidit ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est. (BG 6.17.3-5)

Warriors were therefore not permitted to keep spoils surreptitiously; any spoils they got were presumably supervised. In addition, the mass of spoils was deposited on sacred ground, which was visible evidence of the martial prowess of the aristocracy and therefore their authority at home and abroad. The fact that the spoils could not be used for personal enrichment ensured the glory of the aristocracy as a group, and thereby the reputation of the civitas or pagus.

> Diodorus enlarges on this practice:
>
> They amass a great amount of gold [sc. from the earth] which is used for ornament not only by the women but also by the men. For around their wrists and arms they wear bracelets, around their necks heavy necklets of solid gold, and huge rings they wear as well, and even breastplates of gold. And a peculiar and striking practice is found among the upper Celts (tois anô Keltois), in connexion with the sacred precincts of the gods; for a great amount of gold has been deposited as a dedication to the gods, and not a native of the country ever touches it because of religious fear, although the Celts are an overwhelmingly covetaus people (philarguroˆn kath' huperbolêˆn). (Diod. 5.27.3-4)

For Gaul we know of the sacred deposit at Tolosa (Str.4.1.13): there were said to be 15,000 talents of unwrought gold and silver stored in sacred enclosures and in sacred lakes there; the Romans sold the lakes for the treasury, and many of the buyers found in them hammered millstones of silver.

> And in Tolosa the temple too was hallowed, since it was very much revered by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and on this account the treasures there were excessive, for numerous people had dedicated them and no-one dared to lay hands on them. (Strabo 4.1.13)

Caesar, of course, had no such scruples, and made a great profit from the Celtic treasures:

> In Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expllavit, urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum; unde factum, ut auro abundaret ternisque milibus nummum in libras promercale per Italiam provinciasque divenderet. (Suetonius DJ 54)

Something of the practice in question may be recalled in the following episode from the eighth or ninth century Irish Voyage of Mael Dúin, which contains a series of 'supernatural' encounters. I include this partly because it gives, I think, some idea of the deisidaimonia referred to by Diodorus, and the religious sanctions in Caesar, and points again to the function of 'public' (sacred) deposits as enrichment for the state or people as a whole, not individuals.

> ... they saw a small island with a fortress on it and a high white rampart round it, as if the rampart were made of lime and as if it were all one stone of chalk. Great was its height from the sea, and it almost reached the clouds of heaven. The fortress was open. There were bright snowy white houses in it, like the rampart. They came into the biggest house of them, and there was no one there but a small cat which was in the middle, playing on four stone pillars. It was leaping from one pillar to the other. It looked at the men for a little, and did not interrupt its play. They saw then three rows all round the wall of the house from one doorpost to the other; first, there was a row of gold and silver brooches, with their pins in the wall; a second row of big collars of gold and silver, like the hoops of a barrel; and the third row of big swords with hilts of gold and silver. The cubicles of the house were filled with white feather beds and bright bedclothes. They saw then a broiled ox and a . . salt pig in the midst, and a big vessel of good intoxicating ale. "Has this been left for us?" said Mael Dúin to the cat. It looked at them for an instant, and began to play again. Then Mael Dúin realized that it was for them that the meal which they saw had been left. They drank and dined and fell asleep; and they put the dregs of the ale in their bottles and kept the remains of the food, and then considered leaving. One of Mael Dúin's foster-brothers said, "Shall I take one of these collars with me?" "No," said Mael Dúin, "The house is not without a guard". He took it with him all the same, as far as the middle of the courtyard. The cat came after him, and jumped through him like a fiery arrow, and burned him to ashes. It went again and sat on its pillar. Mael Dúin soothed the cat with his words, and set the collar in the same place, and cleaned the ashes from the middle of the courtyard and threw them over the sea cliff. And they went to their boat then, ... (Jackson 1971:153-5)

Other instances known of the uses of gold and silver (excluding coin and bullion) show rather clearly that treasure and fine jewellery was originally the characteristic property of the warrior aristocracy, and in particular the chief or king, who had most of it. Even in the first century, Caesar observed that Orgetorix was nobilissimus and ditissimus of the people

(cf Appian Celt.12 and Athenaeus IV.36); the jewellery of women would accord with their rank as did that of the men. Some of the richest early burials are female (Déchelette 1914:914, 1088f, 1030). A considerable aomount of wealth was clearly expended on religion in the form at least of temple offerrings and grave goods; ritual must certainly have consumed still more. References above to gold or silver treasure are all associated with warfare or religion. The Celts in Polybius 2.29.7 fought naked except for their gold ornaments; in the Irish story the treasure of the house was in fibulas, torcs and swords, a martial composition. Celtic coinage frequently displays a mixture of martial and 'mythical' elements; indeed a great number of the symbold on Celtic coins are unambiguously connected with warfare, for instance horses, swords and severed heads. Tacitus (Ger. 18.2) describes the exchange for women north of the Rhine as being that of 'boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque' given to the woman's family; the woman gives the man some arms. It is noteworthy that the highly valued goods exchanged for women are cattle and martial equipment. BG 6.19.1 records that the Celts used money (pecunia) for dowries by the time of writing, which therefore replaced earlier bridewealth in such goods as those still used by the Germans.

As the power of a Celtic noble was counted in terms of the number of his clients, and they were only with him so long as he maintained their support by his good performance in the field and displays of hospitality at home, the use of wealth within the clientage system is of great importance and is of direct relevance to the introduction of coinage, as will be argued below. Athenaeus (IV.36, p.375 above, cf Strabo 4.2.3) gives some idea of the wealth used for feasts; Diod. 5.26.2, Polybius 2.19.3-4, 11.3.1 and Ammianus Marcellinus 15.12.4 record the luxury use of wine at feasts.

Diodorus gives an insight into the uses of wealth which connect it with warrior virtues; the refusal to part with a prestigious head for its weight in gold is an indication of the relative social value of the

two valuables in certain contexts; Jackson (1964:37) suggests that relatives were trying to redeem the heads.

> The heads of their most distinguished enemies they embalm in cedar oil and carefully preserve in a chest, and these they exhibit to strangers, gravely maintaining that in exchange for this head some one of their ancestors, or their father, or the man himself, refused the offer of a great amount of valuables (chrêmata). And some men among them, we are told, boast that they have not accepted an equal weight of gold for the head they show. (Diod. 5.26.5)

Precious metal and valuables were further used by the Celts for gift exchange and payment. For purposes of comparison, Tacitus Ger. 5 refers to the silver vessels given to envoys and principes, and at 15.2 he speaks of the acquisition and maintenance of ties of public friendship by means of gifts: 'electi equi, magnifica arma, phalerae torquesque', and he adds that through contact with the Romans they had recently also taken to the use of coin for this purpose. Polybius provides Celtic examples of the use of gifts for public purposes. For 299 he records that the Transalpine Gauls were threatening to make a further migration into Cisalpine Gaul, but were dissuaded by the inhabitants who pleaded consanguinity and brought gifts (dôrophorountes) (Pol.2.19.1). For 231 (2.22.2) he records that the Insubres and Boii of Cisalpine Gaul obtained the military services of kings Concolitanus and Aneroëstes of the Gaesatae for a march on Rome by pointing out that the Romans would provide rich spoil, and by giving them a lot of gold (chrusiou plêthos). By using the word chrusion which can mean gold objects or gold coin, Polybius may be giving an accurate report of the mode of exchange for services among the warrior aristocracy of the mid third century. Whether the gold gifts included some gold coin is unknown and in this context not important, as they would be merely another form of the same thing - gold objects. Compare the Spaniards who used weighed silver bits for payments (Strabo 3.3.7); early coin is a regularized form of this practice (p.459 above). Even in the first century, when the more or less exclusive use of coin for payment of services was established, we hear that Vercingetorix secured alliances with gifts (donis) and promises

(BG 7.31.1). The gifts need not be taken as being only in coin.

The social values, then, which governed the allocation of resources in third and second century Gaul when coinage was first widely used, were primarily those connected with the preoccupations of the warrior aristocracy. The available information about the behaviour of the Celts with regard tot their valuables fits this hierarchy of values. We shall now see that the earliest uses of coin, and the most persistent as regards gold and silver, are precisely in those areas in which exchange of valuables happened or was attempted before. In considering the origin and uses of coin in Gaul, the course of the development of political institutions must be in the forefront, since coingge in the ancient world was of a political nature.

The earliest, most important, and best documented use of gold coin by the Celts is for payment of services; I believe they acquired the original Greek coins as well as the customary use of them in service as mercenaries in the Mediterranean world. Unlike the primitive inhabitants of the Balearic islands (p. 460 above), they took some of their pay home with them, and soon began to strike their own. That the earliest coin was a substitute for other forms of wealth (for instance torcs) and continued to be associated with them is suggested by the number of hoards which are collections both of coins and other valuables (appendix IX). That such valuables as a torc could perhaps have provided a means of payment is suggested by the find of a small torc-shaped piece of gold weighing 16.5g (about twice the weight of a third or second century gold stater) and measuring 29.3 x 21.2mm, from Wohlfarstweier near Durlach (Cahn sale Oct.1926, p.5 no 59). Here a coin-like object has been made to look like a torc; the find suggests further that small amounts of gold were useful, a function characteristically well supplied by a coin.

Use of coin to enhance or maintain social prestige is recorded by Poseidonios (ap. Athenaeus IV.37) and Strabo (4.2.3) where the expenditure of Luernius, father of Bituitus id described in a second century context (p.376 above).

Wealth, whether or not in coin form, was therefore used for the purpose of acquiring prestige and maintaining a conspicuous following of clients. An indippensable member of a noble's retinue was the poet or bard who would praise him and his ancestors. A noble could not afford to offend a poet, as satire could ppell ruin for his reputation and following. Jackson (1971: no 192) gives a good fifteenth century exampse of a satire written because of the tight-fistedness of a Scottish noble. However, the economic aspect of such services was purely secondary; bards and poets played an essential social role in 'heroic' societies, and the magnificence of the rewards given for their services were symbolic in the first place of the power of the noble who gave them. Precisely similar institutions are known from other societies, for instance recent Mali (Godelier 1972:256) and Homeric Greece.

The most important area into which coin was introduced, however, was the one which almost certainly was the origin of the others, the payment of soldiers. Kraay (1964) believes that payment of mercenaries was among the earliest uses of coin in Greece, and Griffith (1935) abundantly documents the role mercenary armies played in determining the expenditure of Greek governments. We saw above (p.480) that there is evidence for the payment of gold (not necessarily coin) for military services between Celtic communities in the mid third century; in this case the hiring was done by Celts who at that point may not yet have become accustomed to payment in coin alone. We also saw that the mobility of certain valuables (cattle and gold, p.299 above) gave them special importance. Further evidence of the importance of portability in valuables won in war is given by Polybius, who is referring to the

Gaesatae in 225:

> King Aneroëstes expressed the ppinion that having captured so much booty (for it appears that the quantity of slaves, cattle and miscellaneaus spoil was enormous), they should not give battle again nor risk the fortune of the whole enterprise, but return home in safety, and having got rid of all their encumbrances and lightened themselves, return, and if advisable, try issues with the Romans. (Pol.2.26.5)

In other words, these mercenaries had every intention of retumming home one day, and moveable spoils were vital. Clearly it is one of the merits of coin (especially gold) that it is eminently portable and therefore good as a means of payment for mercenaries. And the first Celtic denominations struck in gold in Central Gaul were normally staters and quarter-staters, both of which are very valuable denominations.

It was from the coin-using Mediterranean that the Celts first obtained coins, and that this was primarily if not exclusively in return for military services (with the possible exceptions of the port-of-trade coinages on the west), is indicated both by the predominantly fourth and third century origin of precious metal coinage prototypes, which is precisely the period of greatest Hellenistic use of mercenaries (p.420f and by the number of texts which record the use of Celtic mercenaries. Greek use of mercenaries has been discussed above (p.420ff), and is abundantly illustrated by Griffith (1935). Among the Celts themselves, the Gaesatae are of particular interest in the third century (Pol.2.22.1-2f, p.421 above). The statement that they were professional mercenaries is repeated by Orosius (4.13.5: 'Gaesatorum, quod nomen non gentis sed mercennariorum Gallorum est'). From Polybius (2.34.2) we learn that the Italian Celts hired about 30,000 of them as reinforcements (they had had a previous supply) in 222.

What is important here is the fact that from the fourth and third centuries, precisely the period of the first Celtic copies of Philip II coins in western Gaul, Celtic mercenaries were popular with Hellenistic governments which relied on hired armies. Carthage was another major

employer, and Polybius 1.66f has an important disquisition on the subject of their mercenaries leading up to his account of their revolt in 241. At 1.67.7 we learn that the mercenaries included Iberians, Celts, Ligurians and Baleares, and at 1.66.6 that one gold piece each (chrusous = a stater) was merely emergency pay 'for pressing expenses'. This case in fact is exceptional, as ration-money as well as pay was being demanded (Griffith 1935:288f), and therefore does not indicate the normal pay per month for Carthaginian mercenaries. 1.66.11 refers without precision to the mercenaries' reckoning of what in fact they were owed, similarly at 1.68.9. A better example of the pay (as opposed to subsistence rations) paid to Celtic mercenaries is that quoted by Perseus when trying to hire the Bastarnae: 1000 gold pieces for the king, 10 each for ... cavalrymen, and 5 each for infantry, which would come to 151,000 staters for the whole army he wanted (Livy 44.26). This was a fixed payment for the whole campaign, and was in fact rejected because of attempts to fiddle it (Griffith 1935:76). Subsistence would come in kind or ration-money during the campaign as needed. Antigonus Gonatas (Polyaenus 4.6.17) hired some Gauls for an unknown period at a rate of one Macedonian stater per man; 30 talents were needed at the end of the army's service.(Griffith 1935:293).

The extremely wide currency of Philip staters makes it probable that part of the payment of mercenaries was in these rather than for instance in Carthaginian coin which was needed for home payments (though the 'Punic' drachms of Emporiae widely copied in western Gaul, and the early Rhone valley coinage with head and neck of a horse, suggest some use of Punic-inspired denominations in silver for mercenary pay). Colbert de Beaulieu (1973:200 n.309) has collected a useful list of references in Roman literature for the use of the word 'philip' to mean gold coin generically; there is no reason to suppose that the situation was very differnt elsewhere, even though Carthage and other states had their own gold coinages. Massilia had no native gold coin, however, and

yet dowries were paid in gold (Strabo 4.1.5): a reasonable inference from this is that Massilia may have used 'philips' for the purpose. Also relevant is the hoard from Tarentum which contained 80 'philips' against only 7 local gold coins (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973:200 n.309). An important piece of corroborative evidence that Celtic coinage was adopted after exposure to it in Greek mercenary service, and that therefore payment-money in Gaul took as prototypes the moneys familiar from foreign payments, is that none of the pre-120s coinages in Gaul are on Roman prototypes, nor are Roman coins found in Gaul in contexts earlier than the Conquest. The Romans used very few mercenaries indeed, and not in any systematic way (Griffith 1935:234f), and this must be the reason. Had coinage in fact entered Gaul primarily in trade, and been adopted for that purpose by the Celts, we would expect Roman coins in Gaul from the second century at least; Roman involvement in Gaul began in 154, and from 202 they were masters of the western Mediterranean and busy in Spain.

Once the principle was accepted by the Celts that coin could be used for payment of mercenaries, its use in related fields and then in new areas followed without difficulty. Payment was the earliest use of any coinage in ancient society, and came before its use in exchange (see p.461 ff above; Kraay 1964:89f; Polanyi 1957:264; id. 1968[1957]:179, 185,194). In archaic society the other principal occasions for payments would be tribute, taxes, rent, bride-price, blood-money and fines. Because coinage can be used to discharge a variety of obligations it constitutes a means of payment. It is only later that it comes to be used as a means of exchange of goods, and this can only happen when, for other socially determined reasons, production of goods for exchange-value is taking place on a regular basis.

In the fields of tribute and bribery, which can exist without coin, we know of possible or certain examples of the use of coin from the period of the use of Celtic mercenaries. Polybius 3.41.7 refers to Hannibal

in 218 bribing the Celts to give him safe passage of the Rhone (chrêmasi peisas); chrêmata need not, of course, only be money but at 3.42.2 Hannibal bought (exêgorase) small cr aft on the river, which use of language does suggest money. This is not a case of use of coin as medium of exchange properly so called, as there is no evidence that the coin was obtained in order to purchase a different commodity with it. Rather, it was a case of barter, of valuable metal objects for boats. We may note in the context of the Punic use of mercenaries the coinages derived from Punic types (above); none of the m were minted after the Punic wars. Polybius (4.46.3 in 219) enumerated the 'tribute' or bribe paid by Byzantium to stave off arrack by Comontorius' and then Cavarus' Celts, at 3000, 5000 or 10,000 gold pieces on each occasion, and eventually they were forced to pay an annual tribute of 80 talents until the Celts were defeated. Much earlier, in the fourth century, Livy (5.48) narrated that Brennus, 'regulus Gallorum', demanded 1000 lbs of gold from the defeated Romans. By Caesar's time the use of coin (pecunia) was well established for payment of inducements or bribes: BG 7.63.2 (purchase of alliance); 7.37.1 (money bribes from Arverni to Aedui); 1.9.3 (Dumnorix); 5.55.1 (Indutiomarus); 6.2.1-2 (Treveri); 7.64.8 (Vercingetorix), and is incidental proof that Celtic coin could travel outside a civitas in the normal course of political dealings (cf p.254ff above).[98]

There were some fields, however, in which the introduction of coin undoubtedly enabled new developments; and it was probably introduced in response to increasing administrative activities. Kraay (1964:89) made the point that in Greece in the seventh and sixth centuries, at a time of general increase of wealth and the development of colonies, the functions of government in the cities increased, and with them the number of occasions on which payments were needed. This led to an increasing use of coin for convenience. These occasions included harbour dues, fines, mercenary payments, payments when surplus was divided among the people, salaries for

experts and expenditure on public works. A case may be made that a similar situation obtained in Central Gaul from some point at latest in the second century, accelerating from the time of the first permanent settlement of 'urban' oppida. Certainly by the first century we know that coin was used in various of the categories of payment mentioned by Kraay.

We have seen mercenaries; harbour dues or passage rights on rivers and roads were an important source of revenue for several peoples, and by the first century some were undoubtedly paid in coin, though none of our sources felt the need to specify the fact. P.326 ff above discuss the evidence for tolls and taxes in Gaul; some were clearly collected in kind, but the certainty that coin was levied from the Romans in the Alps, and the fact that the mentions of the taxes are seldom qualified as to their composition, points to the conclusion that they were by then normally paid in coin. The very close similarity between Gaul and Greece in the pattern of early coin distribution (Kraay 1964), as also in the early use of large denominations only, is an indication of the parallel development of the coinage, rooted in the uses of coinage in the period of development of the state.

4. THE AUTHORITY FOR CELTIC COINAGE

A few points about the authorship of Celtic coinage should be made at this point. It is one of the distinguishing features of any coinage that it is 'official'. A coin differs from a lump of metal of the same weight in the significance of the type stamped on it. This is firstly that the metal is of a certain fineness and weight, officially fixed, and secondly that the coin is issued by a certain authority. I would therefore qualify the statement made by Collis (1971) to the effect that inscribed coins have political significance whereas uninscribed do not. Though it is probably true that at the earliest stages of use of a currency introduced from outside the society, as were Greek staters into Gaul, it was

possession and use of them as elements of wealth which conferred prestige (Collis 1971:75), the production of them must also have been from the start a manifestation of wealth, in the way in which disposal over other gold and silver precious goods would be. Coins or at least their dies were made in all probability by the goldsmiths who would also make jewellery. However, very early in Gaul, during the first phase of development of the currency, deliberately individuated types began to be struck, and it is difficult not to see in this the mark of the originating authority, rather than mere decoration; a good example is the continuation of the 'epsilon' symbol from the first into the second phase in the north-eastern region (first phase group Iii, second phase group IIiii = pl.VI.2, VII.1, map 18), and a similar case with the trident symbol on the reverse exists in the south-west (pl.VI.5 followed by VIII.8, VIIIA.1-3). This suggests that even in the first phase, coinages were officially distinguished from Greek importations, as true coinages and not simply ornaments. It is surely true for Gaul, as for the Mediterranean cities, that as soon as coinage was instituted as means of payment for an ever-increasing number of services and obligations, the designs on it had a quite clear political significance, as clear as an inscription to the illiterate, referring to the authority by whom they were issued and to whom services and payment of taxes inthe same coin were due.

It is one of the most characteristic features of Central Celtic precious metal coinages that in the second and third phases of development they almost never travelled very far, until the altered conditions of the conquest were imposed. This phenomenon was also displayed in the best example available for comparison with Gaul, Greek city coinages of the sixth to fourth centuries (Kraay 1964). There are two fundamental reasons why coinage will not travel in significant quantities beyond the territory under the authority of the issuer.

Firstly, payments of taxes, dues and fines are obligatory in the official coinage; on a sociological plane, this may be interpreted as a

method of social control of the ownership of wealth, as it is impossible fo obtain official currency except in a limited number of ways controlled by the ruling group. One example of the official political control of currency survives in a fourth century decree from Olbia on the Black Sea which stipulates that only Olbian coins may be used for transactions within the city, though other coinages could be exchanged 'on whatever basis the parties agree', and the exchange-rate for electrum was set; coins of all sorts might be imported and exported freely (Finley 1973:168). Unless a city had a considerable surplus of silver, coin would tend to stay at home because it was needed for obligatory payments; if it travelled, it might well reappear in harbour-dues as it was less expensive to pay in official coin of the city at face value than to make a loss through changing foreign coin. Loss this way could occur either through wear of the foreign coin, which would be exchanged by weight, or through the charging of a changing-fee, an institution which certainly existed in Roman times (Crawford 1970:43).

The second reason why precious metal coinage did not travel far is that its face value is always above that of its bullion value except when in mint condition. Indeed under the conditions of ancient minting, the original weight of coins was not absolutely accurate, and some fresh from the mint were underweight. Although the denomination officially guaranteed the weight of the coin at for instance a drachma, coims in circulation continually lost weight. Nevertheless they continued under normal conditions to pass at face value within their official area, and to be accepted in taxes and payments. However, outside their official sphere they were nothing more than pieces of bullion which passed by weight alone, and if sub-standard would get a poor rate of exchange. There would therefore be a tendency for them not to be taken abroad in exchange, of if they did travel, to return them at the next visit. This feature of developed precious metal coin is of course directly

dependent on the first, its political status.

The principle that coin always circulates within the confines of the territory of the city-state may be qualified in a mumber of ways for the ancient world.

In some of the ancient empires there was an extension of the principle that coin circulates in the region controlled by the minting authority to cover previously independent mints which are closed down in favour of imperial coin. Athens did not close down all the mints of the allies; Alexander III had his coin struck at many but not all the mints in the empire; but the Romans did clese down all independent mints, often replacing them with one stiking imperial coin. Roman permission to certain Greek or Spanish cities (and probably Gaulish towns for a century of so) to produce their own bronze is not contradictory, as the permission presupposes the overall authority of Rome.

A second exception is that in certain circumstances, for instance Sicily and southern Italy in the sixth to fourth centuries, and possibly the monnaies à la croix region in south-west Gaul, coinages of several authorities were apparently to some extent interchangeable, as mixed hoards and untidy scattering of types are found (Kraay 1964; Allen 1969). In both the Greek and Celtic cases, the regions in question are quite separate in coinage use from their neighbours, and coin does not travel significantly beyond the cities which 'shared' coin.

A third exception is argued by Kraay (1964), to the principle that in the sixth to fourth centuries in Greece coin did not travel in significant quantities beyond the territory of its origin. Both examples of this exception occur well after the original establishment of the use of coin. The first is the region of Thrace and Macedon before 480, and the other is Athens from that date. In the latter case the Athenian empire must have had a significant influence on the distribution of the coinage (Kraay 1968), but the common factor in both cases is their

ownership of rich silver mines which produced a metal surplus well beyond the needs of the immediate communities. In both cases very pure and fresh coins may have proved an acceptable commodity in long distance exchange; in the cases of Thrace and Macedon it may even have been a major export.

None of these exceptions is exhibited in Central Gaul. Mixed hoards are unusual outside the monnaies à la croix region before the conquest, although they are not unknown (appendix VII). The first phase of Philip II imitation coinage is the only one before the conquest where there is a diffuse distribution of some coin types: map 18 illustrates this well for the first phase groups Iii, Iiv, Iv and Ivi. They contrast strongly with contrmporary clusters of coinages of idiosyncratic types at the great river-mouths, and suggest that a sociological interpretation is called for. Preda (1973) noted precisely the same phenomenon of diffuse early coinage distribution inthe earliest Dacian coinages (under Celtic influence), which displayed tightening distributions with each successive phase, parallel with a process of political centralizatinn. In that area, the first copies of Philip II tetradrachms were almost indistinguishable from the originals, and were used in the late fourth century and early third; it should be noted that Philip II was the first major Macedonian user of barbarian mercenaries, a fact which is central to the preponderance of Philip copies in Celtic coinages. The first local Dacian coinages on a Philip model were in the third century. The first main phase lasted from the mid third century until the mid second; late in the . phase there was one large group in a well-defined area which was heavily countermarked, and countermarks were found to a lesser extent on one or two minor issues. As in western Gaul, where countermarking was a regional phenomenon, this activity was entirely confined to this phase (the second in my shhema, p.156f above), and to the same absolute period. Then - as also in Gaul - in the second half of the second century there was an abrupt change in the coinages, associated

with oppida development: old types were abandoned and newer and much more abundant but also lighter and stylistically poorer coinages replaced them. Coinage distributions are at their tightest and most defined at this stage. Again, the parallel with Gaul is striking, and confirms the argument that the Gaulish coinages were a phenomenon associated with social change, which was also taking place in Dacia (Preda 1973:441f).

The explanation I would tentatively suggest for the first phase Gaulish map is that the tight river-mouth clusters are the material traces of the administration of strong but generally temporary local kingships brought into being by their control of the sites of foreign trade; the presence of a ship on one type (pl.XIII.9) is suggestive of maritime strength. As argued above (p.332, 334f), this is not an impossible situation, though there is no direct evidence for it exchpt the coinage. Foreign imports in the vicinity of the ports are few, and therefore the goods acquired must either have been consumed without trace, or consisted for instance of gold. We have at least some evidence of one important vanished port - Corbilo on the Loire; the exchange at the ports need not all have been with the Mediterranean. The oddity of the coin types, not derived from any of the types belonging to major employers of mercenaries, would point to a different explanation for their origin, and the fully Celticized types of the Loire and Seine groups further suggests the operation of a selfconscious authority, but without the specific military foreign contacts of the inland coining peoples. Dupré and Rey (1973:154) have pointed out for western Africa that there is a precise correlation between the number of ports of trade and the number of independent kings; numerous points of contact between Europeans and Africans resulted in a large number of small independent kings; a few major ports led to the existence of a few but very powerful kings, as at the height of the official slave trade. Because the coastal kings controlled aceess of the chiefs of dependent lineages to imported élite goods, they controlled the lineage

chiefs' social position and maintained their dependency. Clearly, the fewer the ports were, the greater was the control of the kings in charge of them.

Given that the social organization of western Gaul in the third century was significantly different from that of western Africa, particularly in the existence of a class structure based on some degree of control of the means of production whether in cattle or land, it is nevertheless still true that control of the access to wealth and especially control of the import . : and distribution of prestige goods such as came from abroad, was a powerful basis for social control. In the second phase of coinage the river-mouth clusters disappeared or altered, and a new tight distribution in the region of the historical Redones appeared. I suggested above (p.334f) that this change might be associated with the interruption of Greek or Carthaginian trade with the north-western coast by the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean during the late third and second centuries. From the conquest of Narbonensis, increased Roman use of the Garonne basin for access to the Atlantic might have favoured the development of new or increased overland contacts between Armorica and the Garonne basin, but this is speculation.

The loose distribution of the first phase coinages in the rest of Gaul - all of them in this case normally derived from coinages of the Hellenistic states using barbarian mercenaries - should be related to the probable social organization of Central Gaul at that time, with no effective centralized and coercive regional authorities. The distribution of coins and imports would tend to suggest that there were no privileged points of entry for Mediterranean goods into Gaul from the south and east or north; certainly no single <u>emporion</u> site presents itself with the numismatic characteristics of the fluvial ones on the west. Derivation from types of Philip II or Lysimachus suggests exposure to the use of coin in mercenary service, and the uses of coin outside a centralized or state structure

will naturally be different from those inside one, and show a different territorial distribution. I would suggest that the early and heavy gold coins of this period changed hands primarily as gifts or payments within the aristocratic warrior circles, rather as some first century coin still went abroad as alliance-money or bribes. In the absence of centralized settlement patterns, there was no call for money for state administration of a territory, which in later conditions kept it in a tight cluster. It is as though for the first phase we had only the 'strays', not the main clusters of distribution. The numerous types in the first and second phases, far more than there are find-spots for, suggest the existence of a large number of chieftains striking coin, as would be expected from the course of development of Celtic society in that period. It can only be with the development of the characteristic organs of state, that coinage will display the distribution proper to a state coinage.

Given that ancient coinage is primarily indicative of political activity, its distribution and use are rooted in the social and political structure of the communities which used it. Coinage distribution is therefore of great interest in a continent about whose social groupings and politics we have very little information. A good distribution, such as we have for many first century coinages in the Centre and Armorica, can delimit with some precision the geographical area within which a particular coinage was used. Since the use of coin has very specific social and political significance, distribution maps can indicate the presence of numerous distinct areas with internal cohesion in terms of obligations and exchanges involving the use of coin.

What a distribution map cannot do for Gaul is to identify the status of the authority who minted the coin. For Greece we know the principles of city-state organization, and therefore uncertain coinages can be assumed to have been produced by some city-state or other. For Gaul, the political structure is not so easily defined, and was certainly not of

the city-state variety before the conquest, as argued above in chs.5 and 7. Coinage was undoubtedly issued by political authorities, but the identity of these authorities is not always certain.

> It is therefore a mistake to assert without qualifications that
>
> la numismatique prouve ... clairement que, à la fin de l'indépendance, ces cités possédaient et exerçaient la souveraineté, ...
> (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:191).

Colbert de Beaulieu argues that a study of the legends on the first century coinage shows that a civitas name appears on some issues, and on others there is the name of one or more magistrates or a king, sometimes coupled with the name of a civitas. It should be noted, however, that these coins (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:189f) are all of the latest phase of Celtic coin, sometimes under direct Roman domination, where centralized government was at its fullest development. Nevertheless, Colbert de Beaulieu argues that even on their own magistrates or a king presuppose the existence of a civitas behind them (ibid.:189), an assumption that cannot always be made. On p.195-6 he qualifies the picture somewhat by noting that in the disturbances connected with the Caesarian war there were various minor and ephemeral coinages certainly struck by minor authorities; however, his main contention is that coinages were in the first century struck under strict control by politically centralized civitas governments, rather on the model of a Mediterranean city-state. His discussion of the Arvernian 'hegemony' also contained this assumption, at a period when it is certainly inappropriate; and it also underlies his discussion of coinage distribution in which (1973a;117-30) if a 100km radius from a Gallo-Roman civitas capital takes in most or much of the scatter of coins under investigation, that civitas is identified with the issuing authority.[99]

This model leads to difficulties because of its inflexible social assumptions. The underlying premiss that coin was in each case minted at a geographical centre, and that it spread at random around the mint rather

than as a result of exchange relations within a socially defined group which may not be evenly distributed geographically, leads to his having to find 'special' explanations for the presence of coin of a particular type outside the main area of distribution. Fugitive soldiers at the time of a war (p.128) or the effects of migration (p.132) are adduced. At p.254f above I argued that it was unlikely that the scatter of Poitou gold north of the Loire was solely the result of fugitives, but that it was rather the result of various relations involving the exchange of persons or payments which undoubtedly existed between the Pictones and the peoples north of the Loire. Their gold or billon coinages were on a virtually identical standard, and they had shared typological features in the die designs, strongly suggesting regular cultural exchanges. This is not, of course, to deny that the vast majority of Poitou coins are definitely confined to the left bank of the Loire; the point is that the reasons for their crossing the river need not be 'special', but part of the normal conduct of politics.

What I should like to call into question is the assumption that in Gaul centralized civitas authorities alone were issuing coinage, even in the first century, whatever may have been the increasing tendencies in that direction. If it is not true of the first century, then a fortiori it is not true of the third and second.

A discussion of the distribution of individual coinages has been given under the appropriate groups in section II and is documented and illustrated by the maps. For the question of authorship a number of points may be made. It is undoubtedly true that for instance the Auvergne gold series (map 19) was the official gold coinage of the historical first century Arverni: it is almost all found in the Limagne valley within range of Gergovia/Clermont-Ferrand (P.D.?), and one type carries the name of Vercingetorix. The geographical situation of the Arverni clearly contributed to the emergence of a single dominant political centre there;

the Gergovie/Clermont-Ferrand complex of settlements is in the only fertile valley in their territory, surrounded by granitic and mountainous country, which must to a high degree have determined the location of major regional exchange centres. In addition, control of the river Allier is available from the valley. In other civitates, such as the Bituriges Cubi, geography is more open and the existence of four major and approximately equal oppida there was possible, suggesting at least four centres of administration - and they had two first century coinages as will be seen below.

However, a question which must be asked of the Arvernian gold coinage, as of the contemporary silver sword group found principally in Berry and Limousin, is the significance of the different types. Were they the marks of successive moneyers under state control as in the late Roman republic, or were all or some of them the coinages not of the state but of a powerful section? There is no direct answer to this question; Collis (1971) suggested that it was a sign of the existence of uncontrolled minting by several nobles. The majority of Arvernian types are closely related to one another and suggest the activity of a single workshop (pl.IX-X), but a whole group which is found in Arvernian hoards mixed in with the rest stands apart (pl.X .9-15, group II). Similarly, two silver sword group dies were found at Corent (P.D., p.200 above), and suggest that there was simultaneous minting of the two types, which might suggest different authorities. Yet in both cases, gold and silver, hoards are found with thoroughly mixed types which would indicate that all types of the group were equally valid for all purposes. That hoards of these coins were not mixed with other groups before the conditions of conquest, indicates that whatever the status of the individual types, the coinages as a whole had their own discrete areas of validity.

Other major first century gold coinages have unified types, but present other problems. Poitou billon/gold and silver coins (map 19) are found with overlapping distributions, but gold ans silver are never found

significantly mixed in hoards before the conquest; only occasional 'strays' are found in predominantly homogeneous collections. The two coinages are quite separate in metal and typology: the billon series is strongly Armorican in fabric, weight and style, while the silver is on its own unique weight standard and is typologically derived from second-phase silver coinages of west Berry on the east of the river Vienne (p.178ff above). The distribution of the silver Poitou clusters near Poitiers and Niort (on the then coastline, disguised on the modern map); the gold has a distribution extending significantly further north as far as the right bank of the Loire, and occasionally into Armorica. These coinages were contemporary, and it is difficult to believe that they were both the official <u>civitas</u> coinage. This would need to assume the existence of a formal bimetallic system, and while this is not an impossibility in Gaul (discussed by Colbert de Beaulieu 1971), the only convincing instances of it are where both metals were struck with similar types as in Auvergne (appendix XIII). Unless they were struck for the purposes of different payments - in which case it is difficult to see why the types are totally different - it is unlikely that both coinages were the <u>civitas</u> coinage of the Pictones. Therefore it is to be suspected that there were at least two effective political authorities in first century Poitou.

A similar observation may be made for first century Berry. Here the gold ABVDOS group is mostly confined within the <u>civitas</u> borders (map 19), though it is not found in the region of Bourges itself (map B4). Silver sword group coins are found in Berry and northern Limousin. Again, both cannot be the official coin of the Bituriges. The ABVDOS group continued to be struck in bronze after the conquest, and is found in the big oppida, and it is probable that it was the coinage of a major Biturigan political authority. The silver, however, was a massive series not entirely confined to the Caesarian war. If it was, for instance, a state coinage for pay specifically for soldiers, why was it totally different from the gold, and what then was the gold used for? I would suggest again

that the Berry government was not fully united in the first century, and that two major coinage authorities coexisted. In both these cases the fact that one coinage is gold and the other silver might be an indication of the social inferiority of dependence of the silver-using one on the other, but this is by no means a necessary conclusion.

A third difficult case is that of the crane and trefoil group, which is found in no one historical civitas, but mostly in the western plain (below 200m) shared between Petrocorii and Lemovices (map 19). Attribution to one authority is safe, but its status and identity is in doubt in view of the distribution.

A final major difficulty with the authorship of coinage in Gaul is that political centralization did not always lead to coinage use; there is for instance no coinage until the first century in the Limagne valley, although Aulnat (P.D.) had developed as an oppidum by the mid-second century, presupposing a foregoing period of unification. A major civitas like the Santones would appear on grounds of distribution to have had no extensive coinage of its own in the first century - nor did the Mandubii, if indeed they were a civitas (p.437 above). Silver severed head group coins are found in the uplands at the north of the Lemovices, where the only known homogeneous hoard of them was buried, but neither they nor crane and trefoil coins are confined to Limousin, and are not found in the civitas in significant numbers except in the northern plain, which casts doubt on the identity, if any, of a Lemovices civitas coinage. Saintonge has a scatter of both Poitou types, but nothing apparently distinctive of its own.

In the light of the probable course of political unification in the Centre over the la Tène period, and the incomplete development of the state anywhere before the Caesarian war, it would not be unthinkable for there to have been more than one authority minting coin within a civitas at any one time, depending on the degree of political autonomy they could command.

One might compare pre-Roman Noricum where several coinages coexisted at a period when a single supreme kingship had apparently already asserted itself (Alföldi 1974:42)

This conclusion is somewhat supported by consideration of some second and first century coinages, from a period when it is almost certain that unified authority within a civitas did not exist. The early Bridiers coinage, from the first phase, is found with at least three major distinctive types and several minor ones, on the same general model, and found mixed in one hoard (pl.I.5-10). The second phase west Berry silver coinage (pl.III, IIIA) has three major varieties and an uncertain number of minor types, on a common weight standard and size, and found in mixed hoards. In addition, it had a consistent distribution area (map 18). After the wave of crisis minting and hoarding probably in the late second century, two major and all the minor types disappeared, while the third major type with a horseman and open hand reappears with modifications in the PIV Poitou coinage in the first century geographically further west. A third case is the gold second phase east Armorican coinage (pl.VIIIA 7-9, p.245f) which came in at least four major types, and provided ultimate models for the third phase 'Redoned' and 'Carnutes' coinages (eg pl.VIII.10-12); the early coinage is on a common standard and is probably like the previous example from dies made at a common workshop, since in the late second century hoard of Soings (L+Ch., pl.VIIIA) types are mixed.

In view of the probable political structure of Gaul in the fourth th second century it is a not unreasonable suggestion that these varied issues represented the coinages of various nobles - perhaps as important as pagus leaders - and that the common style and mixed hoards provides an index of the extent to which a common 'nationality' was acknowledged, perhaps in the form of tribute to a 'provincial' or 'civitas' king, or in widespread swapping of sons of the nobility between lineages as in the Irish fosterage system. A civitas 'king', however, would have no authority to prevent the minting by subordinate nobles for the purposes of their own

administration and conduct of their own internal affairs. The 'migration' of one west Berry type into Poitou is particularly suggestive. Whether, however, the first century varieties in the sword group and Auvergne coinages can mean precisely the same thing is uncertain; the problems of interpretation of the archaic Athenian Wappenmünzen are a warning against assuming that different coin types must always indicate different authorities (Kraay 1968). Argument must ultimately rest on interpretation of the whole body of evidence for political centralization of which coinage is only one of the ambiguous elements.

The presence, however, of numerous minor types, especially in the first and second phases of coin development in Gaul, would probably support the suggestion that minting was a possible activity for any individual or group which had the resources and therefore the political authority to do so. On a large scale this could only be the most centralized and powerful (ie rich) authorities - pagus or civitas - but small issues could surely be produced by lesser nobles for the payment of their retinues. The use of Celtic coin for payment of armies is not only certain on general grounds of the uses of ancient currencies, but because of the enormous finds in the battlefield of Alesia, and the instances of portable mints associated with the war: sword group dies at Corent and Vercingetorix bronze coins struck at Alise (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973b); the eastern silver obverse die found at Saint Symphorien d'Ancelles (S+L, p.45 above) in a very small establishment may have been in process of movement with an army or people. It has been suggested to me in conversation by Dr E Wightman that the first century 'wartime' issues (maps 9-10) were 'commissioned' as pay for Roman auxiliaries, again a mobile and fully military context for issuing them. Cicero Pro Font. 6.13 would strongly suggest that this was a normal Roman practice, and one that fitted well with traditional Celtic uses of wealth and monetary practices.

The normal sites of mints in Central Gaul are for the moment only pre-

sumptive. Bronze was almost certainly struck at first century Gergovie (p.76 above), and wartime issues were struck at Corent and Alise; on the other hand, the die at Saint Symphorien d'Ancelles was not in an oppidum. In Czeckoslovakia at Staré Hradisko (Collis 1971:75) there were found four large courtyard houses, each with its own coin-casting equipment as well as glass-works; Manching also had a mint and glass works (Krämer 1960). In Britain on the other hand, coin-moulds are found at minor sites. So although it may be the case that in the first century in Gaul oppida normally housed the mint, at least for the coinage of the civil authorities and production of bronze for 'town' payments, it remains to be proved. Certainly before the mid second century there cannot have been mints in oppida as there were no oppida, and they must have been found in scattered establishments wherever the craftsmen lived. Under these social conditions, control of the minting activities of the nobility would be difficult. In Britain, development of centralized authorities with controlled coinage was late (Verica, Cunobelinus); for Central Gaul it may be partially lacking (Collis 1971:75). Collis notes that it is impossible under normal circumstances to tell from coin distributions whether a political structure was centralized or decentralized; he suggests that whereas Vercingetorix had temporarily centralized political authority over the Arverni and allied armies, coinage of various types continued to be struck. Coin distribution can only indicate the presence or absence of control over minting. Herein may lie the clue to the situation in pre-conquest Gaul: political centralization had begun to some degree - the Bituriges had at least four major oppida, and the Arverni a single major oppidum complex, but political authority did not necessarily extend to the full control of coinage production or insistence on one coinage only for use in the <u>civitas.</u> A certain degree of autonomy at least at <u>pagus</u> level is exhibited for instance in military organization even in the first century, and in some cases this may have extended to the minting of a coinage for payments connected with their military

activities and administration. There is nothing in the nature of Celtic society which would make this an inappropriate arrangement.

It should be added, however, that the question of the control of minting only occurs given a certain social structure; one authority sitting on others wou would otherwise be in a position to mint for themselves. Obviously where there is de facto only one authority in a region, a 'contolled' pattern will appear. This is probably the case in the earliest coinages at river mouths and in Central Gaul, when coining was as yet a rare activity. Another case is the first century Arverni who in addition had gold and silver mines near their one major urban and administrative complex. Once coining became more widespread, 'uncontrolled' distributions appeared. Although the core of the distribution of the first century Armorican coinages are within the territory of Gallo-Roman civitates, the whole distribution of each type is not perfectly contained within each civitas. However, the fact that the civitas territory and the coin distribution do more or less coincide (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:118f) is still not strong proof that civitates controlled coin. It could equally be the case that civitates like the Armorican ones or the Parisii had simpler structures than those of the Bituriges or Pictones which had strongly independent subdivisions.

At this point a few words should be said about devaluation of Celtic coin in Gaul in the first century. The point has been made with some regularity by Colbert de Beaulieu (a) that first century gold coinages do not travel, (b) that this was because they were debased and unacceptable, and that it was chaotic trade that encouraged the debasement process (see n.46). It is certainly true as argued above that the first century coinaged generally have well defined areas of circulation. This is surely a parallel situation to that in early Greece, where coin was used for payment within . . its own area, and . . if it travelled, would tend to return again in the form of harbour dues or tolls to the place where it was worth most. A political rather than an economic principle underlies this

situation, as argued above. The poor gold content of the first century gold coinages may well have encouraged the return of many of the coins to their places of origin if they travelled, though we do not know how much below face value the actual value of the coins was. Since the gold and silver Central coinages were not produced for use in trade, preoccupation with stable prices did not enter into the debasement process, as suggested by the argument of Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:294),

With the appearance of towns, especially, but also in the period of social and political unification leading up to them, at a time when important social changes were taking place which I characterized above as the emergence of the archaic state, there was almost certainly a growth in the need for payments, as had been the case in early Greece. Limits to the available gold stock then became crucial. It appears that treasure in the temples was inviolable, and unless there were mines in the territory of the authority, the demand for more coins either for administration or in warfare necessarily meant that there had to be debasement. Colbert de Beaulieu(1973b) has outlined a number of cases where severe debasement actually led to replacement of precious metal by bronze in the period of the Caesarian war. The presence of at least some gold mines in Arvernian territory may be responsible for the comparatively high gold content of their first century coinage. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:294) is right that stocks of precious metal were the key to debasement, but this had nothing to do with the market. If my suggestion of troubled conditions in the second and first centuries before the conquest is right, involving increased incidence of warfare and the need for increasing expenditure on armies as well as nascent centralized administration, it is to be expected that the coinage would have had heavy demands put on it.

Debasement ofthe coin in the Centre was, therefore, probably the result of the stretching of resources by the growing needs for payment in warfare, administration and the costs of building and living in towns, It is noteworthy that Celtic coinages are lightest when Celtic town development

was at its height, and that distinctive changes in the fabric and types temporally coincided with the appearance of 'urban' oppida. Although from c.80-50 precious metal coinage weights were fairly stable in Auvergne and Berry (not so elsewhere), the needs of the Caesarian war caused further debasement especially in the silver, and drove out gold entirely in the Centre, a process which may have been accelerated by Roman plundering and taxation.[100] We must look for the causes of the debasement of Celtic coin in the social structure, not in trade, and the same is true of the characteristic first century distributions.

As has frequently been noted, the majority of bronze coins are found in oppida in Gaul, or in towns of important size such as Roanne. Most gold and silver finds, on the other hand, with the exception of small 'obol' denominations of silver coins, are found outside the oppida. The 'obols' are, like bronze and potin, normally found in the same contexts (appendix XI-XII). The comparison here with the classical Mediterranean is close (Crawford 1970), and the use of small coins in petty local retail trade, when it developed, is probable. I have argued, against Colbert de Beaulieu, that the origins of potin and bronze lie in the second century with the development of towns as administrative centres with a permanent population inculding artisans divorced from agricultural production. The first production of small coin in obol form is surely at latest dateable to the end of the second century as it is found in low levels in oppida and it is of types known for third phase coinages which suggests that it is not older than the mid or late second century. As in Greece, it may have been replaced fairly soon by bronze fractional currency for convenience and economy on the part of the governments, who issued and demanded fractional sums.

Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b; see p.272ff above) argues closely for his dating of theorigins of potin to the wartime period, and on his own grounds his argument is unassailable. He sees potin arising not out of

previous small change, which is not discussed as a possibility, but out of crisis debasement of precious metal coins. He holds that the first bronze was produced during or aroung the Caesarian war as an emergency debasement of gold and silver, and that potin followed as an easier production method. He is certainly right that the greatest use of potin and bronze currency was post-war, in precisely the period when town life was at its greatest development: Mont Beuvray, Châteaumeillant, and Saint-Marcel for instance all underwent a period of pronounced development and urban luxury after the Caesarian war in the Gallo-Roman précoce period. Although town living had begun before the war, it is important not to exaggerate the extent to which it had developed compared with the post-war period. Nearly all coin finds for the Gallo-Roman précece period are in bronze and potin, as would be expected from the combined circumstances of intensified town living and the Roman conquest which from 19 BC provided for Roman silver and gold denominations to be struck from Lyon by the new state authority in Gaul (Strabo 4.3.2).

However, I would like to argue that the origin of bronze is not, as argued by Colbert de Beaulieu, ruled out before the Caesarian war, and that in all probability by the early first century there were towns in Berry and Auvergne as well as at Orleans further north, which are material evidence of the existence of local governments sufficiently complex to need to produce fractional coinage, and where for reasons arising out of their permanent settlement, production for exchange was taking place on a regular basis to ensure a market, and . . . where small change already existing, or produced for subsistence wages, would be used. As I argued in section II, I believe potin antedates the production of bronze. Proof, however, either way is lacking at the moment, and argument must rest on the social probabilities.

The proposed uses of coinage in Central Gaul may be summarized as follows. At first, in the late fourth or early third century, the only coin in Gaul was Greek. It was not imported in the course of trade, which

was not conducted with coin, but came in with mercenaries who, like the Gaesatae, returned to Gaul with it and spoils after service abroad. The finds of Philip II staters scattered in Gaul well beyond the Cévennes (map 14) probably show a secondary distribution, though it is not impossible that mercenaries came from even so far inland.

During the late fourth and early third century the first gold copies were made in Gaul, a sign that the principle of payment in coin was beginning to be accepted. It is in this context, probably in the third century, that I see the scatter of heavy gold staters of the first phase group Iii variety. They certainly come from dies cut by a very similar, if not the same, technique, and die links should be possible. Their geographical origin is uncertain, as would be expected in a completely decentralized political situation; possibly it lies to the east of the Allier and upper Rhone (map 18) as the second phase continuation is also probably from that region and in the early la Tène period there was a flourishing Celtic civilization in the area. The examples from the region of Reims could be the result of dealings between 'principes', for services or alliance; the same is true of the Switzerland distribution which includes one coin whose obverse die is in a terrible state, and might be a late example from a mobile mint, or even a local copy. There is no evidence here for an Arvernian 'supremacy', as argued by Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:170f), though it is evidence that far-flung relations were possible in the third century between aristocracies. It is also a hint that at this time a people in that region were not only in advance of the rest of the Centre in the use of coin, but also used it in relations with other Celts. The absence of a distribution in Auvergne is convincing proof that whatever it was, it was not an Arvernian coinage..

It was only in the late second century that Central coinage developed beyond 'payment-money', all of which was in large denominations, too valuable for instance for use in petty market trade; indeed it was

not until the early first century, in all probability, that the full development of small denominations took place. We must certainly connect this development of the coinage with important changes in Celtic social structure which are hinted at in the sources, and with the development of towns which are material proof of such changes. Until these developments were under way, I think we can accept that the use of coin was confined to those social areas where the aristocracies (who controlled wealth, whether in kind or coin) reproduced themselves as such - warfare, payments, religion, dowries first of all; then, with the emergence of the state and political life, in payment of tolls and taxes. The proliferation in the Centre in the second century of coinage types, accompanied by the increased loss of weight, may well reflect the increasing use of coin for this sort of payment.

The sharp change in coin types generally which marks the beginning of the third phase, around the end of the second century, cannot be a politically neutral occurrence, and is supportive evidence of a social crisis on the lines proposed above in ch.7. One thinks of the archaic period in Greek and Roman history, and the acts of the lawgivers; something analogous may have happened in Gaul, and the coinage changes accorded with it. The lighter third phase coinages were better suited than their predecessors to the increased needs for government payments which would accompany political centralization, and for the first time fractional precious metal denominations were struck, though not on a large scale. The greatly decreased variety of types may well be a further symptom of political unification. Last of all to develop were small bronze denominations to replace fractions of gold and silver, for the payment of subsistence wages and fractional sums, and this did not take place before the development of oppida and towns as permanent inhabited places and centres of complex administration, sometime between the mid second century and the early first.

EPILOGUE

THE ROMAN CONQUEST

EPILOGUE : THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

The Roman conquest intervened in the development of political centralization in Gaul. Caesar's interference in setting up 'kings' loyal to himself was not an unquestioned success as seen above, although the passivity of Central Gaul until 52 suggests that the Romans had friends there, certainly among the Arverni in the persons of those who opposed Vercingetorix, and collaborators like Epasnactus later. Native movement toward political centralization, partly the result of long contact with the Mediterranean with its attendant social effects, lay behind the completeness and speed of the conquest in the Centre, as recognized by Strabo (3.4.5, 4.4.2,cf Hatt 1970:19). Strabo's comment on the conquest is interesting:

> being at leisure from the weapons of war, the people are tilling the country and are devising modes of life for themselves that are civil (politikous). (Strabo 4.1.14)

The same sentiment - that the Roman domination ("enslavement", or political subjection, Str. 4.4.2) meant the ending of Celtic warfare, which was the dominant ruling class occupation previously, and its replacement by farming (geôrgein) and civil life (politika) - are repeated over and over by Strabo.[101] This change in life style is not unconnected with life in towns, and we have seen that there was a period of intensive town use in the early conquest period, between the 50s and the Claudian era, on a scale unknown before the conquest. Production for exchange was accelerated: there were for instance important pottery industries, among the earliest being one for mass-producing a standard type of storage jar for most of the Centre area (Ferdière 1972). The use of small value coins in towns greatly increased, probably evidence of its widespread use to support a landless city population which had to live by exchange. In the Centre the fact that steps in this direction had already been taken undoubtedly had much to do with the ease of the conquest and the

readiness with which this area settled down in contrast with Armorica and Belgic Gaul. Local nobilities on their way to oligarchic rule of their own had less reason to resent the Romans who would encourage oligarchy, than Celts in the old tradition of independent warrior chieftains. F de Coulanges (1891:44f) argued that the Romanizing Celts were playing politics perfectly normally in their own terms, protecting their interests with favourable outside support.

The comments of Strabo that there was a change from warfare to agriculture is instructive. In the conditions of intensive agriculture that prevailed in the Centre, the only class to which this change could apply is the warrior aristocracy, who were no longer able to conduct their affairs by perpetual raiding. Now they were forced to take to 'farming' (villas) and politics as the dominant areas for social competition. In fact Strabo may primarily be thinking of the wilder areas of Gaul, but as we saw, even in the Centre the warrior tradition had not altogether disappeared by the fifties. Roman rule ended the option for a Dumnorix or a Vercingetorix of seizing power, and their campaign to break the social power of the learned class (druids in particular) must have done much to consolidate the pro-Roman loyalties as well as the political authority of the oligarchy (F de Coulanges 1891:70f). The move of the inhabitants (notably the ruling class and artisans) in the first century AD from the oppida with their fortress associations to towns below may have been the last symbolic break with the old political tradition; even as early as Strabo it is Nemossus (later Augustonemetum = Clermont-Ferrand), not Gergovia which is called the metropolis of the Arverni (Str.4.2.3).

There were few revolts after the conquest, and the only ones which seem to represent 'barbarian' resentment of the fact of conquest are on the wilder fringes: Aquitania in 38 and 28-7 and again in Tiberius' reign (Rice Holmes 1911:193); the Bellovaci in 46 (id.:521), and later Civilis'

rebellion (Tacitus Hist. 4.12f). Other revolts were in protest against Roman extortions, or were part of larger Roman political upheavals: the Treveran Julius Florus and the Aeduan Julius Sacrovir in 21 AD (Tacitus ANN. 3.40f), and C.Julius Vindex in 68 AD (Dio 63.22, Suet. Nero 40, Zonaras 6.13, Tac. Hist. 1.51, Suet. Galba 9). The Boian Mariccus later still would seem to have drawn on resentment against the Romans as such, but had only little support (Tac. Hist. 2.61). Claudius in 48 was able to claim of Gaul

> ac tamen, si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum breviore spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum: continua inde ac fida pax. iam moribus artibus adfinitatibus nostris mixti aurum et opes suas inferant potius quam separati habeant. (Tac. Ann. 11.24.15)

Josephus put it more brutally:

> But if any people might reasonably be tempted to rebel by its peculiar advantages, that people is the Gauls, provided as they are with such marvellous natural defences, on the east the Alps, on the north the Rhine, on the south the Pyrenees, on the west the Ocean. Yet in spite of these immense obstacles, in spite of the huge total of 305 nations, in spite of the prosperity that wells up from their soil and enables them to flood the whole world with goods, they submit to being the milch cow of Rome and receiving from her hands what they themselves have produced! ... so Gaul is kept in order by 1,200 soldiers - hardly more men than she has cities. (Josephus BJ 2.16.4 [371-3])

Already by the time of the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in 21, Tacitus gives a picture of the Aeduan and Treveran states which contrasts with that of Caesar. There are still the obaerati and clientes, on whom Florus could draw for the revolt (Tac.Ann. 3.42): the plebs did not benefit much if any from the conquest. The Aedui now had their 'caput' at Augustodunum, not Bibracte (Tac.Ann. 3.43), and as would be expected from the archaeological evidence, there was a large body of noncombatant townspeople, bemused by the revolt (Tac.Ann. 3.46). When Sacrovir was defeated, he fled not to an aedificium, like Ambiorix, but to a nearby villa (Tac. Ann. 3.46), recalling Strabo's characterization of the effects of conquest.

We may end with a glance at the two towns of Gallia Comata which already in Strabo's time called for special attention. The first, Lugdunum, was of little importance before the conquest, but its dominating

position on the confluence of the Saône and Rhone (cf p.325 above) marked it out as a key site for the Roman exploiters and the administration of the new Province.

> Lugdunum itself, then, (founded at the foot of a hill at the confluence of the river Arar and the Rhodanus), is occupied by the Romans. And it is the most populous of all the cities of Celtica except Narbo; for not only do people use it as an emporium, but the Roman governors coin their money there, both the silver and the gold. Again, the temple that was dedicated to Caesar Augustus by all the Galatae in common is situated in fromt of this city at the junction of the rivers. And in it is a noteworthy altar, bearing an inscription of the names of the peoples, 60 in number; and also images from these peoples, one for each people, and also another large altar. The city presides over the people of the Segusiavi, and this people is situated between the Rhodanus and the Dubis. (Strabo 4.3.2)

The second, Duricortorum of the Remi was another Roman creation; Caesar boosted the Remi from a weak to a dominating position and their city quickly attained an exceptional position:

> but the most noteworthy of all the peoples in this [sc. Belgic] region of Celtica is that of the Remi; their metropolis, Duricortora, is most thickly settled and entertains the Roman governors.

In these cases the effects of Roman intervention in Celtic society as it was developing find classic illustration.