# VOLUME II

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## FOOTNOTES.

1 (p.8). For a fuller discussion of this subject see E.H.Carr, What is History ?, Harmondsworth 1965, ch.1 'The Historian and his facts'.

2. (p.14). The Javols excavations are not yet published, but a note appeared in a local Bourges newspaper in September 1972 to the effect that important finds had been made there. In 1959 it was thought that nothing before the Christian era was present at Javols (Brouillet and Soutou 1959)

3. (p.19). Torcs of la Tène II connect the Garonne basin and the Rhine/Danube area; also Cantal and Hungary (Déchelette 1914:1211, 1344-5). The name Tectosages is known from the Garonne basin, the Hercynian forest (BG 6.24.2), and Asia Minor (Polybius 21.39), which might, in the light of Caesar's account suggest that the Tectosages were early migrants from the middle Rhine in two directions. Jullian (1909:42) thought the nomenclature of the Tectosages of Galatia a mere coincidence, however. Allen (1969) argued that the 'monnaies à la croix' of the upper Rhone valley and southern Germany are unconnected with the monnaies à la croix proper of the Garonne basin for reasons of date and weight, and because the design could be derived independently from the type of Massilian obols. However, I would tend to agree with Soutou (1969) that the connection - at least at an ideological level - with the Garonne basin should not be ruled out altogether especially in view of other numismatic evidence for coin-type connections between the south-west of France and Germany. One example apart from the *Tayac (Gir.) hoard are the 'schlüsselmünzen' of the Gironde, not only from Tayac but in isolated finds and at Courcoury (Ch.Mar.).

4. (p.26). Déchelette says the Berry burials are la Tène II-III, but the Musée du Berry in Bourges has some la Tène I material as well: oenochoes from near Dun sur Auron and Prunet cne. Morthomiers (Cher), a ?situla cover with animal decoration from Levroux (Indre, the original of the Bourges plaster cast is in the museum at Châteauroux), burials from Ineuil (Cher), a mixed burial at Bourges and a cremation burial from Bourges with a situla, and a burial from St.Just (Cher): see map B3.

5. (p.33). The area (cf Roanne, St. Marcel-de-Félines (Loire) and Lezoux (P.D.) in the east) may have produced good pottery later on - see Déchelette 1914:1491-2; though Montans (Tarn) to the north-west of Albi is within the Roman province and some distance away to the south-west of Millau. It is not however unlikely that a native industry preceded the Gallo-Roman one at la Graufesenque.

6. (p.33). For instance Camp du Château (Salins) in Jura: the latest objects found are la Tène Ia; there was heavy occupation, iron-working with 'Catalan' furnaces, and mid sixth to late fifth century Hellenic imports (Dayet 1967). Prétin (Jura): pottery with 'Phocaean' or 'Aeolian' decoration and a small black figure Attic sherd (Gallia 1958:342, DAG). Monmorot (Hura): 4 Hallstatt levels, including 'phocaean' imports and a fragment of pottery analogous to products of Massilia, Languedoc and Emporiae (Gallia 1968:453).

7. (p.37). For a brief account of the stratification at Vix see Gallia 1953:312f : 1. humus; 2. Gallo-Roman level with amphoras; 3. la Tène III; 4. stones with large pieces of iron and nails which are evidence of a murus gallicus rampart; 5. Hallstatt final with black figure Greek vases and local ceramic with 'barbotine' decoration; 6. sterile stony level; 7. as (5) but poorer and without Greek imports; 8. bed soil. Gallia 1970:371 : occupation at the end of the bronze age and beginning of the Hallstatt period is proved. A hut floor and second half of the sixth century debris shows that occupation went into the plain beyond the fortified lines. Circular and quadrangular enclosures were used until the end of the Hallstatt period which is unusual as in Bourgogne they usually belong to the Urnfield period or Bronze Final. A second set of enclosures at the foot of Mont Lassois in the plain are dated to la Tène I and II; a fairly dense population existed there but not inside the oppidum itself.

8. (p.38). For Alesia see Déchelette (1914:957-66), Gerard-Varet (1962). For Grésigny-Sainte-Reine see Gallia 1960:329ff; Ross (1967:109) quoting R.Cagnat 'Sacred Spring in Alesia', Ant.J. II:147 gives a summary of the legend associated with the cult at Alesia, which in view of the important religious nature of the Côte-d'Or area is of relevance here: one of the springs at Alesia became connected with the third century martyr. According to the legend her head struck the ground and a healing spring welled up, henceforward known as the spring of Sainte-Reine. This is a fairly obvious case of the 'updating' of a much older cult at the site, which was probably too active to be abandoned altogether.

9. (p.40). From photographs the coins appear to include specimens of SOLIMA / CO^IMA and ? Q DOCI SAM F, both of which circulated before the conquest. A 'Rhone valley horseman' coin has also been found in the early strata; some of these issues are almost contemporary with the Roman conquest of southern Gaul (1964).

10. (p.41). Less spectacular religious features in the area: Étalente: near the spring la Coquille votive legs have been found (Gallia 1958:308). At Barjon, l.d. Mont Mercure, in an area where Hallstatt period remains are frequently found, there appears to have been a Hallstattian cult centre, but it has not been excavated (Gallia 1964:310). At Nuits-Saint-Georges there was a big la Tène III settlement which was not an oppidum but an open place near the river, probably to be classed as a vicus. There was a cult area of some importance to the west of the occupied area; huge numbers of animal bones have been found there and a pile of heads and horns; in Roman times there was an octagonal cult building in this area (Thévenot 1948; Gallia 1966:380ff for a short progress report). There was certainly a pre-Roman occupation of the site. There was a cult centre probably of importance at Ancey-et-Mâlain; there are good traces of la Tène occupation of the site before the Gallo-Roman building though as yet no trace of an earlier building (Gallia 1968:482, 1970:372). La Tène culture came early into this area, for instance at Bressey-sur Tillé there is a large tumulus with burials in layers; they are both of Hallstatt and la Tène Ia date, which suggests a continuum (Gallia 1970:380). The heroön at Serbonnes (Yonne, p.35 above) is to be associated with the religious history of Côte-d'Or.

11 (p.42). The gate of Fou de Verdun is not far from the principal water supply. There were one or two wooden gates at the entrance (Gallia 1964:323ff). The fact that at first the wall was assumed to be 'Hallstattian' (Gallia 1960:346ff) is a warning not to take it that unexcavated forts with predominantly dry-stone walls are pre-la Tène. This reservation may for instance apply in the case of Clapas-Castel (Lozère, p.87f below).

12. (p.47). Besset and Périchon (1964) describe the defences of this site and say that its period of occupation cannot be at present determined; the plateau is 7-8ha in area and indications of some Gallo-Roman occupation (roof tiles) have been found. Chazy, Crêt-Châtelard and Joeuvre are held to have closely similar systems of defences. The border between the Segusiavi and the Arverni followed the ridge of the mountains to the west of the very fertile Loire plain. To this day, I was told in Roanne, people living just to the west of the crest speak of going 'en ville' to Vichy, while barely a couple of kilometres to the east 'en ville' means Roanne.

13. (p.52). A local archaeologist at Roanne in conversation doubted that Roanne was connected directly with Rhone - Loire traffic: important routes across France never, he thought, included Lyon-Roanne. Most early Roman coins at Roanne are from Nîmes, not Lyon (cf the use of Massiliot obols).

The mountains between Roanne and Lyon are an important barrier; any traffic between the Rhone and Loire would probably have departed from a point nearer to Vienne and not included Roanne.

14. (p.67). Gallia (1967:306) records pottery from level 2 (mid second century): painted ceramic with red bands and white background together with tall vases with neck and narrow everted feet; goblets of a type known at Roanne , with thin walls but not wheel turned. Decoration mostly consisted of crisscross designs on a white background limited by white bands and inspired by painted Marne vases where they have horses on them. A second group of vases are new forms; everted cups, wheel turned, of grey clay and a surface of light brown decorated with parallel lines delimiting zones of dotted bars or ellipses. Ordinary ceramic consisted of big dishes with inverted rims in grey clay with a black polished surface; one has concentric channels. There are big varied ovoid vases with polished neck and roughened body and wavy decoration on the upper part. Also more carefully made ovoid vases in light grey clay, homogeneous in type with slate-grey surfaces. Their shape recalls la Tène I forms. The 'Aulnat' dishes are of the shape of inverted rim dishes of the normal sort, but with two vertical looped handles attached to the top of the rim (for suspension?), and when decorated this is on the outside of the shoulder.

15. (p.74). Jullian 1914:369: Gergoviat in 1816; Brogan and Desforges (1941): Gergoia, Girgoia, Gergoye (p.3); Rice-Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul (Oxford 1931):756-68.

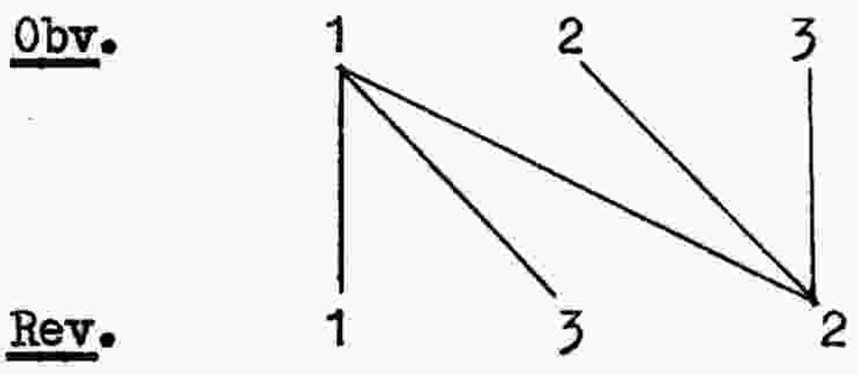
16. (p.123). For information on the Hallstatt period see Cordier (1965); the necropolis of Aulnay-aux-Planches has analogous material to that which he describes for la Celle-Saint-Avant. The author considers that the Hallstatt period is virtually absent from the département, though excavation is gradually remedying this impression: the chief evidence for its presence so far apart from the sites already mentioned are the tumulus of Sublaines and tumuli at Braslon, Ligré and Rigny-Usse. A hut floor at Jaunay-Clan (Vienne) 40 km to the south is also of Hallstatt date (period C) and contains sherds with Greek decorations and other geometrical motifs.

17. (p.153). Armorican coinage, for the purposes of this study, consists of issues originating in the départements Morbihan, Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine, Mayenne, Maine-et-Loire, Sarthe, Eure-et-Loire, Manche, Calvados, and Loire-Atlantique north of the Loire. The most important Gallo-Roman civitates in this area, following the map provided by Rice-Holmes in the

second edition of Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, Oxford 1931, were the Veneti, Osismi, Coriosolites, Redones, Nemnetes, Venelli, Aulerci Cenomani, Aulerci Diablintes, Esuvii, Lexovii, Aulerci Eburovices, Andes and Turones. For the principal publications on the Armorican coinage see the bibliography under Colbert de Beaulieu.

17a. (p.163). Since writing this, it has been drawn to my attention that D.F.Allen in a review of Scheers, Les Monnaies de la Gaule inspirrées de celles de la République romaine (Leuven 1969) in NC 1971:352-6 (p.354-5) argued against this interpretation of the legend. He argued that the coinage is probably a normal case of the copying of a contemporary prototype, and therefore not significantly later than 208-150, and thus before the establishment of the Roman province.

18. (p.164). The die links are:




For KAΛETEΔOY coins with serrated edge, see ABT:51. Serrati were struck at Narbo, so that from the late second century they were available for copying. It is, however, pace Tacitus Ger. 5, wrong to hold with Sydenham (Roman Republican Coinage, Spink 1952) that "the serrati were mainly, but probably not entirely, struck for circulation among those [ie Gaulish] tribes". They would have come to trust serrati after they were introduced, not before. And as very few indeed Gaulish coins were struck with serrate edges, they cannot have been so very popular. It is worth remembering that very few Roman coins are ever found in Gaul before the conquest of 51; Narbonese mint officials were not concerned with the barbarians' tastes.

19. (p.164). ABT:65-7 gives weights for eastern silver:

SANTONOS or ARIVOS SANTONOS 1.62-1.95g; in Chantenay hoard, 1.84, 1.88g

SEGVSIAVS-ARVS 1.74-1.95g; in Chantenay hoard 1.82g

ORCETIRIX-ATPILI F 1.70-2.05g

ORCITIRIX-COIOS 1.67-1.88g

ORCETIR-EDUIS 1.79-2.05g

DIASVLOS 1.44-2.0g; in Chantenay hoard, 1.80-1.86g; in Lavilleneuve-au-Roi hoard, 1.85-1.94g

LITAVICOS 1.72-2.02g; in Chantenay hoard, 1.90g.

Q DOCI SAM F 1.72-2.15g; in Chantenay hoard, 1.80g; in Lavilleneuve-au-Roi hoard 1.93g.

CALEDU-SENODON 1.66-2.05g.

ATEULA-ULATOS 1.56-1.90g; Chantenay hoard 1.80g.

SOLIMA-CO^IMA 1.55-1.98g; Chantenay hoard 1.90g; Lavilleneuve hoard, in fresh condition, 1.91g.

TOGIRIX 1.80g (in Chantenay hoard); 1.95g in Lavilleneuve hoard.

SEQUANOIOTUOS 1.86g (in Chantenay hoard, very worn); in Lavilleneuve hoard, 1.92g.

DUBNORIX-DVBNOCOV 1.82g (Chantenay hoard; type with standard).

DVBNORIX-DVBNOCOV 1.87g (Chantenay hoard; type with severed head).

Bibliography: Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:271, 311f; TOGIRIX: Dayet 1962, Colbert de Beaulieu 1962; LUXTERIOS: Soutou 1969 (these coins are confined to south-western Gaul); TOGIRIX: Colbert de Beaulieu 1966, who argued that the first Togirix coins were struck by the Sequani after a long history of gold use, possibly in the early first century, comparable with Q DOCI SAM F and SOLIMA/CO^IMA); ATEULA-ULATOS: Allen 1971 (who suggests that they may have belonged in the territory of the Lingones rather than the Remi); SOLIMA-CO^IMA: Colbert de Beaulieu 1956e; ARIVOS-SANTONOS: ABT:300 for findspots (hoard of Chantenay [Nièvre], hoard of Limésy; one near Châteauroux [Indre], Paris, Paix [Eure], Verneuil, near Evreux, Ancy-le-Franc [Yonne], 3 at Mont Beuvray, 1 at Plombières [Vosges], 1 at Belpberg near Thun [Switzerland]).

20. (p.165). H. Rolland, 'Monnaies de la république romaine trouvées en Gaule', Actes du 27e & 28e congrès de la fédération historique du Languedoc méditéranéen et du Rousillon, Montpellier 1953-4 (Montpellier 1956) p.36.

21. (p.166). D. Nash, 'The chronology of Celtic coinage in Gaul: the Arvernian "Hegemony" reconsidered', NC 1975 (forthcoming).

22. (p.168). Mèze (Hér., no 31), Castres (Tarn, no 34), Gottrens (Avey., no 36), Lodève (Hér., no 32), La Crousatié (Tarn, no 33), and la Fajolle (Hér., no 37).

23. (p.168). Cauzé (T+G., no 16), Pinsaguel (Hte.Gar., no 19), Pammiers (Ariège, no 21), St.Sauveur (Gir., no 17), Blaye (Gir., no 18), Castelnau-sur-Auvignon (Gers, no 39).

24. (p.172). ABT:242 - Rhode drachm c.4.90g; ABT:291 heavy Emporiae drachm c.4.90g; Allen (1969:35) puts the average weight of Emporiae drachms at c.4.80g.

25 (p.174). There was influence from third century Emporiae drachms on 'dolphin' monnaies à la croix, in the appearance of dolphins or an abstract design in front of the face of the obverse. Massiliot influence is visible on 'negroid head' monnaies à la croix and late 'triangular head' varieties.

26 (p.182). Allen hoards: 8, La Loubière (Avey., 3.35-3.60g); 9, Ile de Noé (Gers, 3.30-3.40g); 10, Mírande (Gers, 3.30-3.40g); 11, Saint-Etienne-des-Landes (Dord., 3.32, 3.35, 3.35, 3.30); 12, Martiel (Avey.), 13, La Gasse (Avey.), 14, Boé (L+G).

27 (p.190). BN 6017, 6018 same dies; BN 6022, B.D965.1.4826 (Buxeuil), same dies; BN 6029, reverse die of 6030; 6030 obverse die of 6031 and reverse die of 6029; 6031, obverse die of 6030; B.D965.1.4881, reverse die of B.D965.1.4883. For two horses series: out of 34 coins, BN 5986, obv. die of B.D965.1.4896; BN 5997 and 6000 share both dies. This is a lower die ratio.

28 (p.191). There is confusion over numbering here. The coin illustrated as 6050 (LT XIX 6050) is different from the BN coin of which I have a cast, also called 6050 (here 6050[i]). The latter weighed 3.33g on the new balance, and is therefore probably the same as BN catalogue no 6050 (3.30g); the weight of 6050 here is therefore uncertain. There has been a certain amount of inadvertent mixing of coins in the BN trays, not all of which can be readily sorted out at a distance.

29 (p.192). Hoards containing sword group coins: *Montargis (Loiret), *Goutrens (Avey.), *Cheverny (L+Ch, a late mix), La Villeneuve-au-Roi (Hte,Marne, ABT no 169 : 15,000 or more coins, a late mix, including '30 Bituriges denarii'), *Jalesche (Creuse), *Vernon (Vienne), Rozel (Jersey, ABT no 275 : a huge late mix, buried not before 39, including 5 CAM and a few sword group, eg LT XXVI.J.45-6), *Tendu (Indre), Chauvigny (Vienne, ABT no 262, hoard of CAMBOTRE coins); if MAN ticket is correct, there was one group II3Aa coin (1.77g) in ABT no 90, Manciet (Gers) with Elusates coins and monnaies à la croix (= Allen 1969 no 38), *Chantenay (Nièvre), *Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre). Finds of sword group or severed head group at Alesia: 1 boar and X; 1 II3b; 2 sword and pentagram; 1 IVRC; 1 severed head group B; 5 severed head group A (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a).

30 (p.196). Blanchet has almost certainly erred in attributing this coin to the utterly obscure Puy Duchalard (L-Inf) which is not on the Michelin map nor in standard gazeteers. At Puy du Chalard (Corr.), precisely where these coins should be found, several publications

specifically mention 'Lemovices' coins found there, and this must be the true feference (see list to map 13 and p.95f above).

31. (p.196). A coin with the head on the obverse formed in this way has also been found at Roanne, but is quite different otherwise, being a plated 'imitation of an Emporiae drachm' of 1.48g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1964).

32. (p.199). The arguments connecting CAMBOTRE coins with the early names of Combraille in the Marche are red herrings. Thus for instance in the MSSNAC 1851 vol II p.369 it is recorded that Cambo was the capital of the Limousin community of the Cambiovicenses, whose country was later called Combraille. Chambon has a square Gallo-Roman temple, now the chapel of Sainte-Valérie in the church. The Romans consecrated the temple to Cambona or Cambonia: some cult inscriptions exist. There are tumuli in a field to the north of the town called Les Ombres. CAM coins are connected by the author of the report with the names discussed. The passage of Pliny (NH 4.19) "Cambolectri Agesinates Pictonibus iuncti" cited by Colbert de Beaulieu (1956d) is equally irrelevant to CAMBOTRE coins. The only point of relevance to the coins which emerges from the various discussions of this sort is that a name with a CAM element is not to be wondered at in the region where we know the coins circulated anyway.

33. (p.199). Selwood (NC 1963) has established experimentally that with a pair of dies of the type thought to have been used for the production of the rather thick flans of early Greek tetradrachms, at least 10,000 coins could be struck before the dies were sighificantly damaged. The Celts often used dies well beyond this point. Colbert de Beaulieu's estimate of only 750 coins (gold, a soft metal) per pair of dies is far too low (Colbert de Beaulieu 1953a).

34. (p.200). Mathieu, letter printed in RN 1845:250-1; the die was found in the ruins of a building 'qui devait avoir quelque importance'; with it were found a crucible of sandstone 65mm deep and 45 wide, still half filled with potin cooled at boiling-point and stuck hard to the walls. The die was a perfect cone in iron, 33mm tall and 20 in diameter at the base; the engraving had been altered, and was not in the centre of the face of the die. He described the pentagram as a wheel, but the figure in RN 1836 pl.8 no 6 to which he refers for the type is definitely of the sword and pentagram variety.

35. (p.211). If they circulated in Auvergne, the fact would go far to break down the hypothesis of the isolation of Auvergne from the Aedui; history is seldom as tidy as that. In the first section of this study a certain number of interchanges of material between Roamne (Loire) and Puy-de-Dôme were noted, mostly of a rather late nature, probably not much earlier than the mid first century. However, the bird motif 'Arvernian' coins seem very much out of place in Auvergne. They are not recorded from Alesia.

36. (p.216). For the percentages of metal in Armoricah billon coins: Colbert de Beaulieu (1956a): coins of the Osismi from Guingamp (C.N.) - 190 electrum coins, some appearing as mere bronze, but containing 10% gold. Weights vary by type, most are 6.40-6.90g. (p.127) gold content drops from 235/1000 parts to 74/1000; silver drops from 330/1000 to 140/1000. Id. (1953a): Veneti coins from Pipriac - 600 coins, 127 studied; three-quarters were Veneti coins if not more. Veneti coins were divided into four classes, and their silver content is higher than that of coins of the Coriosolites. The hoard was probably buried in 56; weight 6.70-6.00g with some as low as 4.70g. (P.41) the analysis of one coin is given as

| | |
|---|---|
| silver | 380 |
| gold | 4 |
| copper | 516 |
| tin and antimony | 100 |
| | 1000 |

Pipriac coins contained 25-30% more silver than coins of the Coriosolites; the author notes that Veneti billon was well struck, "une survivance de la technique en usage au temps des monnaies celtiques en bon or". Later (p.59) he records that silver alloy followed the use of gold, though he does not say when. Id. (1962b) gives an analysis of two staters of the Pictones done by Chesneau:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| gold | 32.31% | 35.96% |
| silver | 34.11% | 40.32% |
| copper | 35.42% | 23.72% |

Blanchet's analysis in 1854 by Meillet and Fillon:

| | |
|---|---|
| gold | 30% |
| silver | 10% |
| copper | 60% |

The stater discussed in the article (4.40g) had a chip analyzed: 14% tin bronze, with no gold or silver. Id. (1951b) on Redones coins from Saint-Jacques-de-la-Lande, 2000 found. The alloy looks like good silver, but is composed of 25% silver and 75% copper. Three-quarters of all

known coins from the hoard weighed 6.30-6.69g (id. 1963a). The hoard contained three gold staters; the rest of the 2000 were billon (id. 1950).

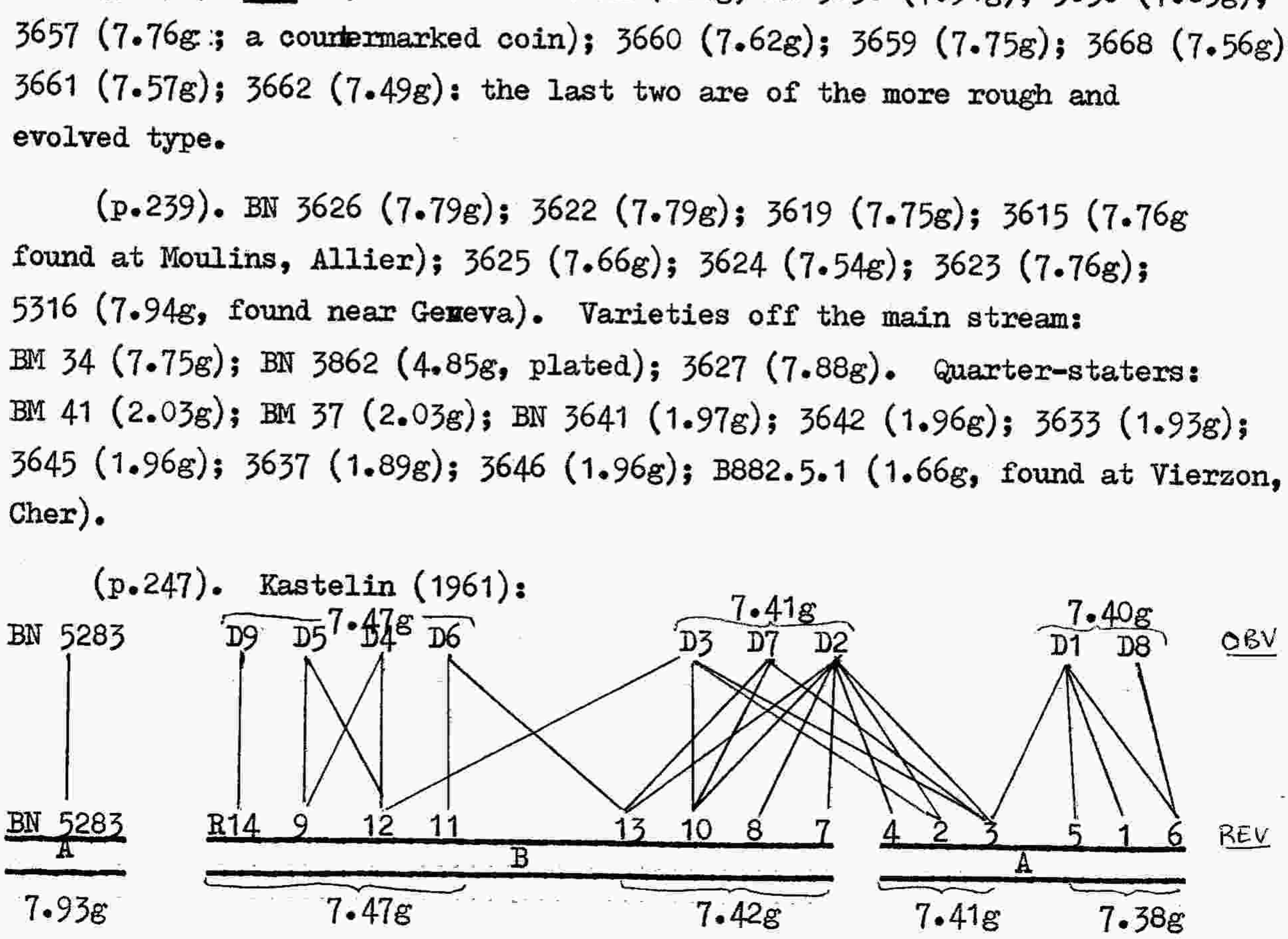
37. (p.216). Colbert de Beaulieu (1963c) states that Caesar did not use Armorican coinage for soldiers' pay, so it never crossed the Loire systematically.(p.39). While this is perfectly true, and explains why billon did not cross the Loire to appear in late mixed hoards, it only refers to the late period at the end of independence; billon did not cross the Loire even after the war when standard silver coinages were in generalized use in the Centre. B 962.25.1 (6.66g) is a Coriosolites group V stater found at Mareuil-sur-Arnon (Cher), another 'stray' from Armorica.

38. (p.222). Colbert de Beaulieu's position is popular in France and dies hard. Even Soutou (1969) could repeat that the alpha-rho monogram on early Philip copies (derived from the Macedonian alpha-rho) stood for APOYEPNOI. Blanchet quite rightly remarked on the Macedonian origin of the monogram, and on the fact that all of the comprehensible legends on pre-war coins refer to individuals, not peoples. Soutau also asserted that the Rhone was the first area where Philip imitations are found, and that they were followed by Aeduan staters with the lyre and then by the Bituriges; this schema is drastically oversimplified.

39. (p.238). ABT:213. Ch.Robert coin 7.81g; BN 3658 (7.91g); 3656 (7.85g); 3657 (7.76g; a countermarked coin); 3660 (7.62g); 3659 (7.75g); 3668 (7.56g); 3661 (7.57g); 3662 (7.49g): the last two are of the more rough and evolved type.

40. (p.239). BN 3626 (7.79g); 3622 (7.79g); 3619 (7.75g); 3615 (7.76g found at Moulins, Allier); 3625 (7.66g); 3624 (7.54g); 3623 (7.76g); 5316 (7.94g, found near Geneva). Varieties off the main stream: BM 34 (7.75g); BN 3862 (4.85g, plated); 3627 (7.88g). Quarter-staters: BM 41 (2.03g); BM 37 (2.03g); BN 3641 (1.97g); 3642 (1.96g); 3633 (1.93g); 3645 (1.96g); 3637 (1.89g); 3646 (1.96g); B882.5.1 (1.66g, found at Vierzon, Cher).

41. (p.247). Kastelin (1961):



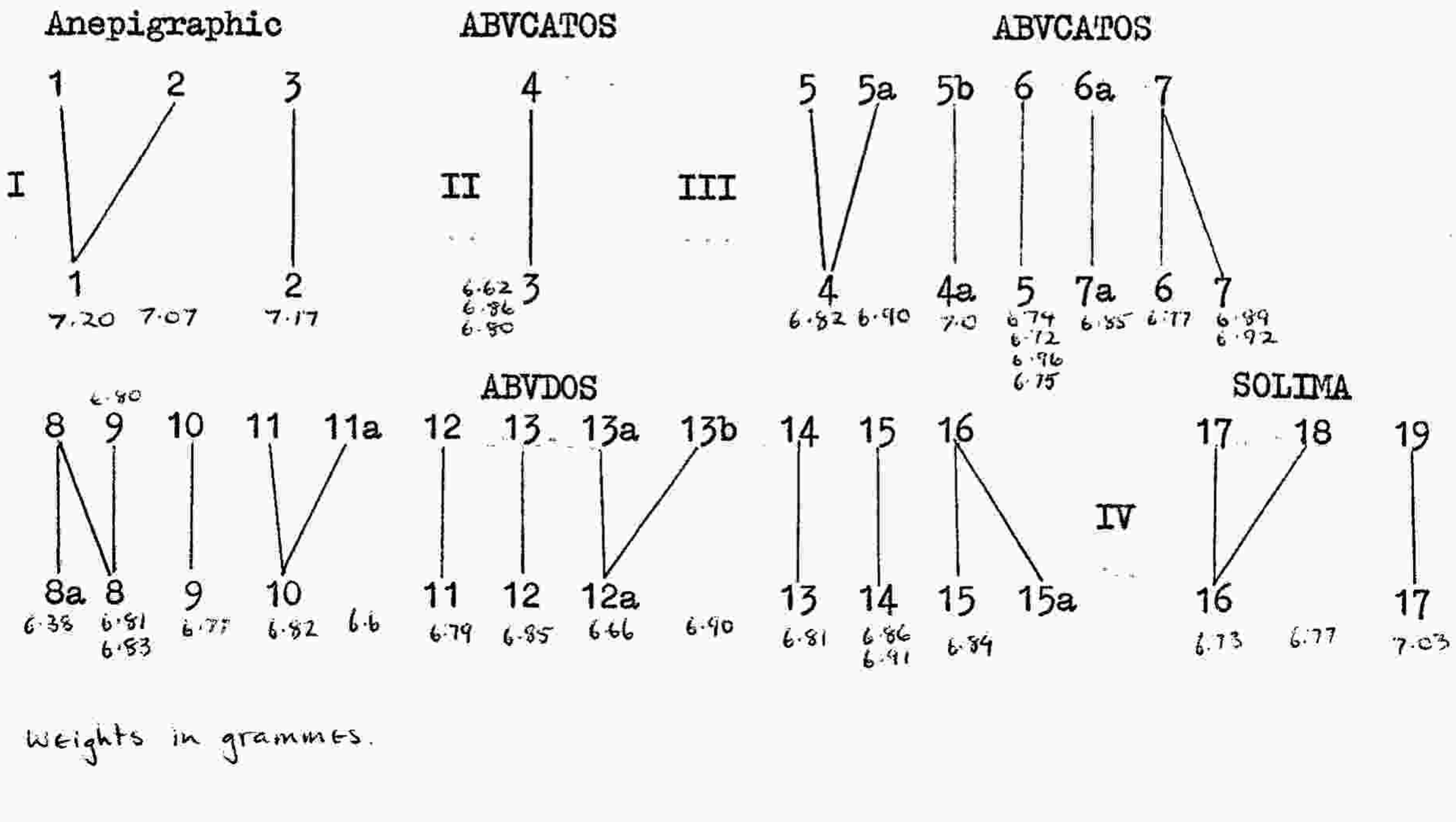
42. (p.248). Gallia 1965:395; stater found in Ave. Royat, Chamalières (P.D.); obv. head off flan except for the cheek; rev. horse to the right surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Identified wrongly as 'Bituriges'; it is certainly one of the Arverni II series. BN has a closely similar one, 3732 (not in de la Tour), weighing 7.42g. The Chamalières coin was fitted with a ring for jewellery purposes, and (apparently) with the ring weighs only 7.33g. The Gallia article estimated 0.5-1.0g for the ring which would give a very light coin. One coin of group ID, M2833 (7.41g) is from Thiou : this is what the manuscript ticket appears to say, but no such place seems to exist. The correct reading may be Thiers (P.D.)

43. (p.248).

| Group | number examined | Obv. dies | Rev. dies. |
|---|---|---|---|
| IA | 25 | 16 | 15 |
| IB | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| ID | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| IE | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| IF | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| IG | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| IH | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Ii-IK : only one specimen of each. | | | |
| IL | 12 | 10 | 8 |
| IM | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| IN : one coin only. | | | |
| IO | 11 | 9 | 9 |

No dies were shared among 10 group II coins and 1 group IIa.

44. (p.250) The dies of the gold Berry coins I could examine are linked as follows.




Weights in grammes.

The dies:

Obverse: 1. BN 4587.2; 2. BN 4586; 3. B 951.5.1; 4. B 901.13.1 and BN 4173a; 5. ANS 2; 5a. Schulmann sale 1966 no 1015; 6. M DN 12 and BN 4172 and Ratto sale 1912 no 145 and Ratto sale 1927 no 78; 7. B 894.24.1 and BN 4173 and BN 4174; 8. BN 4146 and ANS 1 and Ratto sale 1912 no 144; 9. BN 4151; 10. BN 4150; 11 BN 4149; 11a Kress sale 1957 no 2468 (an earlier version?) and Schulmann sale 1966 no 1014; 12. BM 16; 13. BN 4148; 14. BN 4147; 15. BN 4152 and 4153; 16. B 894.24.2 and Luneau sale 1922 no. 132; 17. BM 15; 18. BN 4197; 19. BN 4196.

Reverse: 1. BN 4587.2 and 4586; 2. B 951.5.1; 3. B 901.13.1 and BN 4173a and Schulmann sale 1966 no 1014; 4. ANS 2 and Schulmann sale 1966 no 1015; 4a. Cahn sale 1922 no 378; 5. M DN 12 and Ratto sale 1912, no 145 and Ratto sale 1927 no 78;and BN 4172; 6. B 894.24.1; 7. BN 4173 and 4174; 7a. MMAG sale 1953 no 12; 8. BN 4146 and ANS 1 and BN 4151; 8a Ratto sale 1912 no 144; 9. BN 4150; 10. BN 4149 and Kress sale 1957 no 2468; 11. BM 16; 12. BN 4148; 12a MMAG sale 1954 no 969 and Platt sale 1930 no 1798; 13. BN 4147; 14. BN 4152 and 4153 ; 15a. Luneau sale 1922 no 132; 15. B 894.24.2; 16. BM 15 and BN 4197; 17. BN 4196.

Obverse: 5b. Cahn sale 1922 no 378; 6a. MMAG sale 1953, no 12; 13a. MMAG sale 1954 no 969; 13b. Platt sale 1930 no 1798.

Blanchet lists bronze issues of the types of ABVDOS . (ABT:412):

1. ABVDOS: BN 4154-4171, found at: Bourges (2); Dun-le-Roi (Cher); Cosne (Nièvre); numerous examples at Levroux (Indre); 1 from Paris in the Seine; 3 from Néris (Allier); 10 from Poitiers; 1 from Beaujeu (Hte.S.); 1 from Mont Beuvray (Nièvre); 1 from Vieille-Toulouse (Hte.Gar.); 1 from the Great Saint Bernard pass; les Bolards (C.d'O); Brochon near Nuits (C.d'O); Corcelles-les-Monts (C.d'O). B 894.2.1 is from Neuvy-sur-Barangeon (Cher); M 2740 is from Gergovie (P.D.). For oppida finds see appendix XII.

2. EMBAV : BN 4190.

3. OSVAII ? : BN 4177, found at Alise, and lake of Grandlieu (L.Atl.)

4. IIAROS : BN 4179-4181, found at Alise, Gergovie and Paris (= pl.XIV.5)

5. IVNIS or ISVNIS : BN 4185, found at Alise (1), near Châtillon-sur-Seine (1) Mont Beuvray (2); Néris (2).

45. (p.254). For the alloy of Pictones staters see n.36 above. Weights: Osismi, 6.40-6.90g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956a); Redones, 6.30-6.69g (id. 1963a); Veneti, 6.70-6.00g and lower (id. 1953a); Pictones (Chevanceau hoard) 6.54-6.87g (Benusiglio 1957).

46. (p.257). Colbert de Beaulieu (1956f) argued that Armorican coins always circulated within a closed area, and that all hoards are homogeneous until the latest mixed ones, indicating changed conditions. Armorica as a whole was an isolated area. The only really mixed Armorican hoard on the mainland is that of Dol-de-Bretagne (I+V), probably a result of post-Alesia confusion. He breaks pre-52 hoards into two categories, (a) before 58, when Armorican hoards were perfectly homogeneous : St.Jacques-de-la-Lande (Redones), Perros-Guirec (Osismi), Plougernau and Guingamp (Osismi). (b) 58-53, when the Roman invasion caused the formation of leagues; hoards show regional heterogeneity, eg. Amanlis (Veneti and Redones), Pipriac (Veneti and Pictones), Penguilly (Osismi and Coriosolites). Cf Colbert de Beaulieu, "Trouvailles anciennes des monnaies celtiques des Osismes", Ann.Bret. 1955:165; id. (1957d and 1966c) : in Armorica the distribution map shows clearly that the centre of distribution is the same as the extent of the territory of the civitates; unequal debasement from people to people led to mutual isolation of their coinages, and to homogeneous hoards in the stater zone. The Osismi are held to have had different coinages for different 'divisions'; the same point is made for the Cenomani (1957d) who are held to have had two distinct coinages with geographically separate circulations, (a) in Sarthe in the heart of Cenomani territory, (b) in the Vannes area and along the rivers Vilaine and Loire. The coins in question are the type pl.XII.13.

47. (p.259). It is unwise to attempt too much chronological precision with hoard evidence. It could be argued that Colbert de Beaulieu (1956c) took the dating possibilities of the *Fondettes (I+L) hoard ad absurdum: the hoard contained bronze of the Carnutes and their neighbours; BN 6077 is represented in an unusually great number. He argues for burial early in 51 from the composition of the hoard:

> La date d'enfouissement me semble pouvoir être déterminée avec une grande précision au début de l'an 51 avant notre ère, à la fin du mois de janvier ou au début du mois de février, lorsque César, venant du pays des Rèmes, partit pour celui des Carnutes.

48. (p.269). For a developed type with a boar reverse in the Centre (Obv. head to the left, bound with a triple band; Rev. boar standing left, X above with dotted ends, flower below, a type known from Buzançais in Indre) see Vian (1955). ABT:414 n.4 records that they are found also at Levroux (2), near Châteauroux (1) and near Bourges (1).

49. (p.270). Pegasus/wolf finds (pl.XIV.1-3): ABT:414 : numerous at Levroux; Soings; Cièvres; 1 at Camp d'Amboise; Vendôme (2); near Châteauroux and Levroux (several in the BN collection); Tarquimpol (1); 3 from Poitiers; 6 from Mont-César (Oise); Mont Beuvray; from Bourges area: Berry museum has 3 from Bourges itself.
For ABVDOS bronzes see n,44 above.
VANDIINOS (and varieties) and CALIAGIIIS types (pl.XIV 6-7): ABT:415 : numerous from Levroux; Bourges area; one coin in Berry museum is from Lazenay-lès-Bourges; 19 at Alise; 1 at Pouilly-sur-Saône (C.d'O); 1 from Pommiers (Aisne); 3 from Vieille-Toulouse; 3 from Poitiers; CALIAGIIIS: numerous at Levroux; Bourges area; frequently in Berry; Châteaumeillant (Cher); 12 at Alise; Crissey, cant.Chalon-sur-Saône; Gergovie and Levroux; Vendeuil-Caply (Oise); 3 at Pommiers (Aisne); 1 at Vieille-Toulouse; 1 at Aspres-les-Veynes at the foot of the oppidum Serre-la-Croix (Htes.Alpes).
Types pl.XIV.8-9 : ABT:325 : numerous at Orleans in the Loire; 1 at Épieds (Loiret); 6 at Santeau, cant. Pithiviers; at Mérouville arr. Chartres; at Verneuil (Eure); Brionne (Eure); Grigny (Aisne); 11 at Pommiers (Aisne); at Vermand; near Reims in a hoard (no 167); at la Cheppe, Champlieu, Oise; 4 in forêt de Compiègne; at Hermès (Oise); 4 at Mont César (Oise); 4 at Alise; 17 at Mont Beuvray; 1 at Bourges; at la Cheppe (Marne); at Poitiers; at Écorneboeuf (Dord.); at Vieille-Toulouse.
Find-spots are given for coins of the type pl.XIV.10, well to the north of the Centre, at ABT:360 n.1; XIV.11 has a similar distribution: in a hoard at Sens, in the Seine at Paris; at Meaux, at Beaune; at Pommiers; in the forêt de Compiègne; at la Grange-Frangy and in the Great Saint Bernard. They are included in the plate for purely typological reasons, as they constitute a northerly group with techniques derived from Central issues. Gold staters of the type with the eagle (pl.XII.5) are recorded as being numerous in the Loire at Orleans (ABT:325).
VIREDIOS, pl.XIV.18 ; ABT:297 : from Beaucaire, Paris and Levroux 'as a result of circulation'; numerous at Poitiers; also from Lac de Grandlieu (L.Atl.). Poitiers is the area of greatest density of finds.

50. (p.271). Excluded from the discussion are the bronze coins which are the cores of plated specimens, and also 'siege money', a description sometimes given to bronze coins struck with the dies of gold staters, and presumed to have been issued in an emergency as some form of pledge; this may all be an illusion. References to 'siege money' are made by Colbert de Beaulieu (1955c) in a discussion of bronze types of Vercingetorix: these were offered as 'siege money' by the same author (1967) and by Lafaurie (1966) where he attacked the notion of siege money and preferred to treat the bronze coins as ancient forgeries.

51. (p.283). Hasan (1973) has shown that even the extensive material (in comparison with that for Gaul) concerning seventeenth and eighteenth century India is quite unreliable on these grounds whether written by the English or the Indians, and the same principles apply to Gaul. Even the 'scientific' local accounts compiled by district administrators in India in this century have been shown in most cases to contain inaccuracies, sometimes considerable.

52. (p.284). Accounts of Bituitus which insist upon the presence of dogs with him (App.Celt 12, Oros. 5.13.2) are not included in Tierney's fragments of Poseidonios (1960), although they would appear consistent with Poseidonios' general account. Appian mentions a bard, and his praise-poetry. Eutropius (4.22) following another account mentions the spoil in torcs taken from Bituitus' army which confirms Poseidonios' account of the Arvernian wealth. Portions of Diodorus on the Celts not from Poseidonios are principally 5.21-22 and 38 on Britain (Walbank 1957 as 3.57.3 notes that Diod.5.22 is probably ultimately derived from Pytheas), and 5.24 on the foundation of Alesia. Although Diodorus obviously thought he was talking about the Alesia, of Caesarian fame, Déchelette (1914:958 n.5) is surely right to put forward the view that this is in fact an Alesia on the road between Spain and Italy in the Midi as being a more likely candidate for the story - a classic Greek foundation myth - most appropriate within the range of close Greek contact. There must be many accounts of the Celts by ancient writers now lost (Livy on the migrations for instance, 5.34, for which see below). Ammianus Marcellinus gives yet another version of the origins of the Celts, probably drawn from Timagenes (Tierney 1960:219; Desjardins II:206f). For much of his account (11.1-5) he follows Caesar almost verbatim, however.

53. (p.286). Diod.14.113-4 probably used a different early annalistic account for the invasion from that of Polybius (Walbank 1957: ad 2.18-35).

54. (p.288). An additional reason to suspect the authenticity of details of Livy's story is the association of the migration with the founding of Massilia at the end of the seventh century. In fact they arrived for the first time in northern Italy around 450 (Walbank 1957: ad 2.17.1). However, the legend might have arisen for instance from some old connection with Massilia which led to the use of Massiliot coin types by the northern Italians, found in la Tène II onward in graves. For discussion of the dates see Rice Holmes (1911:542f); at p.545 he makes it clear thet he accepts the Livian story. Hatt (1970:27, cf Déchelette 1914:1087) puts the actual date at the end of the fifth or early fourth century. Desjardins (II:206) discussed the discrepancy between Polybius and Livy,

and preferred the Livian account. Various partisan accounts of 122/1 must have existed in view of the bad relations between Fabius and Domitius. For example Eutropius 4.22 does not mention either the Allobroges or Fabius, only the Arverni and Domitius; Orosius 5.14.1 records that it was Fabius who fought Bituitus. Suet. Nero 2.1 states that Domitius beat the Allobroges and Arverni and rode on an elephant in mock triumph in the new province. Val.Max.9.6.3 records that Domitius captured Bituitus by the trick of treacherous hospitality, because the latter had made the Arverni and Allobroges surrender not to himself (though he was still in his province) but to his successor Fabius. Oros.5.13.2 and Livy ep. 61 agree that Cn Domitius beat the Allobroges at Vindalium in 122. The official triumph record reads : Q Fabius Q Aemiliani f Q n an. DC[XXXIII] Maximus pro co[n]s[ule] de Allobro[gibus] et rege Arvernorum Betuito : X k. .....; Cn Domitius Cn f Cn n Ahenobarb[us] a. D[CXXXIII?] pro co[n]s[ule] de Galleis Arv[e]rneis XVI k ..... Fabius took the cognomen Allobrogicus.

55. (p.288). For direct criticism of the account of the Arvernian 'empire' propounded by for instacne Jullian (1909:544f - cf p. 13 where he says Puy de Dôme is the centre of France! qualified at p.545), see my 'The Chronology of Celtic coinage in Gaul: the Arvernian "Hegemony" reconsidered', NC 1975. The Arvernian 'empire' is also expounded by Grenier (1959:406) and Desjardins (1876:274-5) who cuts the size of Strabo's estimate drastically.

56. (p.288). Xen.Hell. 7.1, 20, 31; Arist. Pol. 4.17.2; Arist. Nic.Eth. 3.7.7, Arist. Eth.Eud. 3.1.25; Ephorus ap.Str.4.4.6; Ptolemy son of Lagus ap. Str.7.3.8 and Arrian Anab. 1.4.6-8: for these and similar third century authors see Tierney 1960:194f).

57. (p.289). Déchelette (1914:1088f, 1107) presents archaeological evidence for the early wealth of the northern Italian Celts, especially Senones, and for their close cultural links with the Etruscans, although without absorption.

58. (p.292). By the dictionary definition (Liddell and Scott s.v.), civitas can mean both the condition of being a citizen, and the state itself, that is to say one or several cities with their territory as opposed to urbs which denoted just the physical city. This range of meaning of the word civitas allowed it to be stretched to the Celtic peoples. It was only in the late empire that in Central Gaul civitas names were transferred completely to the capital cities implying identification between the political entity (civitas in its older sense)

and the 'capital' town itself, and a nationality focussed on . . the city rather than the people. An example is Biturigeæ/Bourges instead of Avaricum. Ammianus (11.10) gives an early stage in the process, where some urbes or oppida are referred to by their civitas names while other towns of 'capital' status still have Celtic names. Before the conquest, however, nationality rested in the people, not in places, and civitas can only mean 'state' or 'tribe', not one of its constituent towns.

59. (p.294). 'Tribe' in its vestigial sense in Greek and Roman classical city-states with relevance mostly to religious and voting practices, is obviously quite inappropriate for Gaul in the absence of detailed knowledge of internal civitas organization. Strabo 4.3.3 used phula for pagus however;(cf p.434 below.)

60. (p.298). BG 6.6.1, 6.10.2, 8.24.4, Str.4.5.2. That Caesar was aware of a contrast between Belgae (especially northern ones like the Nervii) and the Central Celts is shown by BG 1.1.3 and 2.15.3-4. For the many cattle of the Mandubii at the sources of the Seine see BG 7.71.7. In contrast to Caesar's practice, Hirtius' book 8 freely refers to all sorts of Gauls as 'barbari' (BG 8.8.1, 8.10.4, 8.11.1, 8.14.3, 8.15.1,6, 8.24.3, 8.29.2).

61. (p.298). BG 4.1.5f Suebi; 4.2.2 German livestock; 6.29.1 fear that the Roman army would starve because the Suebi had so few crops; 7.65.4 poor quality German horses.

62. (p.301). Grenier (1959:447), Jullian (1909:4f) and Rice Holmes (1911:340f) give the most important references.

63. (p.302). Caesar's cavalry were all foreigners, especially Gauls (Rice Holmes 1911:597f); Strabo 4.4.2 said the Gauls provided the best Roman cavalry. Native cavalry in the Caesarian war is mentioned eg at BG 1.15.2 (Helvetii had 500), 1.18.5 (Dumnorix), 1.18.10 (Aedui).

64. (p.310). A possible exception is what would seem to be a field-system 1 km east of Lavergne near Vitrac (Corr.: Cotton and Frere 1961).

65. (p.312). Oppida as defensive places are referred to at BG 3.12.1-3 (Veneti), 6.4.1 (Senones), 6.10.2 (Ubii), 7.69 (Alesia), 8.3.1, 8.5.1; Strabo 4.1.6 (Baitera = polis asphalês near Narbo); Livy 38.18.15; Pol.2.34.10 (Mediolanum = kuriôtatos topos); BG 1.38.4 (Vesontio), 2.3.4 (Remi), 2.12.2 (Bellovaci), 3.21.2-3 (Sontiates), 7.46 (Gergovia), 7.65.2 (Helvii), 6.34.1 (Aduatuci).

66. (p.312). Oppida as different from castella: BG 6.32.4 (Aduatuca called 'castellum'), 7.55.4 (Bibracte as a political place - oppidum maximae auctoritatis), Strabo 4.3.2 (Aedui had polis Cabillonum and phrourion Bibracte); BG 2.33.3 contrasts oppida/castella, cf 2.29.2. Dio frag. XC calls Tolosa a phrourion, and Dio 40.35.4 calls Gergovia a phrourion. Orosius 6.11.6 refers to Aleaia both as castellum and as oppidum. All these cases emphasize the defensive character of the sites in question at the expense of their socio-political fuctions.

67. (p.313). BG 1.38.1 Vesontio; 7.11.1 Vellaunodunum; 7.90.7-8 Cabillonum and Matisco; Dio 40.35.4 Gergovia; BG 5.47.2 Samarobriva; 6.33.4 Aduatuca, 6.44.3 Agedincum, 7.3.1 Cenabum.

68. (p.333). The fear that trade with foreigners might threaten the prestige and position of a warrior aristocracy is by no means confined to the Celts, as is shown in cases such as that quoted by Terray (1974:324) for the Ashanti of west Africa in the early nineteenth century:

> [The Ashanti consider] that a State can only expand through conquest, [and] would tend to repress rather than favour this impulsion to trade from fear that it might blunt their warrier genius, and also from fear that if the merchants became too powerful for their desires to be opposed, or too skilful for their activities to be clearly in view, they would sacrifice the glory and ambitions of the nation to their greed.

69. (p.339). At BG 6.37.2, the merchants at the Roman camp at Aduatuca would seem to hav e had quarters 'sub vallo' ie just outside, but this particular case may have little bearing on normal Celtic conduct.

70. (p.341). Military defence of briggges and fords, necessarily strategic positions, was clearly needed, and probably accounts for the frequency of finds of weapons in rivers near good crossings, including rivers at oppida. One might compare the frequency with which fords acted as positions for battle inthe Irish tradition, eg in the Táin, the critical ford at Sliabh Fuaid between Ulster and the Connaughtmen.

71. (p.348). The property of a normal freeman or commoner (bóaire febsa) is described in the Irish laws (Binchy quoted in Clarke 1972): twice seven cumals of land, a house of 27 feet with an outhouse of 15 feet; a share in a mill (quern?), so that he grinds for his family and his companies of guests, a kiln (bakehouse?), a barn, a sheep fold, a calf fold, a pig sty. These are the seven roofs in respect of which every bóaire is paid for injury. He has 12 cows, a half share in a plough ..., a steer is his customary due. (Charles-Edwards 1972:14 says that a bóaire had to have a full plough team.) A senior freeman who might be a local headman or magistrate (bóaire mruigfer) has three times seven cumals of land; he is bóaire of ajudication, the senier bóaire of his

lineage, with all the artefacts of his house in their proper places; a cauldron with its spits and supports; a vat in which a boiling (of ale?) may be brewed; a cauldron for ordinary use; utensils including irons, trays, mugs, a trough, bath, tubs ... knives for cutting rushes, ropes, an adze, an auger, a saw, shears, a trestle, an axe; tools for use in every season ... a whetstone, mallets, a billhook, a hatchet, a spear for killing cattle; a fire always alive, a cask of milk and a cask of ale ... he has 3 sacks always in his house ... a sack of brewing barley, a sack of sea salt against the cutting up of joints of his cattle, a sack of charcoal for the irons. 7 houses he has, a kiln, a barn, a mill - his share therein so that he grinds in it for others, a dwelling of 27 feet, an outhouse of 17 feet, a pig sty, a calf fold, a sheep fold. 20 cows, 2 bulls, 6 oxen, 20 pigs, 20 sheep, 400 hogs, 2 brood sows, a saddle horse with enamelled bridle. 16 sacks (of seed) in the ground (stored?). He has a bronze cauldron in which a hog fits. He owns pasture inwhich there are always sheep without (need to) change ground. He and his wife have 4 changes of dress. His wife is the daughter of a man his equal in grade ... 3 companions (céile) are his retinue in the tribe (túath) ... he protects his equal in grade ... a cow is his tributary due. A tribal chieftain, on the other hand (rí) is entitled to a house of over 30 feet to sleep up to 17 persons and encircled with a 'ditch of vassalage' on occasion. These very formalized legal accounts may seldom have corresponded with real cases in detail, but give a reasonable idea of the ways in which social status was reckoned among the Irish Celts. The hardware owned by a senior freeman is curiously like the contents of some early la Tène III graves, such as Dun-sur-Auron (Cher) or Celles (Cantal).

72. (p.361).Pol.2.34.10 refers to Mediolanum as <u>kuriôtatos topos</u> to which the Celts fled for refuge in 222. There is no indication here that it yet technically counted as an oppidum, although the fortress later became one. For the use of good high spots for refuge as a Celtic custom see Livy 38.18.15.

73. (p.368). The passage of Polybius (2.33.3) which describes the Celtic long swords as useless against the legions because after one blow it was bent like a strigil and heeded straightening is most peculiar. If it were true, it is odd that it is not mentioned in connection with the battle of Telamon which the Romans won. Déchelette (1914:1129-31) thought the Celtic habit of folding swords in burials gave the idea to the Romans; Walbank (1957) in his commentary on this passage penetratingly recalls the talk of German paper tanks in the second world war, as a morale booster. There is probably truth in both these explanations, and

the Polybius description is not strictly accurate. Later, at 2.33.5 he makes the much better observation about the drawbacks of Celtic swords, that they were awkward at close quarters against an army with short stabbing swords for weapons.

74. (p.371). Cf Thompson (1965:10f, 36-7): German kings had 'moral' authority, not coercive powers. Eastern Celtic kings may have been in a stronger position as leaders of large mercenary armies and a whole people on the move - eg Pol.4.45.3, 52.1; 5.78.1, though their influence with foreigners like Attalus is of course not proof of their internal powers.

75. (p.373). Cf Gallia 1972:519 where nailed severed heads of the type found at Entremont have been found at Les Pennes-Mirabeau only 15 km from Massilia.

76. (p.378). See n.21 above.

77. (p.380) Cf Archilochus (Diehl I p.211 no 2):

ἐν δορὶ μὲν μοι μᾶζα μεμαγμένη ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος
Ἰσμαρικος, πίνω δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος.

78. (p.387). See quotation of Tac.Ann. 11.19 (p.291 above): the three classic organs of state were foisted on the Frisii - senate, magistrates and laws.

79. (p.387). For references to and evidence of other Vergobretos offices see Jullian (1909:47), Rice Holmes (1911:505f), for instance among the Lexovii, possibly under Roman influence.

80. (p.391). Bulliot, La Cité gauloise (1879) p. 51-2, 62, 193-4, 198, 204-6, 209-12.

81. (p.392). Nearly all the Celts mentioned individually by Caesar were nobles; apart from those discussed in this text, there were Cavarillus (BG 7.67.7 nobilissimus - Aeduan and pedestrian commander for Vercingetorix); Eporedorix (Aeduan, nobilissimus, 7.67.7); Verucloetius (Helvetii, nobilissimus 1.7.3), Nammeius (Helvetii, one of 'nobilissimos civitatis', 1.7.3), Vertico (Nervii, loco natus honesto, and had a slave, 5.45, 49), Piso (Aquitanian, amplissimo genere natus, grandson of rex and amicus of Rome; leader of Roman cavalry 4.12.4), Vertiscus (Remi, princips civitatis, praefectus equitum 8.12.4), Iccius (Remi, primus civitatis, in charge of Bibrax, 2.3.1f, 2.6.4), Eporedorix (Aedui, a different one of the same name: princeps, nobilis, summo loco natus, cavalryman for Caesar, commander for Vercingetorix 7.38.-9), Liscus (Aeduan, Vergobretos,

princeps 1.16.5), Litaviccus (Aedui, amplissima familia, commander of 10,000 for Caesar and had clients 7.40; had his goods confiscated for his revolt 7.43.2), Surus (Aeduan, summam nobilitatem, commanded Treveri and Germani forces against the Romans 8.45.2), C Valerius Donnotaurus (Helvii, princeps civitatis 7.65.2), Gobannitio (Arverni, princeps, father-in-law of Vercingetorix 7.4.2), Sedulius (Lemovices, dux and princeps 7.88.4), Andecomborius (Remi, primus civitatis 2.3.1-5), Viridomarus (Aedui, princeps, nobilis, low genus but raised by Caesar to summa dignitas, cavalry commander for Vercingetorix and Caesar, 7.38).

82. (p.397). An ally (socius) would be an amicus of the Roman senate, but an amicus need not always be an ally. Appian Celt. 13 describes xenia (hospitium) with reference to the Norican people, and it would appear that it was also a description of amicitia (cf BG 1.35.2, Ariovistus who was rex and amicus):

> It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends (xenous) of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship (philoi) without being obliged to defend them as allies (philois)

It is, however, not unlikely that the Sequani had a formal alliance with the Romans from the end of the second century or beginning of the first.

83. (p.397). BG 7.76; 4.21.7f; 4.27; 4.35.1; 5.22.4; 6.6.4; 7.75f; 8.6-7; 8.23.2; 8.47.1.

84. (p.404). BG 1.30, 5.24, 5.54, 6.3.4, 6.44.1.

85. (p.405). See BG 7.42.4, 7.13.2, 5.3.6, 7.43.3, 8.21.4, 5.27.3, 8.6.2, 8.6.5, 7.28.6, 7.15.6, 2.1.4.

86. (p.407). For evidence of writing : BG 6.14.3; yet 5.48.3 Caesar relied on the northern Gauls not understanding despatches in Greek letters. Cf Strabo 4.1.5. A 'bilingual' coin type, COΛIMA/SOLIMA exists (BN 9005)1 a graffito in Greek latters from Mont Beuvray is fairly well known (Déchelette 1014:956).

87. (p.409). Suet. Claud 25.5; Pliny NH 30.13; Aur.Vict.Caes. 4.2; Pliny NH 29.54; Pomp.Mela 3.18.

88. (p.410). For references to druids as sorcerers see Desjardins (1976:516).

89. (p.411). Cf Thompson (1965:38): for the early Germans, a less stratified society than the Celts: 'but the chiefs could not parallel the priests' acquisition of coercive power'.

90. (p.418). Rice Holmes (1911:514): Festus (epitome) de significatione verborum (Müller) 1839 p.4; gloss to Festus in G. Loewe, Corpus gloss.

Lat.ii, 1888, p.163.

91. (p.428).Cf Dion.Hal.4.24: the 'most just means' of acquiring slaves was by purchase from the state auctions of captives or by being allowed to keep a captive as part of the spoils; the other normal source of slaves in Archaic Rome was by purchase from those who had got them by these methods.

92. (p.430). Examples of the use of the word which illustrate this are BG 5.54.2, 'Senones, quae est civitas in primis firma et magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis', 7.17.2 Boii 'civitas erant exigua et infirma', 1.19.1 'iniussu suo et civitatis', 5.53.4 'Omnes fere Galliae civitates de bello consultabant', 7,4,5 'expellit ex civitate' for exile, 1.4.3 'cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exsequi conaretur', 7.19.2 'generatimque distributi in civitates' of army organization, cf 7.28.6 where each civitas had its military contingent in different parts of the camp.

93. (p.446). A classic exposition of this analysis is given by F.Engels in his introduction to K.Marx The Civil War in France (London, Lawrence and Wishart 1970) p.248-59 esp p.258. For a lucid analysis of the emergance of the state in the west African empires which has much of relevance to offer for the present study see Terray (1974).

94. (p.463). A particularly crude example is Alföldy's suggestion that personal names on Norican Celtic coinage could be merchants' names (Alföldy 1974:42).

95. (p.464). Polanyi (1968[1963]; 1957) tends to exaggerate the special status of coastal emporia, although he is aware that ports of trade also existed on geographical boundaries such as the edge ofthe desert (1968[1963]: 239). As exposed by Dupré and Rey (1973:141f) Polanyi is led to make artificial distinctions between ports of trade and 'markets' (and therefore between the siting of places where administered trade occurs - emporia - and those where 'market' trade occurs - agorai) by his concentration on pricing mechanisms. Because he considers fluctuating prices, rather than the mode of production and exchange of the goods, as the fundamental distinguishing feature of markets, he makes a sharp distinction between 'fixed-price' and 'changing-price' exchange (1968[1963]:238f; 1957:86, 259, 264, 266f; Neale 1957:358). The fiercest bargaining in administered trade took place before, not after, the establishment of the treaty, and adjustments to the rate of exchange at emporia is treated as a different activity althgether from bargaining in the market-place (Polanyi 1957:74, 87). The explanation of the differences in pricing which Polanyi discusses lies in the difference in the social

organization of emporia and agorai: the former have 'fixed' or 'administered' prices, which means that they have been negotiated between governments, and agreed by treaty; the governments do the buting and selling. Adjustments still occur to meet shortages on the actual exchanges, but the basic pricing has been worked out on a long-term basis. In petty retail markets, pricing is not worked out on a long-term basis, by a corporate body, but on the occasion of the sale between individuals, so the pricing [illegible] is worked out in the bargaining process. The pricing practices are the results, not the determinants, of the different bases of the two kinds of trade.

96. (p.470). Cf Godelier 1972:289, 292 who does not offer a rigorous analysis of <u>why</u> certain relations are dominant: see review article on his book, Talal Asad, 'The concept of Rationality in [illegible] Economic Anthropology', <u>Economy and Society</u> (3.2) 1974:211-8.

97. (p.473). Polanyi 1968(1957):178, 191, 199; id., 1968(1963):254; id., 1957:74, 264.

98. (p.486). For other first century normal uses of coin, or presumed uses of coin : <u>BG</u> 1.3.3 Helvetii 'coemere' carriages for their migration; 1.16.6 in 58 Caesar could not buy ('emi') or reap corn because it was spring.

99. (p.495). Cf. n.46 above)

100. (p.505). Suetonius <u>DJ</u> 25.1 and Eutropius 6.17 give as the Roman tribute set by Caesar 400,000 ?denarii, not high when compared with the 480,000 denarii exacted from Byzantium alone by Cavarus the Celt (Walbank 1957 ad 4.46.3), though Velleius said that Gaul yielded more than the rest of the provinces put together in the early empire (2.39.1).

101. (p.509). Strabo 4.1.2, 4.1.5, 4.1.11, 4.1.12, 4.3.5, 4.4.2.

# APPENDIX I

SUMMARY TABLE OF EVENTS RELEVANT TO THE LA TÈNE CELTS.

Where Roman history and persons are concerned, references may be found in TRS Broughton, The Magistrates of the Roman Republic (Ohio 1968) under the appropriate year and magistrate.

DATE

c.600 Foundation of Massilia.
Foundation of Emporiae and Rhode in Spain early in the sixth century.
Celtic peoples named on the North Sea doast, French coast and south-western Spain early in the sixth century (Aviemus, Ora Maritima)

c.550-480 Floruit of Vix (C.d'O): Hallstatt Final.

c.500 Hecataeus of Miletus mentioned Narbo as a Celtic town and market place; Massilia as a city in Ligurian territory near the Celts (Jacoby F.H.G 1 p.2)

c.500-450 First Gallic invasions of northern Italy.

c.450 Herodotus mentioned Celts on the Danube, near the Pyrenees andin further Spain (Hdt. 2.33, 3.115, 4.49).

c.400 Celts began to arrive in Austria (Alföldi 1974:14).
during the fourth century, Boii reached Bohemia and Moravia (ibid.:39).

390 Second Gallic invasion of northern Italy; sack of Rome.

390s Dionysius I of Syracuse used Celts and Iberians as mercenaries (Griffith 1935:195)

369 Gallis mercenaries hired by Dion of Syracuse to help the Spartans against the Thebans (Xen.Hell. 7.1.20,31).

367 Dictator Camillus defeated a Gallic band which had penetrated Italy to the Anio.

361 T.Manlius got the name Torquatus in a duel with a Gallic champion in a confrontation near the Anio.

358 Dictator C.Sulpicius Peticus defeated the Gauls who had reached Praeneste and Pedum.

349 Consul Camillus defeated the Gauls in Latium; M.Valerius Corvus tr.pl. defeated a Gaul in single compat with the aid of a heaven-sent raven.

341 Battle of Camisus in [illegible] which the Carthaginians had Gallic and Ligurian mercenaries (Griffith 1935:210).

330s-270s Maximum Hellenistic use of Gaulish mercenaries. FIRST GOLD AND SILVER GAULISH COINAGES: SILVER EMPORIAE COPIES, RHODE COPIES, GOLD PHILIP II

COOIES, TARENTUM COPIES AT SOMME ESTUARY. First Celtic coinages of Dacia on Philip II models.

327-325 Voyages of Pytheas on the Atlantic and channel coasts.

310/09 Agathocles had 3000 barbarian mercenaries from central and northern Italy: Samnites, Etruscans and Gauls (Griffith 1935:199).

Third century: Celts reached north-eastern Slovenia (Alföldy 1974:22)

295 Gauls helped the Etruscans and Samnites against the Romans; battle of Sentinum in which the Romans were victorious.

283 Gauls were expelled from Italy into Cisalpine Gaul. Dolabella defeated the Senones and ravaged their lands; the colony of Sena was planted on vacated Senones territory.

282 The Etruscans and Boii were defeated at lake Vadimon.

279-8 Celtic invasions of the Balkans and Asia Minor; Nicomedes I invited the Gauls into Asia for the first time in 278 which was the beginning of long troubles with them (Griffith 1935:183).

277 Antigonus I met a Gallic army of 18,000 near Lysimacheia in Thrace, and defeated them (Griffith 1935:166)

275 Antiochus II beat Galatians in Nicomedes' army (Griffith 1935:166)

275-2 Pyrrhus and Antiochus both used Gallic mercenaries (Griffith 1935:63)

Early 270s: Antigonus I used Gaulish mercenaries extensively (ibid.)

274 Gauls found in an Egyptian army (Griffith 1935:252).

263 Carthaginians had Celtic mercenaries (Pol.1.17.4)

c.260 UZECH HOARD OF MANNAIES A LA CROIX 4.55-4.75g.

c.250 BRIDIERS (CREUSE) HOARD OF SILVER CELTIC COINS.

c.250-200 Celts reached Carinthia (Alföldy 1974:22)

241 Carthaginian mercenary revolt (Pol.1.67ff)

238 Consul P Valerius Falto fought with the Boii and other Gallic peoples; Consul Gracchus fought with Ligurians north of Sardinia.

236 Roman wars continued with the Ligurians, Boii and other Gauls. War with the Ligurians, the the Ligurians and Illyrians continued for at least a century.

232 Allotments made to Roman citizens from the Ager Gallicus and Picenus inn northern Italy.

231/0 Great force of Gaesatae hired by Insubres and Boii from beyond the Alps (Pol.2.22-23)

Late 230s: Gallic mercenary band wandering and creating havoc in the Mediterranean region (Pol.2.5.4 etc, p.421 above)

225 Gaesatae arrived in northern Italy from beyond the Alps to help the Insubres and Boii; Battle of Telamon, followed by sack of the territory of the Ligures and Boii.

224 Submission of the Boii; consuls Torquatus and Flaccus were the first Roman commanders to cross the Po and fight the Insubres.

223 Consuls Flaminius and Furius had an important victory over the Insubres.

223/2 Antigonus Doson's army had many Gallic mercenaries (Griffith 1935:69)

222 30,000 reinforcement Gaesatae and the Insubres were beaten at Acerrae; Gallic siege of Clastidium relieved; Mediolanum captured by the Romans.

Battle of Sellasia: 1000 Gallic mercenaries in the Macedonian army (Griffith 1935:70).

c.220 BEZIERS HOARD OF MONNAIES A LA CROIX, 4.60-70, 3.50-65g.

219 Comontorius' Celts were paid off with gold by Byzantium: annual payments continued form a considerable time (Pol.4.46.3f).

218 Hannibal, helped by the Celts, passed through southern France and the Alps; Roman war with the Boii and Hannibal. Massilia used Celtic mercenaries. (Pol.3.41.9).

Philip V used Gallic cavalry against Lycurgus of Sparta (Griffith 1935:71).

Attalus I of Pergamum recruited the Aegosagae (Pol.5.77.2ff, 5.78, 5.111.2f, Griffith 1935:174).

216 Carthage had Celtic mercenaries (Pol.3.114).

211-08 SPANISH HOARDS CONTAINING EARLY MONNAIES A LA CROIX 3.33-3.38g.

c.210 Corbilo mentioned as a polis comparable with Narbo and with supposed knowledge of Britain.

207 Hasdrubal crossed the Alps, helped by Celts. Roman expedition against the Galatians (Livy 38.12.8, 38.21.2)

c.202 End of significant Carthaginian use of Barbarian mercenaries.

201 Consul Aelius attacked the Boii and made a treaty with the Ingauni.

200 Sack of Placentia etc in the wake of the Punic war and a serious Gallic rising in northern Italy.

soon after 200: Celts reached lower Styria (Alföldi 1974:22).

end of the third century or early in the second: SILVER PROTOTYPES OF 'POITOU' COINAGES. Early second century BEGINNING OF SECOND PHASE COINAGES BOTH GOLD AND SILVER.

199 Insubres defeated the Roman army.

197 Romans had a successful war against the Boii and Ligures, Insubres and Cenomani.

196 Roman war on the Gauls, Ligures and Boii.

195 Cato in Spain: his sack of Rhode. Roman wars in Cisalpine Gaul continued.

194 Roman war with Boii and Ligures; victory over the Insubres at Mediolanum.

193 War with Boii and Ligures continued.

192 Domitius fought the Boii.

191 Roman victory over the Boii: territory south of the Po ceded to the Romans.

190 Proconsul Nasica removed the Boii from territory recently taken from them.

Antiochus in Magnesia used Gauls including 5500 equites Gallograecorum (possibly Tectosages) Trocmi and Tolistobogii: Livy 37.40, Griffith 1035:144f)

189 Latin colony planted at Bononia.

180s: Eumenes II used 1000 Gauls (cavalry) : Livy 44.9f, Griffith:176f.

187 Praetor Furius Crassipes illegally disarmed the Cenomani; Consul Lepidus restored their arms.

186-169 First contacts between Romans and the Norican kingdom (Alföldy 1974:29)

186 A band of Transalpine Gauls arrived at Aquileia having left home 'gentis iniussu' and began building an oppidum without plundering ( Alföldy 1974:29,31). By 183 they were plundering.

183 Colonies Parma and Mutina founded. Porcius Licinus sent to destroy the new oppidum near Aquileia. Praetor L Iulius instructed to keep the transalpine Gauls from settling near Aquileia by any means short of war. Gallic envoys .... introduced to the senate by C.Valerius Flaccus pr.pereg.

183-1 Colony founded at Aquileia by the Romans.

182 Rumour that a Gallic band wanted to invade Italy.

181 Roman war against the Ligures: victory over the Ingauni.

179 3000 Gauls crossed the Alps from the north-west and France; consul Fulvius prevented their settlement and also transferred many Ligurians away from the mountains.

178 3000 Celts from Noricum fought with the Romans against the Istrians commanded by Catmelus, regulus of the eastern Alpine lands (Alföldy 1974:30)

171 Unoccupied lands in Liguria and Gaul assigned to Roman and Latin settlers.

Gallic Carni and others abused by Cassius,

Perseus used 2000 Gauls commanded by Asclepiodorus (Griffith 1935:74), also Thracians and Odrysae under king Cotys.

second quarter of the second century:BY MID SECOND CENTURY AULNAT (P.D.) SETTLED. EARLIEST GAULISH OPPIDA ALSO INCLUDE LA GRAUFESENQUE (AVEY.), PIERRE D'APPEL (VOSGES), ESSALOIS (LOIRE).

170 Legate Lepidus sent across Alps to answer complaints of Gaulish king Cincibilis regarding misdeeds of Cassius in 171; embassy of exceptional dignity. Another embassy to other victims of Cassius.

170s-160s: HOARD OF LESTRADE (DORD.).

169 Embassy of regulus Gallorum Balanos to Rome offering military assistance in the Macedonian war; his gifts accepted, not his help (Alföldy 1974:31).

168 Perseus attempted to hire the Bastarnae against Rome (Livy 44.26).

166 Roman war against Alpine Gauls and Ligurians.

165 Antiochus IV used Gallic mercenaries (Griffith 1035:185)

154 Rome helped Massilia against the Ligurians; Opimius defeated the Ligurians beseiging Nice and Antibes (Pol.33.8-9)

c.150 Floruit of Luernius father of Bituitus of the Arverni.
Boii reached Slovakia (Alföldy 1974:39).
Mid second century: second phase of Dacian coinage began (p.491 above) after period of countermarking. New localized and light coinages. Oppida development there. Gaul: OPPIDA AT CHATEAUMEILLANT (CHER), CLAPAS?CASTEL (LOZ.), ST.GENCE (HTE V.) AND ? COTES (P.D.).
During second century, especially in the mid century, folk movements from Belgic Gaul to south-east Britain.

146 Battle at Daphne; 500 Gauls in the Seleucid army (Griffith 1935:146).

140s Polybius writing.

c.135 Salluvii submit.

125 Consul Flaccus sent to help Massilia against the Salluvii and Vocontii.

125-2 Romans grabbed the roads east and west of the lower Rhone.

124/3 Entremont sacked by the Romans under procos. Sextius, who defeated the Salluvii, Vocontii and Ligurians on the east and west roads.

c.123/2 Roman alliance with the Aedui.

122 Domitius defeated the Salluvii and Allobroges and Arverni. Aquae Sextiae founded as phroura Rhômaiôn.

121 Defeat by Fabius of Bituitus, Arverni, Allobroges and Ruteni. Domitius' victory and 'triumph'.

120 Domitius completed the campaign in Gaul; triumphed over the Arverni; started the via Domitia and organized the province. Fabius triumphed in Rome over the Allobroges, Arverni and Bituitus.
By the end of the second century: OPPIDA OR SETTLEMENTS AT CLERMONT? FERRAND (P.D.), LIOZON (P.D.), CHAMALIERES (P.D.), PUY DU TOUR (CORR), ST.MARCEL (INDRE), LEVROUX (INDRE), GERGOVIE ? (P.D.).

c.120-100 WEST BERRY HOARDS (p.191). TAYAC (GIR) HOARD. ?LAPTE (HTE.L) HOARD. ST.UZE (DROME) HOARD?. ?SOINGS (L+CH) HOARD. ?ROUQUETTE HOARD (DORD.), ?ST MEDARD DE GUIZIERES (GIR.) HOARD.

119 Annius q. made successful resistance to Celtic invaders in Macedonia who had defeated and killed the Roman governor.

118 Roman colony founded at Narbo (speculum populi R. ac propugnaculum)

116 Metellus procos. in Cisalpine Gaul marked the boundaries between Patavium and Ateste.

115 Successful Roman campaign against the Gallic Carni and 'Ligurian' Taurisci,

114 Cato defeated in Macedonia by the Scordisci.

113 Carbo forced Cimbri to a battle at Noreia: disastrous defeat for the Romans.

112 Successful Roman campaign against the Scordisci in Thrace; further wars there in 111, 110,108,106,101, 77 and 76.

109 or
108 Silanus cos. in Gaul: didastrous defeat by the Cimbri.

107 Consul Cassius won ground around Tolosa against the Volcae; disastrously defeated and killed by the Tigurini.

106 Sack of Tolosa by Caepio, defeat of the Volcae Tectosages and plunder of their sacred treasures by the Romans.

105 Consul Mallius and proconsul Caepio failed to cooperate in Gaul against the Cimbir and Teutones: both had disastroud defeats.

104-3 Marius watched Cimbri and Teutones enter and leave Spain and head for northern Gaul.

102 Marius fought the Teutones and Ambrones, defeated them conclusively in two battles at Aquae Sextiae; joined Catulus against the Cimbri in north Italy.

101 Marius and Catulus destroyed the Cimbri on July 30 at Vercellae.

100 Eporedia founded.

c.100 Boii reached north-west Pannonia (Wiener Becken, Burgenland, Small Hungarian Plain: Alföldi 1974:39). Roman trading colony established at the foot of the Magdalensberg in Noricum (Alföldi 1974:45)

DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE FIRST CENTURY, THIRD PHASE COINAGES BEGAN TO APPEAR IN CENTRAL GAUL IN SILVER AND GOLD: ALL PROBABLY APPEARED BY 75.

c.100-
50 Boii push eastwards to the river Tisza (Theiss; Alföldi 1974:39)

97 Human sacrifice outlawed in Rome.

c.95-
65 Diviciacus was 'king' of the Suessiones (BG 2.4.7).

95 Raiders suppressed in Cisalpine Gaul.

91 M Cato pr. was governor of Narbonese Gaul where he died.

90 Caelius crushed a revolt of the Salluvii.

89 Citizenship given to Cispadane towns in northern Italy; Latin right granted to the transpadanes.

81 Flaccus procos. had a triumph for a victory over Celtiberians and Gauls during his governorship of Gaul.

81-72 Sertorian war in Spain.

c.80 Poseidonios writing.

70s BY THE 70s ALL MAJOR OPPIDA IN GAUL WERE SETTLED.

77 Pompey wintered in Gaul on the way to fight Sertorius.

75-2 Fonteius' governorship of southern Gaul; gave supplies for the war in Spain; allusions by Cicero to fighting with the Gauls and to confiscations of land.

74 Pompey forced to winter in Gaul during the Sertorian war.

73-1 Rising of Spartacus in Italy; slaves included Gauls and 'German auxiliaries'.

72-1 Pompey organized the Spanish provinces.

c.70-65 Arverni and Sequani hired German mercenaries BG 1.31.4.

c.71-61 Defeat of Aedui by Germans and others.

65 Attempt by consul Crassus to give the Transpadanes Roman sitizenship thwarted by consul Catulus. Proconsul Piso commanded Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul; acuused of extortion in 63 for punishments inflicted on a transpadane.

64-3 L.Murena procos. governor of Transalpine Gaul.

63 Allobrogan envoys going to Rome were implicated in the Catilinarian comspiracy.

66 Rising of the Allobroges suppressed by consul Piso.

62/1 Revolt of Allobroges suppressed by Pomptinus at Solo.

61 Aeduan appeal to Rome for help: Diviciacus was spokesman. Plan by the Helvetii to migrate: BG 1.2.1; planned to head for Narbo Livy per. 103.

c.60 Boii laid siege to Noreia = ?Magdalensberg (Alföldy 1974:33); 32000 Boii entered Noricum, after the siege went against the Helvetii (ibid.:40). Before 50, ?c.60, King Kritisaros of the Boii was in the Carpathian Basin. Boii and Taurisci beaten by King Burebista of the Dacians c.60 (ibid.:40).

59 Caesar's consulship : Ariovistus entitled amicus of the Romans.

58 Caesar defeated migrating Helvetii, then Ariovistus. DURING THE CAESARIAN WAR, HOARDS LOST IN MOST AREAS OF GAUL. BY THEN FRACTIONAL AND BRONZE COINAGE WAS WELL ESTABLISHED IN USE, PROBABLY AT LEAST SINCE THE 70s.

57 Campaign against the Belgae; offers of alliance from Central Gaul. 15 days' supplication at Rome for Caesar's achievements. In the autumn, Galba tried to subdue the Alpine peoples near the Great saint Bernard pass.

56 Caesar's command prolonged. Campaign against Veneti and Armoricans. P Crassus' campaign against the Aquitani and perhaps his visit to the Cassiterides (Str.3.5.11).

55 After violating the rights of envoys, Caesar defeated the Usipetes and Tencteri who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul; bridged the Rhine and made a brief show of force. Brief visit to south-east Britain.

54 Second expedition to Britain. In autumn and winter, seriors rising in northern Gaul of Eburones and others; Sabinus, Cotta and their army wiped out, Q Cicero beseiged by the Nervii.

53 Caesar dealt with revolt in northern Gaul especially of the Treveri and Eburones; second demonstration of force in Germany after bridging the Rhine again. Labienus received the submission of the Treveri and Menapii.

52 Uprising led by Vercingetorix of Central Gaul and allies. Massacre of the Romans at Cenabum; sieges of Avaricum, Gergovia and Alesia. Defeat of Gallic forces and submission of most. Labienus dealt with the peoples of the Seine valley.

51/0 Caesar completed the pacification of Gaul after campaigns against the Bellovaci and the siege of Uxellodunum. Began final administrative arrangements. BG 1-7 written in 51.

49 Citizenship given to the Transpadanes. Massilia was anti-Caesarian and sacked by him in the civil war. Voccio of Noricum gave c.300 Norican cavalry against Pompey (Alföldy 1974:41).

c.46 Ti Claudius Nero settled veterans in Gaulish colonies including Arelate and Narbo. D Junius Brutus crushed a rising ofthe Bellovaci (Livy per.114; App. BC 2.111)

45 Aurelius under Hirtius in transalpine Gaul was victorious over some Gauls (Cic. Att. 14.9.3). c.45, Burebista of Dacia died and Dacian influence was pushed back from Budapest to Belgrade; the Hungarian plain was under Dacian rule until the arrival of the Iazyges in c.AD 20 (Alföldy 1974:41)

43 L Munatius Plancus procos. late 44/early 43 founded colonies at Lugdunum and Rauraca. Triumph for victory over the Raeti.

39 Agrippa crossed the Rhine.

38 Agrippa in Aquitania where he crushed a rising (Dio 48.49.2)

35-4 C Antistius Vetus or Messalla conducted a war against the Salassi (App.Illyr. 17; Dio 49.38.3; Str.4.6.7)

28-7 Revolt in Aquitania.

27 Visit of Augustus to Gaul on his way to Britain (where he never went); took a census and organized the province (Dio 53.22.5).

19 Agrippa sent to Gaul because the Gauls were 'quarrelling among themselves' and being harrassed by the Germans (Dio 54.11.2)

16 War with the Sugambri, Usipetes and Tencteri (Dio 54.20.4ff).

15 Territory of the rebels almost stripped of population (Dio 54.22.5). Noricum probably annexed (Alföldy 1974)

12 Sugambir revolted; Drusus' expedition to the Frisii and other Transrhenan Germans (Dio 54.32ff).

12-9 Pannonia conquered.

AD

21 Sacrovir and Florus revolt (Tac. Ann. 3.40f)

48 Leading Gauls of Comata with Roman citizenship permitted to enter the Roman senate.

68 Vindex's revolt (Tac. Hsit. 1.51)

69-70 Civilis' revolt (Tac. Hist. 4.12f)

69 Mariccus' revolt (Tac. Hist. 2.61).

# APPENDIX II

## THE CIVITAS OF THE BITURIGES CUBI.

The Bituriges Cubi are referred to simply as Bituriges in Caesar: he does not mention the Bituriges Vivisci (Str.4.2.1). Desjardins (1876:415) suggested that their omission in Caesar may be due to their not yet having arrived in the Gironde, though he adds, perhaps more plausibly, that Caesar was not a careful ethnographer; the BG was not concerned in any detail with the south-west of Gaul.

In the first century and in the Gallo-Roman period, the Bituriges occupied an area which is geographically well defined and had a long history of political unity as the civitas Biturigum, the diocese of Bourges (until the reorganization of 1790), the duché de Berry, and the Généralité de Bourges. The heart of Berry is the limestone table of the champagne berrichonne, roughly divided in a NW-SE direction by the river Cher and its tributaries. For this and other geographical features see map B2; for elevation see the large map of enclosures. The eastern portion is the champagne of Bourges, the western that of Issoudun. The whole is surrounded by irregular and often unworkable land, which served to mark the separation of the Bituriges from their neighbours. Only on the west is it possible to pass from the champagne of Berry to that of Touraine without very striking topographical changes, although Touraine is characterized by more extended woods than are found in the champagne of Berry, and by valleys which are abruptly slpping because of the presence of micaceous chalk. Otherwise the contrast between the plain of Berry and the neighbouring lands is clearly marked.

On the north is the escarpment of the cretaceous cuesta which forms the face of the Sologne plateau. This relief can be followed from Sancerre to la Brenne, but it is scarcely elevated except to the east of the Cher. On the south is the Jurassic cuesta running roughly W-E; its slopes are surmounted by triassic sandstone on which stands the Forêt de Tronçais, and it rises to the granitic plateaux of the Marche and Bourbonnais. The eastern edge of the plain is marked by the meridian fractures of the Loire. This is especially the case in the northern stretch where the hills of Sancerrois rise. The result of

the erosion in this area has been to expose the only truly vine-growing area in Berry. The lands on this eastern border are often wooded or damp, difficult of access and tedious to cross, formerly unattractive to work and mostly not cultivated, serving as the limits between neighbouring provinces before being legally and precisely divided between them.

On the north and north-east is the Loire forest which has for centuries been an area of brush and lakes, like the clay of the valley of Germigny which was the border between Berry and Nivernais. On the west and south-west the border area between Berry and Poitou is covered in sands and eocene clays. This area is characterized by an almost total lack of slopes, and between the few sandstone hillocks there are numerous hollows containing natural or man-make lakes. These relatively unattractive and partly waterlogged conditions are principally found in a belt along the north of Berry associated with the Sauldre and Beuvron. To the north-west the border area with Touraine (region of Valençay, Indre) is marked by the increasing predominance of infertile clay and flint soils, resulting in a landscape not found in Berry, with sharp contrasts between sterile plateau and fertile valleys (Le Lannon 1964:59-67).

Roger Dion (1947:11) believed that

> Dans toutes les parties du vieux monde où vivent, depuis la préhistoire, des sociétés d'agriculteurs sédentaires, les frontières, avant d'être ces lignes conventionnelles que les topographes modernes savent tracer avec précision, furent des zones plus ou moins larges qui avaient ce caractère commun d'être incultes et à peu près vides d'hommes. De là venait précisément l'efficacité de leur fonction séparatrice.

He saw these frontier deserts forming a considerable obstacle to the approach of an army, and the natural habitat of vagabonds and outlaws (ibid.:12). He considered (p.17) that the ancient notion of borders was inseparable from that of a waste area, and cites a number of examples where in France the borders of dioceses correspond with areas of naturally infertile land, forests, brush or heights. On p.439f above I discussed the gradual absorption of waste land on borders into a politically and

economically centralized structure. One such area mentionad by Dion is the strip of high grassland and forest between Montrésor and Loches which separates the dioceses of Bourges and Tours, and the barren spine of land between Indre and Creuse fivers which separated the dioceses of Bourges and Limoges.

It is generally assumed, and for the most part correctly, that the old (pre-1790) diocese borders in France correspond to the administrative civitas bordsrs of the Roman province. However, these dioceses were not drawn up until the fourth century, and small changes could have occurred at any point before that, as well as subsequently. The acquisition of Aeduan land by the Boii in the fisst century (BG 7.9.6, 1.28.5) is but one known case of changes tm the territorial layout of civitates, and many more must have happened. Up to a point the Gallo-Roman administrative borders may have been arbitrarily made fossilizations of a termporary or temuous status quo (p.430 ff above).

In the case of the old diocese of Bourges, Paul Crabayat (1958) has pointed out the anomalous nature of the south-eastern extension of the diocese into the Massif Central. The anomalous geographical nature of this sectiion is enhanced by the presence dotted along the poor land which marks the geographical change of at least three places with the ancient name *Equoranda (map B1-2). Although the translation of this place-name is uncertain, under the forma Aigurande, Avrande, Arande, Ivrande etc., and in Berry, Ingrandes (Indre), Aigurande (Indre), Ygrande (Allier) and the older namd of le Plaix (cne. St.-Désiré, Allier) which was Eguirande in 1320, the name in 35 out of 49 cases is closely associated with diocese borders. Buchsenschutz (1968) has added for Berry les Ingarends (cne. Hérisson, Allier) and Les Angarents (cne. Rezay). *Equiranda was often translated as Fines (Ingrandes in Indre is called Fines on the Table of Peutinger and on Poitou milestones, CIL XIII 8931, 8932, 8937, 8938); Buchsenschutz noted a Fein at cne. Nohant-Vicq also in the

Châteaumeillant area. Cravayat (1957) adds La Fin, cne. Clémont (Cher); Fins, cne. Noyant (Allier), and Fins at Sancerre (Cher). Cravayat (1969) further notes Veillens (cne. Apremont, L+Ch), Le Veullin (Cher) and Veillens (L+Ch); the old *Vicolanum, from which these names are derived are also associated with diocese borders. On the same stretch of poor land in south-eastern Berry where the *Equoranda names were found, there are Vigoulant (Indre) and le Vilhain (Allier: Soyer 1934). As *Equoranda names, when they are not associated with diocese borders, are along the limits of carolingian pagi or of deaneries or archparishes, all of which might preserve the memory of earlier divisions, it has been argued that the area south of the line of these names in Berry may have been a late addition to the administrative unit of the Bituriges Cubi, overstepping a previous decisive border. It is noted by Cravayat that the line of these names runs to a point near Moulins, and the northern limit of the Clermont diocese is just downstream from there.

It has been argued, for instance by Dion (1947) that Celtic civitates frequently took for limits to their territory naturally occurring features such as waste or barren land, forests or mountains. Falc'hun (1966; 1970) has demonstrated beyond doubt that a very great number of Celtic place-names refer to geographical features like meanders in the stream or the presence of a hill, and has discredited the notion that personal names are encapsulated in place-names originating in the Celtic or early Roman periods. Place-names could also be derived from natural resources significant to human settlement, for instance minerals (appendix IV). It would seem, therefore, that as *Equoranda names almost never occur on borders, but do appear on bad (border) land, that the name may have a primarily geographical connotation or have referred to the necessarily specialized economy of the settlements on bad land. The fact that such stretches usually also constituted borders politically may have been a further element, particularly in a warlike society where borders were permanently liable to attack, but the fact that geography could be overcome

as for instance in Berry, means that circumspection is needed in considering when or for what reasons the complete Bourged diocese was formed.

One name given with some frequency to Celtic settlements and oppida at significant geographical points was Mediolanum. Desbordes (1971) argued that all certain sites with this name (translated as 'middle of the plain' or 'plain of the middle') were at crossroads such as valley junctions (Miolans, Savoie; Meylan, Isère), near a watershed (Mâlain, C.d'O; Meulin, S+L; Moislans, Somme), or most often at a junction of geological formations (Moëslain, Hte.M; Mâlain, C.d'O; Meulin; Saintes; Milan; Mediolanum Ordovicum in Shropshire): Châteaumeillant is of this type as may be seen on map B2. Desbordes states that of 20 place-names of this type, 3 are on valley junctions, 3 on watersheds, 14 on geological conjunctures which include 6 watersheds. All are 'perched', and many near the edges of dioceses. Moislans (Picardy) is near where 3 dioceses meet; Mâlain in Bourgogne is in a similar position, and Moëslains near St.Dizier is also near the junction of 3 dioceses. Châteaumeillant, as may be seen from the map, is closely associated with the line of *Equiranda names, and therefore comes into this category. The place in Département Cher called Meillant (map B1) does not fulfill any of the above stipulations for places called Mediolanum, however, and if it is an instance of the name, it might lead one to wonder whether there were not in fact a number of minor places with the name in insignificant geological positions which did not become towns of importance in later history. Desbordes seems to want to argue that <u>all</u> places called Mediolanum were important oppida, and this is probably an overstatement, though in many cases it was certainly true that the name was given to places which fulfilled the function of political and religious centres as well as geographical ones, and were therefore favoured for the development of oppida and towns.

AGRICULTURE.

By modern standards, the land held by the Bituriges is at best only mediocre. However, it was good - especially in the limestone plain - for an Iron Age agriculture based on grain cultivation and sheep husbandry. Jullian (IV.:394) saw Bourges as above all a big agricultural town in Roman times. The only part which could support extensive cattle farming is the clay region of Boischaut (Le Lannon 1964:67). Caesar and Hirtius remarked in passing on the fertility of Berry, particularly in the Bourges (Avaricum) region: BG 7.13.3, 8.2.2, cf 8.3.1, and make it clear that it was an intensively cultivated region of Gaul. The account of the military campaign of 52 in Berry gives the impression of a well-stocked and cultivated countryside. It is implied that if there had not been extensive burning of farmsteads as part of Vercingetorix's strategy, the Roman army would have found adequate provisions there even in spring (BG 7.17.3 for instance). Le Lannon (1964:63) remarked that the mediocre fertility of the soils of the Berry champagne has meant that until recently there were archaic crop rotations of 5-6 years with 2-3 fallow among them. The heavy reliance on sheep in the Mediaeval and early modern economy of the region may reflect the continuous need for large amounts of animal manure to supprt an intensive agriculture, and it may legitimately be wondered if sheep were not already a major feature of Bituriges agriculture in the Iron Age ; cf Cunliffe (1974:173):

> The symbiosis between sheep and fertile arable land cannot be over-stressed: it is no exaggeration to say that without large flocks, grain-production on its Iron Age level would have been impossible to maintain.

Sheep have been for centuries a major concern in Berry: an important wool textiles industry was centred in Châteauroux, and sheep were kept all over Berry, but especially in the Champagne (Le Lannon 1964:67). One might add that the Bourges museum has a large and expensive funeral monument of a Gallo-Roman draper from Bourges, clearly a man of some importance, portrayed holding his shears. Caesar referred to herds (pecus) in Berry, which his

hungry army were reduced to eating in 52 (BG 7.17.3), and which may have included a substantial proportion of sheep. Not only did the soil have to produce grain to support a considerable population (attempts at an estimate, eg Lot 1950, are seldom convincing, but the overall settlement pattern suggests that the population was high), but also cavalry (BG 7.14.3), and horses need plenty of grain in their diet. Sheep were probably indispensable in the Iron Age in Berry, as in the Middle Ages.

INDUSTRY.

The limestones of Berry are strongly iron-bearing, and iron was of the greatest importance to the Bituriges civitas (BG 7.22.2). They had a reputation also for inventiveness in precious metal working (Pliny NH 34.48). Among iron ore workings exploited in Roman times or earlier are Brives (Indre), Mehin (Cher), Azy-le-Vif (Nièvre), Mareuil (Cher), Ste.Lizaigne (Indre), Ardentes (Indre), Sancergues (Cher); in the nineteenth century the mines of Cher were still producing 275,000 tonnes of ore each year (Desjardins 1876:411). Slag-heaps of ancient origin are found in the forêt d'Allogny ( Déchelette 1914:1540). Other particularly rich sources of ore in Berry are in the forêt de Guérigny (Le Lannon 1964:67), in the sands of western Boischaut, at Chailac (Indre) and between Montluçon and Commentry which is so rich in ore that the Berry canal was built in 1807 to link this area to the Loire (Estienne and Joly 1961:78; Le Lannon 1964:67). Map B1 shows known ancient or Iron Age ore exploitation and a suggestive relationship to major and minor settlements. The Musée du Berry display case showing known Gallo-Roman iron maines and forges shows that they lay principally in a belt along northern Berry.

Mines: Le Noyer, Neuvy-Deux-Cloches, St.Palais, Ménétou-Salon, St.Eloi-de-GY, Massay.

Forges: Neuilly-en-Sancerre, Henrichemont, Ménétou-Salon, Allogny, Vasselay, St.Eloi-de-Gy, Farges-Allichamps, Farges-en-Septaine, Savigny-en-Septaine, Genouilly, Dampierre-en-Graçay, Lury-sur-Arnon, Giroux, Graçay, Reboursin,

Meunet-sur-Vatan, Villantrois, Luçay-le-Mâle.

The forest of Allogny north of Bourges was probably the best single source of ore in antiquity in Berry. The fact that modern Berry is littered with places called 'la Forge' or 'les Forges' or 'Ferrière' is evidence of the widespread exploitation of the often shallow deposits of iron ores in the past.

The mysterious 'mardelles' near Dun-sur-Auron (Cher) have proved to be the remains of ancient, though undated, mining for iron ore: at the bottom of pits of c. 1m diameter opened small galleries 1.20-1.30m wide, which followed the direction of a layer of ore. The galleries were joined to one another, vaulted at the joints, and had pillars to prop up the roof (Dindinaud 1969). Worked flints were found among the debris in the pits. Pink granite mallets of very ancient type, used in all probability throughout antiquity, have been found in iron workings at Argenton-sur-Creuse, near the great oppidum; les Chaillots, l'Etang-Marie, Bourn-Oiseau cne. Argenton, la Martine cne St.Marcel, both also near the oppidum (Cordier 1963). Near the minor enclosure near Allogny (camp de la Haute Brune) huge and Gallo-Roman if not earlier, slag heaps have been found (Gallia 1961:324) possibly to be directly connected with the camp.

Other industries in Berry including the production in late Celtic and Gallo-Roman times of sandstone rotary mills at a quarry near Lande-Chevrier, especially at Saint-Christophe-le-Chaudry (Cher, Laville 1963). This is claimed to be the first quarry in Gaul known to have specialized in the production of these machines. They were made on the spot: hundreds of rejects and half finished pieces were found. Mortars and stone cups were also made there. Finished mills from the quarry have been found at St.Désiré (Allier), Vesdun (Cher), Bruère-Allichamps (Cher) and Drevant (Cher); the great weight of these things would make them expensive to transport.

From very early in the Gallo-Roman period the north of Berry began

to have an important pottery industry, eg at Gièvres (Ferdière 1968), apparently serving a predominantly regional market. The clays of northern Berry undoubtedly influenced the development of this industry; the waterways encouraged its transport, and specialized production was almost certainly a vital factor inthe development of Gallo-Roman towns poorly provided with agricultural land.

For the transport and exchange of goods, Berry was well supplied with roads and waterways. River access was to the Loire either by the tributaries throughout Berry or directly in the east, and the Loire had a number of major oppida along it (big map). Avaricum contained the only Gallic forum directly mentioned by Caesar(BG 7.28.1) emphasizing its presumed emporion function as an oppidum. Main roads and river routes in Gaul led directly from oppidum to oppidum, an important feature in the Celtic organization of interlocal trade. The Roman roads, generally assumed to have followed the routes of Celtic roads at least in Central Gaul, which lead to Avaricum and other major Berry centres may still be traced for part of their courses (Grenier 1934: fig 33,34,139). We know of roads from Avaricum to Cenabum (Orleans), Augustodunum (Autun), Caesaromagus (Tours), Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand), Limonum (Poitiers) and Burdigala (Bordeaux) from the ancient itineraries (Table of Peutinger and Itinerary of Antonine, ed. Desjardins 1876). In Celtic times the roads . . led to the oppida which were supplanted in Roman times by the lower lying towns of Augustodunum and Augustonemetum. Noviodunum of the Bituriges, whose exact location is now uncertain, was an oppidum on the road from Cenabum to Avaricum (BG 7.12.2), a case of an oppidum near to the ancient civitas border whose status was degraded under the conditions of the Roman conquest. Argentomagus (Les Mersans at Argenton) was one of the largest Celtic settlements in Central Gaul in the la Tène III period (p.128f above) and was at a crossroads of three routes, from Limonum, Burdigala and Avaricum, and figures on the ihineraries of the late empire (T.P. 1 B 1; I.Ant. Burdigala to Augustodunum). The coins of

Massilia found in significant numbers there in Celtic levels, and the exceptionally early evidence of foreign residence there in the Gallo-Roman précoce period emphasizes the importance of the oppidum at Saint Marcel as an emporion, partly due no doubt to its position on the fiver Creuse. It had in Gallo-Roman times, and possibly earlier, a bridge in addition to its ancient paved ford (Allain, Berthelot and Gedell 1963; Gallia 1968:328). The oppidum at Brives (Indre), again at an important river crossing, and near major iron works, has shown evidence of the early wealth of its inhabitants in for instance the fragments of painted plaster found in Gallo-Roman occupation debris (Bailly 1966). Levroux (Indre, p.130f) was one of the four certainly major oppida in Berry in Celtic times; enormous quantities of coins are found there, and it stood in Roman times on a crossroads of six routes. The distribution of theatres and amphitheatres in Berry in the Gallo-Roman period may give some indication of the sites of the largest concentrations of population and therefore probably the major market towns : Amphitheatres at Levroux and Bourges; theatres at Neuvy-sur-Barangeon, Baugy-Alléan, Drevant, Néris, and Argenton. Oddly enough, Châteaumeillant would appear to have had neither (information from display in the Berry museum 1972).

SETTLEMENT

Hallstattian finds in Berry were numerous to judge from material in the Musée du Berry, Bourges. La Tène finds in Berry include burials of la Tène I and II (map B3 and p.137ff), attesting the early appearance of the culture there. Known la Tène I burials are at Morthomiers (with oenochoe), St.Just, Near Dun-sur-Auron (tumulus with Italian oenochoe), Charôst (with a bronze bracelet shaped as a bicephalous snake), Bourges, Les Villiers and le Rio-Blanc at Ineuil, ?Bourges (source: Musée du Berry, Bourges) and possibly St.Denis-du-Palin (Cher, Gallia 1972:320, 1970, 260). Some at leas were tumulus burials: St. Denis-du-Palin, Morthomiers,

Ineuil, St.Just; a probable la Tène I burial at Bourges was inhumed; another definitely from Bourges was cremated and contained luxury goods including a bronze situla and oenochoe and a solid bronze torc. A fragment of bronze, usually thought to be part of a situla cover, found at Levroux and dated to la Tène I by the Celtic animal relief hammered out on it is now in the Châteauroux museum (Indre) and is possibly evidence for early use of the later important settled site of Levroux (Déchelette 1914:1455-6). A fibula of la Tène I type probably from Bourges is kept at the Musée du Berry.

La Tène II burials are known from Maubranches cne. Moulins-sur-Yèvre (Cher); La Vergne cne. Lunéry (Cher); La Guèrche; Les Fertisses cne. Ste.Solange, which continues into la Tène III (Laugardière 1870); Bourges; Trouy; and St.Denis-du-Palin. Maubranches, Ste Solange and one Bourges burial were inhumed, Maubranches and Bourges definitely of warriors; another Bourges burial and that at St Denis-du-Palin were cremations, the Bourges one being of a warrior. St.Denis-du-Palin was under a tumulus; Maubranches and the Bourges inhumation were flat burials.

A considerable degree of variety in burial customs in the first la Tène phases is therefore displayed in Berry, even on the single site of Bourges, and despite the fact that all the recorded burials are found within a small area in the vicinity of Bourges (map B3). A fibula of la Tène II was found in Bourges, supplementing the burial evidence for early use of the site that was later to be the Gallo-Roman 'capital' of the Bituriges. Coins of the third and second century are found mostly in the vicinity of Bourges and the river system of Central Berry (map B3), further supporting the impression that in the early la Tène period there was a concentration of at least ruling class settlement and activity in that region of the <u>civitas</u>. For a discussion of possible second century upheavals leading to the secession of a group from west Berry into Poitou see the discussion of the silver coinage (p.187 above).

Despite the find of the situla cover, there is not yet acientifically established archaeological evidence that Levroux was settled before the la Tène III period. On general grounds, however, it is not unlikely. More definite evidence is available at Châteaumeillant (Cher) and Saint Marcel (Indre) indicating that they were settled as oppida by the mid second century if not before. By the first century, there were four certainly 'urbanized' oppida in Berry: Levroux, situated between Boischaut and Champagne (Buchsenschutz 1971), Avaricum the 'capital' for which Caesar is the only direct evidence before the conquest, Saint Marcel (Argentomagus), and Châteaumeillant (Mediolanum), which like Levroux and St Marcel was on an important geological interface (map B2). See section III ch 2 and 7 for a general discussion of the significance of this.

The Iron Age enclosures in Berry have for the most part not been excavated and it is therefore difficult to give more than a very bare outline of their possible interrelations. It remains possible that more major oppida will be found to have existed on excavation. It is symptomatic of the state of our knowledge that of the only two Biturigan towns mentioned by Caesar, Avaricum (BG 7.13-18, 7.29-32, 7.47, 52) and Noviodunum (BG 7.12, 14), Avaricum cannot be excavated thoroughly because of its continuous settlement, and the site of Noviodunum is still uncertain.

Buchsenschutz (1968) lists 21 "enceintes amorphes" defined as enclosures of irregular shape dectated by the natural features of a site suitable for defence, and are large, sometimes up to c.20 hectares. The éperon barré form, where the end of a spur formed by the confluence of two rivers or valleys is cut off by a transverse wall is particularly common. For discussion of individual sites see section I esp. Indre and Cher; the 21 listed by Buchsenschutz are at: Allogny (Cher); Châteaumeillant (Cher); Dun-le-Roi (Cher); Farges-en-Septaine (Cher); Levroux (Indre); Millançay (L+Ch); Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre); Moulins-sur-Yèvre (Cher); Mure (Indre); Néris-les-Bains (Allier); Neung-sur-Beuvron (L+Ch); Saciergues-St.-Martin

(Indre); Pierrefitte-sur-Sauldre (L+Ch); Saint Marcel (Indre); Ste.Sévère (Indre); Sidiailles (Cher); Thollet (Vienne) and Velles (Indre). Not discussed by him are Avaricum/Bourges and Sancerre (Cher), or Brives and Meunet-Planches (Indre: Bailly 1966), making a full total of 25 "enceintes amorphes" in Berry. When Caesar (BG 7.15.1) spoke of 'XX urbes' of the Bituriges which were burnt as part of Vercingetorix's scorched earth policy, it is perhaps to some of these 25 sites that he is referring.

Smaller, often square or rectangular, enclosures probably dating to the Iron age are also discussed by Buchsenschutz (1968), and are marked on map B1. Some may be Gallo-Roman; some are almost certainly connected with iron-mining and processing; but for the most part too little is known yet about them to make any fruitful comment about their function. No very coherent pattern is visible on the map, beyond the concentration of them in two areas: around Bourges, and in the central part of southern Berry where they form part of the dense concentration of enclosures around the hilly border between the Bituriges and Lemovices (big map). It would not be surprising if in this rugged region some had a primarily pastoral significance.

HISTORY.

Historically, not much is known about the Bituriges before the conquest. At some stage their name was connected with the original migrations of Celts into Italy (Livy 5.34, p.360 above). In Caesar they are first mentioned in the context of Dumnorix the Aeduan's political marrigge of his mother to a noble Biturigan (BG 1.17.6), then not again until the revolt of 52. It is clear from BG 7.5.2 that whether by their own choice or Caesar's interference, they were allied with ('in fide') the Aedui, and were clearly no cause for concern for the Roman position in Gaul. The Aedui, however, were unwilling or unable to prevent their joining Vercingetorix. The successful Roman diege of Avaricum, an oppidum which Caesar described as the most important town of the Bituriges

both in its magnificence and in its political significance (BG 7.13.3, 7.15.3-4) played a key part in the war of 52. The Bituriges merited a legion in their territory in the winter of 52/1 (BG 7.90, 8.2.1), and in 51 the Bituriges continued to give some trouble to the Romans; however, being in a state of weakness after their treatment by the scorched earth policy and Caesar's reveges, they were easy prey to attacks from the north by the Carnutes in 51 (BG 8.2-4).

The reasons for the early conspicuous material development of the Bituriges are unknown. Iron working may well have played an important part, and it is notable that the earliest la Tène burials, some wealthy and many clearly of warriors, as well as many finds of the early phases of the coinages are to be found in the Bourges region, where precisely some of the richest iron-bearing ores were found close by good agricultural land, cattle pasture, and adequate waterways for transport. The interrelations of the large oppida are also uncertain; the independent development of at least the four known urbanized ones is virtually certain in the absence of any evidence of the direct dependence of any on the others or Avaricum. The existence from at least the second century if not the late third of two or more different coinages in Berry would, as argued in previous discussions, suggest that Berry was at no time a homogeneous unit administered from a single centre, but consisted even in the first century of two or more units with some degree of local autonomy, but who would appear from Caesar's account to have recognized a common nationality and the political and religious primacy of Avaricum.

# APPENDIX III

## Tin.

The Mediterranean peoples had much copper and lacked important sources of local tin; therefore the acquisition of tin was of great importance for them, and its sources in western Europe of considerable interest to them. I shall give a brief account here of the chief evidence for the sources of tin in Gaul and Britain and for the routes by which it was transported to the Mediterranean region. Two of the fullest works on the subject at present are Ramin (1965) and Dayton (1971). Both make the important distinction between tin in alluvial deposits on coasts and rivers which was easy to work in antiquity, and was found and used at an early date, and mined tin which was used, although it was not discovered as early as alluvial tin. Both types were worked by Celtic times.

Known sources of tin which were or may have been worked in antiquity are found in Spain including north-western Spain (outside this study : see Dayton 1971:55f); Cornwall and the Scilly isles; Armorica and Central Gaul. Dayton (1971:56) lists the sources of French tin as being Central France: Haute-Vienne, Creuse; South Brittany: Morbihan, especially Penestin where there is a good supply of cassiterite on the beaches, replaced by the tides - the easiest and best type of source of tin in antiquity. Cornwall is argued by Dayton to be one of the richest European sources of tin, some stannite providing 25% tin. Copper ores are also present in some Cornish workings permitting a natural bronze of high tin content to be acquired by simple smelting. Ramin (1965) gives more detailed information on specifically Celtic sources of tin as well as on the methods of obtaining it. His specific aim is to ascertain the identity of the Cassiterides which are usually identified with Britain or the Scilly Isles, but which he suggests, rather convincingly, may originally have been off the Armorican coast but were temporarily obsolete from the period

of the Caesarian conquest (1965:110f). Ramin (ibid.:20f) lists as the richest western sources of tin as :

Spain: NW Galicia, the richest Spanish workings; province Orense; N Portugal; provinces Zamora, Beiro, Minho, Tras os Montes. Some tin is also found in province Salamanca and near Cartagena, as well as in the hinterland of Almeira (cf p.55f).

France: (p.20f) deposits are (a) the Centre and Brittany (Morbihan and Loire-Atlantique); (b) North Finistère.

A. On the fringes of the Central Plateau the most important tin sources are: 1. Vaulry-Cieux (35 km NNW of Limoges, Hte.V.); 2. Montebras (Creuse, 25 km W of Montluçon); 3. Montmins (Creuse, between Gannat and Montluçon). Alluvia are found in most rivers from Mont Blond, especially the Glayeule, which can have tin alluvia 2m deep. At Vaulry the deposit also contains native copper and oxydized copper ore and gold, so was an important mineral source in antiquity. Gold was also found at Cieux. Minor tin sources: Hte.V : Arnac, Cinturat, Jouhe, South of Bellac, Mandelesse near Limoges, Puy-les-Vignes and Sauvagnat also within 25 km of Limoges. Cresus: W and NW of Bourganeuf: Montbougher, Lavadoux-Beaumont, Volondat-la-Pradelle, Les Gabereaux and La Bertrande. Charente: Confolens. Corrèze: Meymac 10 km W of Ussel, Ségur 15 km W of Uzerche, Dord.: La Porcherie 8 km from Nontron. Allier: Charrier where tin is associated with copper. P.D.: Argentelle. Gard: 15 km from Vigan to the west. Aveyron: Lavezon 20 km NW of Millau. Tarn: Montredon-Labessonié 20 km SSE of Albi.

Brittany was very important. Le Villeder and Piriac were dug in the nineteenth century; Abbaretz and St.-Renan (Fin.) were found lately. Other Breton tin: (a) on the coast: Piriac NW of Guérande; Penestin at the mouth of the Vilaine; Tréhiguier a few km upstream; Ile de Houat on the south coast between Belle-Isle and Quiberon. All these had alluvial deposits. In the nineteenth century alluvia were known on the coast between the Loire and the Vilaine. (b) Either side of Questembert for 40 km in an

alignment WNW - ESE running through Kertrionnaire, Kerno, Keroillo, Bobertho, Cadalin, Boderiabe, Jego, Mont-Joly; on the left bank of the Vilaine at St. Dolay. The quartz in which the tin is found actually runs 190 km from Chantenay-sur-Loire (L.At.) to Rosporden (Fin.). Other deposits could have existed and disappeared by now through erosion. (c) Villeder group south of Josselin : around the granitic and tectonic massif of Lizio there are deposits at la Villeder SW of Ploërmel; then at Trégugnet, Lédo, Pourmabon, and la Ville-au-Lan. Alluvia contain tin and gold. (d) Nozay-Abbaretz group (L.Atl). On the border of the basins of the Vilaine and Erdre, between Blain and Châteaubriant there are deposits for about 7 km especially at Abbaretz, le Bé, and Beaulieu. These are a continuation of the Questembert group. Some tin is found a few kilometres west of Angers : Montbelleux 8 km ESE of Fougères (I+V).

B. North Finistère group. A deposit of tin exists running from Kersaint 15 km NE of Brest to St Renan 15 km NW of Brest. There are alluvial deposits in all the valleys in the region often downstream to the sea. Further deposits are for instance at Tréméal in the region NNW of Morlaix. Many other deposits are now probably exhausted. Other mineral deposits are rarer in Armorica : argentiferous lead especially north of Carhaix; some gold; traces of copper at St. Tudy (Ile de Groix), l'Aber east of Crozon; Quénécan (near Carhaix) and SE of Ancenis.

Ramin (1965:25f) also records British tin in rich deposits in Cornwall and south Devonshire especially, very like Brittany deposits. Copper is often associated with the tin in variable proportions, especially in the north-east of the region (Devon) and the SW tip of Cornwall. The Scilly isles have now almost no traces of tin; a little is found in Ireland, especially at Wicklow where it is associated with gold. He records (p.45f) definite traces of ancient working for tin at: Vaulry (cuttings 60-70m wide and 9-10 deep together with tin slag); Montebras (excavations 30-40m wide, 8-10 deep; a cutting 130m long, 50-60

wide, 8-10 deep with square pits and channels to bring water for washing); Echaussières in Allier (pits 20-30m diam. and heaps of spoils over 200 hectares; five parallel trenches 40 m long probably for washing; fragments of pottery and a mill, but other finds also which are not ancient); Charrier in Allier; Hte.V and Crease for tin and gold; in Armorica at Piriac, Montbelleux, Abbaretz, La Villeder (big diggings at Abbaretz with bronze axes and water conduits; diggings continued over 7 leagues without interruption, and used to be called 'Roman fortifications' but are really mineral works protected by ramparts and 'oppida' probably before the Roman conquest. Lots of slag was found to be very rich in iron suggesting that iron as well as tin was extracted.). Signs of ancient excavations at Abbaretz are particularly clear; pits 4-20m in diameter or up to 300m long, sometimes with long trenches with banks along then looking like fortifications [did they use forced slave labour?]. There are ancient traces for over 400 km along communes Pierric, Conquereuil east of Guéméné, Marsac, Vay, Nozay, Abbaretz, La Meilleraye, le Grand-Auvergné and near the forêt de Gaure which had middle Bronze Age (?) pits and galleries. Seventy-seven Breton communes have ancient slag heaps; those in tin bearing areas have a high iron content suggesting that iron was not the main object of extraction. The Vilaine basin and area has a lot of alluvia, but they were often quickly exhausted and ores in situ were not always searched for or usable in antiquity.

It is clear, then, that Gaul had abundant tin which was worked in antiquity, although the precise period of extraction for any given mine is usually unknown, or at least uncertain. Many alluvial sources were used up at an early date and their whereabouts has therefore been lost. This usually only affects tin deposits onthe Brittany coasts. Tin extraction may in places go back to the Bronze Age and have been abandoned before the Iron Age.

RECORDED ANCIENT SOURCES.

Ramin (1965:52f) argued that the ancients gave the generic name 'Cassiterides' to the tin-producing area in the west, and that the precise geographical identity for the m was only gradually searched for, perhaps after the original islands they referred to had ceased to be the major source of Mediterranean-bound tin. The ancients also muddled the source of the tin itself and important places of transit, which is another important point to remember. Ramin (ibid.:51ff) covers the whole history of Mediterranean records of western tin, and I shall confine the present synopsis to the sources relevant to the Iron Age, principally Strabo and Diodorus.

Polybius in the second century was aware of British tin (Pol.3.57.3):

> Some readers will perhaps ask themselves why, since most of what I have said relates to Africa and Spain, I have not said a word more about the mouth of the Mediterranean at the Pillars of Hercules, or about the Outer Sea and its peculiarities, or about the British Isles and the method of obtaining tin, and the gold and silver mines in Spain itself, all matters concerning which authors dispute with each other at great length.

Diodorus refers to it also (Diod.5.21.2):

> ... and at present we shall discuss the island [Britain] and the tin which is found in it.

and so does Caesar (BG 5.12.4):

> Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed eius exigua est copia; aere utuntur importato.

Diodorus (5.22.1-4) gives an exceptionally valuable account of British tin which I shall quote in full because it will be needed for the question of trade routes later.

> But we shall give a detailed account of the customs of Britain and of the other features which are peculiar to the island when we come to the campaign which Caesar undertook against it, and at this time we shall discuss the tin which the island produces. The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerium are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilised manner of life because of their intercourse with merchants of other peoples. They it is who work the tin, treating the bed which bears it in an ingenious manner. This bed, being like rock, contins earthy seams and in them the workers quarry the ore, (poron)

which they then melt down and cleanse of its impurities. Then they work the tin 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 in their waggons. ... On the island of Ictis the merchants purchase the tin of the natives and carry it from there across the strait to Galatia or Gaul (the Greek says imply Galatia); and finally, making their way on foot through Gaul for some thirty days, they bring their wares on horseback to the mouth of the river Rhone. (Diod. 5.22.1-4)

Here, therefore, it is made clear that tin from mainland Britain was bought and taken through Gaul to the Mediterranean at the Rhone mouth, and in this context it is worth remarking that Diodorus considered Britain to be a part of morthern Europe:

> Opposite that part of Gaul which lies on the ocean and directly across from the Hercynian forest, as it is called, which is the largest of any in Europe of which tradition tells us, there are many islands out in the ocean of which the largest is that known as Britain. (Diod. 5.21.1)

Diodorus (5.21.2) directly associates Britain with a source of tin, and so does Caesar (BG 5.12.4). Strabo 3.2.9 quoting from Poseidonios at least in part, confirms this picture:

> Tin, however, is not found there [Turdetania] on the surface of the ground, he says [sc Poseidonios], as the historians continually repeat, but is dug up; and it is produced both in the country of the barbarians who live beyond Lusitania and in the Cassiterides islands, and tin is brought to Massilia from the British Islands also.

From these and other passages, as noted above, (Ramin 1965) it is clear that the Cassiterides and Britain were distinguished from each other even though Strabo (the best authority) did not know where they were. Generally they are held to have been north of Spain, and, as argued by Ramin, a ship sailing north from Spain naturally puts in at Armorica before going on to Britain.

> The Cassiterides are ten in number, and they lie near each other in the high sea to the north of the port of the Artabrians. One of them is desert, but the rest are inhabited by people who wear black cloaks, go clad in tunics that reach to their feet, wear belts around their breasts, walk around with canes and resemble the goddesses of Vengeance in tragedies. They live off their herds, leading for the most part a nomadic life. As they have mines of tin and lead, they give these metals and the hides from their cattle to the sea-traders in exchange for pottery, salt and copper utensils. Now in former times it was the Phoenicians alone who carried on this commerce (that is, from Gades), for they kept the voyage hidden from everyone

else. And when once the Romans were closely following a certain ship-captain in order that they too might learn the markets in question, out of jealousy the ship-captain purposely drove his ship out of its course into shaol water; and after he had lured the followers into the same ruin, he himself escaped by a piece of wreckage and received from the State the value of the cargo he had lost. Still, by trying many times, the Romans learned all about the voyage. After Publius Crassus crossed over to these people and saw that the metals were being dug from only a slight depth, and that the men there were peaceable, he forthwith laid abundant information before all who wished to traffic over this sea, albeit a wider sea than that which separates Britain from the continent. So much then for Iberia and the islands that lie off its coast. (Strabo 3.5.11)

The sam e opinion is held by Diodorus (5.38.4-5) who here explicitly distinguishes Britain and the Cassiterides:

> Tin also occurs in many regions of Iberia, not found, however, on the surface of the earth, as certain writers continually repeat in their histories, but dug out of the ground and smelted in the same manner as silver and gold. For there are many mines of tin in the country above Lusitania and of the islets which lie off Iberia out in the ocean and are called because of that fact the Cassiterides. And tin is brought in large quantities also from the island of Britain to the opposite Gaul (tên kat' antikru Galatian), where it is taken by merchants on horses through the interior of Celtica both to the Massalians and to the city of Narbo, as it is called. This city is a colony of the Romans, and because of its convenient situation it possesses the finest market to be found in those regions. (Diod. 5.38.4-5).

The mention of lead together with the tin in the Strabo passage fits the sources of tin in Armorica but not Britain where the two are not associated (Ramin 1965). Ramin (ibid.:78f) is aware of the problems involved in assimilating the Cassiterides to the Armorican region, not least that Caesar never mentioned Armorican tin. He suggested that perhaps the defeat of the Veneti in 56 caused the ending of local exploitation of the tin, if this had in fact not already occurred. It is an interesting point that no ancient author refers to Gallic tin of any sort despite the fact that most tin, from the establishment of the Roman province onwards, was obtained via Gaul. Britain and Spain were the known sources, while the Cassiterides with their vague geographical position were unplaced and vaguely thought of as in the Atlantic somewhere. I would suggest that one solution to the Roman silence is that perhaps the extraction of tin in

Gaul for export to the Mediterranean had ceased before Caesar's time, perhaps at the time when Corbilo also ceased to be of great importance because the Mediterranean peoples were receiving bulk consignments of tin from other ports, notably Bordeaux (below). Although Armorica would have continued to be important as a port of call between Spain or Gaul and Britain, several harbours could have been used, for this purpose, while the old importance of a single port - Corbilo - points toward control of a type of trade which later ceased. Tin is certainly a possible candidate. A major problem with this suggestion is Poseidonios' evidence for a tin route at least early in the first century running via Gaul, if it is taken to imply that the Loire valley was used as is normally suggested (below). Corbilo must therefore either have survived into the first century despite the disappearance of the early coinage pattern in that area, or it lost its dominant position and the tin was no longer only landed there for transit to Massilia. The question is an open one. I would favour the latter suggestion as it would seem appropriate to interpret Diodorus' description as meaning that tin landed on the northern coast of Brittany (eg on Redones or Osismi territory) and was transported south from there to the Loire valley. One might note the second century appearance of a new and tight north-eastern Armorican coin distribution (map 18) although the political background to it is absolutely unknown and may not be connected with long-distance trade or control of shipping after all.

ROUTES.

From the Mediterranean point of view, apart from the early circumnavigation of Spain which terminated at various points, there were two final ports in Gaul at which northern European tin arrived. Massilia was the oldest and was followed by Narbo. Some evidence for the reception of tin by Massilia has been noted above. Strabo (4.1.14) described the route to Britain as up the Rhone, Arar (Saône) and Dubis (not strictly accurate as the Doubs flows further east than the Arar and partly parallel),

then by land to the Seine and thence downstream to the Lexovii and Caleti, whence he says the journey is less than one days' run to Britain. Greek goods were from the sixth to third centuries only common in the Rhone valley and in the region between the upper Seine and Saône, not in the Garonne basin (Ramin 1965:105); Joffroy (1960:144-5) connected the brilliant late Hallstatt civilization in the Côte-d'Or region, especially Vix, with the tin trade: Vix was half way between Britain and Etruria and was a 'natural' place for the change of cargoes. (Ramin 1965:105 notes that Armorican Hallstatt II-III finds are concentrated in the region of the Loire estuary, suggesting that it as well as the Seine was a starting-point for continental tin routes eastward bound.) Various attempts have been made to identify Diodorus' 30-day overland route, eg Pouyé (1963) who offered a route also used for salt between the Rhone mouth and the Loire mouth via the Cévennes, Causses, Cantal and Limousin, taking in part of the Table of Peutinger route (Nantes - Sécondigny). There were at all times probably many different routes, and this could be one among others. André (1962) argued that Gallo-Roman relations between Armorica and Central Gaul show traces of an old tin route or routes, the ones in question being Bourges-Tours-Angers-Vannes (or Bourges-Nantes), and Châteaumeillant-Poitiers-Angers or Nantes. Ramin (1965:86f) listed other possible early routes as Thames-Rhine or Seine-Rhone-Massilia. We have the evidence of Diodorus' source for the overland route through Gaul but that is all; while the Seine-Rhone and Rhine-Rhone routes are provided with scatters of foreign goods to support their existence, there is nothing similar from the la Tène period known to me which would support the transcontinental route here in question. These routes all probably existed for Celtic exchanges, but I would question whether they saw a long use for exchange between Britain and Massilia when the northern river route was available and the crossing of the Massif Central was difficult at the best of times.

The routes ending at Narbo may in many ways be the most important for the later la Tène period. Gaudron and Soutou (1961) argue that from

the end of the Bronze Age or early in the first millenium, there was a major tin route running from Cornwall to Armorica - Charente - Narbo region, which he traced by a scatter of finds of characteristic Bronze Age objects. His attempts to demonstrate the existence of the same route by finds of third century monnaies à la croix (Soutou 1968) are not convincing however (cf map 11), although this is not to deny that the route in question may stil 1 have existed at that time. The shared type of stater coinage between Poitou and Armorica in the first century points to strong cultural affinities between the two regions, although as argued above, it is not safe to assume that the tin trade was responsible for it in the absence of any other good evidence.

There are several important accounts of westerly routes for tin or other goods between Britain and Narbo :

> 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 of 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 all the cities in that country, still Pytheas had the hardihood to tell all those falsehoods about Britain. (Str.4.2.1)

And Strabo described the late route used by the Romans for Atlantic trade, arguably in tin :

> Thirdly, from Narbo traffic goes inland for a short distance by the Atax river, and then a greater distance by land to the Garumna river; ant this latter distance is about eight hundred or seven hundred stadia. And the Garumna, too, flows into the ocean. (Str.4.1.14)

In this case it is apparently implied that the transit from the Garumna to other destinations was by sea rather than overland.

The Bituriges Vivisci had by the first century a port - Burdigala - on the Garonne estuary called <u>emporion</u> by Strabo (4.2.1); the Loire 'formerly' had Corbilo. Ramin (1965:105ff) has some very interesting reflections on these facts (cf my argument p. 330ff). Corbilo was near the Morbihan tin and the tin in Loire Atlantique which we have seen was an extremely important source at some point, probably into the Iron Age; Brittany (and Ramin implied

southern Brittany) was a necessary point of passage on the sea route between Cornwall and Gades (below). Tin probably reached Central Gaul and Massilia by Diodorus' 30-day route via the lower part of the Loire valley. Corbilo on the Loire therefore would have had a very important role as an emporion while a route relying on the Loire estuary was used most intensively. Ramin links the establishment of Narbo as an <u>emporion</u> with the demise of Corbilo and the rise of Bordeaux, and connected both with the Roman conquest and consequent opening of the Garonne as a major trade route with the Atlantic. He would put this at the time of the Caesarian conquest. I would argue on the contrary that the Roman conquest in the second century would have had the same effect on the Garonne, that Corbilo was gone before the first century, and that Narbo was a big <u>emporion</u> by the third century in any case on archaeological grounds alone.

Corbilo is mentioned together with Narbo in what is probably a late third century context in the Strabo quotation from Polybius, and Corbilo's eclipse was therefore after this date. The fonndation of a Roman colony at Narbo may have had some influence if it encouraged use of the Garonne and Bordeaux as opposed to the earlier Loire sources and Corbilo for the south-westerly route. It may be of relevance that peoples using monnaies à la croix are found in the upper half of the length of the Garonne basin, and then again at the Gironde (maps 3,11) suggesting shared cultural characteristics and regular exchanges of some nature which could have been exploited by the Romans for more rapid acquisition of tin, especially if some tin had always come from that direction. Burdigala was in a classic position for an <u>emporion</u> and .... would have been an important Celtic site even before trade was intensified by Roman demands at the Mediterranean end of the Garonne isthmus. The existence of a regular exchange route through this area ... from the Roman conquest late in the second century if not earlier is therefore not implausible although it cannot be proved, at least from coina alone. The date of the establishment of Burdigala would be of importance in settling the question. On the other

hand, coin distributions at the mouth of the Loire are tight for the first phase (map 18), in the third century, and significantly changed in the second century, the Loire being now at the fringe of a distribution centred on the historical territory of the Redones in Armorica (map 18). It is tempting to argue that Corbilo and the earlier cluster were connected and that by the second century it was already eclipsed, together with the strong chiefdoms probably at the mouths of the Seine and Somme. The whole phenomenon could further be connected with the replacement late in the third century or in the second of direct seaborne contact in Gaul between Mediterranean traders in search of tin, which could have taken place previously at river mouths, by more indirect acquisition of tin which was now transported overland to emporia such as Narbo in southern Gaul before it was exchanged with the Romans. Seaborne contact continued however between the Mediterranean peoples and Britain as is shown by amphora distributions and the presence of Greek coins of most periods in the Isle of Wight area of southern Britain and the lower Thames valley. Narbo was already an important trading site before the Roman colony was established, and the process of change in emphasis from the Loire to the Garonne estuaries may have started before the first century. Narbo after all was described by Scipio in the Polybius quotation in Strabo (above) as being a major emporion or city in c.210-06, and the colony was not established until 118.

A few remarks may be made in support of the close relations between Britain and Armorica. Armorica, whether or not it was a source of tin, was a necessary intermediary between Britain and the Mediterranean (Ramin 1965:88f). It would have been used (a) in the circumnavigation of Spain, when the cargo would be transferred in Armorica to ocean-going vessels and vice versa, or if the tin was already in such ships, they would not sail the dangerous route direct to or from Spain, but would to to Armorica and then along the coast; ships going to the Garonne mouth likewise would put in at Armorica. (b) It acted as port for the transport of cargoes across Gaul either by the Loire or the Garonne, or overland from

for instance Nantes or Vannes. Ramin argues further (ibid.:98) that the poor soil of Armorica was not suited to the production of great wealth, yet several major civitates flourished there , and this could be connected with its importance as a necessary port of call between Britain and anywhere in southern Europe or France. Tin was not the only produce exported from Britainm and cargoes of all sorts would have been passing trough Armorican ports. It may be of importance to note that after the disappearance of the coinage cluster of the third century at the Loire mouth, later abundant coin groups are found in northern Brittany, and of types which are found in the Channel Islands and southern Britain also (see below on Ictis). Perhaps northern Armorica rather than the Loire estuary was the natural point of arrival of ships from southern Britain, although Caesar's evidence on the Veneti, if reliable, suggests that Morbihan had a dominating position in this respect in the first century.

On the subject of Ictis (p.[6] above), strong support for its identification with the Isle of Wight as opposed to Saint Michael's Mount near Penzance (a site which fits the description in the ancient texts , and which has features originally typical of a Phoenician emporion), is given by Laing (1968) in his argument from texts and his analysis of Greek coin finds in Britain. The large numbers found in much of southern Britain would point toward long-term and regular contact with Greeks, plausibly in the course of trade. The tightest single distribution is clustered in the Isle of Wight and the surrounding mainland (cf the position of the important emporion at Hengistbury Head: Cunliffe 1974:97f, 148f), although the Thames valley is also well supplied. Few are found in the Cornish peninsula and few in most of the rest of England. He argued, probably rightly, that the tin was not exchanged directly by the producers but through middlemen (p.18), and one might argue that at an early stage important intermediaries were found not only in Britain (eg at Wight or the Thames estuary) but also in nearby Gaul. Wight was probably one place where the middlemen exchanged the tin, being especially suitable for

transit to the Seine and Rhine, as well as Armorica, although the Thames was clearly also important perhaps for the same reasons: one might note the 'Ambiani' coins of the third and second centuries found both at the Somme mouth and the surrounding areas, and in south-east Britain near the Thames, where Greek coins are also found (map 18): Scheers (1968) in fact connects the Ambiani coins and the tin trade. Laing is surely right to argue (1968:19) that the Greek coins were exchanged as ornaments, not as coin proper which has no part in long-distance exchange (chapter 8 of section III above). Although the question of whether Wight was in fact Ictis is not conclusively solved Wight would certainly appear to have been of considerable importance for exchange involving both sides of the channel, as was the surrounding British coastline and Hengistbury Head.

# APPENDIX IV

Place-names in France with roots referring to minerals.

This list is not exhaustive as several categories of place-name have been omitted. Firstly, all those which I had no sound evidence for including although their roots may be derived from metals (eg Mauriac, Cantal): only names beginning with the metal root itself (Argentière, Auriac) or ones preceded by the definite article (Laurière, Largentières) have been included. Certainly there are others which have been omitted through excessive caution. Secondly, names of the sort les Forges and les Mined have been left out. Both types are frequent in mining areas; but les Mines may refer to coal which would confuse the distribution intolerably, and les Forges is not specific to any metal, but is found in the wooded districts of all mining areas. A final pair of omissions are names derived from the roots for tin and copper, which I had difficulty in identifying. Ramin (1965:70-1) mentions *Stn- names for tin in Armorica; the name of Coffre (Ariège, Desjardins 1876:418) where traces of ancient copper-mining are known may be significant.

Names in this list are of settlements of the size of a commune or larger; few lieux-dits are included, which probably reduces the body of material to some degree. I used the Index Atlas, éditions Oberthur, Rennes ©1971 with a few supplements from the 1:200,000 scale Michelin maps. Because of its ambiguity, the name Saint- Laurent is omitted.

1. Place-names with roots *Aur- (gold), *Argent- (silver), *Ferr- (iron), and *Sal-, Sel-, Hal- (Salt).

AIN ---

AISNE ---

ALLIER

Ferrières-sur-Sichon

ALPES-DE-HTE.-PROVENCE

Argens

Argenton

? Auribeau

Aurent

HAUTES?ALPES

Argentière-la-Bessée

ALPES-MARITIMES

Auribeau-sur-Siagne.

Ferres

St.Jean-Cap-Ferrat

ARDÈCHE

Auríolles

Largentière

Laurac-en-Vivarais

Laval-d'Aurelle

St.Michel-d'Aurance

ARDENNES

Mont-Laurent

ARIÈGE

Ferrières-sur-Ariège

Montférrier

AUBE

Ferreux

Rigny-le-Ferron

AUDE

Argens-Minervois

Auriac

Ferran

Montauriol

Montlaur

AVEYRON

Aurelle-Verlac

Auriac-Lagast

Ste.Geneviève-sur-Argence

Montlaur

BOUCHES-DU-RHONE

Aureille

Auriol

Aurons

CALVADOS

Argences

Ferrière-au-Doyen

Ferrière-Duval

Ferrière-Harang

CANTAL

Auriac

Auriac-l'Eglise

Aurillac

Chapelle-Laurent

Ferrières-St.Mary

Laurié

Salins

CHARENTE

Salles-d'Angles

Salles-de-Barbézieux

Salles-Moussac

Salles-de-Villefagnan

Salles-Lavalette

CHARENTE-MARITIME

Ferrières

Saleignes

Salignac-de-Mirabeau

Salignac-sur-Charente

Salles-lès-Aulnay

Salles-sur-Mer

CHER

Argent-sur-Sauldre

Argentières

Saligny-le-Vif

CORRÈZE

Argentat

Auriac

Chartrier-Ferrière

COTE-D'OR

Plombières-lès-Dijon

COTES-DU-NORD

la Ferrière

CREUSE

Auriat

DORDOGNE

Auriac-de-Bourzac

Auriac-du-Périgord

Salagnac

la Salamonie

Salignac-Eyvignes

Salles-de-Belvès

Salon

DOUBS

Corcelles-Ferrières

Ferrières-le-Lac

Ferrières-les-Bois

DROME

Aurel

Auriples

Ferrassières

Ravel-et-Ferriers

Salettes

Salles-sous-Bois

Montlaur-en-Diois

EURE

Ferrières-Haut-Clocher

Ferrières- St.-Hilaire

Ferrières-sur-Risle

Montlaure

EURE-ET-LOIRE

Argenvilliers

Saulnières

Saulnières-Morvillette

FINISTÈRE

Argenton

GARD

Salazac

Salindres

Salinelles

les Salles-du-Gardon

HAUTE-GARONNE

Auragne

Aureville

Auriac-sur-Vendinelle

Auribail

Aurignac

Aurin

Montauriol

Montégut-Lauragais

Montlaur

Montesquieu-Lauragais

Montgaillard - de-Salies

Montgaillard- Lauragais

Saleich

Salerm

Salies-du-Salat

Salles-et-Pratviel

Salles-du-Garonne

la Salvetat

la Salvetat-Lauragais

la Salvetat-St.Gilles

GERS

Aurensan

Aurimont

Monferran-Plarès

Monferran-Savès

Montlaur-Bernet

Roquelaure

Roquelaure-St.-Aubin

GIRONDE

Auriolles

Auros

Cap Ferret

Pondaurat

Salaunes

Salignac

Salleboeuf

Salles

les Salles

St.-Pierre-d'Aurillac

HERAULT

Causse-de-la-Selle

Ferrals-les-Montagnes

Ferrières-les-Verreries
Ferrières-Poussarou
Laurens
Lauret
Lauroux
Montferrier-sur-Lez
Sallèles
la Salvetat-sur-Agout

ILLE-ET-VILAINE
Argentré-du-Plessis
le Ferré
Saulnières
Sel-de-Bretagne
la Selle-en-Coglès
la Sells-en-Luitré
Selle-Guerchaise

INDRE
Argenton-sur-Creuse
Nuret-le-Ferron

INDRE-ET-LOIRE
la Ferrière
Ferrière-Larçon
Ferrière-sur-Beaulieu

ISERE
Auris
la Ferrière
Montferrat
Salagnon
Salaise-sur-Sanne
Salette-Fallavaux
Salle-en-Beaumont

JURA
Salans
Saligney
Salins-les-Bains
Sellières

LANDES
Aureilhan
Aurice
Laurède
Lauret
St.Géours-d'Auribat
Vicq-d'Auribat

LOIR-ET-CHER
Seillac
Selles-St.-Denis
Selles-sur-Cher
Selommes

LOIRE
Bourg-Argental
Rozier-Côtes-d'Aurec
Sail-les-Bains
Sail-sous-Couzan
Salcigneux
les Salles
Salvaris
Salvizinet

HTE-LOIRE
Aurac-Lafayette
Aurec-sur-Loire
Salettes
Salzuit
St.Ferréol-d'Auroure
St. Georges-d'Aurac

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE ---

LOIRET
Ferrières

LOT
Lauresses
St.Jean-de-Laur

LOT-ET-GARONNE
Argenton
Auriac-sur-Dropt
Ferrensac
Montauriol
Salles

LOZERE
Auroux

les Sallelles

la Salle-Prunet

Salles-Basses

les Salles

MAINE-ET-LOIRE

Ferrière-de-Flée

Salle-de-Vihiers

Salle-et-Chapelle-Aubry

MANCHE

Ferrières

Cerisy-la-Salle

Morsalines

Plomb

MARNE ---

HAUTE-MARNE

Argentolles

Ferrière-et-Lafolie

MAYENNE

Argenton-Notre-Dame

Argentré

MEURTHE-ET-MOSELLE

Ferrières

MEUSE

Etain (?)

MORBIHAN ---

MOSELLE----

NIEVRE

Beaumont-la-Ferrière

[NORD omitted]

OISE

Ferrières

ORNE

Argentan

Ferrière-au-Doyen

Ferrière-aux-Etangs

Ferrière-Béchet

Ferrière-Bochard

Ferrières-la-Verrerie

Glos-la-Ferrière

PAS-DE-CALAIS

Selles

PUY-DE-DOME

Aurières

PYRENEES ATLANTIQUES

Auriac

Aurions-Idernes

Salies-de-Béarn

Salles-Mongiscard

Sallespisse

HAUTES PYRENEES

Aureilhan

Aurensan

Auriébat

Ferrère

Ferrières

Saléchan

Saligos

Salles

Salles-Adour

PYRENEES ORIENTALES

Montferrer

St.Laurent-de-la-Salagne

Villelongue de la Salagne

BAS-RHIN

Saales

Salenthal

Salm

Salmbach

Selestat

Seltz

HAUT-RHIN

Ferrette

RHONE

Couzon-au-Mont-d'Or

Curis-au-Mont-d'Or

Salles

St.Cyr-au-Mont-d'Or

St. Didier-au-Mont-d'Or
Ste.-Foy-l'Argentière
St.-Genis-l'Argentière
St.Germain-au-Mont-d'Or
St.Romain-au-Mont-d'Or

HAUTE SAONE
Ferrières-lès-Ray
Ferrières-lès- Scey
la Selle
Selles
Senargent
Villargent
Vy-le-Ferroux
Noidans-le-Ferroux

SAONE-ET-LOIRE
Bourganeuf-val-d'Or

SARTHE ---

SAVOIE
Argentine
Salins-les-Thermes

HAUTE SAVOIE
Argentière
Cranves-Sales
Ferrières
Sales
Sallanches
Sallenoves

SEINE MARITIME
Etainpuis
Etainhus
Ferrières-en-Bray

SEINE-ET-MARNE
Argentières
Férolles-Attilly
Ferrières
Salins

YVELINES ---

DEUX-SEVRES
Argenton-Château
Argenton-l'Église
Breuil-sous-Argenton
Couture-d'Argenton
Ferrière-en-Parthenay
Moutiers-sous-Argenton
Neuil-sur-Argent
Salles
Séligné

SOMME
Ferrières
Saleux
Salouël
Selincourt

TARN
Cambon-les-Lavaur
Ferrières
Lavaur
Montauriol
Puy Laurens
Saliès
Sallès
Salvages
Salvagnac
St.-Lieux-lès-Lavaur
St.-Cernin-lès-Lavaur

TARN-ET-GARONNE ---

VAR
Brue-Auriac
Montauroux
Montferrat
Montfort-sur-Argens
Roquebrune-sur-Argens
Salernes
Salins-d'Hyères
Salles-sur-Verdon
Seillans
Seillans-source-d'Argens

VAUCLUSE

Aurel

Auribeau

Lauris

Loriol-du-Comtat

Villelaure

VENDEE

la Ferrière

Saligny

Sallertaine

St.Laurent-de-la-Salle

VIENNE

Ferrière-Auroux

Notre-Dame-d'Or

HAUTE VIENNE

Aureil

Laurière

Saillát-sur-Vienne

Salles-Lavauguyon

St.Sulpice-Laurière

VOSGES

Plombières-les-Bains

la Salle

YONNE

Argenteuil-sur-Armançon

Argentenay

BELFORT ---

ESSONNE ---

HAUTES DE SEINE ---

SEINE ST DENIS ---

VAL DE MARNE ---

VAL D'OISE

Argenteuil.

2. Salt.

For sources of Armorican sea salt and the fish-salting business see Sanquer and Galliou (1972). Other sources:

Mines: (information from Pinchemel 1969:63)
Saulnois (Lorraine)
valleys of the Meurthe and Seille
Varangeville
Poligny (Jura)
Salins (Jura)
Dax (Landes)
Salins-du-Béarn (Pyr.Basses)
Salies-du-Salat (Hér)
Salin-de Giraud (salt marshes)
Aigues-Mortes (Gard; salt marshes)

Sea salt sources:
St.Hippolyte (Ch.Mar. : Gallia 1965:358)
La Vallée (Ch.Mar.: Gallia 1967:254)
Étaules-l'Ile-de-Brèze (Ch.Mar.:Gallia 1967:246)
Thairé-d'Aunis (Ch.Mar.:Gallia 1969:270, 1971:263)
See also section I under Charente-Maritime.

2. Copper

Mines:
Aquitania (BG III.2.1)
Sos area (Desjardins 1876:409)
Sallustianum in Ceutronum Alpes (Pliny NH 34.2.2)
Vaudrevange near Sarrelouis (Gallo-Roman; Desjardins 1976:418)
Rozières near Carmaux (Tarn; Desjardins 1876:418)
St.Étienne-de-Baigorry (Basses Pyr., over 50 galleries worked at an early date; Desjardins ibid.)
Coffre (Ariège), Desjardins ibid.
Chessy-les-Mines near Villefranche (Rhone , Desjardins ibid.)
Cabrières (Hér., Desjardins ibid.)
near Lyon (Desjardins ibid.:420)

works:
Entrains (Nièvre, Desjardins ibid.)
Camarès (Aveý., Gallia 1964:428)

3. Iron * = mines; + = foundries or forges. Information from Bourges museum unless otherwise indicated.

*Allogny forest (Cher)
*le Noyer
+ Neuilly-en-Sancerre
*Neuvy-deux-Cloches
+Henrichemont
*St. Palais
* + Ménétou-Salon
+Allogny
+Vasselay
*+ St.Eloi-de-Gy
+Farges-Allichamps
+Farges-en-Septaine
+Savigny-en-Septaine
+Genouilly
+Dampierre-en-Graçay
*Massay
+Lury-sur-Arnon
+Giroux
+Graçay
+Reboursin (Indre)
+Meunet-sur-Vatan
+Villentrois
+Luçay-le-Mâle
*Brives (Indre, Desjardins 1876:411)
*Mehun (Cher, Desjardins ibid.)
*Azy-le-Vif (Nièvre, Desjardins ibid.)
*Mareuil (Cher, Desjardins ibid.)
*Ste. Lizaigne (Indre, Desjardins ibid.)
*Ardentes (Indre, Desjardins ibid.)
*Sancergues (Cher, Desjardins ibid.)
*Tonnerre (Yonne, 10-12m deep; ibid.; lacroix 1955)
*Joigny area (Yonne; Desjardins ibid.)
*Auxerre- Châtillon-sur-Loing (Yonne, Desjardins ibid.)
*Chéroy (Yonne, ibid.)
Mézilles (Yonne, ibid.)
+Sémur-Saulieu, especially Précy-sous-Thil and Thoste: 80 forges (ibid.)
+Near Clamécy (ibid.:412)
*Chavroux (Vienne, ibid.)
*Bernay (Eure, ibid.)
*Lanquais (Dord., ibid.)
*forêt de St.Aignan (L+Ch; many excavations; ibid.)
+Excideuil (Dord., 7-8 slag heaps; ibid.)
*Jura (underground works, ibid.)
*Périgord and Rouergue (Desjardins ibid.:413)
*Aubin (Avey., ibid.)
*Salles-la-Source (Avey., ibid.)
*Jumilhac (Avey., ibid.)
*Near Kaimar (Avey., ibid.)
*Le Mans (Sarthe, ibid.)
*Forges (S.Inf., ibid)
*Palmesalade (Gard, ibid.)
*Aigle and Rugles (Orne, ibid.)
*Canigou (Pyr.Or., ibid.)
*Meurthe, Isère and Mayenne (ibid.)
*Ronchères (Hte.M., ibid.)
*Tréveray (Meuse, ibid.)
*Vicdessos (Ariège, ibid.)
*Montluçon-Commentry ores (Le Lannon 1964:70)
*Chaillac (Indre) ores (Estienne and Joly 1961:78)
*Lorraine ores (very abundant, Pinchemel 1969:63)
*Armorican ores, especially Châteaubriant (L.Atl., ibid.)
*the escarpments from Côtes de Moselle to Neuves-Maisons (M+M, ibid.)
*Barburet near Ferrières (Pyrenees, ibid.)
*Puymorens (Pyrenees, ibid.)
*'Mardelles' near Dun sur Auron (Cher, Dindinaud 1969)
*Argenton (Indre, Cordier 1963)

4. Gold

Cévennes (Strabo 3.2.8)
Pyrenees (ibid.)
Helvetii (Athenaeus 5.23)
Tolosates (Strabo 4.1.13)
Tarbelli (Strabo 4.2.1)
Vaulry (Hte.V., Desjardins 1876:430)
Auris in l'Oisance (Isère, ibid.)
Val d'Anzasca (ibid.)
Mont Rose (ibid.)
Rivers Tarn, Ariège, Aurance, Gardon, Garonne, Crèze, Rhone, Rhine (ibid.)
Creuze ores in quartz (Estienne and Joly 1961:78)
North of St.Yrieix la Perche (Hte.V., Deffontaines and Delamarre 1958:pl.298)

5. Silver and lead;

silver works at Alesia: Pliny NH 34.20)
Huelgoat (Fin., Desjardins 1976:424)
Allemont (Isère, ibid.)
Ste.Marie-aux-Mines (Ht.Rhin, ibid.)
Ruteni, Gabales (Strabo 4.2.2)
Villefranche de Rouergue, la Maladrerie (Desjardins 1876:425)
Milhan (Creissels, Avey, ibid.)
Roquefort, le Minier (L+G, ibid.)
Vialas (Loz., ibid.)
Macôt (Savoie, ibid.)
Luech near Beseges (Gard, ibid.)
Pontgibaud (P.D., ibid.)
Largentière (Htes Alpes, ibid.)
Largentière (Ardèche, ibid.)
Garde-Fráinet (Vár, ibid.)
Aulus, Pouech, Guaff between Gourbet and Arcke (Ariège, ibid.)
Melle (D.S., ibid.)
Alloue (Charente, ibid.)
Les Chéronies (Charente, ibid.)
near St.Avold (Moselle, ibid.)
Hargarten-aux-Mines (Moselle, ibid)
Ste.Barbe (Vosges, ibid.:426)
Bleyberg (Vosges, ibid.)
Villefranche (Avey., Estienne and Joly 1961:78
Najac (Aveyron, Estienne and Joly 1961:78)
Montgros (Hte.L, ibid.)
Monistrol (Hte.L, ibid.)
Josat (Hte.L, ibid.)
Bleymard (Loz., ibid.)
Vialas (Loz., ibid.)
Anzelles (P.D., ibid.)
Sagnes (P.D., ibid.)
Armorican ores (Pinchemel 1969:63)
Largentière to Montagne Noire to Villefranche de Rouergue (ibid.)

# APPENDIX V

## MEDITERRANEAN CONTACTS PRIOR TO THE SECOND CENTURY ON THE SOUTH-WEST OF GAUL.

Montlaures (Narbonne) - Greek and Etruscan imports from the sixth century; Hallstattian huts with Etruscan amphoras etc; occupation continued throughout the Iron Age despite violent interruptions (Gallia 1964:479f). Ladern-sur-Lauquet (Aude) - two hut floors with sixth to fifth century furniture and Massiliot amphoras (Gallia 1971:373). Mailhac (Aude) - imports from the first appearance of Etruscan goods in the sixth century (Gallia 1971: 373f). Ouveillan (Aude) - a big collection of Etruscan, Ionian and black figure Attic sherds dating to the sixth century (ibid.:375). Peyriac-de-Mer (Aude) - third century imports of skyphos cups, Campanian A pottery, Ibero-Punic, Greco-Punic and Massiliot amphoras; this is a period not normally represented in the Centre at all by Mediterranean goods.(Ibid.:375; 1969:387). Vic-la-Gardiole (Hér.) - sixth to fifth century occupation; Etruscan and 'Phocaean' pottery, Ionian style decoration(Gallia 1969:401). Castelnau-le-Lez (Hér.) - sixth century occupation before the arrival of foreign goods in Gaul; Attic red figure pottery later and in the sixth century some grey Phocaean ware (ibid.:464-5; 1971:380, 1973:490). Sigean (Aude) oppidum Pech Maho - sixth century until second century occupation and numerous imports: Etruscan, Ionian, Hellenic and Italian; Greco-Italian and Ibero-Punic amphoras (Gallia 1969:388; 1973:484f; 1971:377f for third century imports, especially Emporitan). Saint-Maur (Gard) - fifth to fourth century imports of Etruscan and Massiliot amphoras (Gallia 1969:393ff). At Villasavary (Aude) oppidum Canonges there was occupation from the mid sixth century to the Roman period, with most marked prosperity in the sixth century and inthe first. This site proves to be the most inland site known on the isthmus to have an important Greek assemblage: Ionian and black figure Attic ceramic; Languedocian ceramic with subgeometric decoration, ochre painted; in the sixth century where were intense exchanges along the Aude-Garonne corridor, including a little with the oppidum of le Roc

at Villeneuve-la-Comptal (Gallia 1973:487).

MEDITERRANEAN IMPORTS ON THE SOUTH-EAST.

Le Pègue (Drôme) - extremely frequent imports from an early date: by the second century tiles were already in use (Gallia 1964:526f; 1966:512-4; 1968:589f; 1971:431f). Saint-Marcel-d'Ardèche - sixth to fifth century remains comparable with le Pègue and extensive imports (Gallia 1971:442). La Gorce (Ardèche) - late sixth century pseudo-Ionic ware (ibid.:442). Fonteville (B.Rh.) - sixth to fifth century extensive imports from Greece and Etruria (Gallia 1967:403). Saint-Marcel near Marseille - fifth to fourth century extensive imports (ibid.:404). Saint-Blaise (B.Rh.) -sixth to fifth century extensive imports including some from the late seventh century (Etruscan and Rhodian; ibid,:410ff). Soyons (Ardèche) - oppidum Malpas; sixth to fifth century emporium, and sporadic commerce with Massilia continued until the third century (Gallia 1960:376). Vercorian (Drôme) - similar record to le Pègue from the late sixth century (Gallia 1966:515-7). Les Granges-Goutardes (Drôme) - fifth to fourth century commerce with the Mediterranean (ibid.:518); at l.d. Logis-de-Berre there was a mutatio of the fourth century, so it would seem that in the fifth to fourth centuries this was a crossroads of some importance. Vienne (Isère) - fourth to third century imports have come up including a fragment of an Attic red figure cup of the fourth century which is the first known in the Rhone valley. Italic imports continued into the second to first centuries (Gallia 1968:583). The Roman province probably only reached as far as Vienne in the first century.

There are a number of places within the province which only had heavy imports after the second century, or a little earlier: Annoisin-Châtelans (Isère) - 'la Tène II' period imports (Gallia 1960:366). Alba (Ardèche) - first century (Gallia 1971:439f); Alba was near the provincial border, and the imports were heavy in the first century. Cavaillon (Vauc.) - the most heavy imports were in the first century or

second (Dumoulin 1965). Pomas-et-Rouffiac (Aude), oppidum la Lagaste had imports from the second century (Gallia 1969:388; 1973:483); once imports began, Campanian imitations began to be made here and the buildings were of a high standard (Gallia 1971:376). Imports also included Iberic and Catalan ceramic and Italic amphoras,; the site was occupied for most of the first century. There was a vast inhabited area on this spot, unfortified and covering over c.100ha, and imports and abundant coins indicate its use as an emporion. It was intensively occupied from the second century. Coins include 'Volcae, Iberic, Massaliot, Gaulish and Roman republican' (Gallia 1973:483.). Bize-Minervois (Aude) - second century imports from Italy and Spain (Gallia 1971:370). Escales (Aude) - a similar record (ibid.:371). The wealth of Tolosa's imports shows how far from the coast Mediterranean influence could reach on the west. The development of Toulouse has analogies with that of the region to the north-east of the province on the east, discussed in section I. Toulouse had contacts with the Mediterranean espeeially from the sixth century onward (Gallia1968:424); the site of Toulouse was occupied inthe eighth century (Gallia 1970:411f) and it was incorporated into the Roman province in c.106.(Ward-Perkins 1941).

# APPENDIX VI

## SITES WITH MURUS GALLICUS RAMPARTS

At Vertault (Vertillum, C.d'O) the murus Gallicus is of such a refined style and in addition is associated with a fibula probably dated to AD 40-60 that it is probable that its construction was post-conquest; sigillated pottery from la Graufesenque found in its construction makes this late date certain (Gallia 1958:308ff). Prototype murus Gallicus construction without nails is known at Châteaumeillant (Cher) and at Fou de Verdun (Nièvre) for which see the appropriate section above. The construction of the wall at Alesia (C.d'O) may therefore be later than these, although lack of iron rather than an early date could account for the lighter construction. A list of sites known to have murus Gallicus walls is given by P-M Duval (1969): Le Petit-Celland (Manche, p.42); ?Landean (I+V, ibid.); ?Saint-Coulomb (I+V, p.43); ?Saint-Jean-de-Savigny (Manche, ibid.); Saint-Désir near Lisieux (Calv., ibid.); ?Montigny-l'Engrain (Aisne, p.44); Avesnes (Nord,p.45); on p.47 he further lists: Crêt-Châtelard (Loire), Essalios (Loire), le Châtelard de Chazi (Saint-Geroges-de-Baroisle, Loire ), Joeuvres (Loire) [for different opinions on the sort of fortification of the Loire oppida/forts see p.47ff above; they were not necessarily murus gallicus.]; Puy du Tour (Corr) [but see p.90 above: this is far from proven]; Villejoubert (Hte.V); Murcens (Lot); l'Impernal (Lot); Mont Beuvray (Nièvre); Alesia (C.d'O); Vertault (C.d'O); Mont Lassois (C.d'O); Bois-Vert (Lavilleneuve, C.d'O), Bourges (Cher), Camp de Cornouin (Montmorillon, Vienne), La Ségourie (Cholet, M+L), Boviolles (Meuse); Coulounieix (Dord.), Vue (L-Atl.), Hastedon (Namur, Belgium), Ring d'Otzenhause (Hunsruck, Germany), Zarten (Freiburg-en-Brisgau, Germany), Mont-Terrible (Porrentruy, Berne, Switzerland), Engelhalbinsel (Berne), Manching (Ingolstadt, Bavaria). I would add Brives (Indre) to this list, and also le Feif-Sauvin (M+L, DAG and Déchelette 1914:990) and Mont Châtel arr, Commentry (Meuse, 50 ha., Déchelette 1914:988f).

# APPENDIX VII

## COIN HOARDS OF IMPORTANCE FOR THIS STUDY.

ALLIER

Saint-Géran (near Moulins): a gold torc with a straight stem, 284g; about 50 gold coins not described more closely than 'philips' (Déchelette 1914: 1346; Rev.Arch. 1844 I p.124).

ARDECHE

Annonay (not certainly a hoard): 2 gold coins, BN 6066 (6.21g) and 6067 (5.80g) = Pl.VIII.4.

AVEYRON

Goutrens: about 1,500 monnaies à la croix 2.15-2.25g, with 4 kg of silver ingots and Aquitanic group coins of the types sword with pentagram, boar with X, IVRC, and 'Branch' with three circles (pl.V.9). (Allen 1969 no 36 and p.54, 56; ABT no 19; Colbert de Beaulieu 1959a).

BOUCHES DU RHONE

Entremont: 4 hoards. 1. 1,435 Massiliot obols. 2. 100 obols, 2 drachms, 1 quinarius of Roma/Dioscuri type and 2 victoriati of 240-197. 3. 27 drachms in a wooden box. 4. 110 obols in an earthen pot (Benoit 1968).

CHARENTE-MARITIME

Courcoury (arr. Saintes): over 100 gold coins of the generic type 'Regenbogenschüsselchen', (a) degenerate head of a bird and a cross between 'fleurons' with three globules; (b) bent snake and on the reverse six globules in a semicircle. With the coins were several gold ingots; weight of the coins: 7.25-7.30g. One ingot, which has the appearance of having fused in cold water after melting, weighed 281.25g (ABT no.31 and p.476; Hucher claimed a stray find of one of these types, ibid.:476 n.5).

Chevanceau: 64 electrum staters (a) 1 with obv. head to the right, chain of dots around it; rev. charioteer and androcephalous horse to the right; below, a small head to the right (unpublished type). (b) 61 others fall into two varieties of Pictones staters, head to the right, chain of dots around it, rev. charioteer and androcephalous horse to the right and hand below, LT XIII. 4395: (i) 4 mushroom shaped motifs around the head on the obverse, and bust naked; (ii) no small motifs, and shoulder draped: 6.54-6.87g. With the coins was an ingot of gold, 330g, 900-1000/1000 in fineness, in the shape of a cylindrical section of wire of diminishing thickness, curled up on itself (Gallia 1963:439ff; Benusiglio 1957).

CHER

Vierzon : Hoard of silver Poitou (Indre group) coins. Types: two horses, PI or PII and/or PIII; croucing rider type (ABT no.33).

Châteaumeillant : between Caesarian and Augustan levels, associated with a fire, a group of 55 potins, or 48 potins, one plated monnaie à la croix, and 6 others. Potin types: obv. head left, filling the field; rev. 'Sequani' type (variation), quadruped left. Av. weight 3.40g; 0.016-0.017m diam. (Gallia 1963:383ff; Cothenet 1963).

Berry (no exact provenance): 6 good Philip imitations. Not certainly a hoard (ABT:214).

COTES-DU-NORD

Guingamp : 190 electrum staters. containing up to 10% gold; all Osismi. Most weights 6.40-6.90g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956a).

CORREZE

Brive : hoard of 120 coins found in 1918: ANS coins of type pl.XI.11 (crane and trefoil electrum group) weigh 6.78g, 6.81g, 7.02g, 7.04g. Apparently a homogeneous hoard.

CREUSE

Bénévent-l'Abbaye : at least 44 silver Aquitanic severed head group A coins;

c.2.10-2.15g. Included are BN 4561 (2.02g), 4566 (2.17g) and G 2735 (2.14g; 2.18 on the ticket). (ABT no 49).

Bridiers (also Brède, Brèth, Breith; cant. la Souterraine): found in 1862, containing about 40 silver coins, imitations of types of Emporiae and Massilia principally. Types: (Fillioux 1862:464-5 and vol.IV:102)

1. Obv. laurelled head right; rev. dislocated 'lion' of Massilia with cauldron above and ?wheat ear below. 9 found.

2. obv. laurelled or diademed head right with fancy hair; rev. dislocated 'Lion' with cauldron; exergue line with wheat ear below, type pl.I.5. 4 found.

3. obv. head laurelled, with earring, right; rev. as last, type pl.I.6. 3 found.

The obverses of these three types are interrelated.

4. Head of 'Aquitanic' type right; rev. horse to right with stylized 'Victory' of Emporiae above, and exergue line below with a pattern of 3 semicircles hanging below it: pl.I.9. 6 found.

5. obv. female head right derived from Ceres of Emporiae, with hair bound in several bands; rev. as last. 3 found.

6. Types as last but horse facing left: pl.I.8. 3 found.

7. 'Aquitanic' head right; rev. biga right with driver and symbol derived from the head of Helios on Philip II staters; corn ear and legend ...ΠΛΟΝ: pl.I. 10; not known how many found.

8. As last, but an upright trident on the neck of the obverse head. 3 found.

9. Obv. curly-haired bare head right; rev. horse left, 'Victory' above; exergue line with three-arc figure over the line. 1 found.

10. rev. dislocated lion, with a crane behind, and something which could be a crane looking back at its own feet on its back; a snake below. Not known how many found.

These descriptions were published not long after the hoard was found, and are valuable but probably not exhaustive: BN 2253 (LT V), 3.82g is from the hoard, with dislocated 'lion' to the right and a large dotted circle above, and a form of 'Aquitanic' obverse to the left. See the list of coins in appendix VIII.

Weights of coins from the Bridiers hoard: G2736 (4.32g), G2737 (4.30g), G2746 (4.27g); G2754 (4.35g); G2756 (4.32g), BN 2250?-(said by ABT no 51 to be from the hoard, but not given a provenance in the BN catalogue : 4.52g), BN 2251 (4.42g), 2252 (4.ℓ 37g), 2253 (3.82g); 3.40g (Vian 1954). Coins from the [illegible] hoard are illustrated at: Cahn sale Dec.1922 p.20 no 372 (4.60g, rev. 'lion', cauldron and corn ear). See ABT no 51 and pl.II nos. 4,5,7; p.196, 290-1, 241 and fig.100. The five coins from Guéret are not included in Blanchet's inventory of the hoard.

Jalesche (same as Marcillat, cne. Châtelus-Malvaleix): mixed hoard containing 5 CAMBOTRE; severed head group A (= B 909.46.5, 1.28g); sword with centre-dotted circle 1.95g; DOYNO of the Aedui 1.85g; eastern dilver coin 1.80g; illegible obverse/horse with bridle left, boar left below, border of dots; poor alloy stater 4.58g (= B 909.46.1) of the type with crane and trefiol group B [the inventory for the Bourges collection says 'from Halesche', so presumably from the hoard] (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956d). Also contained TOGIRIX (Dayet 1962). Blanchet (1910) published the Marcillat hoard, and as it was found in close proximity to Jalesche and the contents are apparently identical, it is probably the same hoard and is therefore not marked separately on the distribution maps here: found in 1908, in an earthen vase bound with an iron band. Blanchet had a chance to examine the hoard before it was dispersed. Apart from the coins the hoard contained 1 iron axe head, (cf the iron axe head in the monnaies à la croix hoard of St.Etienne des Landes [Dord.] and appendix : IX; the Sark hoard was in a vase bound with an iron band (Allen 1971]). The vase measured 0.08m in height and 0.06 in diameter, had a conical lid and was rough greyish-red, hand made. Coins: 13 crane and trefoil staters group B; 4 quarter-staters of crane and trefoil group; 4 CAMBOTRE; 4 Aquitanic silver with a boar; 1 Aquitanic silver with 'branch' and one centre-dotted circle, the horse without a mane; 4 Aquitanic silver with sword and an X with globules on the upper ends of the strokes only; 1 half-denomination 0.92g of the silver Aquitanic series with sword and pentagram, 0.09m diam, with thick flan and stylistically

close to CAMBOTRE or severed head group. 31 Aquitanic severed head group silver with one centre-dotted circle (group A); 15 with three rings (group B); 1 TOGIRIX silver coin; 1 DOYNO silver coin 1.98g. 79 coins in all. Available weights: severed head group A: 1.35, 1.37, 1.38, 1.40, severed head group B: 2.18, 2.24.

DORDOGNE

Rouquette : 600 monnaies à la croix with 5 gold staters of the type pl.VIIIA.1-3 ('Tête d'Apollon et bige avec E, débris du trident, et plusieurs ⊓ ⊓ ⊓ '). (ABT no 54; Allen 1969 no 4 and p.39 n.2)

Vieille-Cité nr. Périgueux : c. 20 staters with bird over the horse's back (ABT no.54b).

Lestrade cne Mouleydier : 600-700 monnaies à la croix with wolf and horse Indre group Poitou coins in fresh condition (the monnaies à la croix were worn). (ABT no 55 and Allen 1969 no 3)

Vésone (Périgueux): 40 silver Sicilian coins (ABT : 180).

DROME

St.-Uze: Coins of the type pl.VIII.17 (staters): those of this type weighed 7.43g, 7.40, 7.34, 7.47, 7.45, 7.34, 7.39, 7.42. The hoard apparently contained other types as well (Colbert de Beaulieu 1958).

GIRONDE

Tayac : a broken gold torc weighing 726g; c.400 gold coins, four-fifths of the type pl.VIIIA 1-3 (wrongly classed by older authors as 'Arverni'), one-fifth Gallo-Belgic A or 'Bellovaci' staters; 7 or 8 quarter-staters of the former type; an ingot of 17g made of heated and hammered gold wire; 73 ingots of c.7.60g in a more advanced stage, melted into blobs; 4-5 similar flans hammered flat; a spiral roll of gold wire 53.40g; an oval ingot of 55.5g; about 30 coins were uniface, the rest struck with a type on both sides. The 17 gramme ingot was 720/1000 in fineness. Individual coins from the hoard are published in a number of places. Forrer (1908) fig. 520 (7.89g), fig. 521 (7.61g), fig. 58 (7.87g), fig 81 (7.62g) are illustrated, all of

the first type (pl.VIIIA.1-3); fig. 519 (7.75g), fig 442 (7.64g) are of the Gallo-Belgic A variety. One quarter-stater at 'c.2.0g' is in Blanchet (1922:122) of the type Forrer fig. 520. Further illustrations of Tayac coins are in sale catalogues (all of the type pl. VIIIA 1-3): Kress sale 6 Sept. 1961 p.8 no 547, 7.82g "cf Forrer fig 525"; Cahn sale Dec 1922 p 21 no 387, 7.90g; Cahn sale Oct 1926 p 5 no 43, 7.70g; Kress sale 10 June 1958, p.4 no 210, 7.60g which has a test-mark; the same coin is in Kress sale 7 Dec 1957 p 7 no 2549; the type Forrer fig 57, 7.70g is illustrated in the Kress sale catalogue 7 Dec 1957 p 6 no 2548. It is apparent that the assertion in the earliest publications that the coins and flans all weighed 7.60g is an approximation, and that in fact many if not most wighed more than that. Forrer (1908:318-29) further breaks down the contents. There were four types:

1. Gallo-Belgic coins of orange gold, c.65 examples. His coins of this type weighed: 7.75g, 7.70, 7.67, 7.64, 7.63, 7.60 (2), 7.59, 7.50 (2), 7.45, 7.38, 7.34, 7.26.

2. 'Schlüsselmünzen of the Boii or Rhaeti (the earlier "ingots"), c.7.60g, 1.5cm diameter, cf his fig. 2 of the type and fig 388 from Podmokl (shown also at ABT:459 no 509, 7.34-7.55g).

3. Orange 14 carat gold coins of the type pl.VIIIA 1-3, VIII.8. The hoard contained about 195 of them: Forrer's collection coins weighed: 7.93g, 7.90, 7.89, 7.87, 7.82, 7.81, 7.79, 7.85, 7.78, 7.77 (3), 7.76, 7.75 (2), 7.73, 7.72 (2), 7.71, 7.70 (4), 7.69, 7.67, 7.66, 7.65 (5), 7.64, 7.63 (4), 7.62 (3), 7.61, 7.60 (2), 7.59, 7.55.

4. Yellow 12-14 carat gold 'Beaune' type staters, pl.VIII.16. About 65 were in the hoard. His own examples weighed: 7.55, 7.51, 7.50, 7.43, 7.40, 7.38, 7.37, 7.35 (2), 7.33 (2), 7.32 (2), 7.31, 7.23, 7.10g.
One stater, rather worn, of the early type Pl.VI.5 was found in the hoard (no weight given): Forrer (1968 pl.9 no 14).

Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a;291 n.547 cf n.502) includes in the hoard one 'Veneti' gold coin of the type BN 6884 (7.55g), which he describes as one of the later series of these staters, c.90-80 BC. I would suggest that the

overall composition of the hoard should push up the chronology of the Loire staters, rather than vice versa.

Date: on the basis of the Gallo-Belgic A coins, and the generally high weight of the coins, as well as the presence of types which had disappeared from eastern-Central Gaul by the first century ('Beaune' type), a date for the haard of c.120 and before 100 is plausible (Allen 1968; Ord.Survey map of S.Britain in the Iran Age map 1).

Further individual coins are illustrated by Lalanne (1900): a coin with reverse type only developed from a form of pl.VI.5; the symbol under the horses is a group of four dots in diamond shape and the legend reads ΦΙΛΙΠΠ. The torc (Cartailhac 1897) has a stem of four wires twisted together, with the ends of hollow and flattened spheres. One coin of type (3) above has a deep test-mark cutting through the flan : Kress sale 10 June 1958 no 210 - see appendix X. Other illustrated coins are: in MMAG sale Dec. 1972 no 218 (7.79g), 219 (7.53g), 220 (7.62g) all type (3) above, 221 (7.40g) of type (4); Clem.Platt (Drouot) sale Mar. 1922 no 115 of type (3). For the bibliography see ABT no 95; Allen (1969: 38 n.1 and 39 n.2),Lalanne (1900).

Saint-Médard-de-Guizières : staters and quarter-staters of the type of Tayac (3) above, variety of Forrer (1908) fig 520 (Allen 1969:38 n.1 and 39 n.2).

Mouliets-et-Villemartin: 2 electrum staters (no weight given) found in la Tène III debris; illustration of one side only of each shows (a) a row of three and a group of two globules, and a faint double line; (b) a formless pattern of about five large and half a dozen small globules on the scyphate (concave?) side (Gallia 1967:343-4).

HERAULT

Saint-Saveur (Lattes): a third hoard, 849 monnaies à la croix (Gallia 1969:394).

INDRE

Moulins-sur-Céphons : 13 CAMBOTRE, 59 CAM, 30 IVRCA group; 1 severed head group A (1.02g); 134 sword with pentagram; 13 sword with ringglet; 82 sword with flowerlet; 20 sword with 'wheel'; 76 branch with ringlet; 4 branch with crescent; 12 group II3b; 23 boar with ringlet; 116 boar with X; 3 with ringlets above and below the hhrse; 4 gold ABVCATOS staters; 1 ABVDOS stater; 2 ABVDOS quarter-staters; 1 quarter-stater of ABVDOS group cf LT XIV.4175 but with a single ringlet and the latter A. For weights of the coins see the weight chart; weights for the gold (Blanchet 1910): 6.95, 2.30, 2.50, 1.0g. (ABT no 113; Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c).

Tendu : 249 sword group Aquitanic coins : 84 with boar, 70 with sword, 60 with branch, 1 CAM, 8 with 'fern' = II3b (ABT no 114). Blanchet (1910) says there were probably no severed head coins in the hoard.

Buxeuil : Indre group Poitou silver coins (ABT no.115). Types: Buhot de Kersers (1870). The hoard was found in 1862. 41 coins probably from it were described; the Bourges museum had the contents of the Vierzon (Cher) hoard found in 1847 which were of three types and comparable.

1. Head left, locks ending in globules; rev. two horses left, a big triquetra above and a cross below with dotted ends; a dot is found between the horses (type pl.III.16). 10 known.

2. Same types but head on the obverse to the right. 1 known.

3. Head to the right; rev. same horses to the right, two laurel leaves (?) above; underneath, a flower like a vase with a lid (type pl. III.13-14). 12 known.

4. As last, but horses to the left. 3 known.

5. As last, obverse: facing right; rev. horseman to the right with a long shield; below, a flower as in (3)-(4) in various forms (=PIII, pl.III.7). 5 known. Four varieties of the 'flower' are illustrated.

6. Head to the right; rev. horseman to the right, underneath is a raised hand (= PII, pl.III.5). 6 known.

7. Same head; same horseman to the right, but three rings below. 2 known,

8. Head with 'completely different' hair made of rectilinear plaques; rev. same horseman, raised hand below (= PI, pl.III.4) 1 known.

9. head with big locks to the right, four globukes on the cheek, and a torc; rev. horse to the right, boar or squatting animal driving, three-leafed motif underneath (pl.III.19). 2 known.

10. head left, no globules on cheek ; same reverse. 1 known.

11. Same head to the right; rev. horse as last, similar animal above, two crescents back to back in an upright position below. 1 known.

12. Same head right; reverse: horse to the right, flower above, lyre below. 1 known.

13. Head with lots of very convoluted locks (the engraving suggests PI = pl.III.4); reverse : horse to the right, driver above, a symbol 'ancré' below which is not illustrated or described. This coin is of a different type altogether from the others and Kersers was doubtful of its provenance and attribution. The hoard apparently contatined 45 coins in all.

Issoudun and Charnizay : the hoard of Poitou silver contained the types with two horses, horse and wolf; av. weight 3.30g; also horse surmounted by a stylized animal (3.82, 3.79g = pl.IIIA.2) and crouching figure over the horse (pl.III.20-1). For weights, see the silver chart. The hoard also contained PII (pl.III.5-6; Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a). One PII coin 'from the Charnizay hoard', 3.32g (cf pl.III.5 with a torc and rev. rider and open hand) is illustrated at the MMAG sale catalogue Dec 1972 p.29 no 229; one horse and wolf coin from the same hoard, 3.40g, with a cross on the cheek on the obverse is illustrated in the same sale, no 231. It is unclear whether the find of coins including PII and two horses types from Issoudun or near Issoudun in 1868 is the same one or a different hoard (Anon. Cong. Archéol.Fr. 1873). ABT no 115b suggests this is part of the Buxeuil hoard.

Valençay : 25 coins found, of Poitou types with two horses; crouching rider; wolf and horse; and PI or PII and PIII (ABT no 116; could be part of the Buxeuil hoard). Beauvais (1900) says that the average weight of coins was 3.50g, diameter 16-18mm. 19 of the 25 had the head to the right; there were 3 principal reverse types:

1. horseman to the right with 'helmet' (= Aquitanic hair?) and shield, (a) with hand under the horse (PII), (b) with flower or sort of diota (='lunettes', PIII). 4 coins of the latter type.

2. Two horses to the right (6 coins) or th the left with a cross below (4 coins).

3. Horse on its hind legs and a wolf (4 coins).

Minor types:

4. one horse to the right with a crouched or bouncing figure above, two upright arcs back to back underneath, the right one of which has a globule near its centre (cf BN 6033, Pl.III.20; this coin pl.IIIA.4). 1 coin

5. 1 coin with obv. head to the right with big locks; rev. unusually styled horse to the right, driver above with an animal or birds head kneeling on the horse's haunches, and a symbol of two sticks forming a peak below (pl.IIIA.5). The Obverse is as in the coin B D965.1.4824.

One 'P' coin has as reverse symbol  cf B D965.1.6411 = pl.IIIA.3.

One coin is certainly PI ('helmeted' obverse). One of the two horses type has on the obverse a long drooping moustache or goatee beard, and a torc.

Ingrandes : 28 silver coins : 7 types of Poitou group issues (ABT no 118 and Anon. Cong Archéol.Fr. 1873). Found in 1872 1 km from Ingrandes to the right of the road to Mérigny. In a small earth vase, blackish inside, reddish outside and badly fired. Types:

1. 'Aquitanic' head to the right, dotted collar, bofder of dots; rev. warrior riding right, oval shield, dotted mane of horse, hand below (PII), 3.25g)

2. Head to the right, 4 big locks, bofder of dots; rev. two horses to the right,  above, dot in centre of the coin, 'lyre' below the bottom horse, border of dots. 3.35g.

3. 'Aquitanic' head to the right, dotted collar, cross on cheek; rev. horse

and wolf crouched, 'Lunettes' below, border of dots. 3.15g.

4. 'Aquitanic' head to the left, dotted collar as in (3) under the chin, and also a solid torc, border of dots; reverse as in (3). 3.50g.

5. As in (4), border of dots; rev. horse to the right, wolf above, but below the horse the flower faces right (sic.). Border of dots; 3.25g.

6. 'Aquitanic' head to the left as in (4); rev. two horses to the left, a triangle with bent corders below. 3.25g.

7. 'Aquitanic' head to the right ; rev. as in (6). 3.22g.

The MMAG sale for Dec 1972 shows . . two coins from the hoard, (a) no 229 (3.32g) = PII; (b) no 231 (3.40g) horse and solf with a cross on the cheek on the obverse.

Paulnay : Blanchet assimilated this to the find at Obterre l.d. Linnevert (ABT no 119, 119b). 400-500 silver coins in a rough pottery vase of Poitou types including PI or PII; no details are given. Anon. Cong.Archéol Fr. 1873 says Obterre coins were much less well preserved . than those from Ingrandes; the find was in several clay pots, and the most frequent types were PI or PII and two horses.

INDRE-ET-LOIRE

Charnizay : Indre type Poitou silver hoard including moustached head; two horses; PI and PII; horse and wolf; weight 3.0-3.50g (ABT no 122). Cf Issoudin and Charnizay hoard (Indre) above; it is not always possible to tell to which of these hoards coins from 'Charnizay' come.

Les Ouldes (nr Franceuil): hoard of 500 potins including type pl.XIV.22, 2.10-2.80g (ABT no 120; id. 1900).

Langeais-Mazières : 200 potins including type pl.XIV.22; av.weight 2.91g. (ABT no 121).

Fondettes : hoard of potin and bronze, with a fibula in the vase: 904 coins. Inventory (Philippon 1956): Struck bronze - LT XII 4514 Sactnos (1); XIV 4143 CAM (1); 4154 ABVDOS (14); 4169 ABVDOS/ABVDOS (1); 4177 OSVAII (1);

4185 ISVNIS written ISVNSI (1); 4190 EMBAV (1); 4578 CONNO EPILLUS SEDULLUS (2); XIX 6295 EΛKESOOYIZ/TASGETIOS (1); 6317 (NN inverted) (1); 6317 (TAI.O) (1); XX 6370 CAMBIL (1); XXX 7575 VOCVNILIOS (3); XXXII 7981-8 VADNIILOS (one legend ends IINOS) (3); 8000 CALIAGIIIS (4); DAG 154 BVCIOS (1); One unpublished type; total - 38. Without a legend: LT XIV 4180 (1); XVI 5086 (1); XIX 6077 (7); 6088 (16); 6117 (2); 6188 (6); 6202 (2); 6218 (4); XVIII 7021 (1); XXX 7545 (1); XXXIII 8416 (1); 8466 (1); BN 6215 (1); 6269 (1); ABT fig.181 (1); Lambert II pl V 8-11 (1); ibid. 18 (1); Chauvet, Tr.de la Meilleraie 27 (1); uncertain (10); probably unpublished (8); very corroded (8); Total = 75.

Grand total = 113.

Potins: swastika reverse (2); bird reverse (3); bull reverse (2); bull à la croix (183) [this is probably the type of pl.XIV.22 here]; bull without cross (585); uncertain or broken (16) : total = 791.

ILLE-ET-VILAINE

Pipriac : 600 billon coins of which at least three-quarters are Veneti coins (Colbert de Beaulieu 1953a).

Saint-Jacques-de-la-Lande : c.2000 billon coins, all Redones; 8 main classes (Colbert de Beaulieu 1948 , 1950 , 1951b, 1963a.)

ISERE

Saint-Romans: vase 20 cm x 14 cm of rough brown pottery containing at least 3000 Massiliot obols; 500 studied were all of the type with cross and MA on the reverse (Gallia 1962: ).

Crémieu : hoard of an uncertain number of staters ot the type Pl.VI.12, with quarter-staters of the same type (ABT no.126). BN 5315 (8.05g), 5317 (2.01g).

JURA

La Balme-d'Epy : 12 silver coins of the type KAΛ. (Gallia 1962:527)

LOIR-ET-CHER

Soings : (see pl.VIIIA.4-10) coins found on the border of the lake; remains of a building nearby : . in which a gold hoard was found : a gold collar, imitations of Philip staters of various sizes; under the horse on the reverse of these coins were various motifs: a thunderbolt, circle or triskeles. Weights 7.74-7.79g; quarter staters 1.91g (ABT no 135). Blanchet's account is inaccurate. The original publication (de la Saussaye 1836) lists 8 coins from the hoard itself (virtually all of it was melted down before examination). These are all of the types pl.VIIIA 4-10, cf VII.15 and variations. The heavy half-stater at 4.13g (pl.VIIIA.11) listed by Blanchet was found separately at Soings; the ABVCATOS and MAYLOIB SOLIMYC coins listed by Blanchet were found at Luynes and Muides respectively. The coin VIIIA.12 was also found isolated at Soings. The weights in grains given by de la Sauddaye are patently inaccurate (eg ABVCATOS coin 126 gr = 8.16g); if Blanchet's weights are correct, the quarter-staters at de la Saussaye 36-37gr (strictly 2.33g) are c.1.91g. In that case the coin pl.VIIIA.12 at 34 gr (de la Saussaye) weighs in fact just under 1.90g, which accords well with its appearance, typologically very close indeed to the second century silver Poitou group - compare eg pl.III.14. The stylistic comparison is valid in all probability, as there is geographical coincidence between the position of Soings and the area of circulation of the Poitou silver groups.

Couffi : late hoard in the ruins of a farm: 29 Roman coins from the Republic to Trajan; 2 Celtic imitation denarii DVRNACOS AVSCROCVS; 6 bronzes : 1 ABVDOS, 1 VANDIILOS, 3 wolf head and pegasus, one illegible, 1 potin BN 6284 with reverse motif of four scrolls (Cothenet 1968).

Cheverny : in the lake. 48 Celtic coins : horseman type, Aquitanic silver sword group, sword group with 'branch' over horse; CAM, 5 varieties of OYI KY; TOGIRIX; Q DOCI SAM F; VEPOTAL; DVRNACO-AVSCRO; DVBNOCOV DVBNOREIX; 3 denarii - C Allius Bala, Q Fabius Labeo and M Porcius Laeca (ABT no 133). de la Saussaye (1836) adds SEQUANOIOTUOS and VIIPOTAL and says there were 16 types not counting badly cofroded ones. Weights offered are 35-6 grains,

one at 37 and some at 34. There were two varieties of CAM and 12 varieties (sic) of TOGIRIX.

HAUTE-LOIRE

Lapte : 170 staters. Coins of the type pl.VIII.17 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1958; Blanchet 1922; Houlbert 1958). Weights: 7.43g, 7.32, 7.43, 7.41, 7.41, 7.43, 7.40, 7.36, 7.38, 7.43, 7.42, 7.37, 7.46, 7.41, 7.47, 7.34, 7.44, 7.44, 7.48, 7.51, 7.48, 7.50, 7.53, 7.44, 7.44, 7.45, 7.51, 7.27, 7.35, 7.34, 7.42, 7.53, 7.59; also the coin pl.VIII.18 (7.90g) and 11 type pl.VII.9; also one 'degenerate' copy af a Philip stater (7.24g).

LOIRET

Montargis : at least 75 coins, including 2 severed head Aquitanic group Aa and Ac in fresh condition; 4 worn ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ group ; 1 fresh eastern silver coin and 1 worn mannaie à la Croix (Colbert de Beaulieu 1959a).

MAYENNE

Craon : 2 staters of different type but both with a sinuous line running from neck to lips. Rev. either a horse surrounded by indistinct objects and a small person above, or a formless 'animal' surrounded by stars (ABT no 177). 8.20g, 7.97g.

MORBIHAN

Mauron : 180 billon coins of the Coriosolites classes 1-5 from known dies (Gallia 1954:168).

Quiberon : Local rough pot containing bronze and 10 silver coins, 5 kg in all. Augustus ROM ET AUG; denarii of 70, 50, 47, 32/1 BC; quinarius of P Carisius (24-2); 1 GERMANUS; 1 COL NEM; 3 ROM ET AUG.

NIEVRE

Chantenay : rough reddish pottery vase 12-15 cm in diameter containing 500 coins. Numerous denarii of the republic and quinarii of gentes Porcia and Calpurnia. Latest Roman coins of 36 BC. Aedui silver with horse and 3 rings; KAL 1.84g;in worn condition; EDUIS ORGETIR; DVRNACOS AVSCRO; DVRNACVS DONNVS; ESIANNII DONNUS; COIOS ORCETIRIX; ORCETIRIX ATPILI F; ANORBO DUBNORIX;

DVBNOCOV DUBNOREIX; LITAVICOS; LITAV; Q DOCI SAM F; TOGIRIX TOGIRI; IVLIU TOGIR; EPOMED ...; SEQUANOIOTUOS; SEGUSIA ARUS; LUCIOS; VEPOTAL; GAIU IULI ... OMAPATIS; DIASULOS; SOLIMA; DURAT IULIOS; SANTONOS; ARIVOS SANTONOS; ATEVLA VLATOS; Q DOCI; DOCI (very worn, 1.87, 1.88g); 5 or 6 IMIOCI; BN 4141 CAM (ABT no 185).

PUY-DE-DOME

Auvergne (uncertain location) KA∧, horseman series silver, coins of Arverni (sic) with bird over the horse. About 40 coins (ABT no 200).

Orcines : hoard of staters, said to contain Vercingetorix epigraphic coins (Colbert de Beaulieu and Lefèvre 1963).

SAONE-ET-LOIRE

Chenoves : 35 staters of the type pl.VIIIA.13-18 (Aedui); weights 6.60g (1), 6.70 (2), 6.80 (4), 6.90 (9), 7.0 (11), 7.10 (3) (Blanchet 1934).

Saint-Gengoux-le-Royal and Joncy : 70 silver Aedui coins with the lyre and Kaletedou. Possibly to be conflated with ABT no 209b = 200 KAL (ABT no 209).

SARTHE

Allonnes : on a cult site of some importance; a very large number of coins were found, but not strictly speaking in a hoard (Gallia 1957:203f; 1955:166; 1962;425). Finds include bronzes of the Carnutes; silver of the Aedui; bronze ABVDOS type; CALIAGIIIS type; silver weights are 1.80g, 1.70, 1.10 (Aedui with blank obverse); 1.80, 0.90, 0.70, 0.70, 1.70, 1.80, 1.50, including 'minims' of type pl.IV.27. 1 small bronze ARTOIAMOC was found.

VENDEE

La Meilleraie Tilly : 70 ATECTORI bronzes (Cothenet 1966).

VIENNE

Saint Pierre de Maillé : at least 106 Pictones PIV silver coins, type BN 4461-4470 (pl.III.8). 1.70-79 (1); 2.20-29 (1); 2.30-39 (1); 2.40-49 (2); 2.50-59 (7); 2.60-69 (11); 2.70-79 (20); 2.80-89 (23); 2.90-99 (32); 3.00-09 (7); 3.10-19 (1); one gold stater type BN 5947, 7.42g (= type pl.VIII.12).

Vernon : 7 kg weight of coins; 102 republican coins of which the latest, in fresh condition, were Julia, Plautia, Cordia, Considia (hoard lost by c.45 BC). 3 denarii of Juba I. 6 SOLIMA, 1 ABVDOS; 2 staters of poor gold with crane and trefiol; 23 Pictones staters; 7 coins with dotted circle over the horse's neck; 1 with horse to the left; 8 staters with SA of the Pictones; 14 ATEVLA ULATOS; 12 CVPINACIOS VLATOS; 253 TOGIRIX in silver; 75 Q DOCI SAM F; 23 DURAT IULIOS; 13 CALEDV; 12 IMIOCI S A; 60 ARIVOS SANTONOS; 20 LITAVICOS; 9 BELINOS; 22 BIENOS with horse and 'temple'; 167 VIIPOTALO and warrior; 3 VIIPOTAL and lion; 17 DIASULOS; 1 bronze NERCOD; 11 DOUBNO; 67 SOLIMA; 20 ANORBO DUBNORIX; 11 DVBNOCOV DVBNOREIX (warrior with severed head); 1 DVCNOCOV DVBNORIEX (warrior and standard) very worn; 12 SEQUANOIOTUOS; 5 ANDECOMBO; 2 CAMBOTRE; 2 CAM; 14 sword group Aquitanic coins; 5 Aquitanic with boar over the horse; 1 with branch; 3 severed head group; 50 Kaletedou group; 62 ORCETIRIX ATPILLI F; 4 ORCITIR ATPILLI F; 14 COIOS ORCETIRIX; 1 AMBILLI EBURO; 4 DVRNACOS AVSCRO; 1 ... UCORI; 1 LEMISO EX SC silver; 1 drachm of Massilia; 1 'denarius' with horse and radiate bird (?) ; 1 silver ANDV (horseman charging an enemy). About 2,500 coins. Also one GIAMILOS (ABT no 261).

Parthenay : find of ATECTORI bronzes (Cothenet etc. 1966).

St. Cyr : small hoard of ATECTORI bronzes (ABT no 260).

Poitiers : brown rough vase containing Pictones staters and at least 236 silver PIV coins (ABT no 258).

Vivonne : 11 Pictones staters and one silver SOLIMA (ABT no 259).

# APPENDIX VIII

## COIN WEIGHTS

For diagrammatic presentation of the weights of the principal coin types discussed in the main text see the fold-out charts at the back of this volume; the lists below are primarily relevant to them, and do not include coins whose weights in the publications are approximate or clearly inaccurate.
Coins without a letter before their serial number are BN coins (eg 2280).
Coins with a findspot : see map list in question for the bibliography.

1. Bridiers group. (* = from the Bridiers hoard)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *2280 | 4.50g | *Cahn 1922, 327 | 4.60g | 'Massilia' type, corn ear, cauldron |
| *2281 | 4.02 | Coin from Toulouse | 4.72 | |
| *2282 | 4.40 | 2279 | 4.77 | |
| *4549 | 4.47 | MMAG 1972, 215 | 4.13 | |
| *4550 | 4.42 | Hunterian | 4.53 | |
| *G 2736 | 4.32 | Albias coin | 4.58 | |
| *G 2746 | 4.27 | Grenade coin | 2.90 | |
| *G 2756 | 4.32 | Blanchet 1907 | 4.72 | |
| *G 2754 | 4.35 | " | 4.05 | |
| *G 2737 | 4.30 | " | 4.30 | |
| *Vian 1954 | 3.40 | | | |
| *2250 | 4.52 | MMAG 1972, 216 | 4.33 | 'Emporiae' type. |
| *2251 | 4.42 | MMAG 1972, 217 | 4.74 | " " |
| *2252 | 4.37 | | | |
| *2253 | 3.82 | | | |

Silver Emporiae imitations (BN 2276-9, 2283-2307)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4.75g | 4.85 | 4.65 | 3.75 | 4.16 | 4.31 | 3.90 |
| 3.76 | 4.62 | 4.72 | 4.40 | 4.12 | 2.94 | 3.70 |
| 4.90 | 4.70 | 4.68 | 4.60 | 4.75 | 2.85 | 4.40 |
| 4.77 | 4.60 | 4.80 | 4.25 | 4.58 | 4.80 | 4.26 |
| | | | | | | 4.32 |

2278 (4.90): good copy, close to original
2297 (4.75): head of Ceres right/ horse right, Victory, ΠΠΠΥ
2303 (3.90): laurelled head left/ horse left, long Gaulish shield.
2305 (4.40): head of Ceres right, dolphins/horse right, horseman with spear and shield.
2306 (4.26) Ceres right/ horseman and spear and shield.
2307 (4.32) male head right/ horseman, spear and shield.
MMAG 1972 no 215 (4.13).

2. Poitou group.

A. Prototypes (cf the transitional types at the bottom of the last page of Bridiers type coins) and minor types

St.Just type 2 at 4.08g including 4460 (St.Just)
3.60 (Saint Yrieix: ABT : 497)

Horseman with shield and three circles below, from the Buxeuil hoard = B D964.1.

6415 3.94

4457 3.03 head right / horseman, shield, three circles.
4458 3.36 as last
4459 2.90 as last
4471 2.41 head right/ horse left, flower above, hand below.
4558 3.35 head right/ horseman and shield, severed head below.
4559 2.72 as last
4560 3.41 as last.

B. 'Pictones' group.

1. PI:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4427 | 3.45 | 4434 | 3.40 |
| 4428 Charnizay | 3.27 | 4435 | 3.35 |
| 4429 | 3.10 | 4436 | 3.40 |
| 4430 | 3.07 | 4437 | 3.42 |
| 4431 | 3.43 | 4438 | 3.28 |
| 4432 | 3.44 | B D965.1.6413 | 3.48 |
| 4433 | 3.55 | B D965.1.6411 | 3.17 |

2. PII:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4439 | 3.62 | 4444 | 3.45 |
| 4440 | 3.45 | B D965.1.6412 | 3.40 |
| 4441 | 3.40 | Hirsch XXI, 142 | 3.40 |
| 4442 | 3.50 | Cahn 1922,363 | 3.50 |
| 4443 | 3.32 | MMAG 1972, 229 | 3.32 Charnizay |

3. PIII:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4445 | 3.28 | 4453 | 3.35 |
| 4446 | 3.47 | 4454 | 3.18 |
| 4447 | 3.38 | 4455 | 3.15 |
| 4448 | 3.35 | 4456 | 3.15 |
| 4449 | 3.36 | B D965.1.6414 | 3.12 |
| 4450 | 3.39 | G 2739 | 2.87 |
| 4451 | 3.15 | B D965.1.6416 | 3.44 |
| 4452 | 3.37 | B D965.1.6417 | 2.88 |

4. PIV:

| | |
|---|---|
| 4461 | 3.07 |
| 4462 | 3.11 |
| 4463 | 3.20 |
| 4464 | 3.00 |
| 4465 | 3.08 |
| 4466 | 2.97 |
| 4467 | 3.05 |
| 4468 | 2.75 |
| 4469 | 2.57 |
| 4470 | 3.11 |

From *Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (Vienne)
(Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3.19-10 | 1 |
| 3.09-00 | 7 |
| 2.99-90 | 32 |
| 2.89-80 | 23 |
| 2.79-70 | 20 |
| 2.69-60 | 11 |
| 2.59-50 | 7 |
| 2.49-40 | 2 |
| 2.39-30 | 1 |
| 2.29-20 | 1 |
| 1.79-70 | 1 |

5. DURAT / IULIOS

| | |
|---|---|
| 4478 Chantenay | 1.37 |
| 4479 | 2.00 |
| 4480 | 1.87 |
| 4481 | 1.77 |
| 4482 | 1.86 |
| Ratto 1909, 404 | 1.90 |

B. 'Indre' group coins.

1. Two horses type.

| | |
|---|---|
| 5986-6013 | =*Issoudun and Charnizay hoard. |
| 5986 | 3.47 |
| 5987 | 3.35 |
| 5988 | 3.25 |
| 5989 | 3.36 |
| 5990 | 3.45 |
| 5991 | 3.39 |
| 5992 | 3.29 |
| 5993 | 3.28 |
| 5994 | 3.45 |
| 5995 | 3.40 |
| 5996 | 3.20 |
| 5997 | 3.12 |
| 5998 | 3.38 |
| 5999 | 3.44 |
| 6000 | 3.13 |
| 6001 | 3.30 |
| 6002 | 3.41 |
| 6003 | 3.45 |
| 6004 | 3.36 |
| 6005 | 3.20 |
| 6006 | 3.29 |
| 6007 | 3.35 |
| 6008 | 3.43 |
| 6009 | 3.21 |
| 6010 | 3.32 |
| 6011 | 3.48 |
| 6012 | 3.25 |
| 6013 | 3.35 |
| B D965.1.4898 | 3.42 |
| B D965.1.4897 | 3.47 |
| B D965.1.4896 | 3.42 |
| B D965.1.4895 | 3.33 |
| B 57.2.9 | 3.00 |
| Cahn 1922, 385 | 3.5 |
| Cahn 1933, 1667 | 2.85 |
| " 1668 | 2.66 |
| MMAG 1972, 230 | 3.22 |

2. Wolf and horse type.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6017-31 | *Issoudun and Charnizay hoard. | 6029 | 3.15 | |
| 6017 | 3.37 | 6030 | 3.18 | |
| 6018 | 3.26 | 6031 | 3.34 | |
| 6019 | 3.39 | B 840.65.12 | 3.30 | |
| 6020 | 3.08 | B D965.1.4879 | 3.35 | Buxeuil |
| 6021 | 3.36 | B D965.1.4881 | 2.85 | |
| 6022 | 3.24 | B D965.1.4826 | 3.23 | Buxeuil, + on cheek |
| 6023 | 3.40 | B D965.1.4883 | 3.04 | + on cheek |
| 6024 | 3.29 | Cahn 1922, 321 | 3.40 | |
| 6025 | 3.11 | Cahn 1933, 1665 | 2.80 | |
| 6026 | 3.26 | " 1666 | 2.80 | |
| 6027 | 3.31 | MMAG 1972, 231 | 3.40 | Charnizay, + on cheek |
| 6028 | 3.02 | " | 3.27 | |

3. Other types.

a. Horse and crouching 'rider', ♈

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| B D965.1.4825 | 3.38 | |
| B D965.1.4824 | 3.15 | Vierzon hd. |
| 6031A | 3.49 | Issoudun and Charnizay hd. |

b. Horse, ♈ above, ♋ below.

| | |
|---|---|
| B D965.1.4812 | 3.37 |
| 6050 | 3.33 |

B. AQUITANIC GROUP.

1. Severed head group.

Related issue: obv. male head left / rev. horse left, bust below with carnyx.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4552 | 2.17 |
| 4553 | 2.27 |

Severed head group B (three rings)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4572 | 2.08 | 4577a | 2.07 |
| 4574 | 2.12 | 4577b | 2.17 |
| 4575 | 2.17 | 2 Blanchet coins from Jalesche hoard | |
| 4576 | 2.20 | | 2.18 |
| 4577 | 2.16 | | 2.24 |
| | | M 1880 | 2.11 Jersey hd. |

Severed head group A (one ring).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4561 | 2.02 Bénévent hoard | Cahn 1933, 1572 | 2.14 |
| 4562 | 2.18 | MMAG 1936, 254 | 2.20 |
| 4563 | 2.25 | Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c (Moulins/Ceph.) | |
| 4564 | 2.22 | | 1.02 |
| 4565 | 2.30 | Colbert de Beaulieu 1955d (Jalesche) | |
| 4566 | 2.17 Bénévent hoard | | 1.35 |
| 4567 | 1.17 | | 1.37 |
| 4568 | 1.13 | | 1.38 |
| 4569 | 2.00 | | 1.40 |
| 4570 | 2.22 | BM2 | 2.23 |
| 4571 | 2.15 | BM3 | 1.98 |
| 4573 | 2.02 | M DN8 | 1.90 |
| Cahn 1922,373 | 2.1 | Ashmolean | 2.07 |
| Cahn 1926, 54 | 2.20 | M 1881 | 1.93 |
| Günzberger (Vienna) 1937, 973 | | BM1 | 2.11 |
| | 2.2 | B 893.14.6 | 1.28 |
| Cahn 1933,1569 | 2.20 | B 909.46.5 | 1.28 Jalesche |
| " 1570 | 2.12 | M 4643 | 1.25 |
| " 1571 | 2.12 | G 2735 | 2.18 Bénévent |
| | | BM4 | 2.16 |

2. Sword group.

CAMBOTRE

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4131 | 1.92 | ANS 4 | 1.86 |
| 4132 | 1.57 plated | ANS 3 | 1.92 |
| 4133 | 1.88 | Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c (Moulins sur Céphons hoard | |
| 4134 | 1.84 | 1.85-89 | 4 |
| 4135 | 1.42 plated | 1.90-94 | 8 |
| 4136 | 1.95 | 2.05-09 | 1 |
| 4137 | 2.01 | | |
| 4138 | 1.91 | | |
| BM8 | 1.81 | | |
| BD965.1.4880 | 1.97 | | |
| B 894.1.2 | 1.85 | | |
| BM10 | 1.91 | | |
| B 894.1.3 | 1.83 Jalesche | | |
| BM9 | 1.87 | | |

CAM

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c (Moulins sur Céphons hoard)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.75-79 | 1 | 4142 | 1.87 |
| 1.80-84 | 7 | | |
| 1.85-89 | 17 | B 962 x 3 | 1.85 |
| 1.90-94 | 26 | BM7 | 1.90 |
| 1.95-99 | 5 | BM5 | 1.80 |
| 2.00-04 | 3 | BM6 | 1.89 |
| 4139 | 1.81 | M 3917 | 1.95 |
| 4140 | 1.88 | | |
| 4141 | 1.57 | | |

/SVI

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.85-89 | 4 | 4119 | 1.43 plated |
| 1.90-94 | 12 | 4121 | 1.70 |
| 1.95-99 | 4 | 4122 | 1.51 |
| 4117 | 1.79 | ANS 8 | 1.91 |
| 4117a | 1.83 | B 962.x.5 | 1.85 |
| 4118 | 1.90 | | |

IVRCA

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c (series 4-6)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.85-89 | 4 | 4145 | 1.91 |
| 1.90-94 | 5 | M DN6 | 1.77 (blank reverse but obverse die of BN 4145) |
| 1.95-99 | 1 | | |

gropu II2a, sword and pentagram.

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957e

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0.96 | 1 | 4099 | 1.88 |
| 1.65-69 | 1 | 4099a | 1.85 |
| 1.70-74 | 1 | 4100 | 1.82 |
| 1.75-79 | 1 | 4101 | 1.94 |
| 1.80-84 | 12 | M DN9 | 1.81 |
| 1.85-89 | 24 | M 1840 | 1.85 |
| 1.90-94 | 60 | M DN7 | 1.75 |
| 1.95-99 | 28 | B 962.x.2 | 1.92 |
| 2.00-04 | 6 | B 961.30.1 | 1.87 |
| 4097 | 1.97 | ANS 6 | 1.94 |
| 4098 | 1.45 | ANS 5 | 1.70 |

Group II2b, sword with centre-dotted ringlet.

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.85-89 | 7 | B 893.14.4 | 1.83 |
| 1.90-94 | 4 | Cothenet 1968 | 2.02 Argenton, Indre. |
| 1.95-99 | 2 | | |

Group II2c, sword with flowerlet.

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.44 | 1 | M 3933 | 1.80 |
| 1.60-64 | 1 | B D965.1.4906 | 1.20 |
| 1.80-84 | 8 | M 3936 | 1.87 |
| 1.85-89 | 34 | M 3939 | 1.89 |
| 1.90-94 | 34 | M 3934 | 1.82 |
| 1.95-99 | 4 | M 3941 | 1.85 |
| 4103 | 1.85 | M 3944 | 1.86 |
| 4104 | 1.87 | M 3938 | 1.90 |
| 4105 | 1.82 | B 909.46.2 | 1.95 Jalesche |
| 4106 | 1.86 | B 883.31.4 | 1.90 Jalesche |
| B 894.24.3 | 1.80 Levroux | M 3935 | 1.84 |
| M 3937 | 1.87 | M 3940 | 1.90 |
| | | M 3942 | 1.89 |

Group II2d, sword with 'wheel'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c | | M 3948 | 1.84 |
| 1.53 | 1 | M 3947 | 1.85 |
| 1.85-89 | 10 | M 3945 | 1.88 |
| 1.90-94 | 9 | M 3946 | 1.84 |
| 4102 | 1.93 | B 892.8.2 | 1.88 Tendu |

Group II3Aa, heavy 'branch' and centre-dotted ringlet.

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.55 | 1 | 4096 | 1.87 |
| 1.75-79 | 2 | B 883.31.3 | 1.90 |
| 1.80-84 | 6 | M 3916 | 1.90 |
| 1.85-89 | 22 | M 3919 | 1.92 |
| 1.90-94 | 26 | M 3943 | 1.86 |
| 2.00-04 | 1 | B 961.30.2 | 1.82 |
| 2.05-09 | 1 | M 3196 | 1.81 |
| 4094 | 1.84 | B 892.8.3 | 1.87 |
| 4095 | 1.60 | M DN10 | 1.77 |

Group II3Ab, heavy 'branch' and crescent.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c ; | | 0.90-1.05 | 4 |

Group II3B, stiff 'branch' or 'fern' and three ringlets.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c | | B 894.1.1 | 1.80 Tendu |
| 1.80-84 | 3 | M 3922 | 1.85 |
| 1.85-89 | 4 | M 3924 | 1.92 |
| 1.90-94 | 4 | M 3925 | 1.87 |
| 1.95-99 | 1 | M 3921 | 1.82 |
| M 3926 | 1.87 | ANS 7 | 1.91 |
| M 3920 | 1.85 | 4092 | 1.89 |
| M 3923 | 1.92 | 4093 | 1.89 |

Group II4a, boar and ringlet with centre dot.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c | | | |
| 1.80-84 | 1 | 4111 | 1.80 |
| 1.85-89 | 8 | M 3932 | 1.89 |
| 1.90-94 | 10 | | |
| 1.95-99 | 3 | | |

Group II4b, boar and cross or X.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c | | | |
| 1.49 | 1 | B 892.8.4 | 1.83 Tendu |
| 1.55-59 | 1 | M DN3 | 1.64 |
| 1.65-69 | 1 | B 893.14.3 | 1.93 |
| 1.75-79 | 2 | M 3928 | 1.87 |
| 1.80-84 | 7 | G 2744 | 1.82 |
| 1.85-89 | 38 | M 3927 | 1.85 |
| 1.90-94 | 51 | M 3930 | 1.90 |
| 2.00-04 | 2 | M 3929 | 1.87 |
| 4107 | 1.76 | M 3931 | 1.95 |
| 4108 | 1.68 | B 893.14.5 | 1.62 |
| 4109 | 1.84 | B 957.2.7 | 1.80 |
| 4110 | 1.85 | Cothenet 1968 | 2.09 Saint Marcel. |

Group II5, centre-dotted ringlet above and below a left facing horse.

Colbert de Beaulieu 1957c

1.89

1.93

1.94

4. MASSIF CENTRAL SILVER.

1. wheel and bird group.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cl.Fd. 2129 | 1.90 | 3797 | 2.20 |
| 3784 | 1.74 | 3798 | 2.20 |
| 3785 | 2.10 | 3799 | 1.76 |
| 3786 | 2.17 | 3800 | 2.29 |
| 3787 | 2.13 | 3801 | 2.18 |
| 3788 | 2.18 | 3802 | 2.14 |
| 3789 | 2.05 | 3810 | 1.41 |
| 3790 | 2.26 | 3811 | 1.71 |
| 3791 | 1.99 | 3812 | 2.28 |
| 3793 | 1.43 | 3817 | 2.12 |
| 3794 | 2.00 | 3825 | 1.97 |
| 3795 | 2.14 | 3827 | 2.04 |
| 3796 | 1.64 | 3828 | 1.81 |
| | | 3829 | 1.96 |

2. Group II silver.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3803 | 2.27 | 3809 | 2.21 |
| 3805 | 1.87 | 3823 | 2.33 |
| 3806 | 2.26 | 3826 | 2.32 |
| 3808 | 2.22 | | |

3. Silver associated with gold staters group I.of the Arverni.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3770 | 2.34 | 3804 | 1.84 |
| 3833 | 0.94 | 3813" | 2.43 |
| 3781 | 1.08 | 3770A | 2.38 |
| 3824 | 2.20 | | |

4. 'Aeduan' silver with the bird attributed to 'Arverni under Aeduan hegemony'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| BM11 | 2.04 | 3686 | 2.01 |
| BM12 | 2.03 | 3687 | 2.02 |
| BM13 | 2.01 | 3688 | 2.00 |
| 3682 | 1.97 | 3689 | 2.03 |
| 3683 | 1.97 | 3690 | 2.02 |
| 3684 | 1.90 | 3691 | 2.07 |
| 3685 | 1.94 | 3622 | 2.04 |

5. GOLD : FIRST PHASE.

Group Ii

| | |
|---|---|
| 3620 | 8.15 |
| B 898.3.1 | 8.35 |

Group IIii

| | |
|---|---|
| BM26 | 8.35 |
| BM27 | 8.32 |
| BM28 | 8.39 |
| 3613 | 8.32 |
| BM25 | 8.17 |
| BM29 | 8.40 |

Fractions (not shown on the chart)

| | |
|---|---|
| Cahn 1933,1531 | 2.14 nr. Neuchâtel |
| MMAG 1972, 340 | 2.12 |
| Kress 1959, 296 | 2.015 test marked |
| 3629 | 2.05 |
| BM38 | 2.09 |
| 3643 | 2.05 |

Group Iiii

| | |
|---|---|
| 3620A | 8.37 |

Group Iiv

| | |
|---|---|
| 6410 | 8.35 |
| Soulignac 1962 | 8.29 |

Group Iv

| | |
|---|---|
| BM33 | 8.55 |
| ABT:210 | 8.40 |
| Gallia 1951:107 | 8.35 |
| Lenormant 1856 | 8.58 |
| Blanchet 1922 | 7.80 Tayac |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ratto 1912, 141 | 8.30 |
| Ratto 1927, 74 | 8.20 |
| Cahn 1933, 1527 | 8.42 |
| Cahn 1933, 1627 | 8.44 |
| MMAG 1972, 338 | 8.09 (transitional between first phase Iii and second phase IIiii. |

| | |
|---|---|
| BM41 | 2.03 |
| BM37 | 2.03 |
| 3641 | 1.97 |
| 3642 | 1.96 |
| 3632 | 2.05 a variety |
| 3648 | 2.08 " |
| 3634 | 1.68 " |

| | |
|---|---|
| Cahn 1922, 392 | 8.50 |
| Cahn 1930, 836 | 8.26 |
| MMAG 1953, 25 | 8.10 |
| Hamburger 1929,809 | 8.445 |
| Kress 1956, 96 | 8.50 'lower Rhone valley' |

Second phase continuation (pl.VIIIA.1-3)

| | |
|---|---|
| 3654A | 7.60 |
| 3654B | 7.79 |
| 3621 | 7.83 |
| Kress 1957, 2559 | 7.50 |
| " 1958, 10 | 7.82 |
| " 1959, 298 | 7.60 test marked |

Coins from the Tayac (Gir.) hoard (appendix VII):

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7.93 | 7.79 | 7.73 | 7.66 | 7.60(2) |
| 7.90 | 7.85 | 7.72 (2) | 7.65 (5) | 7.59 |
| 7.89 | 7.78 | 7.71 | 7.64 | 7.55 |
| 7.87 | 7.77 (3) | 7.70 (4) | 7.63 (4) | |
| 7.82 | 7.76 | 7.69 | 7.62 (3) | |
| 7.81 | 7.75 (2) | 7.67 | 7.61 | |

Group Ivi

| | |
|---|---|
| 3618 | 8.35 |
| BM30 | 8.28 |
| B 959.29.1 | 8.32 |

Group Ivii

| | |
|---|---|
| 4844 | 8.34 |
| 10289 | 8.33 |

Group Iviii

| | |
|---|---|
| 4832 | 8.27 |
| 4833 | 8.27 |

Unclassed group I :

Houlbert 1958 7.24 Lapte (Hte.L). hoard. The coin has an evolved version of the alpha-pi monogram Ꝺ and is without legend and corn-ear. The legs of the horse are globulous, and although it is classed as a Philiip copy, it may be rather later than most. See appendix VII.

Group IIi

| | |
|---|---|
| 5315 | 8.05 |
| 5316 | 7.94 |

6.: GOLD : SECOND PHASE.

Group IIi

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4538 | 7.80 | 4541 | 7.70 Limoges |
| 4539 | 8.15 Moulins | 4543 | 7.76 |
| 4540 | 7.. 156 | | |

Group IIii

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3658 | 7.91 | 3659 | 7.75 |
| 3656 | 7.85 | 3661 | 7.57 |
| 3657 | 7.76 | 3662 | 7.49 |
| 3660 | 7.62 | 3668 | 7.56 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cahn 1922, 268 | 8.60 | Oberrhein |
| ( MMAG 1954, 972 | 8.67 | Stein am Rhein |
| ( (MMAG 1953, 17 | 8.38) | |
| MMAG 1946, 488 | 8.53 | |

Group IIiii

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3626 | 7.79 | 5316 | 7.94 |
| 3622 | 7.79 | BM34 | 7.75 |
| 3619 | 7.75 | ABT:215 | 7.20 |
| 3615 | 7.76 | Cothenet 1969 | 7.06 |
| 3625 | 7.66 | 3682 | 4.85 plated and not on the chart |
| 3624 | 7.54 | Cahn 1933,1626 | 7.78 |
| 3623 | 7.76 | MMAG 1972, 339 | 7.63 |

Group IIiv

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3678 | 7.83 | 3679 | 7.81 |
| 3670 | 7.64 | 3673 | 7.75 |
| 3665 | 7.47 | | |

Second phase fractions, not shown on the chart.

Group IIii

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| MMAG 1954,973 | 1.86 | 3672 | 1.81 |
| M 3016 | 1.96 | 3664 | 1.91 |
| 3635 | 1.93 | 3651 | 1.85 |

Group IIiii

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| MMAG 1954,974 | 1.81 cf pl.VII.1 | 3646 | 1.96 |
| " 1948, 363 | 1.76 cf pl.VII.4 | 3640 | 1.91 |
| " 1953, 20 | 2.06 cf pl.VII.1 | 3637 | 1.89 |
| 3633 | 1.93 | 3639 | 2.07 |
| 3645 | 1.96 | 3644 | 1.89 |

7. GOLD : THIRD PHASE

Group 1

A

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| BM44 | 7.53 | 3654 | 7.45 |
| 6416 | 7.30 | BM46 | 7.40 |
| 6415 | 7.68 | | |

B

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5945 | 7.51 | 5949B | 7.41 |
| 5946 | 7.36 | 6421 | 7.33 |
| 5948 | 7.31 | 5947A | 7.31 |
| 5949 | 7.22 | 5947B | 7.45 |
| 3675 | 7.41 | Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a | |
| BM45 | 7.30 | | 7.42 St.Pierre de Maillé hoard. |

C

| | |
|---|---|
| 5953A | 7.09 |
| 5951 | 7.08 |
| 5952 | 7.32 |
| 5953 | 7.16 |

Group 2

| | |
|---|---|
| ABT:216 | 7.18 |
| " | 7.51 |
| 3671 | 7.39 |
| M 2021 | 7.15 |
| BM21 | 6.95 |
| 3681 | 7.60 |
| 3693 | 7.12 |
| 3674 | 7.30 |
| Ratto 1927,76 | 7.45 |
| Cahn 1932, 7 | 7.47 |
| Hamburger 1929, 810 | 7.39 |
| Kress 1952,381 | 7.25 |
| " 1957,2552 | 7.20 |
| " 2551 | 7.60 |

Tayac

| | |
|---|---|
| Cahn 1922, 320 | 7.50 |
| Cahn 1933 p 1662 | 6.75 |
| " Nov.1933, 5 | 7.40 |

Coins from the Tayac hoard (appendix VII)

| | |
|---|---|
| | 7.55 |
| | 7.51 |
| | 7.50 |
| | 7.43 |
| | 7.40 |
| | 7.38 |
| | 7.37 |
| | 7.35 (2) |
| | 7.33 (2) |
| | 7.32 (2) |
| | 7.31 |
| | 7.23 |
| | 7.10 |

Group 3

Colbert de Beaulieu 1958:

| | |
|---|---|
| 7.20-29 | 1 |
| 7.30-39 | 10 |
| 7.40-49 | 28 |
| 7.50-59 | 6 |

Varieties:

| | |
|---|---|
| 5283 | 7.93 |
| 3627A | 7.42 |

Group 4

| | |
|---|---|
| M 1748 | 7.16 |
| M 9012 | 7.25 |
| 3747 | 7.28 |
| M DN4 | 7.25 |
| 3746 | 7.34 |
| 3708A | 7.44 |
| 3758 | 7.37 |
| 3759 | 7.48 |
| 3756 | 7.39 |
| 3768 | 7.44 |
| 3763 | 7.22 |

| | |
|---|---|
| BM20 | 7.32 |
| 3761 | 7.43 |
| 3767 | 7.31 |
| 3762 | 7.46 |
| 3757 | 7.34 |
| 3764 | 7.40 |
| 3765 | 7.31 |
| M 2832 | 7.29 |
| 3752 | 7.34 |
| 3754 | 7.31 |
| 3753 | 7.35 |

IB

| | |
|---|---|
| 3766 | 7.30 |
| 3755 | 7.42 |

IC VERCINGETORIX : see Colbert de Beaulieu 1970b, 1967 for full list.

BN 3722-80:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7.37 | 7.44 | 7.46 | 7.44 | 7.42 |
| 7.47 | 7.41 | 7.46 | 7.38 | |

ID

| | |
|---|---|
| 3740 | 7.48 |
| 3742 | 7.35 |
| M 2833 | 7.41 |

IE

| | |
|---|---|
| 3760 | 7.37 |
| 3751 | 7.41 |
| 3750 | 7.40 |

IF

| | |
|---|---|
| 3738 | 7.45 |
| 3737 | 7.37 |
| 3739 | 7.37 |

IG

| | |
|---|---|
| 3711 | 7.43 |
| 3713 | 7.32 |
| 3710 | 7.53 |
| BM18 | 7.49 |
| 3712 | 7.33 |
| 3708 | 7.37 |

IH

| | |
|---|---|
| 3736 | 7.42 |
| M DN11 | 7.33 |

Ii

| | |
|---|---|
| M 3385 | 7.37 |

IJ

| | |
|---|---|
| 3699 | 6.86 |

IK

| | |
|---|---|
| 3698 | 6.72 |

IL

| | |
|---|---|
| 3720 | 7.42 |
| 3726 | 7.30 |
| M 2449 | 7.35 |
| 3724 | 7.42 |
| 3721 | 7.44 |
| 3719 | 7.49 |
| 3722 | 7.37 |
| 3723 | 7.43 |
| 3728 | 7.47 |
| 3729 | 7.50 |
| 3731 | 7.55 |
| 3727 | 7.32 |

IM

| | |
|---|---|
| M 2680 | 7.37 |
| 3744 | 7.60 |

IN

| | |
|---|---|
| 3743 | 6.62 |

IO

| | |
|---|---|
| 3697B | 7.38 |
| 3674 | 7.31 |
| 3703 | 7.36 |
| 3702 | 7.56 |
| BM17 | 7.34 |
| 3741 | 7.41 |
| 3700 | 7.39 |
| 3701 | 7.59 |
| M 1435 | 7.30 |
| 3705 | 7.42 |
| 3714 | 7.35 |

II

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3718 | 7.36 | 3732 | 7.42 |
| 3735 | 7.39 | 3717 | 7.23 |
| 3716 | 7.43 | 3715 | 7.34 |
| 3734 | 7.31 | 3718A | 7.39 |
| 3733 | 7.41 | | |

IIA

| | |
|---|---|
| 3725 | 7.32 |

Plated coins not shown on the chart:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3749 | 4.95 | IA |
| 3748 | 4.58 | |
| M 4781 | 5.35 | |
| 3718B | 5.73 | II |

Group 5 : ABVDOS group. see also appendix VII under Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre).

I. Anepigraphic.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4587 | 7.20 |
| 4586 | 7.07 |
| B 951.5.1 | 7.17 |

II.

| | |
|---|---|
| B 901.13.1 | 6.62 |
| 4173A | 6.86 |
| Schulmann 1966, 1014 | 6.80 |

III. ABVCATOS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ANS 2 | 6.82 | Ratto 1927, 78 | 6.75 |
| Schulmann 1966, 1015 | 6.90 | MMAG 1953, 12 | 6.85 |
| Cahn 1922,378 | 7.0 | B 894.24.1 | 6.77 |
| M DN12 | 6.74 | 4173 | 6.89 |
| 4172 | 6.72 | 4174 | 6.92 |
| Ratto 1912,145 | 6.96 | Hess 1913, 9 | 7.0 |

ABVDOS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4146 | 6.81 | Kress 1957, 2468 | 6.6 |
| ANS 1 | 6.83 | Ratto 1912, 144 | 6.38 |
| 4151 | 6.80 | MMAG 1954, 969 | 6.66 |
| 4150 | 6.77 | Platt 1930, 1798 | 6.90 |
| 4149 | 6.82 | 4152 | 6.86 |
| BM16 | 6.79 | 4153 | 6.91 |
| 4148 | 6.85 | B 894.24.2 | 6.84 |
| 4147 | 6.81 | | |

IV. SOLIMA

| | |
|---|---|
| BM15 | 6.73 |
| 4197 | 6.77 |
| 4196 | 7.03 |

Group 6 : crane and trefoil series.

B

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4078 | 4.45 | 4074 | 4.60 |
| 4079 | 4.61 | B 909.46.1 | 4.58 Jalesche |
| 4072 | 4.57 | 4066 | 4.49 |
| 4076 | 4.52 | 4075 | 4.56 |
| 4077 | 4.53 | 4081 | 5.76, Corent |
| 4073 | 4.49 | | |

C

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4070 | 6.11 | 4069 | 5.54 |
| 4071 | 6.76 | B 958.19.2 | 7.08 |
| 4089 | 7.03 | 4069A | 6.98 |
| 4083 | 6.40 | ANS 11 | 6.81 Brive hoard |
| 4084 | 6.08 | ANS 9 | 7.05 " |
| 4090 | 7.02 | ANS 10 | 6.78 " |
| 4085 | 6.39 | ANS 12 | 7.02 " |
| 4087 | 5.45 | ANS 13 | 7.04 " |
| 4088 | 5.88 | Cahn 1932,53 | 7.02 |
| 4086 | 3.79 | MMAG 1948, 357 | 6.80 |
| M 2682 | 5.56 Corent | " 1953, 10 | 7.04 |
| M DN5 | 6.04 | " 1972, 228 | 6.86 |
| 4068 | 6.82 | Schylmann 1965,907 | 6.93 |
| | | Grabow 1930, 13 | 6.52 |

Group 7 : Pictones gold.

Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. type with hand only | | 6.30-39 | 5 |
| 7.00-09 | 1 | 6.20-29 | 4 |
| 6.90-99 | 1 | 6.10-19 | 4 |
| 6.80-89 | 1 | 6.00-09 | 2 |
| 6.70-79 | 3 | 5.90-99 | 1 |
| 6.60-69 | 9 | 5.80-89 | 1 |
| 6.50-59 | 12 | 5.30-39 | 1 |
| 6.40-49 | 14 | 5.20-29 | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ashmolean | 6.48 |
| G 2743 | 6.65 |
| G 2745 | 6.37 |
| Cahn 1932,52 | 6.50 |
| " 1933,1554 | 6.46 |
| " " 1555 | 6.39 |
| MMAG 1936,255 | 6.40 |
| Ratto 1933, 4 | 6.65 |
| Ratto 1932, 3 | 4.39 |
| MMAG 1953, 11 | 5.76 |
| Schulmann 1929, 100 | 6.80 |
| Grabow 1930, 1 | 6.55 |
| Kress 1957, 2474 | 6.4 |

2. Type with SA

Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c:

| | |
|---|---|
| 6.30-39 | 1 |
| 6.10-19 | 1 |
| 6.00-09 | 1 |
| 5.90-99 | 2 |
| 5.80-89 | 1 |
| 5.70-79 | 3 |
| 5.60-69 | 1 |
| 5.50-59 | 1 |
| 5.40-49 | 1 |
| 5.30-39 | 2 |
| 5.10-19 | 2 |
| Ashmolean | 5.41 |
| Cahn 1933, 1573 | 5.98 |
| " 1574 | 6.40 |
| Cahn 1930, 2232 | 6.6 |
| Schulmann 1929,101 | 5.80 |

Fractions of third phase coinages not shown on the chart.

Group I

A

| | |
|---|---|
| Cahn 1933, 1568 | 1.80 |
| 6417 | 1.79 |

B

| | |
|---|---|
| BM48 | 1.72 |
| 5950 | 1.78 |
| 3647 | 1.83 |
| B D965.1.4828 | 1.78 |
| 3646A | 1.74 |

C

| | |
|---|---|
| Cahn 1933, 1663 | 1.25 |
| 5955 | 1.61 |
| 5954 | 1.65 |

# APPENDIX IX

## COIN HOARDS CONTAINING OTHER VALUABLES.

Hoards marked with an asterisk are inventoried in appendix VII.

*Saint-Géran (Allier) : c. 50 gold coins and a gold torc of 248g.
*Goutrens (Avey.) : silver coins and 4 kg of ingots of silver.
Plessis-Grimault (Calv., ABT no.27): billon coins and an ingot.
*Courcoury (Ch.Mar.) gold coins and ingots.
Plusquellec (C.N., ABT no 40) : gold coins and 2 gold rings.
Saint-Solain (C.N., ABT no 42): billon coins, a collar and some stones.
St.Etienne-des-Landes (Dord., ABT no 53, Allen 1969 no 11): 1500 monnaies à la croix and an iron axe-head.
*Jalesches (Marcillat, Creuse): silver and gold coins and an iron axe head.
Beauvoisin (Drome, ABT no 64); silver Gaulish coins with Roman coins dwon tp 27 BC, some red beads and a plated silver fibula, 1 'bout de lanière', 3 bronze and 2 silver rings.
*Tayac (Gir.): c.450 gold coins, a torc of 726g and a number of gold ingots.
Mèze (Hér., ABT no 98b): silver coins, a silver fibula and chain.
Tourdan (Isère, ABT no 124): silver coins of the ?second century and some glass rings in an iron jar.
Eyres-Moncube (Landes, ABT no 131): silver coins in a silver jar.
*Soings (L-Ch): in or near a lake, gold coins of the second century and a torc.
Mont Châté (Meuse; ABT no 178): gold and potin coins, 38 wheels of various sized.
Guervec-en-Brech (Morb., ABT no 184): gold or billon coins, 1 gold ring, 1 gold cord, bronze rings, bracelets, fibulas and needles, fragments of a glass bracelet, bits of glass and amber.
Mont César (Oise, ABT no 189): silver coins, a ring, an earring, a bronze ring, all in a burial.
Fontenay-le-Comte (Vendée, ABT no 256): gold coins and gold rings.
Frasnes-lez-Buissenal (Hainault, ABT no 279): 2 'late la Tène II' gold torcs and 30 gold staters (Déchelette 1914:1338).
*Chevanceau (Ch.Mar): 54 electrum coins and an ingot of 330g.
Drieves (Spain): silver coins including early monnaies à la croix, and silver ornaments (Crawford 1969 no 107).

# APPENDIX X

## COUNTERMARKS.

Colbert de Beaulieu (1954c; 1973a:267) argues that countermarks performed the function of validating old coins in a period of monetary change which he associates with the fall of the Arvernian hegemony in 121 and the subsequent setting up of local mints. Although I would disagree with this explanation for the changes, a second century date, possibly late in the century, for countermarking seems correct, and it would also, as implied in Colbert de Beaulieu's work, seem to be the case that countermarking (and test-marking, which is an analogous activity in a time when the status of a coinage is uncertain) took place almost exclusively in the west of Gaul well away from the Centre where the Arvernian hegemony , had there beeen one on the lines suggested by Colbert de Beaulieu, should have been collapsing. Most coins countermarked are in the region of 8.0g or under, so among the better second phase coinages or the lighter first phase ones, both of which may have survived into the later second phase. It is an odd coincidence that in Dacian coinages (Preda 1973), countermarking and test marking is also confinedd to a single area in the precisely corresponding phase of the coinage. The reasons for this activity are not clear; Preda suggested decorative reasons for some Dacian countermarks, but Colbert de Beaulieu has shown convincingly (1954c) that some Gaulish countermarks are related quite closely to Armorican coinage types of the final phase of the coinage, so that a use for validating otherwise 'unofficial' coins would seem to be likely. Why countermarks rather than new dies were used is not clear, given that the skills needed to produce a countermark are at least as high as those needed to produce dies. The following list gives details of the countermarked or test marked coins I have found reference to.

Colbert de Beaulieu (1954c): countermarks on BN 6897 (7.70g)=pl.XIII.1 of the 'Aulerci Cenomani' from Sarthe; BN 6954 (2.05g) 'Baiocasses';

BN 6757a (8.01g), 6757b (7.61g) 'Redones'; BN 10261 (1.28g) of uncertain origin. A 'Redones' stater in a private collection had two countermarks; a stater from Basse-Goulaine (L.Inf.) also had two, one of the m certainly and the other probably of Armorican origin. BN 3657 (7.76g) referred to as 'Arvernian', but which is not (type pl.VI.18, second phase group IIii) has a countermark of a boar with a linear design above not unlike those on some Touraine coins of the second century.

BN 3668 of the same type (= pl.VI.19), 7.56g has a countermark of a horse and bird. BN 6425 (1.94g) attributed to the Carnutes is virtually obliterated by the countermark; this type of coin is ancestral to type pl.VIII.1 and 'Redones' coins, and is related to pl.XIII.1 and 4; on p.245ff above I suggested a second century date for these types.

Test-marks in the form of chisel cuts are found on:

1. An early stater 8.35g from Bordeaux-Saint-Clair (S.Mar., Soulignac 1962).

2. A coin of the type pl.VI.5 (8.44g : Hamburger sale 1929 p 38 no 809): this type is of south-western origin (map 14-14a, group Iv). The chiselled mark is across the neck on the obverse.

3. An early stater of unclassed type (cf pl.VI groups Ii and Iii), 8.33g (Schulmann sale . March 1936 p 20 no 440).

4. A stater of first phase type Iv (pl.VI.5) at 7.80g is deeply chiselled with a test mark IBlanchet 1922:121-2).

5. An early Philip copy belonging to no distinct group, with both the head on the obverse and the biga on the reverse facing left (8.50g) has a deeply chiselled test mark on the obverse above the ear (Kress sale 8 Dec 1955 no 307). The origin of this coin is totally obscure an it has no obvious typological connections with any other first phase coinage known to me.

6. A coin precisely like pl.VI.14, probably of Central origin, has a light test mark above the ear on the obverse (2.01g; Kress sake 7 Dec 1957:no 2466).

7. A quarter-stater 2.015g, obverse type of first phase Iii but head to the left and without laurels; on the reverse a horse to the left with its left foreleg raised, ⟨ below. A light test mark is on the obverse (Kress sale

22 June 1959 no 296).

Test marks are sometimes found on later coins also:

1. Parisii stater 6.90g with a shallow test mark across the obverse (Kress sale 18 May 1953 no 246, cf sale of Luneau collection Platt (Drouot) 26 March 1922 no 237).

2. Stater of wouth-western 'Tayac' type cf pl. VIIIA.3, 7.60g: the reverse was simplified from pl.VI.5 with the trident having become a square, and a pyramid of three globules beside it; the driver holds a ring or torc. A deep chiselled cut on the obverse cut through the flan. Compare the test marks on earlier coins, nos 2 and 4 above (Kress sale 7 Dec 1957 no 2549). In the Kress sale catalogue for 10 June 1958 no 210 this coin was again listed and in this case it says the coin was from the Tayac hoard. If so, it is valuable information for the dating of test-marking to the second century. It was again auctioned without provenance in the Kress sale June 1959 . no 298.

3. Stater of the Veneti (?), 7.60g from Pleuguenneuc (I+V) with a countermark (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:228 n.372). This would imply that heavier 'Veneti' coins, over 7.80g, were prior to the end of the second century (cf dating of the Tayac hoard in appendix VII).

It is worth noting that with the exception of the Parisian coin and those of uncertain origin, all coins test marked are from the west of Gaul or coastal areas; in addition, again with the exception of the Parisian coin they are 7.60g or over; this was apparently a critical point on the weight scale, over which most second phase coins were struck and under which most first phase ones were issued. Perhaps the test marking and countermarking occurred at the time of transition between phases 2 and 3 and in the context of the social upheavals of the late second century and early first, the same period suggested by Colbert de Beaulieu but with a different occasion.

# APPENDIX XI

## FRACTIONAL SILVER COINAGE.

The following list and bibliography gives some idea of the widespread use of fractional silver coinage in and near the Centre probably in the second and first centuries. As noted by Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:301) recent excavation techniques have developed sufficient sensitivity for such small finds to be made, and this will over time greatly increase our knowledge of the use of fractional coinage in Gaul.

The coin at pl.IV.19 is one of the few clearly attached to known 'Arvernian' silver issues, probably the silver which accompanies group I gold staters. Other fractions are listed by the BN catalogue under the Arverni for no clear reason: the types are not very legible, although coins of the type BN 3807 (0.52g) and 3782 (0.35g) are not unlike some of the Arvernian silver and gold issues on the obverse. BN 3807 is close in type to the coin on pl.IV.14: the head is very similar and on the reverse there is what might be a boar under the horse. BN 3782 has a pegasus on the reverse in a style eimilar to that on gold coins of the group on pl.XI.9-13, especially 13: there is a circle with a central dot under the horse. Unfortunately the obverse is virtually illegible, so it is not possible to say whether the style was 'Aquitanic'. BN 3834 (0.58g) has on the obverse a laurelled head to the right and on the reverse a horse with a bridle and a small severed head above it; neither side is treated in 'Aquitanic' style so it is not an integral part of the silver severed head series, even though the elements of the design are similar.

Vian (1955) discussed two types of Celtic 'obol', (a) 0.49g, obv.laurelled head to the right in good style; rev. horse galloping left with a rider of which only the head and round shield are visible, and an A below. This coin was found near le Puy (Hte.L), and is a variety comparable with BN 3847. (b) 0.56g, obv. head to the left; rev. horse running left, driver above;

underneath, a snake facing right; this coin also was found at le Puy (Hte.L), and is comparable with BN 4063-4.

Blanchet recorded the existence of some tiny fractions: (a) an 'obol' with head to the right in a sort of 'helmet', and on the feverse a horse stepping right with a ring above and below, = BN 4365-6 (0.39g) found in the Lot (either the département or the river ? ), one at Murcens (Lot), one at Vieille-Toulouse (Hte.Gar.); the reverse type has analogies with BN 3782 (above) : ABT:288. (b) Armorica: ?Osismi fractions found at Lannéanou (Fin.) have on the obverse a very Celtic head to the right and on the reverse a bird-headed animal with a sort of vertical branch below: 0.70g, 0.90g, 0.93g, cf Hucher, L'Art Gaulois... pl.55, 1-3 (sic., ABT:315). (c) A tiny silver coin, BN 3860, 0.39g, was found at Corent (P.D. , ABT:502).

Gallia 1957:203ff gave illustrations of fractional coins from Allonnes (Sarthe), consisting of two variations of the silver type pl.IV.27: 0.70g for two of them, 0.90g for the third. Gallia 1970:260 records 14 hemiobols of Massilia together with 'numerous' Celtic coins at Saint-Marcel (Indre);

Allain (1969) recorded 6 hemiobols of Massilia in the lowest level there, weighing 0.31g. Gallia 1959:436, 1964:462 records an 'obol' 0.37g of the 'Cadurci' fromk the oppidum l'Impernal at Luzech (Lot), cf LT XII 4365. Gallia 1969:347-8 records in a la Tène III burial ground at Soulac-sur-Mer (Gir.), 64 monnaies à la croix including two 'obols': cf Allen 1969 fig 5 for monnaie à la croix 'minims'. Labrousse (1948) records 1 imitation Massiliot obol 0.35g and one monnaie à la croix 'obol' 0.30g from Gergovie (P.D.) cf LT IX 3373.

In the *Jalesches (Creuse) hoard there was one 1/2 denomination of the sword group 'Aquitanic' coinage, 0.92g : see appendix VII and the text. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:20 n.21) mentions fractional coinage of the Rhone valley horseman issues, especially the late DVRNACVS group, at 0.15-0.43g, found in the Rhone valley. Colbert de Beaulieu (ibid.:301): an 'obol' at 0.82g (type BN 4572), 2 'obols' at 0.41 and 0.55g and a smaller coin at

0.20g all of type BN 4561 were found in excavations at Margerides (Corr.) l.d. les Grandes-Pièces. All of these are therefore of the severed head group. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:301 n.573) : small silver coins 0.29g, 0.405g, 0.64g were found in excavations at Naintré (Vienne), but are not described. Colbert de Beaulieu (ibid.:329 n.655) records the only known fraction of the silver LITAVICOS coinage found in excavations at the oppidum at Nages (Gard). Gallia 1957:203f : 3 fractions of the type pl.IV.27 came from the excavations at Allonnes, Sarthe (0.90, 0.70, 0.70g). De la Saussaye (1837) mentions a number of small denomination billon coins with on the obverse a stylized facing head and on the reverse a boat and symbols (illustrated), found in a context with potins in Anjou. Térouanne (1961) mentioned a rare 'obol' at 0.61g 12mm in diameter from Allonnes in Sarthe; on the obverse was a facing gorgon and on the reverse a spread eagle, cf BN 4637-8, LT VII 4637.

Some evidence of the need for a fractional coinage among those without silver issues is suggested by the coin in the Kress sale of 28 Nov. 1958 p.6 no 72, which at 0.321g is a one-twenty-fourth of a stater; it was found at Kempten, and has on the obverse a janiform head and on the reverse a horse to the left and ? a head above.

Finds of Massiliot obols are fairly regular in Gaul. Gallia 1963:383 notes 2 from Châteaumeillant (Cher); Gallia 1968:565 and Bessou (1967) record 1 imitation Massiliot obol from Roanne in the second archaeological level and 2 Massiliot obols in the lowest level associated with potins with 2 bands on the obverse. In a letter, A Barthélemy says that Massiliot obols were found in significant numbers together with two-band potins at Varennes-les-Mâcon (S+L); together these two types were the commonest coin finds. Déchelette (1904:105) records 22 Massiliot obols from Mont Beuvray (Nièvre). ABT:485 records 21 Massiliot obols from Pommiers (Aisne). A massiliot obol was found in a third century level on the Celtic site at Beaussement-Chauzon (Ardèche, Montjardin 1969),

POTINS

In the context of an appendix on finds of fractional coinage, it would be appropriate to add a list of finds of early potin types in stratified archaeological contexts, and chronologically early finds of potins on other archaeological sites.

La Groutte (Cher): potin with bull and MA (cf BN 5284) found (Hugoniot 1969; Cothenet 1969).

Puy du Tour (Corr.): cast copy of Massiliot bronze in a low archaeological level; only one level of occuptaion debris was below it, so this is an early find (Gallia 1954:197).

Marloux (S+L): two copies of Massiliot bronze found (Armand-Calliat 1944).

Paris, in excavations under Notre-Dame: 2 tête diabolique potins (Gallia 1967:211).

Roanne (Loire): about 20 potins with double or triple band obverse in a period I context, ie c.75-50 (Nessou 1967). A potin of two or three band type and 'bronze' coins were also found contemporary with archaeological level 5 which is immediately above the second century level and in which were found sherds od Dressel IA and Greco-Italic amphoras, Campanian ceramic and a la Tène II fibula (Gallia 1971:412f). A Massiliot bronze and an imitation were found in level 4 near the second century level (Gallia 1968:565).

Metz (Moselle) : 1 potin with bull reverse attributed by the report to the Leuci was found in the conflagration level dateable to 58 (Gallia 1958:323f). Metz is far from the area where bronze and potin coinage first developed, and the coin is not of the earliest and most rudimentary type; yet the context is patently earlier than the Caesarian war.

Varennes-les-Mâcon (S+L): on a site abandoned before the conquest, potins were in extensive use alongside Massiliot obols; the most common potins were apparently those with a double band on the obverse (Gallia 1968:503f and letter from A Barthélemy with sketches.)

Essalois (Loire): 'Bronze' coins were found in association with ΚΑΛΕΔΥ and Greco-Italic amphoras, and a pre-conquest date is very probable (see section I; Gallia 1966:443). The Reports in Gallia 1968:565 and 1971:416 suggest that

potins included ones of the 'Segusiavi' (2-3 band obverse) found in a level dateable to the late second or early first century.

Vienne (Isère): potins imitated from Massaliot types were found in a level dateable to the first half of the first century, contemporary with Campanian B pottery (Gallia 1968:583). As inthe case of Metz, this site is far from the area of currency of the first Gallic potins, and a find here is unlikely to be as early as the earliest possible Central appearances.

Cavaillon (Vauc.): 1 potin ('Massilia copy') found in a funeral pit of la Tène III date of the mid first century (Dumoulin 1965).

Glanum (B.Rh): a deposit was found in excavations of Massiliot drachms 2.75-2.57g and 2.20g; diobols of the second century at 0.95g, 41 obols or divisions, 71 bronze coins and 4 Gallic coins including 1 potin type BN 5368 and 1 potin derived from BN 8319, although Colbert de Beaulieu wants both to be post conquest (1973a:246 n.437).

* * *

A few remarks may be made here on the volume of fractional coinage that might be expected to have been in use. Kraay (1964) noted that the output of small change (fractions of a drachm in particular) was small in sixth to fourth century Greece and deduced therefore that retail trade was not then extensive. Some figures are available for the number of dies consumed for different denominations in one city : Caulonia (p.86): 33 for staters, 5 for drachms, 3 for smaller denominations c.530-475; 73 for staters, 11 for drachms, 12 for smaller denominations 475-338; bronze came in at the end. Syracuse (p.86): over 100 for tetradrachms, 4 for didrachms, 1 for drachms, nothing smaller before 480; then c.480 over 70 dies were consumed for minting obols. After that no more obols were made. Gela (p.86): 30 for didrachms, until 481; 481-405 65 for tetradrachms; no fractions at all for the didrachm period, then about 60 obverse dies for obols were consumed c.460 and about 54 more c.430. Abdera in Thrace (p.87) 540-411: 30 for octodrachms, 118 for tetradrachms, 1 for didrachms, 16 for drachms, 6 for tetrobols, 11 for triobols, 14 for obols and 2 for hemiobols.

While it is clear from these statistics that far fewer obols and other small denominations were minted than were in heavier denominations, it must be remembered that the velocity of circulation of small change is very great, and a little can go a very long way, especially in the limited markets of antiquity. Marx (1971:112), in a discuasion of token coinage, noted that in the 10-year period ending Dec.31 1857 the total amount of gold coined by the Royal Mint came to £55,239,000, and that of silver to £2,434,000. The nominal value of copper coins minted in 1857 was only £6,720, and the total nominal value in copper coins for the whole ten year period only £141,477. If such small amounts of small change were sufficient for the needs of Britain in the 1850s, in a period when money was minted with the needs of trade in mind, the amount of obols struck at Syracuse and Gela seems more impressive, especially considering the number of coins what might be expected from a pair of dies (c.10,000). The fact that Rome did not mint any copper between the 80s and 19, and then again not between the 20s BC and 34 AD showh how long a limited amount of small change could be made serviceable; silver coins of tiny denominations were very vulnerable to loss, and this plus the greater durablilty and purely token content of copper coinage made it a more suitable medium for local market exchange and subsistence payments. Silver small change had not only to act as medium of payment for subsistence purposed and use in exchange in the agora, functions which are equally well fulfilled by copper, but had also to act as a fraction of weight of silver, valuable in itself. Athenian treasurers' accounts for 423/2 record as interest added to a payment by the Samians '582 drachmae 1 obol' (Hill Sources p.88 line 43). Fractional coinage had therefore not only to discharge small payments for menial or short-term serivces in the course of town life, but also fractional sums in interest payments and the like.

# APPENDIX XII

## COIN FINDS FROM OPPIDA SITES.

The published coin finds from some of the more significant archaeological sites are listed below for the sake of illustration and comparison. Asterisked sites are discussed in the archaeology section and may be foud under their département. For a good discussion of the pattern of coin finds in oppida and Gallo-Roman précoce dites see Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:240f, 326.

1. *Saint-Marcel (Indre). 1 bronze ATECTORI; bronze of ABVDOS;(3.07g); bronze of CALIAGIIIS 4.25g; potin 3.02g with butting bull; 6 poor quality potins of a type found at Bourges along the Gallo-Roman wall, probably a late issue; bronze of PIXTILOS 3.02g; potin type BN 5275, type foundat Angers; plated silver BELINOS . BN 6378-6380, 1.38g of the type found in the *Vernon (Vienne) hoard; bronze of CONTOVTOS 1.43g in imitation of coins of the gens Papia, Sydenham 964; 1 unpublished bronze 0.86g with obv. Aquitanic head, rev. boar (Allain, Cothenet, Poulain-Josien and Vauthey 1966). 6 hemiobols of Massilia at the lowest level, 0.31g (Allain 1969); 14 hemiobols of Massilia in pre-Augustan levels and 'numerous' Celtic coins (Gallia 1970:260): the only coinage in use under Augustus was Celtic. Roman imperial money is only found in significant amounts under the Flavians. 16 silver coins were found = 4 CAM 1.87-1.53g; 1 sword and ringlet Aquitanic 2.02g; 1 boar and X Aquitanic 2.09g; 2 battered silver coins probably destined for melting; 2 Massiliot obols or hemiobols 0.27g, in a worn state; 2 poor billon coins related to the type of the Andecavi (Chaloire) with head/boar; 1 TOGIRIX 1.85g; 1 ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ 1.90g; 1 type BN 7050 1.85g; 1 silver type BELINOS 1.38g . Bronze coins are more numerous: 14 ABVDOS, 1 CALIAGIIIS; 1 small wolf and pegasus; 1 Arvernian . IIPOS; 1 Arvernian IIPAD; 1 CONTOVTOS; 3 ATECTORI; (another is also known from the site); 1 potin of the ?Turones (sic); 1 Carnutes type 6088; 2 other potins; 1 PIXTILOS; 2 Senones type 7470; 1 Senones type 7585 (Cothenet 1968).

2.Pierrebuffière (Hte.Vienne): a la Tène III settlement was followed by Gallo-Roman occupation on a promontary between two streams. In a low archaeological level there were found bronze ADCANAVNOS; bronze CICIIDVBRI; bronze of the ?Lemovices (sic); bronze ABVDOS; a 1.95g imitation in silver of Emporiae (sic; Delage 1952).

3. Sanxay (Vienne) in a temple complex : 2 bronze VIRETIOS; 1 CONTOUTOS; 1 ATECTORI; 1 silver ATEVLA in the baths (Formigé 1944). Gallia 1967:266 adds an unpublished type of bronze coin (illustrated but not well legible) at 1.55g.

4.*Puy du Tour (Corr.): potin Q DOCI; 'Bituriges' (sic) silver 1.20g and bronze; 1 bronze NERONCEN (Murat 1962). Gallia 1954:197f adds that the silver coin was in level IIB, which is the next to lowest level with patently la Tène III pottery and an imitation of a bronze of Massilia (potin).

5.*Châteaumeillant (Cher): about 55 potins in a cluster near the top of the late independent level between Caesarian and Augustan material; most were of the same types (Cothenet 1963). 1 plated monnaie à la croix; 48 potins of 'Sequani' type; a large potin with butting bull and smaller ones. In level II, 2 obols of Massilia were found (Gallia 1963:383).

6.*Levroux (Indre): ABT:506 records the finds of over 2000 coins on the site: ABVDOS, VANDIINOS, PIXTILOS, TOGIRIX, potins, CAMBIL bronzes, bronzes with wolf head and pegasus which is the most common single type, silver coins with bird over the horse and a number of other types of bronze and potin. Coins of the same types, especially bronze, have been emerging from recent excavations but are not described in any detail (A and O Buchsenschutz 1971).

7.*Gergovie (Merdogne, P.D.): numerous coins were found, probably well over 1000, including many bronzes of VERCA, CALEDV, CICIIDVBRI IIPAD, T POM SEX F and ADCANAVNOS some at least of which were almost certainly struck on the site; bronze of Massilia; bronze of Nemausus; imitation Massiliot obol 0.35g; potin with butting bull; a small monnaie à la croix 0.30g type LT IX 3373; bronze type LT XIX 6088; silver SEGVSIAVS 1.95g; silver 1.65g SEQUANOIOTUOS;

3 GERMANUS INDUTILLI L; a large number of uncertain bronze coins in bad condition. IIPAD was the commonest single type (Hatt 1947; Labrousse 1948, 1950; Hatt 1943).

8. Allonnes (Sarthe): coins have been found in large numbers in the excavations at la Tour aux Fées in the bois de la Forêterie, where two gallo-Roman temples were built in succession. The first disappeared near the end of the first century AD, the second lated till the end of Roman domination. By 1961, 325 Gaulish coins had been found, and 11 Roman coins of which 9 were consular and teo imperial (Nerva and Domitian), all scattered in a sand bed on a clay base. Gaulish coins : 215 potin, 30 bronze, 86 silver, 1 gilded bronze, 3 gold. Potins : 1 Aedui, 1 Senones, and the rest of two principal types 'as found at les Ouldes near Langeais (I+L), camp d'Amboise and & Fondettes-St.-Cyr near Tours'. Other coins: 14 Massilia, 4 Nemausus, 1 Viena (sic), 8 Lugdunum, 4 Vocontii, 1 Segusiavi, 7 Sequani, 2 uncertain of the east, 4 Aedui, 4 Bituriges, 3 Pictones, 51 Carnutes,or cenomani; 2 Diablintes, 2 Eburovices, 1 Caletes, 1 Ambiani, 18 uncertain. 2 rare coins: 1 silver 'obol' 0.61g with <u>obv.</u> gorgon head facing and <u>rev.</u> spread eagle cf BN 4637-8 (<u>LT</u> VII 4637). 5 bronze ARTOIAMOC found (Térouanne 1961; <u>Gallia</u> 1962:425). <u>Gallia</u> 1957:203f illustrates a number of types found in potin, bronze and silver and compares them with the Fondetted hoard. The silver coins illustrated with the exception of the three fractions under 1.0g (appendix XI) weighed 1.70-1.80g. <u>ABT</u>:267 mentioned a coin of DVRNACOS AVSCRO from Allonnes; Soutou 1969 records the find of three early and heavy monnaies à la croix from Allonnes, of his category I (Soutou 1968). Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:240) gives overall fighres of Térouanne's finds as 5 gold, 88 silver, 35 bronze, 235 potin. Foreign finds included 11 Massiliot obols and two north Italian imitation Massilia drachms at 3.90g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319). Different figures again are offered at Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:327): 5 gold, 84 silver, of which 35 were local; 28 bronze, 245 potin of which 222 are of régional 'tête diabolique'.

9. *Essalois (Loire): over 300 coins found, all pre-imperial; 2 denarii, (a) c.200 BC, (b) c. 38. In the la Tène III level with Dressel I amphoras and ceramic similar to Mont Beuvray were numerous 'Segusiavi' potins with butting bull and head with 2 or 3 bands; coins of the 'Arverni' including one "Philip II imitation"; coins (unspecified) of the 'Bellovaci, Bituriges, Sequani, Virodune, Vocontii, Treveri'; silver Massaliot drachms, imitation Emporiae bronze and Celtiberian coins (Preynat 1962). Later excavations resulted in finds of 4 'Aedui' bronze and 3 'Segusiavi' (probably potins) and one silver ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ (Gallia 1966:493), and then 29 more coins, mostly potins of the type with 2 or 3 band obverse in associaltion with Campanian B pottery (Gallia 1968:565).

10. *Roanne (Loire) coins from excavations ar Rue Gilbertès and the Institution St.Joseph, preserved in Roanne: potin with 2 bands; 1 silver COMA; 1 silver DVRNOC AVSCROC; 1 silver DVBNORIX; 1 bronze ABVDOS type; 1 worn sword and flowerlet silver Aquitanic group coin; 1 silver coin uncertainly attributed to the Aedui (rev. horse right and symbol ? ∀ below) ; 1 undated Roman denarius. Rue Gilbertès coins were mostly potins but there were also 2 Roman quinarii, 1 silver DVBNOCOV DVBNOREIX, the COMA coin mentioned above in an Augustan context, 1 silver SEGISV, 1 bronze IIAROS / ABVDOS in an early Augustan context; 1 bronze variety of BN 6147 of the ?Carnutes; 1 bronze MOTVD of BN 3994; 1 bronze or potin coin imitated from the types of monnaies à la croix, found at the Institution St.Joseph. Bessou (1967) recorded for the first period, 2 obols of Massilia or the Tectosages (probably Massilia), small bronze of Massilia; 20 potins with 3 or 2 bands; a la Tène II fibula. Period II: 3 potins with double band. Period III: bronze of VERCA, IIPAD, silver AVSCRO DVRNACUS; 1 very worn uncial as; a 2 band potin and a less common potin; a bronze of GERMANVS at the opening of the pit under excavation. The absence of struck bronze in the earliest levels suggests that potins were made first. Gallia 1968:565 records for the Institution St Joseph: 1 bronze of Nemausus, 1 as of Lyons, 1 plated Roman denarius with la Tène III pottery, Campanian B ceramic and Dressel IB amphoras; 1 silver TOGIRIX,

1 silver of the 'Bituriges' (in the museum, noted above, with sword and flowerley); in the next level down: 1 bronze of Massilia, 1 imitation Massiliot obol, 1 TOGIRIX; on the next level, on the sand: 2 obols of Massilia, Campanian A ceramic, the whole dateable to the second century in all probability. Fournier (1967) gives overall statistics for finds at the Institution St Joseph as 35 bronze coins, of which 24 were 2 or 3 band potins; 1 silver plated imitation of an Empuriae drachm; about 15 TOGIRIX; 2 struck bronze of the ?Arverni; 38 coins of Roman origin, mostly of Augustus, although three were of the republic.

11. *Alesia (oppidum at Alise-Sainte-Reine, not the battlefield): Colbert de Beaulieu (1955a) lists 99 coins, silver bronze and potin for Alesia and the hills around (counted by de Saulcy): of 75 described, 14 were bronze, 13 potin. Le Dantec (1968) listed 29 silver, 17 bronze and 91 potin from the plateau; 5 silver, 6 bronze and 20 potin from uncertain locations. An as of Emporiae from the late first century was found on the plateau (le Dantec 1971). Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:348f) gives a fuller study of the coins from the oppidum: 250 out of 868 were silver, 93% were regional issues; 62 of 140 coins of the 'denarius zone' were attributable to the Lingones; overall figures, excluding 28 GERMANVS were 1 gold, 123 silver, 85 bronze and 591 potin including 177 type BN 8319, and 179 type BN 8329 (ibid.:327).

12. Les Bolards (near Nuits, C.d'O): 4 gold, 3 of which were quarter staters; 38 silver, 34 bronze, 100 potin, 4 Massiliot obols and 2 imitations. Silver coins included 12 anepigraphic Aeduan coins, 3 DVRNACVS and 9 KAΛETEΔOY (Le Dantec 1972); a bronze CELI - SOX was also found (Thévenot 1948).

13. Montjustin (Hte.Saône): in a Gallo-Roman sanctuary (Lerat:23) an enormous number of coins were found, the most notable feature of the site. At least 200 were found, including many bronze issues.

14. Pommiers (Aisne) : 10 gold, 100 silver, 1305 bronze, 110 potin (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:240; cf Déchelette 1914:967).

15. Vendeuil-Caply (Oise): 10 gold, 55 silver, 217 bronze, 87 potin (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:240).

16. *Mont Beuvray (Nièvre): 1033 coins were known in the early twentieth century: 4 gold, 202 silver, 119 bronze, 708 potin (Déchelette 1904; 1914:954).

17. Vieille-Toulouse (Hte.Gar.): Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:328 n.652) records 200 coins from the site found in two years in excavations. Most were Roman, Iberic and Gaulish; Monnaies à la croix were mostly late and plated with low weights. A few tête diabolique potins were found, and a gold stater of the Pictones type LT XIII 4395 which is the only gold coin known from the site. On the plateau of la Planho at Vieille-Toulouse a new bronze of VANDELOS was found (BN 7988). Gallia 1972:491-4 records that in 1970-1 146 coins were found; 50 Roman, 11 of Massilia, 37 Gaulish from Languedoc, 9 other Gaulish, 14 Spanish and 25 uncertain: most coins were bronze. The oldest coin was a worn uncial as; the most recent was a Nimes coin of the colony c. 15 BC. Vieille-Toulouse was abandoned by the end of the first century. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:327) records the find of two 'Arvernian' silver coins, type BN 3812-3 (pl.IV.6 here).

18. Entremont (B.Rh.): Benoit (1968) records that the town developed between the third century and 125/22 when it was destroyed. Coins are numerous, especially of Massilia: a hoard of 1,435 obols was found, and a hoard of 100 obols with 2 drachms associalted with a Roman quinarius of Roma/Dioscuri and 2 victoriati of 240-197. Another hoard in the artisans' quarter contained 27 drachms in a wooden box; another of 110 obols was in an earthen pot. Scattered coins: drachms and small bronze of Massilia; a denarius Servilia (C Serveili M f) of the first half of the second century; a denarius of the Flavia gens. It is very unusual to find coins of the Vocontii or Allobroges, and none are in hoards; 2 'denarii' were found with obv. laurelled head rev. bouquetin right, 2.35g and 2.53g of the type

found in the Tourdan (Isère) hoard. It is rare to find Roman coins before the period of the sack.

19. Tronoën, cne. St.Jean-Trolimon (Fin.): coins are far fewer in Armorican oppida than in similar sites elsewhere in Gaul (Collis 1971:100). Exceptional among Armorican hill forts in many ways is Tronoën (Déchelette 1914:945, 946 n.1): the historical reasons for its unusual development would be well worth investigating. Material of la Tène I-II has been found and la Tène III; la Tène I is especially well represented on the plateau over the bay of Penmarc'h. The site is 600m from the necropolis of Kerviltré and the enclosure is 25 hectares in extent. Celtic and Roman hut floors have been found, rectangular Gaulish houses with rough stone foundations and wood and clay superstructure 5-6m long. Some are outside the enclosure. Nearly all contained swords, daggers and spearheads (material of a martial nature are very rare in Central oppida); one contained a fragment of an Italic type of helmet with coral decoration. A nearby construction contained 4 Gaulish coins, and 20m further on a skeleton was buried with 4 gold, 2 silver and 1 bronze coin, a twisted iron sword, 2 big spearheads, an iron dagger, a ploughshare and pottery, so it was suggested by Déchelette that some 'hut floors' may in fact have been burials. The context of the find of the early and very good gold coin of crane and trefoil type (pl.XI.9, see map 17 and list) is not made clear by Déchelette: perhaps it was from the burial.

20.*Murcens, cne. Cras (Lot): DAG sv. Cras lists some of the coins found on this site. These are 1 wolf and pegasus bronze of the type here pl.XIV.1 (DAG no.116); 7 monnaies à la croix (DAG types 275, 276, 277 among them), and three small silver coins of 'obol' denominations which at the time of publication of the DAG were previously unknown (DAG nos. 278 and 279); no. 279 is of the same type as BN 4365 (LT XII), and the other has the same obverse but centre-dotted rings above and below the horse on the reverse.

Gold coins in oppida.

A few, mostly late, gold coins are known from oppida in or near the Centre: Tronoën (fin.): gold horse crane and trefoil coin(s), 3.42-3.70g (ABT:295). Chamalières (P.D.): stater of group II Arvernian type (Gallia 1963:395), first century. Les Bolards (C.d'O): 1 Aeduan stater; quarter-staters (a) variety of LT XXV 8697 of north-western type; (b) one 'Aeduan', (c) one 1.50g '?Turones' (le Dantec 1972). Levroux (Indre): B 894.24.1 and B 894.24.2 ABVCATOS (6.77g, 6.84g). Alise-Sainte-Reine (C.d'O): quarter-stater 2.0g cf LT XI.3629 (= staters of first phase group Iii on pl.VI.2 here), an obviously early coin, put by Colbert de Beaulieu in the second century; a poor gold stater with obv. barbarous head, rev. boar, now lost; Blanchet thought it was BN 4305 (pl.XII.8 here); gold stater with legend CAS (7.45g, and pl.IX.4-5); a gold coin of the same general type was found on the heights opposite Alise, at Ménétroux-le-Pitois, 7.47g, type LT XII 7755 (sic) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a). The gold coin found at Bourges (ABT:507) at 1.66g is probably early and belongs with staters of type pl.VII.1. Essalois (Loire): gold 'Philip II imitation', which could refer to coins of the type pl.VIII.17-19 (Renaud 1962). See also nos. 13-15 above where unspecified gold coins were occasionally found.

# APPENDIX XIII

## BIMETALLISM

Colbert de Beaulieu (1971a) suggested that the Pictones may have had some form of bimetallism. His argument runs that as both silver PIV coins and gold pictones staters with the hand on the reverse were issued in the same area, this is an indication of bimetallism, even though both are never collected equally in the same hoards. The coinages were contemporary. He estimated that an electrum stater of 6.50g with 300/1000 parts precious metal had 1.95g pure gold in it, and 1.95g pure silver. He assumed that the ratio of silver to gold at the time was 15 or 12 : 1. If 12 : 1, the precious metal content of the stater in question would be the equivalent of 25.35g of pure silver. This would be the equivalent of 10 coins at 750/1000 parts of pure silver at 3.50g. For coins of PIV type, the normal weight is 2.90g at 300/1000 parts silver or less, which would mean the same amount of pure silver (25.35g) would make 30 coins. A gold stater at 300/1000 parts gold and silver would therefore be worth a lot even of pure silver, and 30 or so poor silver coins of PIV type. The silver of the Pictones, he goes on, was suitable for commerce [an undefended assertion] where the gold was too valuable. Earlier, he noted that the silver PIV coins span the latest period of the gold coinage, but as both are not found together in hoards, there must have been a difference in mint and authority. It would seem that two contradictory assumptions underlie this argument. Either there was bimetallism, in which case both were issued by the same authority, or they were issued by different authorities in which case there was no bimetallism, but at best some agreed rate of exchange. Bimetallism presupposes that both gold and silver were minted by one authority according to a strict rate of exchange between the two metals fixed before the minting. It is therefore not a case of bimetallism in the strict sense if the coinages of two authorities in different metals are used in one area and

have an agreed rate of exchange between them. In view of the quite different types and hoarding patterns of silver PIV and gold Pictones staters, I would interpret them as separate coinages, for all practical purposes. It may be argued against this, however, that in Auvergne where die types were shared between gold and silver (p.205ff), silver was never hoarded and is therefore even more separated from gold than the two Pictones coinages. In this case different uses rather than different authorities may be suspected. While certainty in this matter is at present impossible, the presence of two areas in Central Gaul where gold and silver of different types circulated inthe same area (Poitou and Berry in the first century, the latter pair of coinages being the gold ABVDOS group and silver sword group), coupled with the complex Celtic social structure certainly in Berry and perhaps in Poitou, it is not a foregone conclusion that formal bimetallism existed there as it may have done in Auvergne, and I would prefer to regard Auvergne as an exception in contrast to the rest of The Centre in this respect as in others.

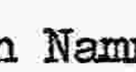
# APPENDIX XIV

## STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF CELTIC COINAGES IN GAUL

In some of the arguments used in the text for dating or attribution I have used evidence from the types of the coins rather than find-spots and weights alone, so it would be as well to bring together some of the major points involved in this process. These arguments, when used for purposes of chronology, rest on the general principle that borrowing of design or whole coinage types was rooted in social contact with the issuers (or users) of the immediate protatype, and that therefore the time-lag between the currency of the original and the engraving of the derivations will not be very great. This principle is extended to cover also the borrowing of Mediterranean prototypes. Thus for instance the first Gallic copies of Philip II staters must have accurred at a time when these coins were widely available to the Gaul s in their contact with Greeks, probably in the course of the late fourth and early third centuries, and similarly in the cases of copying of Emporiae, Rhode or Massilia designs (see p.420ff and 476ff ).

There were, in the Central area, several major regional styles of diecutting which are apparent in the gold and silver coinages, each of which is exemplified in a number of different series otherwise distinct either in time or area of circulation. As the existence of regionally distinctive styles is of some importance in tracing the cultural development of the Centre it is worth laying out the principal features of the stylistic grouping of the coinage.

It is a fact that geographically contiguous coinages frequently bear motifs borrowed from one another; this phenomenon is not necessarily confined to borrowing between coinages using the same metal (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a: 148f). Thus Pictones gold borrowed motifs from Namnetes and Veneti gold and billon staters; and the motif derived from the head of Helios on Philip II

Macedonian staters was shared by several western and Armorican gold and silver coinages (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c; 1952b; 1973a:150f). The latter motif is illustrated here at pl.I.10 (silver), VI.3 and 17, and VII.15 where it is inverted. The shared Armorican type of motifs are: Pictones gold  (pl.XI.4), found on Namnetes coins as  ; on the reverse the Pictones charioteer holds  or  (pl.XI.14-15), which is also found on Veneti coins as  BN 6719. The small severed heads round the main head on the obverse, found on some Pictones gold (cf pl.XI.17, in reduced form) is also found onn Armorican staters, cf pl.XIII.12-13 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c). Other borrowings by neighbouring peoples is attested. The Coriosolites borrowed motifs from Veneti billon (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955d); for motifs shared between Armorican and Belgic coinages see Colbert de Beaulieu (1952d). A series of Treveri coinages with close similarities with 'Cenomani' coinages of Armorica are discussed by Allen (1971).

Coins with the 'head of Helios' motif listed by Colbert de Beaulieu (1952b, cf 1973a:150) are: gold: BN 4542 (8.32g), 4539 (8.15 found at Moulins, Allier), 4538 (7.80g), 4543 (7.76, pl.VI.17), 4541 (7.70g found at Limoges, Vienne), 4540 (7.56), 4545 (1.90), 4544 (1.92), 4548 (1.85), all with vestiges of the Greek legend. Without a legend: 4547 (7.35, = pl.VIII. 10), 4546 (7.28). Inn silver: Bridiers coin BN 4549 (4.47g, = pl.I.10). In gold with the 'flower' as a large feature: BN 4581 (7.85g, = pl.XII.14), 4582 (7.31g) where the 'flower' has developed two arcs at its base recalling leaves. Silver coins of types corresponding to these gold coins: BN 4584 (3.78g), 4585 (3.58g), 4583 (3.49g, = pl.XII.15) where the flower symbol has 'leaves' resembling a bow. An unpublished billon coin possibly of the Aulerci Cenomani is recorded as having the same sympol (illustrated in the catalogue of the Exposition du concours numismatique, Paris 1951 no 28): the coin in question had the obverse die of LT XII 6524, which is not in fact a coin of the Osismi. Other Armorican mutations are mentioned: the type found at Huelgoat (Fin.) BN 7845 (6.78g) and at the oppidum of Tronoën (Fin.).

Further mutations of the theme in the BN are 6729 (7.52g), 6724 (1.86g = LT XXI, found at Cholet, M+L), and 6755 (7.25g, = LT XXI). The common original inspiration for these various motifs is correctly assessed in this work, although my own examination of the coins has led me to reject the implied linear development as a number of mainly western coinage types are involved, some ... of them contemporary but distinct from one another.

Various motifs were shared among the Poitou silver coinages and eastern Armorican gold coinages all of the second century (p.190, 245); the possible sharing of motifs between early gold and silver coinages widely separated in space is suggested ap p. 263ff above.

The treatment of the hair on the head of the obverses of nearly all western silver and much western gold coinage, referred to generically as 'Aquitanic', is a technique originating in the south-west or west. It was widely used in the Centre, and sometimes outside of it by way of borrowing. I have collected a number of illustrations of this technique to illustrate this principle, because it was such a widespread phenomenon especially in the western part of the Centre. In addition, it may be added to the archaeological indications of systematic cultural interconnedtions between the Celts in the western part of Gaul and the northern Garonne area.

The earliest examples are on heavy silver coins: Bridiers coins pl.I.7,9,10; early monnaies à la croix (pl.I.11) and Pictones coinage prototypes (pl.III.1-2), all of which I would argue are dateable to not later than the late third century and circulated to the wouth-west of the Centre (map 12). The next major type of 'Aquitanic' treatment of the obverse is seen in the Poitou silver coinages, the chief characteristic being that the lock s on the crown of the head stand away from the scalp rather than hanging down: pl.III passim, and on gold, pl.XII.9-10, 12,13 and 16 show variations of this phase, which apparently continued into the first century and was by that time localized to the west of the river Vienne in the

Poitou region, though in the second century it was concentrated further east in the west of Berry (map 12). A development of this type appears on first century Pictones gold coinage, which in contrast with the silver of the region has a strongly Armorican appearance (pl.XI.14-17); Armorican coinages themselves sometimes display Aquitanic types of treatment on the obverse: pl.XII.12,13,16-18 are cases in point, all of which are from the eastern fringe of Armorica, nearest to the Poitou region .

A second major variety of Aquitanic treatment has heavier and fewer locks of hair, and appears in its most characteristic form on their silver series of the first century illustrated on pl.V, though it is also found on bronze (pl.V.21) and gold (pl.XI.9-10); this variety is geographically concentrated to the east and south of the Poitou type, in Limousin and Berry. It is noteworthy that the part of the series in Limousin on pl.XI.9-13 which is on the same weight scale as Pictones gold, has types closest to Pictones gold, rather than to the other gold of its type which is close to the second type of 'Aquitanic' treatment (pl.XI.11-13 cf 14; for fuller discussion see p.250ff above). Monnaies à la croix of the late and light type found in the Belvès hoard adopted the second variety of Aquitanic obverse under discussion (pl.I .17-18); other south-western coins which were clearly influenced by this type are shown on pl.XII.2,8 and 21.

Maps 12,13 and 17 (Pictones, and crane and trefoil finds) indicate the area in western Gaul where the chief Aquitanic types of coin circulated. Coinages outside the area sometimes show signs of typological borrowing, eg pl.XII.19 (Parisii stater) or monnaies à la croix (pl.I.11,12,14,17,18). The extent of borrowing in the area where monnaies à la croix circulated is understandable in the same way as are Armorican borrowings; contact with these areas was systematic and important for the west of Gaul. Occasionally, coinages from further east in Gaul appear to display a related treatment of the obverse (pl.II.8,9,11 (Aedui); IV.9 (Auvergne), VII.8-9; IX.21 (Auvergne); X.9-10 (Auvergne) and XII.6 from the Orleans area) and so does the series pl.VIII.10-14 from eastern Armorica or Touraine and perhaps

15 from the north-east of Gaul; all of these cases are outside the immédiate limits of the main area of circulation of Aquitanic style coins.

I include the figures pl.I.15,16 and 19 because it appears that monnaies à la croix types were occasionally influenced by outside thchniques other than immediate neighbours: 16 and 19 (Coriosolites) are not dissimilar, and 15 has affinities with eastern silver coinages, cf pl.II.8-12, or with the probably Central silver coin XII.3. Obviously where the model copied was geographically remote, there is no question of normal explanations from contiguity, and the reason for copying is more likely to be an experiment with design, Throughout their history, monnaies à la croix exhibit an enormous repertoire of obverse styles. The meaning of the reverse motifs on precious metal coinages is not certain, but if they are to be considered as distinguishing marks of authorship, it is possible that motifs found on bronze may in some cases be related to precious metal types of the region. Thus the wolf and pegasus bronze types found in Berry (pl.XIV.1-3) may recall the wolf on 'Indre' group silver of the second century, which was treated in a similar way (pl.III.18-19), and the eagle bronze of the same region (pl.XIV.6-7) could be related to the contemporary Berry gold (pl.XI.4-6).

Stylistic differences on coinages of the Centre may be as significant as similarities. Major contemporary coin series of the time of the Caesarian conquest, all of which appear to have had a first century origin, were of very different median weights in the case of Gentral gold. These major series were also very strongly distinct typologically. The staters circulating in the region of Berry (pl.XI.1-6 and map 17) bear only a distant reltaion to Aquitanic types, and though they share with some of them an ultimate derivation from the types of Emporiae coins, they are nevertheless quite separate. Again, contemporary Auvergne gold staters (pl.IX-X) are quite distinct from immediately neighbouring coinages to the west (pl.XI.9-13) and to the north (pl.X.1-6). Maps 16a, 17 and 19 illustrate the distinctly separate distributions of these various contemporary issues; the fact of their

distinction from one another both by weight and by type is of some importance politically and culturally. This phenomenon is also exhibited by silver: Pictones PIV, 'Aquitanic' sword group and Auvergne silver were also contemporaries in the first century, but were of quite different style and weight as well as distribution (map 18), though the Auvergne silver may be in a different category as a coinage from the other two.

One of the constant factors in the design of many Central coinages which is of some considerable cultural interest is the appearance of motifs from Emporiae coinage in contrast with borrowings from Rhode by monnaies à la croix in the Garonne basin. Coins from Emporiae are found from time to time in the Centre (map 16), and though most of them are bronzes and later than the date at which the firsf Central coinages were stuckm earlier drachm motifs were certainly copied. A bronze copy of Emporiae coinage is provided by Colbert de Beaulieu (1955c). The coin is not illustrated by Blanchet or de la Tour, and is rare: obv. stylized head, border of dots; rev. very stylized pegasus with a four-point cross below, classed in the BN as 4216 (found Corent, P.D., 3.20g), 4217 (found near Bourges, 3.97g), 4218 (3.40), 4219 (1.90), one in the Vian collection in Avignon (2.70), one in the museum at Rouen (2.70); one offered for sale by M Vinchon (3.20). It is compared typologically with the type of TASGIITIOS of the Carnutes (LT XIX 6295) and with Berry bronze with the wolf reverse (pl.XIV.1-3 here).

The dolphins which appear on later Emporiae drachms in front of the face of the goddess (pl.I.4a) are feduced to a variety of motifs on Central and nearby coinages, eg pl.VIII.16 which circulated to the east of the Centre in the region of Beaune (C.d'O) and eastwards; XI.1,2,4,5,8 (Berry); XI.10,11,13 (Limousin and south Berry); XI 14,16,17 (Poitou); to the north of the region XII.19 (Parisii) and to the south-west it is found on monnaies à la croix (pl.I.14). Early 'Bridiers' coins were sometimes straight imitations of Emporiae types (head of a nymph and on the reverse a horse with victory flying above, pl.I.4b,8.9); the same reverse motif

probably lies behind the early ABVDOS group Berry stater pl.XI.1. For use of the more normal Emporiae silver reverse type of a pegasus (pl.I.4a) which was also used for Emporiae bronze, see for instance pl.XIV.1-3 and the discussion of Bridiers group silver coinage (p.174ff above) for an example of an early copy using elements from this later Emporitan type.

As a caveat it should be added that chronological arguments from typology can be weak if taken in separation from other criteria. Câlbert de Beaulieu (1955d) has recorded a Coriosolites billon stater which on the obverse shows a 'classical' rendering of the head of Apollo of Macedonian ataters, but whose reverse die is shared by another coin with a fully Celtic Armorican obverse.

# APPENDIX XV

## POSEIDONIOS:

## Notes on Tierney (1960).

Professor Tierney's work on Poseidonios is perhaps the best monograph available on his account of the Celts. It is ov very great value, and there are only a few points which it is of smme importance to raise again in the conbext of the present study. This is beaause the ancient written evidence is of such importance, and Poseidonios is usually given a uniquely prominent positiona as a sourxce.

The most notable fact about Poseidonioa' work is that nohe of it survives except in feferences and indirect quotations in later workd all of which date to after the Roman conquest of the whole of Gaul and its provincialization, a most important factor in an assesament of the sourced. Poseidonios' account of the Celts was clearly important, and because of this and the absence of a text, Tierney has a questionahle tendency to attribute to him anything that is good and correct about the Celts, especially when it is repeated in two or more authors, as well as a knowledge of Gaul which it cannot always be assumed that he had. To take one example, Strabo (4.3.4) placed the Mediomatrici on the Rhine; Tierney believes this is due to Poseidonios and that the Mediomatrici may have lived in that area at that time. However, Strabo made a number of mistakes of geography, for instance placing the Arverni on the Loire (Str.4.2.3); in the rudimentary state of his geographical knowledge of Gaul it is not unthinkable that he assimilarted important peoples to important rivers unscientifically, and the evidence that Poseidonios had knowledge of the precise geography of areas far from the Roman province, and that Strabo transmitted it faithfully, is thin to say the least.

Poseidonios lived c.135-51, and wrote his ethnography of Gaul in book 23 in c.80. In book 30 he also wrote an account of the Cisrhenan Germans.

The Celtic ethnography was written as a background to the Roman wars of 125-1, hence its emphasis on the Arverni; Tierney holds that Poseidonios also knew details about the Aedui and Sequani also living in the eastern part of Gaul where most consistent Mediterranean contact existed in the pre-conquest period (p.33ff above). Poseidonios also knew some of the Garonne basin which was in exactly the same relation to the Mediterranean on the south-west as the Rhone valley was on the east; he knew of the Aquitani as a distinct people, according to Tierney, and he narrated the sack of Tolosa in 106 together with its attendant legends. Poseidonios had in addition acquired knowledge of the Cimbri and Teurones who had come from the far north, but this could easily have been obtained from captives and presupposes no personal experience of Gaul beyond the normal scope of Mediterranean contact. I would argue that Poseidonios' description of the Celts, and especially their headhunting practices, could have been drawn from as near as 15 km of Massilia and are not probably appropriate outside south-eastern France in the forms described. It is impossible to claim a far-reaching knowledge of Gaul beyond the Mediterranean fringe and the regular contacts of the Greeks and Romans on the north-east and south-west for an author whose works are lost and whose remaining excerpts only describe those areas.

Poseidonios stood in a Greek ethnographic tradition on the Celts, as argued by Tierney, going back at least to the fourth century; he admired Pytheas (c.325 BC) and used his coastal geography. He also used the recent first century geography of Artemidorus who knew the coasts, and he made use of the third century work of Phylarchus largely on Galatian feasting customs. It may therefore be assumed to be correct that Poseidonios' work on the ethnography of Gaul is his own original research, some at least of it acquired from a visit to the south of France : how much he saw of Celtic life as led by the Celts well beyond Greek influence may be doubted.

There are a number of problems involved in determining what Poseidonios knew. Tierney seems to assume that whenever two of the authors known or assumed to have used Poseidonios (Diodorus, Caesar, Strabo and Athenaeus) agree on a point, it must therefore be derived from Poseidonios. The Aedui provide a case in point; Tierney (1960:221) holds that because Diodorus 5.25.1 and Strabo 4.3.2 agree that the Aedui were an illustrious people it is therefore _ _ from Poseidonios. But the Aedui were among the best known and illustrious people in Gaul in Roman opinion even in Cicero's day, and they were the first to provide Roman senators when the franchise was extended to Gaul (Tacitus Ann. 11.25). Poseidonios must have known about them, but the passages of Diodorus and Strabo do not demonstrate it as the information could have come from numerous sources.

Tierney has a low opinion of Caesar's independent worth in Celtic ethnography, which is a great pity. He argued (p.213) that Caesar gave an 'arbitrary' treatment of Celtic social classes for instance, although I would argue (p.384ff) that Caesar's treatment of the relation between the equites and plebs is both detailed and accurate and that there is no reason to think that it is not true of his own time in Central Gaul and the result of personal observation, even though he may have read Poseidonias as well. Tierney rightly noted that ancient authors had a tendency to assimilate all barbarians into a single category and transfer behavioural characteristics from one to the other, although it is wrong to think (a) that they did not distinguish at all between different races, and (b) that Caesar was among the practitioners of this confusion. However, Tierney says (ibid.:201):

> A study of ancient ethnography shows the extreme frequency of such borrowings which leaves us with grave doubts of their historical accuracy. Norden hints at deformation of the truth through continuous transference and stylization, and while fully admitting the correctness of this contention, we may still go further and widen it into the statement that the routine ethnographical schemata seem to have acted like blinkers on the less able ethnographers, and by presenting them with a set of stock questions to have inhibited their ability to ask any others or to see their subject clearly. Poseidonios, of course does not belong to this category, but Julius Caesar just as certainly does.

I would strongly resist the suggestion wither that Poseidonios was free from the educated habits of his day, or that Caesar was so tatally unobservant. Tierney for instance holds that Poseidonios was responsible for the triple divisdion of Gaul into Celtae, Aquitani and Belgae (1960:208f), and that Caesar was a mere copyist (p.212).

> The triple divisdion of the population, which is that of Caesar (BG 1.1) is shown to be Posseidonian by the typical distinctions of language, physical characteristics, types of government and ways of life (1960:210)

There is really no good evidence that Poseidonios knew of the Belgae, and no reason to think that Caesar did not work out that divisdion for himself in the same way and for the same purposes that he worked out his characteristic definition of Germans (Tierney 1960:216). Poseidonios himself can have had no contact with Belgae, and the fact that Strabo repeats the triple division is not evidence that both he and Caesar got it from Poseidonios: why did not Strabo learn of it from the accepted and habitual division of Gaul probably familiar by Augustus' time which perhaps owed its codification ot Caesar? Tierney admits (p.210) that Strabo must have learnt from Caesa r the names of the Belgic peoples, so why not also their definition as Belgae? Similarly there is no good reason to think that Poseidonios was responsible for Strabo's emphasis on the excellence of Gaulish rivers (p.209): Strabo could equally and perhaps more probably have learnt of that from Roman governmental sources or persons engaged in the voracious exploitation of Gaul after the conquest. I repeat, there is no evidence whatever that Poseidonios knew about the interior of Gaul (cf Tierney 1960:208), and it is a misuse of the evidence to attribute almost everything of interest and not clearly from another source in Strabo, Diodorus and Caesar to Poseidonios.

Tierney's position on the druids is also somewhat questionable. He argues (ibid.:214f, 222f) that Poseidonios and Caesar for different reasons over stressed the social importance of druids, and that the basis of their authority was medico-magical (p.215):

> There can be little doubt that the medico-magical side of the Druids so prominent in Pliny's Natural History is the real historical basis of their power and influence, and that the rest is a mere ideological superstructure.

But Pliny was writing when the only activities left to the old learned class were magical, since political and legal authority by then had been transferred to a Romanized ruling class under Roman rule. Previous to this quotation Tierney had reviewed the ancient traditions concerning barbarian religions and he goes on th argue that Mediterranean Pythagorean and Stoic beliefs and theories influenced all the accounts of the druids' beliefs: (p.223)

> When one examines soberly this [Caesar's] account of the Druids, it bemomes impossible to believe that it is historical. We know that the Celts at this period, say 80 BC, were still practising divination by human sacrifice and preserving the skulls of slain enemies by nailing them as trophies to the porches of their houses. Is it possible that they were at the same time living on the rarified levels of Greek philosophy? ... The alleged studies of the Druids are simply a programme of Stoic philosophy ....

I would argue differently. Naturally the Mediterranean writers fitted into their philosophical framework what they discovered about barbarians, and certainly they were not always good observers. It is also possible that educated barbarians gave false accounts of their religious systems to please Mediterranean interviewers, a well-known social phenomenon. But it is certainly not true that abstract thought and astronomy were incompatible with human sacrifice, a practice which the Romans only outlawed in 97 after it had recently been practised publicly in a crisis; and as enunciated by Thompson (1965:vii, p.285 above), unless there is good evidence to disbelieve Caesar, it is better to take notice of his account seriously. There is no such evidence in this case at present, although this is not to deny that Poseidonios and Caesar may have given a biassed and superficial account of druidic beliefs because they too readily assimilated them (like the names of the gods) to classical systems, and because it fitted a political purpose in Caesar's case to play up the only feature in Gaulish society which had inter-civitas significance and authority.

# APPENDIX XVI

## FIND-SPOTS FOR THE MAPS, (a) MAPS 1 - 22 (b) BIG MAP

In the following lists, coin hoards are distinguished by underlining and where they are in Blanchet (ABT) hoard inventory, they are given his number; other hoards of importance are iventoried here in appendix VII.

In the case of isolated finds, the number of coins (if known) which were found on a particular site are given in brackets immddiately after the find-spot.

# MAP I : SILVER GREEK COIN HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS.

## HOARDS

AIN:

Bourg (ABT no 1, Massiliot obols; no 2, Massiliot coins)

BOUCHES DU RHONE:

Aurioll (ABT no 25, 2137 sixth century small Greek coins)

Martigues-St.Rémy (ABT no 26; 500-600 Massiliot coins, a few with helmeted head /horseman; one Republican denarius; 15-20 Rhode imitations; one coin KAINIKHTWN.

DROME:

near Valence (ABT no 59; 400 Massilia obols, 15 IAILKOVESI (2.54g); obols weighed 0.58-0.67g, with a few coins of 0.35g)

near St Gervais (ABT no 62; 7000 Massilia obols in an amphora)

HERAULT:

Lattes : hoard of 2000 Massiliot obols found 1965, a second hoard of 993 in 1966 (Colbert de Beauliue 1973a:320 n.619)

la Montagne-de-Céressou (ABT no 101; 4000 Massilia obols; Gallia 1973:491)

ISERE:

St.Romans : (Gallia 1962:525) at least 3000 Massiliot obols.

Chambalaud, cne. Bougé-Chambalaud (ABT:no 123; several hundred Massilia obols in an apparently decorated vase).

Tourdan (ABT no 124; 244 coins: 56 bouquetin, 15 running horse; 78 horse head and neck; 1 'Arvernian' obol; 2 uncertain; 1 Tetrobol of Histiaea in Euboia; 162 Massiliot obols and one in ? copper)

VAR:

la Rèpe near Bandol (ABT no 245: c.20 Massilia coins)

Hyèrés (ABT no 246; some Massiliot coins)

Tourves (ABT no 247; a large number of Massiliot obols; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:317 n.617 says there were c.2400 kilogrammes of obols by an estimate made in 1366)

" (ABT:247b; copper vase with 816 Massilia drachms)

VAUCLUSE:

Cavaillon (ABT no 248; 3 drachms, 10 obols, 50 assorted bronzes of Massilia; 3 small bronzes of the Arecomici, 3 of Nimes, 3 of Cavaillon and 1 small silver CABE)

near Apt (ABT no 249; small bronze urn with 87 Massilia obols, 13 drachms and 2 obols with head of Minerva/spread eagle)

le Castelar, oppidum near Cadenet (plenty of coins of Massilia found on

the site, and in particular a vase containing over 1000 : ABT no 250)
Cadenet (ABT no 250b; 1800 drachms of Massilia)
Ansouis (ABT no 251; c 4000 obols of Massilia)
Beauregard, cne Joncquières (4 coins with doe, 74 with bouquetin, 111 with horse head and neck; 2 Massiliot drachms: ABT no 253)
Baumes-de-Venise (ABT no 254: c 100 Massiliot obols)
Avignon : a block of 558g of obols of Massilia found in 1822 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:320 n.619)

YONNE:
Charbuy (ABT no 270; several Massiliot drachms)

BOUCHES DU RHONE:
Entremont (Benoit 1968: 4 hoards, (1) 1435 obols; (2) 100 obols with 2 drachms, 1 Roman quinarius and 2 Victoriati of c.240-197, (3) 27 drachms in a wooden box, (4) 110 obols in a clay pot)

DORDOGNE:
Vésone, Périgueux (ABT . .:180 : 40 silver Sicilian coins)

JERSEY:
Jersey-6 hoard contained also 25 Massiliot obols (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319)

VIENNE:
Vernon : large mixed and late hoard (appendix VII) containing also 1 light Massilia drachm (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319)

STRAY FINDS:

AISNE:
Pommiers (ABT : 485; 21 Massiliot obols)

ARDECHE:
Beaussement-Chauzon (Montjardin 1969: 1 third century Massiliot obol 0.62g)

AVEYRON:
la Graufesenque (Gallia 1951:108f and Balsan 1950: 20 coins of Massilia and imitations, some in bronze)

BELGIUM:
Moerbecke-Waas, E.Flanders arr Gand : 1 tetradrachm of Philip II (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:323 n.626)
Torhout, W. Flanders arr Bruges : 1 tetradrachm of Philip II (ibid.)

ALPES DE HTE PROVENCE:
Manosque : tetradrachm of Naxos 13.30g, c.461-430 (ibid.)

CHER:

Châteaumeillant (Gallia 1963:383f: 2 obols of Massilia)

CORREZE:

Brive (ABT:180 ; drachm of Apollonia)

Puy du Chalard (ABT:502; drachm of Massilia, late series)

COTE-D'OR:

Grésigny-Sainte-Reine (2 Massiliot obols, Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319)

COTES-DU-NORD:

near St.-Brieuc (ABT :180; 1 Athenian tetradrachm)

Ploulec'h at le Yaudet (ABT:182; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:323 n.626: coins of Micipsa 114-118 and Panormus)

CREUSE:

Bénévent-l'Abbaye (MSSNAC III:343, ?1853 : drachm of Massilia)

DROME:

Le Pègue (Gallia 1968:589f; 1966:512-4; second century and earlier Massiliot obols.

FINISTERE:

Plougerneau (1 drachm of Massilia, Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:320 n.619)

HTE GARONNE:

Vieille-Toulouse (11 Massilia coins . . among 146 found in one year, 1970-1; Gallia 1972:491-4)

INDRE:

St.Marcel (2 Massiliot obols, Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319; 6 Massiliot hemiobols 0.31g Allain 1969; 14 hemiobols Gallia 1970:260)

ISERE:

Rochefort near Grenoble (Gallia 1962: ; Massiliot obols in the oppidum)

LOIRE:

Roanne (Gallia 1968:565; Bessou 1967: 2 second century Massiliot obols and an imitation)

Essalois (Renaud 1962; drachms of Massilia)

LOIRET:

Mézières-lez-Cléry (imitation of a tetradrachm of Philip II in a Gallo-Roman cemetary: Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:323 n.626)

MOSELLE:

Veckersviller (Gallia 1966: ; coin of Lokroi Epizephyrioi, 280 BC)

NIEVRE:

Cosne (ABT:180; coin of Syracuse)

Entrains (ABT:181; siglos of Jerusalem with other Greek coins)

PUY-DE-DOME:

Puy de Corent (2 Massiliot obols; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319)

OISE:

Vendeuil-Caply (4 Massiliot obols and two drachms; one imitation; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319)

SAONE-ET-LOIRE:(NIEVRE):

Mont Beuvray (Déchelette 1904, 22 obols of Massilia)

SARTHE:

Allonnes (11 Massiliot obols and 2 north Italian imitations of Massiliot drachms at 3.90g; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:319)

SWITZERLAND:

Berne (3 Massiliot obols, Colbert de Beaulieu:319; barbaric imitations, ibid.: 320 n.619)

VENDEE:

Ile Noirmoutier l.d. le Vieil (drachm of Lysimachus 294-281; id.:323 n.626)

I have not given a map showing all Greek coin finds in Gaul because of the difficulty of providing a comprehensive list, the unwieldiness of a map showing a large number of different types, and above all the impossibility of distinguishing between coins lost during independence and those imported later. This is why I have confined maps of foreign coins to those most importsnt in themselves for a study of Central coinage and cultural contacts. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a:320f) discusses Greek finds in Gaul, and Greek bronze finds at p.333. ABT:179-83 lists numerous Greek finds in Gaul. Of interest for the present study are coins found in the Centre: Orleans, in the Loire: coins of Agrigentum, Gyrton in Thessaly, Corcyra, Philip II (gold), Naples, Sicyon, Lacedaimonia, Corinth and Cardia; Braemer (1957) adds Massilia, Syracuse, Panormus and Himera. Vierzon, in the Cher: 1 Syracuse, 1 Panormus, 1 Himera, 1 of Hieron of Syracuse, 1 of Seleucus I, and one lead coin of Tenedos. p.181: a bronze of Ptolemy VIII was found at Ragis (Cher); p.182: 2 coins of Micipsa and 3 of Panormus were found at Jeaudet (C.N.) and a coin of Ptolemy near there. A gold stater of Cyrene was found on the beach at Lampaul-Ploudalmézeau (Fin); the type dated it to c.323-313, but it is fanciful to connect it with Pytheas (Gallia 1961:352, Bousquet 1961).

## MAP 1a : MASSILIOT AND OTHER GREEK BRONZE COIN FINDS

AVEYRON

Ste.Eulalie-de-Cernon : 1 bronze of Massilia (Gallia 1962:554; 1966:417)

la Graufesenque cne.Millau : 20 Massiliot bronzes or imitations (Gallia 1951:108f; Balsan 1950)

CORREZE

Puy du Tour cne Monceaux : cast imitation of Massilia in level IIb = below level IIa where 1.20g Aquitanic sword group coin was found (Gallia 1954:197f)

GARD

Gaujac : small bronze of Massilia (Gallia 1971:392)

Mons-et-Monteils : medium bronze of Massilia (Gallia 1971:392-3)

HAUTE GARONNE

Vieille-Toulouse : 2 small Massilia bronzes (Gallia 1964:450f; 1968:531); another bronze in the last period of Vieille-Toulouse c. 20 BC (ibid.1970:413); 14 Massilia coins in all were found against 33 local or regional, 16 other Gaulish, 15 Iberic 10 uncertain and 27 Roman.

HERAULT

Villetelle : oppidum Ambrussum in a big house of the first century : small bronze of Massilia (Gallia 1971:388)

ISERE

Vienne : 1 Massilia bronzr (Gallia 1956:263) imitation Massilia bronze (Gallia 1966:507)

oppidum Rochefort nr Grenoble : silver obol of Massilia (Gallia 1962: )

JURA

Goux : 19 small bronze (DAG s.v.)

LOIRE

Roanne : bronze of Massilia and imitation, also 2 obols in a second century level with 2 small bronzes (Gallia 1968:565; Bessou 1967)

Essalois: 1 Massiliot bronze?; silver drachms (Gallia 1971:416; Renaud 1962)

PUY DE DOME

Gergovie : bronze of Massilia; imitation obol 0.35g (Hatt 1943; Labrousse 1948)

SEINE ET MARNE

Coulommiers : 1 Massiliot bronze in la Tène III context (Gallia 1967:216)

SAONE ET LOIRE

Mont Beuvray : 5 Massilia bronzes (Déchelette 1904)

VAUCLUSE

oppidum St.Jacques, Cavaillon : Massilia coina and 1 bronze imitation of the first century (Dumoulin 1965)

VIENNE

Naintré , Vieux-Poitiers : 1 Massilia coin of uncertain metal (Gallia 1967:262)

Poitiers : 1 Massilia bronze (ABT:507)

The Roman province is not fully inventoried.

## MAP 1b : SPANISH COIN FINDS IN GAUL

AUDE

Pomas et Rouffiac oppidum la Lagaste: early firat century Emporiae coins (Gallia 1971:376)

AISNE

Condé-sur-Suippe : 2 bronzes of Emporiae (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:241)

ARIEGE

St.Jean-de-Verges : bronze of Emporiae (Labrousse 1962)

AVEYRON

la . . Couvertoirade l.d. le Puech : bronze BITOVIOS with Iberic inscription, from Narbonensis (Gallia 1962:549)

CHER

near Bourges : copy of Emporiae (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955c)

CORREZE

Puy du Tour nr Monceaux : 1 bronze NERONCEN with Iberic characters (Gallia 1959:368)

in the département: Celtiberian coin (ABT:185)

COTE D'OR

Alise : late first century bronze of Emporiae (le Dantec 1971)

CREUSE

Bénévent-l'Abbaye : middle bronze with Celtiberian legend (MSSNAC volIII P.343)

Labrione : Emporiae bronze (ABT:185)

HAUTE GARONNE

Vieille-Toulouse : NERONCEN with Iberic characters (Gallia 1959:433f); 2 bronze INDICA (Emporiae); 1 Iberic bronze BVRSAO (ibid. 1964:450f); 1 bronze 'horseman' from Langedoc (Iberic . of Greek legend ΛMY . or NMY); 'Iberic coins' with 16 other Gaulish ones and 10 uncertain; (ibid. 1968:537; 1970:413); 1 Iberic ILTIRCESCEN (Tortosa) and 15 Iberic coins in all; Iberic bronze of Osca (Gallia 1970:412; first century) 14 Spanish coins (ibid. 1972:478)

HERAULT

Rosis oppidum Plô des Bruns : oxydized bronze Iberic coin (Gallia 1969:399)

Villetelle : first century Iberic coin on oppidum Ambrussum (Gallia 1971:388)

LOIRE

Crêt-Châtelard : 1 Celtiberian coin of Tarraco and Emporiae (Déchelette 1904)

GERS

Lectoure : Emporiae bronze (Labrousse 1962)

LOIRE

Essalois : bronze Emporiae imitations and Celtiberian coins (Renaud 1962; Déchelette 1904)

NIEVRE

Mont Beuvray : 1 Celtiberian coin of Tarraco (Déchelette 1904)

PUY DE DOME

Corent : Emporiae copy (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955c)

TARN

in the département: hoard of Emporiae asses with Iberic characters (Soutou 1968)

in the département: 1 Emporiae drachm with Iberic legend (ibid.)

Loubers : l.d. Camp Ferrus : As of municipium Emporiae (Gallia 1972:507)

Ste.Sulpice-la-Pointe : KAIANTOLOS bronze; NERONCEN bronze; Emporiae with Iberic legend (Gallia 1962:604)

TARN ET GARONNE

Albias in the bed of the Aveyron: silver imitation of 'Punic' drachm of Emporiae cf Bridiers coins (Gallia 1962:604)

Castelferrus, plateau st.Genès : As of Emporiae c.45-23 (Gallia 1970:436)

TARN

Montans : bronze of Emporiae (Labrousse 1962)

Lugan : 90 Emporiae bronzes in hoard Pédelort (ibid.)

HAUTE VIENNE

Pierrebuffière in 'Villa d'Antone', 'Emporiae imitation?' 1.95g in silver (Delage 1952)

Oppidum st.Nicolas cant. Chalus : bronze of Emporiae (ABT:185)

Soutou (1963) records that asses of Emporiae and Lerida are mostly found in the region of Languedoc ; Toulouse to Montpellier; he notes 5 coins with Iberic legends from St.Bertrand de Comminges, and asserts that Gaulish coins are not found in Spain so that traffic between Gaul and Spain seems to have been one-way. The hoards of Drieves and Valeria with monnaies à la croix found in Spain suggests that at least some Gaulish coin travelled to Spain, however, and poor agriculture and excavation in the Pyrenees and northern Spain might mean that few finds have been made or recorded. Iberic graffiti in Southern Gaul come from for instance Magalas (Hér.: Gallia 1971: 384) and Sigean (Aude; Gallia 1971:377). Labrousse (1962) argues that Emporiae bronze of the second and first centuries were almost absent west of the Garonne.

# MAP 2: ALL SILVER COIN HOARDS EXCLUDING MONNAIES A LA CROIX AND WESTERN SILVER

ABT numbers in brackets; A. = Allen 1969 hoard numbers.

AIN:
La Bertinière (4)

AISNE:
Pommiers (9)

ALLIER:
Cne. Tréteau (11)

ARDECHE:
Andance (14)

BOUCHES DU RHONE:
Les Martigues - St.Rémy (26)

CALVADOS:
St.Pierre-sur-Dives (30)

COTE D'OR:
Brize (Auxone, 34)
Genlis (35)
Esbarres (36)

CREUSE:
Jalesche = Marcillat, see map 13.

DROME:
Valence (58)
near Valence (59)
Laveyron (60)
Jaillans (61)
Crest (63)
Beauvoisin (64)
Hostun (65)
Andancette (66)

EURE:
Paix (69)
Lyons-la-Forêt (70)
Bourg-Beaudoin (71)

EURE-ET-LOIRE:
Bazoches-en-Dunois (74)
Logron (75)

GIRONDE
Arbanats (see map 10)

INDRE:
near Migné (117)

ISERE:
Tourdan (124)
Ste.Blandine (125)
St.Clair-de-la-Tour (125b)
Chapelle-de-la-Tour (125c)
Dolmieu (125d)
Moirans (127)
St.Laurent-du-Pont (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:167 n.211, late mix, not before 43)

JURA:
La Marre (128)
Joux (130)
La Balme-d'Epy (see map 7)

LOIRET:
Montargis (A.30)

LOIR-ET-CHER:
Cheverny (133)

HAUTES ALPES:
Embrun (13)

HAUTE MARNE:
Lavilleneuve-au-Roi (169)
Aujeures (173)
Prauthoy (174)
Rosoy (174b)

NIEVRE:
Chantenay (185)
Mont Beuvray (185)

OISE:
Mont-César (189)

RHONE:
Lyon (202)
near Lyon (203 - 206, 4 hoards)
Larajasse (207)

SAONE-ET-LOIRE:
St.Gengoux - Joncy (209)
St.Vallier (209b)
near Bourbon-Lancy (210)

SARTHE:
Montfort-le-Rotrou (211)

SAVOIE:
Gerbaix

HAUTE SAVOIE:
Veyrier (Lacombe) (216)
Roc-de-Chère (217)

SEINE:
Paris (218)

SEINE MARITIME:
Cailly (223)
near Rouen (225)
Limésy (227)
Lillebonne (229)

VAUCLUSE:
Cavaillon (248)
cne. Joncquières (253)

VIENNE:
Vivonne (259)
Vernon (261)
Bonneuil (263)
Civaux (264)
Romagne (265)

HAUTE VIENNE:
la Jante (268)

MOSELLE:
Metz (277)

HAUT RHIN:
Houssen (278)

SWITZERLAND:
Nunningen (287)

Not on the map: Auvergne (200)

MAP 3: HOARDS WHOLLY OR PARTIALLY OF MONNAIES A LA CROIX.

Numbers refer to Allen (1969) hoards.

ARIEGE:
Pammiers (21)

AUDE:
Ladern (42)
Pomas (43)
Moussan (44)
St.Frichoux (hoard found 1856, cf Soutou 1968-9 period III and Bompas hoard; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:292 n.550)

AVEYRON:
la Loubière (8)
Martiel, Villefranche-de-Rouergue (12)
La Gasse " (13)
Goutrens (36)

LOT:
Uzech-les-Oules (1)
Capdenac (15)
Luzech (23)
Cuzance (28)

HERAULT:
Béziers (5)
Lattes (24)
Mèze (31)
Lodève (32)
La Fajolle, St.Pons (37)
St.Sauveur (Gallia 1969:394, 3 hoards in the oppidum, ? 1st century)

LOT ET GARONNE:
Boé (Agen) (14)
Aiguillon (47)
Monastruc (48)
Moncrabeau (49)

BOUCHES DU RHONE:
Martigues - St.Rémy (26)

DORDOGNE:
St Capraise (2)
Lestrade (3)
Rouquette (4)
St.Etienne-des-Landes (11)
Belvès (29)

GARD:
la Tour-Magne nr.Nimes (25)
Sauve (Vigar) (45)

HAUTE GARONNE:
Pinsaguel (Muret) (19)
Anjoulets (20)
Drudas (40)
Cox (46)

GERS:
Ile de Noé (9)
Mirande - Condom (10)
Manciet (38)
Castelnau-sur-Auvignon (39)

GIRONDE:
St.Sauveur (17)
Blaye (18)
Vertheuil (Soutou 1968)

LOIRET:
Montargis (30)

BASSES PYRENEES:
Izeste, Oleron (50)

PYRENEES ORIENTALES:
Bompas (22)

TARN:
Trap (Garric) (27)
La Crousatié (33)
Castres (34)
Paulhe (35)

TARN ET GARONNE:
Cauzé (16)

MAP 4 : WESTERN SILVER HOARDS. (for bibliography see maps 12-13; numbers in brackets refer to ABT inventory)

AVEYRON:
Goutrens (19)

CHARENTE:
Combiers

CHARENTE MARITIME:
Lavilleneuve-la-Comtesse (32b)

CHER:
Vierzon (33)

CREUSE:
Bénévent-l'Abbaye (49)
Bridiers (51)
Jalesche = Marcillat

DORDOGNE:
Mouleydier (55)

GERS:
Manciet (90; see map 13)

INDRE:
Moulins-sur-Céphons (113)
Tendu (114)
Buxeuil (115)
Valençay (116)
Ingrandes (118)
Obterre (119, 119b)

INDRE ET LOIRE:
Charnizay (122)

JERSEY:
Rozel (275)

LANDES:
Eyres-Moncube (131)
Pomarez (132)

LOIR ET CHER:
Cheverny (133)

LOIRET:
Montargis

HAUTE MARNE:
la Villeneuve-au-Roi (169)

MEUSE:
Boviolles (possibly not a hoard)

NIEVRE:
Chantenay (185)

PUY DE DOME:
Corent; dies of Aquitanic type

DEUX SEVRES:
Vouillé (234)
St.Pompain (237)

VIENNE:
Poitiers (258)
Vernon (261)
Chauvigny (262)
Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé

HAUTE VIENNE:
St.Just (266)

MAP 5: MAINLAND HOARDS ENTIRELY OR PARTLY OF GOLD OR BILLON.
(for bibliography see maps 14-17; numbers refer to ABT inventory)

AISNE:
Guignicourt (6)
Condé-sur-Suippe (6b)
Ste.Preuve (7)
Ambleny (8)
Montagne de Fontenoy (9b)

ALLIER:
Marcillat (11c)
St.Géran

CALVADOS:
Castillon (28)
Bayeux (28b)
Arromanches (29)
St.Pierre-sur-Dives (30)

CANTAL:
la Chapelle-Laurent

CHARENTE MARITIME:
Courcoury (31)
St.Porchaire (32)
Chevanceaux

COTES DU NORD:
Plusquellez (40)
Corseul (41)
St.-Solain (42)
St.-Dénoual (43-4)
Hénan-Bihen (45)
Plestin (47)
Touquedez (48)
Guingamp

CREUSE:
Auzances (50)
Jalesche = Marcillat

CORREZE:
Brive

DORDOGNE:
Rouquette (54)
Vieille-Cité nr Périgueux (54b)

DROME:
St.Uze

EURE:
Thomer-la-Sogne (68)
Paix (69)
Bourg-Beaudoin (71)
Etréville (73)

FINISTERE:
Plounéour-Trec (76)
la Feuillée (77)
Châteauneuf-du-Faon (78)
Scrignac (79)
Lânnéanou (80-81, 2 hoards)
Morlaix (82)
Kersaint-Plabennec (82b)

GIRONDE:
Tayac (95)
St.Médard-de-Guizières

ILLE ET VILAINE:
sens-de-Bretagne (102)
near Rennes (103)
Noyal-sur-Vilaine (104)
Amanlis (105)
le Pertier, St.Pierre de Plesgueu (106)
la Noë-Blanche (107)
Dol-de-Bretagne (108)
St,Méen (109)
Bedée (110)
Pipriac
St.Jacques-de-la-Lande

INDRE:
Moulins-sur-Céphons (113)

ISERE:
Crémieu

JURA:
Lains (129)
Chaussenans (130b)

LOIR ET CHER:
Soings (135)

LOIRE:
Chevenet (136)

HAUTE LOIRE:
Lapte

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE:
near Clisson (137)
Savenay (138)

MAINE ET LOIRE:
Angers (148)
Combrée (148b)
Candé (149)
cne. Potherie (149b)
Hôtellerie de Flée (150)

MANCHE:
Montmartin en Graignes (151)
Graignes (152)
la Barre de Semilly (153)
Urville-Hague (154)
Couville (155)
Tourlaville (156)
le Lorey (157)
le Plessis-Grimault (158)
Montanel (159)
Avranches (160, 161)
forêt de Brix (160b)
St.Jean-des-Champs (162)
st.Hilaire-Harcoët

MAYENNE:
near Hardanges (175)
Ménil (176)
Craon (177)

MEUSE:
Mont Chaté (178)

MORBIHAN:
Lavénégen (179)
Ploermel (180-181, 2 hoards)
Ménéac (182)
St.Malo-de-Beignon (183)
Pluvigner (184)
Mauron

NORD:
Ledringhem (188)

OISE:
Longeuil-Ste.-Marie (192)

PAS DE CALAIS:
Aubigny (194)
near Calais (195)

PUY DE DOME:
Pionsat (196)
Virlet (197)
Orcines (199)

SAONE ET LOIRE:
Chenôves

SARTHE:
Oisseau-le-Petit (212)

SEINE:
Paris (218b)
Charenton (219)

SEINE ET MARNE:
Moinville (220)

SEINE MARITIME:
Hénouville (224)
Bosc-Edeline (228)
Lucy (230)
Esclavelles (231)

DEUX SEVRES:
near Niort (235 and another hoard)
Parthenay (238)
Melle

SOMME:
Pierregot (240)

VENDEE:

Vouillé-les-Marais (255)
Fontenay-le-Comte (256)

VIENNE:
Poitiers (258)
Vivonne (259)
Vernon (261)
Bonneuil (263)
Civaux (264)
Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé
Saint-Martin-la-Rivière

HAUTE VIENNE:
la Cicogne (267)

IMPRECISE PROVENANCE:
Berry (?Bourges area)

# MAP 6 : EASTERN SILVER COIN HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS.

Hoard numbers refer to ABT inventory; other coins are from ABT p.267 and n.2 unless otherwise specified. Hoards are underlined.

## HORSEMAN COINS

AISNE:
Vendeuil (Durnacus)

ALLIER:
nr. Moulins (Bri Coma; Row)

HTES ALPES:
Briançon (Durn-Ausc obol)
Embrun (no 13)

ARDECHE:
Andance (no 14)

COTE D'OR:
Alise (Durnacus Auscro)
Pontailler-sur-Saône
(Durnacus-Ausc)
Les Bolards (3 Durnacus Auscro:
le Dantec 1972)
Essarois (1. Gallia 1964:311f)

BOUCHES DU RHONE:
Martigues-St-Rémy (no 26)

DOUBS:
nr Alais (Durn Ausc obol)
Mandeure (Durnacos Auscro)
Besançon (Durnacus Ausc)

DROME:
Crest (no 63)
Valence (no 58)
Laveyron (no 60)
Hostun (no 65)
Beauvoisin (no 64)
nr Valence (no 59)
Jaillans (no 61)
Andancette (no 66)
Nyons (Durnacus Auscrocus)
Valence (" ")

EURE ET LOIRE
Bazoches-les-Hautes (Durnacus
Auscro)

INDRE
Migné (no 117)

ISERE
Moirans (no 127)
Ste.Blandine (no 125)
Tourdan (no 124)
St.Clair-de-la-Tour-du-Pin (no 125b)
Chapelle (no 125c)
Dolmieu (no 125d)

ILLE ET VILAINE
Pont-Réan (Durnacus-Auscro)

JURA
Dôle (Coma)

LOIR ET CHER
Cheverny (no 133)

LOIRE
Essalois
Roanne (Coma; Durnacus Aus; Roanne museum
and Bessou 1967)

MAINE ET LOIRE
Méron (Durnacus)

HAUTE MARNE
Châtelet de Saint Dizier (Durnacus)

NIEVRE
Chantenay (no 185)

NORD
nr Cassel (Bri Coman)

PUY DE DOME
Gergovie (Cn Vol)
nr Clermont-Ferrand (Durn Ausc obol)
Le Mas nr Vic-le-Comte (Durn Ausc)

RHONE
Lyon (no 202)
nr Lyon (nos 203, 204, 205)
Larajasse (hippocamps and anepigraphic
VOL; no 207)

HAUTE SAVOIE
Beaujeu (Durnacus Auscro)

SAONE ET LOIRE
La Grange-Frangy (Durnacos)
Mâcon in the river (Cose Calitix;
Durnac Auscro; Bri Coma;
Ambili Eburo)
Mont Beuvray (hoard of 13 Durnacus
Auscro, Com etc; 1 obol Durn-Ausc,
6 Durnacus in hd. with republic
denarii to 31, no 187)

SAVOIE
La Crusille (no 214)

HAUTE SAVOIE
Roc-de-Chère (no 217)
Lacombe (no 216)
Bonneville (Auscrocus)
Marcellaz nr Bonneville (Auscrocus)

SARTHE
Allonnes (Durnacus Auscrocus)

VAUCLUSE

Beauregard (no 253)
Barry nr Orange (Durn Ausc obol;
Durnacus Donnus)
Vaison (Durnacus Auscrocus)
Cavaillon (Durnacus Auscrocus,
Durnacus Auscro)

VIENNE
Vernon (no 261)

HAUTE VIENNE
la Jante (no 268)

VOSGES
Médouville (Durnacus Auscro)

SWITZERLAND
cant. Zurich (cn.Vol; 4 Durnacus Auscro)
la Tène (Durnacus)
Great Saint Bernard (Durnacus Auscro)

COINS WITH LEGEND VOL IN HOARDS:
Laveyron (Drôme, no 60)
Tourdan (Isère, no 124)
Ste,Blandine (Isère, no 125)
Moirans (Isère, no 127)
Dolmieu - la Chapelle (Isère, no 125 d, b)
Larajasse (Rhone, no 207)
Lacombe (Hte Savoie no 216)
Roc de Chère, (Hte.Savoie, no 217)

HOARDS IN WHICH VOL, HIPPOCAMP AND BOUQUETIN ARE MIXED WITH COMA:
Laveyron (Drome, no 60)
Hostun (Drome, no 65)
Ste.Blandine (Isère, no 125)
Moirans (Isère no 127)
Lacombe (Hte Savoie,no 216)
Roc de Chère (Hte.Savoie no 217)
Beauregard (Vauc., no 253): bouquetin, horse head and neck, Massilia.

FINDS AND HOARDS OF BOUQUETIN COINS:
Tourdan (Isère, no 124; p.270 - 2.35-2.53g)
Entremont (B.Rh) 2 coins, 2.35, 2.53g (Benoit 1968)

FINDS AND HOARDS OF HIPPOCAMP COINS (av. weight 2.35g) = ABT : 270
Larajasse (Rhone; no 207)
Veyrier-Lacombe (Hte Savoie; no 216)
Roc de Chère (Hte Savoie; no 217)
Gap (Htes Alpes, 2 coins)
Nyon (Drôme)
lake Annecy; numerous.
lake Bourget; numerous
nr lake Neuchâtel
Great Saint Bernard
Geneva

HOARDS AND FINDS OF IAILKOVESI, KASIOS, IAZUS (Colbert de Beaulieu 1965)

Laveyron (Drôme; no 60)
Hostun (Drôme, no 65)
Tourdan (Isère, no 124)
Moirans (Isère, no 127)
Valence (Drôme, no 58 or 59)
la Tronche (Isère)
Cadenet (Vauc.)
Lagnes (Vauc.)
Joncquières (Vauc., no 253)
Bollène (Vauc.)
Aix-en-Provence (B.Rh)
Pont-Saint-Esprit (Gard)
Les Andelys (Eure)
Mandeure (Doubs)

NOT ON THE MAP:
Cant. Vaud (Coma find)
Cant. Argovie (Coma find)
in the river Vilaine : 5 Durnacus, 1 Durnacus Auscro (ABT:509)
Auvergne (no 200)
nr lake Morat (hippocamp)
Avenches (hippocamp)
Liddes (Valais; hippocamp)

For groups of hoards see ABT:518-9

# MAP 7 : Η ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ

Hoards are underlined. Colbert de Beaulieu 1966c:

AIN
Izernore
Montmerle
Trévoux

AISNE
Pommiers (1) , ABT:399
Aubenton

AUBE
Bar-sur-Aube
Beauvoir-sur-Sarce (1), ABT:399
Coussegrey (1), ABT:399

BELFORT
Belfort

COTE D'OR
Alise Ste.Reine, on the plateau at least 40.
Beaune
Beneuvre
Brize, c.900
Cussy-le-Châtel
Dampierre-en-Montagne (could be same as next one)
Dampierre-sur-Vigeanne
Dijon, several
Esbarres, 28 found
Essarios, 5 in exavations
Genlis, 146 coins
Grançay-sur-Ource
Grésigny-Ste.Reine, 3 in battlefield
Méloisey
Meursault
Flavignerot on Mont Afrique, at least 16
Montagny, 12 found
Nantoux
Nuits-st.Georges, les Bolards (le Dantec 1972, 9 found)
Pagny-le-Château
Pontailler-sur-Saône
Recey-sur-Ource
Santenay
Serrigny l.d.Ladoix
Villiers-le-Duc in excavations of Tremblois

DOUBS
Besançon
Mandeure
Voujeaucourt
Chataillon (ABT:399)

EURE
Lyons-la-Forêt (Les Andelys)

FINISTERE
Brest

HAUTE GARONNE
Vieille-Toulouse
Cazaux-Layrisse (1 type LT XXXII 8178 Gallia 1972:481-2) Not on the map.

ISERE
Aoste (La Tour-du-Pin, le Pont-de-Beauvoisin )
Grenoble

JURA
Courlans
Cousance
Crançot
'en forêt de Chaux'
Jouhe at least 12
La Balme d'Epy, 12 (Gallia 1962:343)
La Marre, over 100
Louverot
Montmorot
Poligny
Saint-Amour
Saint-Laurent-la-Roche
Salins-les-Bains or area

LOIRE
Roanne

LOIRET
Montargis 'about 100' (Allen 1969 no 30 and Colbert de Beaulieu 1959a)

MANCHE
Couville

MARNE
nr Châlons-sur-Marne
Somme-Tourbe (4), ABT:399.
Suippes
Reims
nr Reims

HAUTE MARNE
Andelot
Aujeurres, 700 coins
Bourbonne-les-Bains, 3 coins
Chalançay, several coins ABT:399.
Fontaines-sur-Marne
Langres, at least 8 differnt places in the town; ABT:399 records 30 finds.
Lavilleneuve-au-Roi, 1137 coins
Gourzon l.d. le Châtelet
Prauthoy, 9 coins
Rosoy-sur-Amance, 300 coins
St.Dizier
Arc-en-Barrois

MEUSE
Boviolles, numerous (ABT:399)
Naix, numerous (ABT:399)

MEURTHE ET MOSELLE
Nancy

MOSELLE
Cocheren, at Mont Héraple
Metz
Thionville

NIEVRE
Chantenay
Larochemillay, Mont Beuvray, 24 coins, ABT:399
Château-Chinon, probably same as last.

OISE
Marissel

PUY DE DOME
La Roche-Blanche on Gergovie, 9 coins
Clermont-Ferrand

BAS RHIN
Houssen, 144 coins
Strasbourg (ABT:399)

HAUT RHIN
Dannemarie

RHONE
Lyon, 'a great quantity'

HAUTE SAONE
Beaujeu, 3 coins
Champlitte
Corre
Seveux

SAONE ET LOIRE
Bey
Bourbon-Lancy l.d. Novilars, 5 coins
Châteaurenard
Chassey
St.Gengoux-le-National
St.Vallier, 200 coins
Sennecey-le-Grand, 2 coins
Mâcon (ABT:399)

SARTHE
Allonnes

HAUTE SAVOIE
Annecy l.d.Lacombe

VIENNE
Civaux
Vernon

VOSGES
Charmes
Saint-Dié, l.d.Robache, c 10,000 coins (Gallia 1972:375f)
Saint-Dié l.d la Burre, 2coins
Vrécourt
la Pierre-d'Appel, (Deyber 1972)

YONNE
Noyers (1) (ABT:399)

SEINE MARITIME
Limésy

SWITZERLAND
Geneva
la Tène, several (ABT:399)
Berne
Nunningen
Nyon
Porrentruy

NOT ON THE MAP

GERMANY
near Augsburg, Bavaria
Manching, Bavaria
Pforzheim, Baden
Weisenheim am Sand, Palatinat
Wörschweiler (sarre)

AUSTRIA
Lauterach (Voralberg)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Podmokl
Stradonitz

JERSEY
Rozel (Jersey - 6)

FRANCE
département Hte.Marne (ABT:399)
département Côte-d'Or "
département Saône-et-Loire "
Département Jura "
département Vosges "
Argovie, Switzerland "
Basins of the rivers Aar, Reuss, Rhine, Main, Danube, Lech, Moldau, Elbe (ibid.)

MAP 8: NORTH EASTERN SILVER HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS

Hoards are underlined; numbers refer to ABT hoard inventory.

Q DOCI SAM F (ABT : p 402)

La Bertinière (Ain, no 4)
Pommiers (Aisne, no 9)
Paix (Eure; no 69)
Novilars (S+L, no 210)
Laveyron (Drôme, no 60)
Vesoul area (Hte.S) numerous
Charmes (Vosges)
Hédouville (S+O) (1)
Tillé near Beauvais (Oise)
Pommiers (Aisne) (3)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) (23)
Mâcon (S+L)
Alise (C.d'O) (18)
Beaujeu (Hte.S) (2)
Coulmier-le-Sec (C.d'O) (1)
near Besançon (Doubs) (10)
Essarois (C.d'O) (1, Gallia 1966:381)

SEQUANOTUOS (ABT :402):

Lavilleneuve au Roi (Hte.M., no 169)
near Thun
Mont Beuvray (13)
Alise (C.d'O) (16)
Boviolles (Meuse) (1)
Courroux near Porrentruy (1)
Besançon (Doubs)
Saint-Amour (Jura)
Autun (S+L)
Nuits (C.d'O)

AEDUI (ABT: 405) (a) c.2.0g with rev. lyre.

St.Gengoux (S+L, no 209)
Alise (C.d'O)
Châlon-sur-Saône (S+L) several
Bourbon-Lancy (S+L) (3)
near Sémur (C.d'O) (1)
Mont Beuvray (S+L) (16) (Déchelette 1904)
Saint-Symphorien-d'Ancelles (S+L) die of obverse type BN 4858 (my pl.II.9)
(Gallia 1968:501)

(b) rev. horse and two rings (cf pl.II.12)

Lavilleneuve au Roi (Hte.M; no 169)
Lyons-la-Forêt (Eure; no 70)
Novilars (S+L; no 210)
Alise (C.d'O)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) (28) (Déchelette 1904 gives 42)
Pierre d'Appel (Vosges) this or previous type (Deyber 1972)

ORCETIRIX (ABT:405-6):

Chantenay (Nièvre, no 185)
Limésy (S.Mar; no 227)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) (4)

DIASVLOS (ABT: 407):

Chantenay (Nièvre no 185)
La Villeneuve au Roi (Hte.M., no 169)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) (2)
Gap (Htes Alpes).
Alise (C.d'O) (7)
Essalois (Loire) (1)

DOYBNO (ABT: 407)

Chantenay (Nièvre, no 185)
La Villeneuve au Roi (Hte M., no 169)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) (4)
Grésigny-Sainte-Reine (C.d'O) (6)
Jalesche (Creuse, Bourges coin reads DOYNO)

Dumnorix types (ABT : 408):

Chantenay (Nièvre, no 185)
Pommiers (Aisne, no 9)
Châté de Boviolles (Meuse) (1)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre)
Grésigny-Sainte-Reine (C.d'O) 12 or 14
Saint-Quentin-sur-Isère (Isère) (2)
Neuchâtel (1)
Roanne (Loire) DVBNORIX ; DVBNOCOV / DVBNOREIX (museum)

SEGVSIAVS ARVS : ABT: 425

Chantenay (Nièvre, no 185)
Jersey, Rozel (no 275)
Givry (S+L)
Arcy-sur-Cure (Yonne)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre)
Roanne (Loire, in the museum)

NOT ON THE MAP:

Balsthal (cant. Soleure; no 286) : included Q DOCI SAM F.
dredging of the Doubs : 5 Aedui with lyre.

# MAP 9 : WARTIME SILVER DISTRIBUTION I : TOGIRIX

Find spots are taken from Dayet (1962) unless otherwise indicated; hoard numbers refer to Blanchet (ABT) inventory.

AISNE:
Pommiers (no 9) (100)
Pommiers (ABT:403, 25 found)

AUBE:
near Camp Ste Germaine, near Bar-sur Aube: reverse die (ABT:403)
Montiéramey
Saint-Lupien
Bar-sur-Aube; also a reverse die (ABT:403)

COTE D'OR:
Grésigny (72)
Auxey-le-Grand
Recey-sur-Ource
Alise (ABT says 72 found; = Grésigny?)

CREUSE
Jalesche = Marcillat

DOUBS
Châtaillon (1)
Mahdeure (numerous)

EURE:
Verneuil (2)
Paix (no 69)
Berthouville
Les Andelys (ABT:403; could be same as Paix?) (6)

EURE ET LOIRE
Bazoches-en-Dunois (no 74) (74)
Logron (no 75)

INDRE:
Levroux

INDRE ET LOIRE
Amboise

LOIRE
Roanne (Gallia 1968:565)

JURA:
Lamarre
Domblans

LOIR-ET-CHER
La Rousselière (no 133 = Cheverny)

ILLE ET VILAINE
Dol-de-Bretagne (no 169) (116)
Mordelles (2 or more)

HAUTE MARNE:
La Villeneuve au Roi (no 169) (2911)
Prauthoy

MEURTHE ET MOSELLE
Langres
Hussigny-Godbrange (3)

MEUSE
Boviolles (4)

NIEVRE
Chantenay (no 185)

NORD
Cambrai (3)

OISE
Hermès (1)
Marissel nr Beauvais
Mont César (no 189) (1)

BAS RHIN
Diemeringen
Strasbourg (about 20)
Gerstheim

SAONE ET LOIRE
Mont Beuvray (14)
Mâcon

SEINE
Paris (no 218)
Paris (1)

SEINE MARITIME
Cailly (no 223)
Limésy (no 227)

HAUTE SAONE
Beaujeu

VIENNE
Civaux (no 264)
Bonneuil (no 263)
Romagne (no 265)
Vernon (no 261)

HAUTE VIENNE
la Jante (no 268)

VENDEE
Le Bernard

JERSEY
2 finds including Rozel; one of 150 coins (no 275 and another)

SWITZERLAND
Mont Terrible near Porrentruy

GERMANY
Baden-Baden

Q JULIUS TOGIRIX

Paix (Eure; no 69)
Bazoches-en-Dunois (E+L; no 74)
Logron (E+L; no 75) (6)
Dol-de-Bretagne (I+V, no 169) (13)
Chantenay (Nièvre; no 185)
Limésy (S,Mar; no 227)
Jersey (no 275?) (4)

NOT ON THE MAP:
Sohren cant. Soleure (Switzerland) TOGIRIX.

# MAP 10 : WARTIME SILVER DISTRIBUTION II

SOLIMA COALIMA 1.55-1.98g (ABT:391)

Alise (C.d'O) (6)
near Châtillon sur Seine (C.d'O) (3)
Essarois (C.d'O) (3) Gallia 1966:381
Verneuil (Eure) (3)
Mont Beuvray (Nièvre) (8)
Boviolles (Meuse) (3)
Vendeuil-Caply (Oise)
Soulosse (Vosges) several
Bazoches-les-Hautes (E+L) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956:e)
Logron (E+L) (no 75)
Dol-de-Bretagne (M I+V, no 108)
La Villeneuve au Roi (Hte M; no 169)
near Nancy (M+M)
Naix (Meuse)
Chantenay (Nièvre, no 185)
Strasbourg (B.Rhin)
Limésy (S.Mar; no 227)
Vernon (Vienne;no 261)
la Jante (Hte V.;no 268)
Rozel (Jersey, no 275)
Montjustin (Hte S.) (1) (Gallia 1958:343)

ATEULA ULATOS 1.56-1.90g (ABT:385)

Jort (Calv.)
Cailly (S.Mar; no 223)
Limésy (S.Mar; no 227)
Lyons-la-Forêt (Eure; no 70)
Near Metz (Moselle)
Saint-Parres-les-Vaudes (Aube)
Trancault (Aube; no 16)
Gergy (S+L)
Mâcon (S+L)
Paris in the Seine; several
Pommiers (Aisne) (no 9)
Châtelet de Saint Dizier (Hte M.)
Boviolles (Meuse)
Auxey-le-Grand (C.D'O) (2)
Lyon (Rhone)
Chorey near Beaune (C.d'O)
near Châlon-sur-Saône (S+L)
Montagny-les-Buxy (S+L)
Besançon, (Doubs) several
near Langres (Hte M.)
Valay (Hte S.)
Luxeuil in the baths (Hte S)
near Châlon sur Marne (Marne)
Chantenay (Nièvre) (no 185)
Vernon (Vienne, no 261)
cant. Basel
Arbanats (Gir., with Roman coins)
les Bolards (C.d'O) (1) (Le Dantec 1972)
Montjustin (Hte.S) (1) Gallia 1958:343)
Sanxay (Vienne) (1 in baths) Formigé 1944.

CALEDV SENODON 1.66-2.05g ABT:386.

Bazoches-en-Dunois (E+L, no 74)
Logron (E+L, no 75)
Vernon (Vienne, no 261)
Rozel (Jersey, no 275)
Pommiers (Aisne) (1)
Alise (C.d'O) (7)

NOT ON THE MAP

Carel (?) Ateula Ulatos
Luxembourg "
Brancion (S+L) "
Solon-la-Rue (C.d'O) Ateula Ulatos
Ain Ateula Ulatos
cant. Valais, Avenches "
Leuggern, Argovie, Switzerland; 2 Solima/Solima
commune in Lorraine : Solima/Solima

MAP 11 : MONNAIES A LA CROIX, ALL FINDS

List of hoards at map 3. References to Allen (1969) (A) and to Soutou (S) (1968) and (1969).

RHODE DRACHMS

Foix (Ariège, A:35)
Castres (Tarn, A:35)

EARLY COPIES

AUDE
Castelnaudry, numerous (A:35; S 1968, Cayla IV: 4.70, 5.20g [sic])

ARIEGE
Foix, 4.90g with Greek legend (S 1968)

LOT ET GARONNE
Boé (A:35)

HERAULT
Ensérune, core of a forgery (A:39 n.3)

TARN
Labrugière, 4.22g (A:35)

SARTHE
Allonnes (S 1968)

MAIN TYPES OF MONNAIES A LA CROIX

I. DOLPHIN TYPE (A:44)

ARIEGE
St.Jean-de-Verges

AUDE
Carcassonne, types as in La Loubière hoard

DORDOGNE
Écorneboeuf, two

HERAULT
Ensérune: 7% of all coins were monnaies à la croix; 50% of all monnaies à la croix were dolphin types.
Montlaurès : 23% of all coins were monnaies à la croix; mostly dolphin type.
St.Pons, numerous.

HAUTE GARONNE
Vieille-Toulouse, numerous.

LOT
Luzech, in excavations; 1 with rev. two axes.

TARN
Montans, some

SWITZERLAND
Geneva, or Nyon? (1)
Stein am Rhein, 1 at 2.45g (A:44; Forrer 1909:69 fig 127)

## II. NEGROID HEAD TYPE (A:47)

ARIEGE
St.Jean de Verges, (2)

AVEYRON
Millau, 1 la Loubière type with axe and 3 besants (S 1968)

GARD
Nages (12)
Tour-Magne (1)
Nimes and area (S 1968)
Laudun (ibid.)

HAUTE GARONNE
Vieille-Toulouse, 1 at 1.53g la Loubière type with 4 crescents and 4 besants or dots (S 1968)
Les Aujoulets cne. Beaummont-sur-Lèze (S 1968)

HERAULT
Lattes, several
Rouet (1)
Murviel, several
near Montpellier (3)
Ensérune (?1)

PYRENEES ORIENTALES
Le Soler (1 at 1.92g, S 1968)

VAUCLUSE
Barry cne. Bollene (A:47, S 1968)

## III. TRIANGULAR HEAD (:50)

HAUTE GARONNE
Vieille-Toulouse (5)

HERAULT
Ensérune (4 or 5 and 3 obols)

LOT
Luzech (7)
Murcens (S 1968)

TARN ET GARONNE
Montauban (1)

UNCERTAIN TYPE

AISNE
Pommiers (ABT:485; A:44)

ARIEGE
Bélesta (le Mayné) (S 1968)

AVEYRON
la Graufesenque (2 plated) (Balsan 1950)

CHER
Châteaumeillant (1 plated) (Gallia 1963:383ff)

EURE ET LOIRE
Châteaudun (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:293 n.551)

GARD
Mous-et-Monteils (Gallia 1971:392)

GERS
Le Houga (S 1968)
Lombez (ibid.)

GIRONDE
Vayres, 1 in la Tène III level in excavations (Gallia 1971:345)
Mouliets-et-Villemartin, 1 in la Tène III level in excavations (Gallia 1973:461)

LOIRE
Roanne, 1 bronze or potin copy of a monnaie à la croix in the museum J.Déchelett

OISE
Vendeuil-Caply oppidum, 3.30g, 2.55g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:293 n.551)

PUY DE DOME
Gergovie (ABT:501; A:44)

PYRENEES ORIENTALES
Le Soler (S 1968)

VAUCLUSE
Cavaillon (ABT:503; A:44)

IV. PICTORIAL TYPE (A:53)

DORDOGNE
Écorneboeuf, some

LOIRET
Montargis,(1), see appendix VII.

## V. TYPE WITH TORC ON THE REVERSE (A:56)

HAUTE GARONNE
Vieille-Toulouse

HERAULT
Ensérune (2 plated)

DORDOGNE
Écornebouef

NOT ON THE MAP

La Lagaste (Aude), dilphin type as in la Loubière hoard in excavations (A:44)
Canteduc (Gard), 2 Negroid head (A:47)
Charente département, in the region of the river: earliest type over 4.0g (S 1968)
Périgord region, earliest type over 4.0g (S 1968)
Switzerland, uncertain place, earliest type over 4.0g (S 1968)
dép. Lozère, 2 of la Loubière type, c,3.40g (S 1968)
Switzerland, uncertain place, 1 at 2.68g, possibly negroid head ('cf Bompas and Paulhe coins') (S 1968)

# MAP 12 : HEAVY WESTERN SILVER TYPES

## EARLIEST IMITATIONS

Bridiers (Creuse; ABT no 51 and appendix VII here)

Saint-Yrieix-le-Déjàlat (Corr.) 3.60g prototype Pictones (pl.III.2 here)
(ABT:297 and his pl.II.3)

Saint-Just (Hte.V.) = BN 4460, 4.08g (pl.III.1 here)

near Toulouse 'Hte.Gar.) 4.72g (ABT:291). Illustrated at MMAG sale Dec.1972 p.27 no 217 (4.74g): rev. 'Emporiae' type; obv. unlike coins in the Bridiers hoard, nearer to early Rhode imitations; ?male head.

Albias (T+G) imitation of Punic Emporiae drachm (Gallia 1962:605f) = Labrousse (1962), 4.58g

La Graufesenque (Avey.) 10 Massilia coins and imitations (Gallia 1951:108f)

Grenade (Gers) = BN 10353; Bridiers type Emporiae copy (ABT:291 n.1). Blanchet (1907) says the coin is from Grenade-sur-l'Adour (Landes): 'Aquitanic' style head right cf pl.I.9-10, trident-like earring with 'prongs' upright; rev. horse prancing right, collar of x dots, symbol  behind, three dots in an inverted triangle over the head, and E symbol in front;  below with upright triangle of three dots, 2.90g.

## POITOU GROUP : 1. 'INDRE' GROUP AND PI ? PIII. For hoards see appendix VII

Vierzon (Cher; no 33)

Buxeuil (Indre; no 115)

Issoudun and Charnizay (Indre; no 115b)

Valençay (Indre; no 116)

Charnizay (Indre et Loire; no 122)

Lestrade (Dord.; ABT no 55; Allen 1969 no 3)

Ingrandes (Indre; no 118)

Obterre / Paulnay (Indre; no 119, 119b)

Puy du Tour (Corr.) 1 plated coin 1.20g with rev. horseman and trilobe flower (Gallia 1954:197)

Soings (L+Ch) 1 type pl.III$\frac{1}{2}$9 or IIIA.3, rev. rider with shield,  below; '60 grains' (de la Saussaye 1836)

Nimes (Gard) silver coin of 'Lemovices' with carnyx (ABT:290; fig 165)

2. 'PICTONES' PIV (Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a unless otherwise indicated)

Faye-l'Abbesse (D-S) (1)

Saint-Pompain (D-S) (ABT no 237)

near Niort (D-S)

Vouillé (D-S; ABT no 234)

near Niort (D-S; ABT no 235 says it was a gold hoard, but Colbert de Beaulieu includes in it at least some PIV silver)

Rom (D-S) 1 Pictones winged horseman and lunettes (ABT:296)

Le Langon (Vendée)

Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (vienne)

Loudun (Vienne)

Poitiers (Vienne; ABT no 258)

Vendeuvre-du-Poitou (Vienne; ABT : 296)

Villeneuve-la-Comtesse (Ch.Mar.; ABT no 32b and p.296)

Vernon (Vienne; ABT no 261) mixed hoard after 45 BC.

Poitiers (Vienne) numerous stray finds of PIV (ABT:507)

Le Fief-Sauvin (M+L; DAG s.v.)

NOT ON THE MAP

Puy Duchalard (L.Atl) silver coin here pl.V.1, no weight. In excavations. (ABT:196). This coin is in fact almost certainly a severed head group coin (map 13) found at Puy du Chalard (Corrèze)

## MAP 13 : LIGHT WESTERN SILVER FINDS

Hoard numbers refer to ABT inventory; see also appendix VII on individual hoards.

### 1; SWORD GROUP

Tendu (Indre; no 114)

Cheverny (L+Ch; no 133)

Vernon (Vienne; no 261)

Chauvigny (Vienne; no 262) CAMBOTRE hoard; Blanchet (1910) includes other sword group coins.

Combiers (Char.) 6 CAMBOTRE = ABT:413 (2) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956d)

La Groutte (Cher) 1.70g sword group coin (Cothenet 1969; Hugoniot 1969)

Levet (Cher) 1 plated sword group coin (ABT:413)

Alise (C.d'O) 7 sword group (ABT:413); Buhot de Kersers (1873): sword and ? ringlet.

Jalesche (Creuse) = Marcillat (appendix VII)

Chambon (Creuse) 1 CAM with branch (MSSNAC 1862:454)

Toull (Creuse) ? Aquitanic "head left / horse left, circles above and below, T in field" (MSSNAC 1862:454)

Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre: no 113; Colbert de Beaulieu and Labarrière 1957)

Levroux (Indre) 1 horse, sword and flowerlet with dotted centre = B 894.24.3 (1.80g)

Fondettes (I+L) 1 bronze CAM (Philippon 1956)

Roanne (Loire) 1 sword and flowerlet (Gallia 1968:565; in museum)

Chantenay (Nièvre; no 185) BN 4141 1.57g CAM.

Puy de Corent (P.D.) reverse die of sword with pentagram (Mathieu 1845); reverse die of CAM (ABT:413)

Boviolles (Meuse) CAM (ABT:511)

Rozel (Jersey; ABT no 275) M 1881; M 1880; LT XXVI J 45-6.

Manciet (Gers; no 90) 1 group II3Aa (pl.V.7) 1.77g in MAN collection. It has lost its ticket, so it could also be confused in its apparent provenance if it is on a wrong slip of paper.

Goutrens (Avey.) (ABT no 19; Allen 1969 no 36)

Argenton (Indre) 4 CAM 1.87-1.53g; sword with ringlet 2.02g; boar and X 2.09g (Cothenet 1968)

### 2. SEVERED HEAD GROUP References to Colbert de Beaulieu 1955d unless indicated.

Vernon (Vienne; no 261)

Chastel sur Murat (Cantal)

Saujon (Ch,Mar) (1 ; ABT:290)

Levet (Cher)
Puy du Chalard (Corr.) (1) (ABT:290)
Grésigny (C.d'O) (5 group A, 7 group B)
Bénévent-l'Abbaye (Creuse) 2.10-2.15g. Group A
Jalesche (Creuse) Group A and B
Puy de Gaudy (Creuse, St.Léger-le-Guéretois) in excavations 1865-71 (Blanchet 1910); DAG s.v. says 'type of Bénévent'.
Rozel (Jersey; no 275)
Pommiers (Aisne)
Boviolles (Meuse)
la Villeneuve-au-Roi (Hte.M.; no 169)
Cheverny (L+Ch; no 133)
Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre; no 113)
Bourbon-Lancy (S+L)
Chauvigny (Vienne; no 262)
Tendu (Indre; no 114)
Bussières-Boffy (Hte.V.)
Puy dé Corent (P.D.)
Nimes (Gard) = M 4643, 1.25g
Montargis (Loiret; Allen 1969 no 30)
Margerides (Corr.) fractions of severed head group in excavations 0.82g, 0.41, 0.55, 0.20 (see appendix XI; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:301)

FINDS OF CAMBOTRE References to Colbert de Beaulieu 1956d.

Poitiers (Vienne; no 258) (2)
Vernon (Vienne; no 261) (3)
Chauvigny (Vienne; no 262) (4)
Jalesches (Creuse) (5) = Marcillat (4) see appendix VII.
Combiers (Charente) (6)
Moulins-sur-Céphons (Indre; no 113) (7)

NOT ON THEM MAP:

On the Garonne. 1 sword with pentagram (Forrer 1908:32)

## MAPS 14 and 14a : GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS OVER 8.0g ( FIRST PHASE)

Hoards are underlined; numbers refer to ABT inventory unless indicated.
* marks coins on the type map only; ** coins on the weight map only.
Others are on both maps.

### GROUP Iii : Pl.VI.2.

ALLIER

*Vichy. Cf. BN 3614 (8.38g) and ABT:212 (Houlbert 1958)

*near Vichy. Quarter-stater. 'Head of Apollo / 'horseman' right, lyre below, cf LT XI. 3629' (no weight) (Glendinning sale Jan.1944 lot 483)

*Hérisson. Quarter-stater, A monogram (ABT:216; cf BM coin 2.03g)

CALVADOS

*Creuilly. 'cf BN 3614' (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:201 n.314)

CORREZE

*Tulle. 'cf BN 3614', which has been taken for an original (ibid.:201 n.314)

COTE-D'OR

Alise. Quarter-stater 2.0g, 'cf BN 3629' (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a)

JURA

*Lons-le-Saulnier. 'cf BN 3614 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:201 n.314)

MARNE

Reims ; BM coin 8.35g

*near Reims, 2 others similar (ABT:216 and his pl.I.6)

SWITZERLAND

nr Basel : 8.44g derived type, obv. die nearly worn out and virtually illegible (Cahn sale Apr.1933 p.87 no 1627 = Saulcy collection, illustrated; also in Cahn sale Nov 1933 p.1 no 3 where it was said to weigh 8.42g)

near Neuchâtel : 2.14g quarter-stater group Iii (Cahn sale Apr 1933 p.82 no 1531 = Saulcy collection, illustrated; also in MMAG sale Dec 1972 p.41 no 341, illustrated.)

### GROUP Iiv : Pl.VI.4.

COTES DU NORD

Dinan : 8.35g = BN 6410 = pl.VI.4 here.

JURA

Céffia : at least 8.06g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.223)

MAINE ET LOIRE

*Louresse : 'Philip II original or early copy with cantharus', no wt. (ABT:210)

SEINE MARITIME

Bordeaux-Saint-Clair : 8.29g (Soulignac 1962, with test-mark across the cheek)

VIENNE

*Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé : 'Good Philip imitation of the type LT XX 6410-1' (BN weights 8.34, 8.04g) (Gallia 1969:284)

BELGIUM

Fisenne cne. Soy : 8.42g, type BN 6410 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:180 n.237)

GROUP Iv : PL.VI.5; VIII.8; VIIIA.1-2.

(a) Type of pl.VI.5 (first phase):

CHARENTE MARITIME

near Pons : 8.40g (ABT:210 and his pl.1.16) type pl.VI.5 here.

GIRONDE

*Tayac : one in the hoard of type pl.VI.5 (Forrer 1968 pl.9.14)

DEUX SEVRES

Sainte-Eanne : 8.35g (Gallia 1951:107) type pl.VI.5.

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE

St.Philbert de Grand-lieu : 8.35g, type pl.VI.5 with deep chiselled test mark (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:97 n.130)

UNCERTAIN DEPARTEMENT

'Lower Rhone Valley' : 8.50g, type pl.VI.5; reverse legend is complete and in good Greek; the OY are forced by lack of space to be placed vertically beside the exergue line; cf MMAG sale Jan 1953 p.6 no 25 where an illustrated coin of the same type (8.10g) is compared with 'Cat. Fürstenberg 1484, found north of Marseille' : this coin? (Kress sale 6 Dec 1956 no 96).

(b) type of pl.VIII.8 and VIIIA.1-2 (second phase):

DORDOGNE

*Rouquette, with monnaies à la croix (Allen no 4 and p.39 n.2; ABT no 54 and p.213 n.5)

GIRONDE

*Tayac (ABT no 95); c.195 in hoard, 7.55-7.93g.

*Saint-Médard-de-Guizières (Allen 1969 p.38 n.1)

LOT ET GARONNE

*nr. Agen, 'Celtic Philip copy with remains of the trident, cf Tayac coins' (ABT : 213 n.5)

GROUP Ivi : Pl. VI.6.

ALLIER

Ainay-le-Château : 8.32g = B 959.29.1

CHER

Méry-sur-Cher : 8.06g 'cf BN 3616, 3617' (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:202 n.314, = ABT:214 'good Philip II copy')

JURA

*Colonne : ABT:213 and his pl.I.3.

GERMANY

Oberrhein : 8.60g (Cahn sale Dec 1922 p.15 no 268, illustrated) Not on the map.

Stein am Rhein : 8.67g (MMAG sale June 1957 p.75 no 972, = MMAG sale Jan 1953 p.5 no 17 where it is illustrated and recorded at 8.38g)

GROUP Ivii : Pl.VI.7

CHER

Gracey : MAN 1732 EIQITIVICO (cf BN 10289, 8.33g). (ABT : 219; Colbert de Beaulieu 1961)

UNCLASSIFIED GROUP I

CALVADOS

Bayeux : 4.05g = BN 6947 = pl.VI.11.

CHER

*Pleinpied, 'Early Philip copy' (ABT:214)

*Ste.-Solange, " (ibid.)

*Vierzon " (ibid.)

*Berry '6 good Philip copies ' (ibid.)

COTE D'OR

*Lacour-d'Arcenay: half stater cf BN 6411 (= 8.04g) with cantharus (ABT:213)

DORDOGNE

*Lardimalie : 'Philip copy' (ABT:210)

*Bergerac : 'stater in imitation of Philip II, one of the earliest Gaulish issues' (Anon. Bull de Num. 1891:109)

EURE

*Vieil-Evreux : 'Close Philip copy', no weight (Lantier 1959)

INDRE

*Issoudun, 'good Philip copy', no weight (ABT:214)

LOIR ET CHER

Soings : half stater 4.13g (de la Saussaye 1836)

HAUTE MARNE

Saint-Ciergues near Langres : 8.50g, type of ABT pl.I.8 (ABT:218)

OISE

*Vendeuil-Caply: cf BN 6947 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.223)

YONNE

Auxerre : 4.20g half stater with thunderbolt (ABT:220)

*Auxerre, stater with thunderbolt (ibid.)

*Avallon area, stater fractions with thunderbolt (ibid.)

*Avallon area, stater with thunderbolt (ibid.)

GROUP IIi : pl.VI.12.

COTE D'OR

*Saulieu : 'cf BN 5315 etc.' (= 8.05g or less; ABT : 217)

ISERE

Crémieu (ABT no 126 and p.218; types BN 5315, 8.05g; 5317 2.01g)

SWITZERLAND

*nr. Geneva : a coin of Crémieu type = BN 5316, 7.94g (ABT:218)

GROUP IIii: pl.VI.13.

MEURTHE ET MOSELLE

*Essey near Nancy : stater type BN 3652 (8.02g; ABT:217)

*nr. Essey : as last (ibid.)

GROUP IIiii : pl.VI.14-16.

CHER

Berry area : 8.0g = B 840.65.7 = pl.VI.16.

LOIR ET CHER

*Soings : ststers 7.74-7.79g, quarters 1.91, including staters and quarters of type pl.VI.16 (de la Saussaye 1836; ABT no 135)

*Soings : quarter stater var. type pl.VI.16 "34 grains (sic)" (de la Saussaye 1836)

PHILIP ORIGINALS

CREUSE

Saint-Sylvain-Montaigut, 8.60g ; reverse A monogram (ABT:211)

HERAULT

Béziers, 8.0g (sic) (ABT:180)

Avesne, 8.60g (ABT:211)

LOIRET

Orleans in the river (ABT:179; Braemer 1957)

PUY DE DOME

Surat : half stater 4.20g, rev. symbols of a horse's leg and monogram M (Gallia 1963:501)

GERMANY

Reutlingen (ABT:208 n.7)

Obernau, Württemburg (ibid.)

SWITZERLAND

Hutlingen cant. Berne (ibid.) Approximate placing only on map

OTHER GREEK GOLD

FINISTERE

Lampaul-Ploudalmézeau : Cyrene stater 323-313 (Gallia 1961:352)

TYPE OF Pl. VI.17

** Moulins (Allier) 8.15g = BN 4539.

COINS OF ARMORICAN TYPES OVER 8.0g

Pl.XIII.7

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE

nr. Ancenis : 2.12g - BN 6721.

MAINE ET LOIRE

*Candé (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:181 n.240)

*La Tessoualle (ibid.)

*La Séguinière (ibid.)

*Ancenis and Cholet : 5 quarter-staters type BN 6722 (1.96g ; ABT:301)

*Pin-en-Mauges and Cholet : quarter staters type BN 6722 (ABT:301 and fig.4)

Pl.XIII.3

MAYENNE

**Craon (ABT:no 177 and p.305) 2 staters, 8.20g, 7.97g

Pl.XIII.8

CALVADOS

nr. Falaise : 4.18g = BN 6942

nr Falaise : 1 half, 1 quarter stater cf BN 6941-2 (ABT:310)

Pl.XIII.6

CALVADOS

nr. Abbey of Ardennes nr. Caen, half atater (ABT:310)

nr Caen : 4.15g = BN 6950

nr Caen : quarter staters as last (ABT:310)

Caen : 2.03g = BN 6951

Pl.XIII.10 (ABT:310)

CALVADOS

*Mesnil-Mauger: a fraction

*Hermival-les-Vaux nr Lisieux, as last

*Norolles, as last.

EURE

* nr. Bernay

SEINE MARITIME

*Fécamp

TYPE Pl.VIII.15

JURA

**Grozon : 2.0g quarter-stater (ABT:223)

TYPE LT XX. 6927 = 4.05g (cf pl.XIII.9)

*Silli-en-Gouffern (Orne; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:181 n.238)

*Etreville (Eure; ibid.)

TYPE Pl.XIII.4-5

** St.Malo (I+V: ABT:313; Colbert de Beulieu 1973a:228 n.372, ?8.01g)

** St.Hilaire de Harcoët (Manche) 2 coins, 1.91g, 2.07g (Colbert de Beaulieu ibid. = ABT no 164)

** Mont-Valérien (Hauts de Seine) cne. Suresnes, 8.11g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.224)

NOT ON THE MAPS

Stein am Rhein (Germany cant. Shaffhausen) 8.40g Philip copy (Forrer I908:249)

Bregenz am Bodensee (Germany) 8.33g Philip copy with retrograde legend (ibid.)

Stäfa am Zurichsee (Switzerland) 2.40g 'protohelvetic' quarter stater (ibid.)

Carcassonne (Aude), probably from the region, 8.46g with cantharus (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:201 n.314)

Carcassonne (Aude), probably from the region: 8.42g with reverse 'A barré' (ibid)

Moulins (Allier): coin with insufficient description, comparable probably with BN 3614, but could be confused with another (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.223)

# MAPS 15 AND 15a : GOLD HOARDS AND FINDS 7.60-8.0g (SECOND PHASE)

Hoards are underlined; references to ABT inventory and see appendix VII.
* indicates coins in the type map only.

## GROUP IIi : pl.VI.17

*Moulins (Allier) : 8.15g = BN 4539.

Limoges (Hte.V.) : 7.70g = BN 4541.

## GROUP IIiii : pl.VII.1

ALLIER

Moulins : 7.80g (or 7.76g?) = BN 3615.

CHER

* near Farges : 1.88g = B 965.1.4832

* Vierzon, in the river : 1.66g = B 882.5.1 = pl.VII.4

* nr.Bourges : 1.66g = B 868.2.18

* Bourges, 'quarter-stater with triskeles' (ABT:507)

PUY DE DOME ?

* Auvergne : 1.88g 'cf ABT pl.I no 17 for the reverse' (Vian 1954)

SWITZERLAND

Near Geneva : 7.94g = BN 5316

## GROUP IIiiia : pl.VII.3

CHER

*Avord : 7.28g = B 908.12.1 = pl.VII.2

INDRE

*Issoudun : 7.50g (ABT:215)

*nr. Issoudun : 7.20g (ibid)

LOIR ET CHER

*Couffi : 7.06g (Cothenet 1969)

LOIRET

*Ivoy-le-Pré nr Gien : 7.04g = B 910.2.1.

GROUP IIiiib : pl.VII.5-7.

CHER

*Berry : 1.83g = B D965.1.4830

* Vierzon, in the river : 1.66g = B 882.5.2

*nr. Bourges : 1.70g = B 868.2.36

GROUP IIiv : pl.VII.9

Lapte (Hte.L. ; Blanchet 1922)

*oppidum Pech Tartari cne. Rouffiac-d'Aude (Aude): bronze coŕe of one of these, 3.20g cf BN 3679 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:201 n.314)

UNCLASSIFIED GROUP II : pl.VII.10-20.

ALLIER

*Bessay : 'philip copy' (ABT:216)

INDRE

*Buzançais : 'good Philip II copy with trident' (ABT:210)

*Feusines : B 965.1.4827, 7.08g = pl.VII.19.

JURA

*Mont-Mort nr Lons-le-Saulnier :'close Philip copy' (ABT:201 n.1)

*Commenailles, as last (ibid.)

INDRE ET LOIRE

Rivarennes : 'two horses, reversed lyre' 7.83g (ABT:221)

LOIR ET CHER

Soings : 7.74-7.79g : see appendix VII.

LOIRE

*Essalois : 'Philip II imitation', no weight (Renaud 1962)

LOIRET

*Les Aubrais : BN 6055; 7.15g = pl.VIII.2.

HAUTE-MARNE

*Langres: 'close Philip copy' (ABT:210 n.1)

NIEVRE

*Cercy-la-Tour : quarter stater = ABT:221 fig 66 and n.2; no weight.

SAONE ET LOIRE

Toulon-sur-Arroux : BN 1970/86, 7.80g = pl.VII.10; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a: 175 n.223 says it contains 48% gold and 51% silver.

HAUTE VIENNE

*le Dorat : B 897.22.1, 7.23g - pl.VII.20.

TYPE FROM THE TAYAC HOARD : Pl. VII.8, VIIIA.1-3.

GIRONDE

Tayac : c.7.55-7.93g (appendix VII)

St.Médard-de-Guizières (Allen 1969 p.38 n.1)

DORDOGNE

Rouquette (appendix VII; Allen 1969 no 4 and p.39 n.2; ABT:213 n.5 and no 54)

LOT ET GARONNE

near Agen: one Tayac type with remains of the trident (ABT:213)

TYPE pl.VIII.15

*St.Léger-des-Bruyères (Allier): quarter-stater (ABT:223)

Grozon (Jura): quarter stater 2.0g (ibid)

*nr. Louhans (S+L): stater 7.55g (ABT:223)

COINS OF ARMORICAN TYPE 7.60-8.0g)

TYPE pl.XIII.4-5 (Type fig.4 BN 6756 = 8.11g; lighter successors are included)

CALVADOS

nr Bayeux, 7.64g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:228 n.372; cf LT XXII 6759)

*Bayeux, a stater (ABT:312)

FINISTERE

*Brest (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.224)

*Crozon, rev. type with lyre LT XXII 6759 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:228 n.372)

ILLE ET VILAINE

*nr Rennes : 12 staters (ABT no 103, type fig 5)

*nr Fougères, a quarter stater type fig 5 (ABT:313 = 1.86g; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:228 n.372, type fig 4)

*St.Malo (ABT:313 = ?8.01g, Colbert de Beaulieu ibid., type pl.XIII.4)

*nr. Antrain, a stater : probably = Colbert de Beaulieu ibid., 7.01g.

*nr Rennes, a stater; probably = Colbert de Beaulieu ibid., 6.53g.

*la Fontenelle, a stater, 7.48g (ibid.)

*St.Georges-de-Reitembault nr Fougères, a stater (ABT:312)

St.Marc-le-Blanc, a quarter-stater 1.91g (Colbert de Beaulieu ibid.)

*Brielles, a stater (ABT:312)

Pleugueneuc, 7.60g countermarked (Colbert de Beaulieu ibid.)

*Vitré, a stater (ABT:312)

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE

*Châteaubriant (ABT:312)

Bassé-Goulaine : 7.85g, countermarked; 'cf BN 6756' (Colbert de Beaulieu 1954c)

MAINE ET LOIRE

*La Séguinière nr Cholet (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.224)

MANCHE

St.Hilaire de Harcoët : 2 coins (ABT no 164; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:228 n. 372 records 1.91g, 2.07g; type fig 5)

*St.Aubin-du-Perron, nr Coutances, 7.43g type LT XXII 6759; Colbert de b Beaulieu 1973a:228 n.372)

*Avranches, reverse with lyre, cf BN 6759, 6791, LT XXII (ibid.)

nr Avranches 1.91g (ibid.)

MAYENNE

*St.Pierre des Landes : a stater (ABT:63; weight for type BN 6763, 6758-60 = 1.85-1.99g, ABT:313; probably = coin at 7.54g in Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:228 n.372)

SARTHE

*Le Mans (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.224, type fig 4)

SEINE MARITIME

Rouen : 7.88g 'cf BN 6756' (Forrer 1908)

HAUTS DE SEINE

*Mont Valérien cne Suresnes (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:175 n.224, 8.11g)

TYPE pl.XIII.11

Montournais (Vendée) 2.0g (ABT:304).

Type pl.XIII.11-12 (ABT:303) are numerous in Sarthe and I+V; as Blanchet does not indicate weights, individual place-names are not marked on the maps; his list (n.4) runs:

nr le Mans (Sarthe) numerous
in the département Sarthe
Mamers (Sarthe), in billon
nr Vance (Sarthe)
Laigle (Orne)
between Mortagne and Belleme (Orne)
nr Vitré (I+V)
Bain (I+V)
nr Rennes (I+V)
nr Janze (I+V)
la Rousière cne Coulonges, nr Rivray (E+L)

Huisseau-en-Beauce (L+Ch)

Mamers (Sarthe = BN 6523)

TYPE pl.XIII.9 (ABT:309 n.1)

CALVADOS

Bois-Halbout cne Cesny-en-Cinglais : 7.96g

* St.Vigor-le-Grand nr Bayeux: a half or quarter stater.

* Torteval

* Bayeux

* Bayeux, = BN 6947, 4.05g

*Sommervieu nr Bayeux

*wood of the old Commanderie, Baugy nr Balleroy.

MANCHE

*Ste Marie du Mont

*Le Lorey

AISNE

Vendeuil = BN 6948 , 4.0g

TYPE pl.XIII.2.

INDRE ET LOIRE

nr Tours : = BN 6901, 7.95g

TYPE pl.XIII.1

La Ferté-Bernard (Sarthe): = BN 6897, 7.64g

Moisy (L+Ch.) 7.80g (ABT:220)

TYPE pl.XIII.12 (ABT:301; weights often over 7.80g)

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE

*Paimboeuf, 'Type BN 6879'

Blain : 7.85g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:220 n.354)

Derval = BN 6826

MAINE ET LOIRE

* Le Fief-Sauvin nr Cholet 'cf BN 6879'

DEUX SEVRES

Cne.Lorigné : 7.95g 'cf BN 6879 but no support under the head and a boar above it'

TYPE pl.XIII.3

MAYENNE

Craon : 2 staters of different style, 8.20, 7.97g, 'cf BN 6913' (ABT no.177 and p.305)

*Provenchères nr Craon : a stater (similar one weighs 7.97g: ABT:305)

LOIRET

*Les Aubrais ; = BN 6913, 7.0g.

## MAPS 16 AND 16a : GOLD HOARDS AND FINDS 7.0-7.60g (SECOND OR THIRD PHASE)

Hoards are underlined; references are to ABT inventory. * indicates coins on the type map only; ** indicates coins on the weight map only.

### GROUP I : Pl. VIII.10-15

*Azay-le-Rideau (I+L) nr Tours: 'cf BN 5947' (Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a); cf pl.VIII.10-11 = anon. Bull.de Num. July 1891 p.73 fig 25 which says another was found 'near Tours' of the type pl. VIII.12.

*Rivarennes (I+L) one : ABT:221.

Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé (Vienne): 7.42g, type BN 5947; 1 in the hoard (Colbert de Beaulieu 1971a; Gallia 1969:284)

*St.Léger-des-Bruyères (Allier): quarter-stater type pl.VIII.15 (ABT:223)

*Grozon (Jura): quarter stater type Pl.VIII.15 (2.0g; ABT:223)

nr Louhans (S+L) : 7.55g, type pl.VIII.15 (ibid.)

*Luxiol (Doubs): 7.95g type pl.VIII.15 (ibid.)

*Brienne-le-Château (Aube) type pl.VIII.15 (ibid).

### GROUP II : Pl.VIII.16 (ABT:216)

COTE D'OR

*Ruffey nr Beaune, 7.18g

*nr. Beaune, illustrated at ABT pl.1.13.

DOUBS

* nr Besançon

GIRONDE

Tayac (appendix VII)

SWITZERLAND

*Basel: an evolved type.

### GROUP III : Pl.VIII.17-18

Lapte (Hte.L), weights 7.40-7.49g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1958; Castelin 1961); a further coin is illustrated at MMAG sale Jan 1953 p.5 no 13 at 7.50g.

St.Uze (Drôme), weights 7.40-7,49g;(Colbert de Beaulieu 1958; Houlbert 1958)

GROUP IV : Pl.IX-X All coins are on both maps.

ALLIER

Ebreuil = M 2674, 7.21g group IO

Marcillat, 20 coins including ? Vercingetorix (ABT:11; Colbert de Beaulieu 1963d)

CANTAL

La Chapelle-Laurent (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956)

COTE D'OR

Alise at Grésigny-sainte-Reine : 1 Vercingetorix stater; uncertain find (Colbert de Beaulieu and Lefèvre 1963; le Dantec 1968; Colbert de Beaulieu 1966a)

CREUSE

Auzances , possibly included Vercingetorix (ABT:no 50; Colbert de Beaulieu and Lefèvre 1963)

LOIRE

Chevenet cne.Cordelle, 900-1000 coins (ABT no 136)

HAUTEX LOIRE

Brioude = M 2680, 7.37g

Siauges-St.-Romain, ? Vercingetorix find 7.85g (heavy for the series; Colbert de Beaulieu 1970b; exactitude questioned 1966a.

Craponne-sur-Arzon : 1 Vercingetorix (Colbert de Beaulieu 1966a)

LOZERE

St.Alban de Limagnole : 7.45g (Soutou 1968 n.30)

PUY DE DOME

Pionsat, including Vercingetorix (ABT no 196). Included types IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IG, IH, IL, IM, II, IIA.

VIRLET, c.20 coins (ABT no 197) including Vercingetprix (Colbert de Beaulieu 1963d, 1966a) = hoard 'near Riom' of id. 1963a, 1966a.

cne. Orcines, 70 staters including 1 CAS (ABT no 199)

Chamalières : 7.33g or less, type pl.X.11 (group II) (Gallia 1963:395)

Sauvagnat-[illegible] Sainte-Marthe : 1 Vercingetorix (Colbert de Beaulieu and Lefevre 1965; Colbert de Beaulieu 1966a)

la Roche-Blanche : ? 1 Vercingetorix (ibid.)

Billom : 1 Vercingetorix (Colbert de Beaulieu 1966a)

YVELINES

nr le Pecq = M 3385, 7.37g (= pl.IX.20) group Ii

JURA

Arinthod: IA anepigraphic (Colbert de Beaulieu 1953b)

HERAULT

Baillargues; type ?pl.X.6 (IO ; ABT:418)

GROUP V

** Ainay-le-Château (Allier): B 951.5.1, 7.17g type pl.XI.1.

TYPE pl.VII.19

** Feusines (Indre) : B 965.1.4827, 7.08g.

TYPE pl.XII.6-7 ATEVLOIB SOLIMYC

Camp d'Amboise (I+L): 0.90g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956e)
Muides (L+Ch) on the left bank of the Loire (ibid.; ABT:335)

TYPE Pl.XII.5

Orleans (Loiret) in the Loire, several; c.3.60-3.75g (ABT:325)

UNCLASSED TYPES WITH WEIGHTS IN THIS BRACKET

*St.Géran near Moulins (Allier) : appendix VII
Courcoury (Ch.Mar.) over 100 regenbogenschlüsselchen 7.25-7.30g and gold ingots, one at 281.25g (ABT no 31)
*Mouliets-et-Villemartin (Gir.): 2 staters, appendix VII
Soings (L+Ch) coin pl.VIIIA.12, c.1.90g or slightly less: appendix VII
Vicq-Exemplet (Indre) 7.05g derived Philip copy with Helios head motif (ABT:215)
Gray (Hte.S) = BN 1969/445 = Gallia 1970:346, 1.89g.
Oudry (S+L) 1.90g type as last (Gallia 1958:370)
*Malay (Yonne) quarter stater M 3417, weight unknown.

COINS OF ARMORICAN TYPE IN THIS WEIGHT BRACKET

TYPE pl.XIII.13 (ABT : 301-2)

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE

Ancenis, 7.35g
*Savenay
*Nantes (2)

MAINE ET LOIRE

Candé = BN 6723, 7.46g

INDRE ET LOIRE

*Véretz

MAYENNE

*Ménil, two coins together (ABT:176)

OF RARE TYPE

département Oise, 7.20g with rev. boar and squirres-like animal (Blanchet 1949; Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:93-4)

NOT ON THE MAPS

Corent (P.D.) : ABT:529: burial reputed (probably wrongly) to have contained an Arvernian stater type pl.IX.18, group IH.

Le Loirent (Creuse), stater type pl.X.1 or X.5 group IL with triskeles (ABT:418)

MAP 17 : CENTRAL GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS UNDER 7.0g (THIRD PHASE)

Hoards are underlined.

ABVDOS GROUP : Pl.XI.1-8. References are to ABT:411 unless indicated.

ALLIER

nr Montluçon, 1 ABVCATOS

nr Hérisson, 1 ABVCATOS; DAG claims 2 ABVDOS.

Ainay-le-Château, type pl.XI.1 = B 951.5.1, 7.17g.

CHER

Ardenais, 1 ABVCATOS

[Dun-le-Roi, DAG notes 2 ABBDOS but does not say whether they are gold or bronze]

COTE D'OR

Grésigny (or Alise - ABT:411) SOLIMA (Colbert de Beaulieu 1956e)

Alise, 1 ABVDOS (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a)

INDRE

Moulins-sur-Céphons : 4 ABVCATOS, 1 ABVDOS, 3 fractions (appendix VII)

Levroux, multiple finds including B 894.24.1 ABVCATOS 6.77g; B 894.24.2, 6.84g type of ABVCATOS but legend off flan. Cf ABT hoard no 112, but it was probably not in fact a hoard.

INDRE ET LOIRE

Amboise, SOLIMA

Luynes nr Tours, 1 ABVCATOS (de la Saussaye 1836, '126 gr.' cf appendix note on the Soings hoard L+Ch.)

VIENNE

Vernon , 1 Abvdos

Bonneuil ABVDOS, SOLIMA, SOIIM 6.60g (ABT:no 263; Colbert de Beaulieu 1956e)

Civaux, 2 ABVDOS (ABT no 264)

Poitiers, 1 ABVCATOS (ABT:411, 507)

CRANE AND TREFOIL GROUP : Pl.XI.9-13.

CORREZE

Brive, see appendix VII; c.120 coins.

Puy du Tour cne. Monceaux in excavations, type with thick 'bronze' flan (Blanchet 1910)

Puy du Chalard cne. Yssandon in excavations; 4 nearly bronze with thich flan (ibid.)

COTE d'OR

Alise, 2 coins (ABT:295)

CREUSE

Jalesche = Marcillat; included B 909.46.1, 4.58g (group B); see appendix VII.

FINISTERE

St.Jean-Trolimon oppidum Tronoën, type pl.XI.9, good gold (ABT:295)

PUY DE DOME

Clermont-Ferrand, 1 of type? (ABT:500)

Corent: BN4081, 5.76g; M 2682, 5.56g; at least 1 'bronze' with thick flan (Blanchet 1910)

VIENNE

Vernon, see appendix VII, at least 2.

Poitiers, 7 isolated finds (ABT:295, 507), thick 'bronze' types found in the region (Blanchet 1910)

HAUTE VIENNE

Nexon (1) (ABT:295)

Vaulry : large collection found 1908; 7 weighed 4.25-6.80g (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973b); several finds at Vaulry.

DORDOGNE

Périgueux: 20 isolated finds (ABT:295)

PICTONES GOLD : Pl.XI.14-17. References to ABT:296 unless indicated.

CHARENTE MARITIME

Trizay, 4.10g (Mainjonet 1966)

nr. Vénérand (1)

Saujon (1)

Chevanceau (64) see appendix VII

CHER

Sancerre-Bourges railway line (1) = B 895.16.6, 6.12g.

CORREZE

Yssandon (1)

COTE D'OR

Alise, 1 with SA, 1 without (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955a)

Grésigny (1) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE

Gorges nr Clisson, 40 coins (ABT no 137; Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

Savenay, 30-40 coins, a mixed hoard (ABT no 138; Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

nr Nantes

Vertou

Nantes (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

Grand-Auvergné (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

MAYENNE

Hardanges, 1 in hoard wf predominantly other types (ABT:no 175)

DEUX SEVRES

nr Niort, c 40 coins (ABT no 235)

nr Niort, 10 found 1928 (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

Parthenay, included BN 4406, 4417 (6.55g; ABT no 238)

nr Thouars (1)

Melle (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

VENDEE

Vouillé les Marais, 63 coins (ABT no 255)

Fontenay le Comte, 2 hoards (ABT no 256; Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

La Ficaudière nr La Boissière des Landes (1)

Challans (1)

la Mothe-Achard (1)

l'Hébergement, Roche-sur-Yon (1) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

VIENNE

Poitiers, gold-silver mixed hoard (ABT no 258)

Vivonne, as last; 11 gold Pictones, 1 silver Solima (ABT no 259)

Vernon as last, including 8 with SA, see appendix VII

Bonneuil as last (ABT no 263)

Civray (ABT p.296)

nr Chauvigny (ABT : 296)

Poitiers, several isolated finds (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

nr Châtellerault (1) (= Loudun find of Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c?)

camp Bonneuil, 1 SA 5.90g (ABT:299)

St.Martin de la Rivière (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

HAUTE VIENNE

la Cicogne, cne la Jonchère with at least 32 coins and imperial denarii (ABT no 267 and Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

ILLE ET VILAINE

Sens de Bretagne, 10 coins of which 1 was Pictones gold (ABT no 102)

Pipriac: Veneti hoard with 1 or 7 Pictones gold (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

cant. Rétiers (1) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

MORBIHAN

Quiberon (1) (Gallia 1963:429)

MAINE ET LOIRE

Saumur, in the Loire (1)

Durtal (1)

Maulevrier (1) Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c.

Mazières en Mauges (1) (ibid.)

le Fier-Sauvin (1) (DAG s.v.)

CALVADOS

Lisieux (2) (ABT:296) (1) (Colbert de Beaulieu 1962c)

COTES DU NORD

St.Dénoual , a mixed hoard (ABT no 43-4; Colbert de Beaulieu ibid.)

HAUTE GARONNE

Vieille-Toulouse: 1 plated coin Gallia 1972:491-4 ; it was the first gold coin found on the site. Cf Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a:328 n.652.

OTHER TYPES AND UNCERTAIN VARIETIES.

St.Porchaire (Ch.Mar.) staters of poor alloy (ABT no 32)

Huisseau-en-Beauce (L+Ch) poor gold of 'Aulerci Cenomani', stater with rev figure under androcephalous horse, with a lance (ABT:303)

Annonay (Ard.) Pl.VIII.4, BN 6066-7; 2 found 6.21, 5.80g

Chenôves (S+L), type pl.VIIIA 13-18, c 6.60-7.10g, see appendix VII.

# MAP 20 : AMPHORA FINDS IN GAUL (ITALIC AND GRECO-ITALIC). ROMAN PROVINCE

## EXCLUDED

AIN (not fully inventoried)

Ambérieu en Bugey : 4th or 3rd century Massaliot amphora and oenochoe handles (Gallia 1958:371ff)

ARDECHE (not fully inventoried)

Alba: Italic amphoras, early 1st century (Gallia 1971, 239ff)

AUDE (not fully inventoried)

Bize-Minervois: Italic, in la Tène III context second half of second century (Gallia 1971:370)

Escales: Italic, la Tène III context (Gallia 1971:371)

Montjoi : Dressel I with late Campanian ceramic, la Tène III context (Gallia 1971, 374)

Narbonne: imitation Dressel I, Dressel 9 variety, Dressel 20 (Gallia 1971:374)

Peyriac-de-Mer : 3rd century Ibero-Punic, Greco-Punic and Massiliot amphoras (Gallia 1971:375f)

Pomas et Rouffiac : Italic, 2nd or 1st century (Gallia 1969:388; 1973:483)

Sigean, oppidum Pech Maho: Italic and Ibero-Punic, 3rd or 2nd century; also Greco-Italic (Gallia 1969:388; 1971:377; 1973:484f)

Ferran : deposits of Dressel IA amphoras (Gallia 1973:477)

AVEYRON (not fully inventoried)

La Bastide-Pradines, l.d. las Clapasses : Dressel I, severas (Gallia 1959:409; 1962:549; 1966:412)

La Graufesenque cne.Millau: amphoras in la Tène III context (Gallia 1954:193f)

la Granède above la Graufesenque: Italic (Balsan 1950; Gallia 1959:410ff)

Viviez, oppidum Puy du Caylar: 'amphora debris', no date (Gallia 1962:555)

Rodez, 25 deposited; stamps included LVCRIO (handle), MN (neck); la Tène III context (Gallia 1962:552ff; 1966:416)

Centres, oppidum Miramon: 'amphora debris' no date (Gallia 1962:549)

Ste.Eulalie-de-Cernon: Massaliot amphoras, 5th-3rd century and 'Phocaean' pottery (Gallia 1968:522)

Puech Deves near Ste.Eulalie de Cernon: Italic amphoras, 1st century (Gallia 1966:417)

Naucelle: Italic, first century (Gallia 1970:403) Dressel I (ibid.1972:477)

Le Maunal cne.Vezins: undated amphoras (Gallia 1946:355f)

Creyssels: Dresseel I fragments (Gallia 1972:472)

Laissac, oppidum Montmerle: Dressel I amphoras (ibid.)

Nant: numeroud Dressel I sherds (Gallia 1972:477)

Viala-du-Pas-de-Jaux cne. St Paul des Fonts; fragments of 1 Dressel I amphora (Gallia 1972:478)

BOUCHES DU RHONE (not fully inventoried)

Bouc-Bel-Air : Italic amphoras (Gallia 1967:402-3)

Rognac : Massiliot amphoras of the third or second century (Gallia 1967:405)

CHARENTE MARITIME

Pons: Dresssel I, c.150-1 BC (Gallia 1965:357-8; 1967:247; 1973:381-2)

Thairé-d'Aunis: Italic, several fragments in late la Tène III context (Gallia 1969:270; 1971:263; 1973:383)

CHER

Châteaumeillant: Greco-Italic and Italic, numerous (Gallia 1965:361; 1959:299ff [Italic deposits] and Greco-Italic and Italic not later than the mid first century, also later first century, Italic amphoras including a deposit of 37; ibid. 1963:383ff: Dressel I including stamp AV and AR [Gourvest and Hugoniot 1957: Dressel IA, IB of the late second and early first century])

Sidiailles: Italic (Buchsenschutz 1968)

COTE D'OR

Les Bolards nr Nuits: 11 in a la Tène III context (pre-Augustan), then numeroud Dressel 20 (Thévenot 1948)

CORREZE

cne.Lamazière-Basse: 1 Dressel I (Gallia 1951:110)

la Moutte, cne.Sérandon: several in a ? la Tène III context (Gallia 1951:111; Cotton 1962)

Puy du Tour cne. Monceaux: amphoras with 'long handles' in top la Tène III level; Italic including 1 with illegible stamp (Gallia 1954:197ff; 1961:357; 1971:313; Murat 1962)

Camp Charlat cne.Ussel: Italic, Dressel I (Cotton and Frere 1961)

St.Fréjoux : 1 Rephblican amphora neck Dressel IB in a la Tène III deposit (Gallia 1973:429)

CREUSE

Flayat : Dressel I and 20 (Gallia 1959:371f)

DORDOGNE

St.Médard-de-Mursidan : c.40 Dressel I including stamps DAM(A) ?, PILI(PVS) (Gallia 1965:425)

Coulounieix-Chamiers: first century amphora debris (Gallia 1971:351)

DOUBS

Besançon : numerous fragemnts of Dressel I in a la Téne III context (Gallia 1953:134ff; 1968:443)

Mathay: numerous Dressel I in la Tène III context (Gallia 1964:395ff)

DROME (not fully inventoried)

le Pègue: la Tène II-III context, amphora debris (Gallia 1966:512-4)

Les Granges-Goutardes: Massiliot amphoras, 5th-4th century (Gallia 1966:518)

EURE ET LOIRE

Chartres : 'Republican' amphoras, including stamp ORP (Gallia 1970:253)

FINISTERE

Plounévez-Lochrist: Dressel I including stamp APOLLAER (Gallia 1951:92-3)

Plogastel-St.Germain: several Dressel I with la Tène III ceramic (Gallia 1971:244)

GARD (not fully inventoried)

Oppidum St.Maur (Montfaucon): Etruscan and Massiliot amphoras, in 5th and 4th century level (Gallia 1971:393)

HAUTE GARONNE (not fully inventoried)

Vieille-Toulouse: amphoras of the first half of the first century (Gallia 1959:433f; 1964:450ff), 40 Greco-Italic and 53 Italic with another 30 Greco-Italic nearby, and 1 stamp M PORC (Gallia 1968:537; 1959:377f)

Toulouse: Italic in la Tène III context and 2 Rhodian (Gallia 1968:533ff); Greco-Italic (Gallia 1968:537); Italic oenochoes, amphoras including stamp SESTIVS; also Massiliot amphora of the 6th or 5th century (Gallia 1970:411)

Auterive : Italic, first century (Gallia 1970:409)

GERS ( not fully inventoried)

Roquelaure, plateau Siontat: Italic, first century (Gallia 1970:422)

GIRONDE

Soulac-sur-Mer: 'Mediterranean' amphora sherds in a la Tène III context (Gallia 1965:416)

Bordeaux : Dressel I, first century, with stamp M PORC (Gallia 1959:377ff)

Mouliets-et-Villemartin: 'Large quantity of amphoras' in la Tène III context (Gallia 1959:384; stamp N ALFI N F = 150-50, Gallia 1967:343f)

HÈRAULT (not fully inventoried)

Rósis, oppidum Plo des Bruns: numerous Italic (Gallia 1969:399)

Ceilhes, l.d. Lascours: deposit of 13 Dressel IA minus necks and handles, and mostly pierced (Gallia 1969:392)

Magalas, oppidum Montfo: Etruscan, Massiliot amphoras on the surface (Gallia 1969:376)

INDRE ET LOIRE

Vernou-sur-Brenne: thick level of amphora debris in ? la Tène III context (Gallia 1970:267)

INDRE

Pouligny-Notre-Dame : Greco-Italic and Italic amphoras (Gallia 1965:361)

Chitray : Italic (Buchsenschutz 1968)

Levroux: Italic (ibid.)

Rivarennes : Italic (ibid.)

ISERE (not fully inventoried)

Vienne : la Tène III context amphoras (Gallia 1964:511ff) contemporary with Campanian B and C ceramic; Dressel I stamps include NH, APEL; two amphora bases could be Dressel 9-11, 23; other stamps include SES, DAV and some are found into the third century BC (Gallia 1968:583)

St.Romain-de-Jalonias: Dressel I amphora in a Gallo-Roman villa (Gallia 1971:428)

LOIRE

Essalois at Chambles: amphoras of the second to first century; Greco-Italic in the earliest levels (Gallia 1961:422; 1966:493; 1968:565, stamps include MN, PHI, MA-E, LIPE; 1971:416, finds imcluded Spanish amphoras; Preynat . and Renaud 1962: Dressel I amphoras included complete specimens)

Roanne : in la Tène III context, Italic amphora debris (Gallia 1971:412f; including Dressel IB in Gallo-Roman précoce context; IA and Greco-Italic also found (Gallia 1968:565ff; Cabotse and Périchon 1966; Bessou 1967 lists stamps PH, DIONCR, ...TEMO, corn ear, CL SEX)

Joeuvres : numerous Dressel IA, IB (Peacock 1971)

LOT (not fully inventoried)

Capdenac : Italic amphoras in a la Tène III context (Gallia 1970:427)

Espagnac-Ste.-Eulalie : 'amphora sherds', no date, ?la Tène III (Gallia 1970:428)

LOT ET GARONNE (not fully inventoried)

near Agen : Dressel I with stamp M PORC of the first century (Gallia 1959:377ff)

le Mas-d'Agenais: Italic amphora sherds including the stamp M PORC (Gallia 1959:377f; 1967:358ff)

Agen: 4 whole Dressel I and debris of others (Gallia 1969:365)

Sos : Dressel IA sherds; la Tène III kilns below them (Gallia 1969:368)

LOZERE

St.Bonnet de Chirac oppidum Truc: Italic amphoras c.120-20 in an occupied level (Gallia 1971:405)

Clapas-Castel cne. la Capelle : fragment of an Italic amphora in a la Tène III context (Soutou 1964)

MARNE

Morains: late la Tène III, fragments of amphoras in a cremation burial (Gallia 1949:116)

la Cheppe: the side of an amphora in a la Tène III context (Gallia 1971:295)

MOSELLE

Metz : Italic amphoras in a la Tène III context (Gallia 1958:323f)

MORBIHAN

Belle-Ile: about 9 miles off the coast, a Dressel I amphora found in the sea; another found 20 miles off and a third is known (Gallia 1961:353)

le Loirent, off the beach: top of a spherical amphora (Gallia 1973:361)

NIEVRE

Corancy (L'Huis-l'Abbé) amphoras in la Tène III context (Gallia 1966:398)

PUY DE DOME

Clermont-Ferrand: Dressel I amphora with pierced base (Gallia 1959:374); deposit of Dressel IA amphoras (ibid.1971:326f)

St.Just-de-Baffie: Dressel I in an early Gallo-Romen context (Gallia 1965:410)

La Roche-Blanche: a Dressel I amphora with HLV shoulder stamp (Gallia 1963:500)

Aulnat : amphoras in level II (la Tène III) (Gallia 1967:306ff); types as at Entremont in the second quarter of the second century. In la Tène III level, a Dressel I amphora (ibid.1969:332); Dressel IA (ibid.1971:323f)

Gergovie : Dressel I (Labrousse 1948; 1949)

RHONE

Amplepuis : Dressel IA c.125-75 (Gallia 1966:498f)

SAONE ET LOIRE

Mâcon : amphora debris in la Tène III context (Gallia 1970:393)

St.Martin-Belle-Roche : Dressel I including stamps KHD, KID, DA(?)M (Gallia 1950:151)

Marloux nr Mellecey : c.15 Dressel I amphoras in a la Tène III context (Armand-Calliat 1944)

TARN (not fully inventoried)

Cordes : c.30 Italic 'late republican or early imperial amphoras' (Gallia 1959:443)

VAUCLUSE (not fully inventoried)

oppidum St.Jacques, Cavailon : a few fragments of Massiliot amphoras (Dumoulin 1965)

HAUTE VIENNE

St.Gence: second-first century Greco-Italic amphoras, numerous and in deposit (Gallia 1969:341)

VOSGES

Pierre d'Appel cne Etival-Clairefontaine : Italic amphora debris of the first century (Deyber 1972)

YONNE

Cheny : fragments of Dressel I (Gallia 1958:311f)

GERMANY

Oberaden (12-8 BC) Dressel IB (Peacock 1971)

Haltern (11BC-9AD) Dressel IB (Peacock 1971)

MAP 21 : FINDS OF CAMPANIAN CERAMIC IN GAUL OUTSIDE THE ROMAN PROVINCE

ARDECHE (not fully inventoried)

Alba : Campanian fragments in a deep level; especially late A (Gallia 1971:439ff)

AVEYRON (not fully inventoried)

Nant : Campanian A (Gallia 1972:477)

Puech Devès nr Ste.Eulalie de Cernon: 'Campahian ceramic' (Hallia 1966:417)

Millau: Campanian C (Gallia 1970:398-402)

la Graufesenque cne.Millau : Campanian ceramic including A (Gallia 1954:193f; 1972:473; Balsan 1950)

Laissac, oppidum Montmerle: Campanian A (Gallia 1972:472)

la Roque-Ste.Marguerite at Montpellier-le-Vieux: Campanian A (Gallia 1975:478)

Viala-du-Pons-de-Jaux cne.St.Paul des Fonts : Campahian B (Gallia 1972:478)

AUDE (not fully inventoried)

Carcassonne : black glazed Campanian (Ward-Perkins 1941)

Bize-Minervois : Campanian ceramic (Gallia 1971:370)

Escales : Campanian ceramic (Gallia 1971:371)

Montjoi : late Campanian ware (Gallia 1971:374)

Narbonne : large amounts of Campanian ware (Gallia 1971:374f)

Peyriac-de-Mer : Campanian A (Gallia 1969:387)

Pomas and Rouffiac, oppidum la Lagaste : imitation Campanian A and B (Gallia 1969:388; 1971:376) second to first century.

Sigean, oppidum Pech Maho : Campahian A and B (Gallia 1969:388; 1971:377)

BOUCHES DU RHONE (not fully inventoried)

Bouc-Bel-Air : Campahian A (Gallia 1967:402-3)

Rognac : Campanian A (Gallia 1967:405)

Tarascon : Campanian A and B (Gallia 1967:405)

CANTAL

Chastel sur Murat : Campanian ceramic (Ward-Perkins 1941)

CHER

Châteaumeillant : Campanian cup possibly made in Languedoc (Gallia 1959:299f)

CORREZE

Puy du Tour cne Monceaux : Campanian C of the first century (Gallia 1971:313; Murat 1962)

Charlat cne.Ussel : Campanian A and B (Cotton and Frere 1961)

Pont Maure : black glazed CAMPANIAN (Ward-Perkins 1941)

DROME (not fully inventoried)

le Pègue : old and more recent Campanian imports in la Tène III context (Gallia 1968:589ff)

GERS (not fully inventoried)

Roquelaure : Campanian A, B and C (Gallia 1970:422)

GIRONDE

Mouliets-et-Villemartin : 1 fragment of Campanian ware probably from Cales (Gallia 1967:343f)

Bordeaux : black glaze Campanian ware (Ward-Perkins 1941)

HAUTE GARONNE (not fully inventoried)

Vieille-Toulouse : Campanian A, B and C in the context of the first half of the first century (Gallia 1959:433f; 1964:450f; 1968:537) Campanian imitations (Fouet 1970)

Toulouse : Campanian A with la Tène III ceramic and Campanian B (Gallia 1964:444f; 1968:533f; 1970:411)

Auterive : Campanian ceramic (Gallia 1970:409)

HERAULT (not fully inventoried)

Ensérune cne Nissan : second century Campanian ware (Gallia 1969:397)

Ceilhes : Campanian A and B of the second century (Gallia 1969:392)

St.Saveur cne Lattes : Campanian A and C of the first century (Gallia 1969:394)

Villetelle : late Campanian of the first century as well as protocampanian of the early third century (Gallia 1971:388)

INDRE

Levroux : Campanian ceramic (Buchsenschutz 1968)

ISERE (not fully inventoried)

Vienne : Campanian A, B and C (Gallia 1964:511f; 1968:583)

JURA

Camp du Château, Salins : Campanian ceramic (Ward-Perkins 1941)

LOIRE

Essalois cne Chambles: Campanian B (Gallia 1961:422; 1968:565; 1973:520; Preynat 1962)

Roanne: Campanian A, B and C and imitations (Gallia 1971:412f; 1968:491; 1968:565; Cabotse and Périchon 1966; Bessou 1967)

LOT (not fully inventoried)

Puy d'Issoloud : Campanian ceramic (Ward-Perkins 1941)

LOT ET GARONNE (not fully inventoried)

Agen : Campanian ware (Gallia 1969:365)

LOZERE

St.Bonnet de Chirac oppidum Truc: Campanian ceramic c 120-20 (Gallia 1971:405)

MEUSE

Boviolles : black glaze Campanian ware (Ward-Perkins 1941)

MOSELLE

Metz : campanian ceramic in la Tène III context (Gallia 1958:323ff)

NIEVRE

Mont Beuvray : Campanian ceramic (Ward-Perkins 1941)

PUY DE DOME

Corent : black glaze Campanian ceramic (ibid.)

Giat and Voingt : 1 sherd of late Campanian in level 5 (deep) (Gallia 1955:187; Charbonneau 1957)

Aulnat : Campanian type Lamboglia 5, 28, 36 in la Tène II context; Campanian A and imitations (Gallia 1969:332; 1971:323f; 1973:444; Périchon and Vichy 1967)

Gergovie : second century pink Campanian ware (Hatt 1943); black glaze Campanian ceramic (Ward-Perkins 1941); Arretine ware dated to before 30 (Labrousse 1949)

RHONE

Amplepuis : Campanian A and imitations (Gallia 1966:498f)

SAONE ET LOIRE

Petit-Chauvort north of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs : Campanian A and B (Gallia 1972:459f)

TARN (not fully inventoried)

Albi : Campanian ware (Ward-Perkins 1941)

VAUCLUSE (not fully inventoried)

St.Jacques, cne. Cavaillon : Campanian A, B and 6, local imitations (Dumoulin 1965)

VOSGES

Pierre-d'Appel cne Etival-Clairefontaine: Campanian A and B (Deyber 1972)

## MAP 22 : FINDS OF SPANISH ARTEFACTS IN GAUL

AUDE

Bize-Minervois : Iberic painted ceramic and Emporiae ceramic (second half of the second century : Gallia 1971:370)

Peyriac-de-Mer : third century Ibero-Punic amphoras (Gallia 1971:375f); carinated dishes from Emporiae; Catalan coast amphoras of Massiliot amphoras; documents of Punic or Ibero-Punic origin in a third century context (Gallia 1969:387)

Pomas et Rouffiac oppidum la Lagaste : early first century painted Iberic pottery, including ware from Emporiae (Gallia 1969:388)

Sigean, oppidum Pech Maho : Ibero-Punic amphoras of the third to second century (Gallia 1969:388) and Emporitan pottery (ibid. 1971:377)

Ferran : an Emporitan olpê (Gallia 1973:477)

AVEYRON

Millau : Emporiae technique pottery, cf Toulouse and the wreck of Grand-Congloué (Gallia 1970:398-402)

la Graufesenque cne Millau : Iberic style vases (Balsan 1950)

HAUTE GARONNE

Vieille-Toulouse : annular Iberic fibula of c 50-25 (Gallia 1959:433f); Catalan imports (ibid. 1964:450f)

Toulouse : sixth to fifth century Iberic-inspired pottery (Gallia 1970:412)

GERS

Roquelaure, plateau Sioutat : later first century Hispanic amphora handles (3) (Gallia 1970:422)

HERAULT

Ensérune cne. Nissan : Iberic painted ceramic, Catalan ceramic with Iberic graffiti of the second century (Gallia 1969:397)

Ceilhes : Iberic ceramic of the second century (Gallia 1969:392)

ILLE ET VILAINE

Rennes : bronze Iberic ex-voto (Gallia 1967:225)

LOIRE

Essalois : southern Spanish amphoras (Gallia 1971:416)

LOZERE

St.Bonnet de Chirac oppidum Truc: Emporiae pottery (Gallia 1971:405)

VAUCLUSE

oppidum St.Jacques, Cavaillon : Iberic cup of the first century (Dumoulin 1965)

# LIST OF SITES ON THE BIG MAP

A skeleton bibliography is given for those entries not discussed above in the text, especially those only known to me from the DAG. For the bibliography relating to other sites, see the relevant discussion in Section I under the département in question.

# SITES MARKED ON THE BIG FOLD-OUT MAP : OPPIDA, ENCLOSURES AND MAJOR SITES

## REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

Départements excluded from the map : Basses-Alpes, Hautes-Alpes, Alpes-Maritimes, Haute-Savoie, Savoie, Var, and the Pyrenees départements. Also Germany and present Belgium.

For additional information on sites in Armorica and northern Gaul see Duval (1959); DAG lists a large number of small enclosures in the Armorican départements which are not listed here as being of very uncertain date or nature.

numbers before the entries refer to the numbers on the transparent overlay sheet.

For sites in Indre and Cher (in Berry generally) see map B1.

AIN

1. Château-Gaillard cne. Ambérieux (DAG)

AISNE

2. Beaurevoir cne. Châtelet, 200 x 80m (DAG)
3. Epagny cne. Vic-sur-Aisne, c. 2 heat ares, éperon barré (ibid.)
4. Gouy cne. Châtelet (9b9d.)
5. Mercin-et-Vaux, Soissons; éperon barré (ibid.)
6. Nouvion-le-Vineux (ibid.)

ALLIER

7. Bègues, Hallstatt period (Gallia 1967:297)
8. Château-sur-Allier (DAG)
9. Châtillon, 70 x 65m (ibid.)
10. Ferté-Hauterive (ibid.)
11. Gannay-sur-Loire on the right bank (ibid.)
12. St.Gérand-de-Vaux (ibid.)

Hérisson
Néris-les-Bains } map B1

ARDECHE

13. Alba (Gallia 1971:439)
14. Malpas (Soyons) (Gallia 1960:376)
15. St.Marcel-d'Ardèche, Hallstatt and la Tène I (Gallia 1971:442)

ARDENNES

16. Le Châtelet (= Châtelet sur Retourne) (DAG)

ARIEGE

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AUBE

17. Bar sur Aube: 10 hectares with 4 ha.96 ares within the enclosure on the left bankof the river (DAG)
18. Isle-Aumont (Gallia 1955:147)
19. Lesmont, 95 hectares (DAG)
20. Lusigny, c. 250m square (ibid.)
21. le Mériot on the right bank by the river (ibid.)
22. Troyes (Gallia 1964:295f)
23. la Villeneuve-au-Châtelot; pottery industry (Gallia 1967:281)

AUDE

24. Mailhac, oppidum Cayla (Gallia 1971:373)
25. Montjoi (Gallia 1971:374)
26. Montlaurès at Narbonne (Gallia 1964:479)
27. Pomas et Rouffiac (Gallia 1969:388; 1971:376)

28. Sigean = Pech Maho (Gallia 1969:388; 1971:377)
29. Villasavary oppidum Canonges (Gallia 1973:487)

AVEYRON

30. Centres, oppidum Miramon (Gallia 1962:549)
31. La Granède above la Graufesenque (Millau) (Gallia 1959:410f; 1962:550f)
32. La Graufesenque (Balsan 1950) (Hallstatt; abandoned la Tène)
33. Labastide-Pradines (Gallia 1962:549)
34. Lapanouse-de-Cernon (Gallia 1964:433)
35. Murasson (DAG)
36. Nant (Gallia 1964:433)
37. Recoules-Prévinquières, butte Méjanel (Gallia 1966:416)
38. Rivière-sur-Tarn (Gallia 1972:477-8)
39. Rodez (Gallia 1966:416)
40. Roquefort-sur-Soulzon (Gallia 1959:431)
41. La Roque-Sainte-Marguerite (Gallia 1972:478)
42. Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon, temple (Gallia 1968:522)
43. St.Jean-du-Bruel ld Cayla (Gallia 1968:522f)
44. St.Jean-et-St.-Paul l.d. Cayla (ibid.)
45. St.Just, Naucelle (DAG, oppidum Miramont)
46. St.Rome de Tarn (Gallia 1968:522f)
47. Sonnac, Asprières: Gaulish enclosure (DAG)
48. Versols-et-Lapeyre, l.d. Jouaude (Gallia 1968:522f)
49. Viviez l.d. Puy du Caylar (Gallia 1962:552)

Not on the map: Clapas du Diable

BOUCHES DU RHONE

50. Auriol, oppidum Baon Rouge (Gallia 1972:517)
51. Cornillon (DAG)
52. Éguilles, oppidum Piérechon (Gallia 1967:403)
53. Entremont by Aix (DAG)
54. Fontvieille (Gallia 1967:403)
55. Grans, west of the village (DAG)
56. Massilia (Marseille)
57. Miramas, 3 camps (DAG)
58. Orgon (DAG)
59. Pélissanne, oppidum Carconte (DAG)
60. les Pennes-Mirabeau oppidum Cloche (Gallia 1972:519)
61. Rognac (Gallia 1967:405)
62. Rognes, 2 oppida, (a) west of Château Tonnefort; (b) Jas d'Amont (DAG)
63. Roquefort, several fortifications. (DAG)
64. St.Marcel (Gallia 1967:405)
65. Salon, oppidum (DAG)
66. Trets, big oppidum (DAG)
67. Velaux, camp de Berre (DAG)
68. Ventabren, Berre, at least 2 oppida (DAG)

CALVADOS

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CANTAL

69. Broize-Auriacombe burial cne . Marmanhac (p.86 above)
70. Celles burial (p.86 above)
71. Charmensac (Gallia 1954:196)
72. Mauriac, S.E. of Escoalier; also a smaller enclosure (DAG)
73. Mons burial near St.Flour (p.86 above)
74. Roffiac (DAG)
75. Ruines; several enclosures edpecially Clavières and Montagne (DAG)
76. St.Victor-sur-Massiac (Gallia 1955:183)

77. Salesses burial at Saint-Simon (p.86 above)
78. Scorailles or Escorailles (DAG)

CHARENTE
79. Brigeuil (DAG)
80. Cellefrouin (ibid)
81. Chadurie (ibid)
82. Challignac, a big enclosure (ibid.)
83. Champagne-Mouton, Confolens (ibid.)
84. Chasseneuil, 2 enclosures (ibid.)
85. Chassiecq, enclosure 95 x 134 x 110 x 140m (ibid)
86. Le Lindois (ibid)
87. Loubert cne St.Claud sur le Son (ibid)
88. Magnac-sur-Touvre (ibid)
89. Merpins (Gallia 1963:435; 1961:423f; Piveteau and Quesnel 1963)
90. Soyaux (DAG)

CHARENTE MARITIME
91. Étaules, Ile de Brèze (Gallia 1967:246)
92. Lussant (Gallia 1971:259)
93. Marignac 'hillfort' (p.119 above)
94. Moragne l.d. la Pilette, a 'camp' (Gabet 1966)
95. Pons (Gabet 1966; Gallia 1965:357-8)
96. St.Bris-des-Bois (DAG)
97. St.Just, Pépiron (Gabet 1969)
98. St.Hippolyte salt works (Gallia 1965:358)
99. St.Séverin sur Boutonne, Loulay (DAG; Gabet 1966: murus Gallicus)
100. Saintes (Gallia 1971:260f)
101. Thairé-d'Aunis salt works (Gallia 1969:270)
102: Thenac (DAG)
103: La Vallée (Gallia 1967:254, salt works)

Not on the map: la Rochecourbon, Parc du Château (Gabet 1966)

CHER
104. Ménétréol⊖sur-Sauldre (DAG; Buchsenschutz 1968)
105. St.Thibault (Gallia 1963:393f)

See map B1 for: La Groutte
Châteaumeillant
Camp de la Haute Brune, Allogny
La Touratte, Dun le Roi
Farges en Deptaine
la Motte, Gron=
Camp de Chou, Maubranches (Moulins-sur-Yèvre)
Sury-es-Bois
St.Loup des Chaumes
Sidiailles
Baugy (Alleant)
Ineuil, Boisroux
Marçais
Morthomiers, les Bordes
St.Satirnin
Bourges
Sancerre

CORREZE
106. le Châtelet (lamazière-Basse) (Gallia 1949:128-9)
107. Charlat, Ussel (Cotton and Frere 1961)
108. Camp d'Espartignac (ibid.)
109. Camp de Fenouillac, St. Etienne aux clos (ibid.)

110. Feyt, Eygurande (DAG)
111. Camp de Fontjaloux, cne St.Etienne aux Clos (Cotton and Frere 1961)
112. Margerides
113. Ménoire (DAG)
114. Montceix between Chamberet and l'Eglise-aux-Bois (Joudoux 1964)
115. la Moutte, Sérandon (Cotton and Frere 1961)
116. Naves (DAG)
117. Pont-Maure, Rosiers-d'Egletons (Cotton 1962)
118. Puy du Chalard, (DAG; Cotton and Frere 1961)
119. Puy de Sermus cne St.Gemièz ô Merle, 4.58 hectares (Cotton and Frere 1961)
120. Puy du Tour, Monceaux (DAG; Murat 1962, 1967)
121. Puy d'Yssandon (DAG; Cotton and Frere 1961)
122. La Roche-Près-Feyt (DAG)
123. Roche de Vio, between Ménoire and Albussac (DAG; Cotton and Frere 1961; Gallia 1973:427)

COTE D'OR

124. Alise-Sainte-Reine
125. Ancey-et-Mâlain (Gallia 1968:473)
126. Auxey-le-Grand (DAG); Mont-Meilland = Meursault.
127. Bar-le-Régulier (ibid)
128. Béneuvre (ibid.)
129. Bligny-sur-Ouche (ibid.)
130. Champignolles-les-Hospitaliers (ibid)
131. Charrey-sur-Seine (ibid.)
132. Corgloin (ibid.)
133. Corsaint (ibid.)
134. Courlon (ibid.)
135. Époisses (ibid)
136. Essarois (Gallia 1966:381)
137. Etaules (DAG)
138. Fraignot-et-Vesvrottes (ibid.)
139. Genlis (ibid)
140. Grésigny-Sainte-Reine.
141. Grignon (DAG)
142. Manlay nr Troncoy (ibid.)
143. Mont Affrique, Flavignerot - Corcelles (ibid.)
144. Mont Lassois (Vix) (Gallia 1953:312f; 1970:371)
145. Montmoyen at Châtellenot (DAG)
146. Nuits, les Bolards (DAG)
147. St.Germain le Rocheux and forêt de Châtillon (Gallia 1960:339f)
148. St.Germain-sources-Seine (Gallia 1964:316ff)
149. Vertault, Laignes (DAG; Gallia 1958:308f)

Not on the map: Bois-Vert (Lavilleneuve) (Duval 1959)

CÔTES DU NORD

CREUSE

150. Aubusson, l.d. Chastres (Gallia 1973:423)
151. Bonnat (DAG)
152. Châteauvieux cne Pionnat (Gallia 1947:462)
153. Châtelus-Malvaleix on the river (Martin 1904)
154. Crozant (Gallia 1971:315)
155. Linard (Martin 1904)
156. Puy de Gaudy, cne Ste Feyre, 560 x 225m (DAG)
157. St.Georges-Nigremont (DAG)
158. St.Vaury at Masbrenier or Mont Bernage (ibid.)
159. Thauron (Gallia 1947:462)
160. Toulx-Ste.Croix (DAG)
161. Villard (l.d. Pont de l'Enfer) (Martin 1904)

Map B1 : Lourdoueix - St. Pierre

DORDOGNE

162. Atur, St.Pierre de Chignac (DAG)
163. Coulounieix-Chamiers l.d. la Curage (Gallia 1971:351)
164:Monsac, 35.50 x 5m (DAG)
165. Nailhac, nr bourg Chapelle St.Jean and another at Tours de Narbone (DAG)
166. Neuvic-sur-l'Isle, éperon barré 53 x 40m (DAG)
167. Proissans (DAG)
168. St.Barthélemy-de-Bussière (ibid.)
169. Ste.Eulalie-d'Eymet (ibid.)
170. St.Géraud-de-Corps (ibid.)
171. St.Médard-de-Mursidan
172. St.Pardoux-et-Vielvic, Belvès (DAG)
173. Tarasson, Mas de Montmège (DAG)
174. Urval, on la Bessède (ibid.)

DOUBS

175. Bart, Gallo-Roman ? 700 x 150m (DAG)
176. Baume-les-Dames (ibid.)
177. Besançon = Vesontio.
178. Byans, Boussières (DAG)
179. Fontaine-les-Clerval (ibid.)
180. Guyans-Vennes, Roman? (ibid.)
181. Mathay
182. Myon (DAG)
183. Rancenay (ibid)

DROME

184. le Pègue (Gallia 1966:512-4; 1968:526ff; 1968:589ff)
185. Roussas (DAG)
186. Vercoiran (Gallia 1966:515-7)

EURE

187. Evreux, camp du Châtellier (DAG); town : Gallia 1971:342.

EURE ET LOIRE

188. Chastres (Gallia 1970:253; 1972:313f)
189. Prudemanche, Dreux (DAG)

FINISTERE

190. Landéda island Guennoc (Gallia 1961:351)
191. Locquirez (Gallia 1961:351)
192. Meilars, ? aedificium (Gallia 1951:90f)
193. Plogastel-St.Germain (DAG; Gallia 1971:244)
194. Plouégat-Guérand (DAG)
195. Plounéventer (Gallia 1963:340f)
196 le Ponthou (DAG)
197. Tronoën at Saint-Jean-Trolimon.

GARD

198. Brignon, Vezenobres (DAG; Gallia 1971:390)
199. Calvisson, la Liquière
200. Gaujac, oppidum st.Vincent (Gallia 1971:392)
201. Méjannes-le-Clap (DAG)
202. Mons-et-Monteils oppidum Vié-Cioutat (Gallia 1971:392f ≒ DAG Mons, 2.80ha.)
203. Montmirat (DAG)
204. Nages-et-Solorgues (DAG; Gallia 1971:393f)
205. Nimes = Nemausus.
206. Remoulins (DAG)
207. la Roque (DAG)
208. Ste. Anastasie (DAG)
209. St.Bonnet (DAG)

210. St.Laurent de Carnols, 25 ares (DAG)
211. oppidum st,Maur at Montfaucon (Gallia 1971:393)
212. Salinelles (DAG)
213. Sanilhac, 2.81 ha. (DAG)
214. Sauve (ibid.)
215. Villevieille (ibid.)

HAUTE GARONNE

216. Auterive (Gallia 1970:409)
217. Toulouse.
218. Vieille-Toulouse.

GERS

219. Monties - Aussos (DAG)
220. Roquelaure (Gallia 1970:422)

GIRONDE

221. Bellefond, Targon (DAG)
222. Bordeaux (Burdigala)
223. Frontenac, Targon by the stream Engranne (DAG)
224. Grayan, Hallstattian hut floor (Gallia 1969:347)
225. Landiras (DAG)
226. Lugasson (DAG)
227. Mouliets-et-Villemartin
228. Moulon (DAG)
229. St.Etienne-de-Lisse (oppidum)
230. Soulac-sur-Mer
231. Targon, enclosure 300 x 200m (DAG)
232. Vayres

HERAULT

233. Castelnau-le-Lèz (Gallia 1966:464-5; 1971:380)
234. Ensérune at Montady (DAG)
235. Montfo, Magalas (DAG; Gallia 1969:396; 1971:384)
236. Murviel (DAG)
237. Plaissan, oppidum St Gervais (Gallia 1971:386)
238. Rosis, oppidum (DAG; Gallia 1969:399)
239. St.Chinian (DAG)
240. Saturargue, oppisum (DAG)
241. Vic la Gardiole, oppidum la Roubine (Gallia 1969:401)
242. Villetelle oppidum Ambrussum (Gallia 1971:388; 1969:401)

INDRE

243. Ingrandes (DAG; Buchsenschutz 1968)
244. Martizay along the Indre.
245. Mérigny burial, or ritual deposit.

See map B1 for:

Levroux
Moulins-sur-Céphons
Murs
Saciergues-Saint-Martin
Ste.Sévère, la Châtre
Velles
Chaillac
Luant
Meunet-Planches
St.Marcel
Niherne
Pouligny-Notre-Dame
Rivarennes
Villedieu-sur-Indre
Brives

INDRE ET LOIRE
246. Amboise
247. Cinais, 4 quadrangular enclosures (DAG)
248. Pont de Ruan (DAG)
249. Vernou-sur-Brenne.
250. Tours (Caesaromagus)

ISERE
251. Annoisan-Châtelans (Gallia 1960:366)
252. Vienne (Gallia 1964:511f)

JURA
253. Barésia, Clairvaux (DAG)
254: Bief-du-Fourg, Nozeroy (DAG)
255. Camp du Château, Salins.
256. Château-Chalon (DAG)
257. Chaussenans (DAG)
258. . Fay-en-Montagne (DAG)
259. Fetigny (DAG)
260. Goux (ibid.)
261. Grand-Châtel, Moirans (ibid)
262. Lavans-les-Romagne (ibid)
263. Lons-le-Saulnier
264. Montmorot (Hallstattian?)
265. Mont Sermus at Baume-les-Messieurs (DAG)
266. Prétin, Salins (Bronze Age? DAG)

LANDES
267. Gâas (DAG)
268. Habas (ibid)
269. Hinx (ibid)
270. Larbey (ibid)
271. Luglon (ibid)
272. Mées (ibid)
273. Sorde-L'Abbaye (ibid)
274. Sarron-St.Agnet (ibid.)
275. Tercis (Gallia 1967:367)

LOIR ET CHER
276. Droué (DAG)
277. Gièvres
278. Lavardin (Montoire)
279. St.Aignan-sur-Cher (DAG)
280. Thésée-Pouillé
281. Viévy-le-Rayé (DAG)

See map B1 for;
Millançay
Neung-sur-Beuvron
Pierrefitte-sur-Sauldre

LOIRE
282. Chazy, cne St.Georges de Baroille.
283. Crêt-Châtelard cne St.Marcel-de-Félines (DAG)
284. Débats-Rivière-d'Orpra
285. Essalois cne Chambles.
286. Joeuvres cne St. Maurice sur Loire.
287. Roanne
288 St.Romain-le-Puy (Gallia 1968:567)

HAUTE LOIRE
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LOIRE ATLANTIQUE
289. Avessac (DAG)
290. Herbignac, camp Arbourg and Coëtcarer oppidum Kerviler (DAG)
291. Prinquiau (DAG)
292. Puceul (ibid)
293. St.Molf (ibid)
294. La Turballe (ibid)
295. Vue (Duval 1959)

LOIRET
296. Les Bordes (Gallia 1972:316)
297. Bromeilles, la Tène I cemetary (Gallia 1972:316)
298. Cenabum - Orleans
299. Cortrat, la Tène I cemetary.
300. Montbouy sanctuary.
301. St.Aignan-des-Gués (Gallia 1972:319)
302. Vrigny (Gallia 1970:254)

LOT
303. Arcambal (Gallia 1972:497)
304. Cabrerets (DAG)
305. Capdenac (Gallia 1962:589; 1968:546)
306. Floirac over the Dordogne (DAG)
307. Luzech, l'Impernal
308. Murcens (Cras) (Déchelette 1914:987; DAG)
309. St.Céré (DAG)
310. St.Denis-lès-Martel at the foot of Puy d'Issoloud (Gallia 1962:593)
311. St. Simon (Gallia 1970:430)
312. Vayrac, Puy d'Issoloud

Not on the map : Graulhet (Gallia 1959:444, uncertain type of enclosure)

LOT ET GARONNE
313. Agen
314. Hauterive, Monclar; éperon barré 150 x 85 m (DAG)
315. Hautevigne (ibid)
316. Monbahus (ibid)
317. Montpouillan, éperon barré 30 ares (ibid.)
318. Nicole, Pech de Berre on the confluence (DAG)
319. Le Puch (DAG)
320. Romestaing, éperon barré 30 ares (ibid)
321. St.Sernin (ibid)
322. Samazan, le Mas-d'Agenais, 40 ares square (DAG)
323. Sos
324. Tonneins (Gallia 1973:466)
325. Tournon (DAG)
326. Varès (DAG)

LOZERE
327. Clapas-Castel cne la Capelle.
328. Fournels (DAG)
329. Gatuzières.
330. Javols
331. Langogne, l.d. Mont-Milan over the Allier (DAG)
332. Roc de la Fare cne Laval-du-Tarn.
333. Saint-Bonnet-de-Chirac oppidum Truc.
334. St.Chély-du-Tarn on St. Côme (DAG)
335. St.Georges-de-Lévéjac.

MAINE ET LOIRE
336. Beauveau (DAG)
337. Chênehutte (ibid.)
338. Forges (ibid.)
339. Gennes (ibid.)
340. le Louroux-Béconnais (ibid)
341. Montguillon, Segré (ibid)
342. la Ségourie, Fief-Sauvin (ibid)

MANCHE
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MARNE
343. Châlons-sur-Marne (Gallia 1971:293)
344. Jalons-les-Vignes (ibid.)
345. Reims (Duricortorum)
346. Suippes (DAG; Duval 1959)

Not on themap : Souppes, a settlement (Gallia 1959:292)

HAUTE MARNE
347. Gourzon (DAG)
348. Lannes (ibid.)

MAYENNE
349. Ste. Suzanne (DAG)
350. Saulges (Gallia 1965:332f)

MEURTHE ET MOSELLE
351. Dommartemont (DAG)
352. Jaillon (ibid)
353. Ludres(ibid)
354. Malzéville (ibid)
355. Maron (ibid.)
356. Messein, camp d'Affrique (ibid.)
357. Montenoy (ibid)
358. Mont . . l'Etroit (ibid)
359. Pannes (ibid.)
360. Romain (ibid.)
361. Saint-Max (ibid)
362. Thélod, Vézelise (ibid)
363. Vaudeléville (ibid)
364. Villers-les-Moivron (ibid.)

MEUSE
365. Bar-le-Duc on cne. Fains (DAG under both place-names)
366. Boviolles (DAG)
367. Sénon (DAG)
368. Savonnières en Woëuvre (DAG)

MORBIHAN
369. Plouharnel (Gallia 1957:198, salt works)
370. Séné (Gallia 1965:337f)

MOSELLE
371. Haselbourg (DAG)
372. Haspelscheidt (ibid)
373. Hommert (ibid.)
374. Metz
375. Tincry (DAG)

NIEVRE
376. Château-Chinon
377. Corancy, l'Huis-l'Abbé
378. Décise (Decetia)
379. Dun-les-Places (DAG)
380. Fou de Verdun
381. Mont Beuvray
382. Mont Dône
383. Nevers
384. Touleur
385. Trois-Vêvres (DAG)
386. la Vieille-Montagne

Not on the map : Outron (Gallia 1970:387-8)

NORD
387. Étrun (DAG)
388. Lille (DAG)

OISE
389. Rouvroy-les-Merles (Gallia 1959:285)

ORNE
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PAS DE CALAIS
390. Arras (DAG)

PUY DE DOME
391. Aulnat
392. Aydat (DAG)
393. Billom (DAG)
394. Bourg-Lastic (Gallia 1963:494: éperon barré, stone rampart partly fused)
395. Chamalières
396. Champgrillot nr Riom
397. Chanturgues
398. Clermont-Ferrand
399. cemetary Cournon-d'Auvergne
400. Côtes
401. Gergovie (Merdogne) at la Roche Blanche
402. Giat et Voingt
403. Lezoux
404. Liozon cne Olloix.
405. Nescchers (DAG)
406. Puy de Corent at Martres-de-Veyre.
407. Puys-de-Voingt
408. St.Just-de-Baffie (Gallia 1965:410)
409. la Tour d'Auvergne, mt Mont Jarrige (DAG)
410. Tourzel-Ronzières

RHONE
411. Amplepuis
412. Lyon (Lugdunum) (Gallia 1966:497)
413. Mardore, Cours (Gallia 1958:363)
414. St.Etienne des Oullières (DAG)

HAUTE SAONE
415. Amage (DAG)
416. Auvet (ibid.)
417. Beaujeu (ibid)
418. Bourguignon-lès-Morey (ibid)
419. Chariez (ibid.)
420. Ehuns (ibid)
421. Etobon (ibid)
422. Fouvent-le-Bas (ibid)
423. Héricourt (ibid.)
424. Meurcourt oppidum (ibid.)
425. Montarlot (ibid.)
426. Navenne (ibid.)
427. Noroy-les-Jussey (ibid.)
428. Port -sur-Saône (ibid.)
429. Purgerot (ibid.)
430. Villers-lès-Luxeuil (ibid.)

SAONE ET LOIRE
431. Azé (Gallia 1964:422)
432. Beaubery (DAG)
433. Châlons-sur-Saône (Cabillonum)
434. Chassey (DAG)
435. Gergy (ibid.)
436. Grury (ibid.)
437. Huilly, Cuisery (ibid.)
438. Mâcon (Matisco) (Gallia 1970:393)
439. Marloux nr Mellecey
440. Mesvres (DAG)
441. Milly (ibid)
442. Mont Dardon (= Uxeau in DAG)
443. Pierreclos (DAG)
444. Rully (ibid)
445. St.Sernin-du-Plain (ibid)
446. St.Symphorien-d'Ancelles
447. Savigny-le-Vieux (DAG)
448. Solutré (ibid)
449. Varennes-les-Mâcon
450. La Villeneuve (DAG)
451. la Vineuse (ibid)

Not on the map: Sainte-Nitasse (Gallia 1968:507; la Tène III settlement)
Clamanges l.d. le Tartre, hut floors la Tène I-II (Gallia 1946:303ff)

SARTHE
452. Allonnes (Gallia 1957:203ff, old 'capital' of the Aulerci Cenomani; small éperon barré oppidum)
453. Allonnes, la Tour aux Fées religious site.(Gallia 1957:203f)

SEINE
454. Paris (Lutetia)

SEINE MARITIME
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SEINE ET MARNE
454. Châteaubleau (Gallia 1970:243)
455. Coulommiers (Gallia 1967:216)
456. Lumigny (Gallia 1961:300)
457. Sammeron (Gallia 1970:245)

DEUX SEVRES
458. la Crèche et Chavagné

SOMME
459. Amiens (Samarobriva)

TARN
460. Alban: c 30 huts cut into the rock, comparable with Montlaurès (Aude); local mining (Gallia 1968:553)
461. Roquecourbe (Gallia 1954:226; 1959:447)
462. St.Sulpice-la-Pointe (Gallia 1962:604)
463. Sorèze, oppidum Berniquant (Gallia 1972:508)

TARN ET GARONNE
464. Castel-Mayran (DAG)
465. Castel-Sarrasin, oppidum Gardalon (ibid.)
466. Caussade, 3 km NW of Fenouillet (ibid.)
467. Caylux (ibid.)
468. Cazes-Mondenard (ibid.)
469. Fenouillet = Caussade, enclosure 250 x 120 x 150m (ibid.)
470. Gensac, St.Nicolas de la Grave (ibid)
471. Ginals (ibid)
472. Montauban (ibid)
473. Montbartier (ibid)
474. Montech (ibid)
475. Monteils (ibid)
476. Montgaillard (ibid)
477. Mothe-Capdeville (ibid)
478. Picquecos (ibid)
479. Puygaillard (ibid)
480. St.Nicolas-de-la-Grave (ibid)
481. Valeilles (ibid)

VAUCLUSE
482. Cavaillon (st.Jacques; Dumoulin 1965)
483. Monieux (DAG)
484. Vedènes (ibid.)

VENDEE
485. Les Lucs (DAG)
486. Mervent (ibid.)
487. Bissotte on the confluence (ibid.)
488. Ste.Hermine (Gallia 1965:368)

VIENNE
489. Anché over the Clain (DAG)
490. Bouresse and Clouère, 2 enclosures (DAG)
491. Charroux (4 enclosures, ibid.)
492. Château-Larcher, oppidum Palerne and others (ibid.)
493. Châtillon-en-Couhé on the Dive, 400 x 100m (ibid.)
494. Camp de Cormouin (Montmorillon) (Duval 1959)
495. Civaux cemetary
496. Genouillé, 2 enclosures (DAG)
497. Gros-Guignon cne. Savigné (Hallstattian cart burial; Déchelette 1914:1061; Joffroy and Bretz-Mahler 1959) (Joffroy 1958)
498. Isle-Jourdain (DAG)
499. Iteuil (ibid)
500. Jardres (ibid.)
501. Mauprevoir on the left bank of the Clain (ibid.)
502. Naintré, Vieux-Poitiers.
503. Poitiers, enclosure c.150 hectares (DAG)
504. Quinçay (DAG); at l.d. Sénéret, Hallstatt cart burial (Joffroy 1958)

Map B1 : Thollet

HAUTE VIENNE
505. Châteauneuf-la-Forêt
506. Jabreilles l.d. Puy-Chalard on the commune border with St.Sulpice-Laurière (DAG)
507. Marval (DAG)
508. Mont Gargan just N of Surdoux (Joudoux 1964)
509. Pierrebuffière (Villa d'Ahtone)
510. Puy St.Etienne
511. St.Denis-des-Murs oppidum Villejoubert at St.Leonard, c.350 ha.
512. St.Gemce
513.St. Nicolas, Chalus (DAG)
514. St.Sulpice-Laurière (Martin 1904)
515. St.Yrieix-la-Perche
516. Verneuil

VOSGES
la Bure, St.Dié (no.517)
518. la Pierre-d'Appel cne Etival-Clairefontaine.

YONNE
519. Arces (DAG)
520. Avallon (ibid.)
521. Avrolles (ibid.)
522. Bussy-le-Repos (ibid.)
523. Champ Cevrais (ibid.)
524. la Chapelle-Vaupelteigne
525. Cheny
526. Gurgy
527. Sens (Agedincum)
528. Serbonnes
529. Tonnerre
530. Vaudeurs (DAG)
531. Villemanoche

JERSEY
532. Frémont (B.W.Cunliffe)

GUERNSEY
533. Jerbourg (B.W.Cunliffe)

The following sites discussed by Duval (1959) are marked on the map but not numbered:

AISNE
Montigny-L8Engrain
St. Thomas
Vermand
Guignicourt
Pommiers
Ambleny
Muret-et-Grouttes
Pont-St.-Mard

CALVADOS
Castillon, Balleroi
Commes
Hollot-les-Bagues, Caumont
Soûmont-St.-Quentin
St.Désir, Lisieux
Moult
Cambremer

COTES DU NORD
Plédran
Trémargat

EURE
Vernon
St.Samson de la Roque
St.Pierre d'Autils
Bouquelon

EURE ET LOIRE
Sorel-Moussel, Anet.

FINISTERE
Cléden-Cap-Sizun
Clohars-Carnoët
Dirinon
Huelgoat

Penhars
Plogoff
Plouénour Lanvern
Pont-Croix
Sizun or Benzec-Cap-Sizun
Pointe de Lostmarc'h
le Folgoët
Ploumoguer
Ergué-Armel
Gouesnach
Primelin
Arzano
Plouay

ILLE ET VILAINE
Comblessac
Landéan
St.Coulomb
le Brulais
St.Brolabre

LOIRE ATLANTIQUE
Le Poulinguen

MANCHE
Carolles, Sartilly
Carteret
le Petit-Celland
Jobourg
Lithaire
St.Jean de Savigny
le Vast
Montebourg

MARNE
la Cheppe

MORBIHAN
Groix
Sauzon
St.Avé
St.Pierre
Plouhinez
Guégon
Nostang
Arzon
Plumelec
St.Aignan
Bienzy
Quistinic
Langonnet

OISE
Bailleu-sur-Thérain = Mont César
Catenoy
Vieux-Moulin

ORNE
Igé
Montmerrei
La Courbe

PAS DE CALAIS
Etrun

SEINE MARITIME
Bracquemont (Limes)
Caudebec
Fécamp
Incheville
St.Pierre-de-Varangeville
Venlettes
Orival
Sandouville
Heugleville-sur- Scie
St.Nicolas de la Taille

SOMME
la Chaussée-Tirancourt
Mareuil-Courbet
Liercourt
l'Etoile
Chipilly

## ABBREVIATIONS

Ann.Bret. : Annales de Bretagne

BSFN : Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique.

BSNAF : Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France.

CAHB : Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry.

JHS : Journal of Hellenic Studies.

JRS : Journal of Roman studies.

MSAC : Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre.

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

MUSSB : Mémoires de l'Union des Sociétes Savantes de Bourges.

PBSR : Papers of the British School at Rome.

RAC : Révue archéologique du Centre.

RAECE : Révue archéologique de l'est et du centre-est.

RBN : Révue Belge de Numismatique.

RN : Révue Numismatique.

NC : The Numismatic Chronicle.

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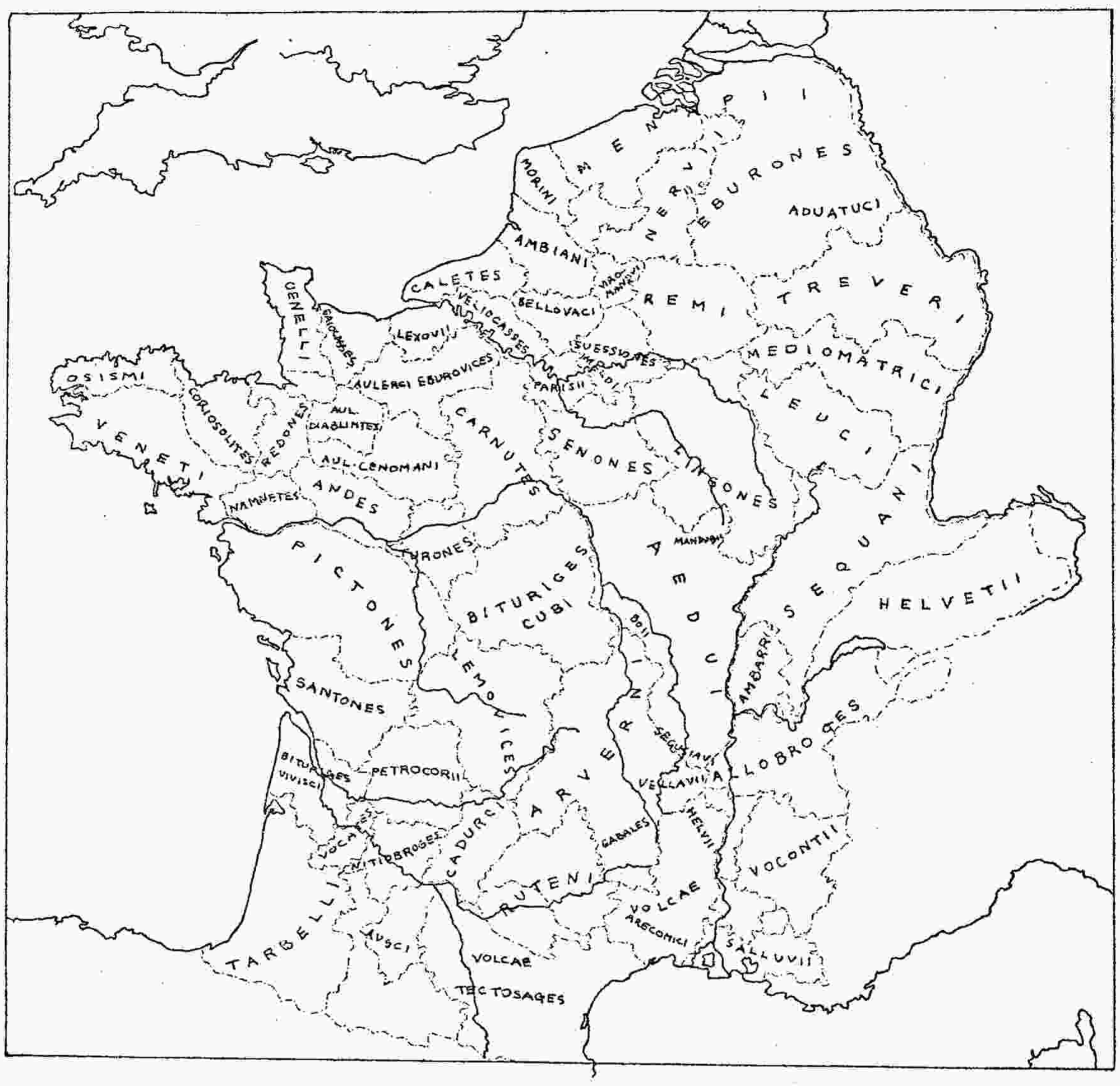
Note: references to qotations or discussions in footnotes are given in the form - N66; to those in appendixes, in the form - III.5.

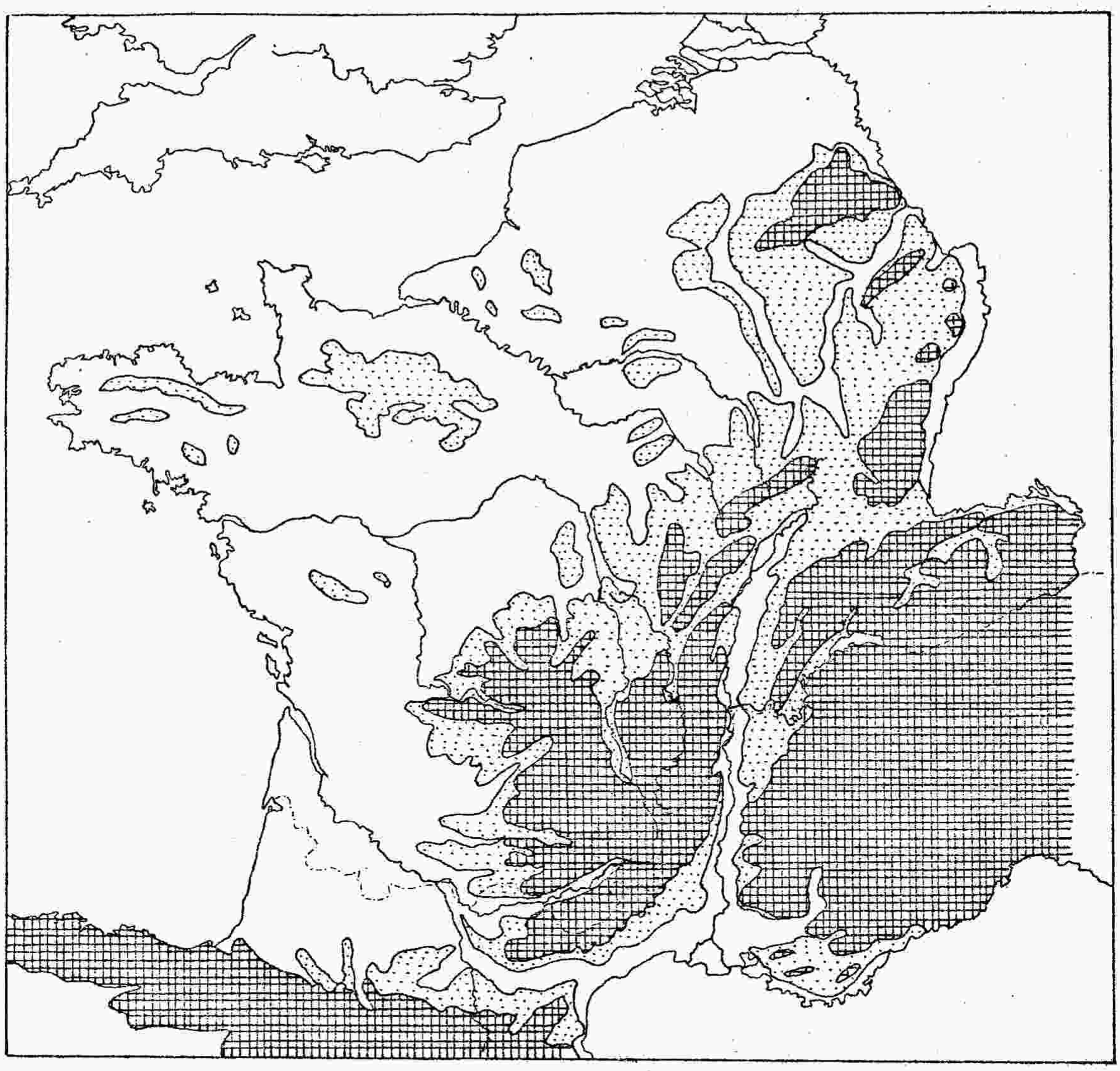
A

# PRINCIPAL GALLO-ROMAN CIVITATES OF MAINLAND GAUL

Redrawn from Jullian (1914)



# RELIEF MAP OF FRANCE



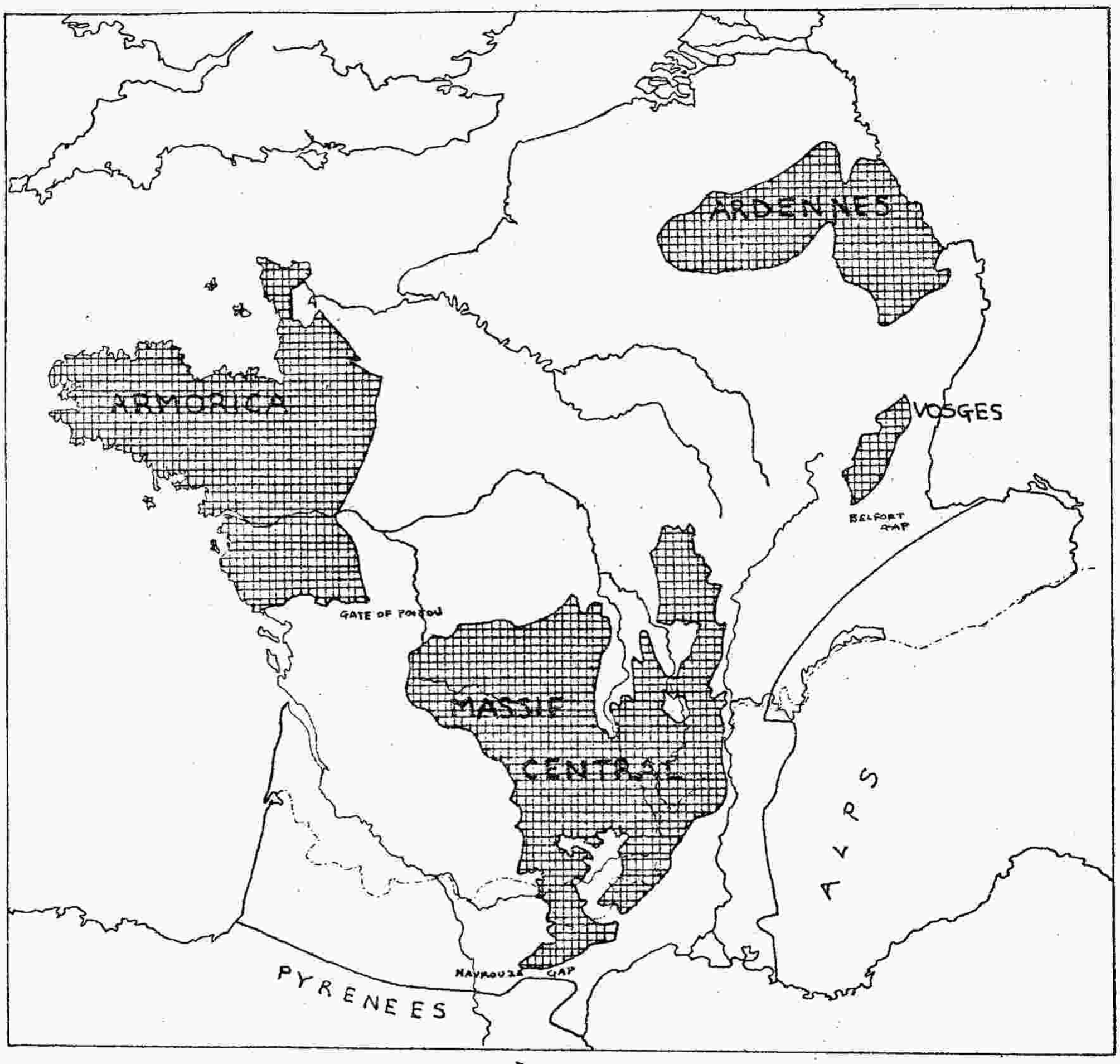
200-500m

over 500m

C

# SCHEMATIC GEOLOGICAL MAP OF FRANCE

Redrawn from France I, Physical Geography, Naval Intelligence Division Geographical handbook series, 1942, p. 2.

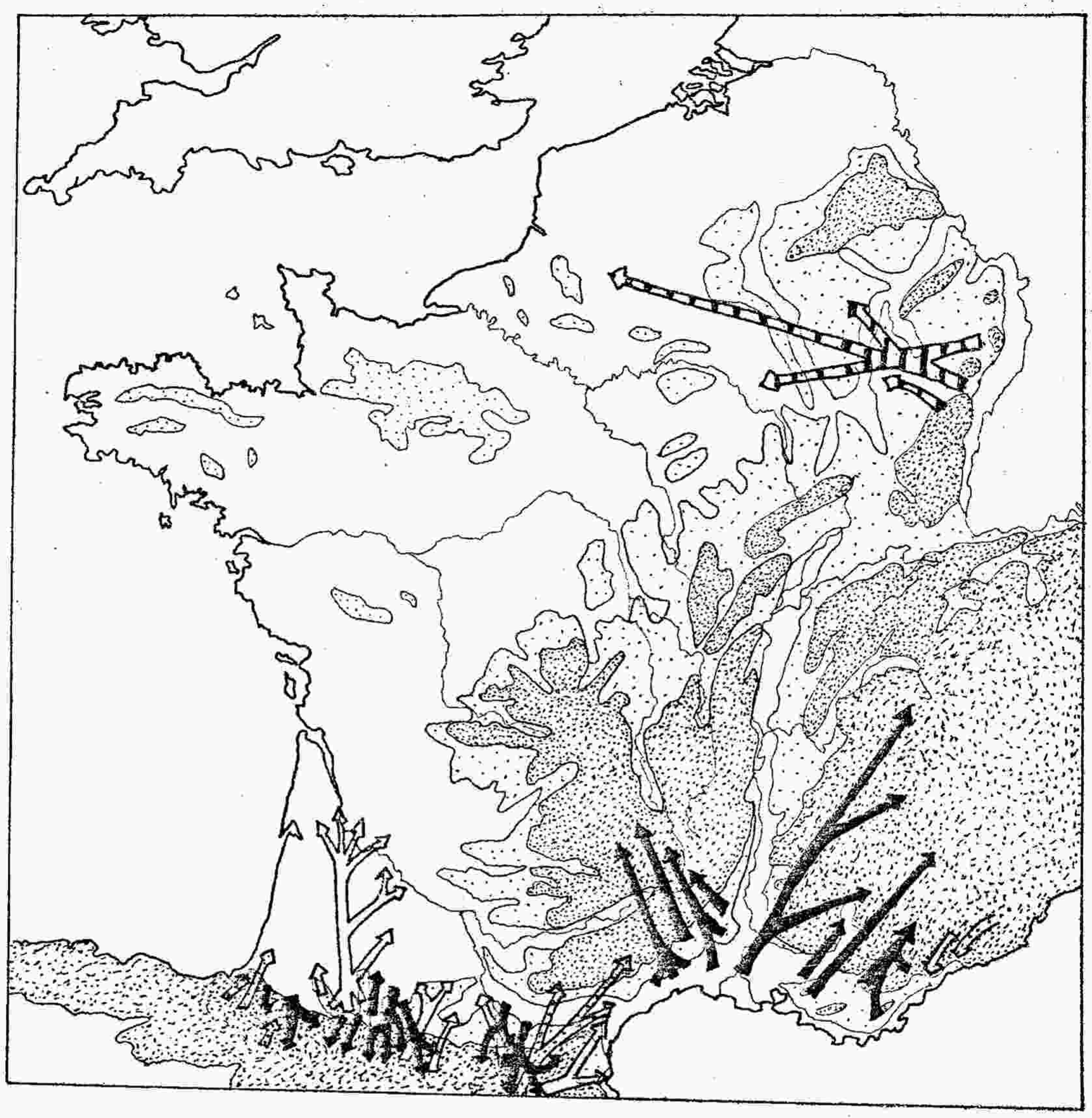



Generalized limits of granitic Hercynian blocks.

# THE FRENCH DEPARTEMENTS.



# FRENCH TRANSHUMANCE ROUTES



⇨ Winter transhumance

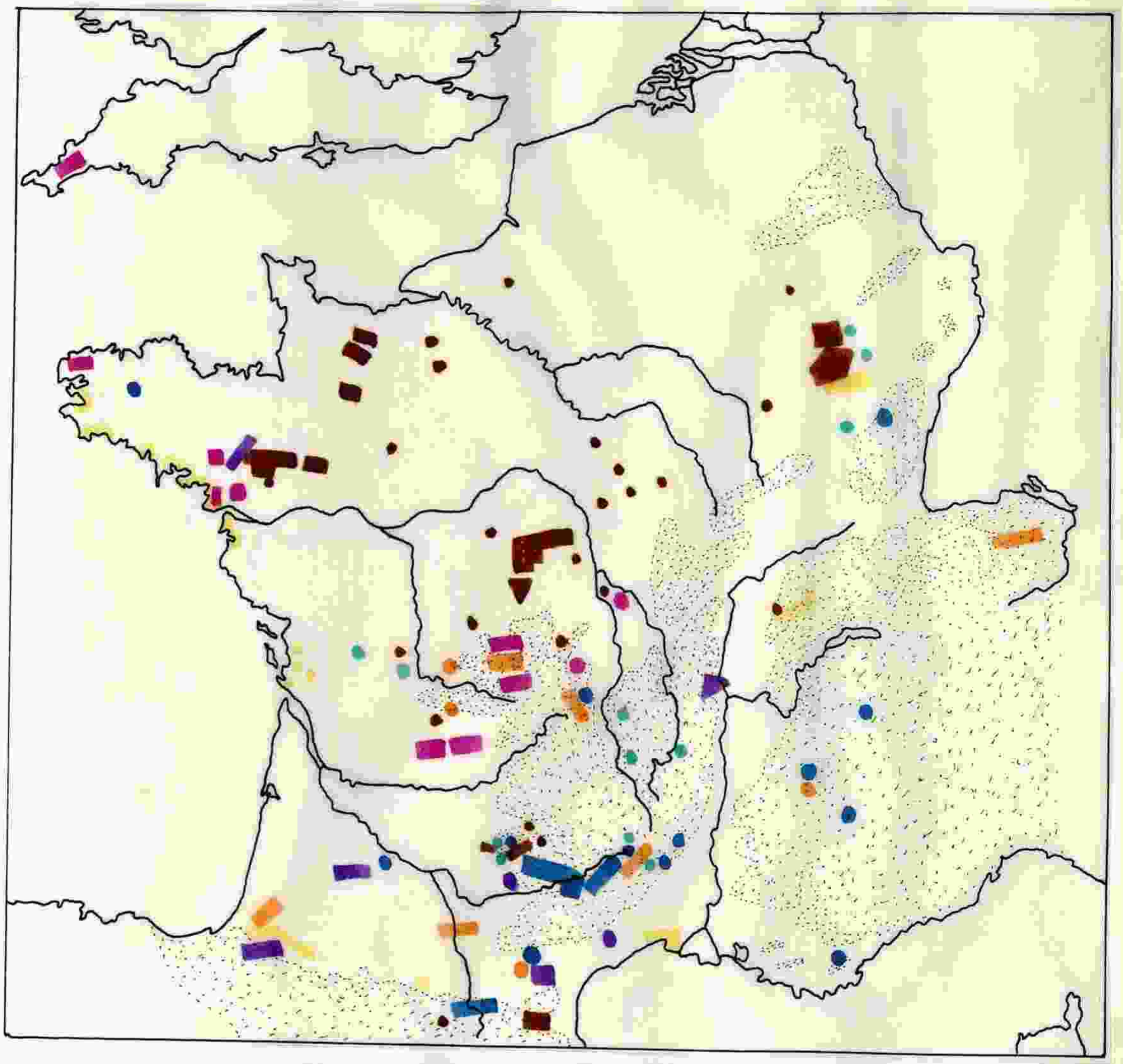
Summer mountain transhumance

plains transhumance

Spanish and Italian sheep

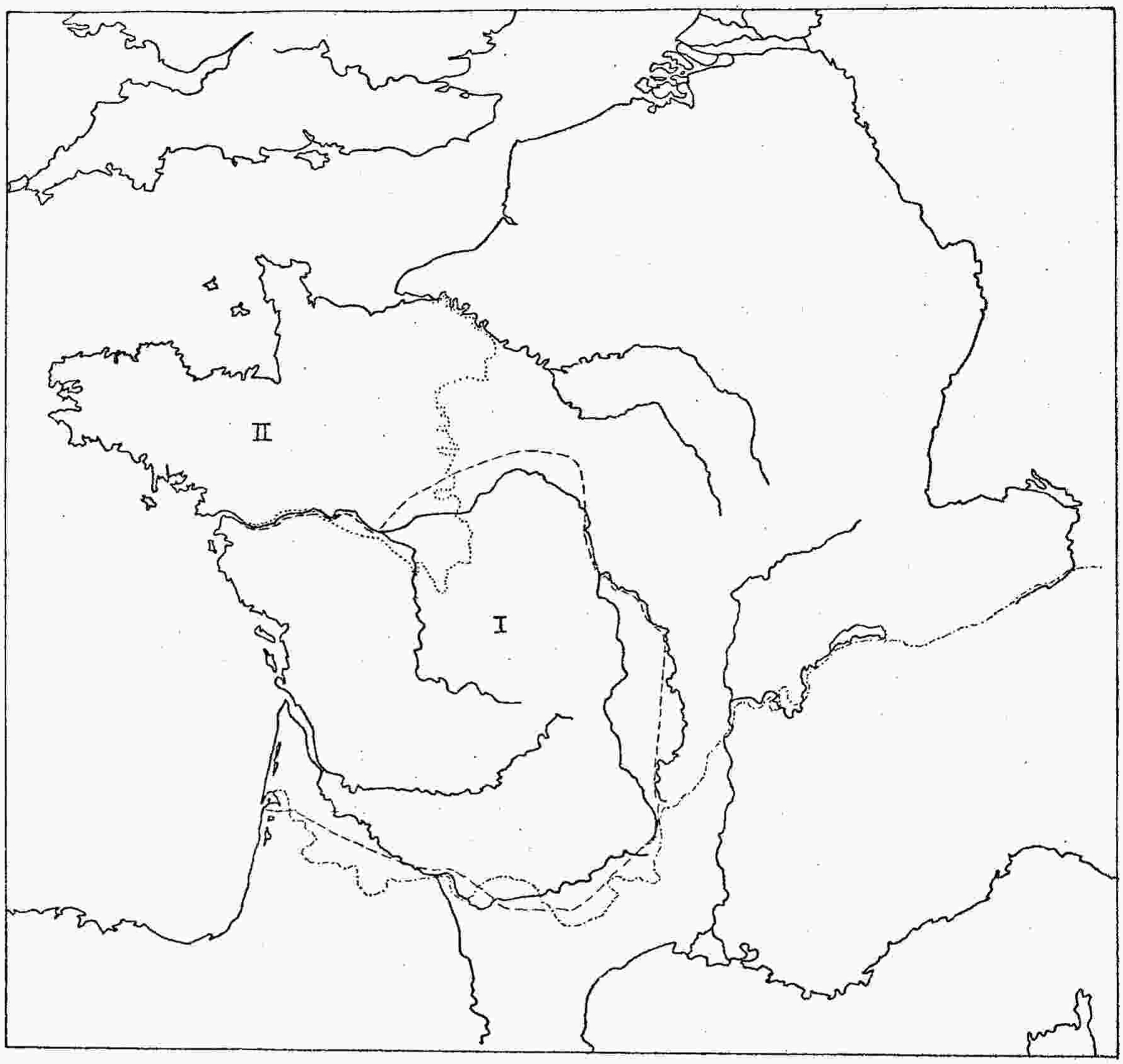
Source: Readers Digest Grand Atlas de la France, 1969.

# MINERAL DEPOSITS OF ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE IN ANTIQUITY



- Gold
- Silver
- Lead-silver
- Iron
- Tin
- Copper
- Salt

# LIMITS OF THE PRESENT STUDY




------ Approximate Roman republican province border

I Approximate limits of the 'Centre' for this study

II Approximate limits of Armorica

# PLATES 1 - 13

## POTTERY

The following illustrations are intended merely to illustrate particular discussions in the text, not to provide in any sense a corpus of pottery types. They have been taken from a number of published sources, many of which did not provide a scale, so that they are not on the same scale; this was unavoidable. In other cases, the scale is given individually.

## Plate 1

1-2 Puy du Tour (Corr.) (Murat 1967)

3. Puy du Tour (Corr.) (Murat 1962)

4. Châteaumeillant (Cher) (Hugoniot and Gourvest 1961)

5. Saint-Gence (Hte.V.) (. Jugé and Dupuy 1969)

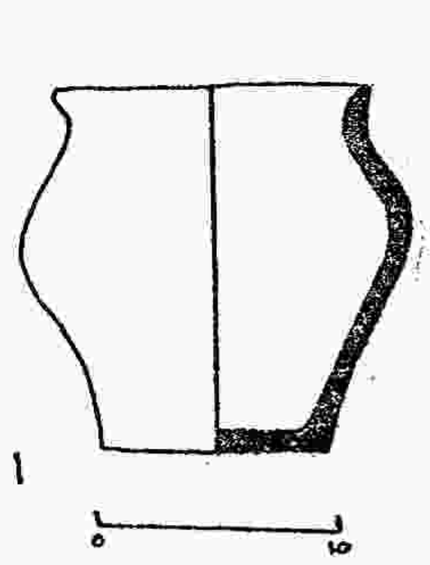
6. Côtes (P.D.) Eychart 1961 no 511)

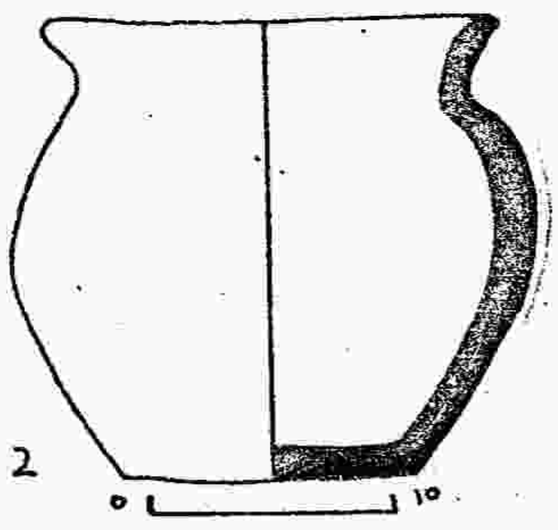
7. Charlat (Corr.) (Vazeilles 1950)

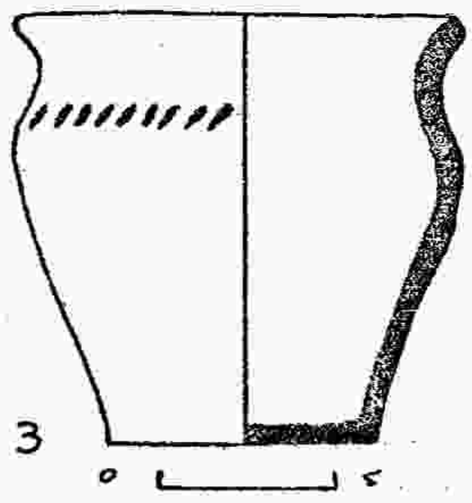
8. Châteaumeillant (Cher, Grange Alexandre) (Gallia 1959:299f)

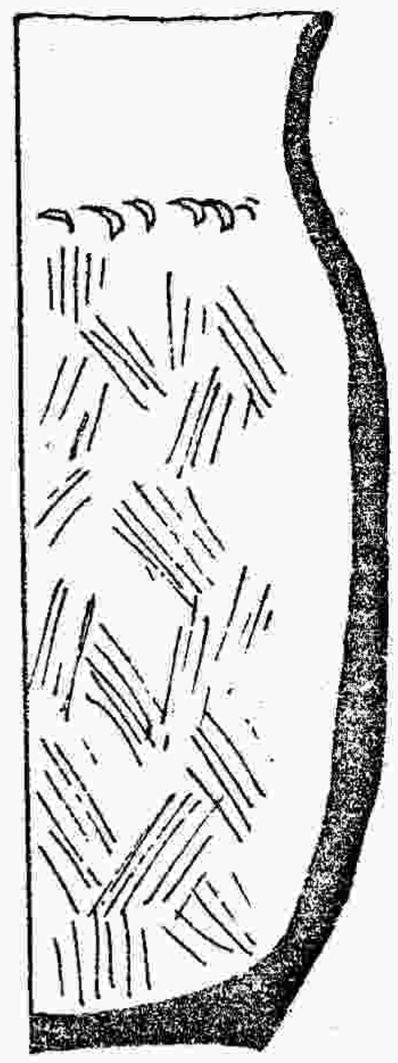
9. as last (Hugoniot and Gourvest 1961)

# COARSE POTS (1): CENTRE

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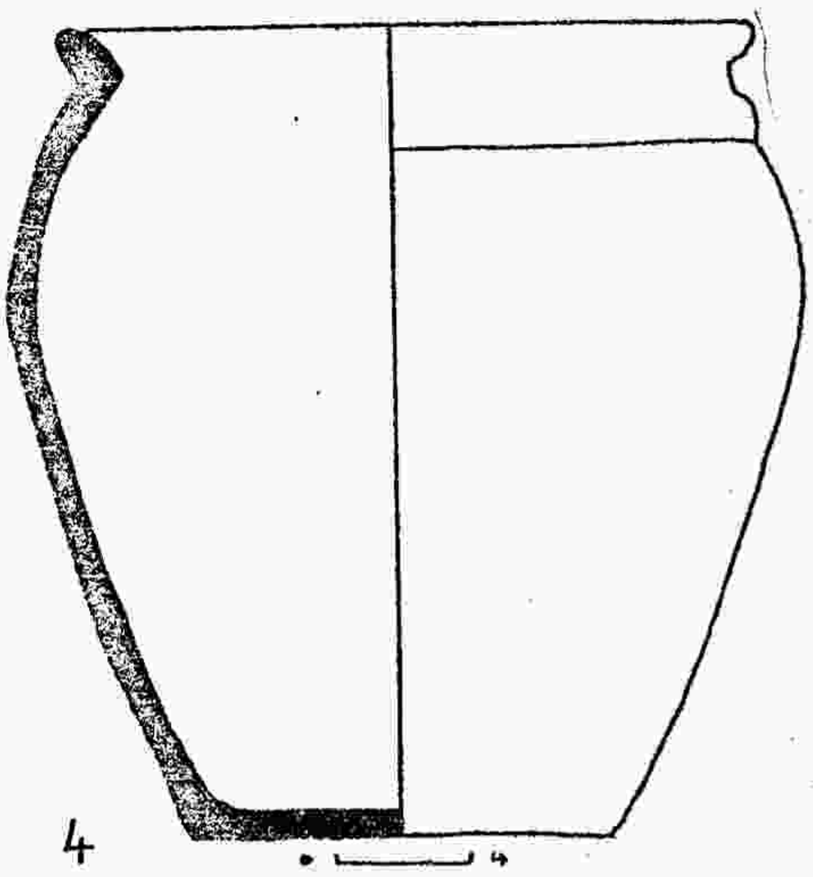


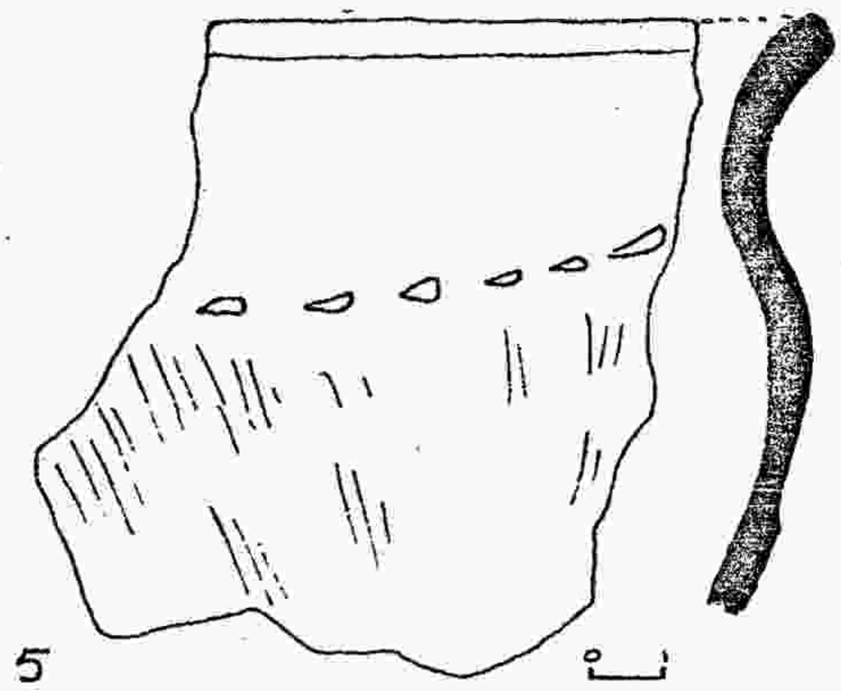


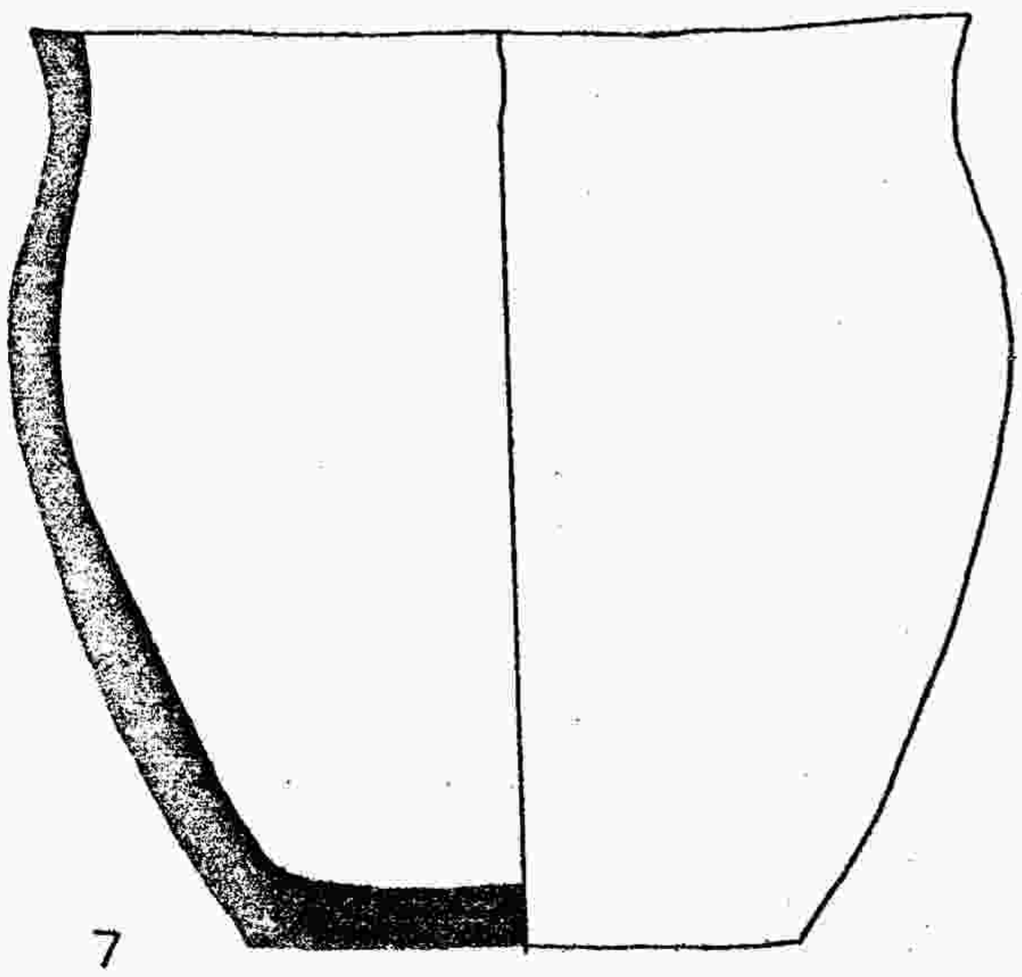


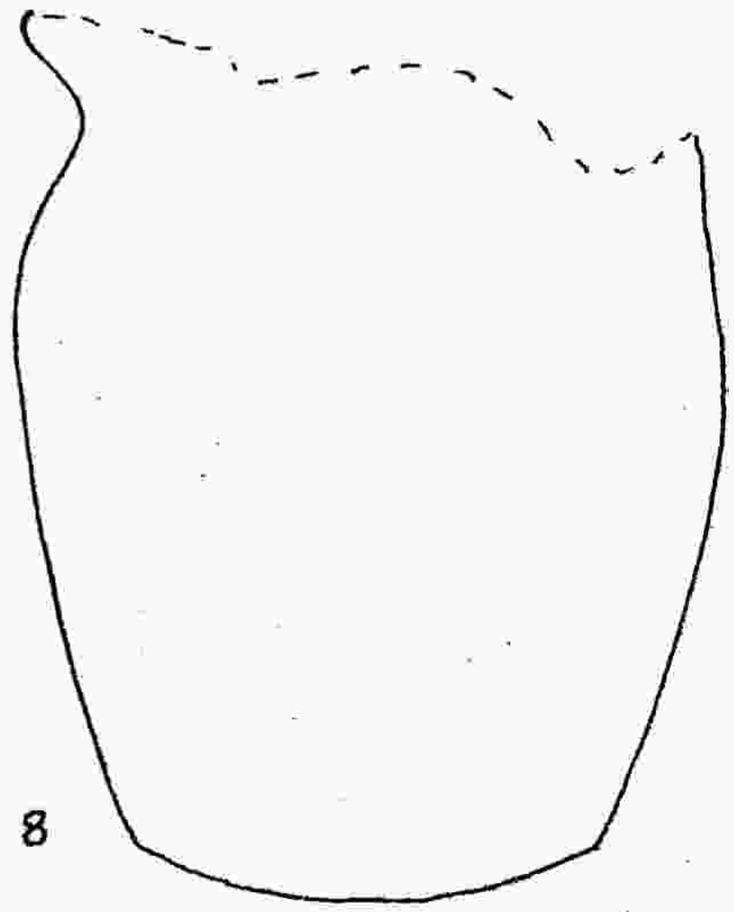


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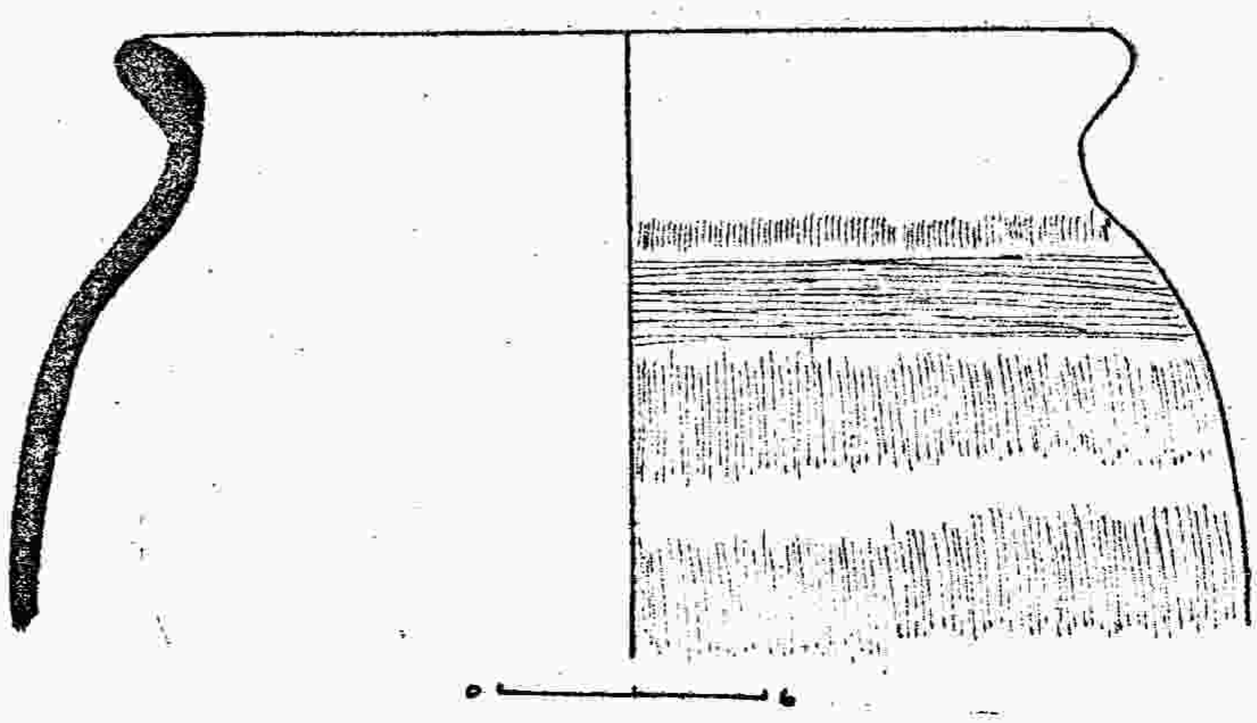
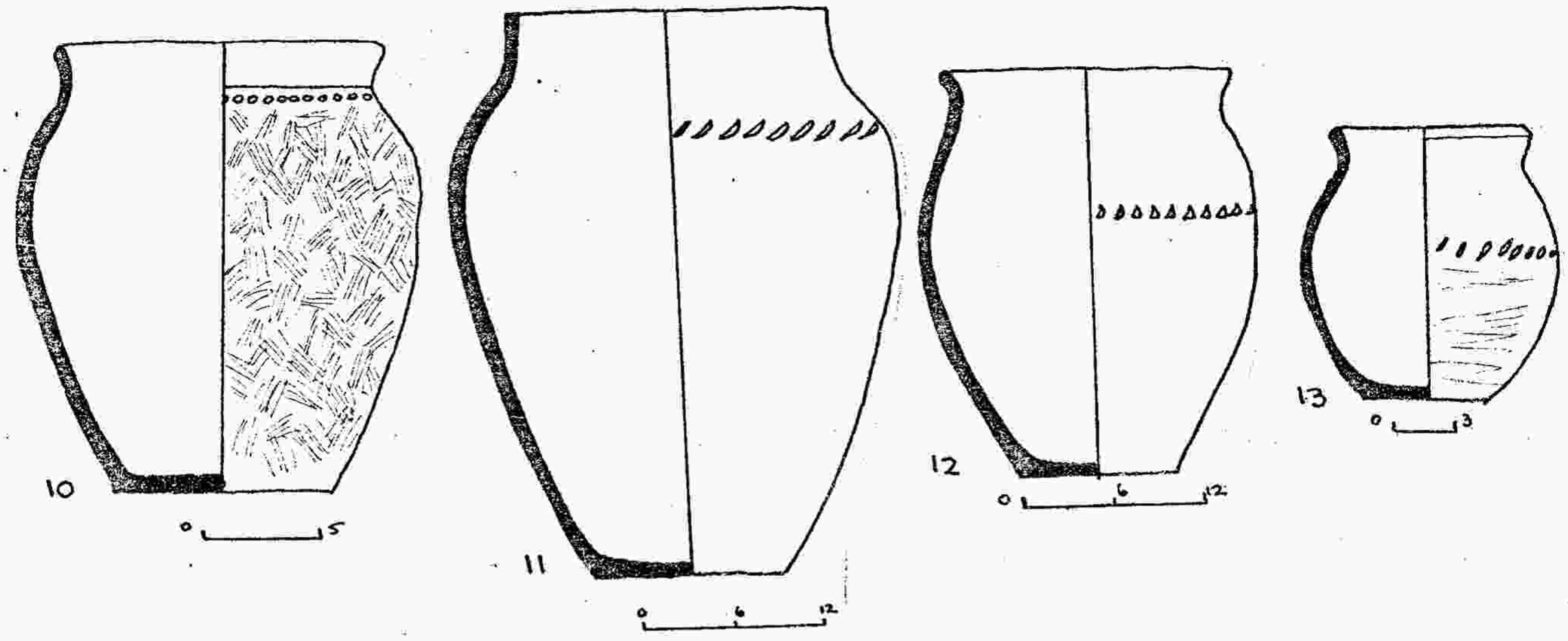


Plate 2.

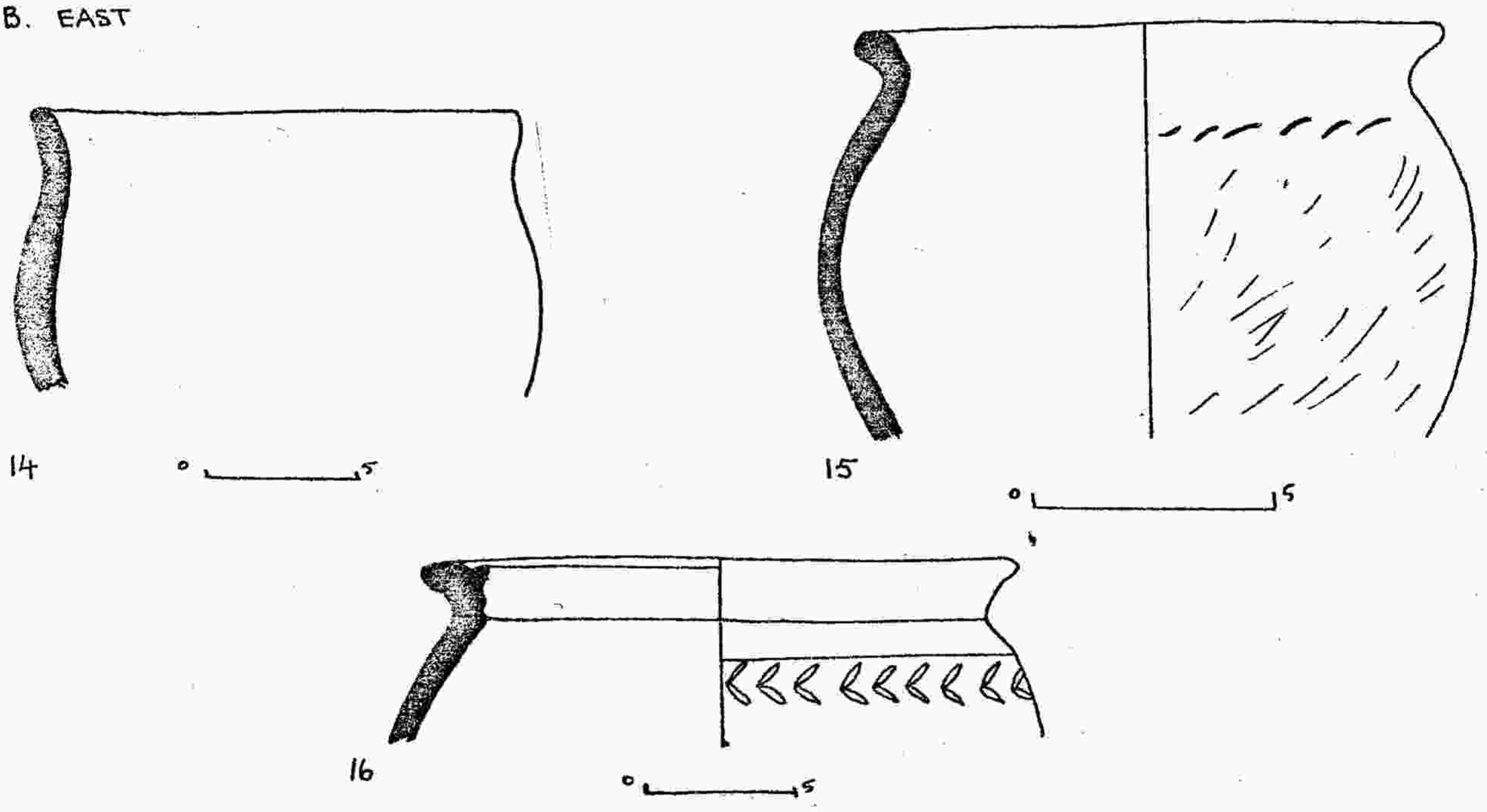
10. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)
11-2 La Roque (Hér.; Larderet 1957)
13. St.Jacques, Cavaillon (Vauc.; Dumoulin 1965)
14. Roanne (Loire; Vernat and Périchon 1970)
15. Varennes-les-Mâcon (S+L; Gallia 1968:503f)
16. Roanne (Loire; Vernat and Périchon 1970)
17. Le Tartre arr. Châlons (S+L; Gallia 1946:303f)
18. La Chapelle-Vaupelteigne (Yonne; Duchatel 1970)
19. Cité des Limes, Neuville-les-Dieppe/Bracquemont (S.Mar.; Mangard 1969)
20. Montjustin (Hte.S.; Gallia 1958:343f)
21. Tonnerre (Yonne; Lacroix 1955)

# COARSE POTS (2) : OUTSIDE CENTRE

A. SOUTH




B. EAST




C. NORTH AND NORTH-WEST

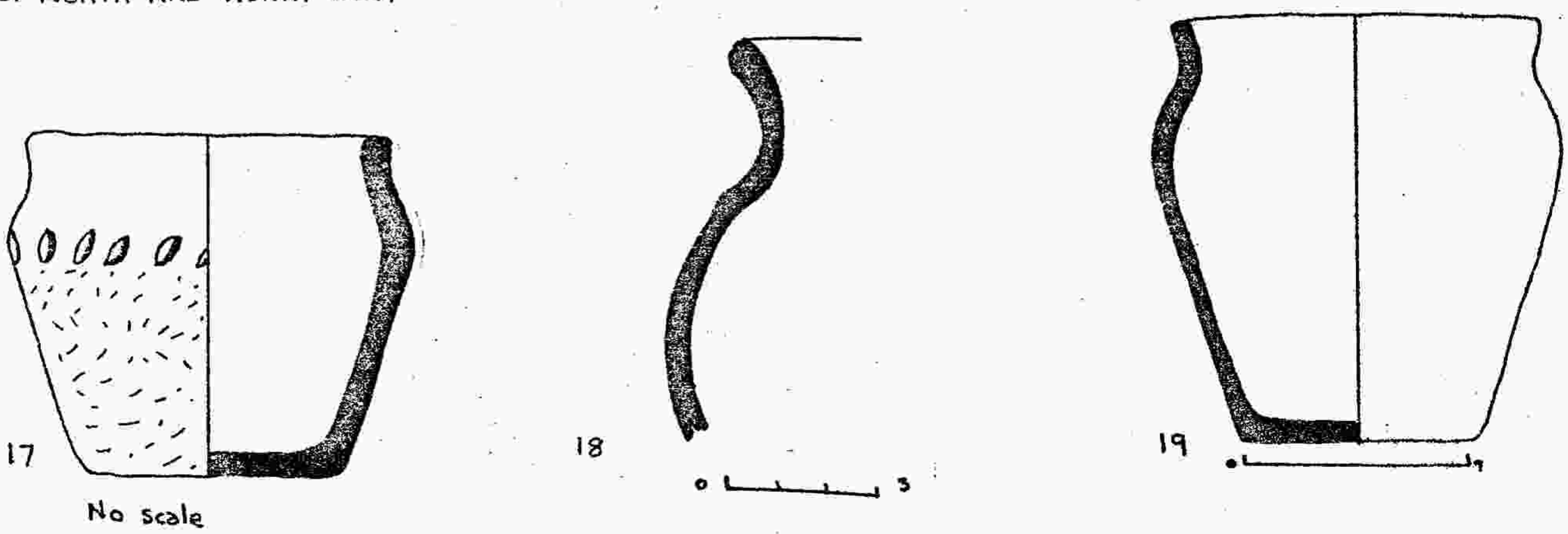
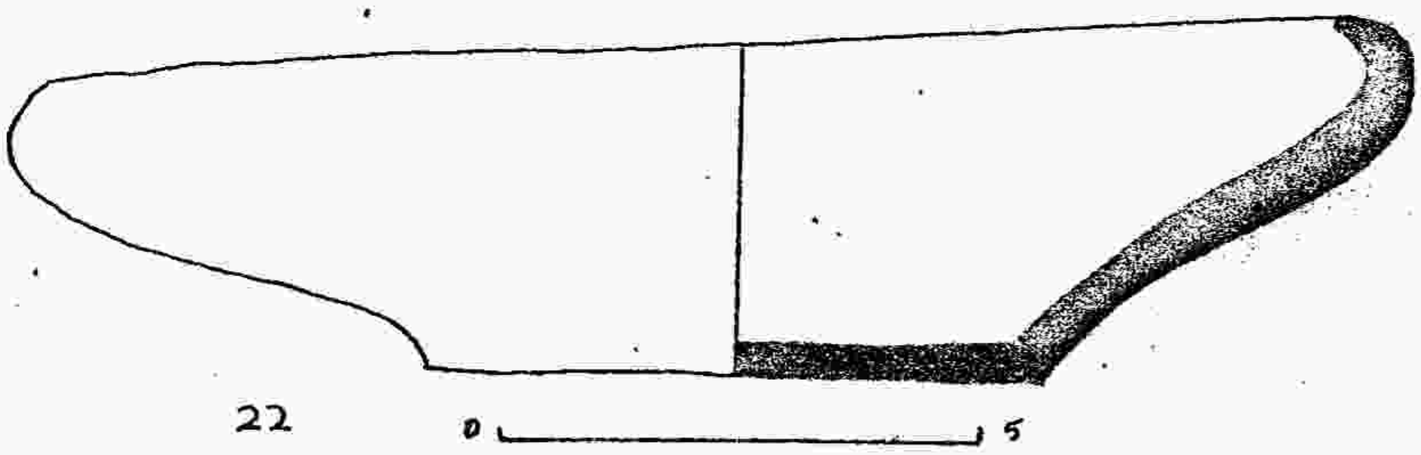
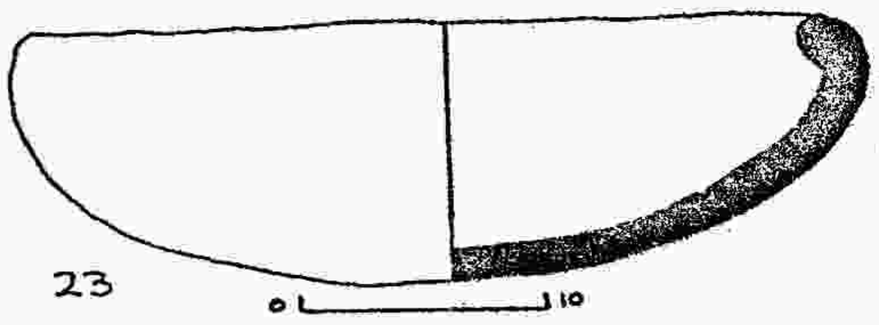


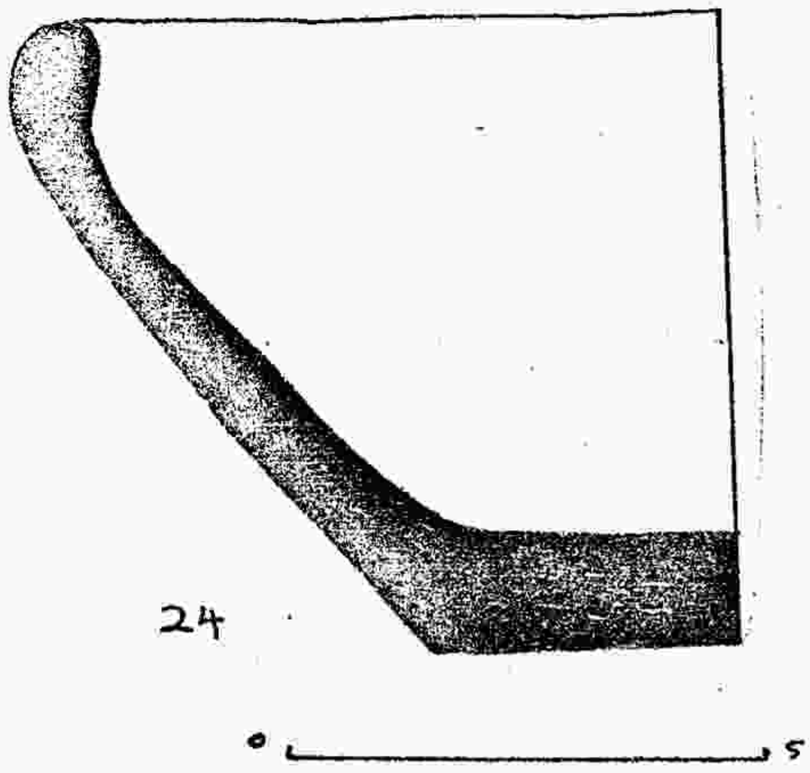
Plate 3.

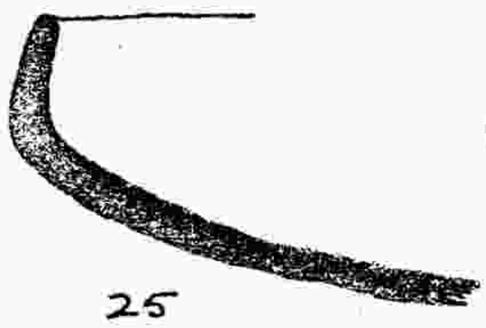
22. Charlat (Corr.; Vazeilles 1950)
23. Puy du Tour (Corr.; Murat 1967)
24. Charlat (Corr.; Vazeilles 1950)
25. Côtes (P.D.; Eychart 1961 no 490)
26. Pont-Maure (Corr.; Ward-Perkins 1941)
27. Mérigny (Indre; Gallia 1955:171f)
28. Châteaumeillant (Cher; Hugoniot and Gourvest 1961)
29. Puy du Tour (Corr.; Murat 1967)
30. as last (Murat 1962)
31. Châteaumeillant (Cher.; jardin Gallerand, Hugoniot and Gourvest 1961)
32-3 Châteaumeillant (Cher, grange Alexandre; Gallia 1959:299f)
34. Chamalières (P.D.; Eychart 1968)

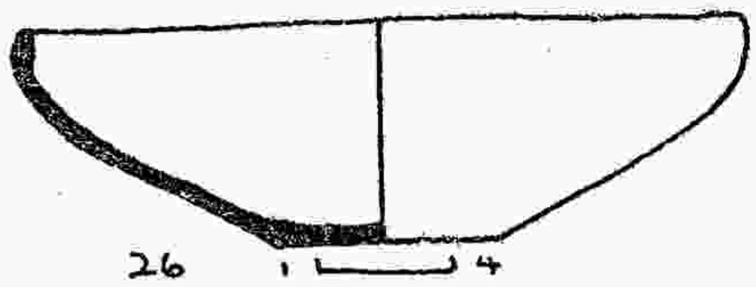
# DISHES (1) : CENTRE

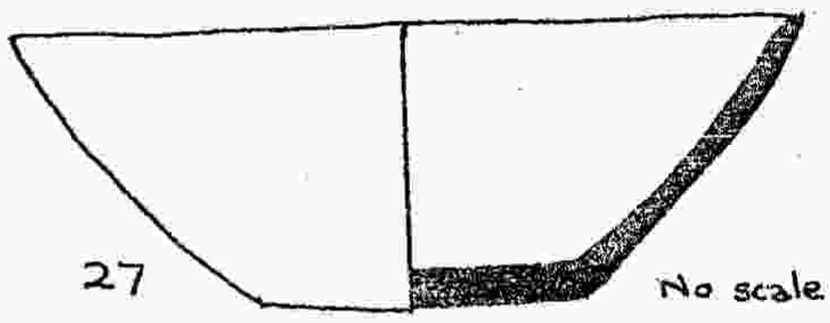


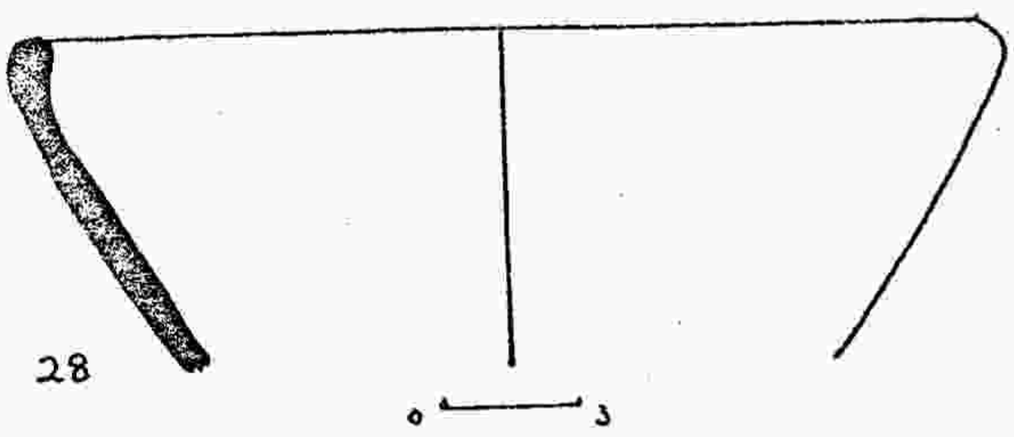



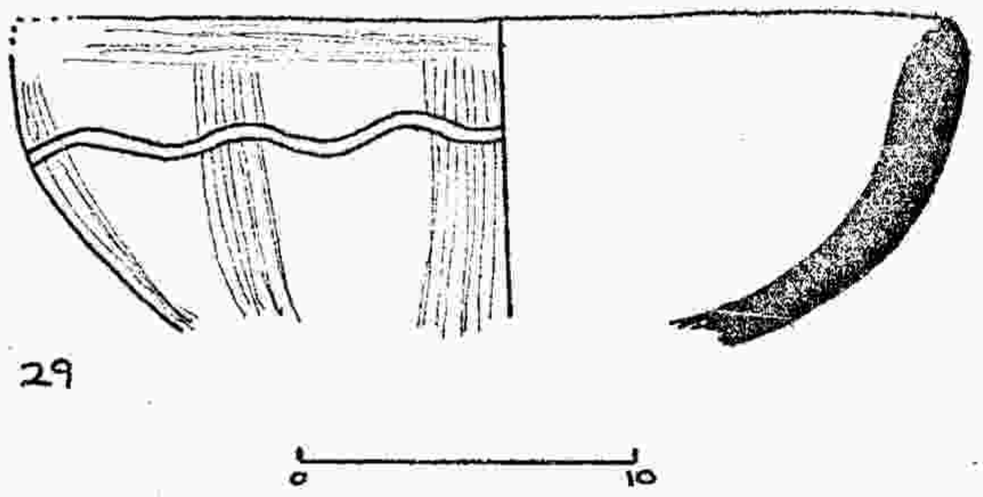



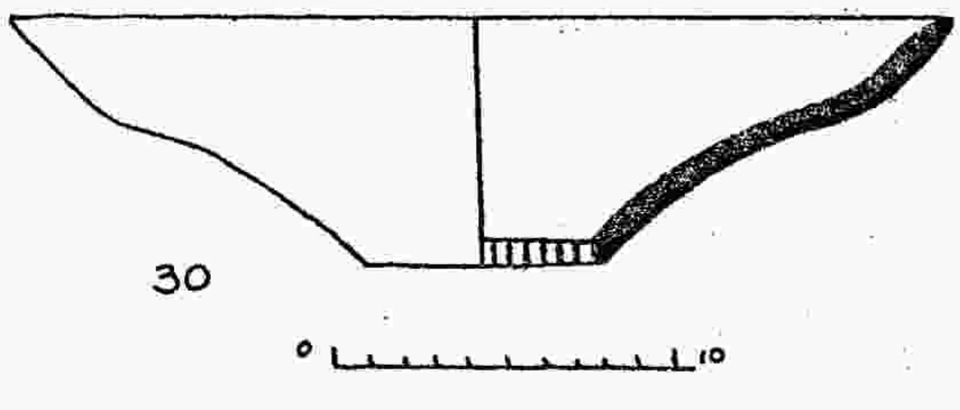



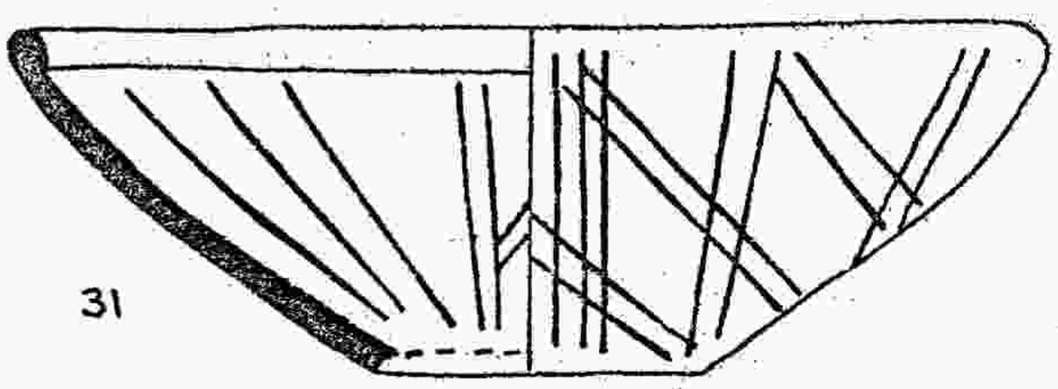



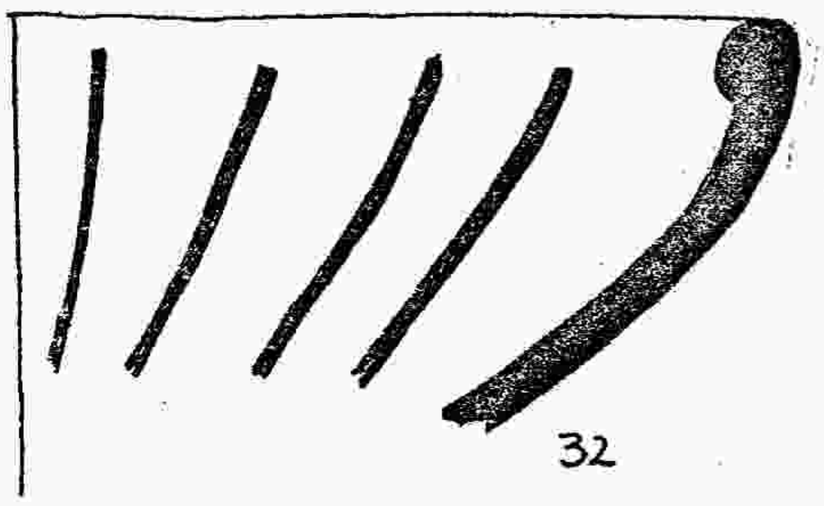



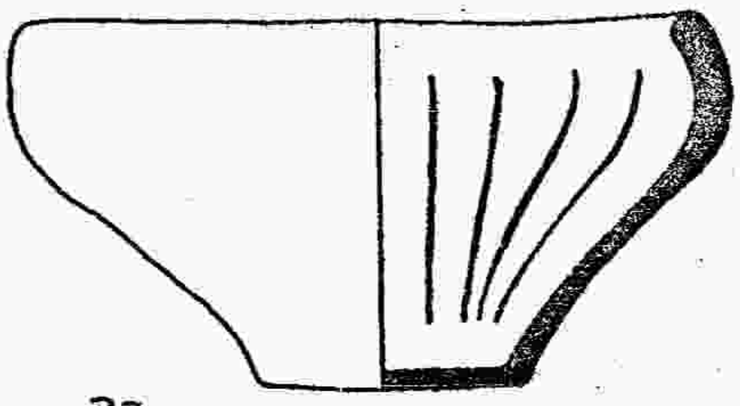





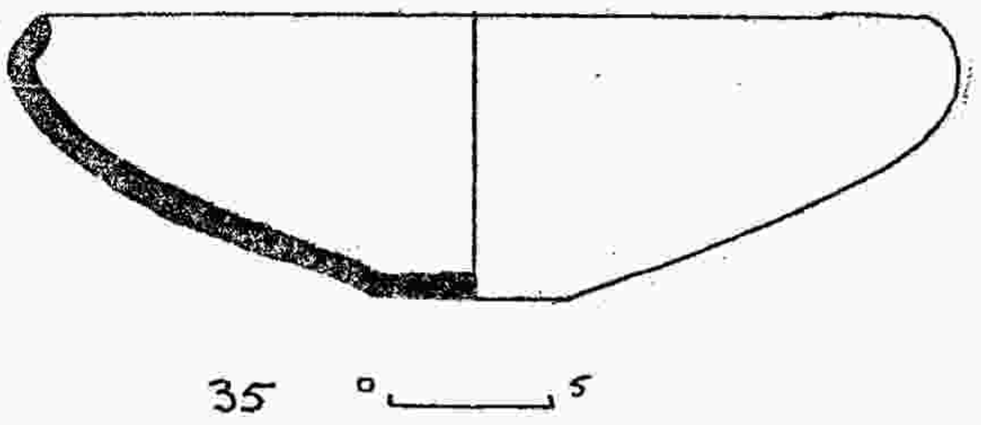

Plate 4.

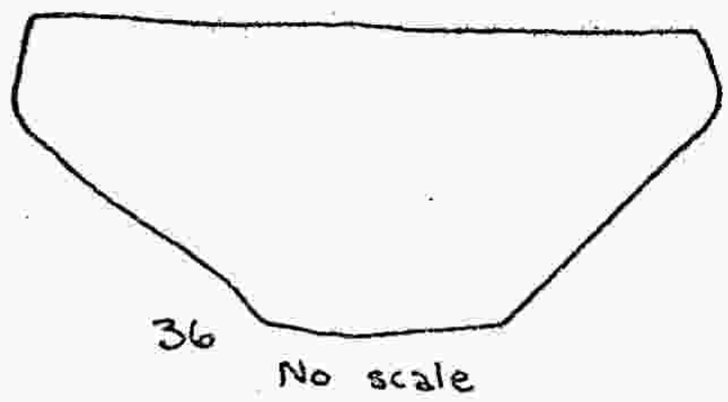
35. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)
36. St.Jacques, Cavaillon (Vauc.; Dumoulin 1965)
37. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)
38. la Roque (Hér.; Larderet 1957)

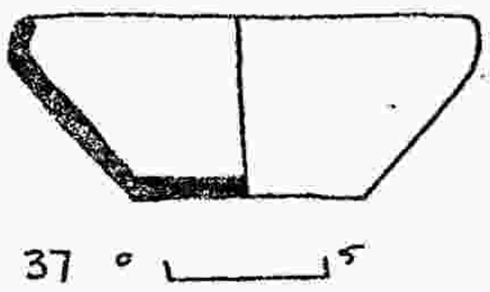
39-40, 43 : Varennes-les-Mâcon (S+L; Gallia 1968:503f)
41. Marloux (S+L; Armand-Calliat 1944)
42. Roanne (Loire; Vernat and Périchon 1970)

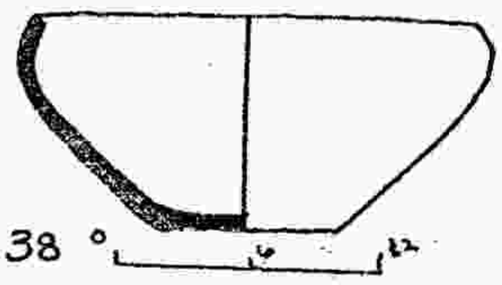
# DISHES (2) : OUTSIDE CENTRE

A. SOUTH

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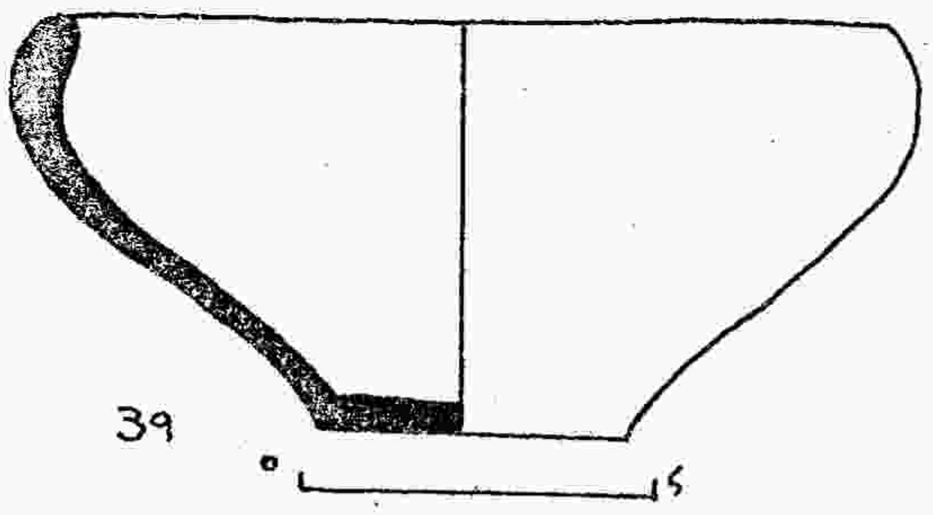
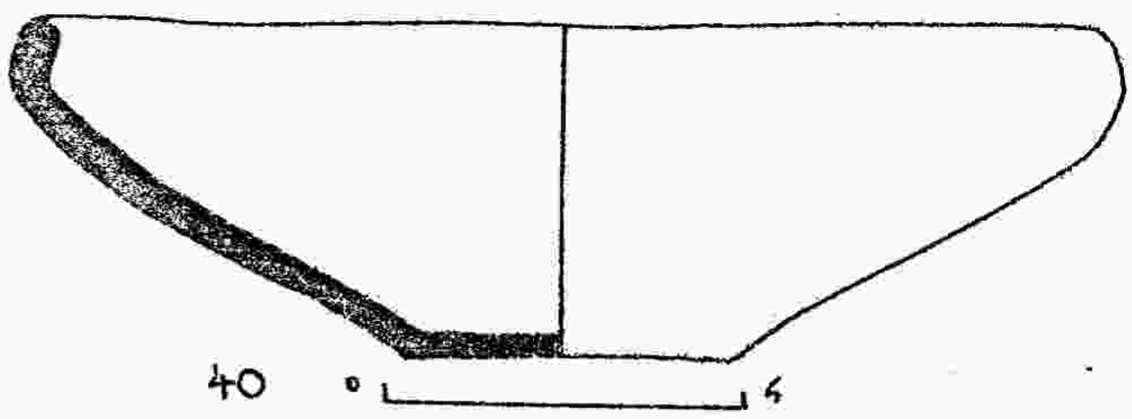
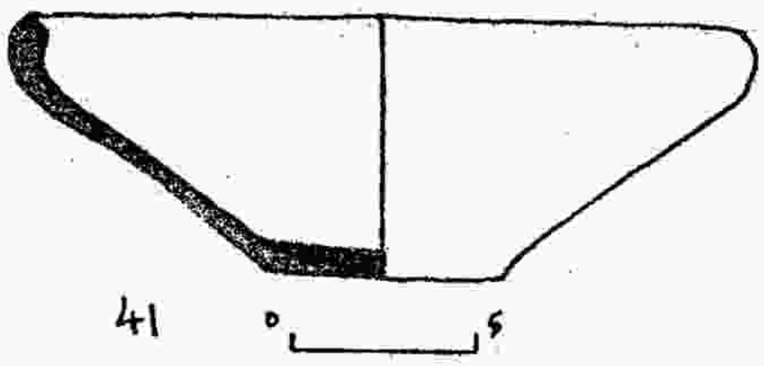
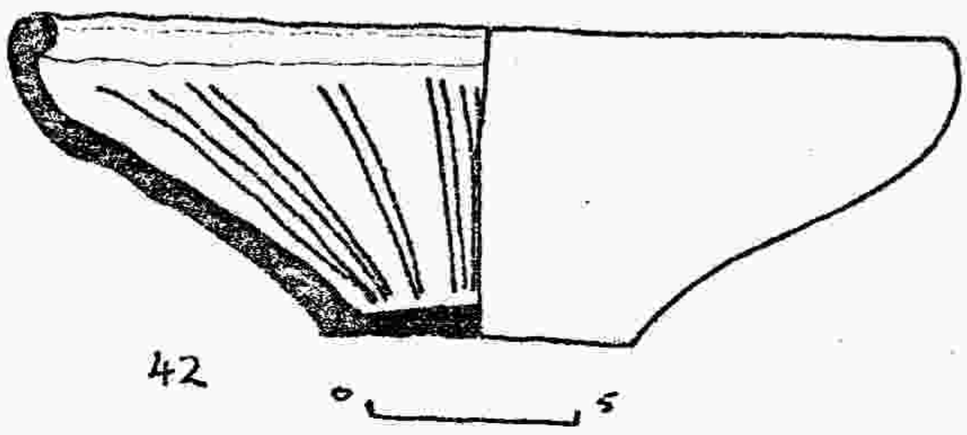
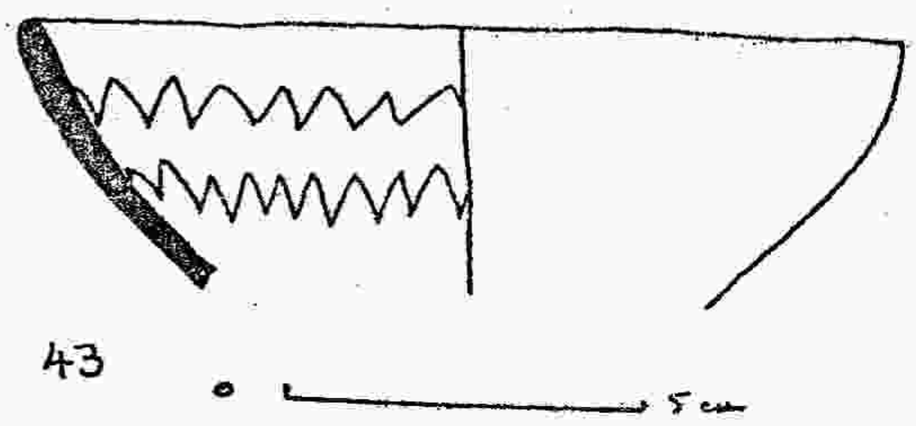


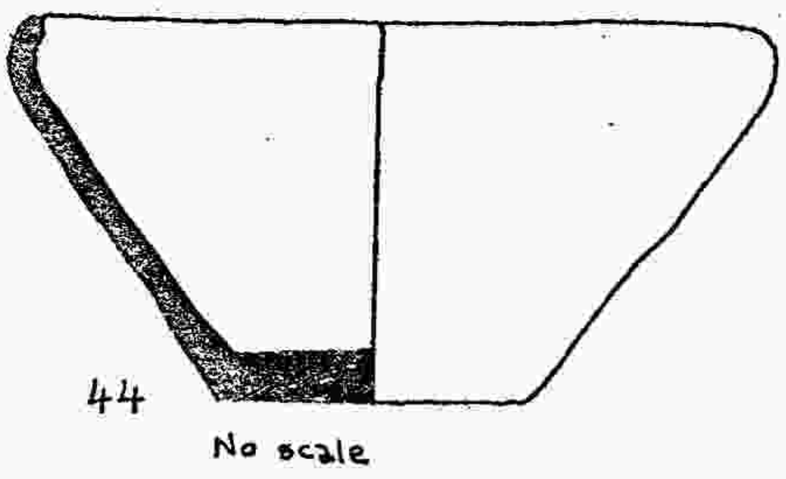



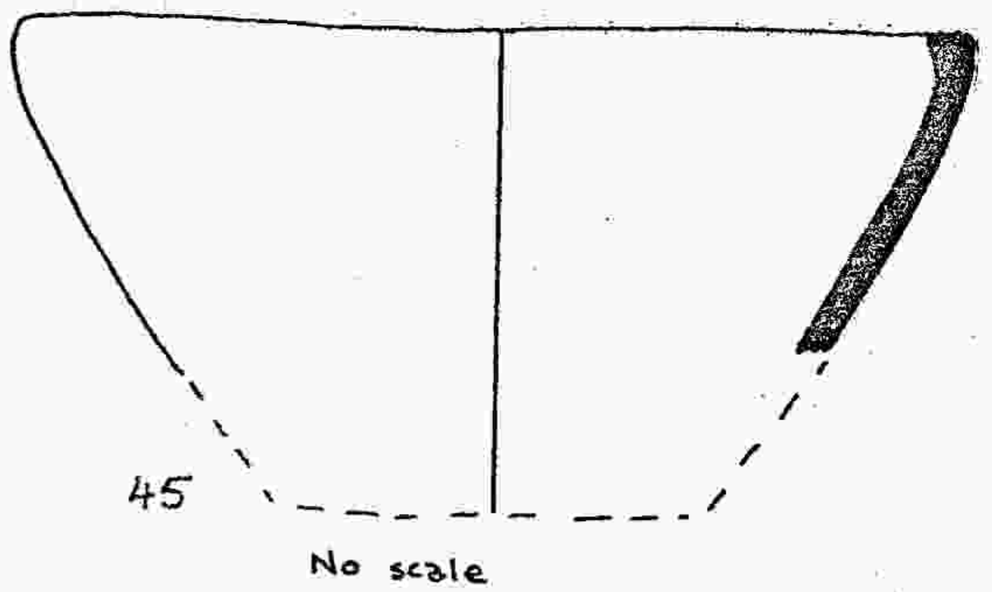



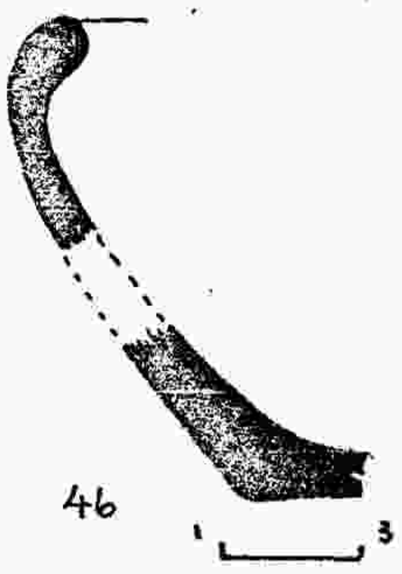



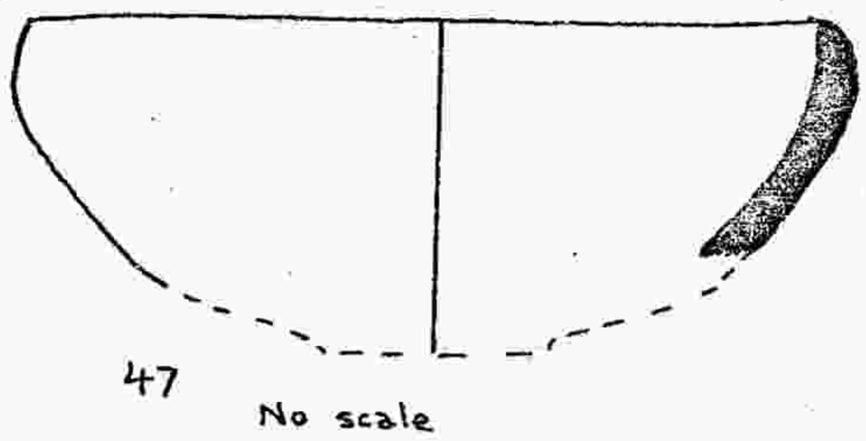
# DISHES (2) : OUTSIDE CENTRE

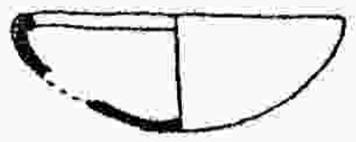
C. NORTH

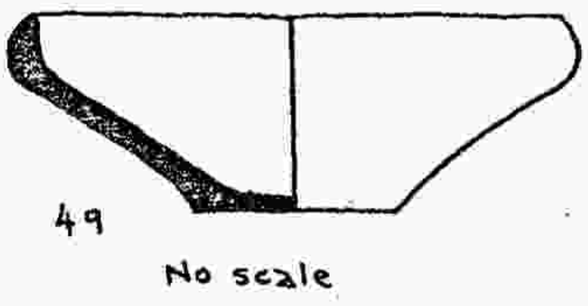


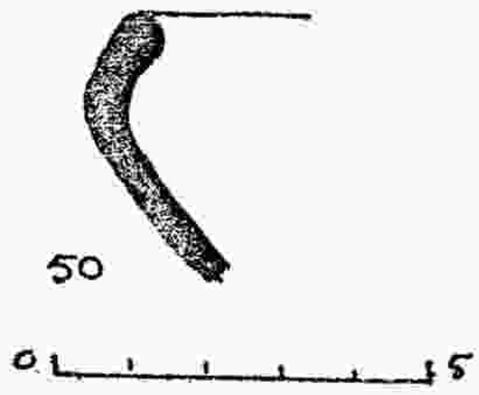



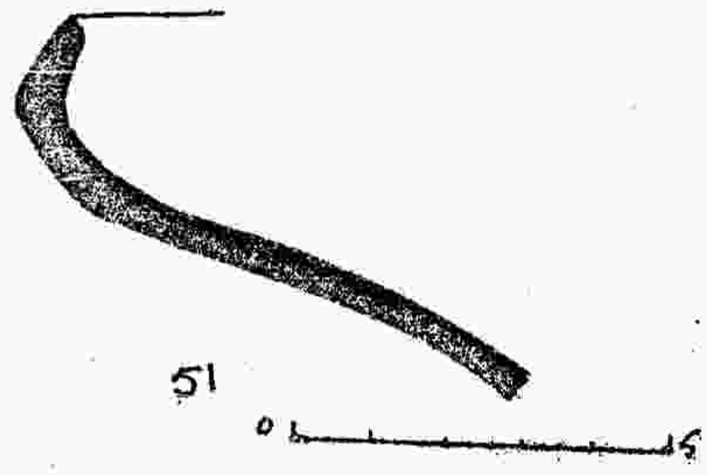




44. Montjustin (Hte.Saô). Gallia 1958:343.

45. Le Tartre, arr.Châlons (S+L). Gallia 1946:303f.

46. Tonnerre (Yonne). Lacroix 1955.

47. Le Tartre (S+L). Gallia 1946:303f.

48. Tonnerre (Yonne). Lacroix 1955.

49. Montjustin (Hte.Saô). Gallia 1958:343.

50-51. La Chapelle-Vaupelteigne (Yonne). Duchatel 1970.

Plate 6.

52. Côtes (P.D.; Eychart 1961 no 1510)

53. Clermont-Ferrand (P.D.; Eychart 1964)

54. Gergovie (P.D.; Labrousse 1950)

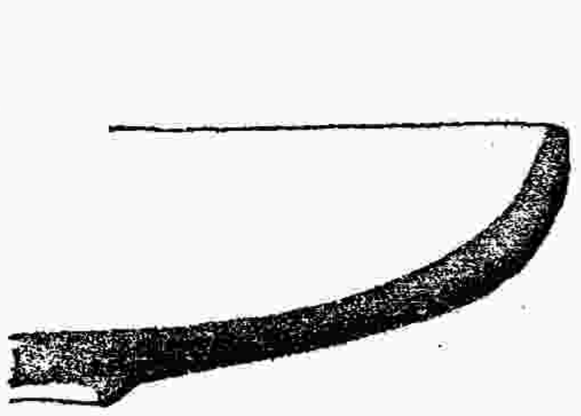
55. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)

56. St.Symphorien-d'Ancelles (S+L; Gallia 1970:392)

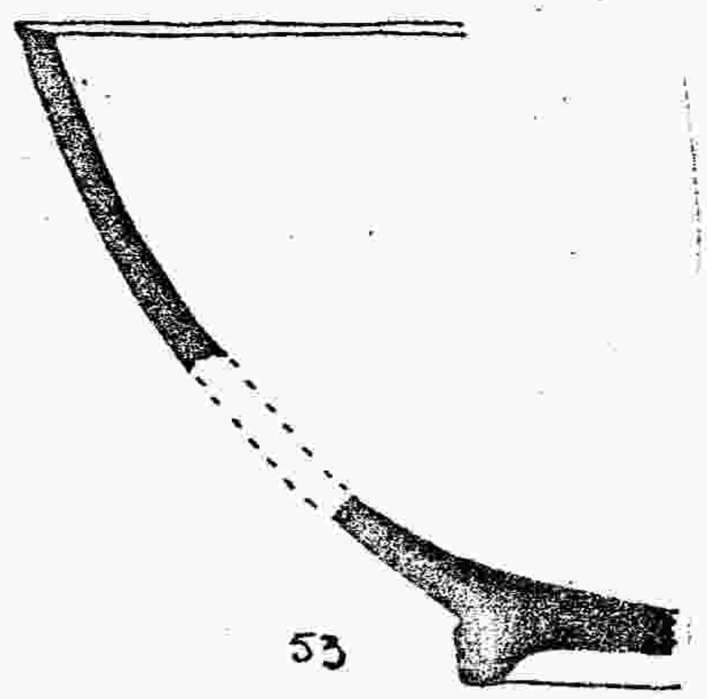
57. Le Tartre arr. Châlons (S+L; Gallia 1946:303f)

# PEDESTAL DISHES

CENTRE



52 No scale



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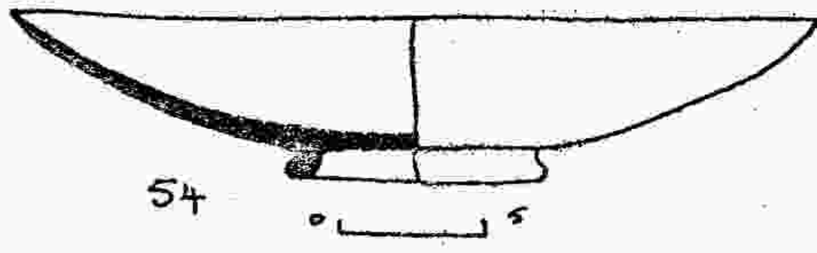


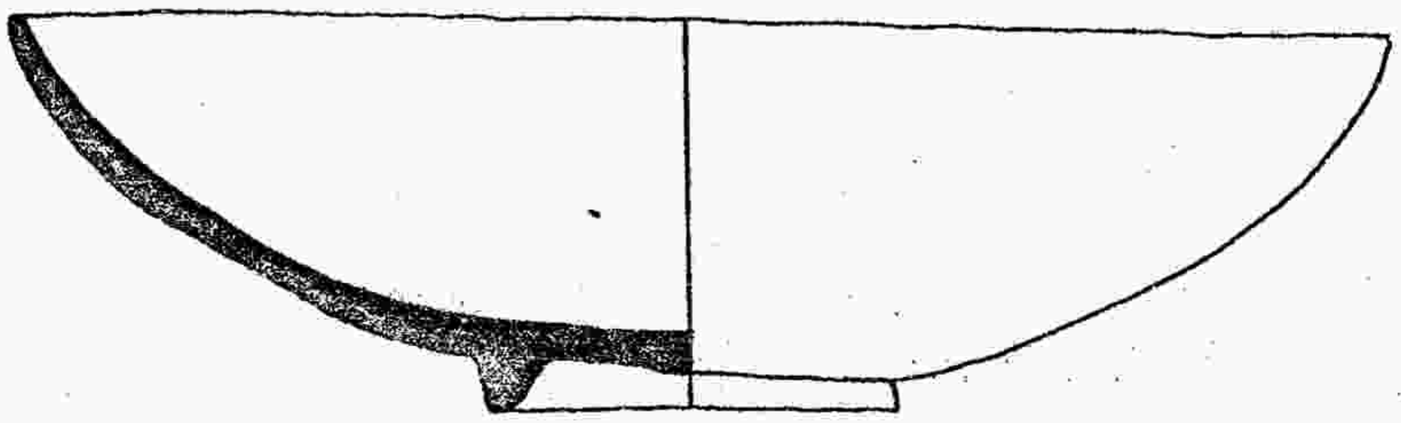
54 0 5

SOUTH



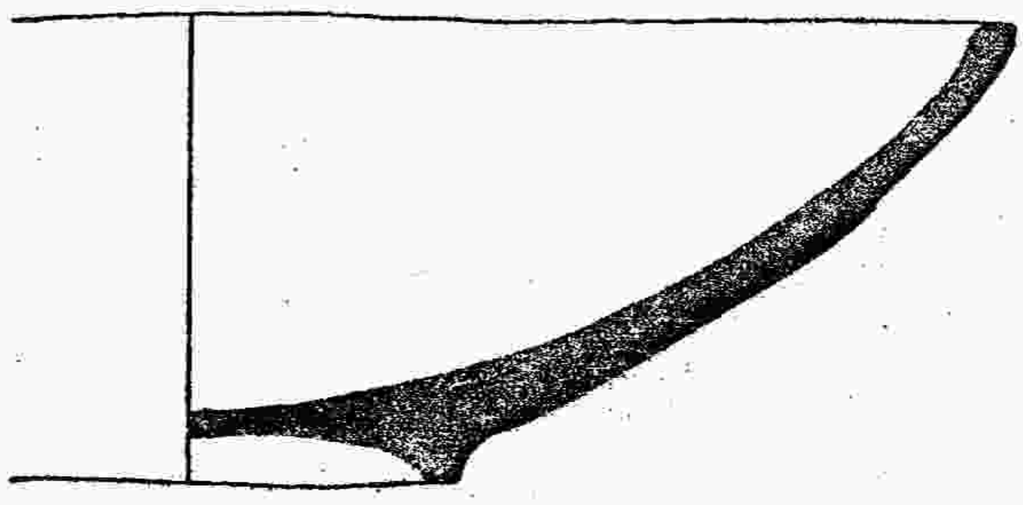
55 0 5

EAST



56 0 4

NORTH



57

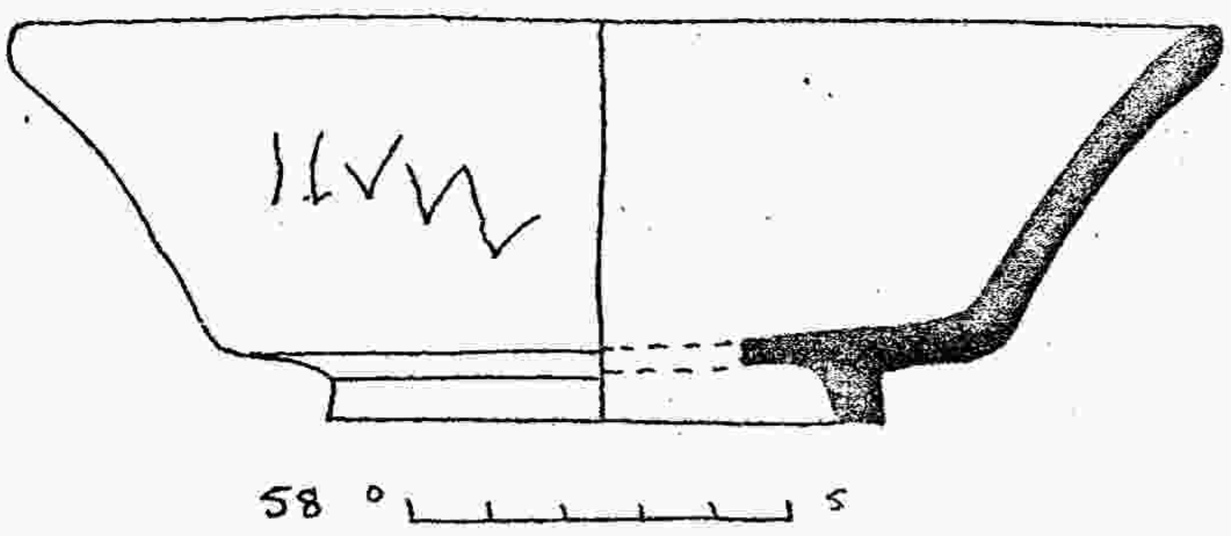
No scale

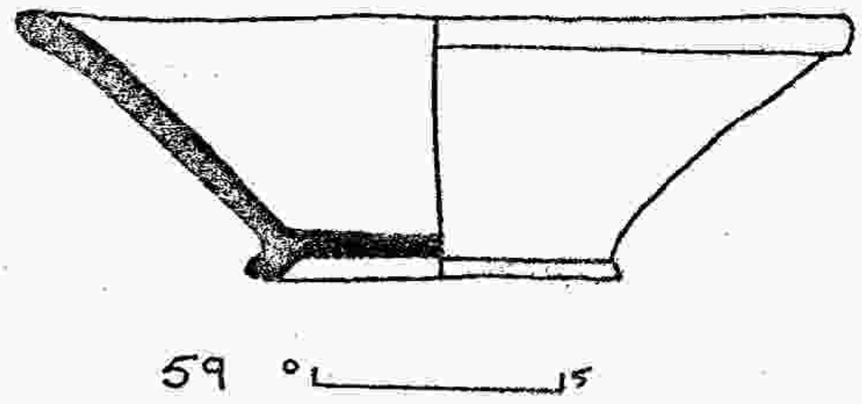
Plate 7.

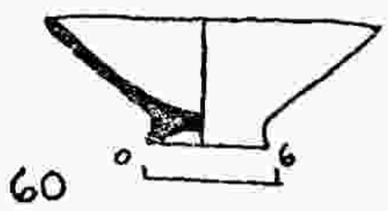
58. Argenton (Indre; Allain etc. 1966)
59. Gergovie (P.D.; Labrousse 1950)
60. La Roque (Hér.; Larderet 1957)
61. St.Symphorien-d'Ancelles (S+L; Gallia 1970:392)
62. Puy du Tour (Corr.; Murat 1962)
63. Pont-Maure (Corr.; Ward-Perkins 1941)

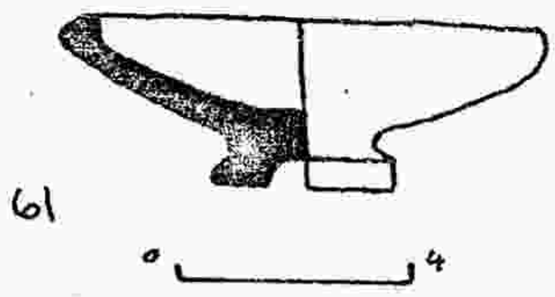
64. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)
65. Puy du Tour (Corr.; Murat 1962)
66. Pont-Maure (Corr.; Ward-Perkins 1941)
67. le Puys de Voingt (P.D.; Charbonneau 1957)
68. Côtes (P.D.; Eychart 1961)

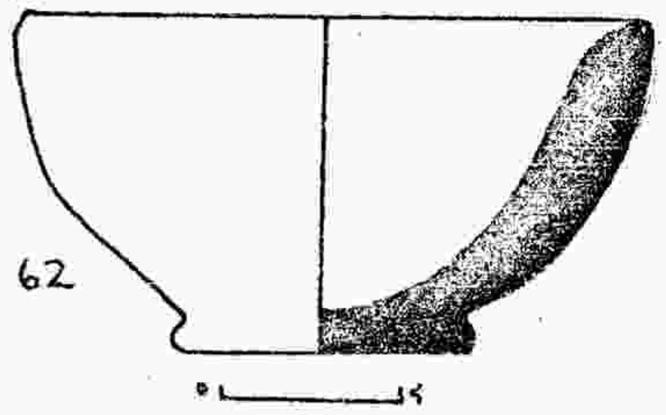
## CONICAL PEDESTAL DISHES

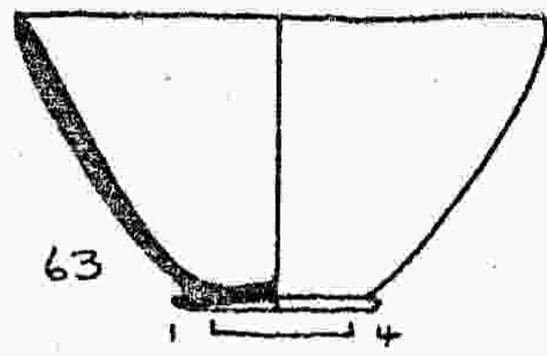


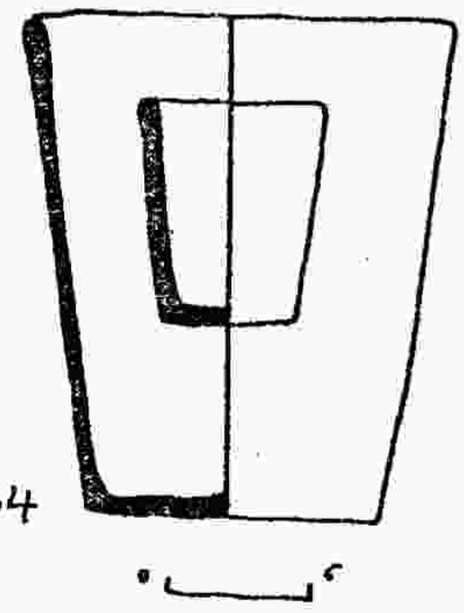



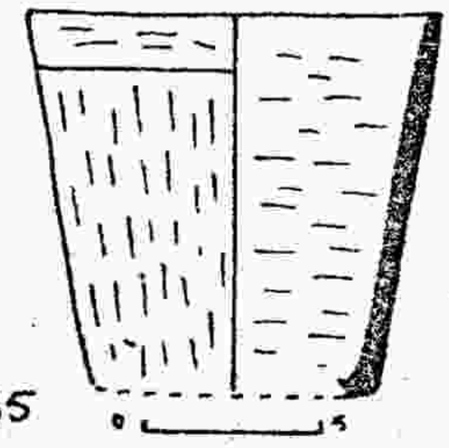



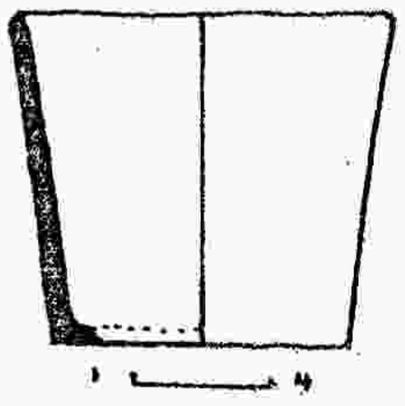




## SAUCEPAN POTS



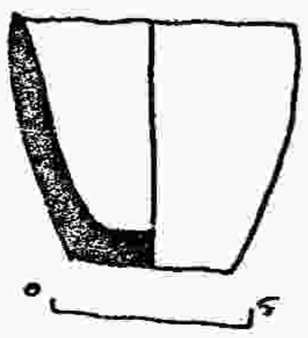






Plate 8.

69. Roanne period I (Bessou 1967)

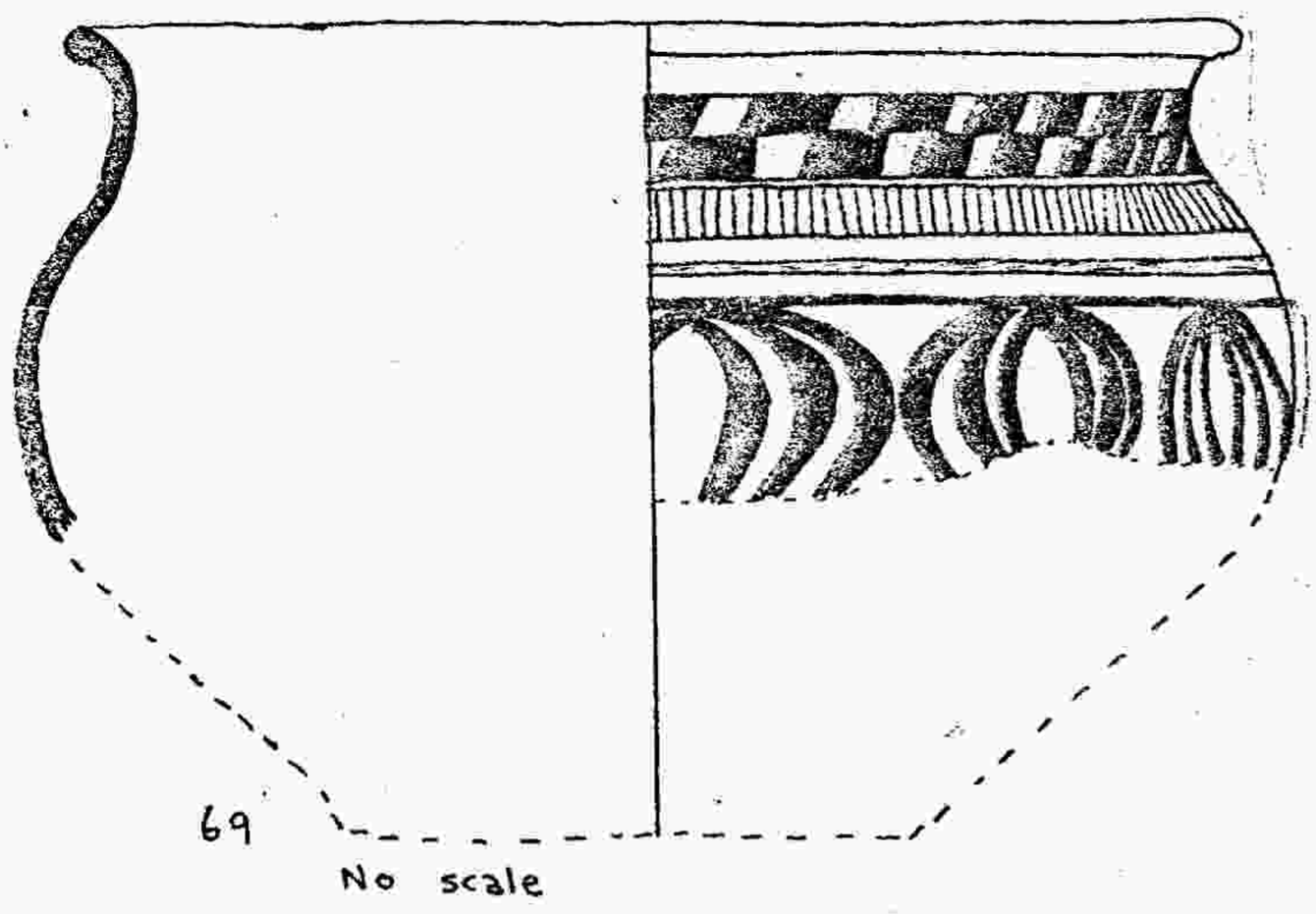
70. Roanne (Loire; Vernat and Périchon 1970)

71. Roanne period III (Bessou 1967)

72. Gergovie (P.D.; Hatt 1943)

73. Lezoux (P.D.; Déchelette 1914:1490 fig 682 no 5)

# PAINTED BOWLS



69

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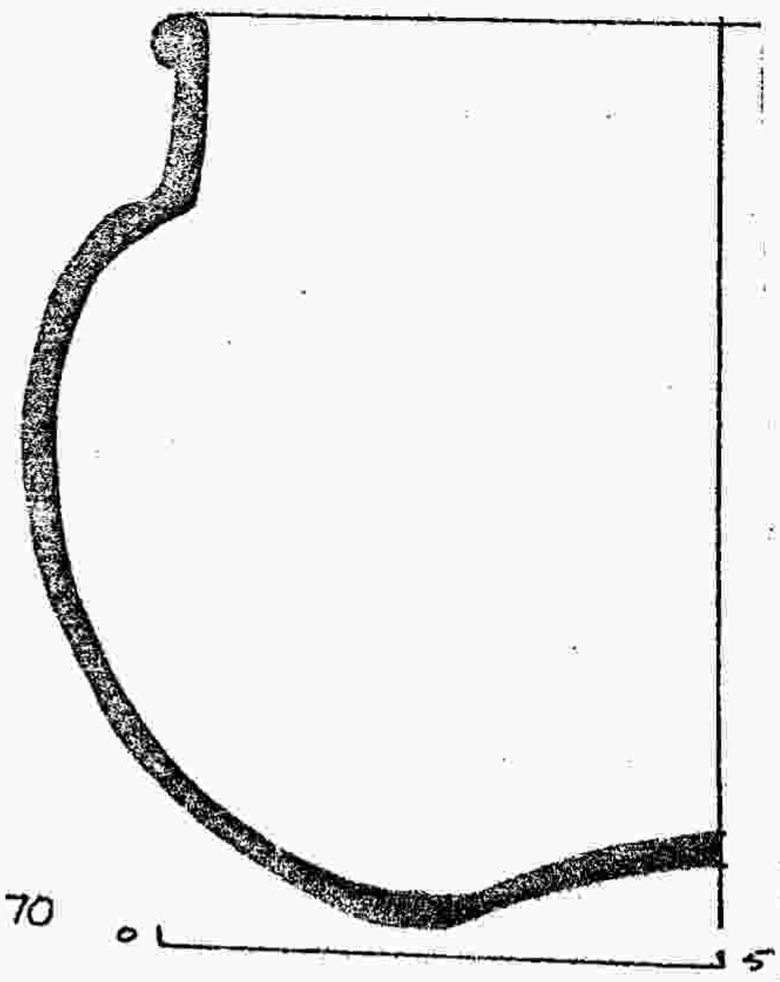

70

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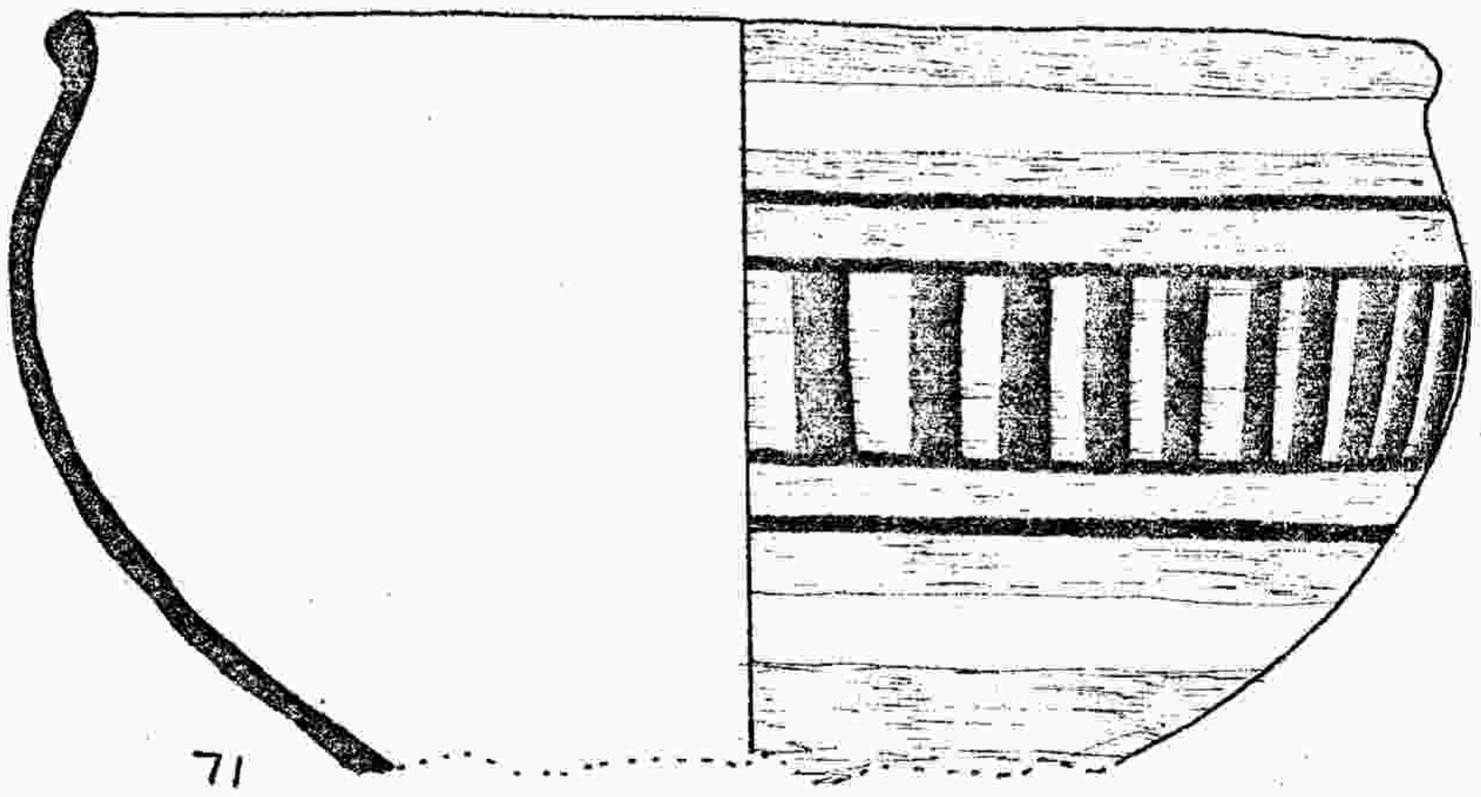

71

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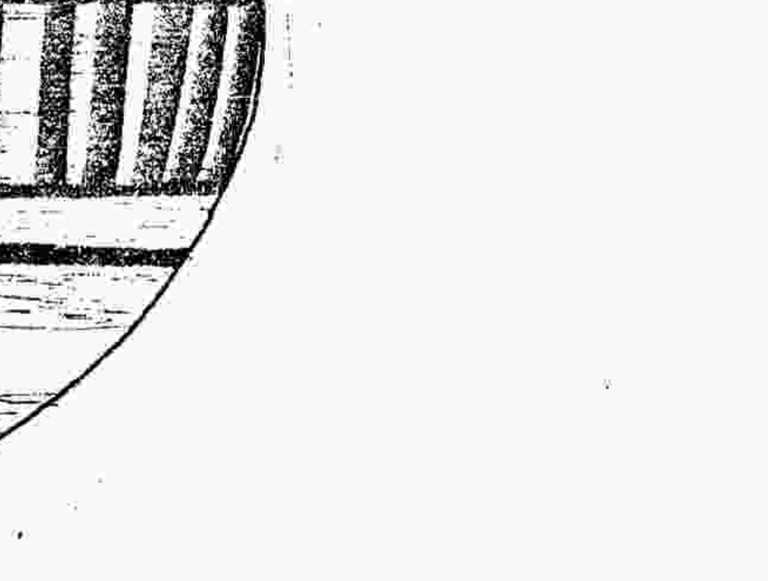
72

No scale



73

No scale

Plate 9.

74. Argenton (Indre; Allain etc. 1966)

75. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)

76. Côtes (P.D.; Eychart 1961)

77. Argenton (Indre; Allain etc. 1966)

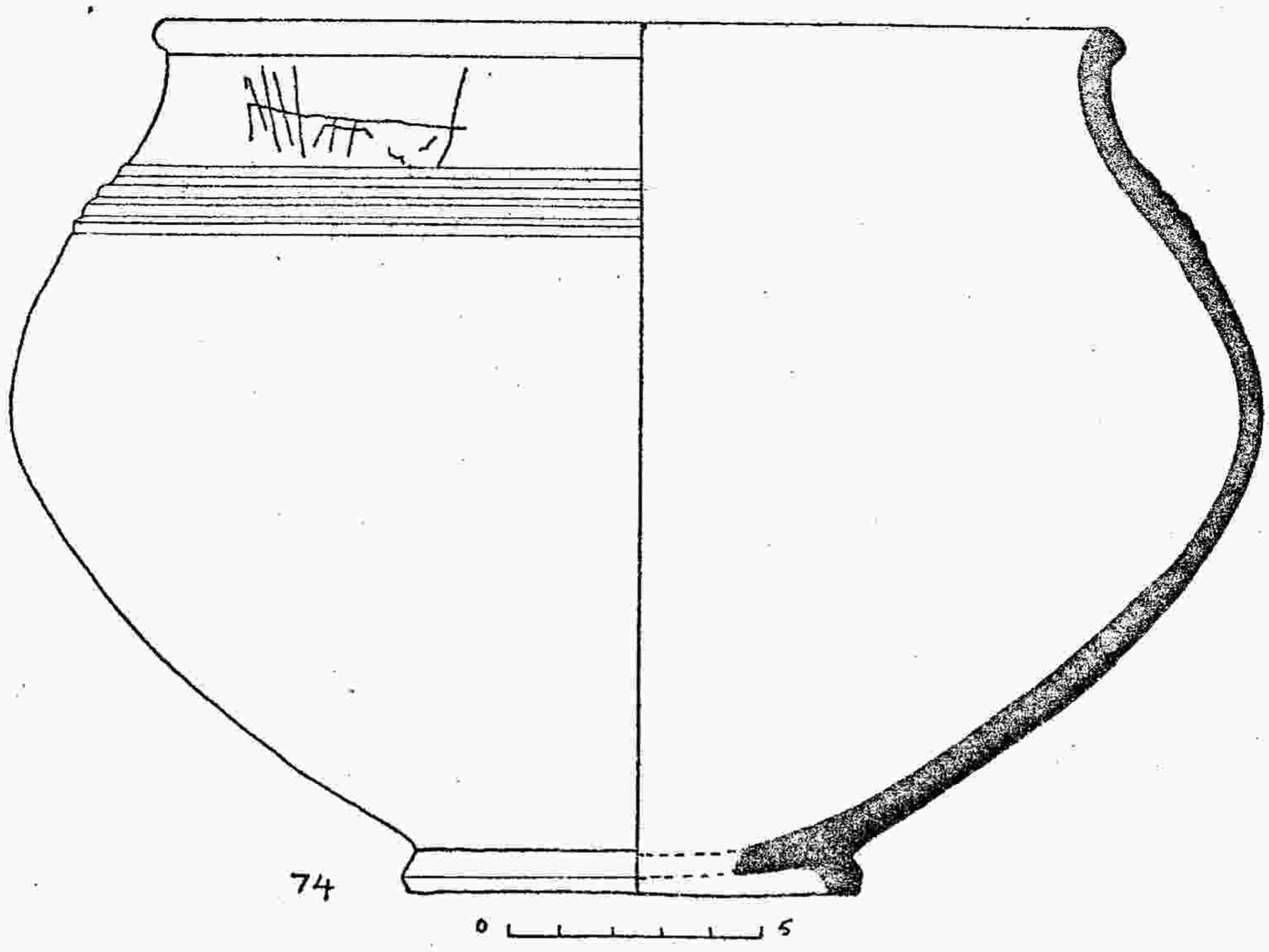
78. Gergovie (P.D.; Labrousse 1950)

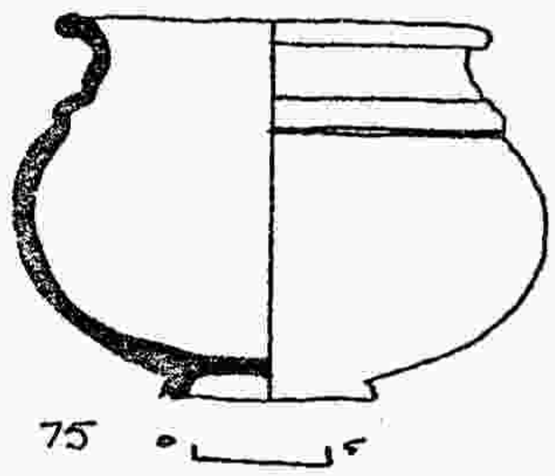
79. Roanne (Loire; Gallia 1961:444)

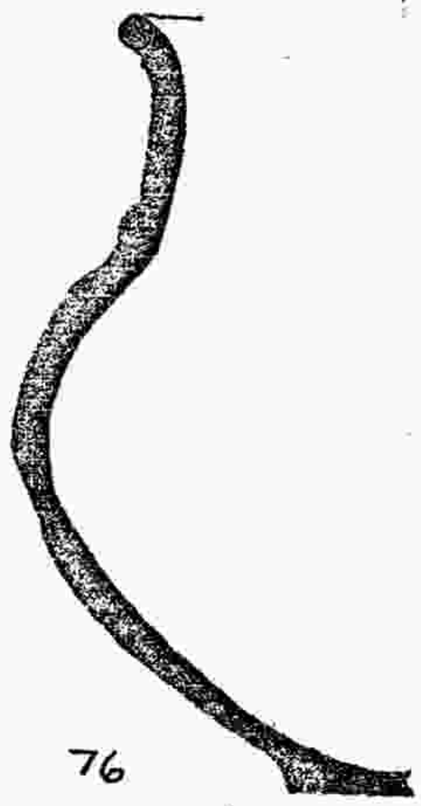
80. Gergovie (P.D.; Hatt 1947)

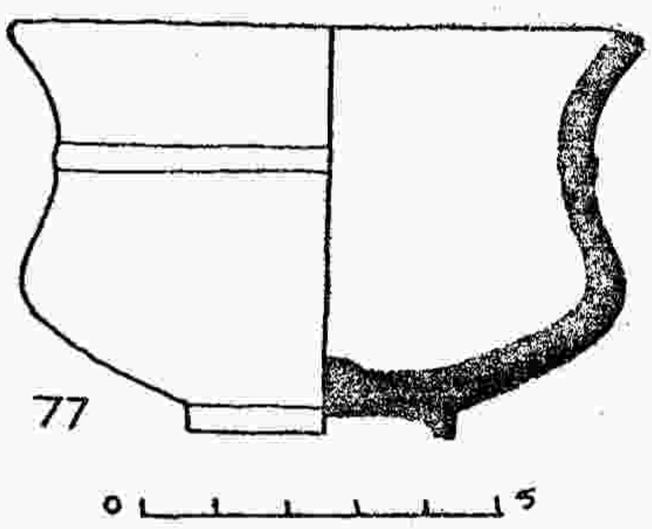
81. Roanne (Loire; Vernat and Périchon 1970)

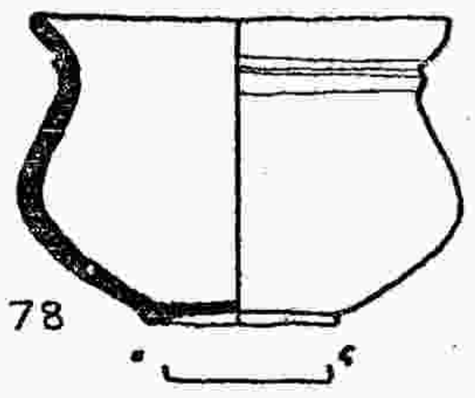
# BOWLS

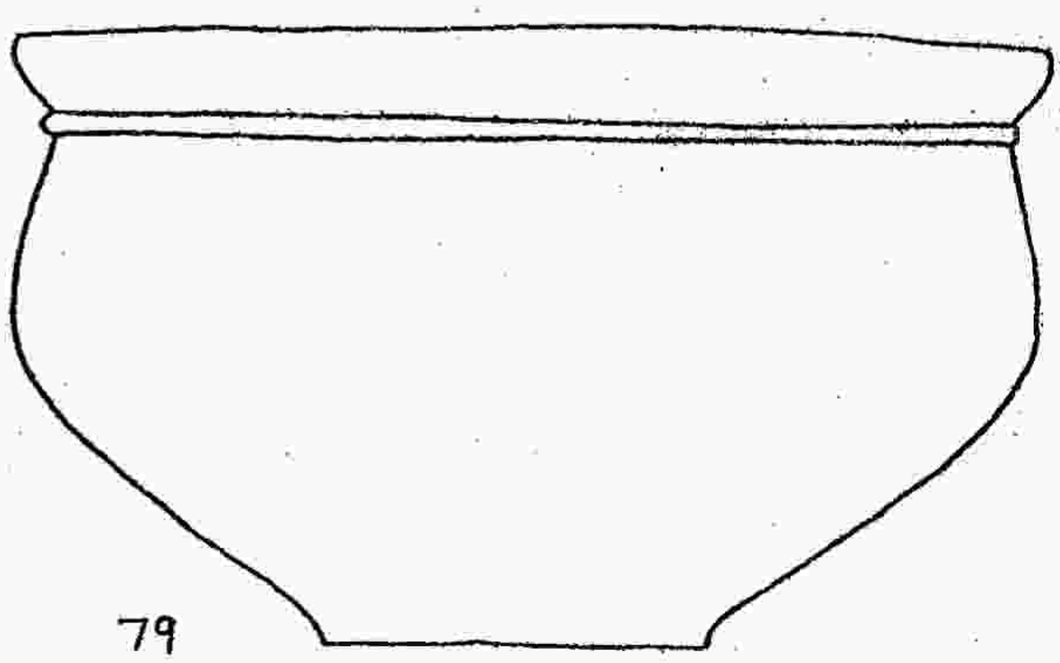


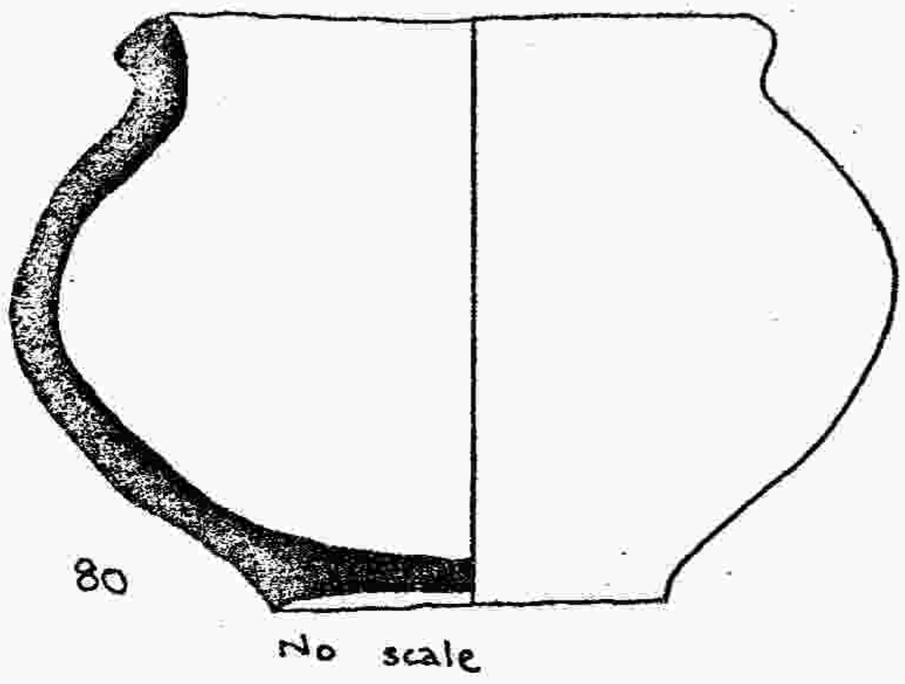



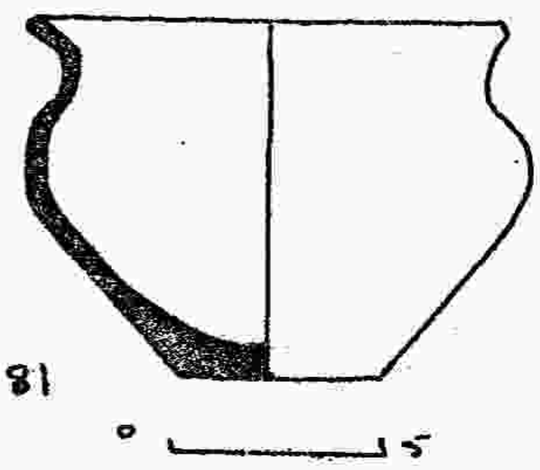



Plate 10.

82-3 Clermont-Ferrand (P.D.; Eychart 1964)

84. Pont-Maure (Corr. Ward-Perkins 1941)

85. Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)

86. La Graufesenque (Avey.; Balsan 1950)

87. Montfo (Hér.; Ward-Perkins 1941)

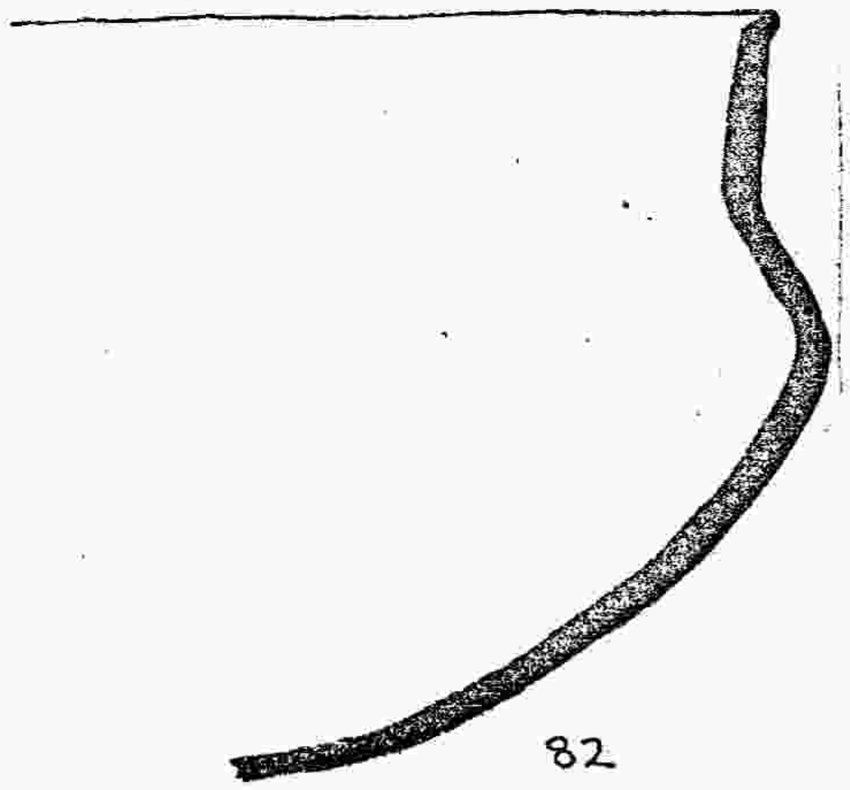
88. Angers (M+L; Ward-Perkins 1941)

89. Puys-de-Voingt (P.D.; Charbonneau 1957)

90, 91 Châteaumeillant (Cher; Hugoniot and Gourgest 1961)

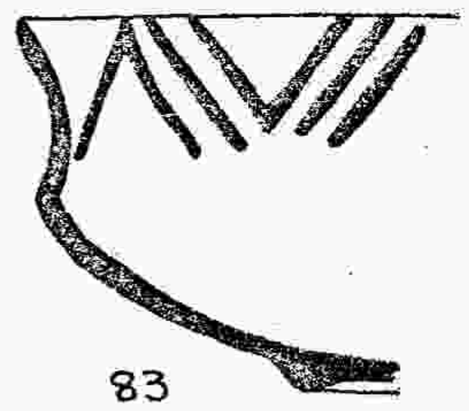
92. Civaux (Vienne; Gallia 1961:402)

# CARINATED BOWLS



82

No scale



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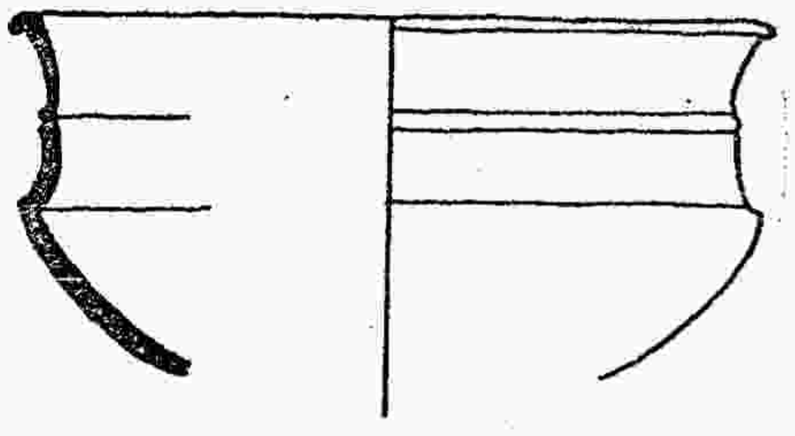
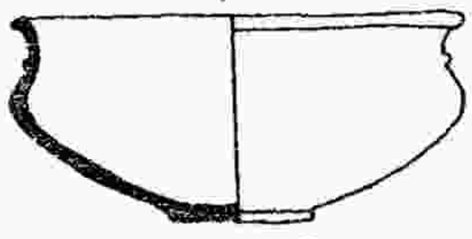
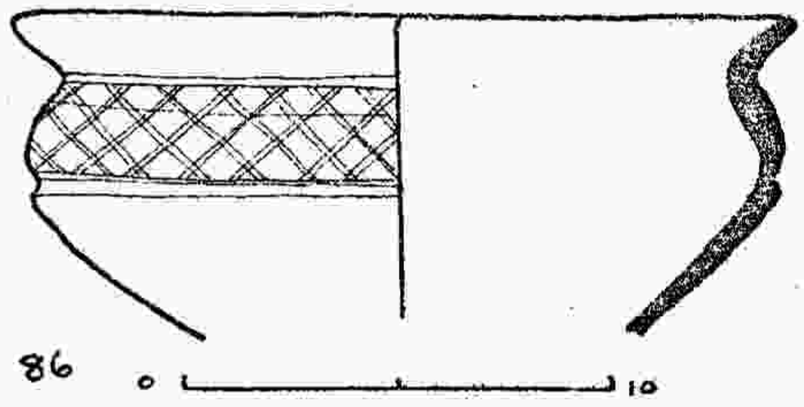


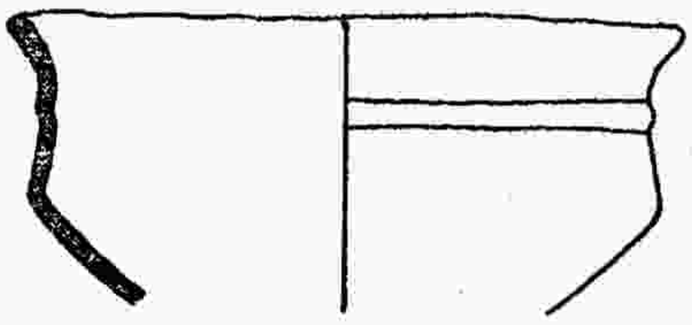
84 1 4



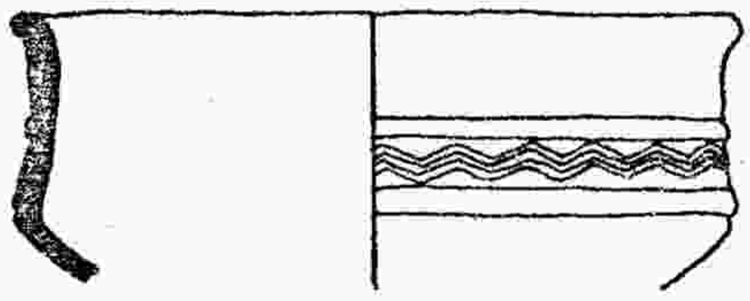
85 0 5



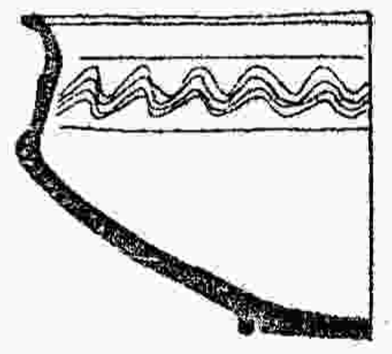
86 0 10



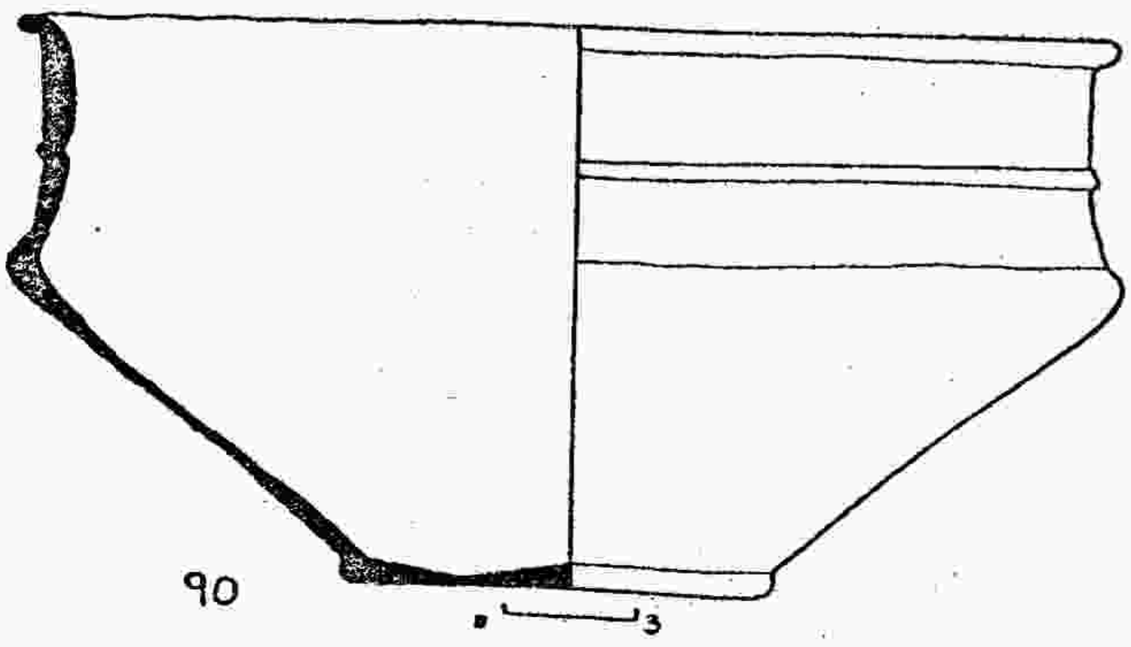
87 1 4



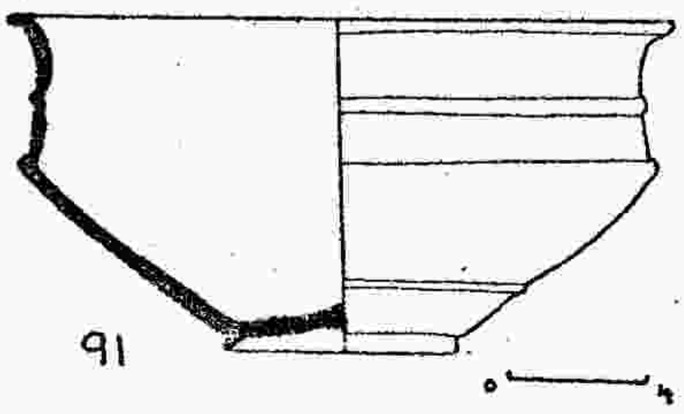
88 1 4



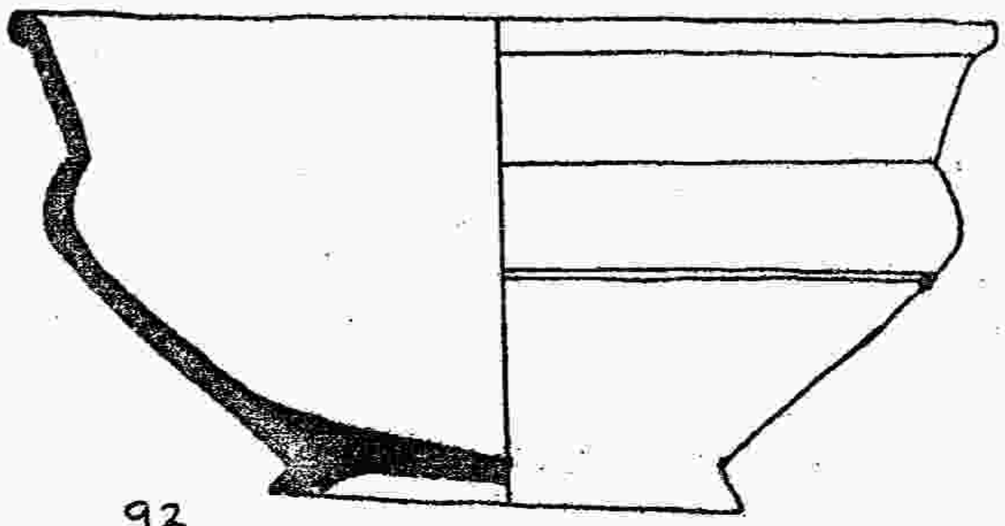
89 0 15



90 0 3



91 0 4



92

No scale

Plate 11.

93. Mérigny (Indre; Gallia 1955:171f)

94. Civaux (Vienne; Gallia 1961:402)

95. Tumulus St.Hilaire Lastours (Hte.V.; Ward-Perkins 1941)

96. Tumulus St.Denis de Palins (Cher; Gallia 1961:326 fig 28)

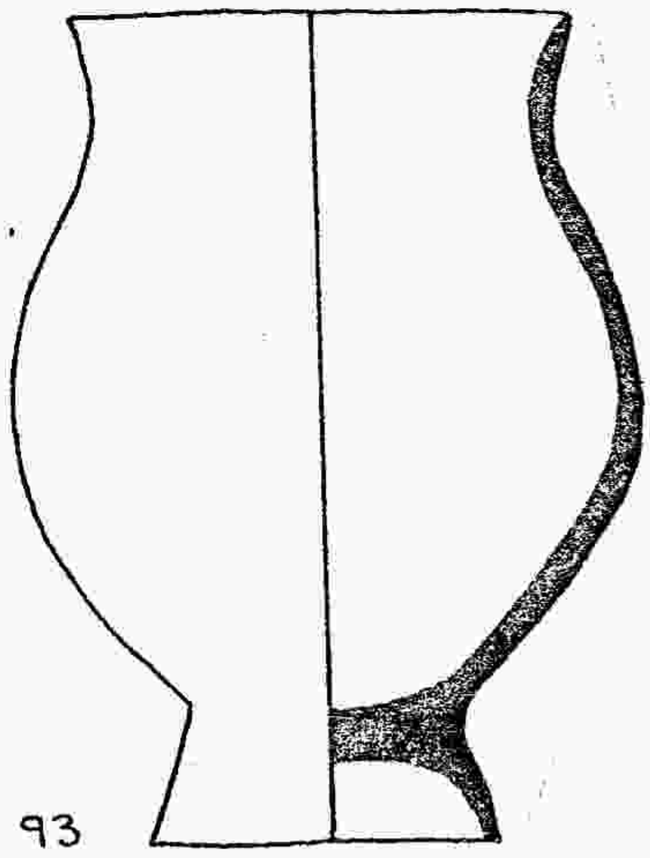
97. Mérigny (Indre; Gallia 1955:171f)

98. Civaux (Vienne; Gallia 1961:402)

99. Mérigny (Indre; Gallia 1955:171f)

100. Civaux (Vienne; Gallia 1961:402)

# PEDESTAL URNS



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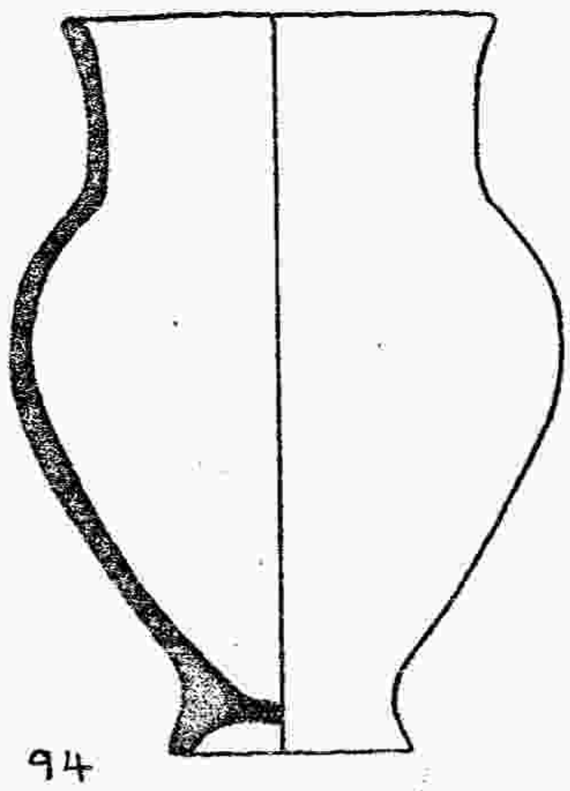

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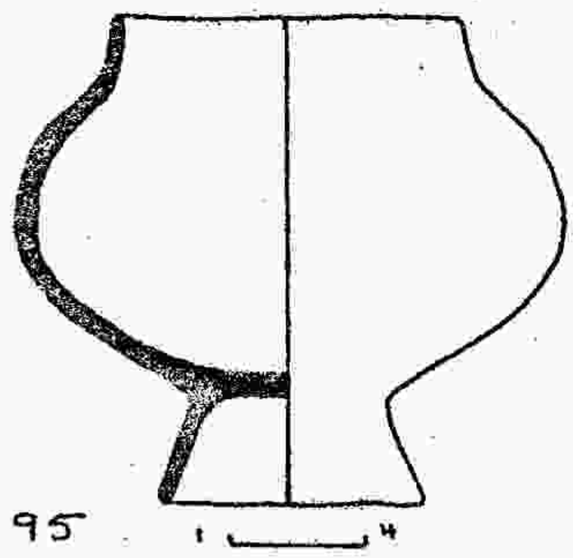

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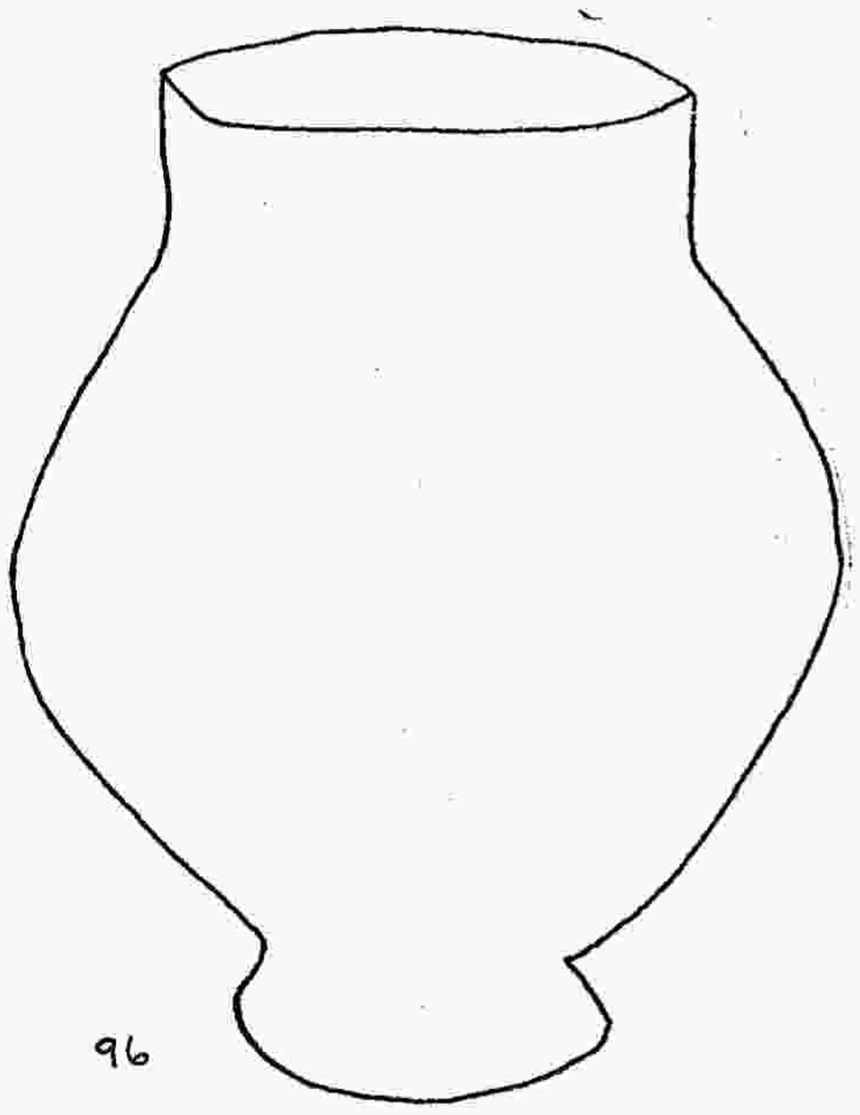
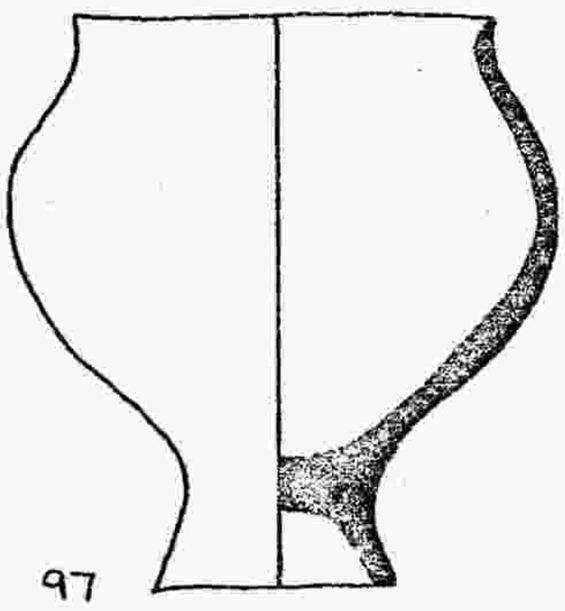


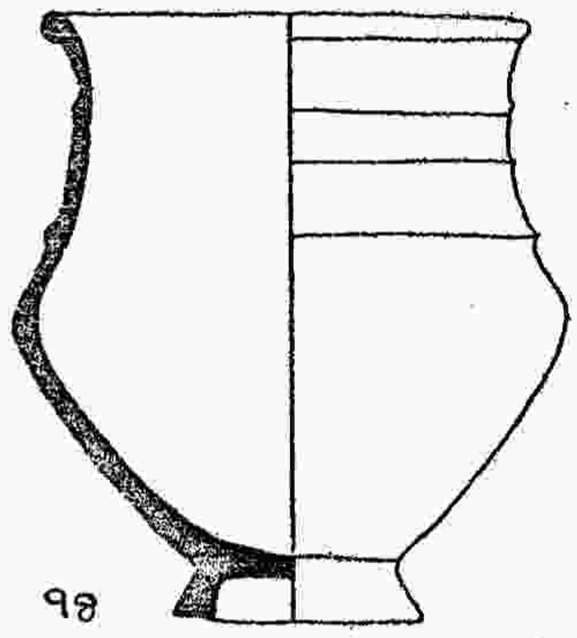
96

No scale : from photograph



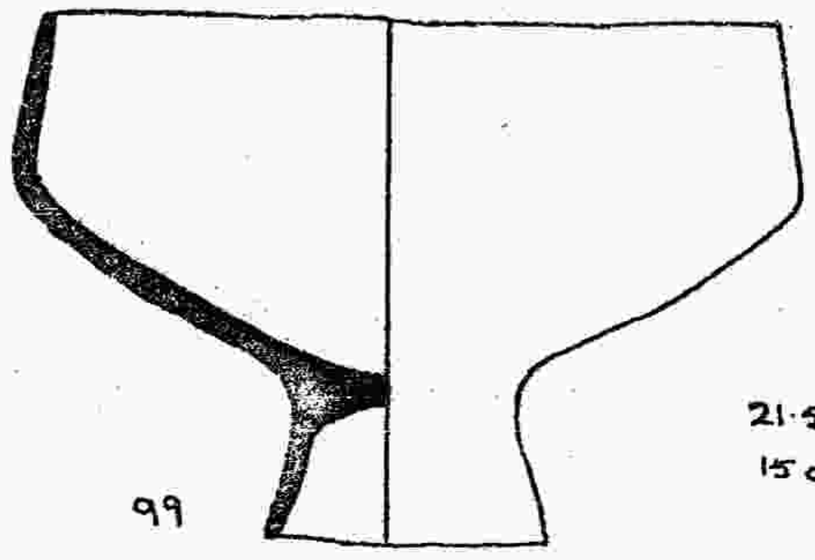
97

12 cm. diam. at mouth; 16 cm. tall.



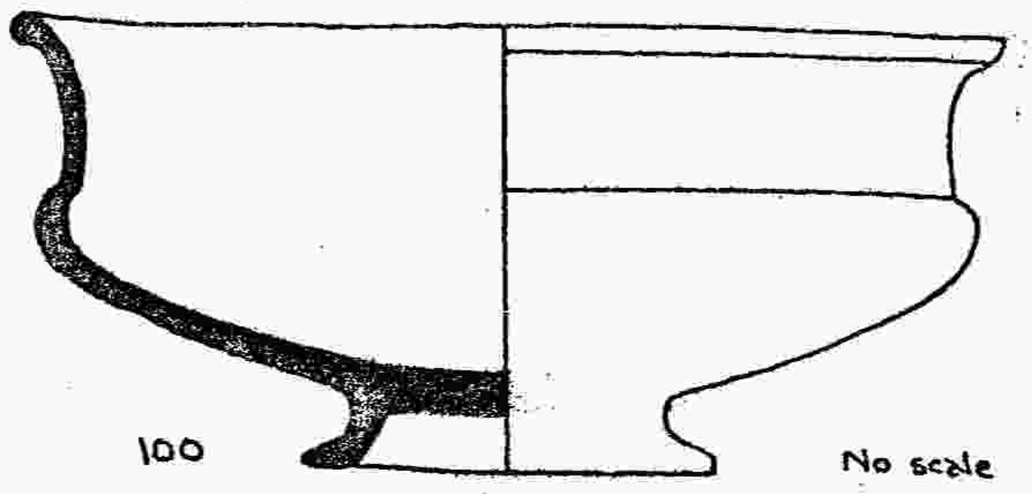
98

No scale



99

21·5 cm. diam. at mouth;
15 cm. tall.



100

No scale

Plate 12.

101. Salesses tumulus (Cantal; Périchon 1966)

102. Grotte de Gens (Ardèche; Montjardin 1969)

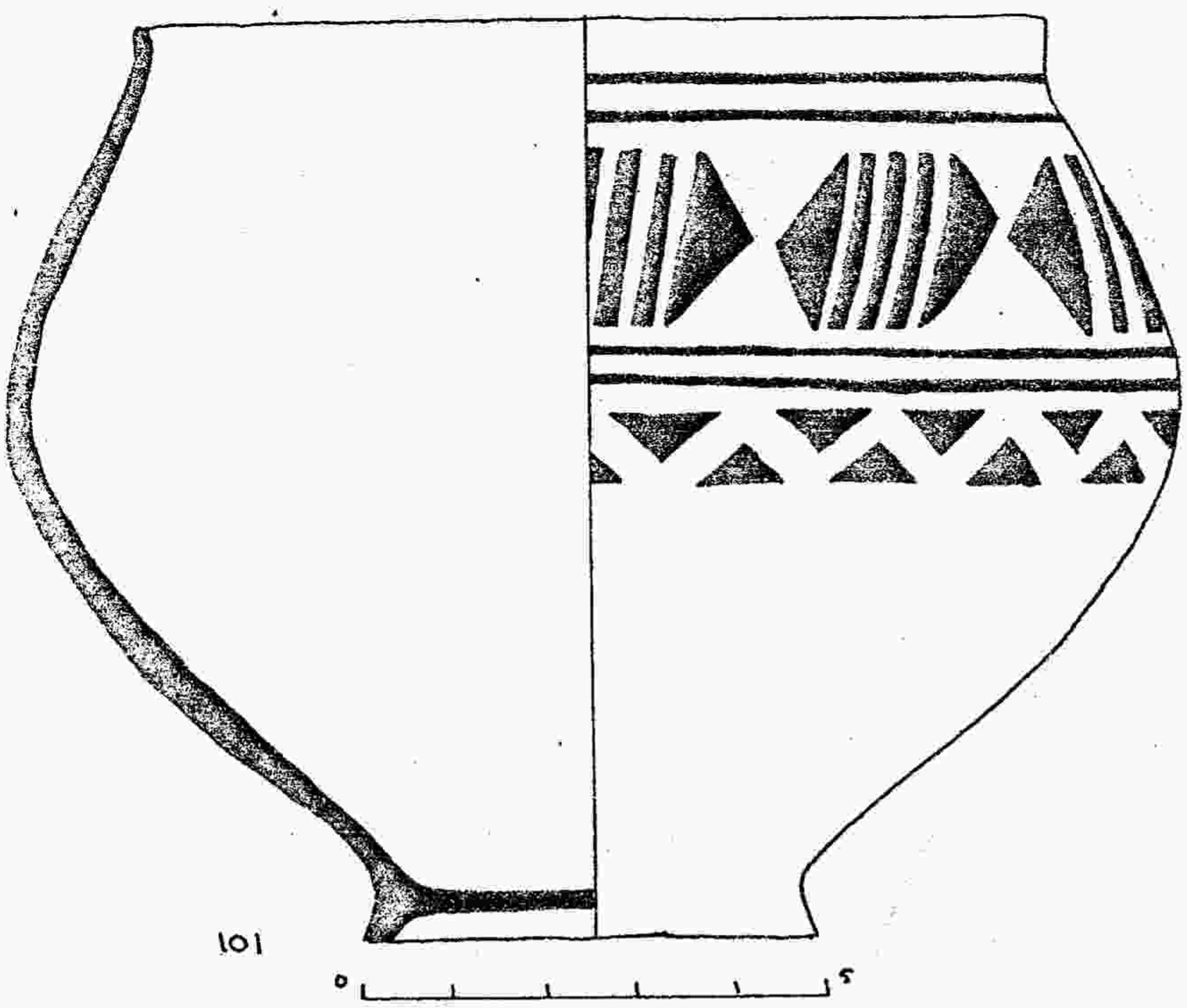
103. Civaux (Vienne; Gallia 1961:402)

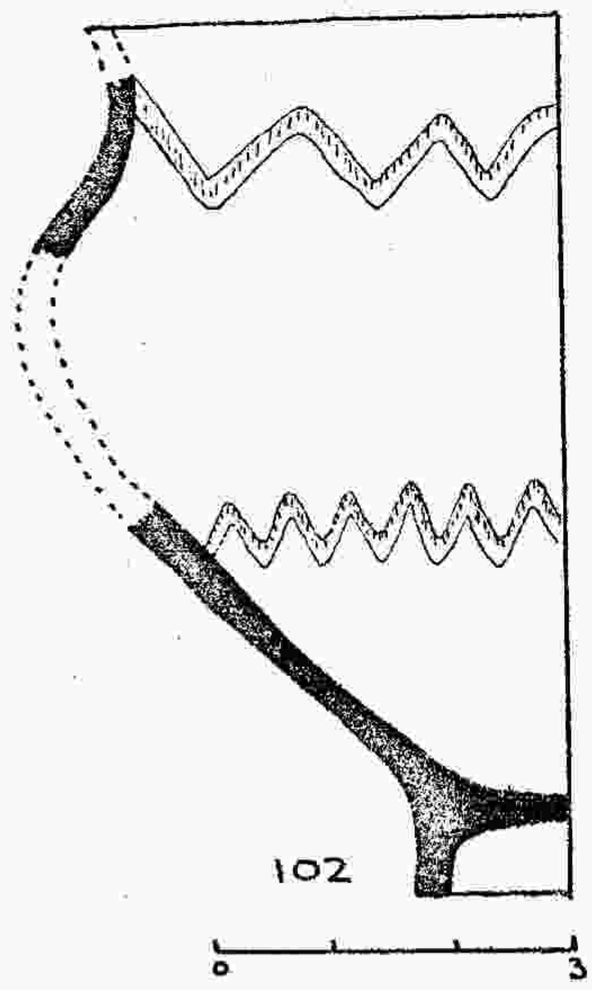
104. Grotte de Vieil Odon (Ardèche; Montjardin 1969)

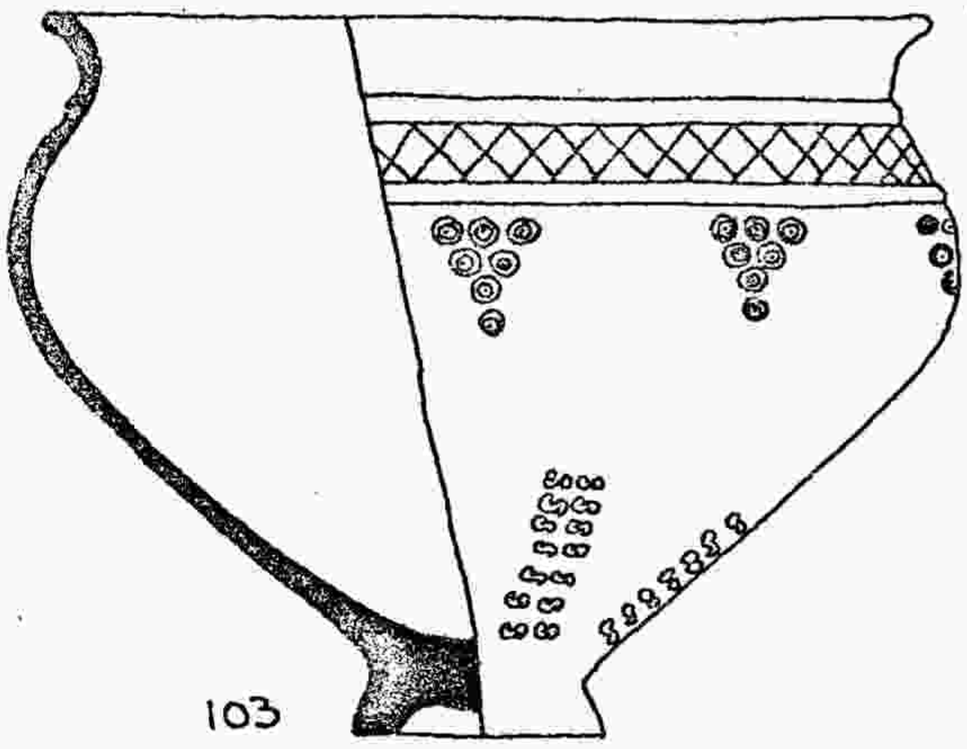
105. le Tartre arr. Châlons (S+L; Gallia 1946:303f)

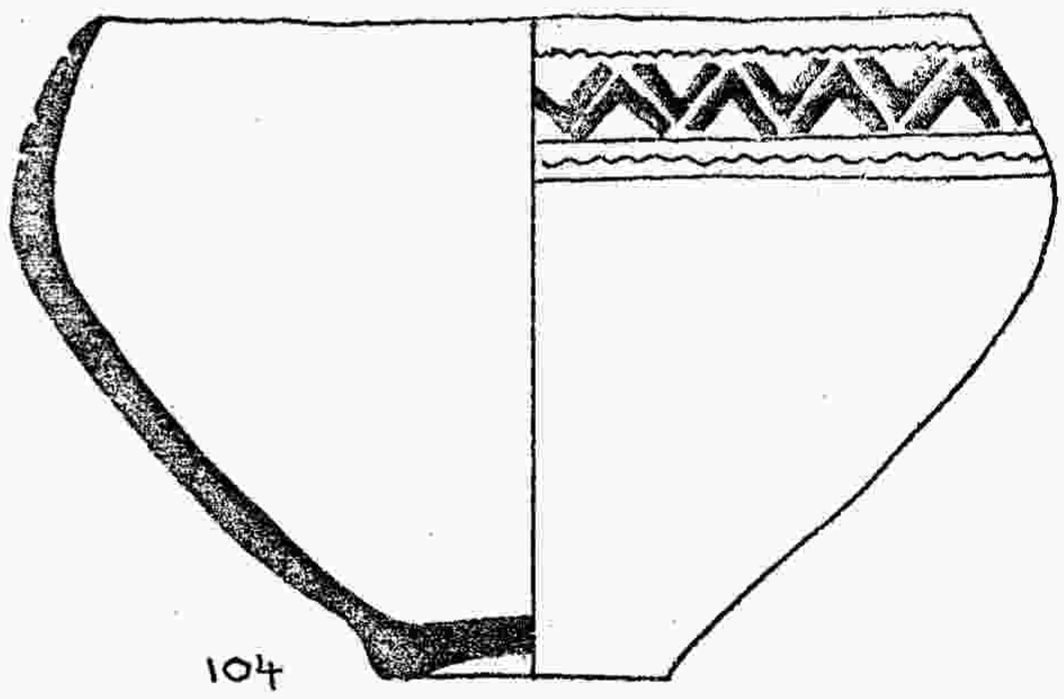
106. Aulnat (P.D.; Périchon and Vichy 1967)

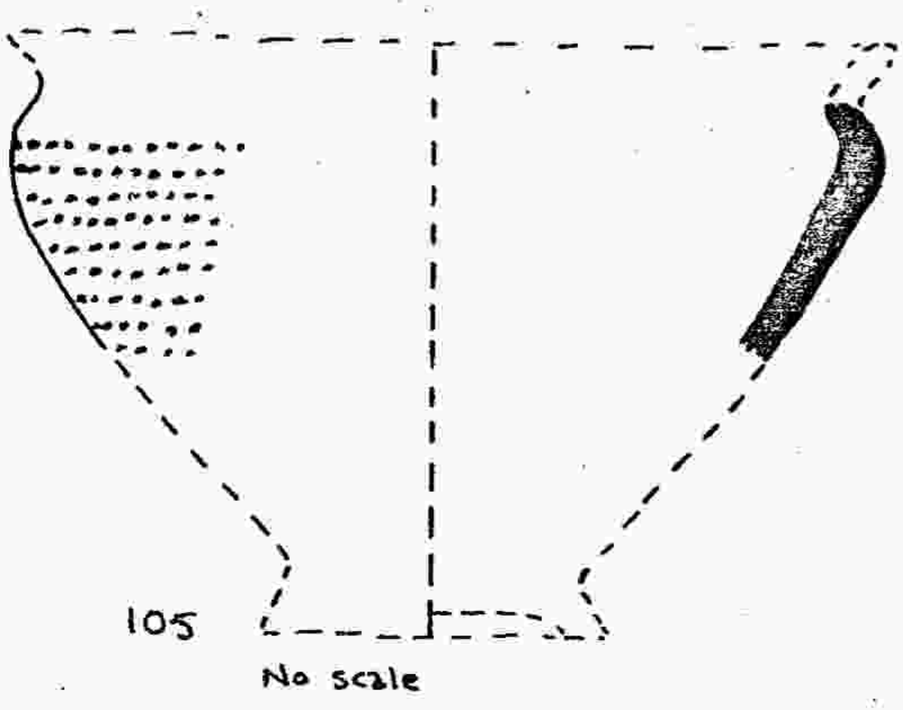
# PEDESTAL URNS

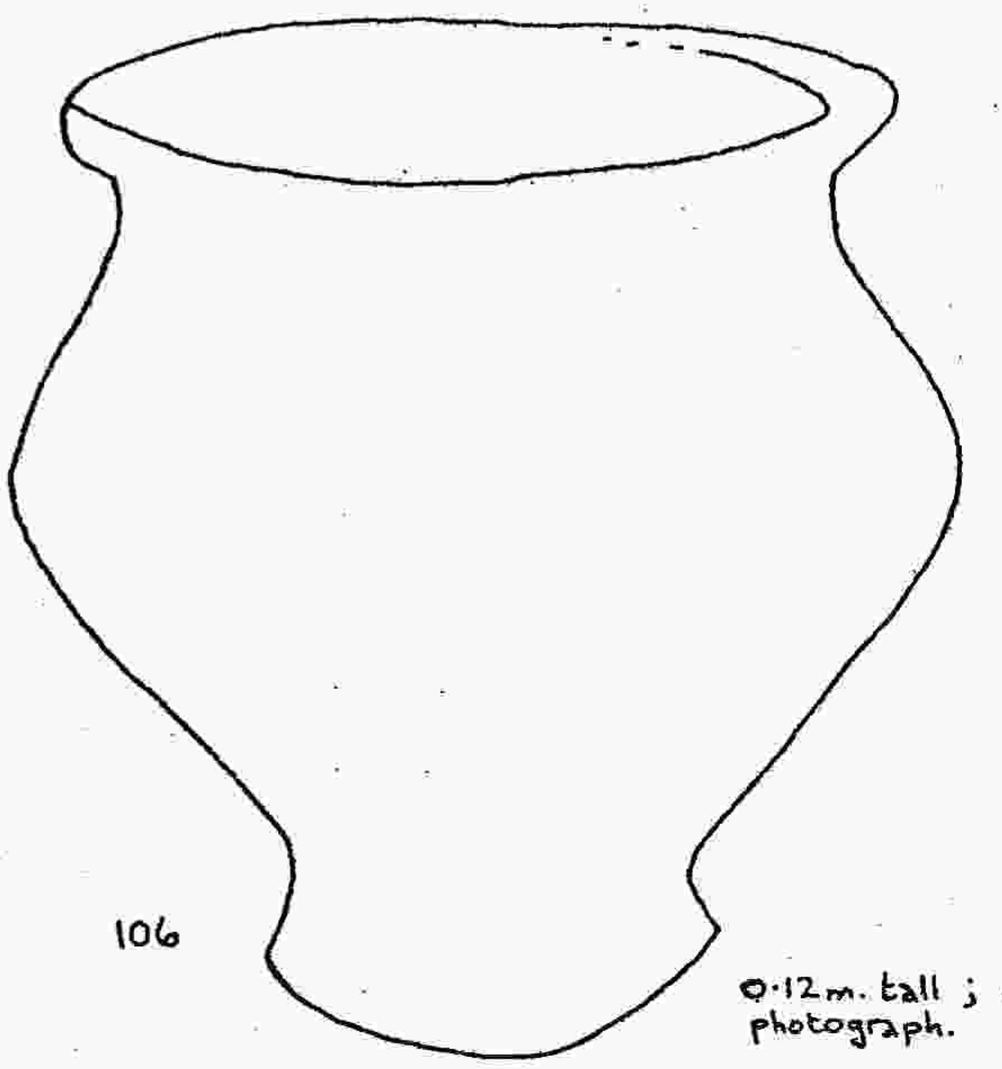



0·12 m. tall ; from photograph.

Plate 13.

107-8 Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)

109 Pont-Maure (Corr.; Ward-Perkins 1941)

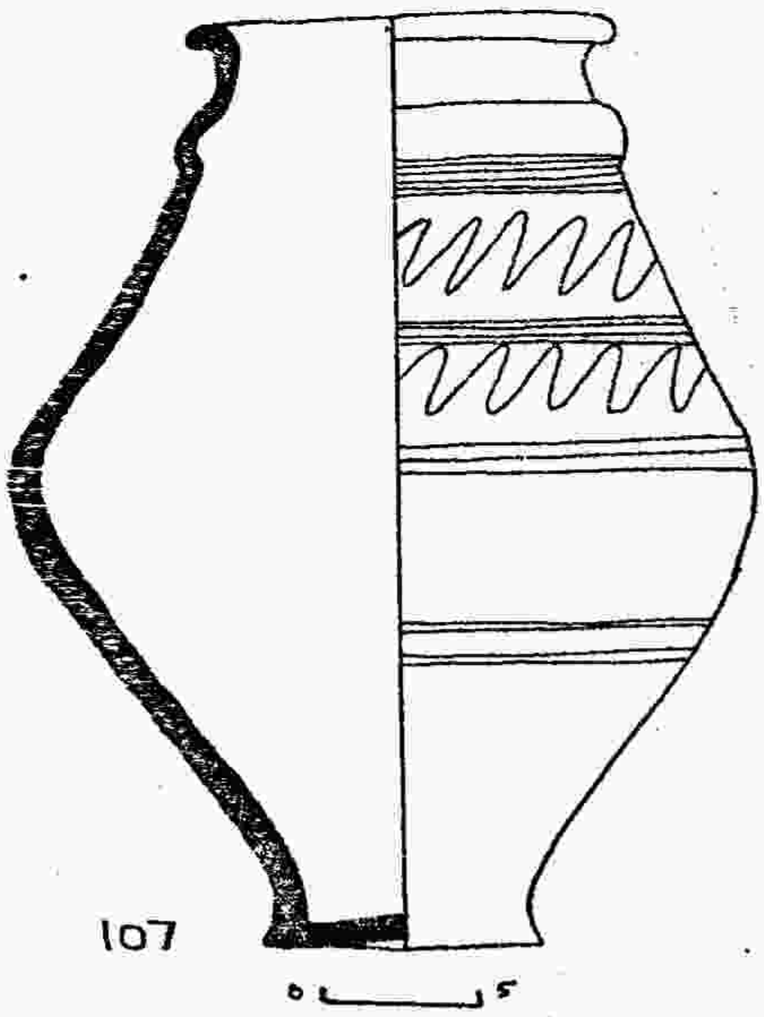
110 La Graufesenque (Avey.; Balsan 1950)

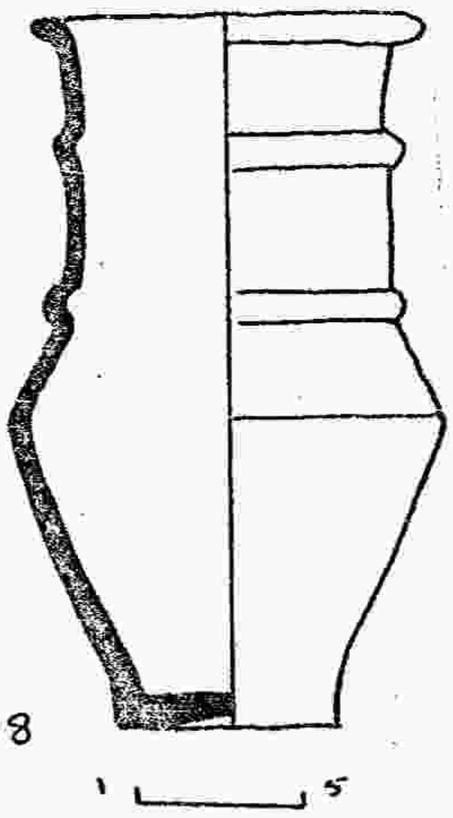
111 Toulouse area (Fouet 1970)

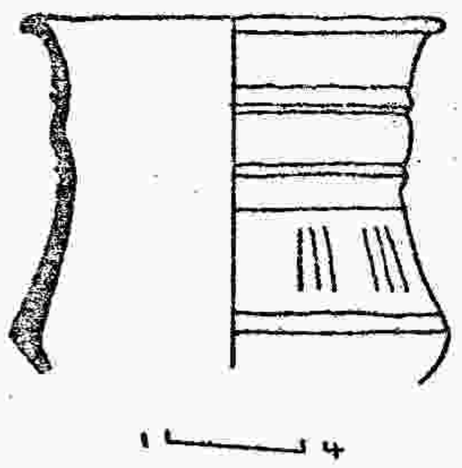
112-3 St.Jacques, Cavaillon (Vauc.; Dumoulin 1965)

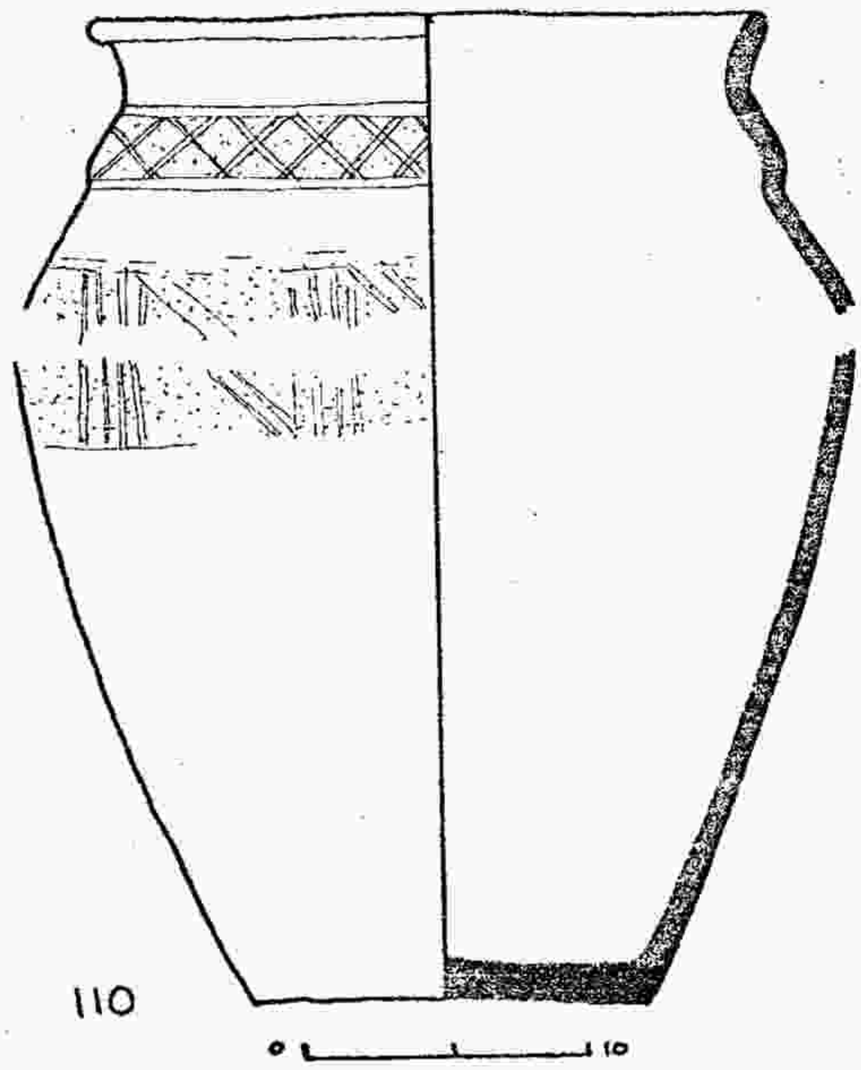
114 Levroux (Indre; Buchsenschutz 1971)

## CARINATED POTS

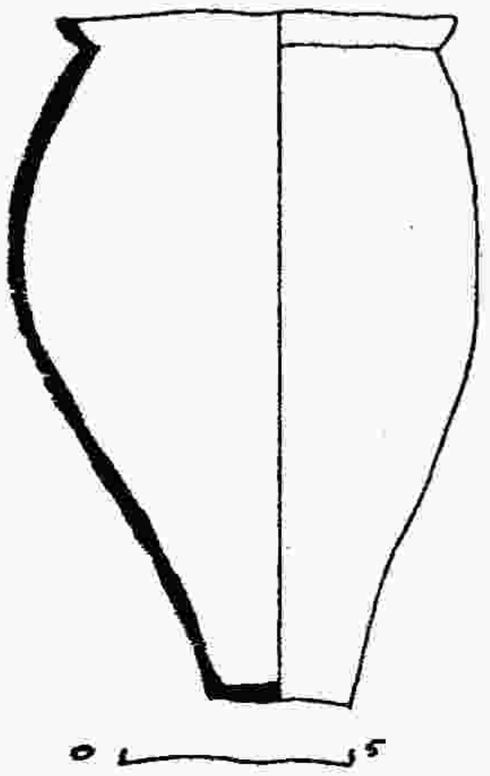


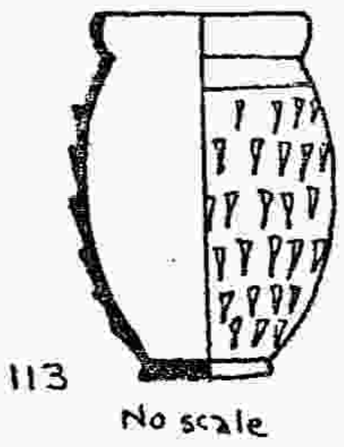



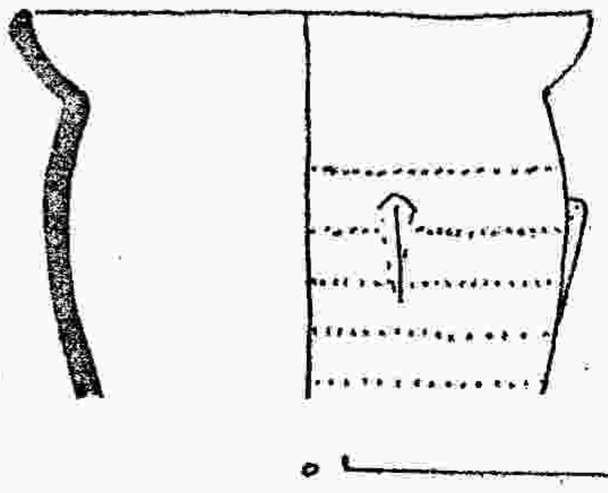

## GOBLETS





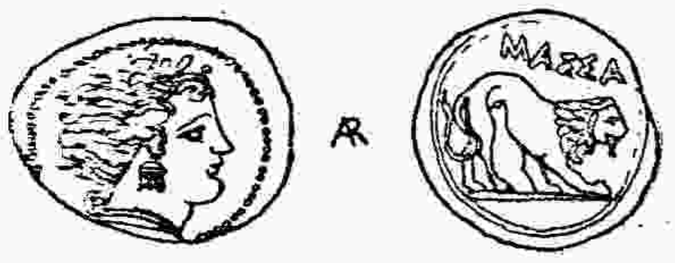




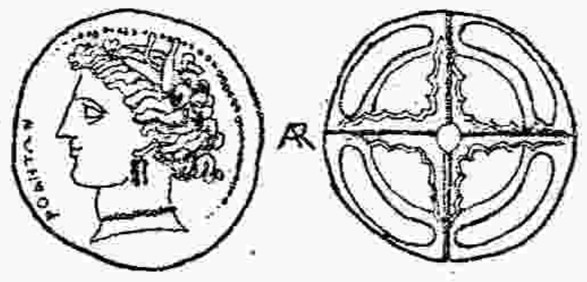



# GREEK PROTOTYPES

Plate 1




1. MASSILIA



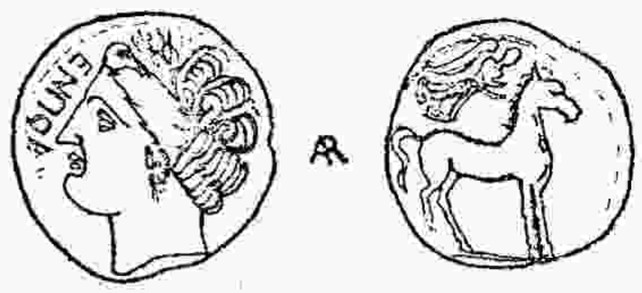
2. RHODE



3 PHILIP II

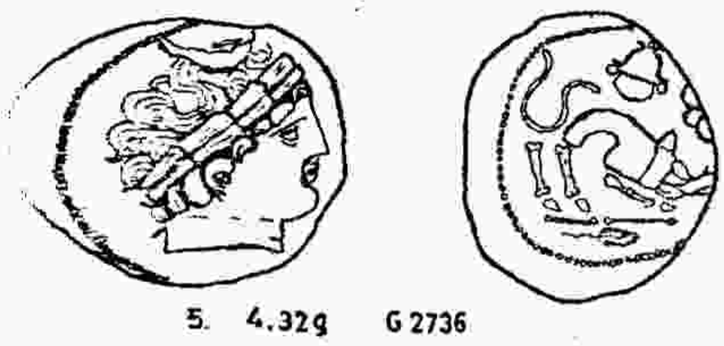



4a EMPORIAE




4b EMPORIAE Punic drachm

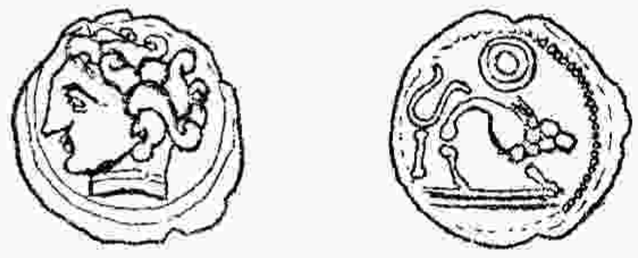
# BRIDIERS HOARD



5. 4.32g G 2736



6. 4.52g BN 2250



7 3.82g BN 2253



8. G 2754 4.35g



9. ABT pl II.7




10. 4.47g BN 4549

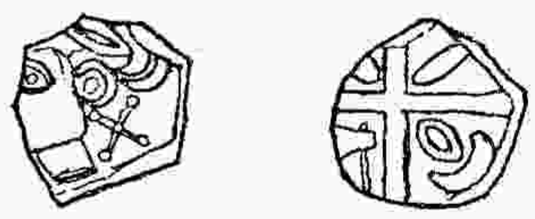
# MONNAIES A LA CROIX



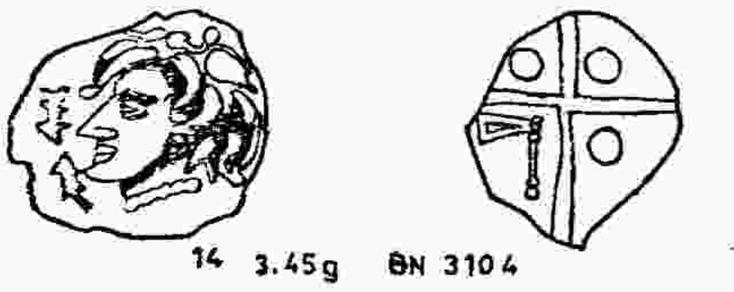
11 3.62g BN 2956
Béziers type



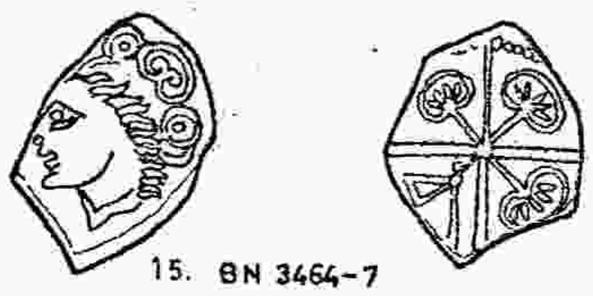
12 3.53g BN 3111



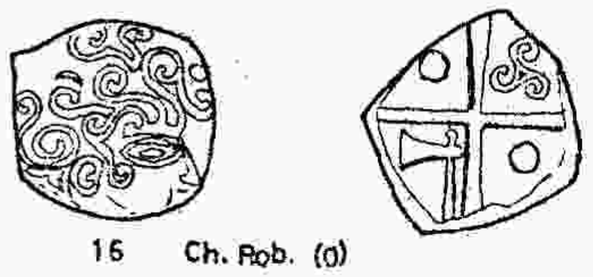
13 Allen fig. 33



14 3.45g BN 3104



15. BN 3464-7
2.16-2.28g



16 Ch. Rob. (0)



17 Allen fig. 103
Belvès Hd.



1.86 g
18 Allen fig 102
Belvès Hd.



19 5.00g BN 6703

# EASTERN SILVER

Plate II



1. ABT pl. II. 13



2. ABT fig 122



3, BN 2620-2644



4. BN 2879 2.47 g



2.36g

5. BN 2924



2,05g

6. BN 5820



1.93g

7. BN 5762



7.17g

8. BN 4843



2.01g

9. BN 4858



1.90 g

10. BN 3684



2.01g

11. BN 4867



1.95g

12. BN 5351



1.92g

13. BN 5252



2.00g

14. BN 5099



15. ABT fig 52



16. ABT fig 51



1.84g

17. BN 8291



1.85 g

18. BN 8178



1.93g

19. BN 4871



1.93 g

20. BN 4886



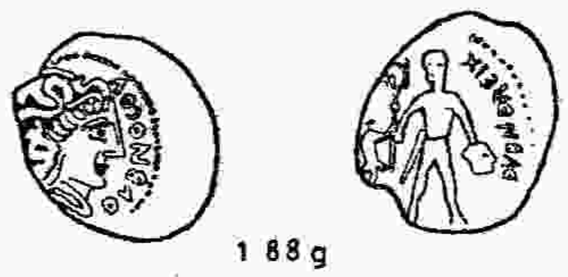
1.90 g

21. BN 4800



1 80 g

22. BN 5026



1 88 g

23. BN 5044



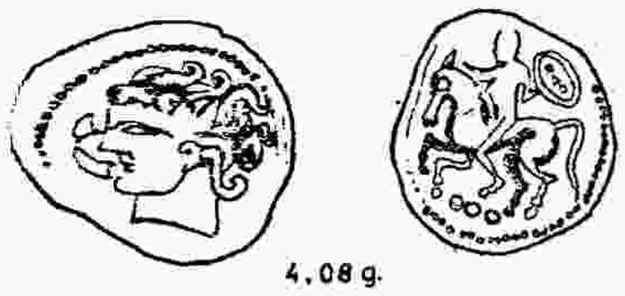
1.82-1.97 g

24. BN 5405 - 5411

# POITOU SILVER

Plate III

A



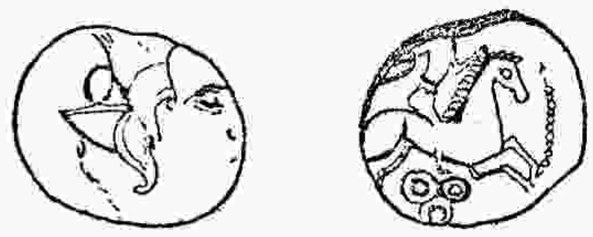
4.08 g.

1. BN 4460 St Just



4.08 g

2. ABT pl II. 3



3.94 g

3. B.D 965.1.6415 Buxeuil

PI



3.55 g

4. BN 4433

PII



3.40 g

5. B.D.965.1.6412



3.62 g

6. BN 4439

PIII



3.47 g

7. BN 4446

PIV



3.07 g

8. BN 4461

VARIANTS



3.17 g

9. B.D.965.1.6411



3.33 g

10. BN 6050 i



3.33 g

11. BN 6050



6.98 g

12. BN 4069A

B i



3.47 g

BN 5986

13. Hd. Issoudun & Charnizay



3.45 g

BN 5994

14. Hd. Issoudun & Charnizay

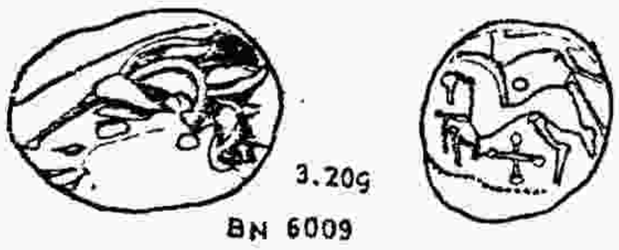


3.48 g

BN 6011

15. Hd. Issoudun & Charnizay

ii



3.20 g

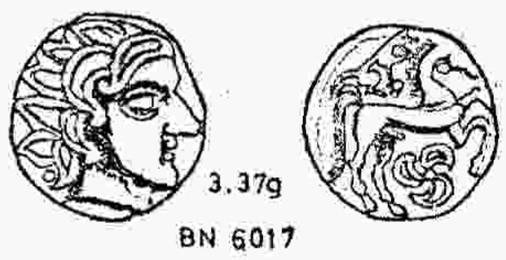
BN 6009

16. Hd. Issoudun & Charnizay



3.17 g

17. B 962.X.10



3.37 g

BN 6017

18. Hd. Issoudun & Charnizay

VARIANTS



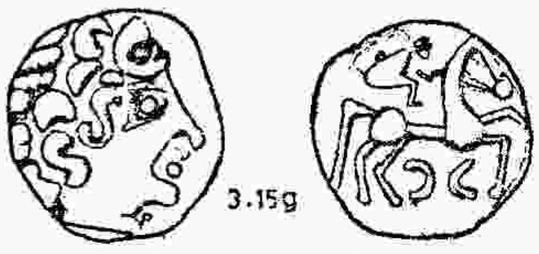
3.23 g

19. B D965.1.4826 Buxeuil



3.32 g

20. BN 6033



3.15 g

21. B D965.1.4824

Hd. Vierzon

es BN 6022 hd. Issoudun & Charnizay)



2.70g

1. BN6032 Hd.Issoudun & Charnizay



3.82g

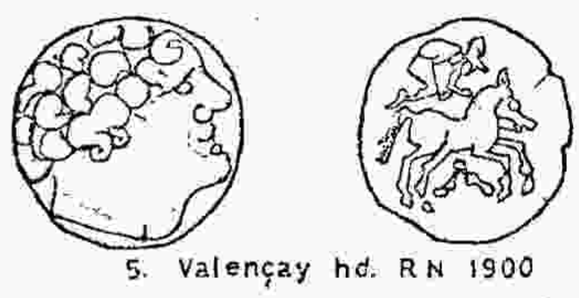
2. BN 6014 Hd Issoudun & Charnizay



3. Valençay hd. RN 1900



4. Valençay hd. RN 1900



5. Valençay hd. RN 1900




1.37g

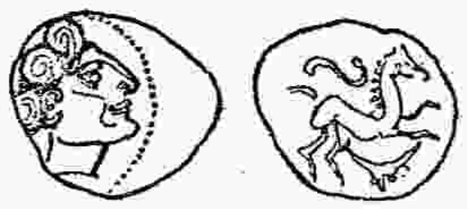
6. BN 4478

# AUVERGNE AND OTHER CENTRAL SILVER

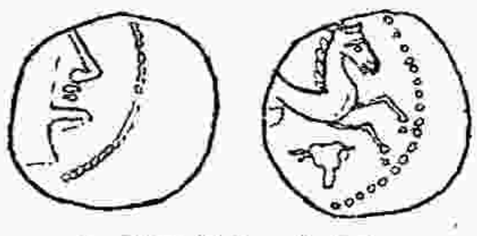
Plate IV



4. BN 3770 2.34g



5. BN 3804 1.84g



6. BN 3813 2.43g



7. BN 3824 2.20g



8. BN 3770A 2.38g



9. BN 3781 1.08g



10. BN 3794 2.00g



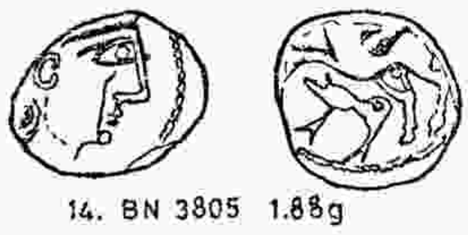
11. BN 3784 1.74g



12. BN 3825 1.97g



13. BN 3826 2.32g



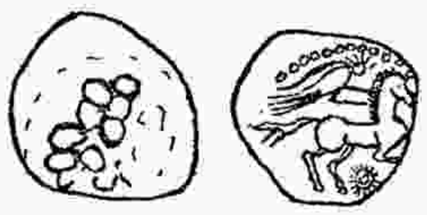
14. BN 3805 1.88g



2.27g
15. BN 3803 Carent



16. BN 4030 2.28g



17. BN 4026 1.98g Vernon



18. BN 4027 2.52g



19. BN 3833 0.94g



20. BN 3876 2.52g



21. BN 93700 2.76g



22. BN 3783 2.28g



23. BN 3818 2.33g



24. BN 3815 1.81g



25. BN 3824 2.34g



26. BN 3900 1.88g

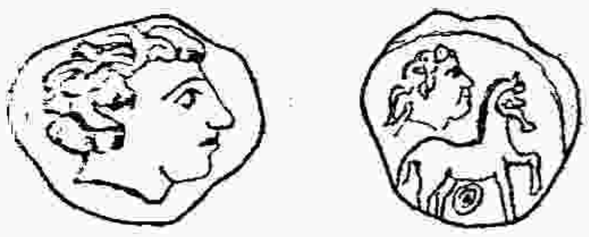


27. BN 5985 1.06g

# AQUITANIC SILVER

Plate V

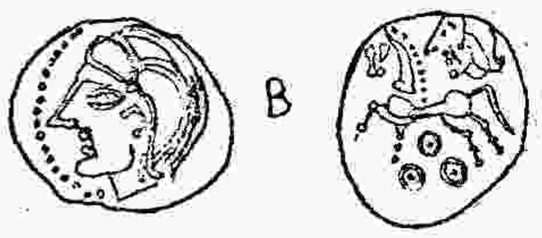
A.



1. ABT fig 44
Puy Duchalard



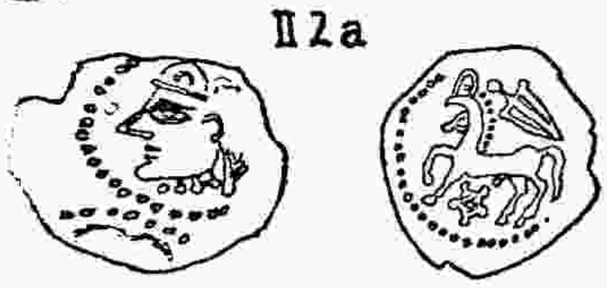
2. BN 4561 2.02g
Hd. Bénévent-l'Abbaye



3. BN 4572 2.06g

B.

II 2a



4. BN 4097 1.97g

II 2b



5. M 3940 1.90g
Hd. Tendu

II 2c



6. BN 4106 1.86g

II 3Aa



7. M 3916 1.90g
Hd. Tendu

M 3926



8. M 3918 1.94g
Hd. Tendu

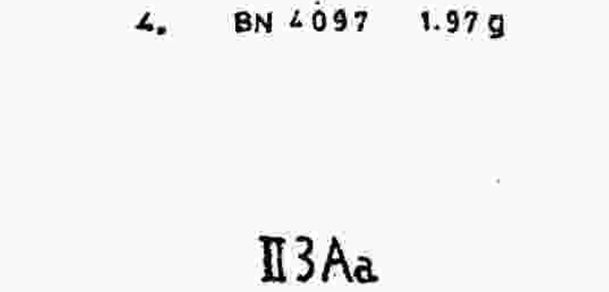
linked by obv and rev dies

II 3b



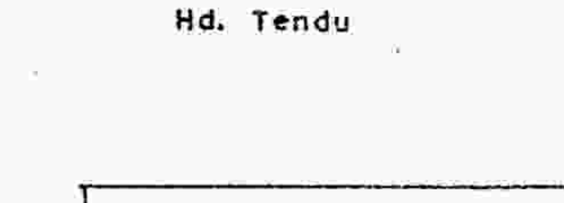
9. M 3920 1.85g
Hd. Tendu

II 2d



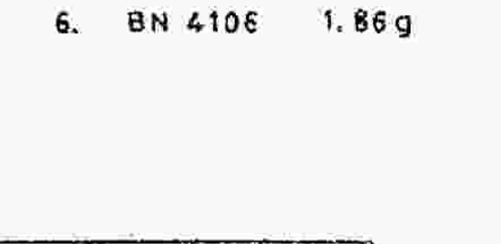
10. M 3948 1.83g
Hd. Tendu

II 4a



11. BN 4111 1.80g

II 4b



12. BN 4108 1.68g

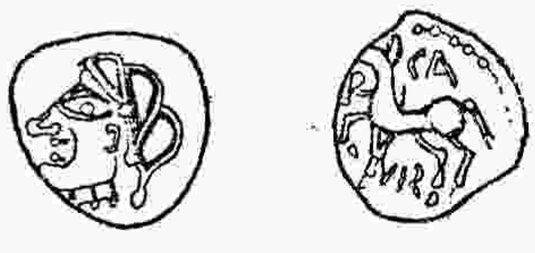


13. BN 4139 1.81g





14. BN 4117 1.79g



15. BN 4145 1.91g



16. BN 4114 1.73g





17. BN 4131 1.90g





18. BN 4112 1.33g

II 2a



19. M (II 2a)





20. BN 4621 2.82g





21. BN 4143 4.38g

# EARLIEST GOLD

Plate VI

## OVER 8.0g

I i



1. BN 3620 8.15g

I ii



2. BN 3614 8.38g

I iii



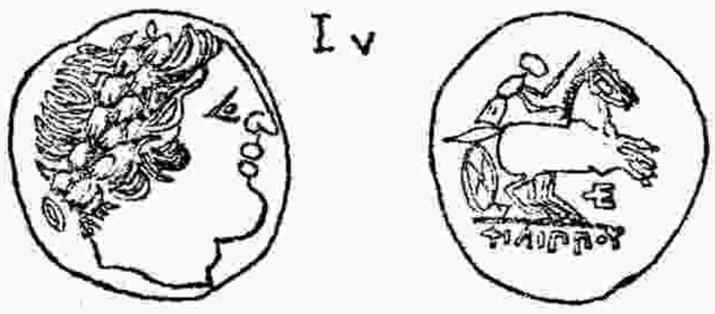
3. BN 3620A 8.37g

I iv



4. BN 6410 8.35g
Dinan (C.du N.)

I v



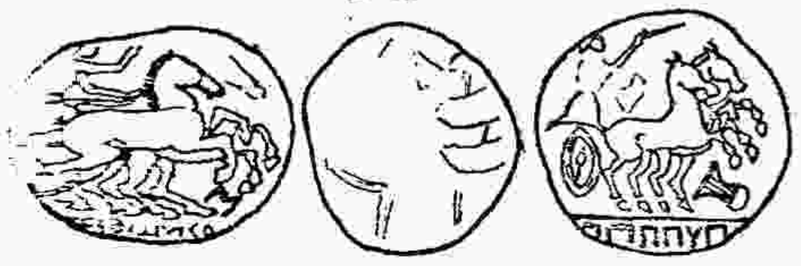
5. BM 33 8.55g

I vi



6. B.959.29.1 8.32g
Ainay le Château

I vii



7. BN10289 8.33g BN 4844 8.34g

I viii



8. BN 4832 8.27g

I



9. BN 6411 8.04g

II i



10. BN 4837 8.35g



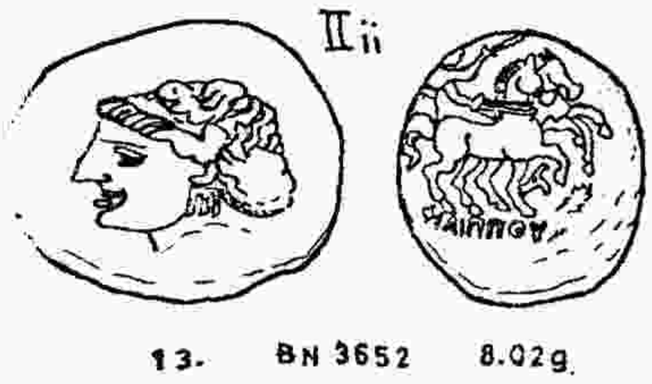
11. BN 6947 4.05g
Bayeux

II i



12. BN 5315 8.05g
Hd. Crémieu (Isère)

II ii



13. BN 3652 8.02g

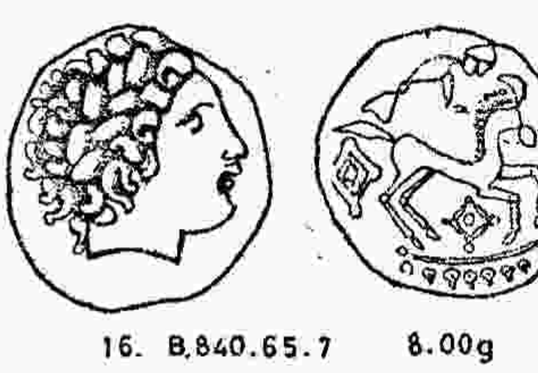
II iii



14. BN 3677A 2.05g



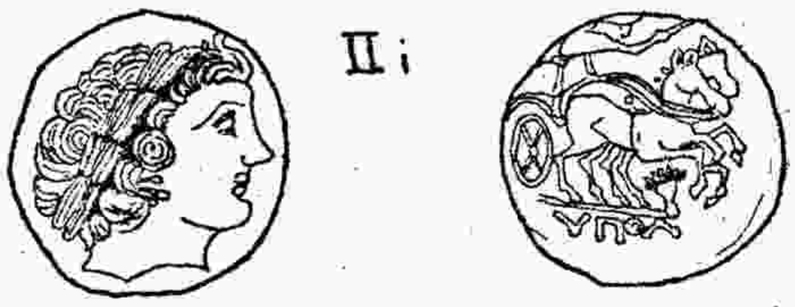
15. BN 3630A 2.05g



16. B.840.65.7 8.00g

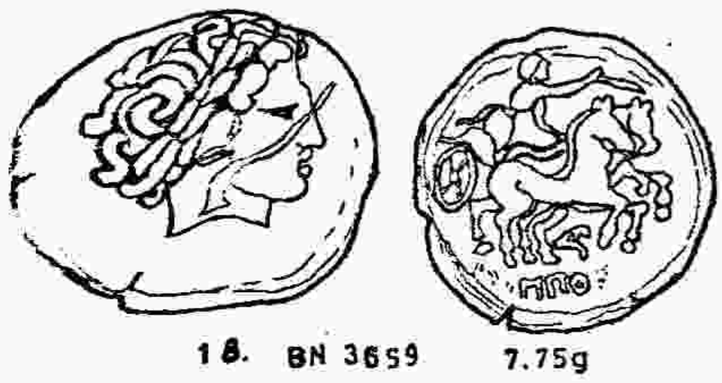
## UNDER 8.0g

II i



17. BN 4543 7.76g

II ii



18. BN 3659 7.75g



19. BN 3668 7.56g



20. BN 3662 7.49g

# CENTRAL GOLD

Plate VII

II iii



1. BN 3626 7.79g

II iii a



2. B.908.12.1 7.28g
Avord

II iii a



3. B.910.2.1 7.04g
Ivoy le Pré nr. Gien

II iii



4. B.882.5.1 1.66g
Vierzon

II iii b



5. B.868.2.36 1.70g
Nr Bourges



6. B.D965.1.4830 1.85g
Berry



7. B.882.5.2 1.66g
Vierzon

II iv

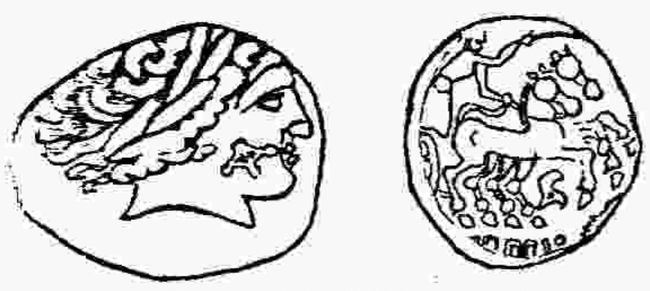


8. BN 3670 7.65g

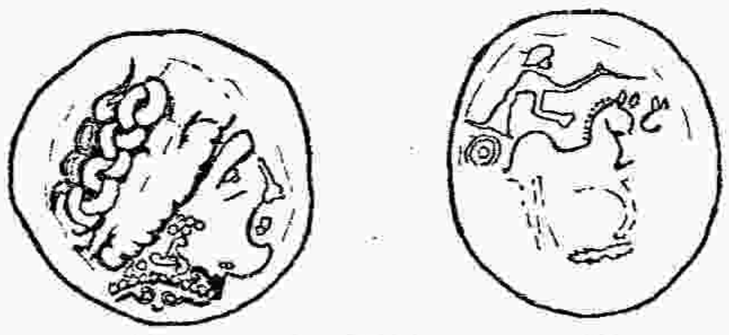


9. BN 3679 7.81g

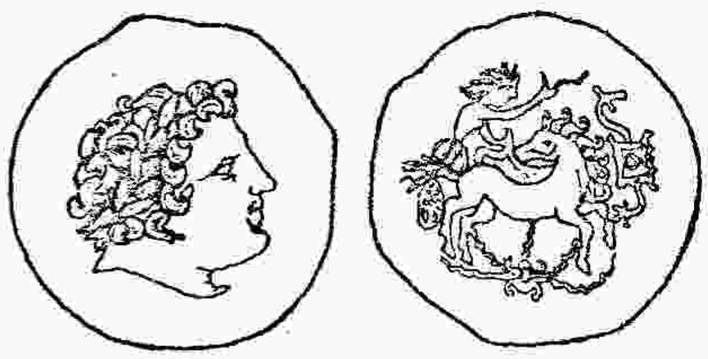
II



10. BN 1970/86 7.80g
Toulon sur Arroux



11. BN 3669 7.87g



12. BN 6421A 7.94g



13. BN 3655A 7.53g



14. BN 3627 7.88g



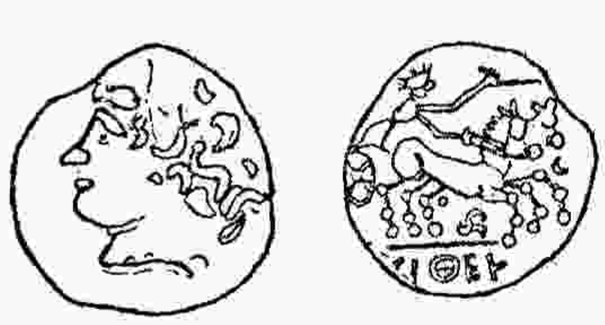
15. BM 31 7.99g



16. BN 3628 7.40g



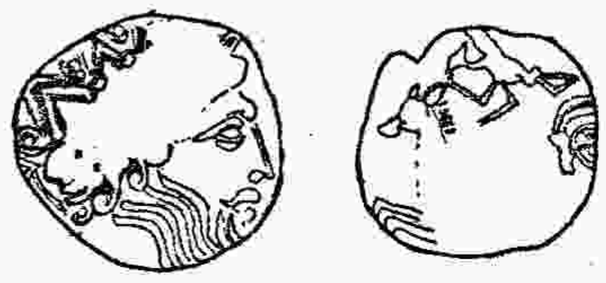
17. BM 14 7.55g



18. BN 3628A 7.31g



19. B.965.1.4827 7.08g
Feusines



20. B897.22.1 7.23g
Le Dorat

# CENTRAL GOLD

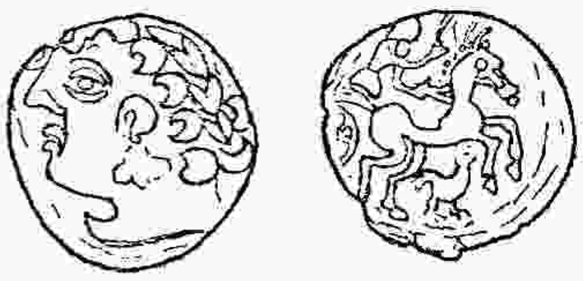
Plate VIII



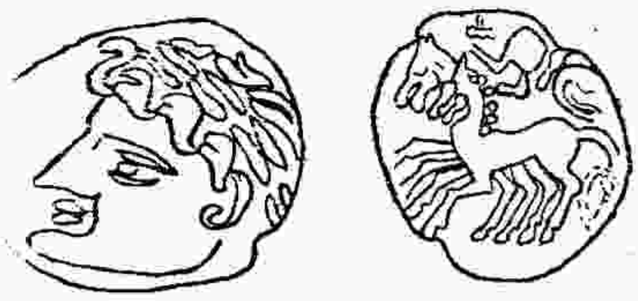
1. BN 5949A 7.55g



2. cf BN 6055g 7.15g
Les Aubrais



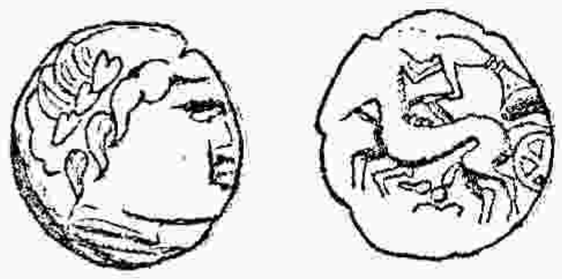
3. BN 4596 6.70g



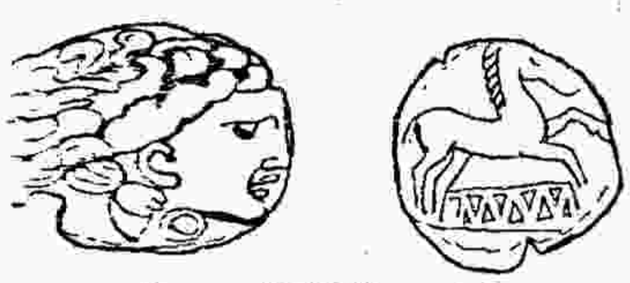
4. BN 6967 5.80g
Annonay (Ardèche)



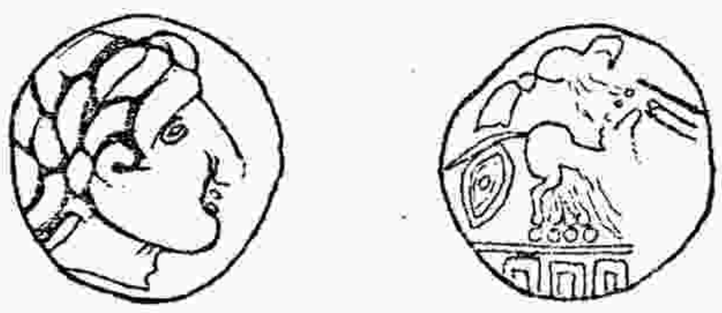
5. BN 6068 6.85g



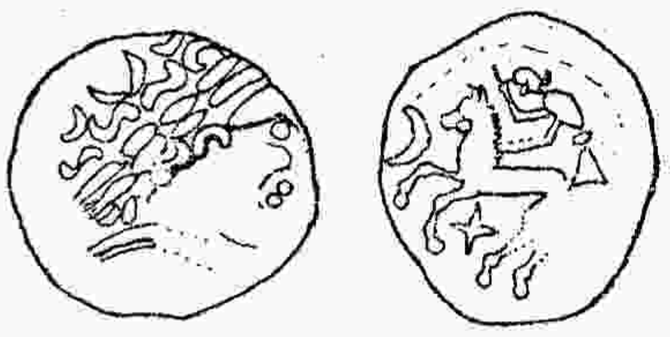
6. BN 3696 6.90g



7. BN 3709 7.35g



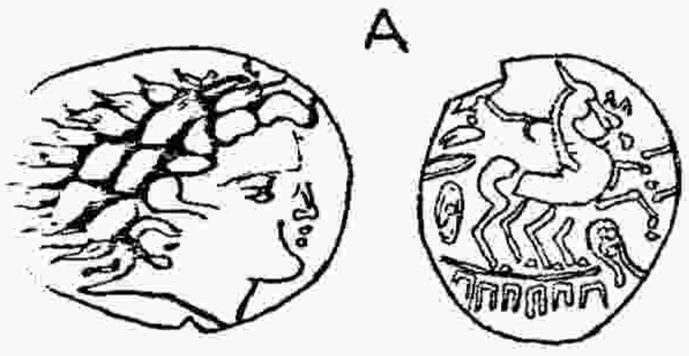
8. BN 3654A 7.60g



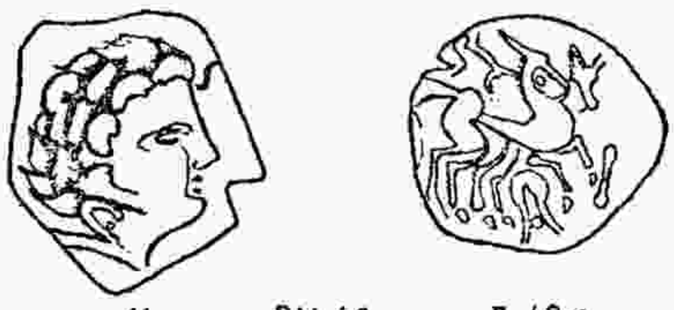
9. BN 3697A 7.42g

## UNDER 7.60g

A



10. BM 44 7.53g



11. BM 46 7.40g

B



12. BN 5949 3 7.41g

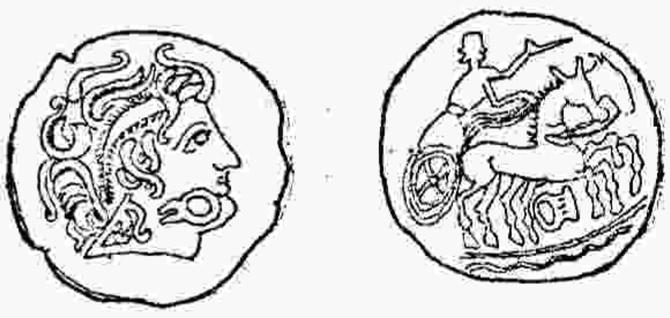
C



13. BN 5951 7.31g



14. BN 5957 7.11g



15. BN 5318 7.75g

II

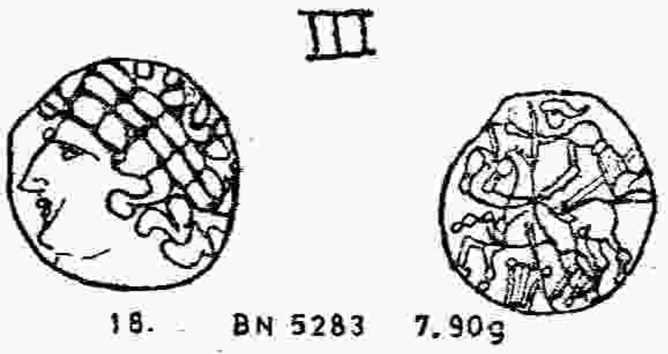


16. BN 3671 7.39g

III



17. BN 5281 7.44g
Lapte hoard



18. BN 5283 7.90g
Lapte hoard



19. BN 3572A 7.42g

I. S-W gold: type of Tayac hoard (Gir.). Cf. Pl. VI.5, VIII.8, 16.



7.62g

1. Tayac hd. Forrer fig. 81



7.79g

2. BN 3654 B



7.83g

3. BN 3621

II. Coins from the Soings hoard (L+Ch.) Redrawn from RN 1836 pl.II.



4.



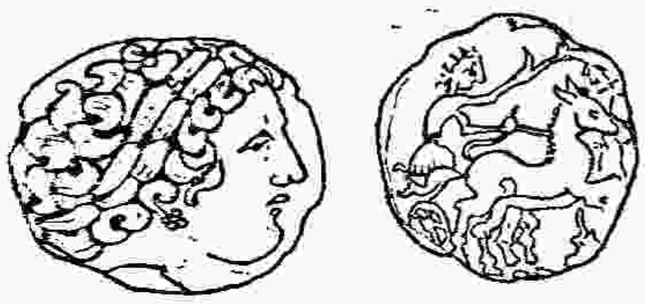
4a. pl. VI. 16



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.

III. Isolated finds at Soings (L+Ch.) Redrawn from RN 1836 pl.II.



11.





12.



IV. Coins from the Chenoves hoard (S+L) Redrawn from Blanchet (1934)

6.90-7.09g



13.





14.





15.





16.





17.





18.



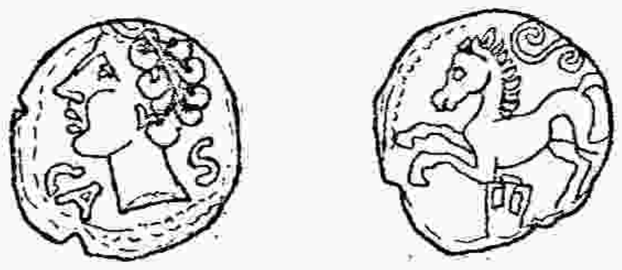
# AUVERGNE GOLD

Plate IX

IA



1. BN 3745 7.04g



2. BN 3767 7.31g



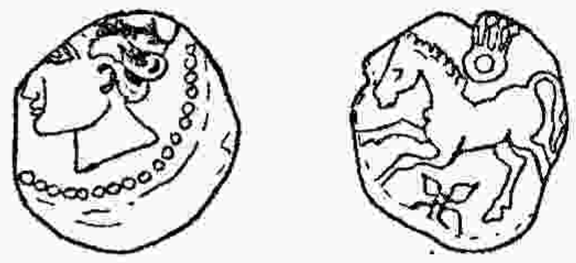
3. BN 3758 7.36g
Hd. Pionsat



4. BN 3764 7.40g

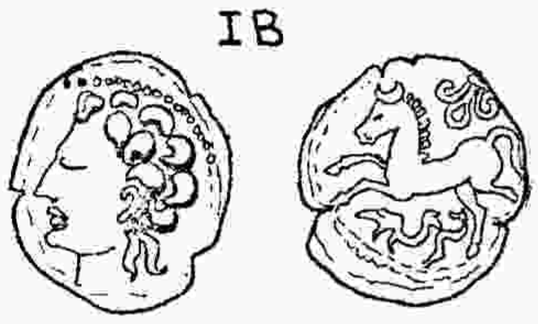


5. BN 3761 7.43g



6. BN 3753 7.35g
Hd. Pionsat

IB



7. BN 3755 7.43g

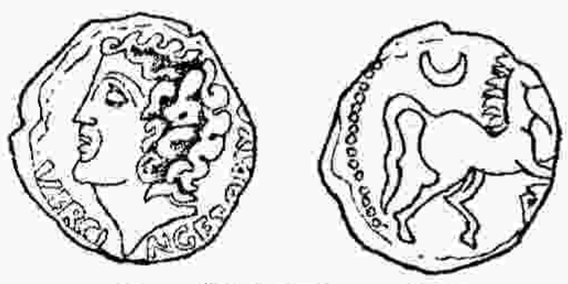
IC



8. BN 3774 7.44g
Hd. Pionsat



9. BN 3775 7.42g
Hd. Pionsat

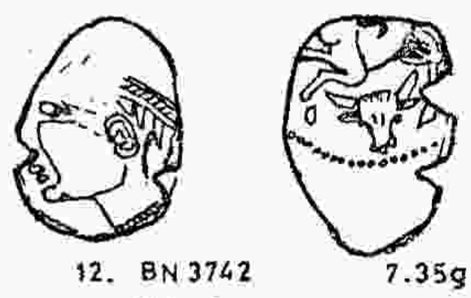


10. BN 3777 7.46g

ID

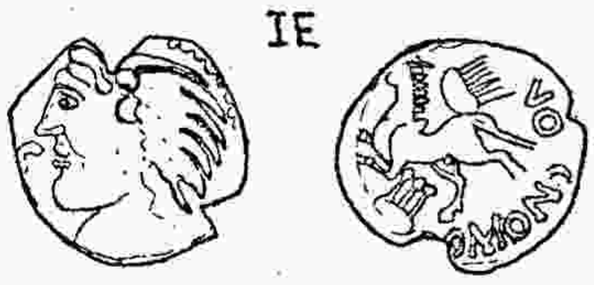


11. BN 3740 7.48g

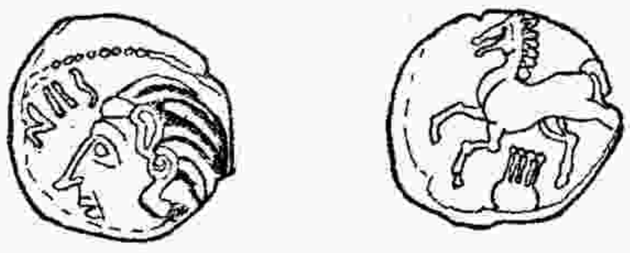


12. BN 3742 7.35g
Hd. Pionsat

IE

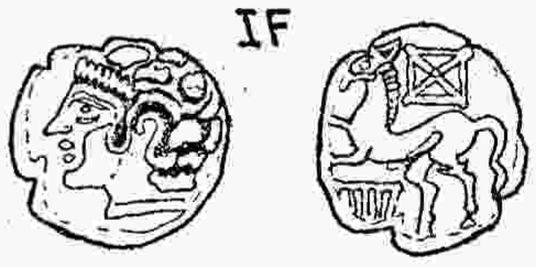


13. BN 3760 7.37g



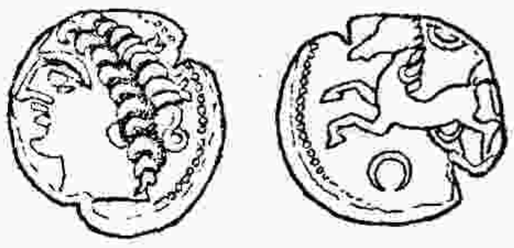
14. BN 3751 7.41g
Hd. Pionsat

IF



15. BN 3738 7.45g

IG



16. BN 3710 7.53g



17. BN 3711 7.43g

IH

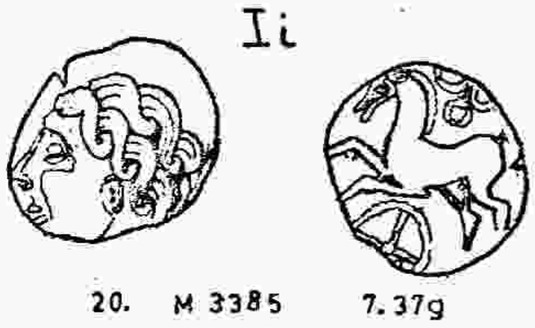


18. M 7.33g



19. BN 3730 1,85g

Ii



20. M 3385 7.37g
Nr. Le Pecq

IJ



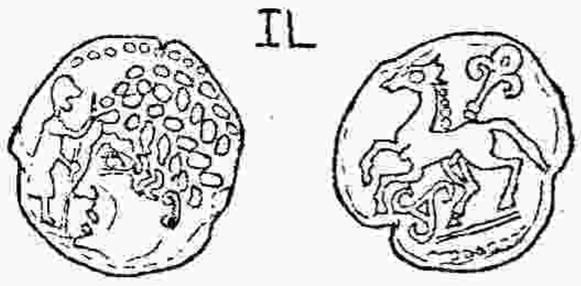
21. BN 3599 6.86g

IK



22. BN 3698 6,72

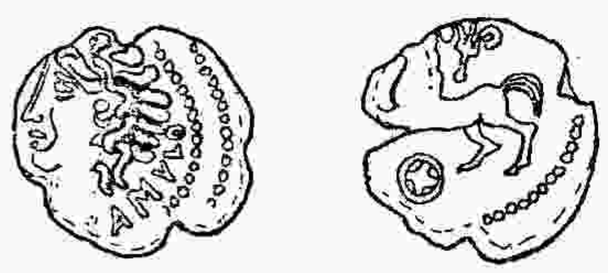
IL



1. cf BN 3722 7.37g



2. BN 3728 7.47g



3. BN 3727 7.32g

IM



4. BN 3821 2.25g
Gergovie

IN



5. BN 3743 6.62g
Hd. Pionsat

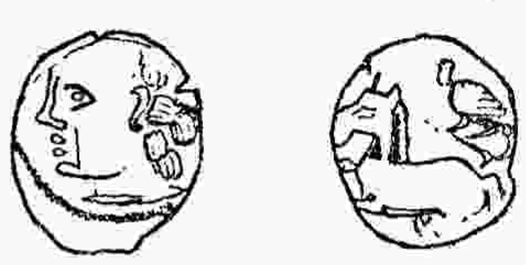
IO



6. BN 3701 7.59g



7. M 2674 7.21g
Ebreuil



8. BN 3702 7.56g

II



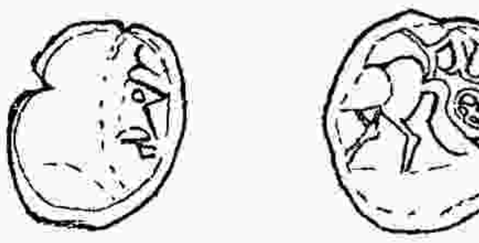
9. BN 3716 7.43g
Hd. Pionsat



10. BN 3715 7.34g



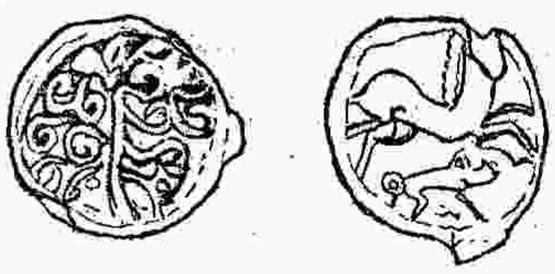
11. BN3735 7.39g
Hd. Pionsat



12. BN 3714 7.35g



13. BN3718A 7.39g



14. BN 3718 B 5.73g

IIA



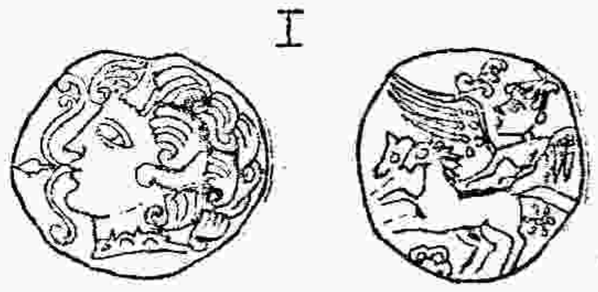
15. BN 3725 7.32g
Hd. Pionsat

# BERRY AND WESTERN CENTRAL GOLD

Plate XI

I

(5)



1. BN 4587 7.20g

II



2. B.901-13.1 6.62g

III



3. BN 4173 6.89g



4. BN 4146 6.81g



5. BN 4151 6.80g



6. BN 4148 6.85g



7. BN 4153 6.91g



8. BN 4196 7.03g

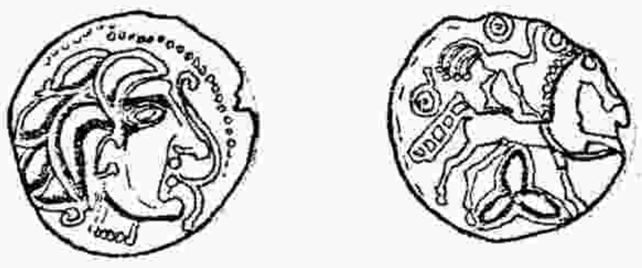
A

(6)



9. BN 4080 4.49g

B



10. BN 4072 4.57g

C



11. ANS 13 7.04g
Hd Brive



12. BN 4089 7.03g



13. BN 4091 1.73g

(7)



14. BN 4395 6.75g



15. BN 4512 5.75g



16. BN 4417 6.55g
Parthenay hoard



17. BN 4419 6.60g

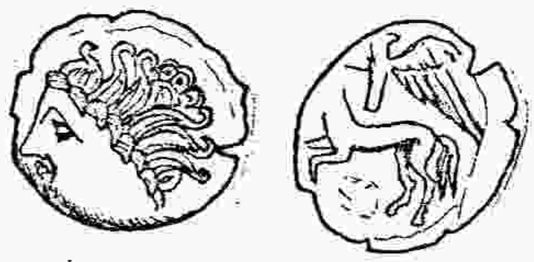
## SILVER



1. BN 4113 2.13g



2. BN 4309 1.80g

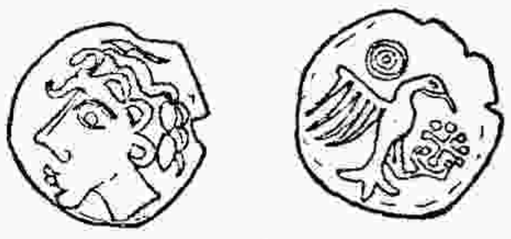


3. BN 4590 3.13g



4. BN 3444 2.16g

## GOLD



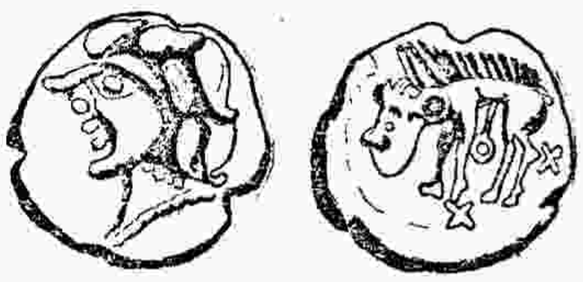
5. BN 6074 3.63g



6. ABT pl. III. 4



7. BN 6070 0.92g



8. BN 4305 6.45g



9. BN 4591 6.90g



10. BN 4592 1.60g



11. BN 4555 6.37g



12. BN 6529 7.06g



13. BN 6852 7.47g



14. BN 4581 7.85g



15. BN 4583 3.49g



16. LT. LV D7



17. BN 6585 6.49g



18. BN 6720 5.80g



19. BN 7782 7.27g



20. BN 5963 1,87g

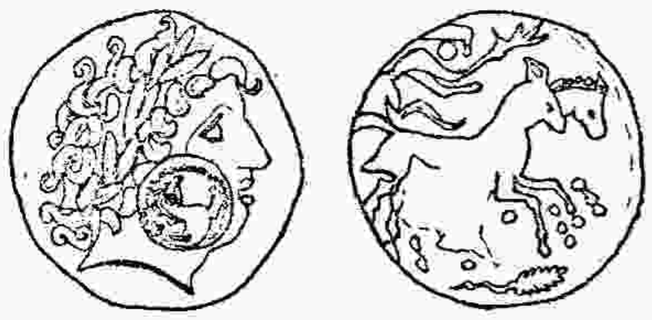


21. BN 4198 1.70g

# EARLY AREMORICAN GOLD (MAPS 14 - 16)

Plate XIII

See also pl. VIIIA 7-'10



1. BN 6897 7.64 g
La Ferté Bernard



2. BN 6901 7.95 g



3. BN 6913 7.00 g
Les Aubrais



4. BN 6756 8.11



5. BN 6760 1.98 g



6. BN 6950 4.15 g
Nr. Caen



7. BN 6722 1.96 g



8. BN 6941 4.03 g



9. BN 6949 1.67 g



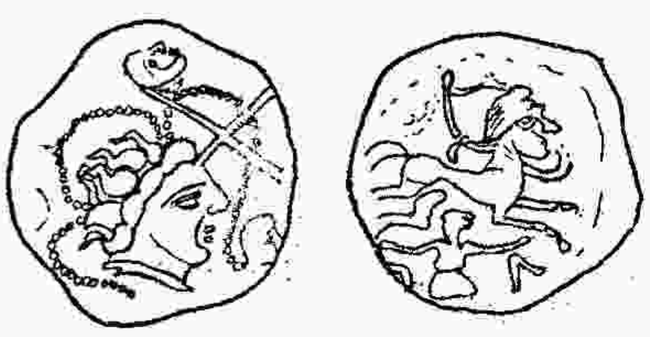
10. BN 6954 2.05 g



11. BN 6818 7.68 g



12. BN 6879 7.80 g



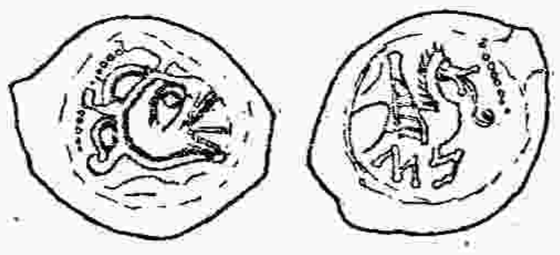
13. BN 6723 7.46 g
Candé (M et L)

# CENTRAL BRONZE

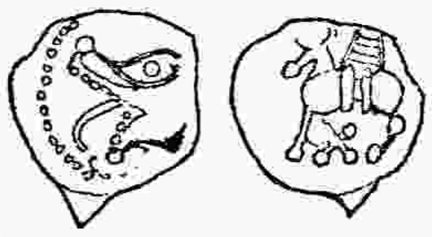
Plate XIV



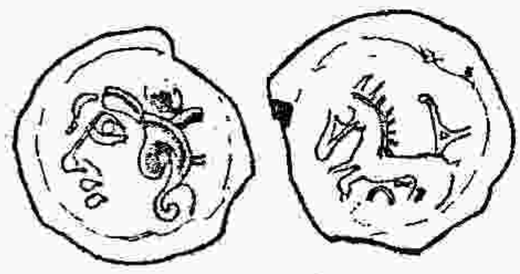
1. BN 4231



2. BN 4242A



3. BN 4245



4. B.962. X.1



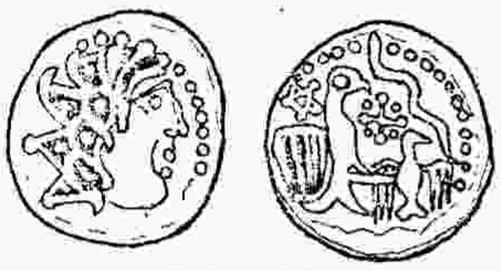
5. BN 4180 Gergovie



6. BN 7988-7981



7. BN 8006



8. BN 6088



9. BN 6108 3.20g



10. BN 7993 3,12 g



11. BN 7555 3.27g



12. BN 7575 3.30g
Vendôme



13. BN 6217 3.20 g



14. cf. BN 3931



15. BN 3868 2.30g



16. BN 3894 1,84g



17. BN 3943 1,72g



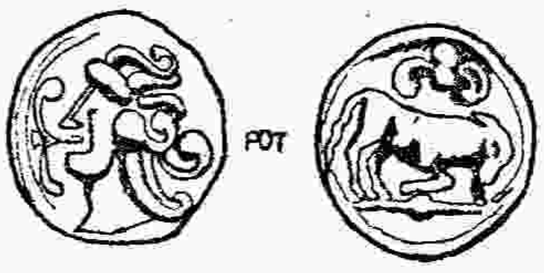
18. BN 4473 3,32 g



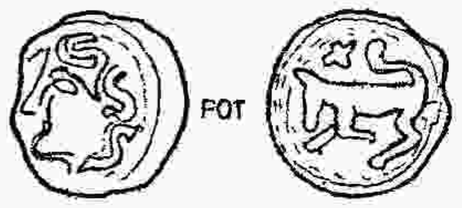
19. BN 4514 3.82g



20. BN 7729 3.35g



21. ABT fig. 111



22. ABT fig. 114

I ii : 8·30–8·39g







7·50 – 7·79g





7·70 – 7·79g





7·87g





8·05g



Crémieu (Isère)

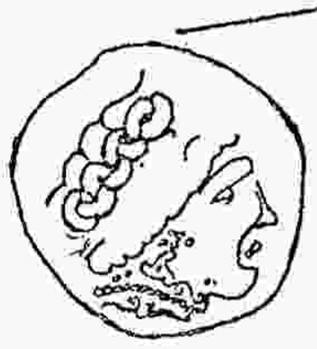


7·80g



Toulon-sur-Arroux Saone et Loire

BERRY AND TOURAINE



7·87g



7·53g



7·40g









7·28g



Avord (Cher)



7·08g



Fenains (Indre)



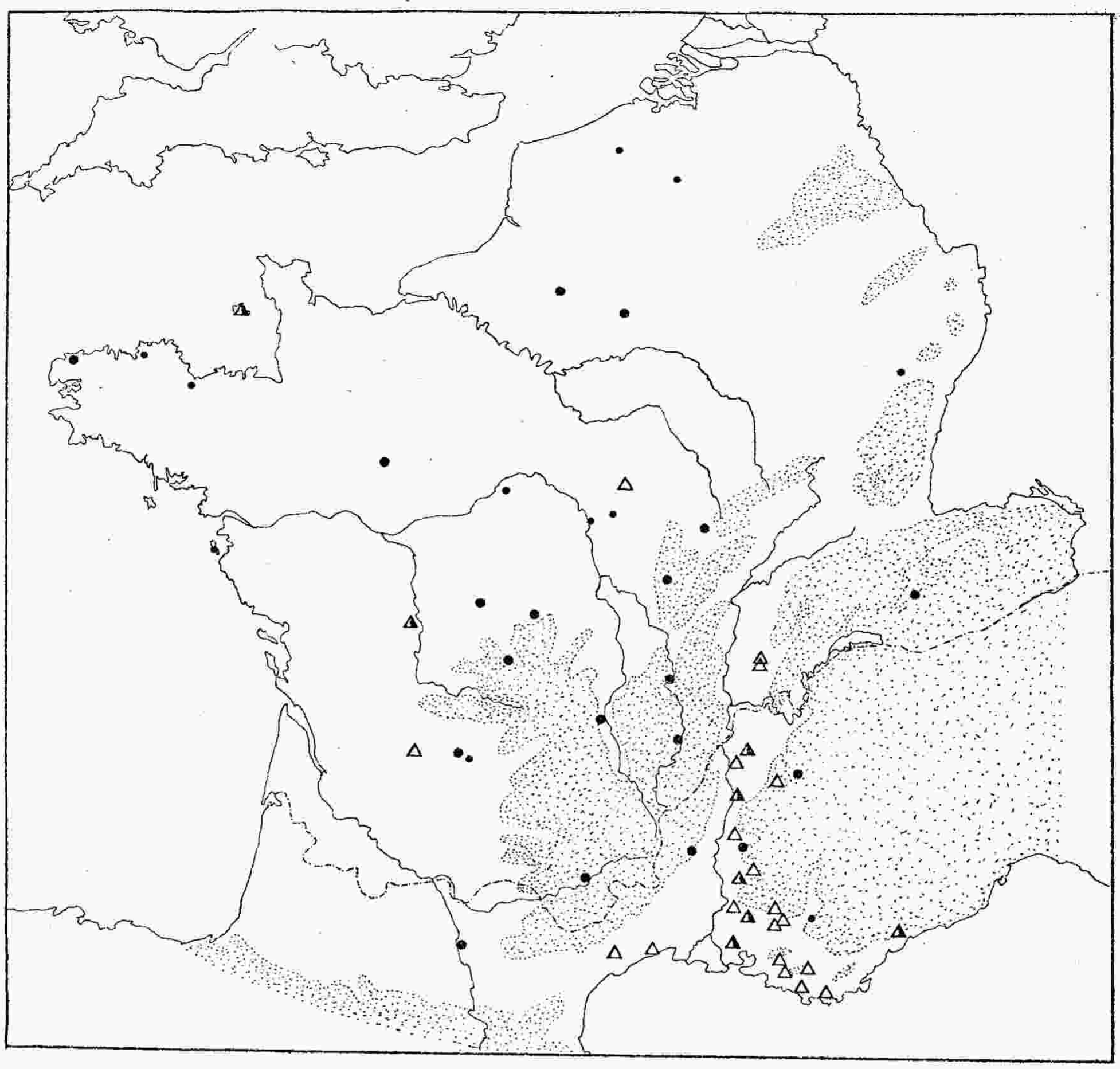
7·04g



for ʃ cf. E. Armorican coinage eg. pl. XIII 1, 2, 4

GREEK SILVER HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS (excluding coins of Rhode and Emporiae)

MAP I



△ entirely Greek hoard

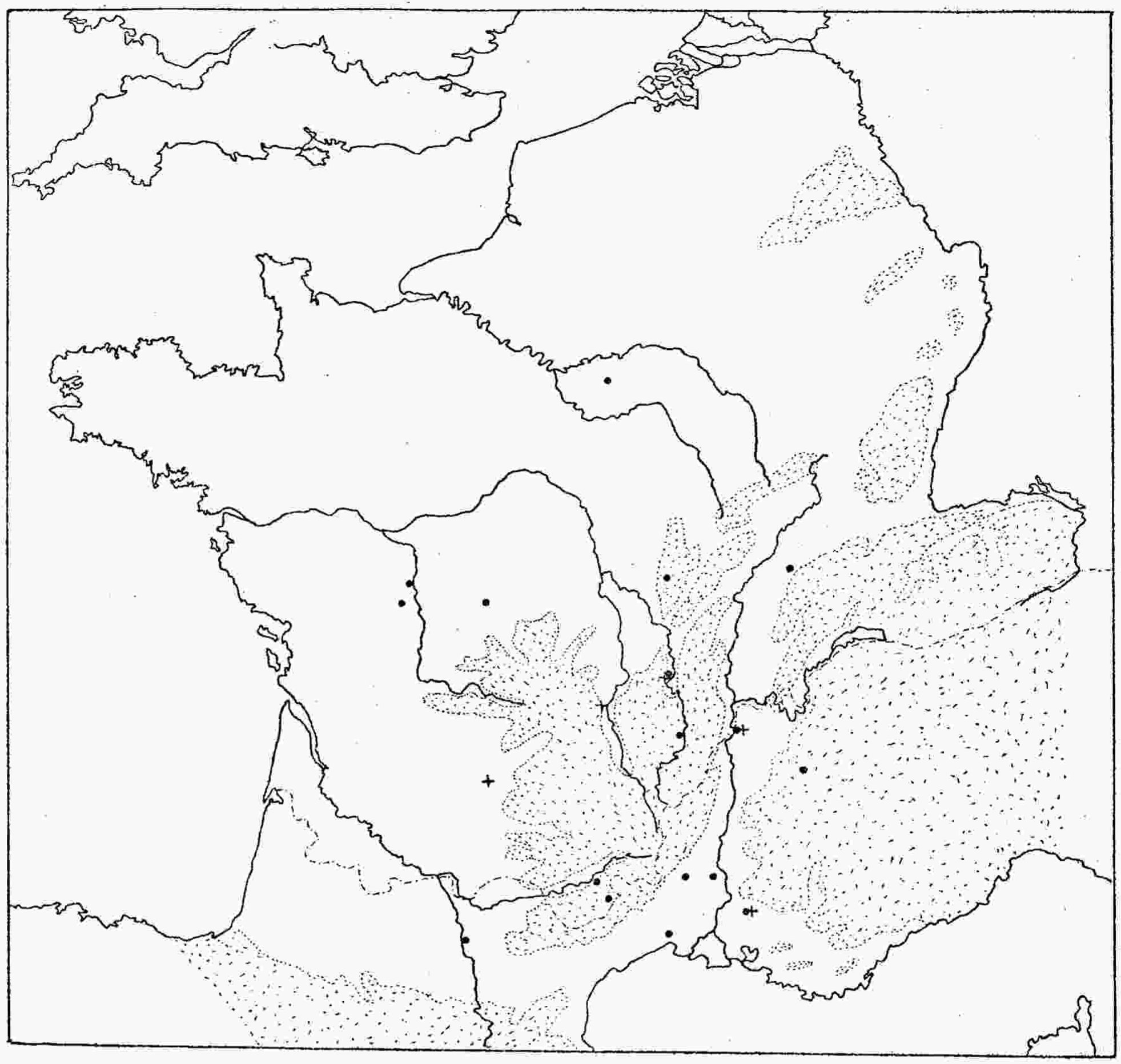
▲ hoard of mixed Greek and Celtic coins

• Massilia silver coins, stray finds

· stray finds of other Greek silver coins.

FINDS OF MASSILIA BRONZE COINS

Map 1a

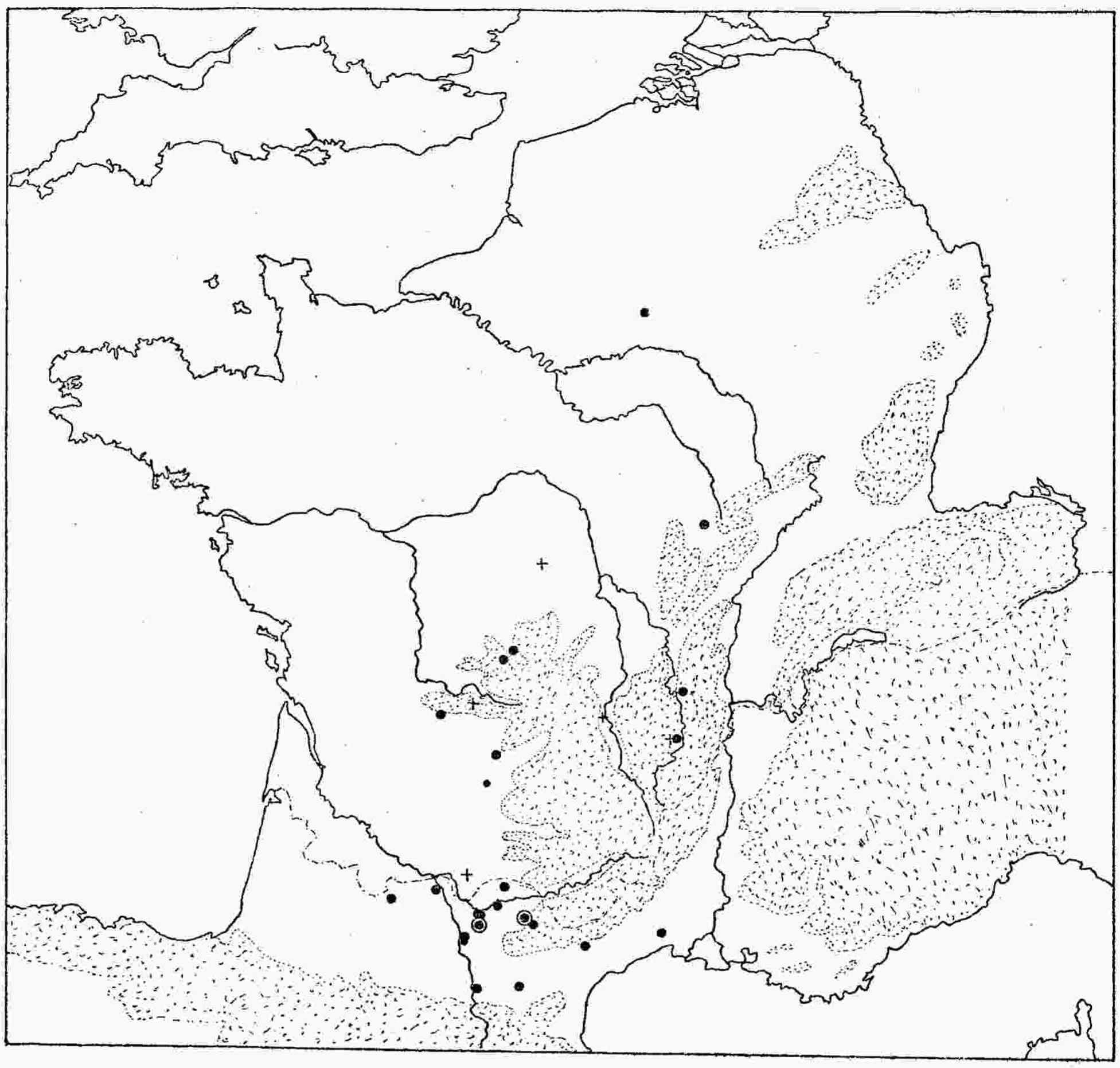


• FIND of an original coin

+ find of an imitation

FINDS OF SPANISH AND IBERIC COINS

Map 1b



◉ in a hoard

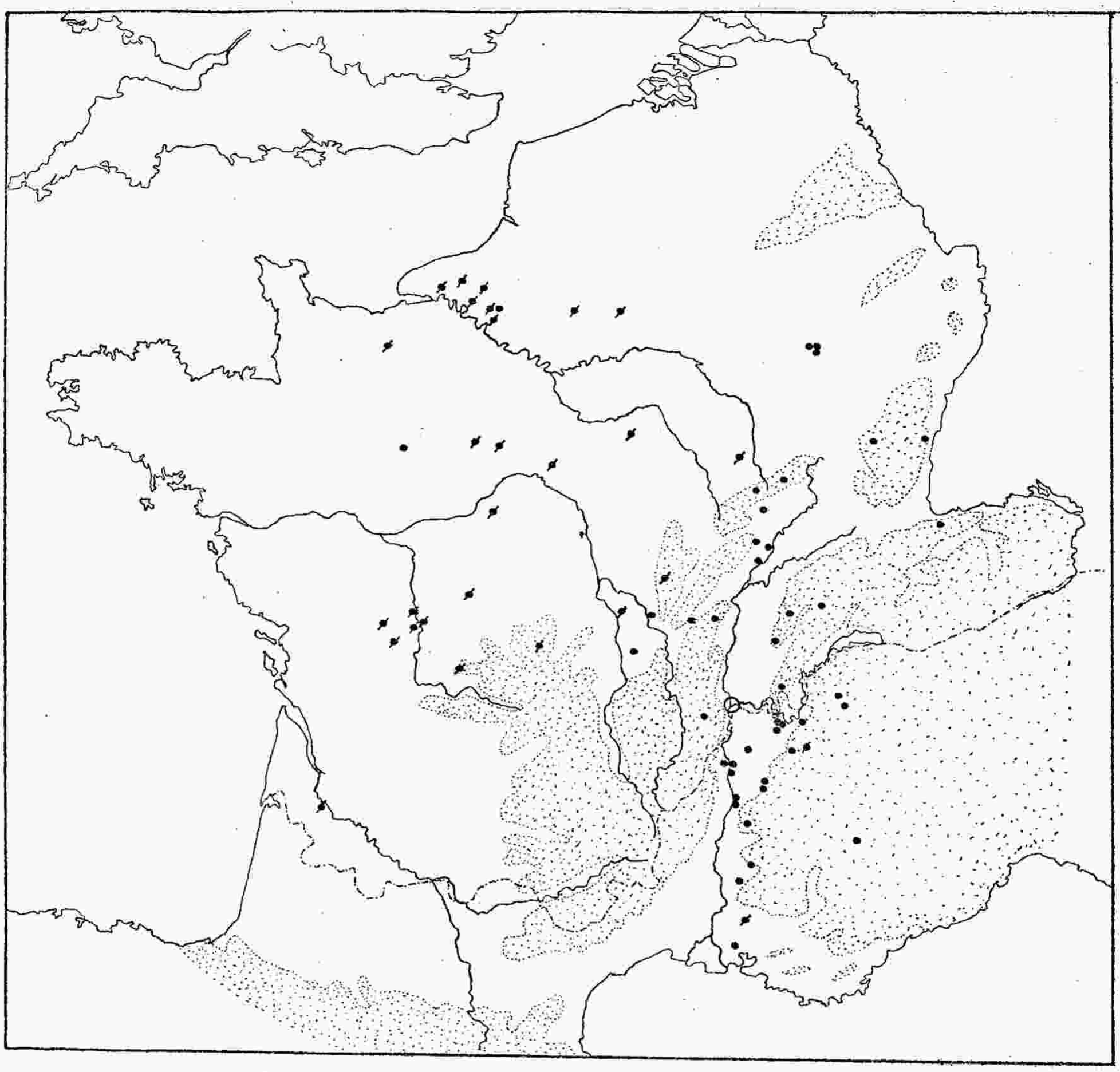
• Spanish coin

• Iberic coin of Narbonensis

+ Gallic imitation

MAINLAND HOARDS ENTIRELY OR PARTIALLY OF SILVER MAP 2

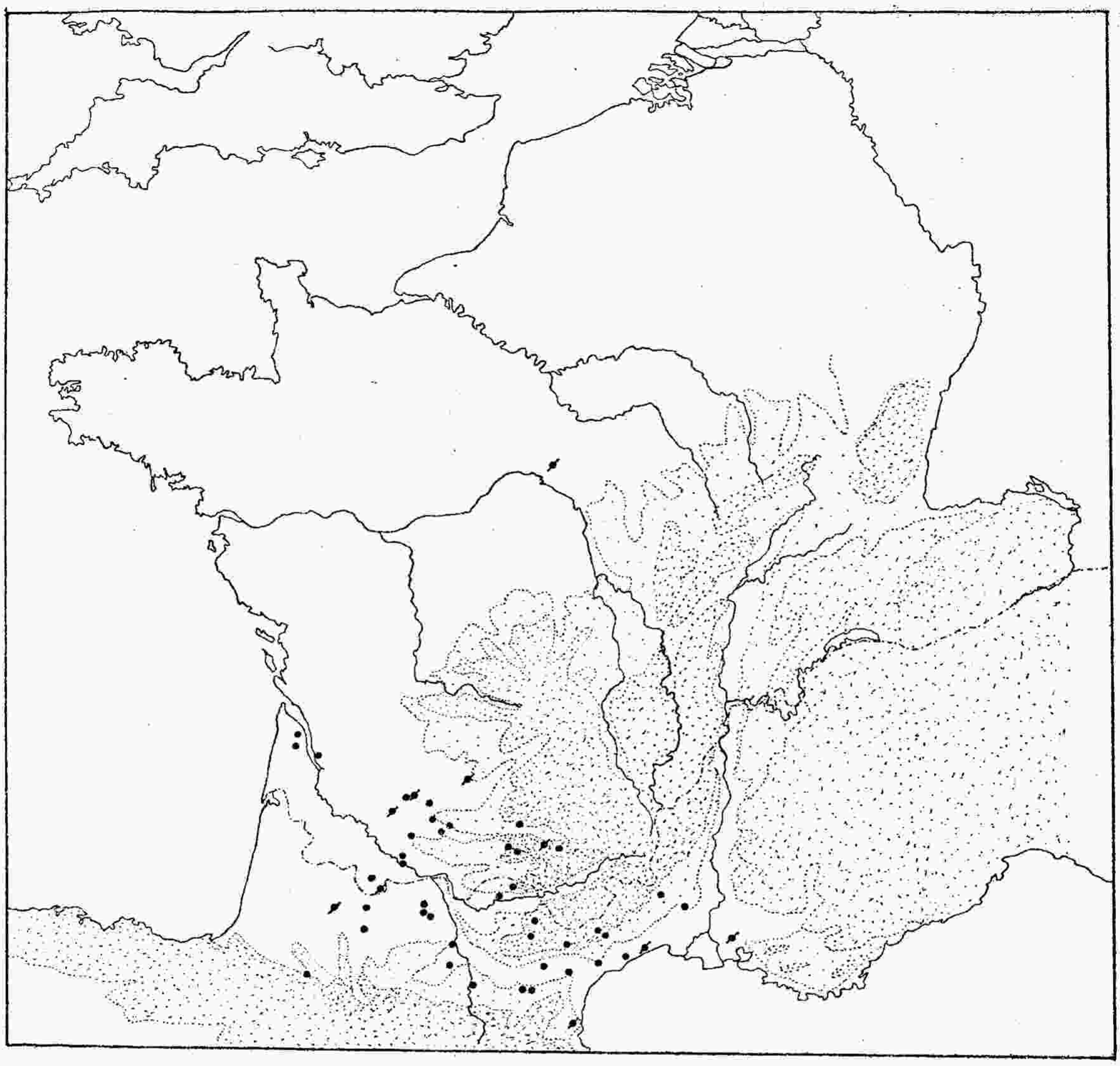
Excluding Monnaies a la croix, Poitou and Aquitanic silver.



✓ wartime hoard

HOARDS WHOLLY OR PARTIALLY OF MONNAIES A LA CROIX

MAP 3

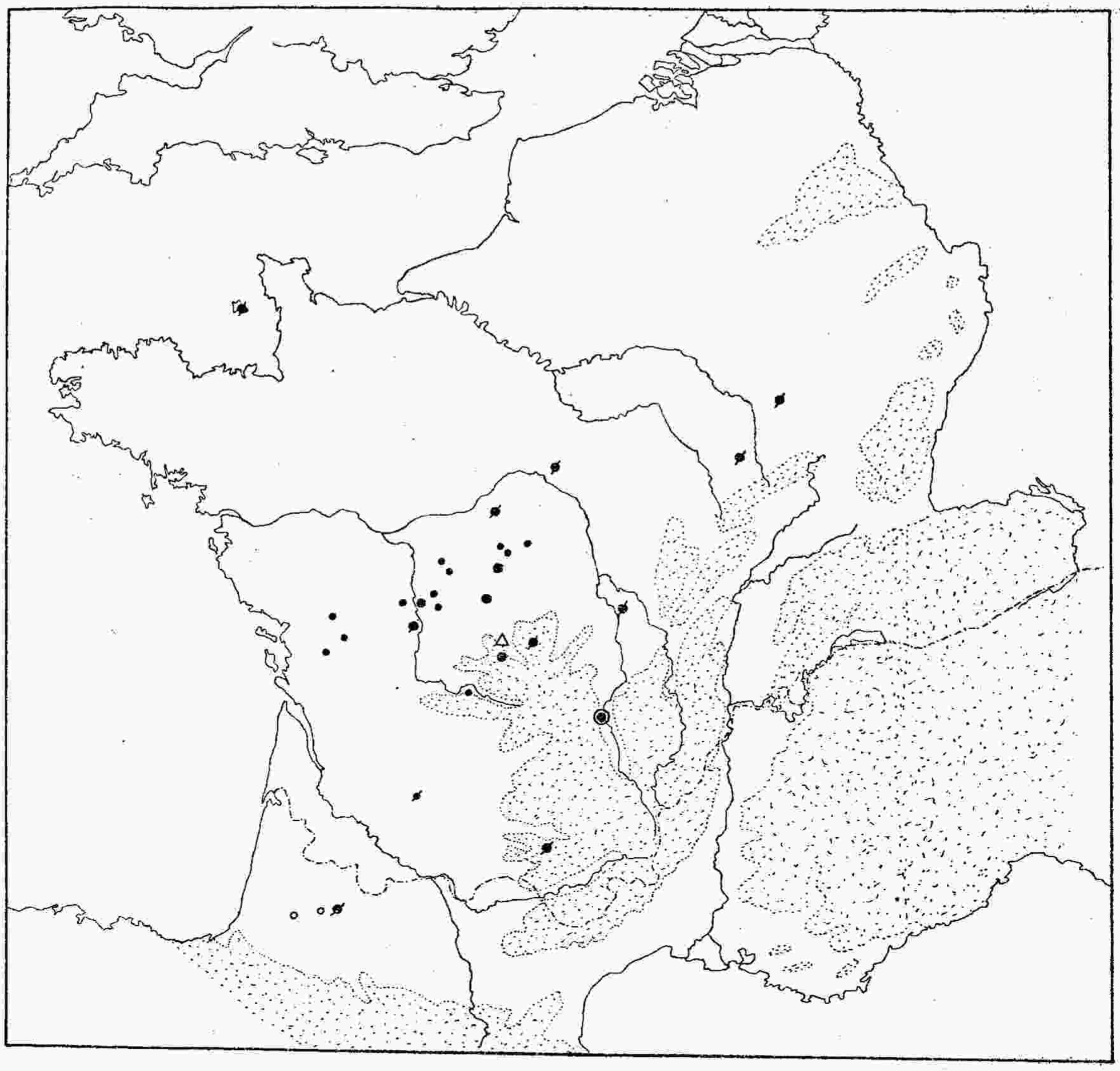


• hoards entirely of monnaies a la croix

✗ hoards partially of monnaies a la croix

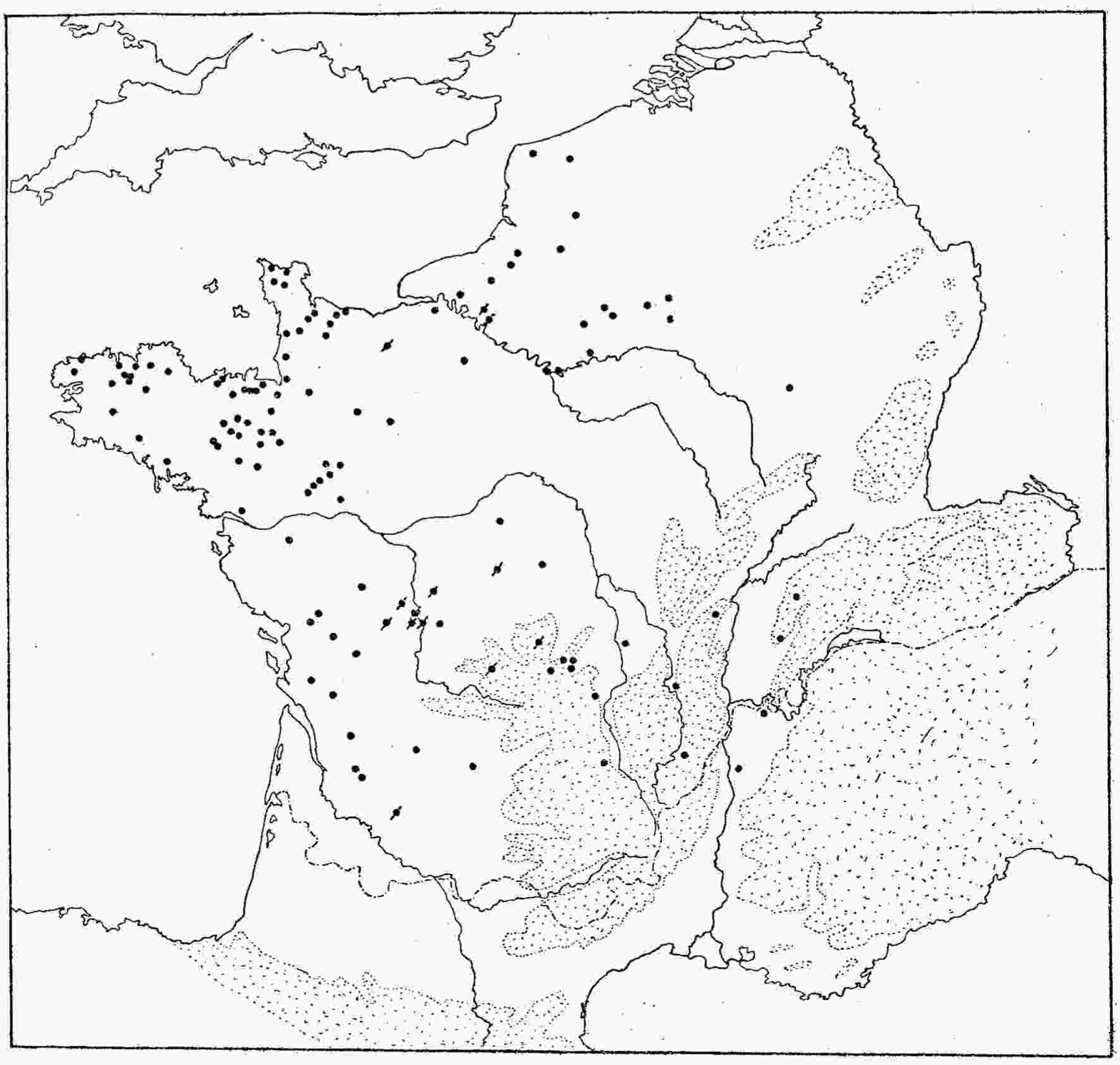
# WESTERN SILVER HOARDS

MAP 4



- • Aquitanic group
- • Poitou group
- △ Bridiers hoard
- ◉ reverse dies CAM and sword with pentagram
- ○ globular southern silver coins
- ⸗ hoard mixed with non-central types

MAINLAND HOARDS ENTIRELY OR PARTIALLY OF GOLD OR BILLON MAP 5

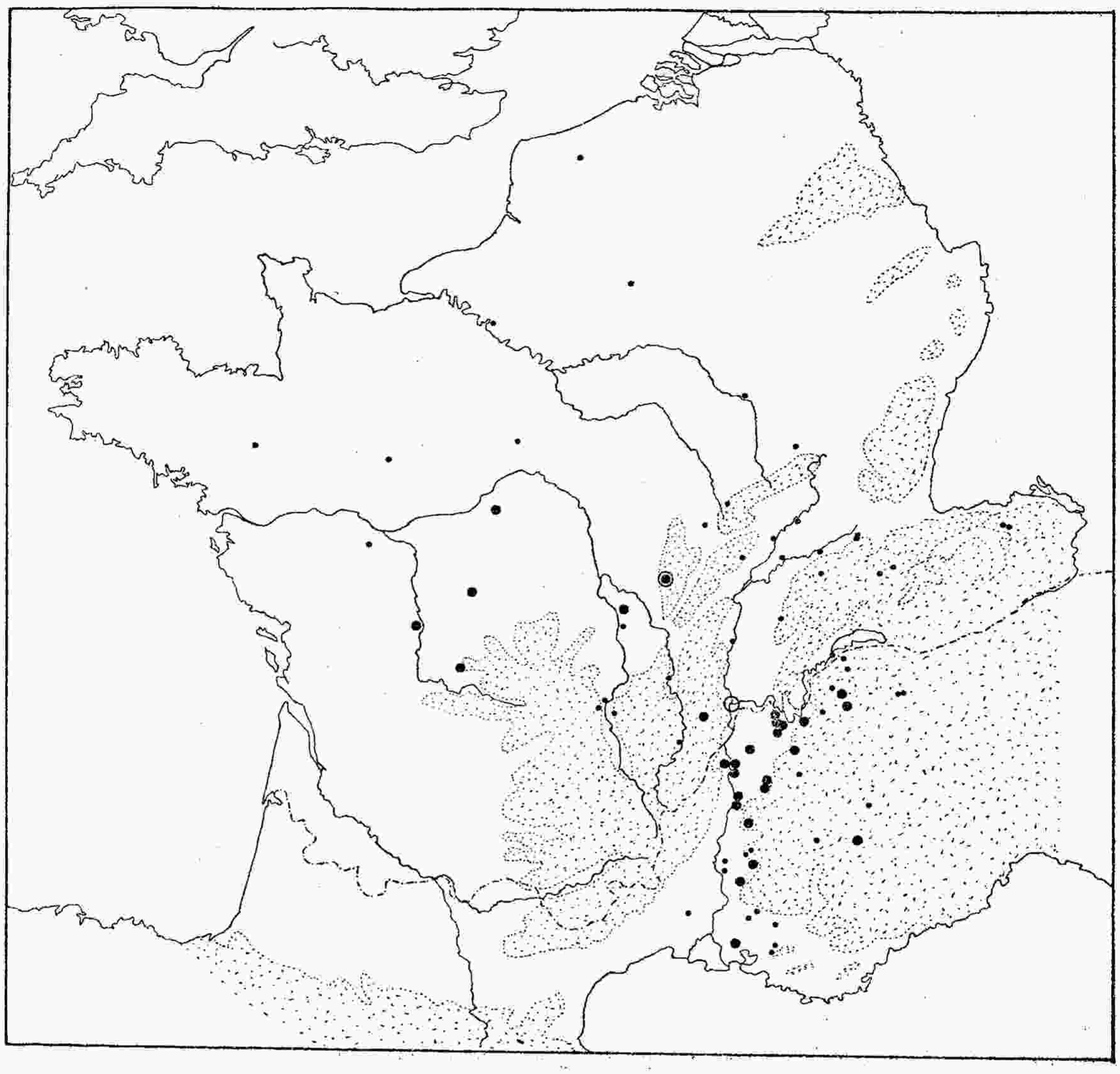


• hoards entirely of gold or billon

✗ hoards partially of gold or billon

EASTERN SILVER COINS AND STRAY FINDS : MAP 6

Horseman coins, coins with Lepontic alphabet, coins with hippocamp and with bouquetin.



• hoard

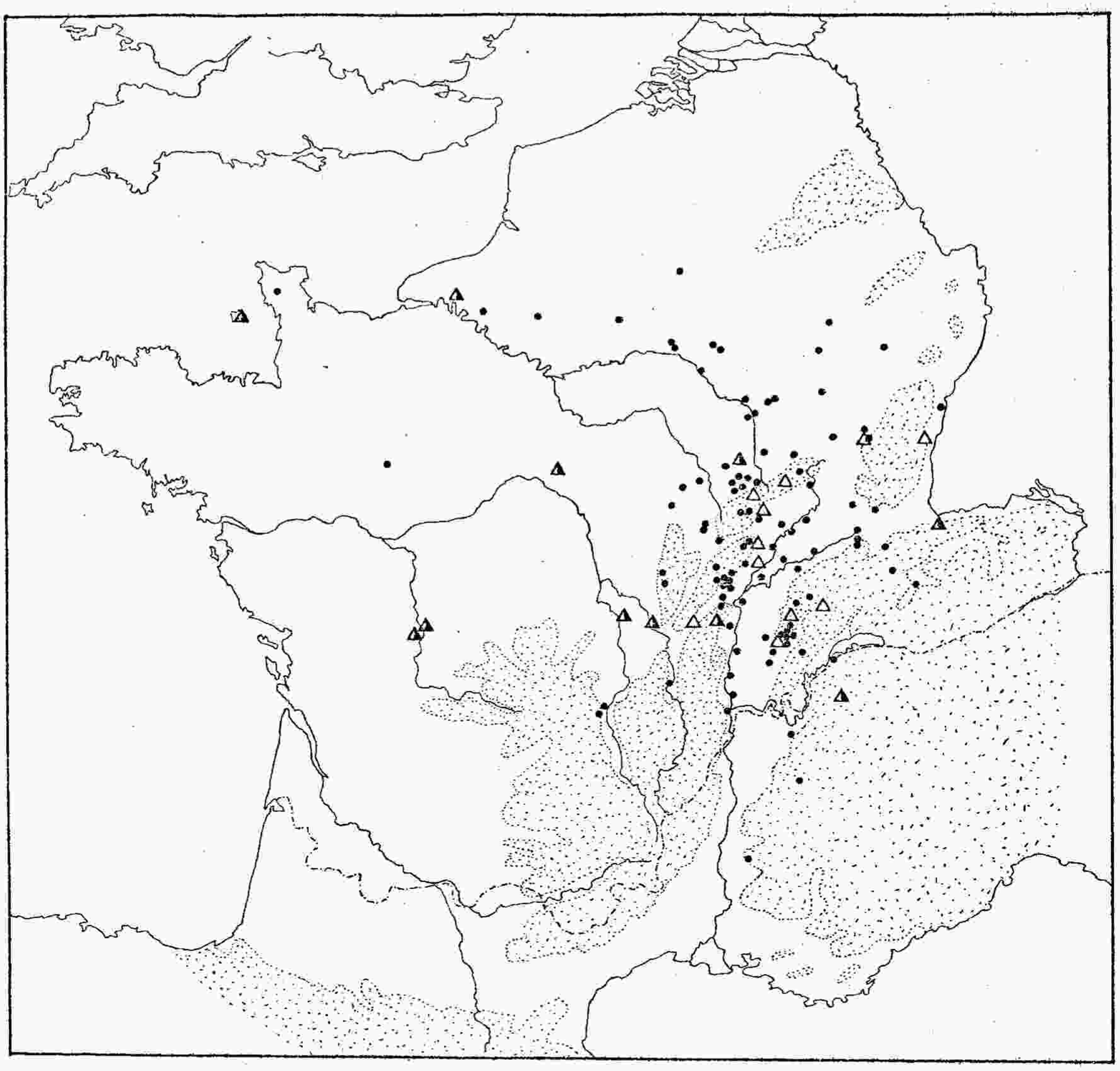
• stray find

○ Lyon area

◉ Mont Beuvray

# ΚΑΛΑΪΤΕΔΟΥ SERIES HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS

MAP 7



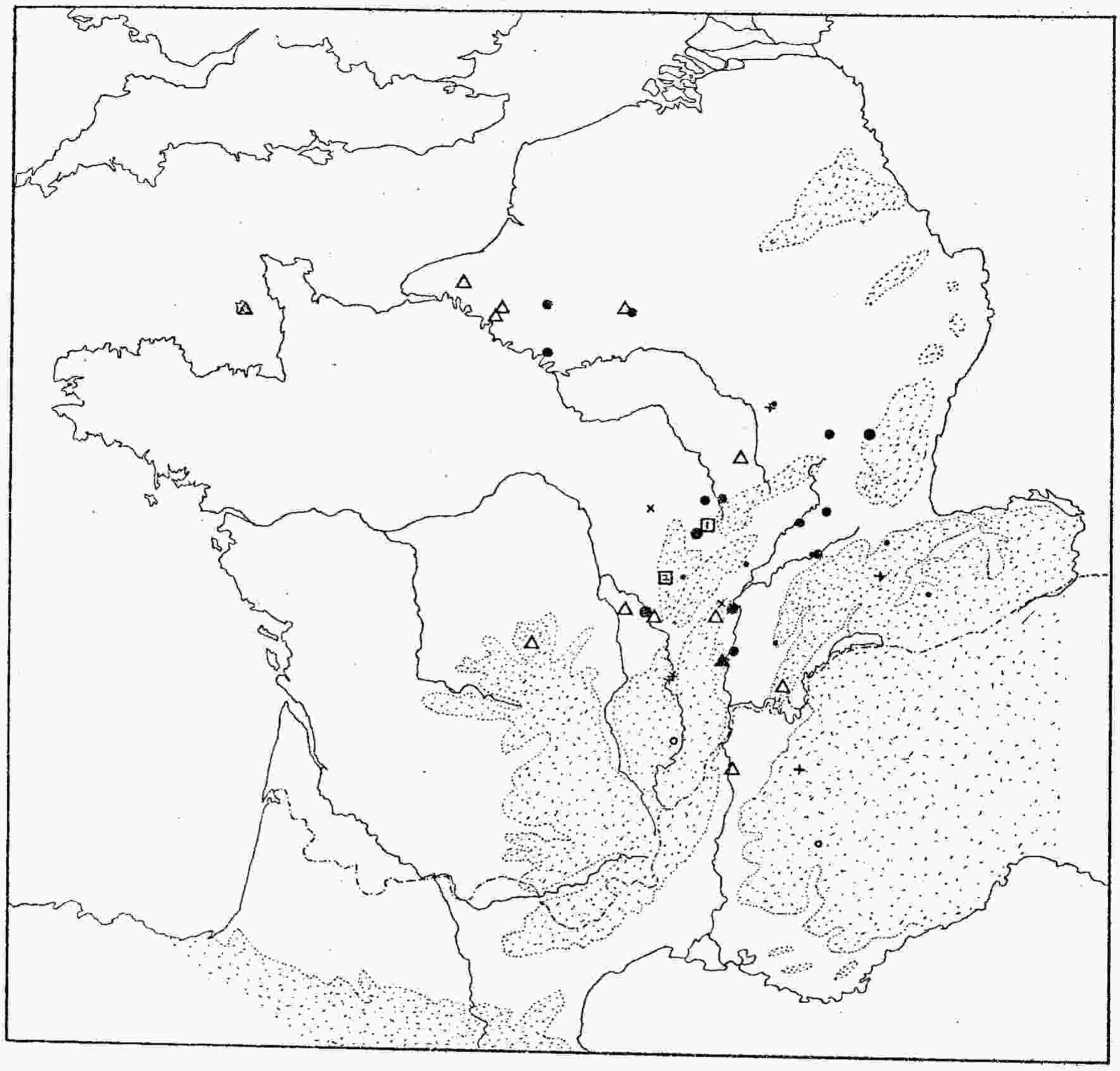
△ hoard

▲ mixed hoard

• stray find

NORTH-EASTERN SILVER HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS

MAP 8



△ hoard

▲ obverse die

● anepigraphic Aedui

•. Q DOCI SAM F

• SEQUANOIOTUOS

° DIASULOS

\+ Dumnorix types

× SEGVSIAVS/ARIUS

1 Alesia

2 Bibracte (Mont Beuvray)

WARTIME SILVER DISTRIBUTION I : TOGIRIX

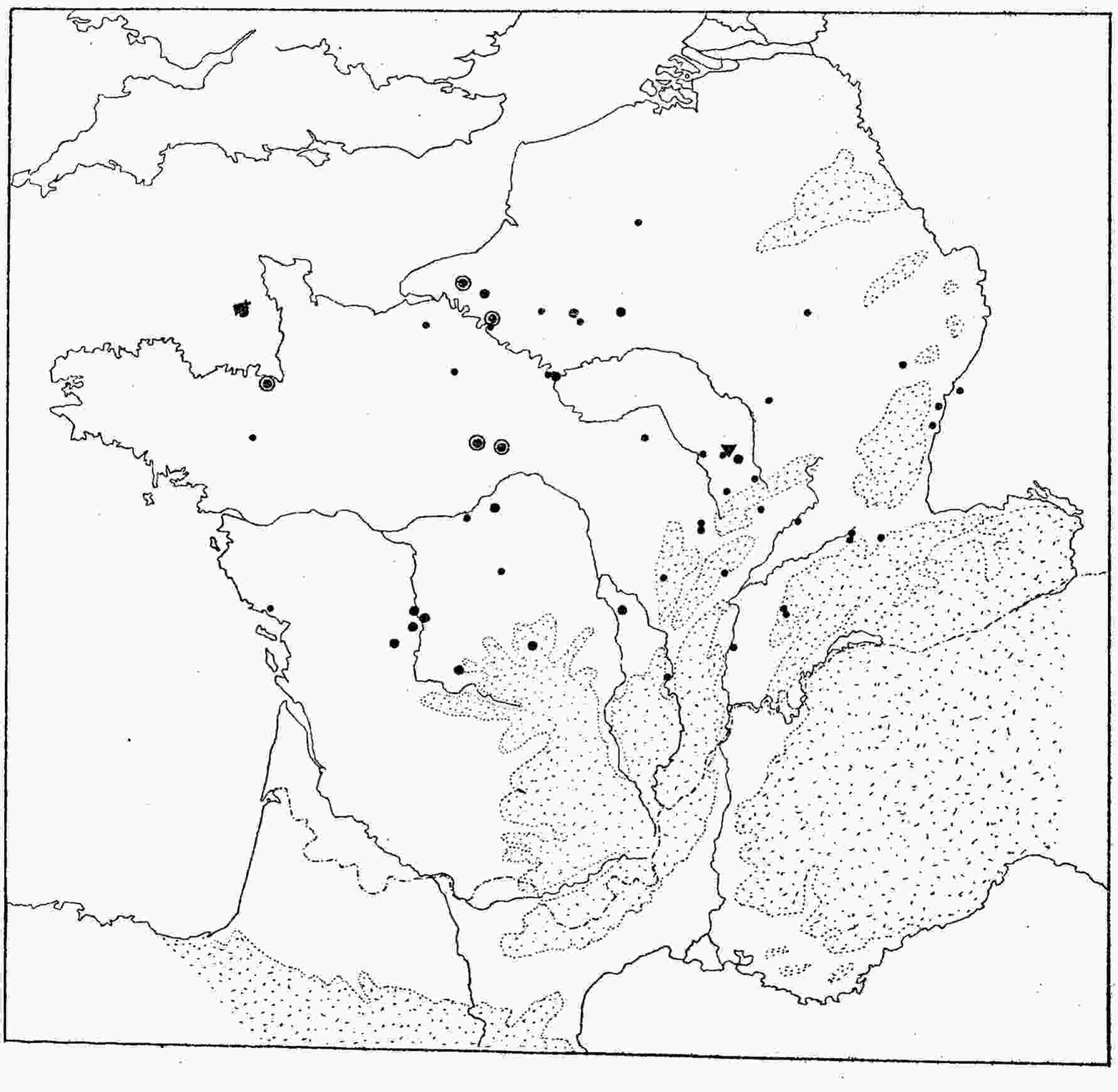
MAP 9



BN 5550



BN 5632



- Hoards
- ▼ reverse die
- • stray finds
- ◉ hoard containing Julius Togirix
- + stray finds of Julius Togirix

WARTIME SILVER DISTRIBUTION II :

MAP 10



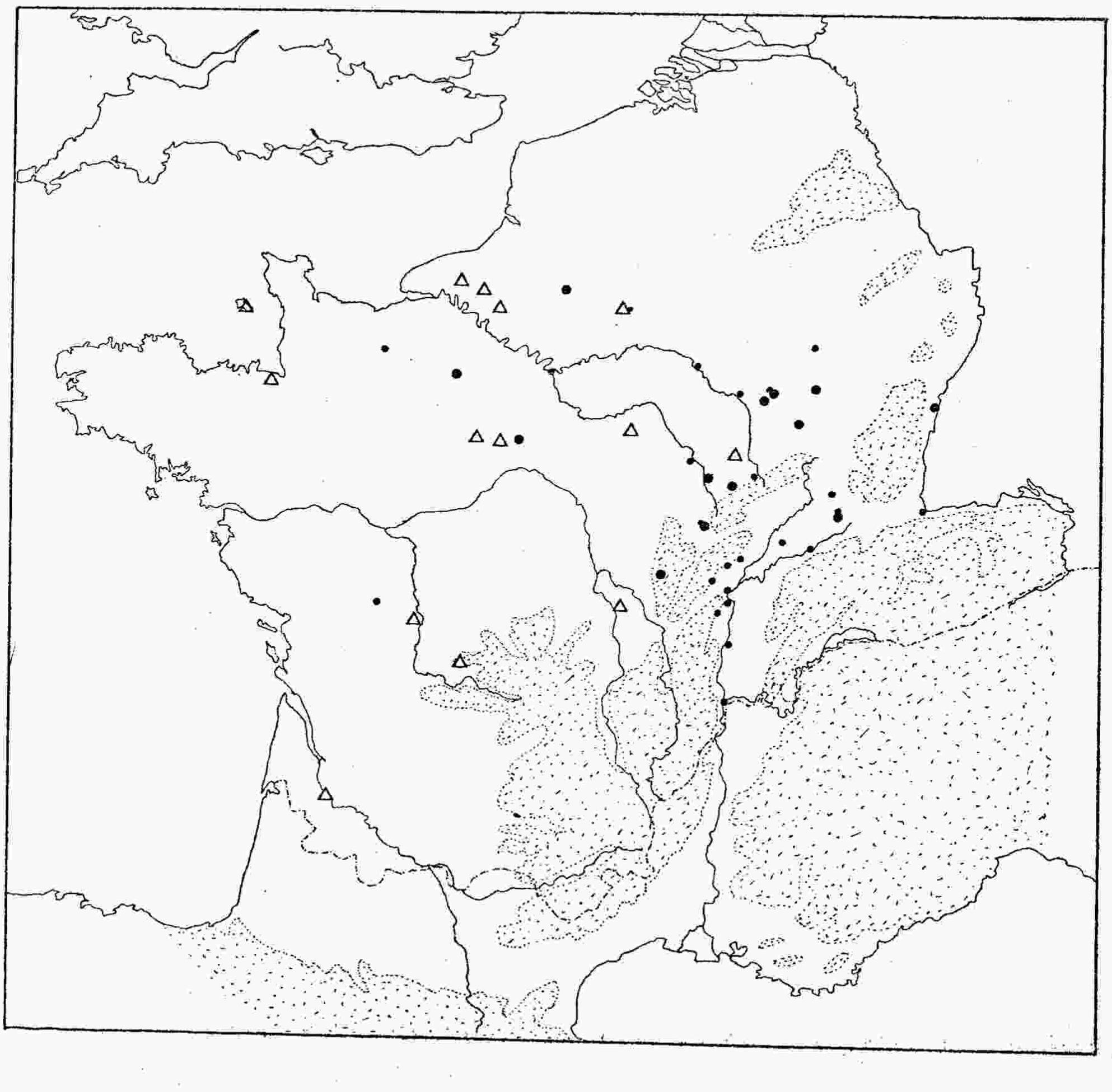
BN 9025



BN 7186 - 7187



BM 7181-7182



△ Hoard

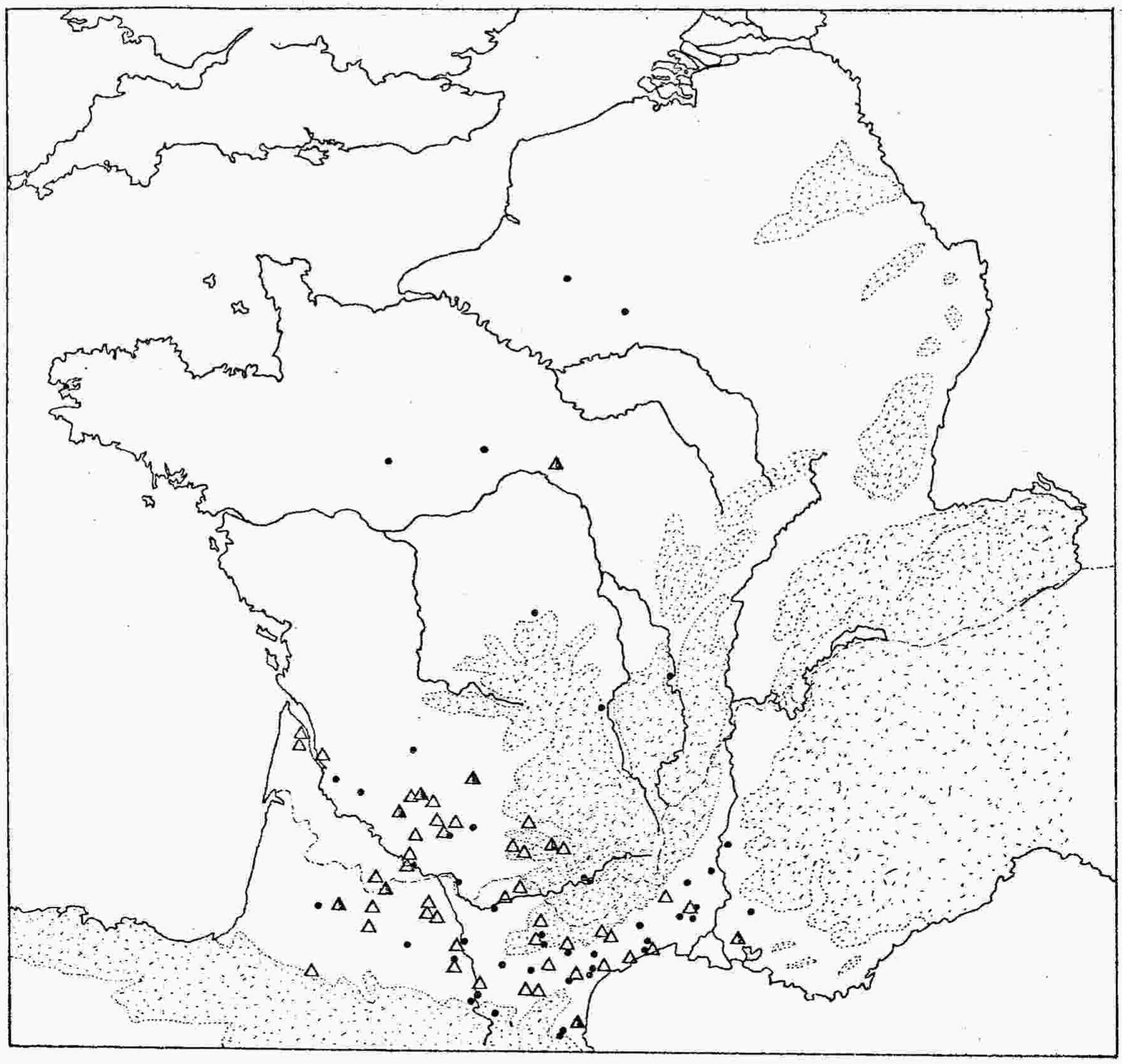
• SOLIMA/COΛIMA

• ATEVLA/VLATOS

• CALEDV/SENODON

MONNAIES-A-LA-CROIX : ALL FINDS

Map 11

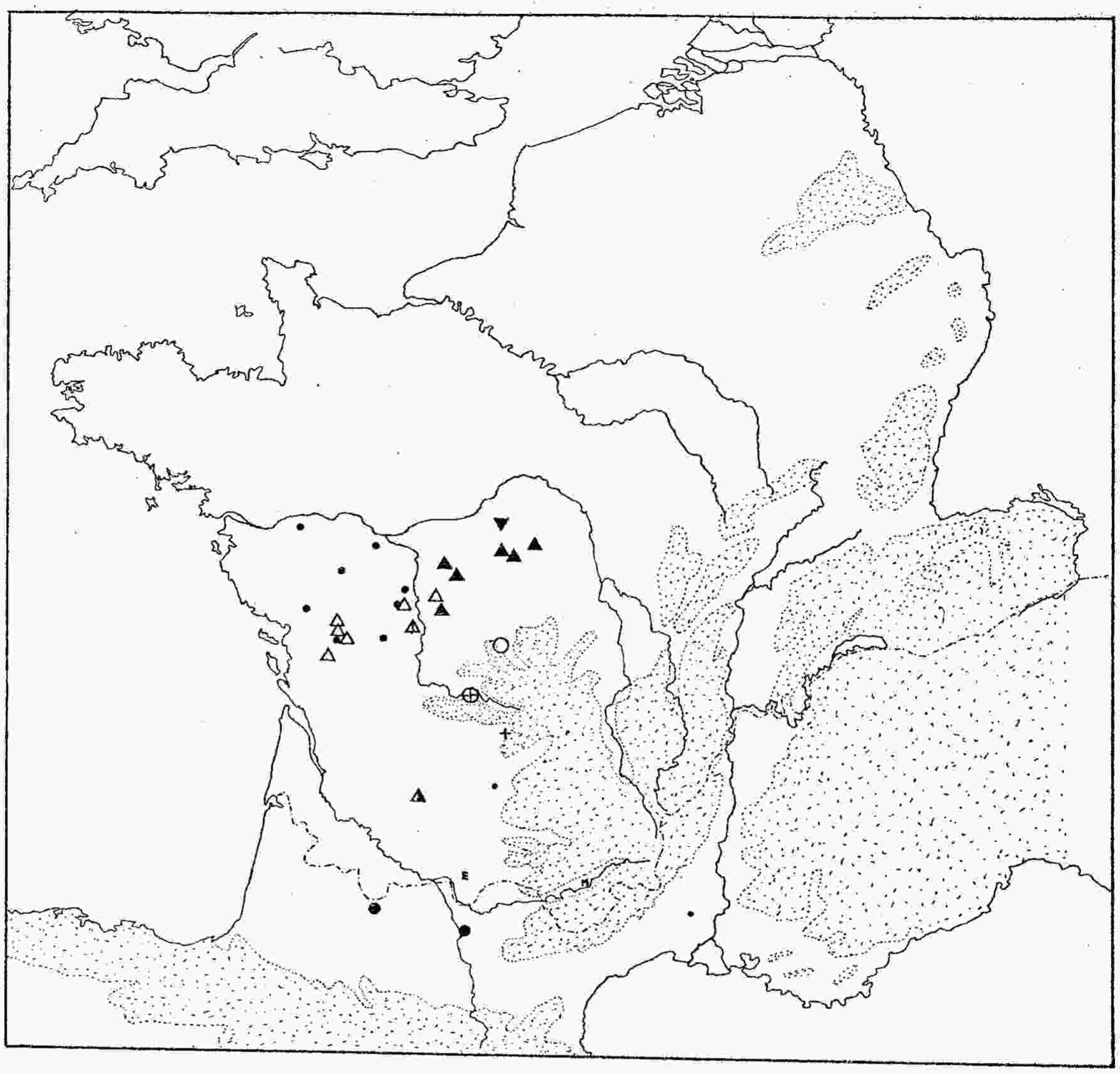


△ HOARD

▲ MIXED HOARD

• STRAY FIND

HEAVY WESTERN SILVER : ALL FINDS MAP 12



△ Pictones PIV hoard

• Pictones PIV stray find

⧋ mixed hoard with Pictones PIV

▲ Poitou group hoard including Indre types ▼ stray find

○ Bridiers hoard

• Bridiers type stray find

⊕ find of earliest Poitou type coin,

\+ Earliest 'Pictones' find

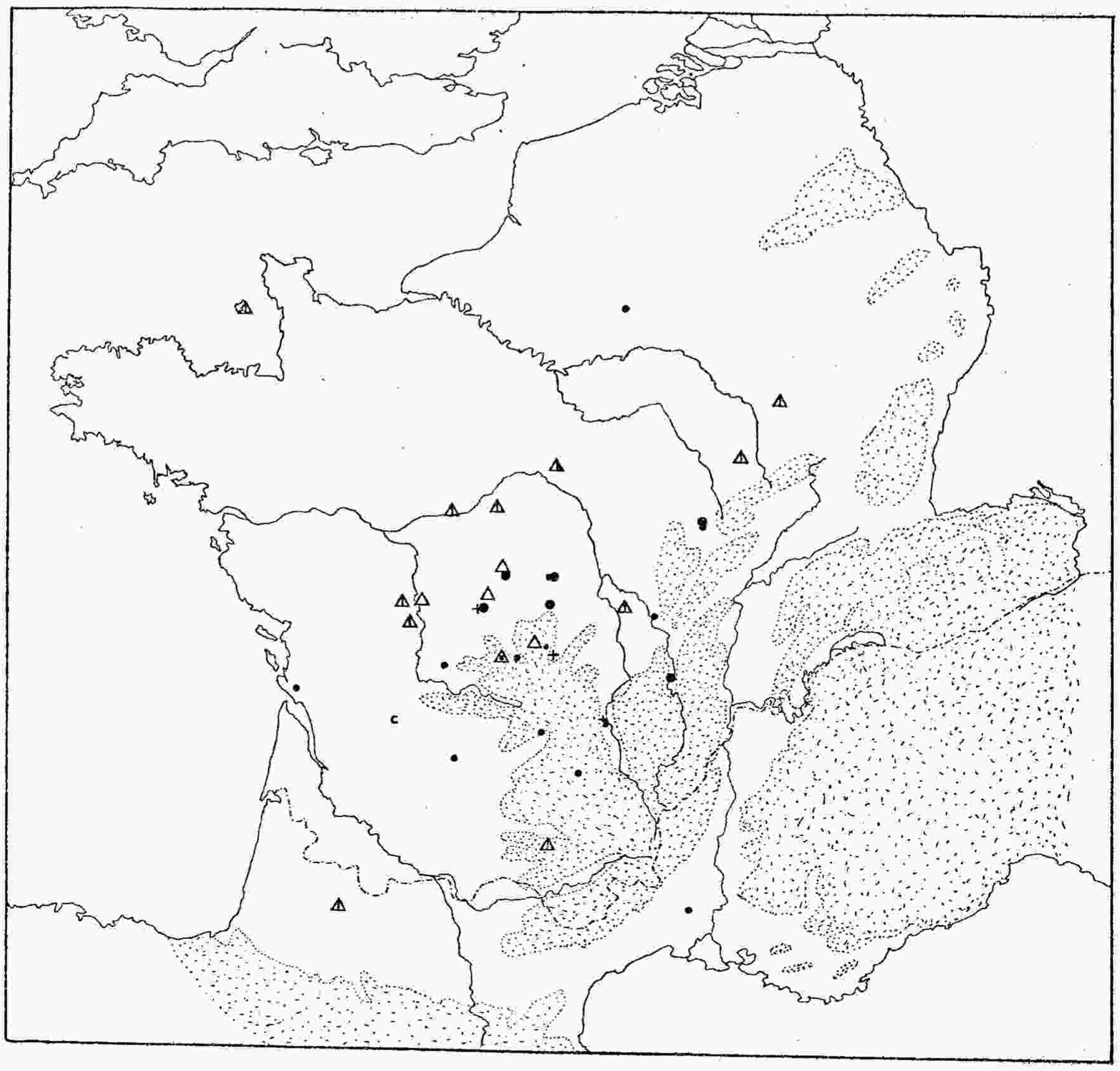
E Emporiae imitation

M Massilia imitation

• uncertain type **or unclassed variety**

LIGHT WESTERN SILVER : ALL FINDS

MAP 13




△ sword group hoard

⚠ mixed hoard including sword group coins

⚠ severed head group hoard

⚠ mixed hoard including severed head group coins

• sword group stray finds

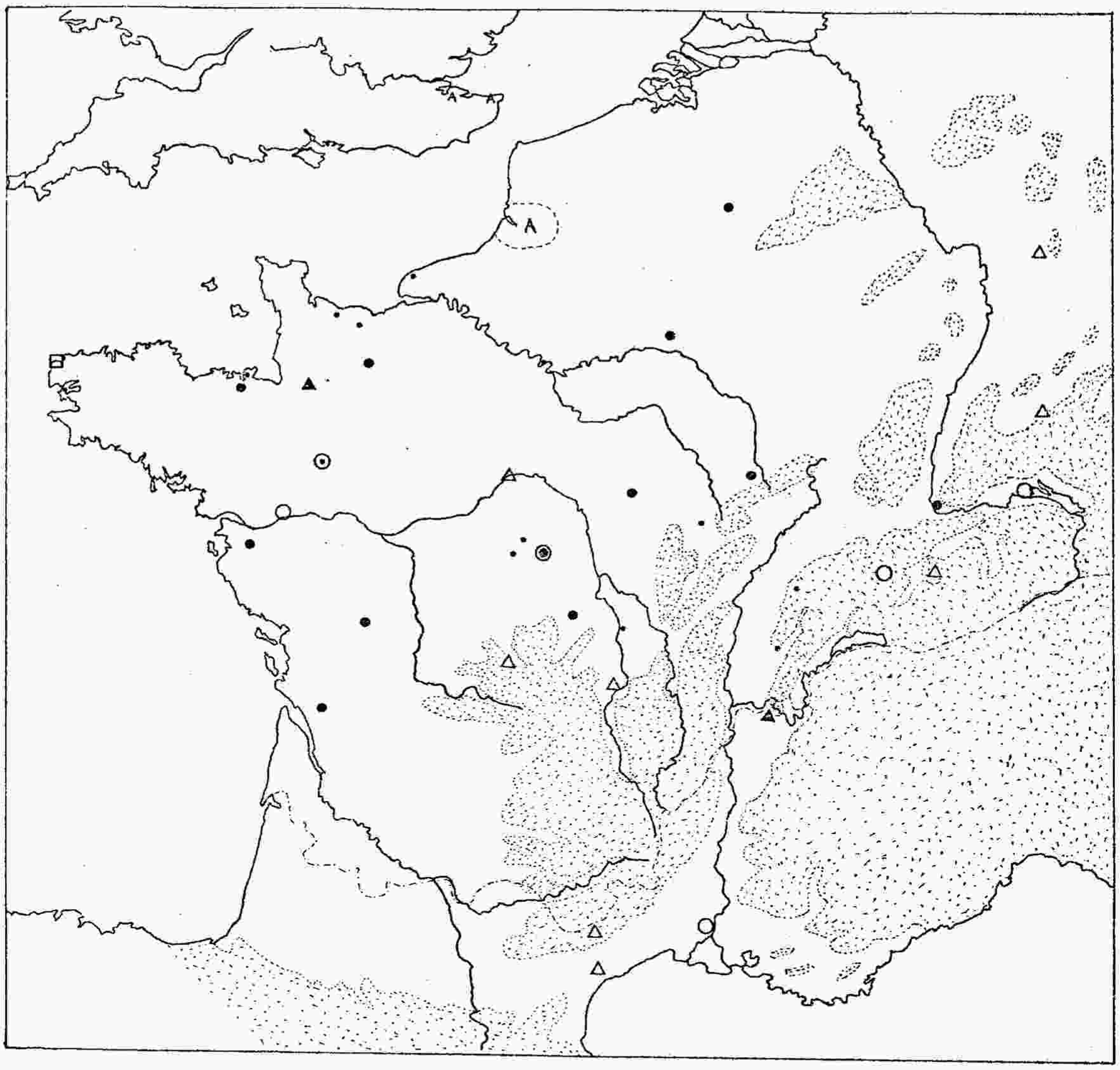
• severed head stray finds

\+ CAM finds including reverse die

C CAMBOTRE stray find

• uncertain type

GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS OVER 8.0g : BY WEIGHT MAP 14




□ Cyrene stater

△ Philip II stater (original)

O finds over 8.45g

• finds 8.30-8.45g

· finds 8.0-8.30g

▲ hoard including coins in this bracket

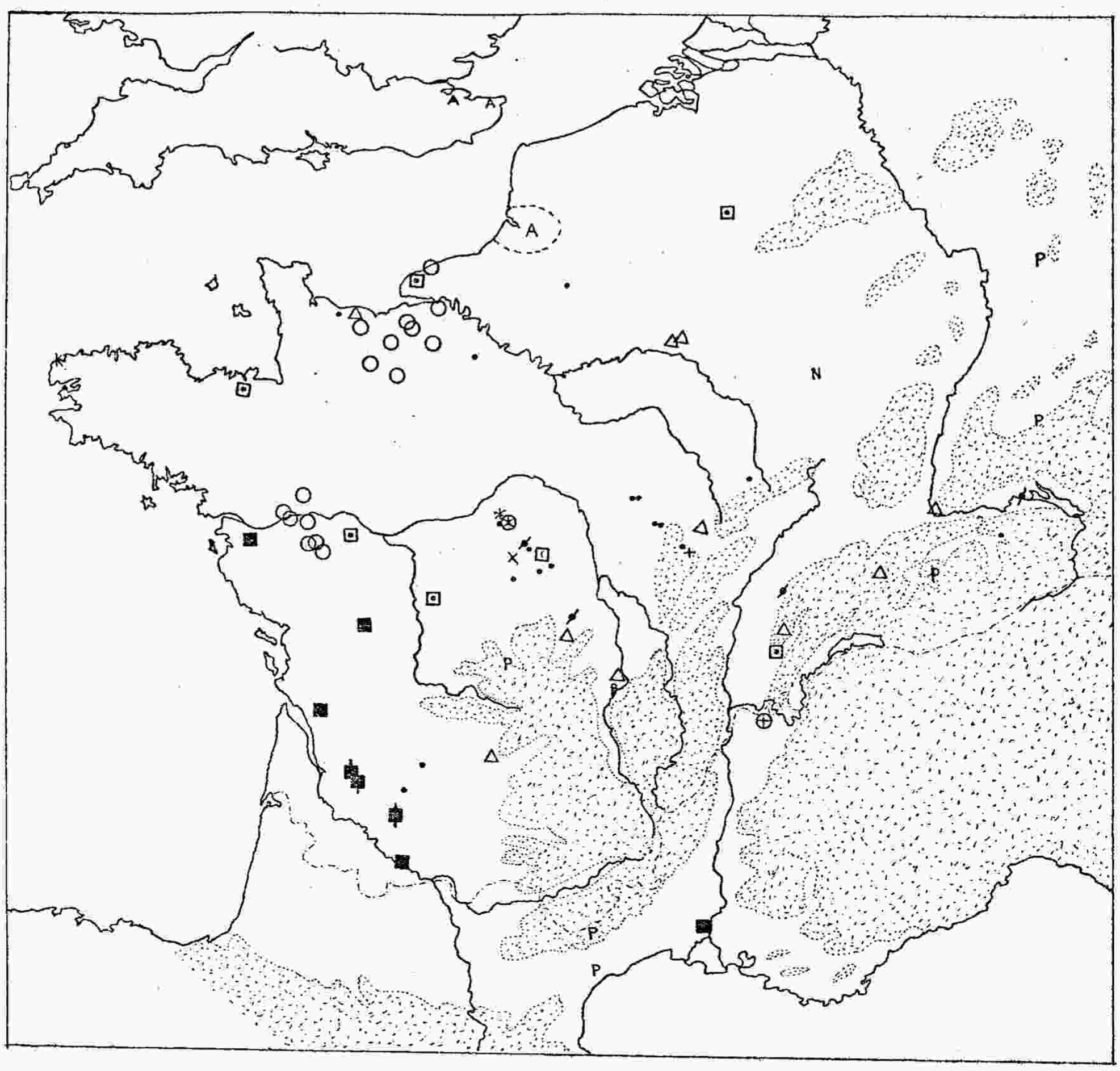
◉ great concentration in the Bourges area

A 'Ambiani' third century gold: see Scheers 1968

⊙ in a hoard

# GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS OVER 8.0g : BY TYPE

Map 14a




P Philip II stater (original)

K Cyrene stater "

△ stray find group Iii

⊡ " " Iiv

■ " " Iv

✙ hoard containing Iv

✓ stray find group Ivi

1 Berry area

× stray find group Ivii

• " unclassed group I

\+ " group IIi

⊕ hoard containing IIi

N stray find group IIii (Naples copy)

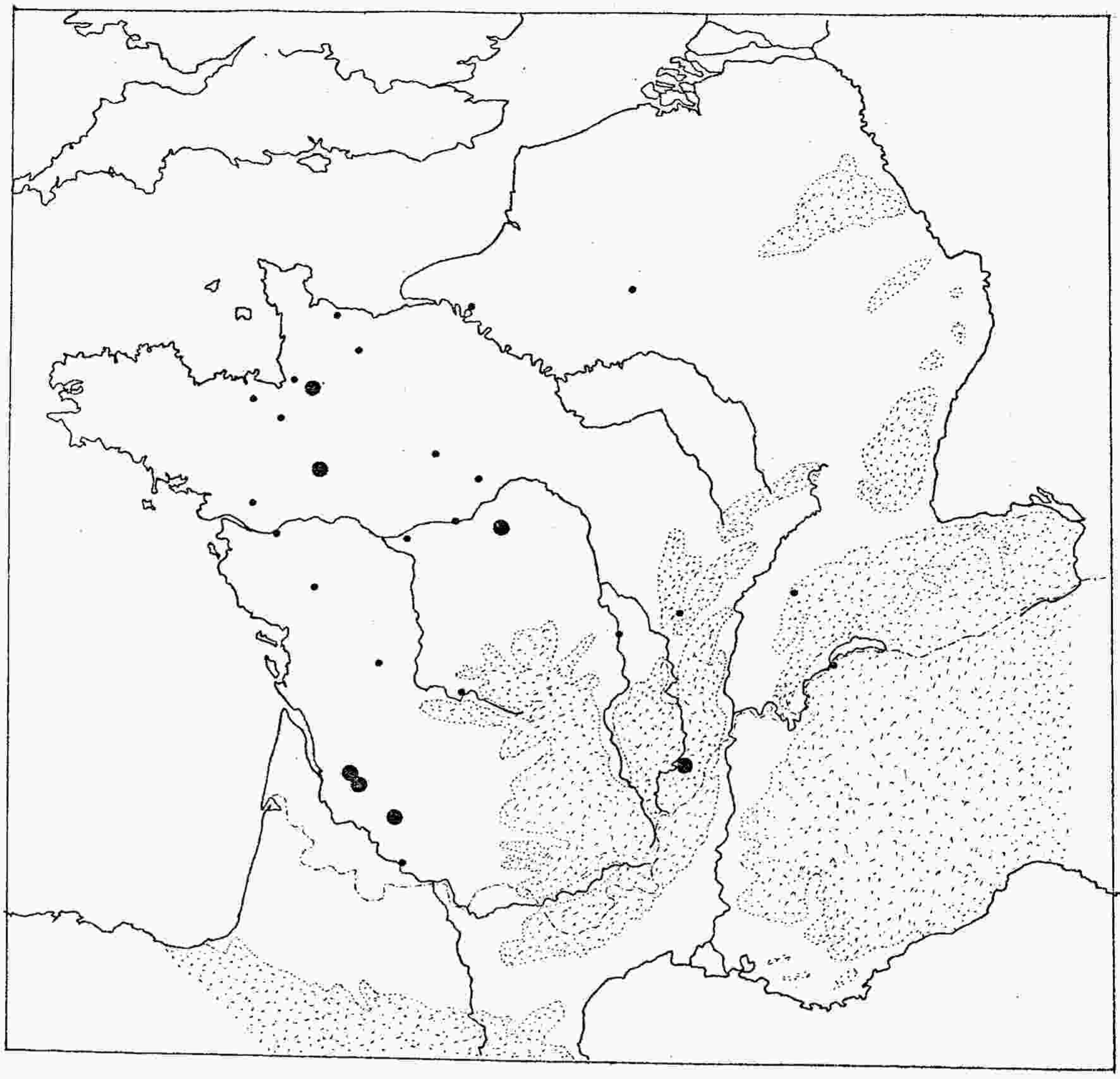
* " " IIiii

○ " Aremorican type

⊛ hoard containing IIiii

A area in which third century 'Ambiani' coins are clustered.

GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS 7.60-8.0g : BY WEIGHT MAP 15

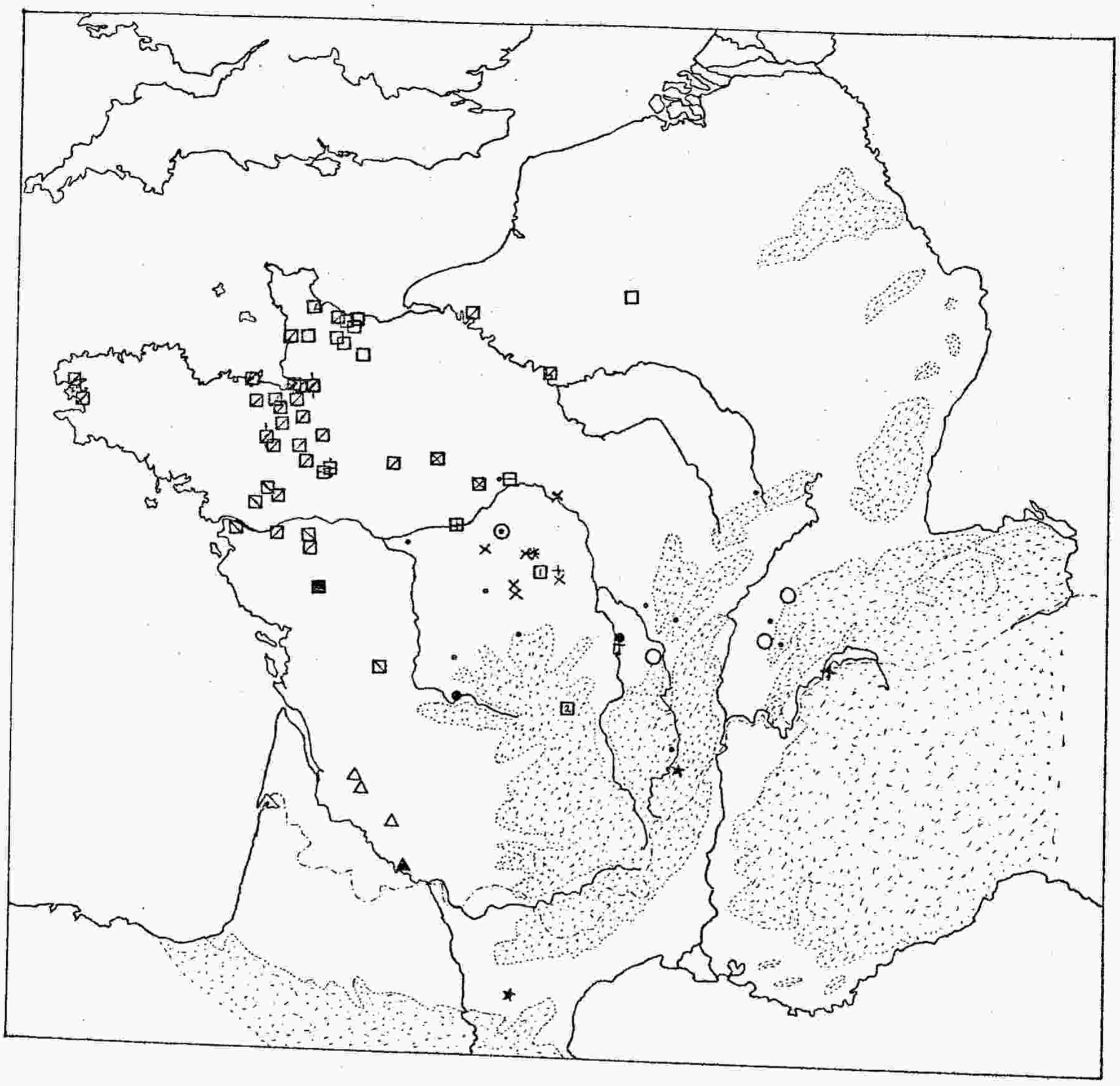


● hoard

• stray find

GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS 7.60-8.0g : BY TYPE

Map 15a



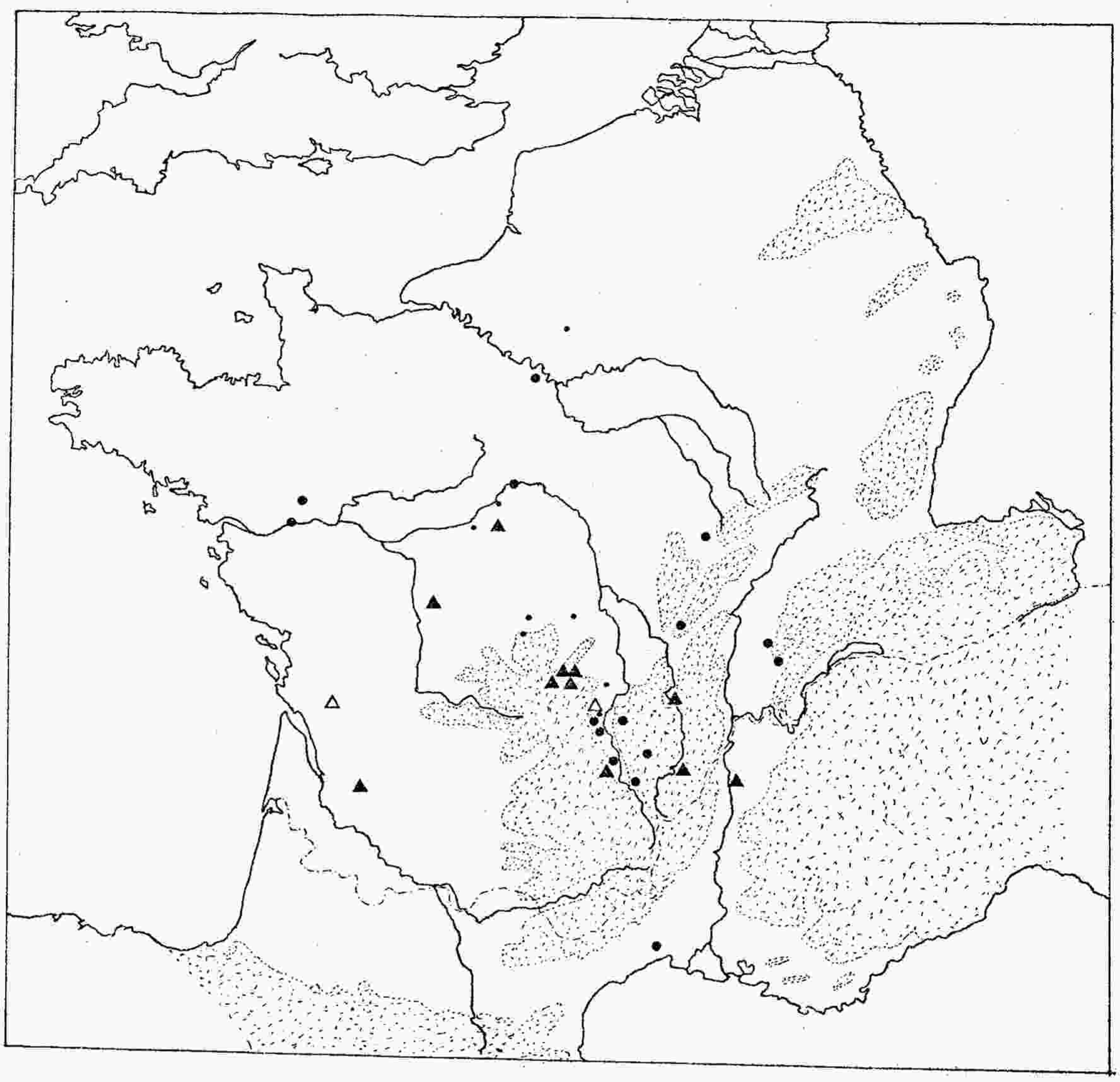
• stray find group IIi
+ " " IIiii
× " " IIiiia
* " " IIiiib
· " unclassed group II
⊙ hoard of uncertain type
★ stray find group IIiv
⊠ " type Pl.XIII.4-5
□ " " Pl.XIII.9
⊠ " " Pl.XIII.12

⊟ stray find type Pl.XIII.3
⊠ " " Pl.XIII.1
⊞ " " Pl.XIII.2
■ " " Pl.XIII.11
1 Berry area
2 Auvergne
△ hoard of Tayac type
▲ stray find of Tayac type (Pl.VIIIa)
○ " type Pl.VIII.15

GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS 7.0-7.60g : BY WEIGHT

MAP 16

Excluding Aremorica and Belgic Gaul



▲ hoards 7.30-7.60g

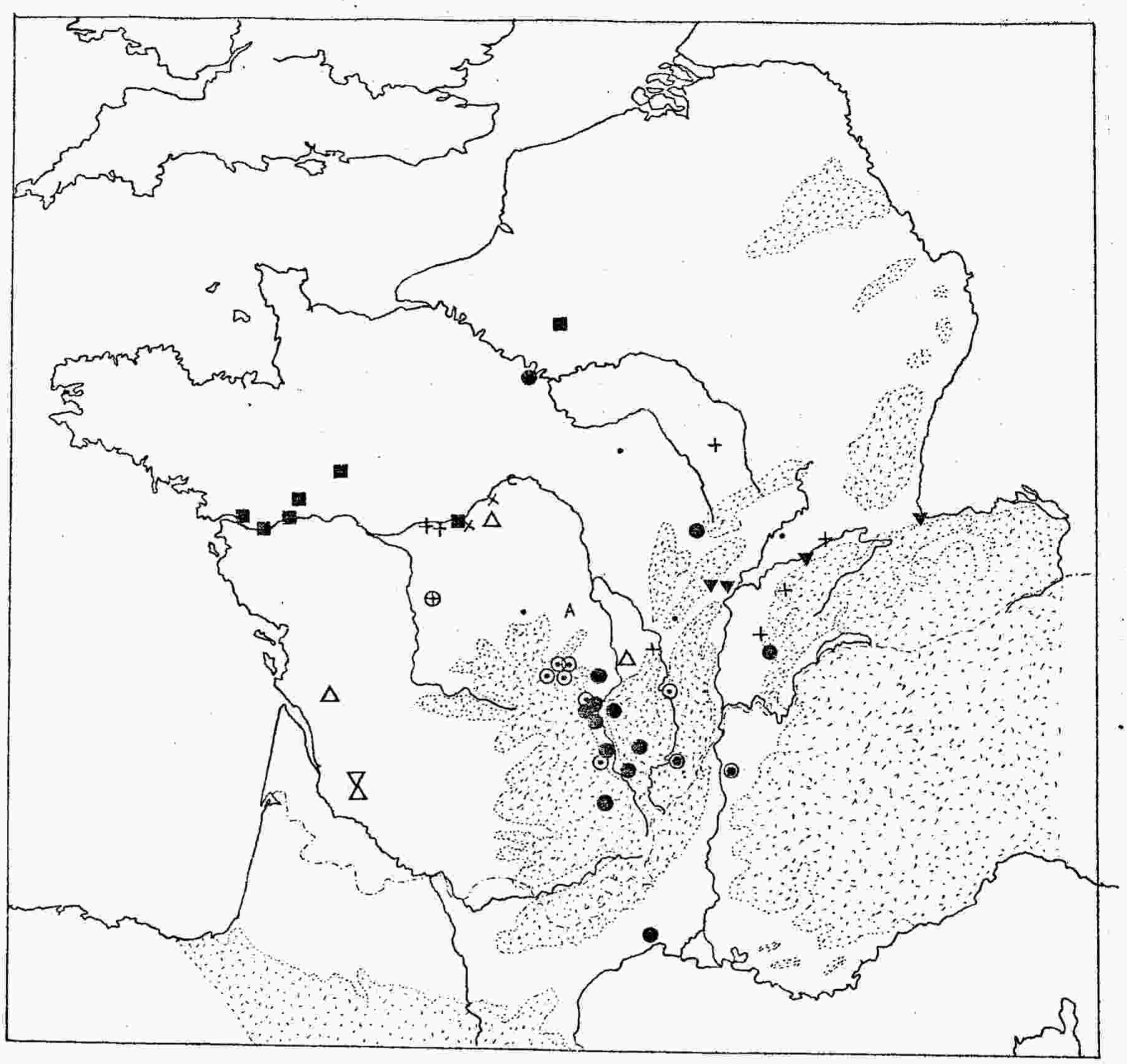
△ hoards 7.00-7.30g

• stray finds 7.30-7.60g

• stray finds 7.00-7.30g

GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS 7.0-7.60g :BY TYPE MAP 16a.

Excluding Aremorica and Belgic Gaul



A ABVDOS prototype

C 'Carnutes' eagle type Pl.XII.5

× ATEVLCIB/SOLIMYC

\+ stray find group I

⊕ hoard group I

▼ group II stray find

▽ group II hoard

◉ hoard group III

● stray find group IV

⊙ hoard group IV

■ eastern Aremorican stray find

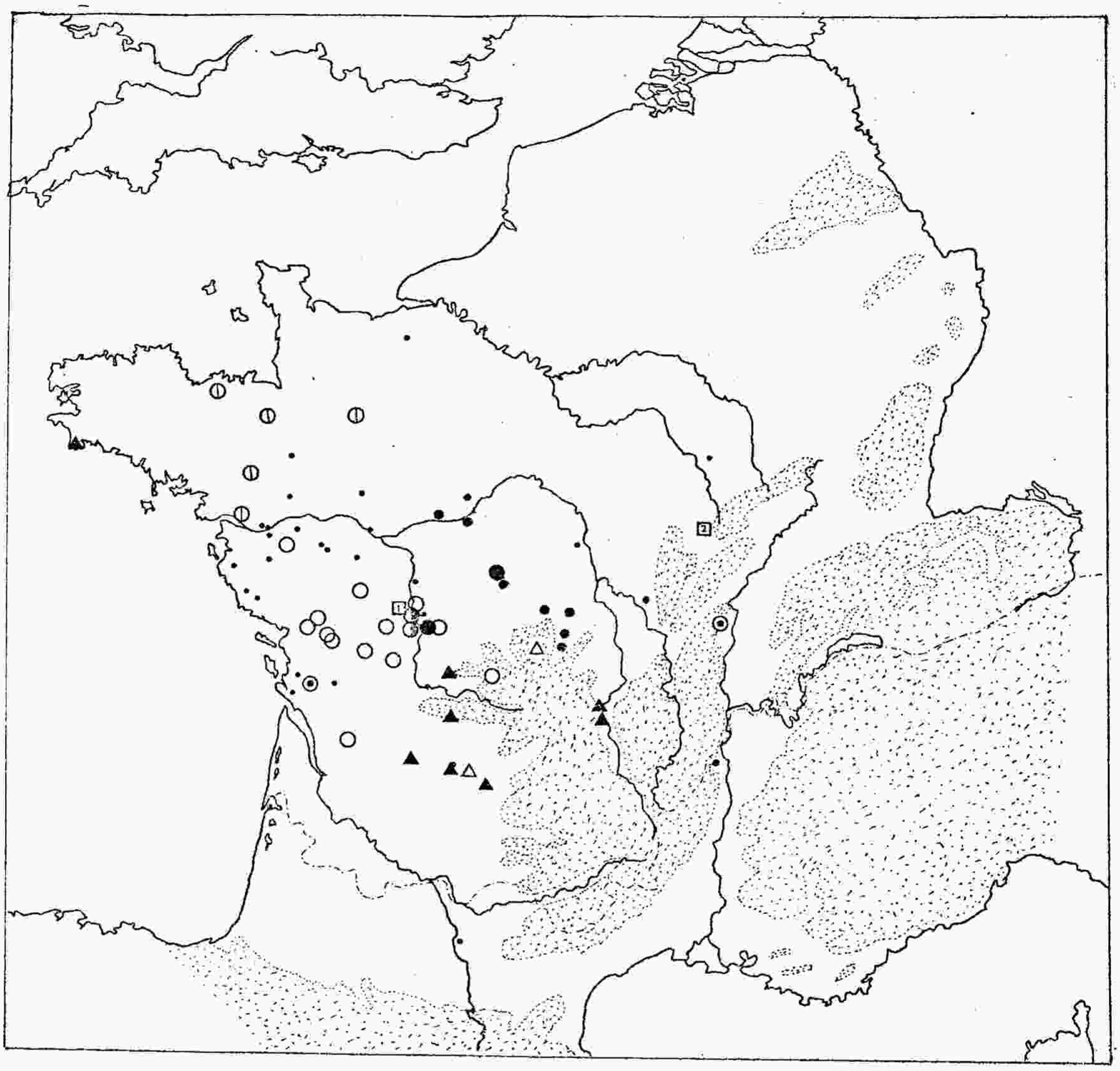
▣ eastern Aremorican hoard

· uncertain type stray find

△ uncertain type hoard

GOLD HOARDS AND STRAY FINDS UNDER 7.0g : BY TYPE MAP 17

Excluding Aremorica and Belgic Gaul




1 Poitiers

2 Alesia

O Pictones hoard

• Pictones stray find

Ⓘ Hoard with Pictones and other coin

● ABVDOS hoard

• ABVDOS stray find

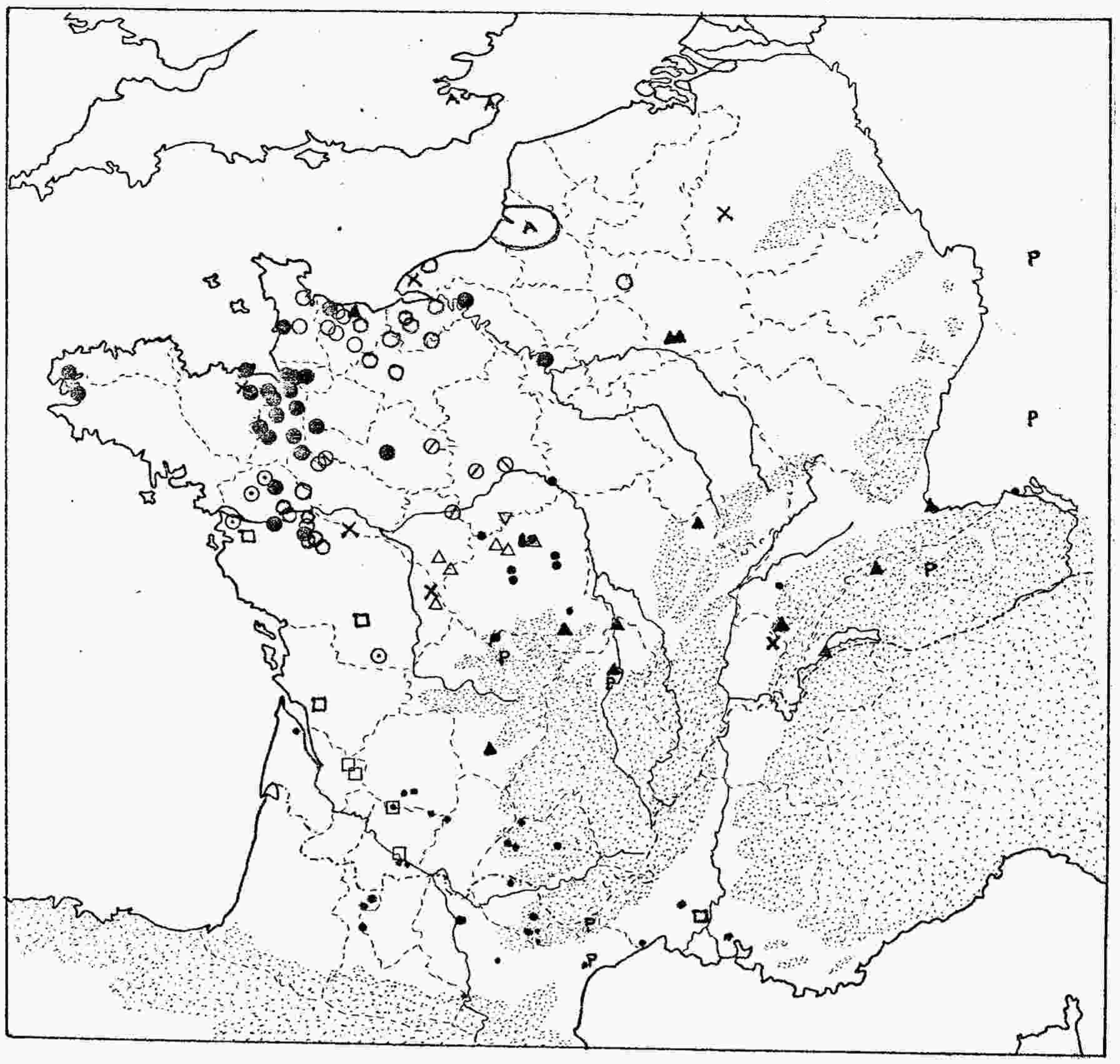
△ crane and trefoils hoard

▲ crane and trefoil stray find

◑ ABVDOS + Pictones hoard

• uncertain type, stray finds

⊙ uncertain type in hoard



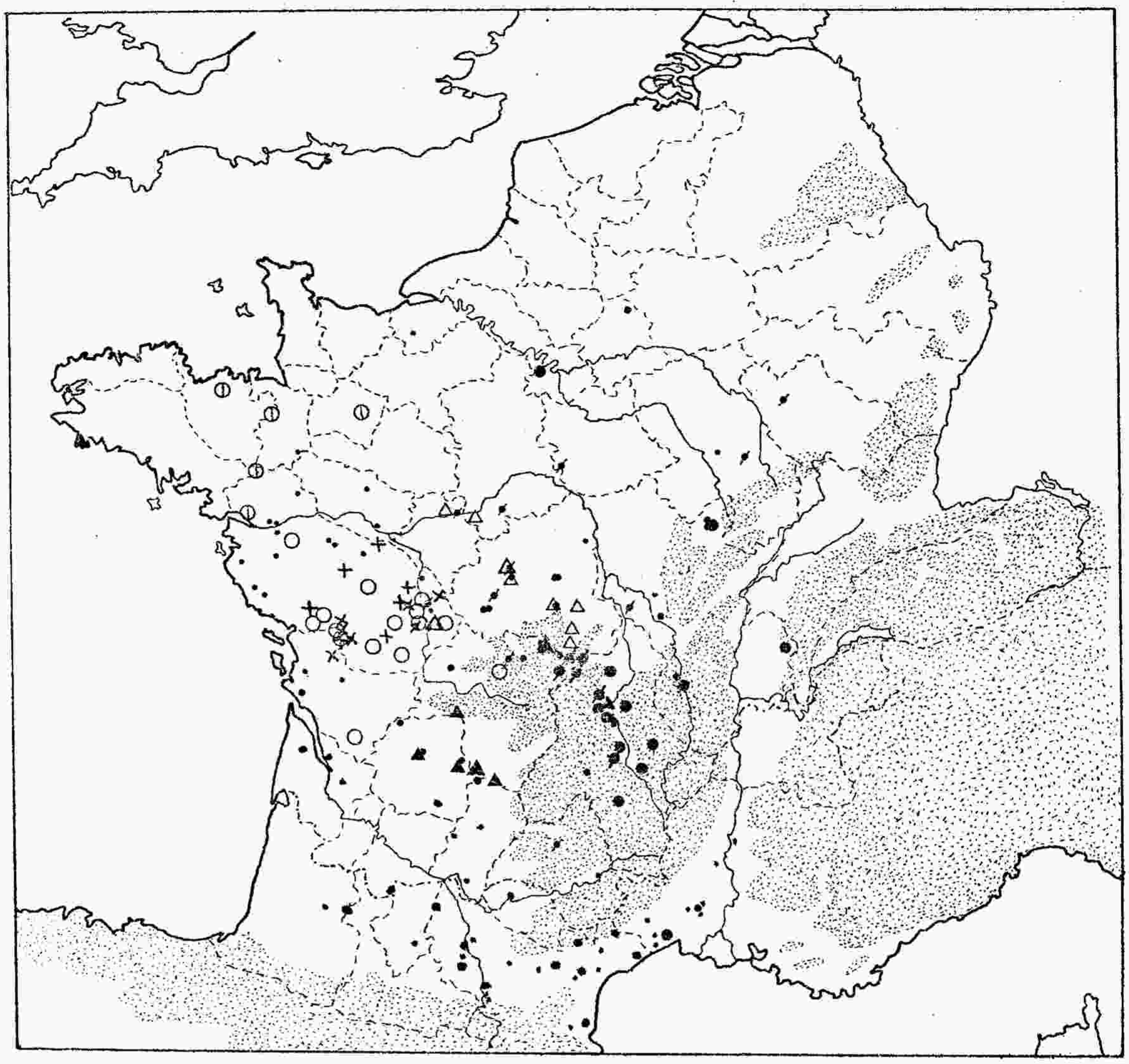

Red = First phase.

| | |
|---|---|
| A | 'Ambiani' |
| ○ | Armorican coins (2 types) |
| × | group Iiv |
| ▲ | group Iii |
| P | Philip originals |
| • | group Ivi |
| ● | Bridiers group silver |
| □ | gold group Iv |

Black = second phase.

| | |
|---|---|
| ▲ | group IIiii. |
| • | Berry gold group IIiiia-b |
| △ ▽ | silver PI-III, hoards and stray find. |
| □ | second phase derivation of first phase Iv (Tayac type) |
| ● | 'Redones' |
| ○ | Pl.XIII.9 |
| ⊘ | PL.XIII.3 |
| ⊘ | Pl.XIII.1 |
| ⊙ | Pl.XIII.12 |

Green = monnaies a la croix, heavy types.



+ silver PIV find.

× silver PIV hoard

• silver sword group find

silver sword group hoard

● gold Auvergne find

gold Auvergne hoard

• gold Pictones find

O gold pictones hoard

△ gold ABVDOS find

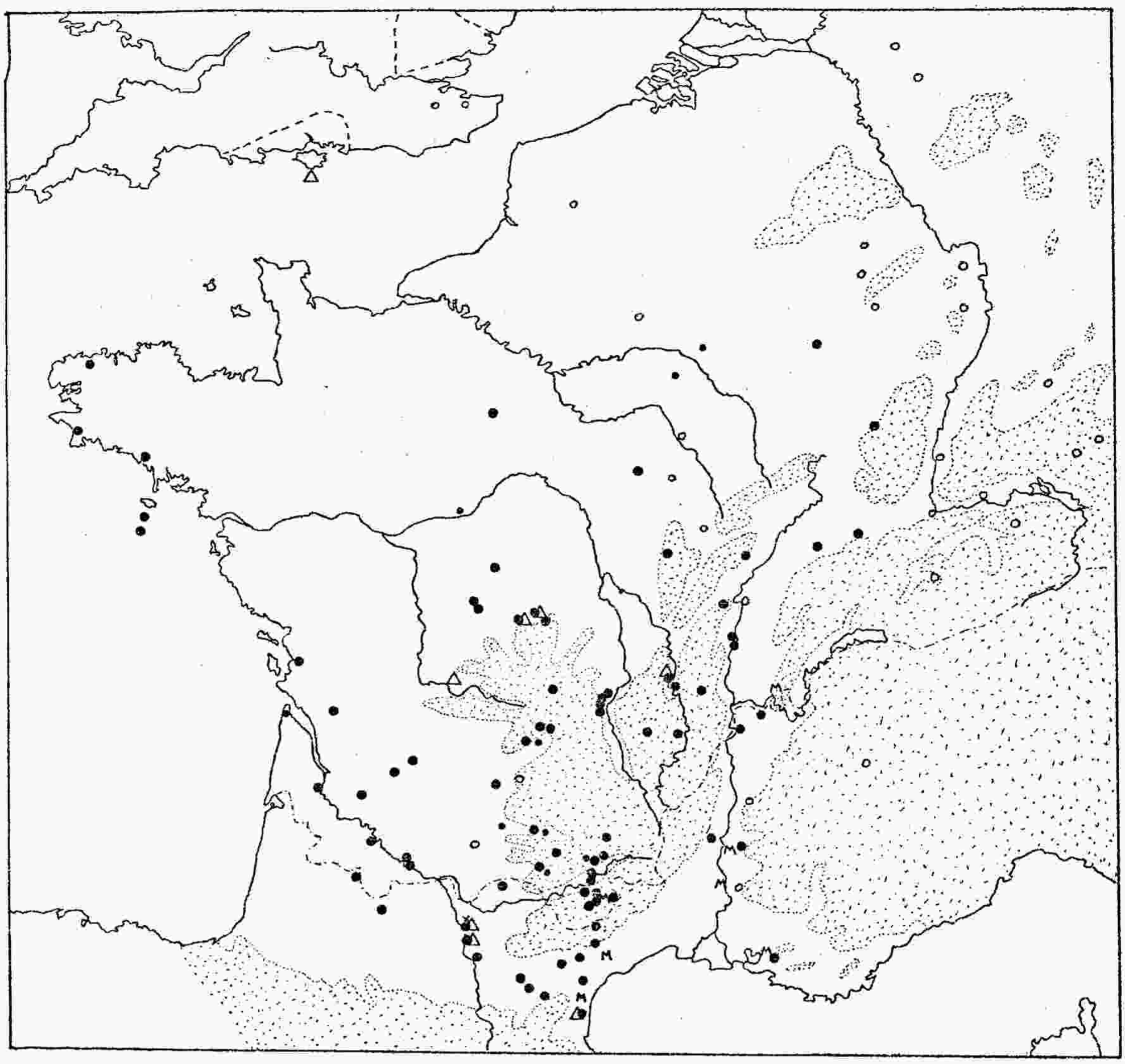
△ gold ABVDOS hoard

▲ gold crane and trefoil find

▲ gold crane and trefoil hoard

Red = light monnaies a la croix.

The Rhone region within the Roman province, and wrecks on the Mediterranean coast are not comprehensively mapped.




△ Greko-Italic amphora find

• Italic amphora find

· find of uncertain type

M Massiliot amphora find

× other type

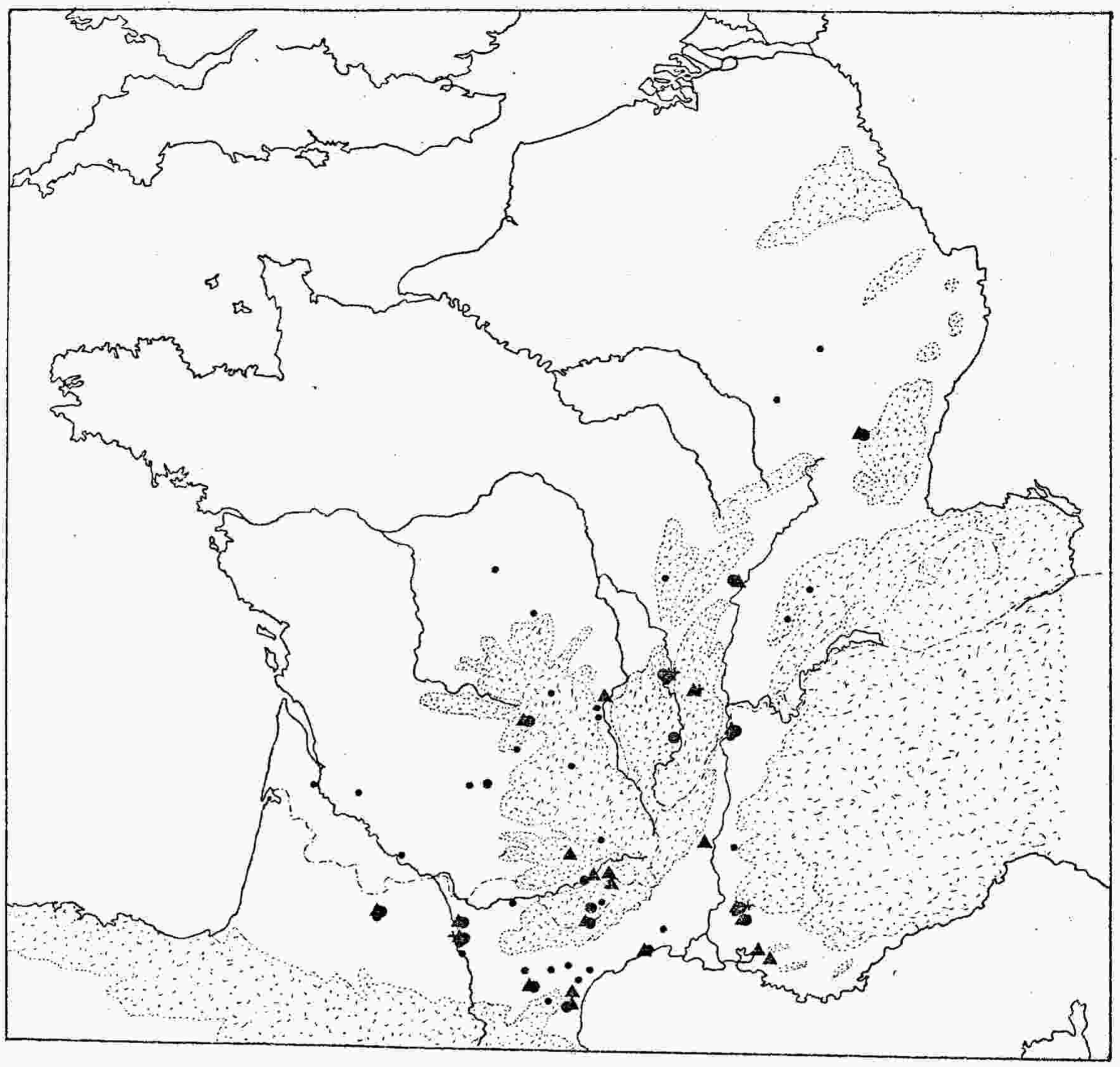
o find spots for Italic amphoras marked on the map in Peacock 1971 (no list given), excluding Provence and the Midi.

----- areas in Britain in which Dressel I amphoras are found, from Peacock 1971.

FINDS OF CAMPANIAN POTTERY IN GAUL

Map 21

Roman Province excluded for most finds.



▲ Lamboglia A

● Lamboglia B

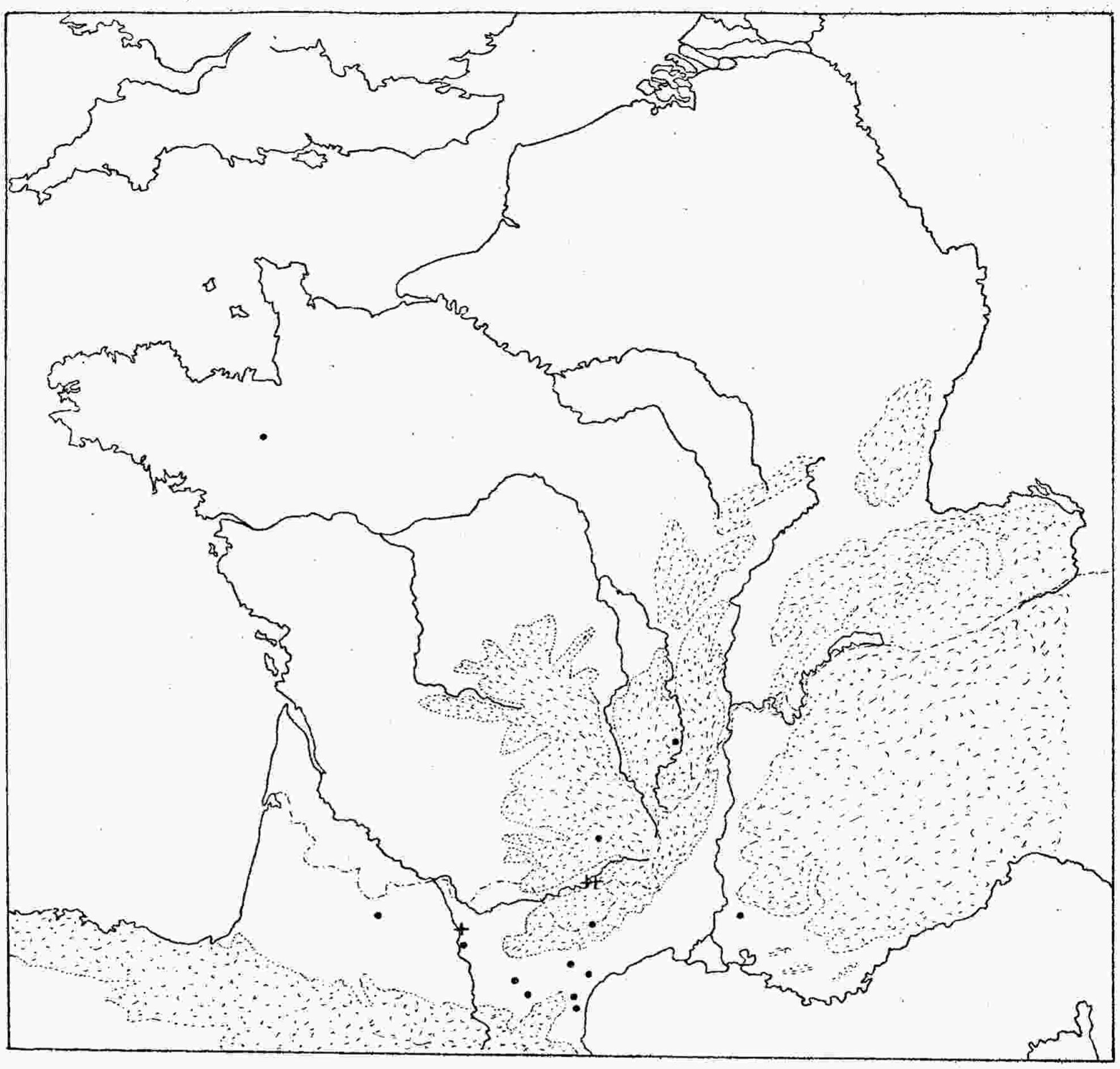
• Lamboglia C

• uncertain type

+ imitation

# FINDS OF SPANISH ARTEFACTS IN GAUL

Map 22

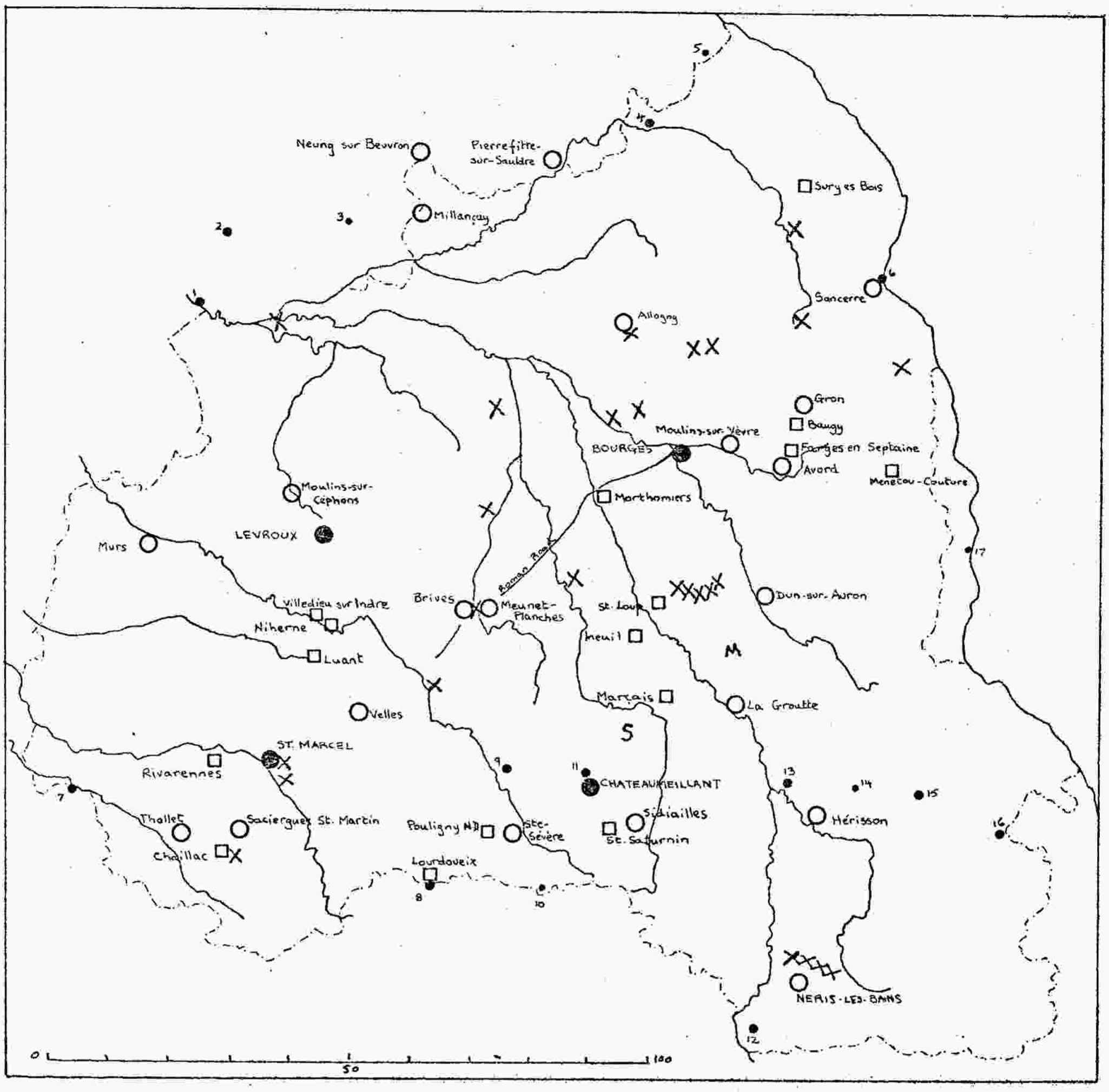


• find

+ imitation

# IRON AGE SITES IN BERRY

Map B1




x iron mines

S sandstone quarry

M place name Meillant

1 Les Bordes at Thésée

2 Feings

3 Veillens

4 La Fin (cne Clémont)

5 Vigŀain

6 quartier Fins (Sancerre)

7 Ingrandes

8 Aigurande

9 Fein

10 Vigoulant

11 Les Angarents

12 *Equoranda at Chambonchard

13 Le Plaix, *Equoranda

14 Le Vilhain

15 Ygrande

16 Fins (Le Noyant)

17 Veuillin

# GEOLOGICAL MAP OF BERRY

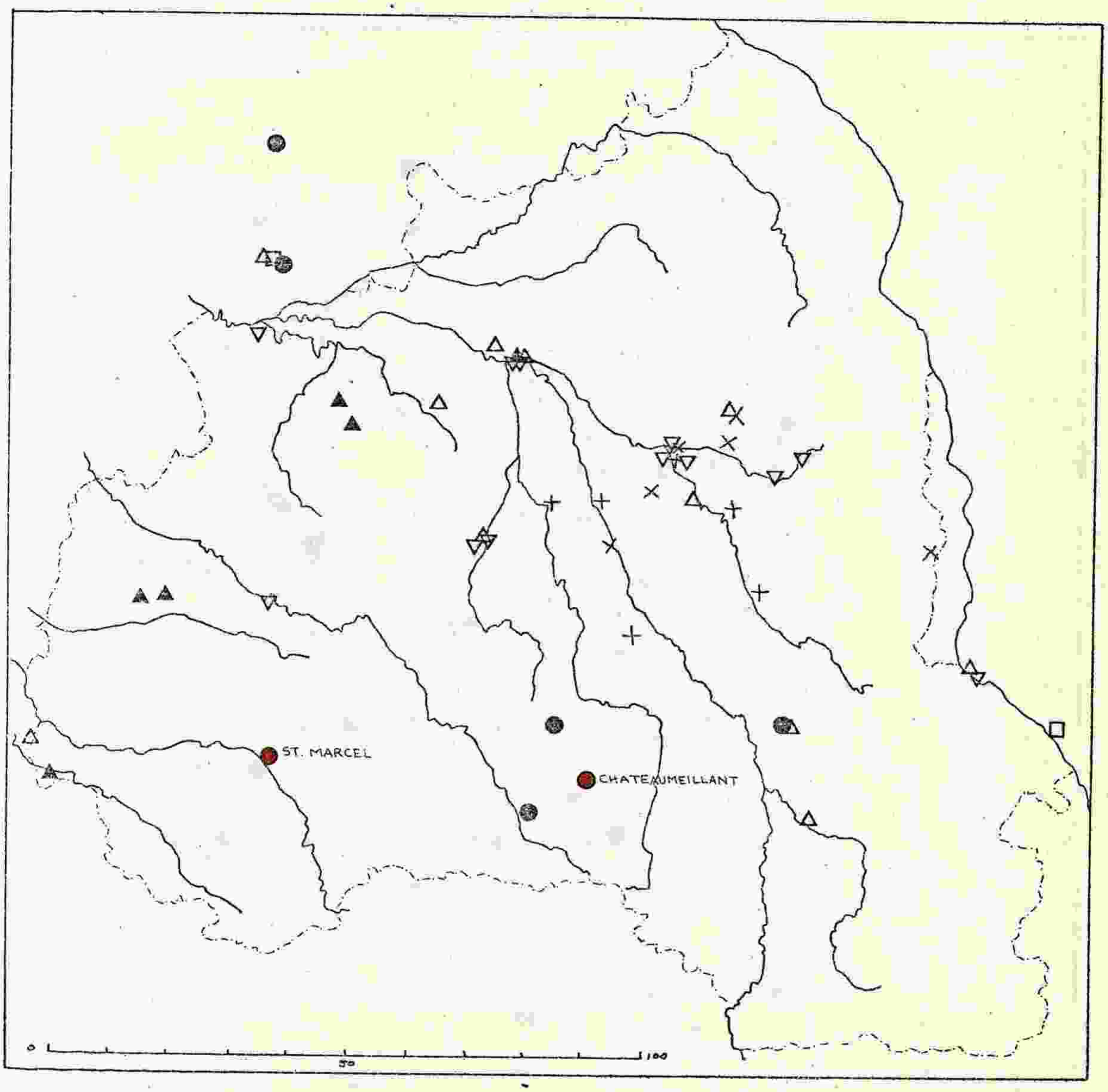
Map B2

Redrawn from G.Chabot, Géographie régionale de la France, Paris 1966 and corrected from the Carte Topographique de l'Etat-major (Carte géologique détaillée) 1:80,000, and the carte géologique détaillée de la France 2e édition where applicable.




- sand
- chalk
- limestone
- granite
- metamorphic schists
- clay
- calcaire marneux

- 'urban' oppida
- ▲ major fortified site
- *Equoranda or Fines or Vicolanum




▲ silver Poitou/Indre group hoard : second century.

△ gold stray find over 8.0g : third century

▽ gold stray find 7.60-8.0g : second century

● gold stray find 7.0-7.60g : late second century

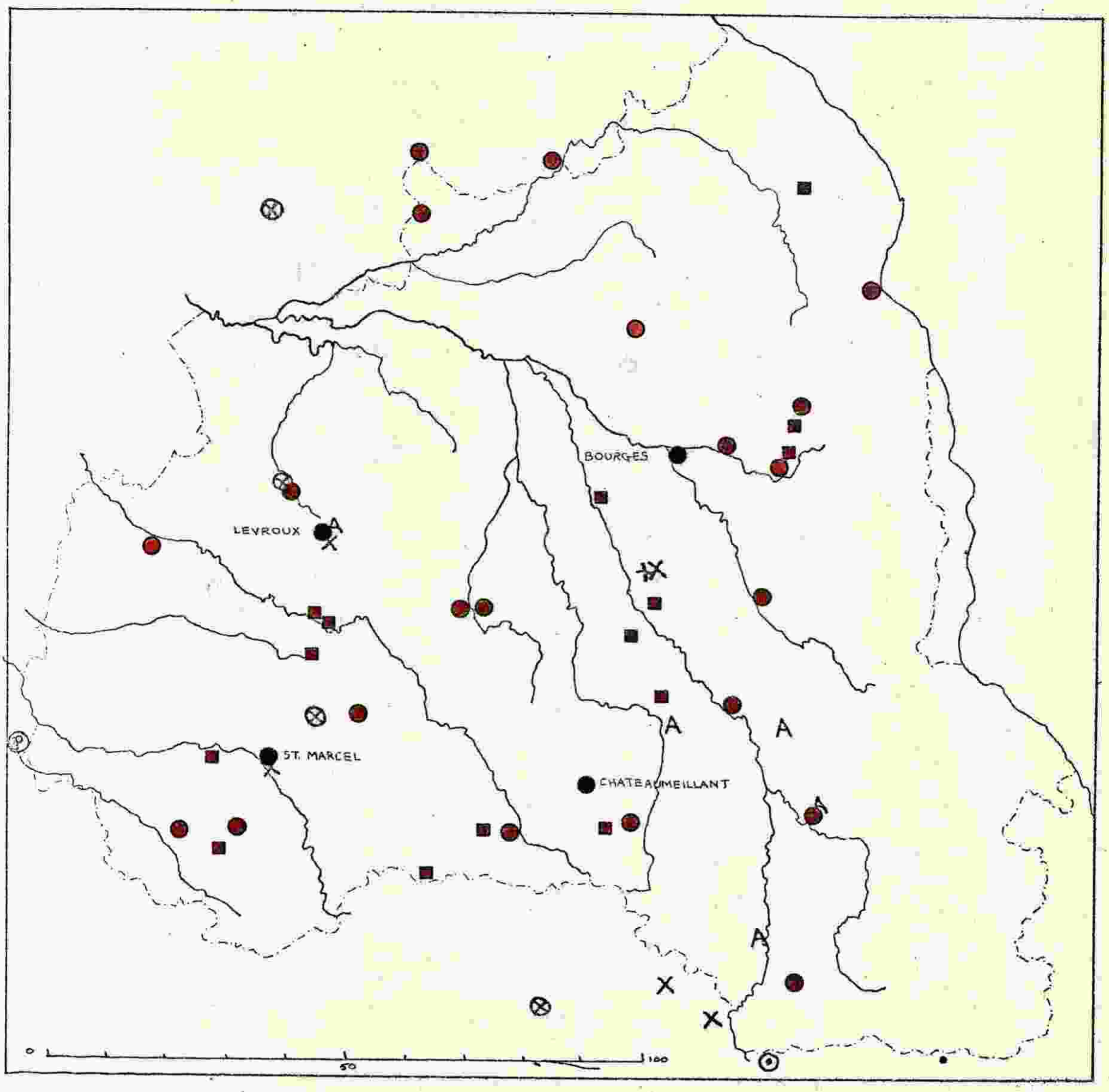
□ gold hoard of the second century

\+ La Tène I burial

× La Tène II burial

# FIRST CENTURY BERRY COINAGE

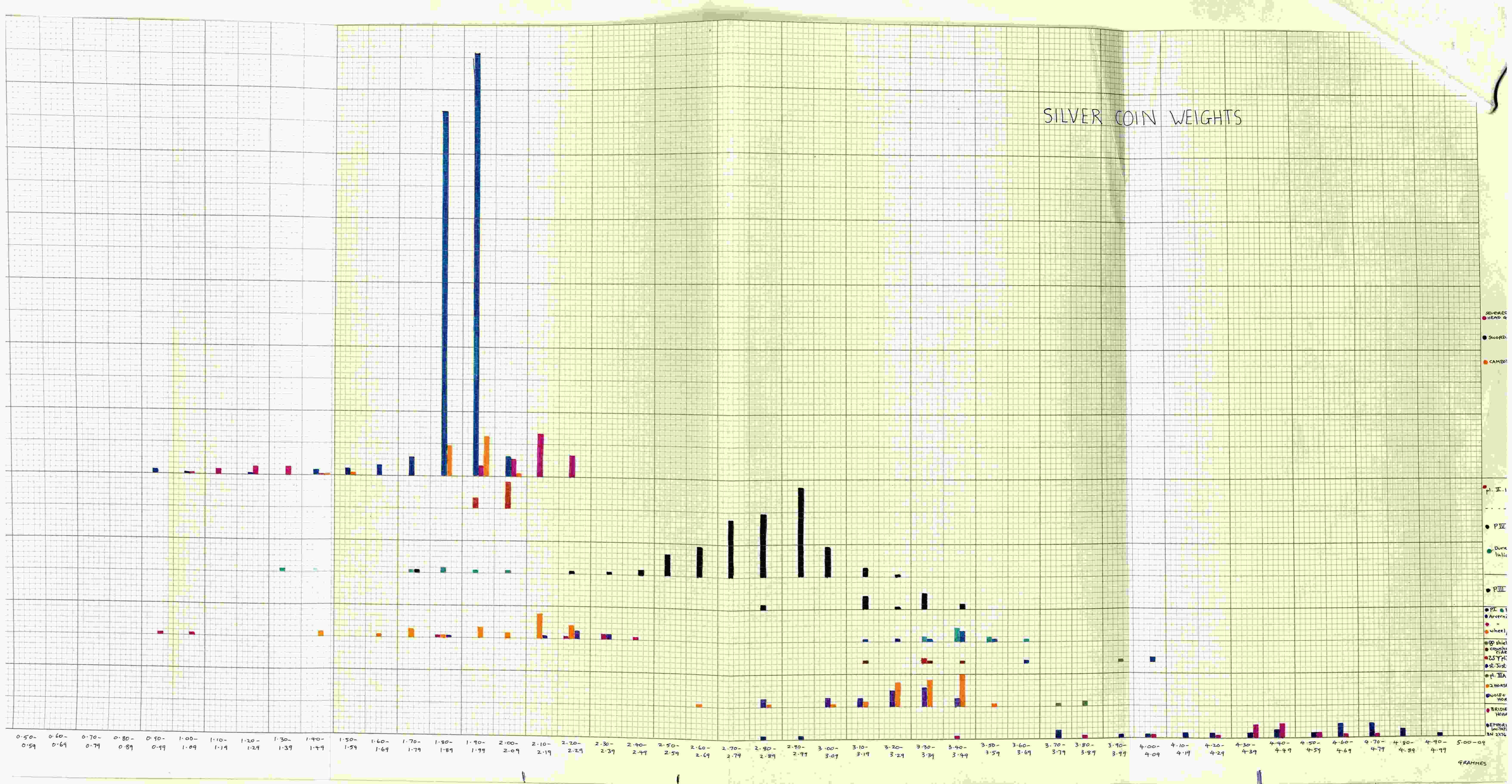
Map B4



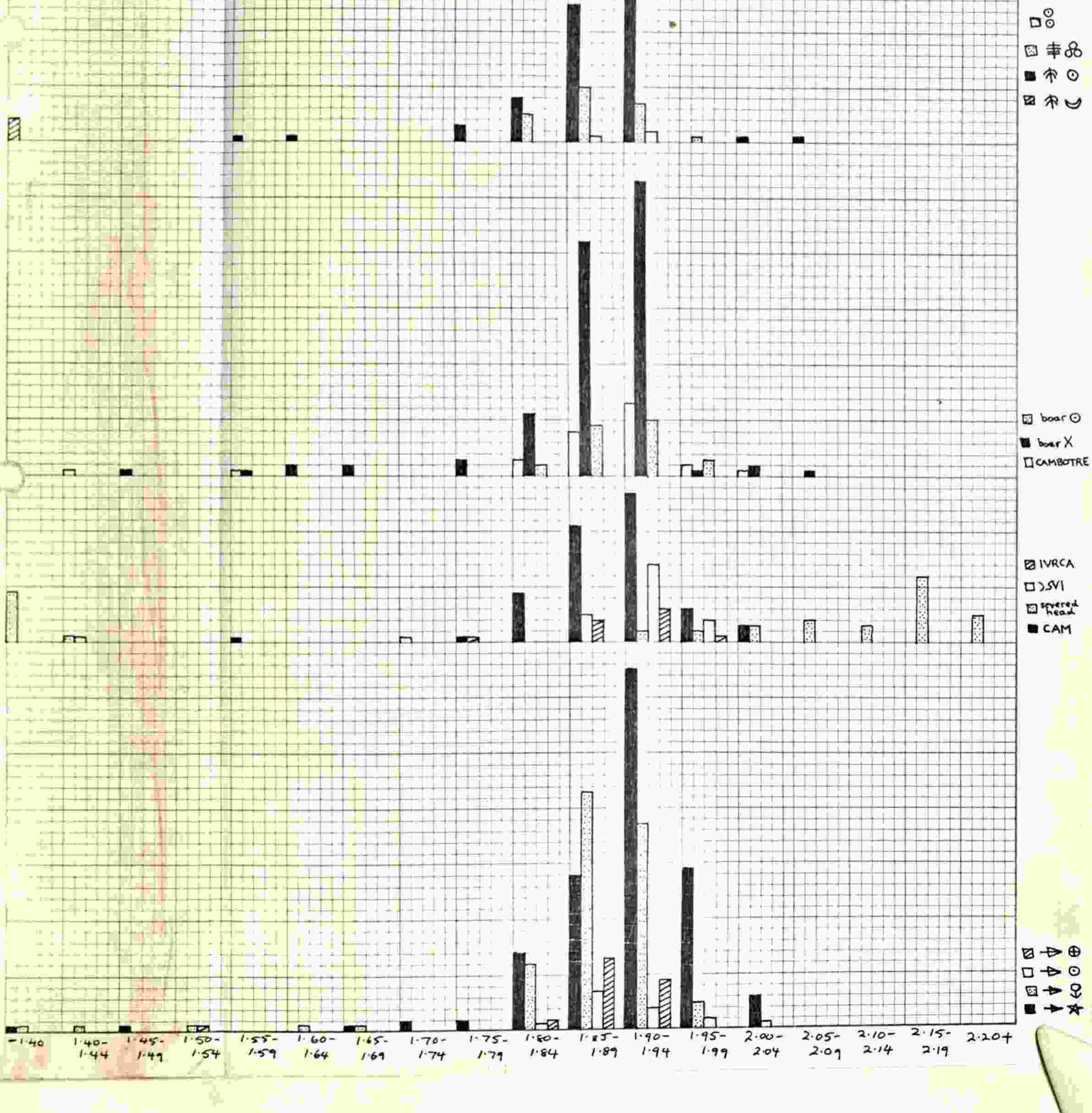

Red = settlement.

- Urban oppidum
- major settlement, fortified (? oppidum)
- minor fortification
- × sword group silver stray find
- \+ severed head group silver stray find
- ⊗ sword group silver hoard
- Ⓟ Poitou PIV silver hoard
- A ABVDOS gold stray find
- • Arverni gold stray find
- ⊙ Arverni gold hoard

# SILVER COIN WEIGHTS



# AQUITANIC SILVER



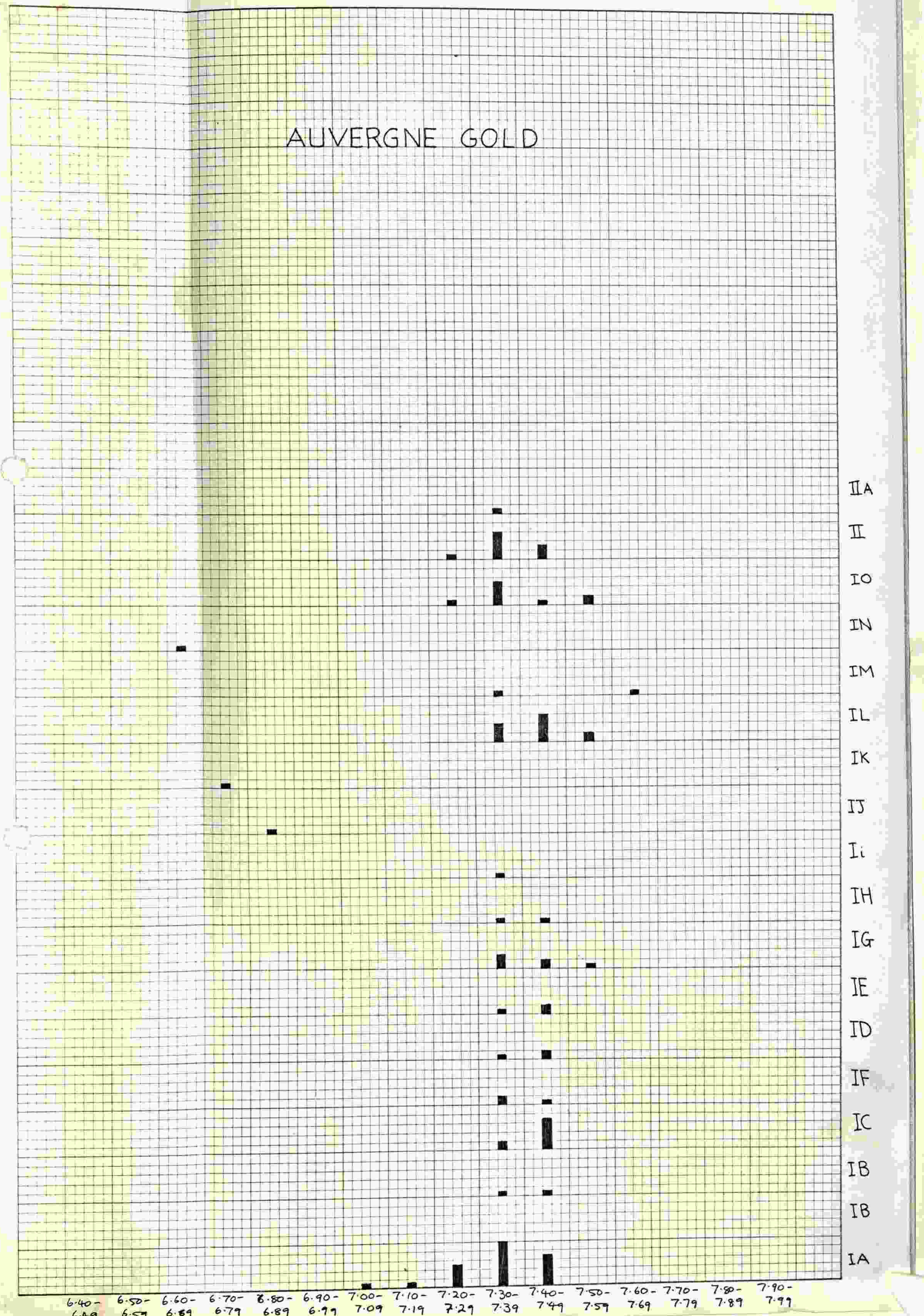
# GOLD COIN WEIGHTS

THIRD PHASE
VII
PICTONES
SA
VI
CRANE + TREFOIL
A
B
C
V
ABVDOS
I
II
III
IV
IV
AUVERGNE
I
II
IIA
III
5283
3627A
II
I
A
B
C
SECOND PHASE
IIiii
IIiv
IIi
IIii
FIRST PHASE
Ivii
Iviii
IIi
Iiv
Iv
Tayac Iv
Ivi
Ii
Iii
Iiii

4·60–4·69 4·70–4·79 4·80–4·89 4·90–4·99 5·00–5·09 5·10–5·19 5·20–5·29 5·30–5·39 5·40–5·49 5·50–5·59 5·60–5·69 5·70–5·79 5·80–5·89 5·90–5·99 6·00–6·09 6·10–6·19 6·20–6·29 6·30–6·39 6·40–6·49 6·50–6·59 6·60–6·69 6·70–6·79 6·80–6·89 6·90–6·99 7·00–7·09 7·10–7·19 7·20–7·29 7·30–7·39 7·40–7·49 7·50–7·59 7·60–7·69 7·70–7·79 7·80–7·89 7·90–7·99 8·00–8·09 8·10–8·19 8·20–8·29 8·30–8·39 8·40–8·49 8·50–8·59 8·60–8·69 GRAMMES

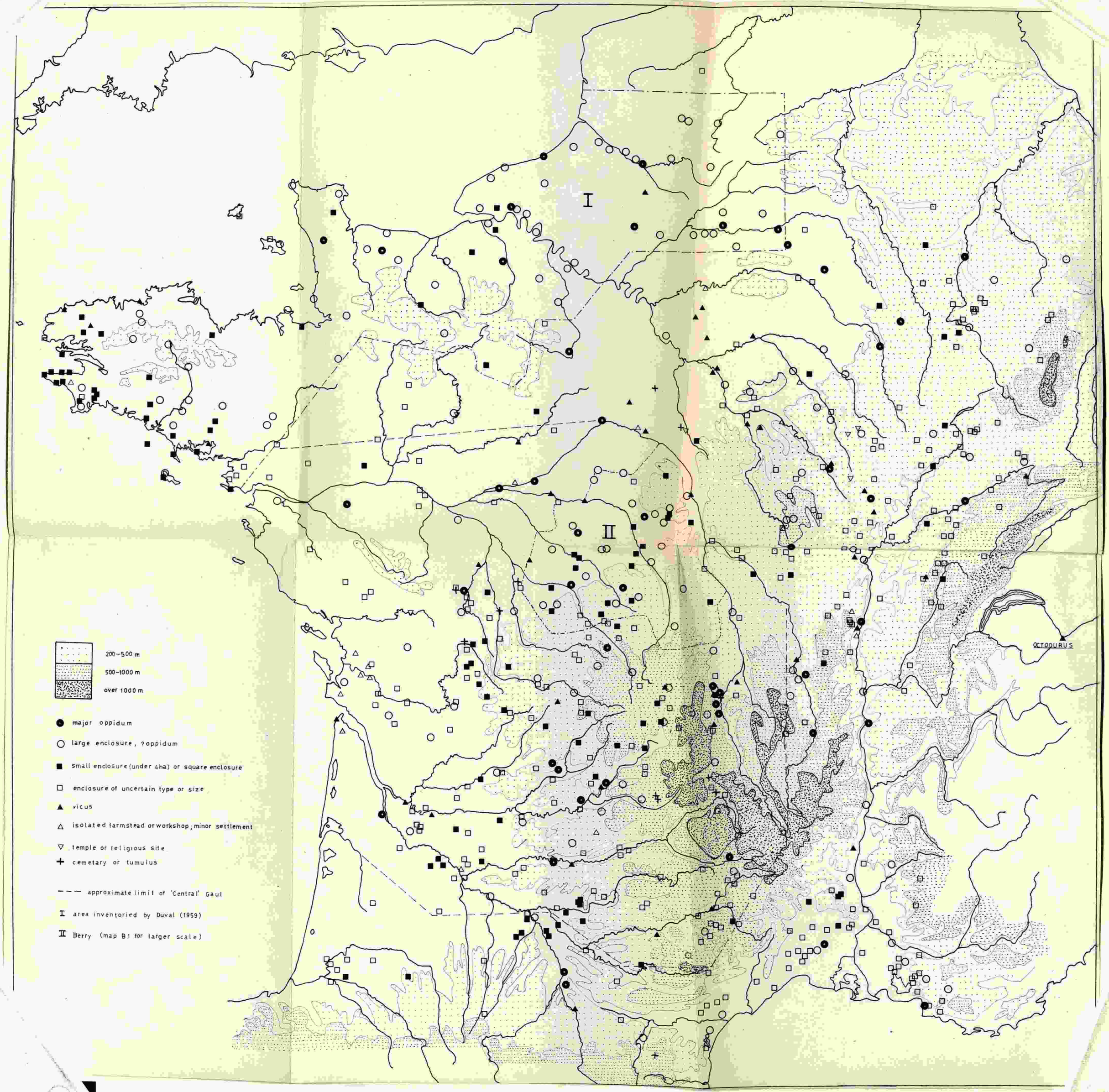
3.40- 3.50- 3.60- 3.70- 3.80- 3.90- 3.99- 4.00- 4.09- 4.10- 4.20- 4.29- 4.30- 4.40- 4.50- 4.59- 4.60- 4.69- 4.70- 4.79- 4.80- 4.89- 4.90- 4.99- 5.00- 5.09- 5.10- 5.19- 5.20- 5.29- 5.30- 5.39- 5.40- 5.49- 5.50- 5.59- 5.60- 5.69- 5.70- 5.79- 5.80- 5.89- 5.90- 5.99- 6.00- 6.09- 6.10- 6.19- 6.20- 6.29- 6.30- 6.39-

# AUVERGNE GOLD



I : SEE DUVAL (1959)

II : BERRY – SEE MAP BI


I
II
OCTODURUS
200–500 m
500–1000 m
over 1000 m
major oppidum
large enclosure, ?oppidum
small enclosure (under 4ha) or square enclosure
enclosure of uncertain type or size
vicus
isolated farmstead or workshop; minor settlement
temple or religious site
cemetary or tumulus
approximate limit of 'Central' Gaul
I area inventoried by Duval (1959)
II Berry (map B1 for larger scale)