Durham University

Durham E-Theses

Gifts to the gods? : votive deposition in north-eastern France from 250 BC to the age of Augustus, a numismatic perspective

Imogen Jane Wellington

How to cite:

Wellington, Imogen Jane (2005) Gifts to the gods? : votive deposition in north-eastern France from 250 BC to the age of Augustus, a numismatic perspective. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/1274/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

Gifts to the Gods?

Votive deposition in north-eastern France from 250BC to the age of Augustus, a numismatic perspective.

Imogen Jane Wellington



(photo Mantel 1997)

Submitted for the degree of PhD
University of Durham, Department of Archaeology
March 2005

Gifts to the Gods?

Votive deposition in north-eastern France from 250 BC to the age of Augustus,

a numismatic perspective.

Imogen Jane Wellington

A copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Submitted for the degree of PhD.

University of Durham, Department of Archaeology

March 2005

Abstract

Gifts to the Gods? Votive deposition in north-eastern France from 250 BC to the age of Augustus, a numismatic perspective

Imogen Jane Wellington

Submitted for the degree of PhD in Archaeology

This thesis examines the use of coinage on votive sites of the later Iron Age and earliest Roman period in the north-east of France. Moving beyond numismatic studies, it evaluates the archaeological contexts in which Iron Age coins have been found, and seeks to use a single artefact type to consider the nature of centralised votive deposition in this area.

Previously, a single type of votive deposition has been assumed to exist in the study area based on the presence of an archaeologically visible votive tradition in western Picardy. This study reviews the archaeological evidence from a wider area, and considers the extremely regional nature of votive deposition from the point of the numismatic deposits. It also looks chronologically at developments in the deposition of artefacts on votive sites, and reviews the changing nature of votive deposition over time.

The development of *oppida* is also entwined with votive sites, many in the study area also having votive foci, and large ritual deposits of coinage. The appearance of coinage is closely related to an increasingly complex society, including the appearance of *oppida* and centralised votive sites, and reasons for this are suggested. The function of coinage in later Iron Age societies is considered. In the later Iron Age coinage was produced in large quantities on votive sites, and was deposited in the immediate locality. The evidence suggests that coins were produced primarily for votive deposition in parts of the study area, a trend which begins with early potin and silver, and increases after the Gallic Wars in the middle of the first century BC.

Declaration

No material in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university, and this thesis is entirely the work of the author. This thesis conforms to the word limit set out in the Degree Regulations for PhD manuscripts.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without their prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Contents

Abstract 2
Declaration 3
Contents 4
Illustrations 7
Abbreviations 10
Acknowledgements 12

Chapter 1: Introduction and research methodologies 14

1.1 Research aims and objectives 14
1.1.2. Definition of votive sites 17
1.1.3. Study area 22
1.2. The current state of archaeological research in the study area 27
1.3.1. Antiquarian research on votive sites 36
1.3.2. Modern research on votive sites 41
1.4. History of the study of religion in the Iron Age 46
1.4.1. Ritual deposition in the Iron Age 49
1.5. Numismatic research in the study area 53
1.5.1. General works/ catalogues 53
1.5.2. Regional assessments 58
1.6. Sketch of the argument 66

Chapter 2: Coins and chronologies in north-western Europe 67

2.1. Later Iron Age chronologies in north-western Europe 67
2.2. The development of modern coin dating chronologies 69
2.2.1. Colbert de Beaulieu and the historical approach 69
2.2.2. Archaeology based chronological and typological developments 73
2.2.2.1. Gold 75
2.2.2.2. Potin 78
2.2.2.3. Silver 82
2.2.2.4. Struck bronze 84
2.3. Other chronologies 87
2.3.1. Historical dating 87
2.3.2. Artefact based chronologies 90
2.3.3. Absolute dating in north-western Europe 95
2.4. Conclusion 95

Chapter 3: The function of coinage in later Iron Age societies 97

3.1. Modern considerations of coin use 97

3.2. Reassessing coin use in later Iron Age societies 102
3.3. Function of coinage on votive sites 110
3.4. Conclusion 115

Chapter 4: The earliest ritual uses of coinage **117**

4.1. Development of the tradition of object deposition 117
4.1.1. The origin of votive sites in north-western Europe 121
4.2. Regional development of coin deposition on votive sites 127
4.2.1. Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines 128
4.2.1.1. Sites with stratified coin finds 130
4.2.1.2. Numismatic sites 157
4.2.1.3. Summary 159
4.2.2. Northern Champagne-Ardenne/ Aisne area 160
4.2.2.1. Summary 166
4.2.3. The coastal plain area 166
4.3. Wider comparisons 168
4.4. Conclusion 174

Chapter 5: The intensification of votive deposition **177**

5.1. Development of votive sites 177
5.1.1. *Oppida* and votive sites 179
5.1.2. Developments from earlier sanctuaries 183
5.2. Regional development of coin deposition on votive sites 184
5.2.1. Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines 184
5.2.1.1. Votive deposition on *oppida* or hilltops 187
5.2.1.2. Archaeological developments on non-fortified votive sites 195
5.2.1.3. Numismatic sites 205
5.2.1.4. Summary 211
5.2.2. Northern Champagne-Ardenne/ Aisne area 212
5.2.2.1. Votive developments on *oppida* or hilltops 213
5.2.2.2. Archaeological developments on non-fortified sites 219
5.2.2.3. Summary 227
5.2.3. The coastal plain area 229
5.2.3.1. Nord 230
5.2.3.2. Pas-de-Calais 232
5.3. Wider comparisons 236
5.4. Conclusion 242

Chapter 6: Expansion and adaptation – development in the later first century BC **245**

6.1. The impact of the Gallic Wars 247
6.1.2. Later developments 255
6.1.3. Changes in the coinage 256
6.2. Regional development of coin deposition on votive sites 262
6.2.1. Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines 262

6.2.1.1. Sites with stratified coin finds 263
6.2.1.2. Numismatic sites 279
6.2.1.3. Summary 282
6.2.2. Northern Champagne-Ardenne/ Aisne 283
6.2.2.1. Sites with stratified coin finds 284
6.2.2.2. Summary 293
6.2.3. The coastal plain area 293
6.3. Wider comparisons 295
6.4. Conclusion 300

Chapter 7: New developments and interpretations **303**

7.1 'Elites'or Communities? The nature of votive practice. 305
7.2 Community undertakings? – *Oppida*. 315
7.3 Minting on votive sites? 317
7.4 Two tier coin circulation 326

Chapter 8: Conclusion **329**

8.1. Summary and suggestions for further research 336

Appendix 1: Findspots and principle references of main votive sites with coin deposits recorded in the study area. **338**
Appendix 2: Additional information on the main votive sites recorded in the study area, and their coinage. **342**

Bibliography **422**

Plates **475**

Illustrations

Chapter 1: Introduction and research methodologies

1.1	Map of northern France, showing region of study	14
1.2	The study area (with the three areas considered)	22
1.3	Tribal groups of the Gallic Wars period	23
1.4	Geological and topographic areas dicsussed	26
1.5	Major landscape studies carried out in the study area	28
1.6	Main sites mentioned in chapter 1	42
1.7	Delestrée/ Tache and Haselgrove coin minting areas (after Delestrée/ Tache 2003 and Haselgrove 1999)	56

Chapter 2: Coins and chronologies in north-western Europe

2.1	Main dating chronologies in northern France	67
2.2	Coin dating chronologies	70
2.3	Coin dating in the Aisne Valley (after Guichard et al 1993)	74
2.4	Coin dating phases used in this study	75
2.5	Silver and potin producing areas	82
2.6	Brooch dating chronologies (after Colin 1998 and Pion 1996)	91
2.7	Amphora dating chronologies (after Colin 1998)	93

Chapter 3: The function of coinage in later Iron Age societies

3.1	Gold distribution in selected parts of the study area	105
3.2	Potin coinage distribution in selected parts of the study area	107
3.3	Silver distribution in selected parts of the study area	108
3.4	Struck bronze distribution in selected parts of the study area	109

Chapter 4: The earliest ritual uses of coinage

4.1	Main sites discussed in chapter 4	117
4.2	Acy Romance "La Terrage" (after Lambot, Friboulet & Méniel 1994)	123
4.3	Area of the earliest votive sites (Picardy)	129
4.4	Ribemont-sur-Ancre in its topographic setting (after Fercoq du Leslay 2000)	130
4.5	Ribemont-sur-Ancre, central area (after Brunaux 2000 & Delestrée 2001)	131
4.6	Gournay-sur-Aronde (after Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985)	137
4.7	Bennecourt in its local context (after Bourgeois 1999)	141
4.8	The central area at Bennecourt (after Bourgeois 1999)	142
4.9	Chilly, central area (after Collart 1987)	144
4.10	Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée (after Brunaux & Lambot 1991)	145
4.11	Central pit complexes at votive sites in Picardy (after Fichtl 1994 and various)	151
4.12	Éstrees-Saint-Denis (after Woimant 1985)	153

4.13 Vendeuil-Caply (after Piton & Dilly 1996) 155
4.14 Nanteuil-sur-Aisne (after Lambot 1996) 162
4.15 La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (after Piette various and Brunaux 1995) 169

Chapter 5: The intensification of votive deposition

5.1 Main sites discussed in chapter 5 178
5.2 Main *oppida* of north-eastern France (after Fichtl 2000) 180
5.3 Map of coin movement along the Seine Valley (after Ginoux and Poux 2002) 186
5.4 Vernon (after Dechezleprêtre 2000) 188
5.5 Fesques (after Mantel 1997) 190
5.6 Gournay-sur-Aronde, coin findspots (after Brunaux 1987) 197
5.7 Ognon/ Forêt d'Halatte (after Durand 2000) 206
5.8 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (after Peyre 2000) 214
5.9 Central area of the votive ditches at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (after Peyre 2000) 217
5.10 Central Acy-Romance (after Lambot & Méniel 2000) 222
5.11 Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" (after Tisserand 1981) 226
5.12 Coin findspots in Nord 231
5.13 Coin findspots in Pas-de-Calais 233

Chapter 6: Expansion and adaptation – development in the later first century BC

6.1 Main sites discussed in chapter 6 246
6.2 Central votive area at Fesques (after Mantel 1997) 263
6.3 Residual coinage at Bennecourt 268
6.4 Digeon/ Morvillers-Saint-Saturnin (after Delplace, Jobic, Méniel & Rapin 1986) 270
6.5 Eu/ Bois l'Abbé (after Delestrée 1996a) 274
6.6 Votive scatters at Baâlons-Bouvellemont (after Squevin 1994) 285
6.7 Position of ceramic vessels in deposits A & B, Baâlons-Bouvellemont (after Squevin 1988) 287
6.8 Position of coins in deposits A & B, Baâlons-Bouvellemont (after Squevin 1988) 288

Chapter 7: New developments and interpretations

7.1 Sporadic deposition on selected votive sites in the study area. 311
7.2 Repeat of Figure 5.9. Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, central votive ditches (after Debord various, Peyre 2000) 319
7.3 Distribution of moulds and coin production waste in the central area of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (after Debord 1993) 320
7.4 Regional groupings of mid first century BC coin production by numismatic typology in the Oise and Somme areas (after Delestrée 1996a) 324

Chapter 8: No illustrations

Abbreviations

Journals, series, reference books

AAS	*Amsterdam Archaeological Studies*
Arch Journal	*Archaeological Journal*
ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports (British Series)*
BAR S	*British Archaeological Reports (International Series)*
BAVF	*Bulletin Archéologique du Vexin Français*
BM	Hobbs, R., *Catalogue of the Iron Age coins in the British Museum*
BNJ	*British Numismatic Journal*
BROB	*Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*
BSAC	*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Champenoise*
BSFN	*Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique*
BSELSM	*Bulletin de la Société Emul. Seine-Maritime*
BSNEP	*Bulletin de la Société Normande d'Etudes Préhistoriques*
BSPF	*Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*
Bull. AFEAF	*Bulletin de la Association Français pour l'Etude de l'Âge du Fer*
CAG	*Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*
CAP	*Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie*
Cahiers Num	*Cahiers Numismatique*
CUP	*Cambridge University Press*
DAF	*Documents d'Archéologie Française*
FPVA	*Fouilles Protohistoriques dans la Vallée de l'Aisne*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LT	de la Tour, H., *Atlas de Monnaies Gaulois*
MBAH	*Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte*
MEFRA	*Mémoires de l'École Française de Rome, antiquité*
MSAC	*Mémoires de la Société Archéologique Champenoise*
NAR	*Nederlandse Archeologische Rapporten*
Num Circ	*Numismatic Circular*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OUP	*Oxford University Press*
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
RAE	*Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est*
RAC	*Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France*
RAN	*Revue Archéologique Narbonnaise*
RA Oise	*Revue Archéologique de l'Oise*
RAO	*Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest*
RAP	*Revue Archéologique de Picardie*
RBN	*Revue Belge de Numismatique*

RN	*Revue Numismatique*
RIC	*Roman Imperial Coinage*, eds Mattingley, Sydenham, Sutherland & Carson
RRC	Crawford, M.H, *Roman Republican Coinage*
Scheers	Scheers, S. *Traité de Numismatique Celtique II. La Gaule Belgique,*
TZ	*Trierer Zeitschrift*
VA	Van Arsell, R.D., *Celtic Coinage of Britain*

Institutes

AFAN	*Association de Fouilles Archéologiques Nationale*
CBA	*Council for British Archaeology*
CNRS	*Centre Nationale pour le Recherche Scientifique*
CRAVO	*Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de la Vallée de l'Oise*
DRAC	*Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles*
OUCA	*Oxford University Committee for Archaeology*
RGZM	*Römisch Germanische Zentralmuseums*
SAM	*Service Archéologique Municipale*
SRA	*Service Regional d'Archéologie*

Acknowledgements

During the course of this thesis, many people have been extremely generous with their time and information. Initially, I must give a big thanks to my supervisor Colin Haselgrove, who has helped me greatly, and has given unstintingly of his time and knowledge, even when I was at my most trying, and always got things back to me at a terrifying speed, undoubtedly at the expense of his social life. This thesis would not have been possible without his knowledge of the study area, and without his generosity with regard to his personal library. I would also like to thank Jonathan Williams, my external adviser, who has always listened to me with forbearance, and has provided enthusiasm and encouragement when it was most needed, as well as access to the British Museum.

This thesis was funded by a scholarship from the HEFCE Special Factor Funding for Numismatic held at the University of Durham in my first year, and subsequently by the AHRB. I would like to thank these bodies for their financial support. Additional financial assistance has been provided by the Rosemary Cramp Fund, University of Durham, the Caedmon Trust, College of St Hild and St Bede, the Hardship Fund, the UK Numismatic Trust, with a special thanks to Keith Sugden, and the International Numismatic Commission Travel Scholarship. I am extremely grateful to all of these bodies for making this PhD possible.

Personal thanks go to my Mum, Dad and Sue and the rest of the family, who have put up with me during the long, interminable process of writing up, and have provided accommodation and lots of tea. Mark has been a star during the closing stages. In the Department of Archaeology, I have benefited from a stimulating and friendly work environment, and I am extremely grateful to all the department, especially the postgrads, who helped me through some difficult times, and some great ones. Special thanks must go to Rachel Pope (and Nelson), Mairi Davies and Tom Moore (my partners in Iron Age crime), Chris Constable, Hugh Willmott, Becky Gowland, Dani Keller, Steve Willis, Simon Alderson, Nick Boyall, Pam Lowther, Ian Bailiff and James Bruhn. I would like

to thank Ken Jukes for his help with the vagaries of graphics packages. Louise Revell has kindly read through a draft of the thesis, and has been a cheerful provider of coffee and beer while I was lecturing at Southampton. Iain Wellington did sterling work with the production of illustrations in the eleventh hour, for which I am very thankful.

Many people have been generous with information, often unpublished, and I would like to thank the staff of the archives I have visited; the Service Regional d'Archéologie de Picardie, especially Blandine Dubois, the Service Regional d'Archéologie Haute-Normandie, the Service Regional d'Archéologie Champagne-Ardennes, especially Daniel Chossenot, and the Service Regional d'Archéologie Nord-Pas-de-Calais, especially the library staff. John Creighton kindly gave me a surplus copy of Scheers, without which I could not have completed this thesis. The library at the Centre de Recherche Européen at Mont Beuvray was an invaluable resource, and thanks go to Rafael for his assistance there. Others who have kindly provided information, ideas or assistance include Michel Amandry, Phil Andrews, T. Ben Rejeb, Olivier Blin, Jean-Louis Brunaux, Louis-Pol Delestrée, Yves Désfosses, J.D.Hill, Simon James, Philip de Jersey, Philip Kiernan, Chris Loveluck, Martin Millett, Nico Roymans, Malcolm Todd and David Wigg. Many thanks. Any mistakes, however, remain my own.

Lastly I would like to offer my profound thanks to John Casey, who roped me into the study of numismatics in the first place as an undergrad with his irreverent enthusiasm and who has been a great help during the MA and this PhD. The thesis is a direct product of the Durham MA in Numismatics, and without his excellent teaching, I would never have got this far. This is for him.

Chapter 1

Introduction and research methodologies

❖❖❖

1.1. RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This study looks at coins found on the votive sites of northern France in a non-numismatic way, placing them back within their archaeological context. It considers the changing role of coinage through time and the ways in which coins were used on sites. By considering one type of artefact in relation to others, light can be thrown on the way in which coins functioned in the pre-Roman Iron Age, and the role coinage played within local communities. It seems likely that votive use and deposition was the primary reason for coin production in many areas.

Figure 1.1. Map of northern France



The role of Iron Age coinage in northern France has traditionally been viewed within the wider context of relations with the Greco-Roman world. In numismatic studies, interaction with the Roman military and the Gallic Wars have played a

prominent role, and there has been a historical tendency to view coin development around these perceived fixed points. Few have considered the way which coins were used within pre-Roman societies in the period leading up to the middle of the first century BC. An economic function influenced by Roman activity is no longer tenable now that we know coinage was produced for two centuries before the Roman Conquest. Recent archaeological excavations have found large quantities of coinage in the north of France (fig 1.1), and using this data-set current orthodoxies can be questioned.

An important part of these new discoveries are finds from 'votive contexts' which have been found with other forms of archaeological material. Using these stratified coins, a more comprehensive picture of how they were used in relation to other artefacts can be produced. This thesis considers the role of coins on what are considered as votive sites, and the impact their use in votive contexts has on the general function of coinage in north-eastern France in the later Iron Age.

Several assumptions made about the role of coinage in ritual activity can now be reviewed with new evidence. Coinage has been viewed as a type of votive deposit which first came into use in the middle of the first century BC. By questioning this assumption, the use of coinage in votive deposits can no longer be explained away by the words "Hellenisation" or "Romanisation". It is clear that Iron Age coinage was not just 'dumped' in the early Roman period, but forms part of a wider and older tradition of object deposition across wide areas of north-western Europe. This suggests a different reason for the general development of coinage, beyond the common assumption that they were struck by 'élites' for exchange with other 'élites' or as a payment for 'warriors' (e.g. Roymans 1990, Nash 1975).

Another assumption is that coins were used in similar ways across north-west Europe during this period. Actually, the archaeological evidence now argues for major regional and chronological differences, and the simplistic view of coinage having a single function across a wide area (proposed in works concentrating on die

studies and scatter plots) no longer answers the questions being asked. What were coins for? Who was striking them? Why did their use expand so much, so quickly? I believe that the answer is to be found archaeologically, and specifically in the use of coinage in votive contexts, where the majority of northern French stratified finds can be found.

The identification of pre-Roman votive sites in northern France dates from Brunaux, Méniel and Poplin's groundbreaking 1970s and 80s excavations at Gournay-sur-Aronde in Picardy (Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985). However, after a flurry of work in the early 1990s (discussed below), little recent work has been done to place these sites within their wider archaeological context. The use of coinage is acknowledged as important, and the coins are catalogued and listed, but little thought has gone into the role they played as part of the rituals of deposition. Coins are considered in isolation.

This thesis does not aim to be a comprehensive numismatic study of coinage in the study area. Due to the quantity of material now available, to complete a full review of all coinage in the study area would comprise several theses, and in the interests of considering the wider archaeological connotations of the coinage, I direct readers to the numismatic works reviewed in chapter 2. For the same reason die-analyses were not considered, except where they impact on the archaeological interpretations of sites.

Similarly, this thesis concentrates on drawing information from the material itself, and moves away from historical approaches to the subject, which are heavily dependant on Caesar and other Roman accounts of Gallic ritual activity. It is hoped that a study of one aspect of the material itself will elucidate new perspectives on votive practice in the Late Iron Age of north-eastern France. Although theoretical models have been taken into account, full consideration of the theories of deposition and the use of ritual within societies are expressed more elegantly elsewhere (e.g. Barrett 1991, Bell 1992, Brück 1999). I direct readers to these for a

fuller consideration of the theoretical and anthropological aspects of ritual belief, and concentrate on the material itself here.

The interpretation of ritual deposition has had a major impact on British use of the archaeological record in the previous decade, and since the demise of the Treasure Trove laws, the interpretation of deposits as votive has become acceptable, if an extremely complex process. On the continent this has been less prevalent, and here I utilise a holistic approach to coinage on votive sites to understand the process. However, the emphasis of this work is on sites with stratified coinage and pertinent comparative material.

Away from the relatively well documented *sanctuaires* of Picardy, little is known about everyday rites and ritual, especially those which took place away from votive sites, even in those areas with recent work (e.g. the Oise Valley). Coin hoards are still problematic, and it seems increasingly likely that at least some (if not most) of them can be explained by late Iron Age and early Roman votive practice. Much work remains to be done, but here I concentrate on one aspect of the phenomenon, that involving stratified coinage. I am aware that the study of hoards is important, but here have concentrated on the archaeological material. Other aspects of research into religion in the study area are discussed briefly below, but I believe that the most significant advances and insights are to be found in the archaeological record.

1.1.2. DEFINITION OF VOTIVE SITES

For the purposes of this thesis, I take votive sites to mean those where objects were found in stratigraphic conjunction with structural remains such as pits, ditches and postholes, on a site, or an area of a site, where religious activity appears to have been the main focus. The sites which I concentrate on contain deposits of coins, but these are also compared with non-coin producing ones and certain other archaeological sites which fulfil some of the above criteria. The definition contained above is by admission deliberately flexible, as our continual revision of what constituted votive activity in prehistory defies too tight a categorisation.

The presence of structures as well as coinage is the first key criterion. Although many hoards, river and lake deposits were probably votive, the problems inherent in selective excavation and lack of clear findspots are magnified for these finds. The prevalence of nineteenth and early twentieth century evidence, as well as selective survival of artefacts creates such problems with this material that it has been excluded from this study. Those sites which have structural evidence have been archaeologically investigated, however cursorily.

Non-numismatic artefacts present on the sites are also important. Other diagnostic finds include bones (both animal and human), metalwork (most significantly brooches, metal wheels and weaponry), pottery and other ritual objects. The presence of all of these on a site is unusual, but the conjunction of one or more of these with coinage is an important aspect of votive activity. The use of these criteria to establish ritual activity was established by Roymans (1990:82), and is a valid way of identifying these sites. Some of the Roman period sites have few finds apart from coinage, but these are usually later and outside of the scope of this study.

Lastly, the main factor (and most decimating of the criteria) for consideration is adequate enough publication for the numismatic material to be subjected to more than a passing mention or a simple list. Many of the ritual sites in the study area have been inadequately excavated, or were the focus of ill-recorded antiquarian excavation. Some have had the records from the excavations destroyed. Others have never been fully published, or have been published inadequately, without sufficient regard for the stratigraphic relations on the site.

For this reason, the study is restricted to aspects of votive deposition of coinage where the coins can be subjected to an archaeological analysis, where their findspot on the site can be determined, or the coin was found in relation with other objects. An exception is made for the cases of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais region, where the volume of coinage found in archaeological contexts was so small that it could not

be analysed in this way, and a wider selection of numismatic evidence was therefore considered to establish why this was the case.

However, there are caveats to these definitions, as always in archaeology, and I am aware of their limitations. Trying to define religious activity archaeologically is a complex subject. In general and specific literature definitions of what denotes a votive site vary wildly from publication to publication. Should these sites be defined by architecture, as is popular on the continent and in the realms of the latest prehistory? Should deposits be the most important factor in the identification of ritual activity? This is a view popular in the study of the early Iron Age and before, and includes the kind of structured settlement deposition championed by Hill (1995) and other British scholars.

Should a site with buildings be considered as broadly similar to more disparate deposits of coinage and metalwork, such as those in the Seine? The deposition of votive material was not restricted to this type of site, and natural locations may have been the preferred cult loci, only replaced by more constructed sacred space when the former were unavailable. It is likely that the division between sites with architectural remains and 'natural places' is a modern one, and I am aware that the division is probably a misleading one.

I have chosen to consider sites with architectural remains due to the information a broader range of material provides, but it is important to bear in mind that these sites only comprise one aspect of votive deposition; many of the offerings to deities were probably on a small scale. The presence of one-off deposits of animal bones and pottery on settlements show the importance of ritual deposition in everyday society. Although large-scale centres were important, presumably on a pan-community scale, day-to-day ritual deposits were probably more akin to the silo and pit finds from sites such as Danebury in southern Britain (Cunliffe 1992), and this is starting to be recognised on the continent as well.

Having said that, the re-introduction of widespread structured centres devoted solely to votive activity represents a distinct change in the late Iron Age; the early Iron Age evidence for votive activity is largely based on grave finds in northern France. This is in marked contrast to the monumental constructions of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, which imply some community collusion in their construction simply from their size. The concept of centralised ritual monuments has been discussed widely elsewhere (e.g. Bradley 1998) but they clearly formed an important investment by the groups which constructed them. Large-scale centres were possibly most important for the major festivals, although the possibility of sites as pilgrimage centres is one which must be considered.

The definition of archaeologically recognisable ritual activity has only really been questioned in the last 20 years, most significantly by Barrett (e.g. 1989, 1991), although other scholars have considered it, such as the volume 'Sacred and Profane' (Garwood et al, 1991) and the work of Hill (e.g. 1995). All of these volumes and articles question the unthinking assumption of the nature of ritual, and its applications in the field of archaeology.

Anthropological definitions of ritual activity (e.g. Lewis 1966) identify ritual activity as "*a physical representation of symbolism*", and this has often been taken by archaeologists to mean that finds are a direct translation of symbolic meaning, and anthropological case-studies are used to pad out archaeological finds. However, anthropological and archaeological records show that generalisations about ritual activity are of dubious use, and are never more than culture specific (if that). We know that the late Iron Age was a period of considerable regional diversity, so perhaps any attempt to form super-local parallels is invalid?

There is significant diversity in the sites which are considered under vague terms, such as '*sanctuaire*' 'temple' and 'shrine'. Through this work, I use the more neutral term votive site. Although the formation of groups of related sites is a convenient way to approach the study of archaeological remains, the problem of

modern generalisations, and the selective nature of the archaeological record leads must be considered. The use of opaque Latin terms, such as '*cella*' and '*fanum*' varies amongst individual scholars. Gros discusses this in his general work on architecture.

"*Il n'est pas indifférent de rappeler que cette terminologie ne se fonde sur aucune donnée assurée; fanum est passé dans l'usage courant pour évoquer cette catégorie d'édifices à la suite de l'étude d'un archéologue normand*" (Gros 1996:199)

There is a risk that the true role of individual sites is being obscured underneath generalisations.

To maintain a broad geographical framework, this project has restricted itself to one aspect of votive deposition, while recognising the relevance of others. The presence of numismatic evidence on votive sites is widespread in northern France, and the use of a wide study area provides the opportunity to look at the differences between sites in different geographical areas. The focus of this study is not on establishing generalisations, but in studying the archaeological evidence and exploring similarities, and more importantly, differences.

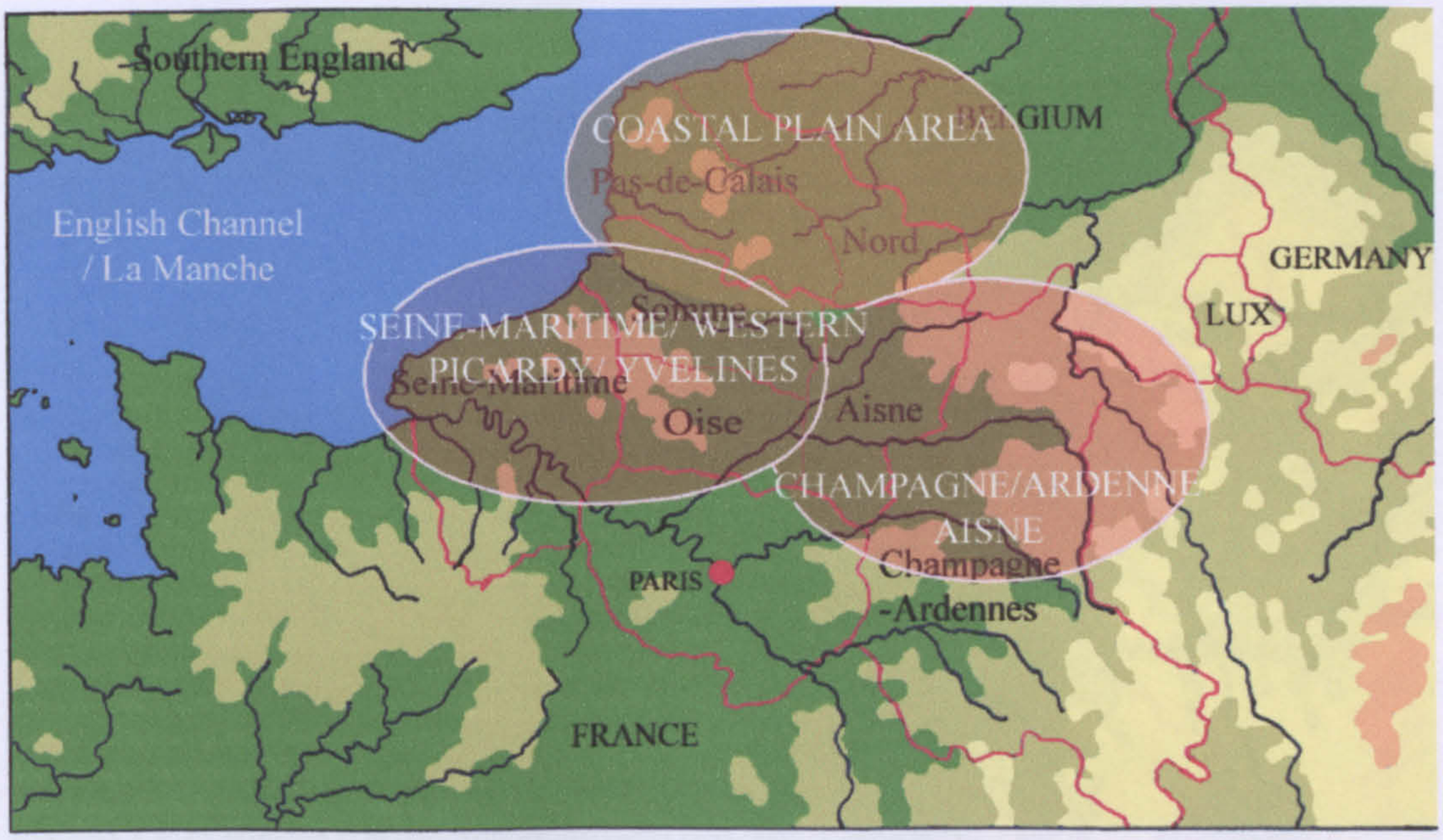
Although there are definite limitations to the criteria of selection used to identify votive sites for the purpose of this study, it must be remembered that these are deliberately selective criteria, and in no way define the only votive sites. Centralised votive sites with structures, artefact deposition and good publication encompass only a tiny proportion of the religious archaeology of this area in the late Iron Age and early Roman period. They define only one way of representing votive activity amongst many disparate forms. The purpose of establishing these criteria is not to limit the definition of ritual sites, but to establish a meaningful and manageable body of data with which to work and form some conclusions. This is only a single representation of religious activity and must be considered not in isolation, but in conjunction with what is going on in other areas, such as settlement

and burial.

1.1.3. STUDY AREA

This study focuses on the coinage of north-eastern France. Due to recent excavation, and a concentration of research excavation on votive sites, a great deal of new material has recently come to light, and is changing the way in which late Iron Age society as a whole is viewed.

Figure 1.2. The study area



The study area comprises the modern regions of Picardy, Champagne-Ardenne, Nord—Pas-de-Calais, and the department of Seine-Maritime. Selected sites in the Val d'Oise and Yvelines are considered where they have produced stratified coinage (fig 1.2). Although the use of modern boundaries is somewhat misleading, it was deliberately chosen to avoid the use of mid first century BC tribal groups, the traditional way of considering the study area. It comprises the western part of the area which was called *Gallia Belgica* in the Gallic War period by Caesar (BG I, 1), although this term is avoided, due to the late appearance of this nomenclature.

I have deliberately not given these areas new names, as several of the scholars working in the area (e.g. Haselgrove 1999a, Delestrée & Tache 2002) use different terminologies and further naming would only add to the confusion. Coin use in north-eastern France was extremely regional, and has often been used speculatively in the attempt to identify tribal groups. It is clear that although some of the coins may have emanated from political bodies, we do not know enough about the actual function of coinage to attempt to establish tribal and sub-tribal groups, although Gruel has introduced some preliminary ideas (2002).

Figure 1.3. Tribal groups of the Caesarian to Augustan period (Claudian in Britain).



There is an ongoing numismatic tendency on both sides of the Channel to project the shifting tribal groups of the Gallic Wars and Augustan periods (fig 1.3) backwards as static social and material culture boundaries (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989). This is no longer sustainable when we consider the distribution of other artefact types even 100 years before the Gallic Wars. Larger groups seem to have been extremely fluid entities, and were possibly only assembled at times of stress, with smaller family groups predominating much of the time. Throughout both northern France and southern Britain the coinage is dominated by small-scale localised

issues for most of the late Iron Age. It is only in the latest inscribed stages of coinage that the Gallic War tribal groupings have much relevance.

Therefore, the division of coinage geographically is wisest. Scheers divided her coins largely by tribes (1977), a system of division that is still followed by many of the continental scholars (e.g. Delestrée 1996a), although of questionable validity (see above). The division of coinage on modern administrative boundaries is often adopted when considering the coins from a restricted area (e.g. Delmaire 1996), but this is largely a matter of convenience connected to the storage of information from the various départments. Haselgrove (1999a), and Delestrée & Tache (2002, for their early coin stages) attempted to get away from this in recent work on the coinage of the region, and introduced politically neutral areas.[1]

However, these mask some of the smaller groups which clearly existed, and doesn't cater for changing areas of allegiance over time. For this reason, and for clarity and cross-referencing, modern geographic boundaries and features are used within this work. Although these possibly bear little relationship to the ancient tribal areas, at least they offer the benefit of clear demarcation, and are not open to argument!

Within the wider study area, the archaeological material does not lie neatly within the modern administrative boundaries, and three further divisions have been created for the further ordering of the data. The first area is that of Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines. This forms a discrete zone of early coin deposition. It is geographically defined by the Seine to the west (although the study includes a few comparable sites in the Val d'Oise immediately to the west of the Seine), the Somme to the north and the lower Oise to the east and south. The second area is the northern Champagne-Ardenne/ Aisne, to the east of the Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines group. This consists of the middle Aisne Valley as well as the northern half of the Champagne-Ardenne region, comprising the Champagne *crayeuse* and the foothills of the Ardennes, and is defined by very different forms

[1] See above for a fuller discussion of this.

of archaeological remains (discussed further in chapter 2).

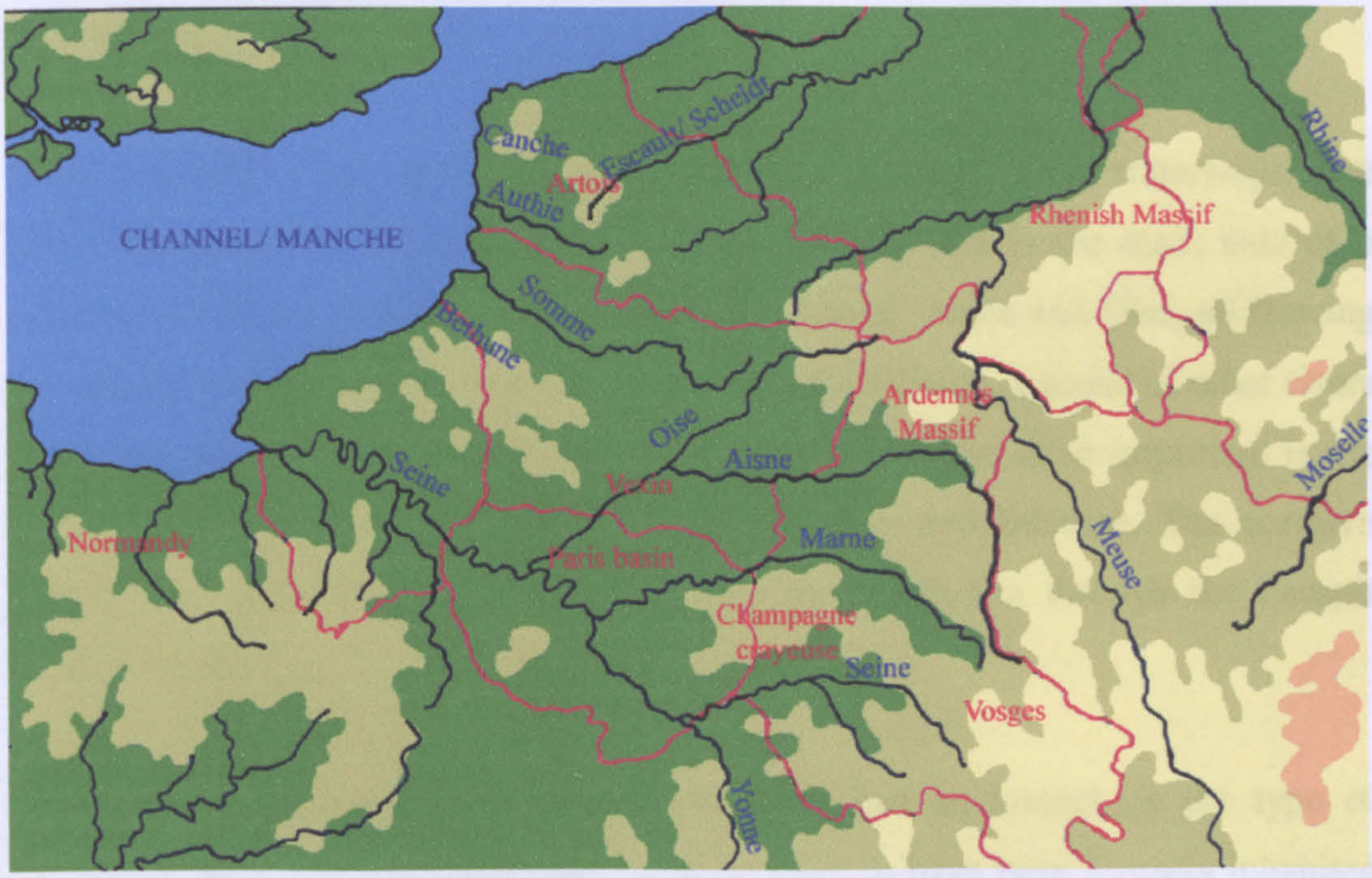
The third and smallest area is the coastal plain area, in the very north of France, consisting of the northern Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments. In many ways this region has more in common with the Low Countries, and the archaeological remains have their greatest comparisons with sites in Belgium and the Netherlands. However, it forms an interesting comparison to the areas further south, and is included for this reason. Although all of these areas have been chosen on broad archaeological grounds the general nature of the archaeological record for the period is one of increasing complexity. They do form reasonably discrete archaeological bodies of data for the earliest stages, although, by the first century BC, further subdivisions can be seen, which are discussed within the broader sections in the later chapters.

Other areas are considered briefly in comparison, although they do not form the core of this thesis. The Upper Marne/ Meuse region to the south has more in common archaeologically with central Gaul in the later Iron Age, and is not considered in depth for this reason, although some of the better published sites (e.g. La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot) are used as comparative material. Similarly Alsace and Lorraine were closely linked to the middle Rhine area at this time, and have seen relatively little published excavation of votive sites.

Geologically, the study area contains a range of different conditions. The most important upland area is the Ardennes, which stretch from the extreme north-east of France into Belgium and Germany, becoming the Rhenish massif. In France, the Ardennes are contained largely within the département of this name, to the north of the Champagne plain. They are wooded, and are cut by the deep and narrow gorges of the Sambre and Meuse valleys. To the south of the Ardennes, the Vosges mountains form the edge of the Paris basin, just out of the study area to the east. However, these were important in separating the north-east of France from the Rhineland to the east, and therefore are of relevance archaeologically. In the north

of the study area, the Artois area around Arras is hilly, and separates the low coastal plains area in the north of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments from the rest of the study area.

Figure 1.4. Geological and topological areas discussed



Much of the study area is dominated by the Paris Basin, which is bounded by a number of plateaux and hills sloping down towards the central basin and the low-lying Paris-Orléans region. In the study area, the surrounding hills include the Artois chalklands and the Ardennes. This is a rich agricultural area today, and archaeological indications show that this was probably the case in the later Iron Age as well (e.g. Roymans 1990). The Paris Basin is an accumulation of sedimentary beds, which make up the plateaux of Beauce, Brie, the Île-de-France, Vallois and Soissonais. These are covered with loess (*limon* in French), which is a fertile wind-blown glacial sediment.

In the west of the study area, there are great chalk plains in eastern Normandy and

the Somme areas, which are part of the same geological stratum as the chalk hills of southern Britain. In France, these are cut by the Seine valley to the west, denoting the edge of the study area, and the Artois ridge. The Champagne area is split into two main regions. The Champagne crayeuse is part of the northern chalk ridge, with a thin soil cover. In the very south of the study area, the region around Reims and Epernay consists of a terraced alluvial landscape, which was extremely fertile, and remains so today.

There are many rivers in the study area, including several great waterways. The Seine dominates the Paris Basin. It is slow flowing, and is the main axis of a network of tributaries which include the Aube, Marne, Aisne and Oise, all flowing from the eastern part of the basin. To the north of the Seine, a series of other rivers drain into the English Channel (La Manche), of which the most important is the Somme, although others include the Canche, Authie and Béthune. The northern rivers, beyond the hills of Artois, flow into the North Sea through the Escault (Scheldt in Dutch).

These different geological conditions obviously had an impact on the type of habitation and cultivation, and some areas do seem to have been sparsely inhabited in later prehistory. Regional differences need to be considered in conjunction with the wider archaeological patterns of the later Iron Age, as they can only be fully understood as part of the larger picture.

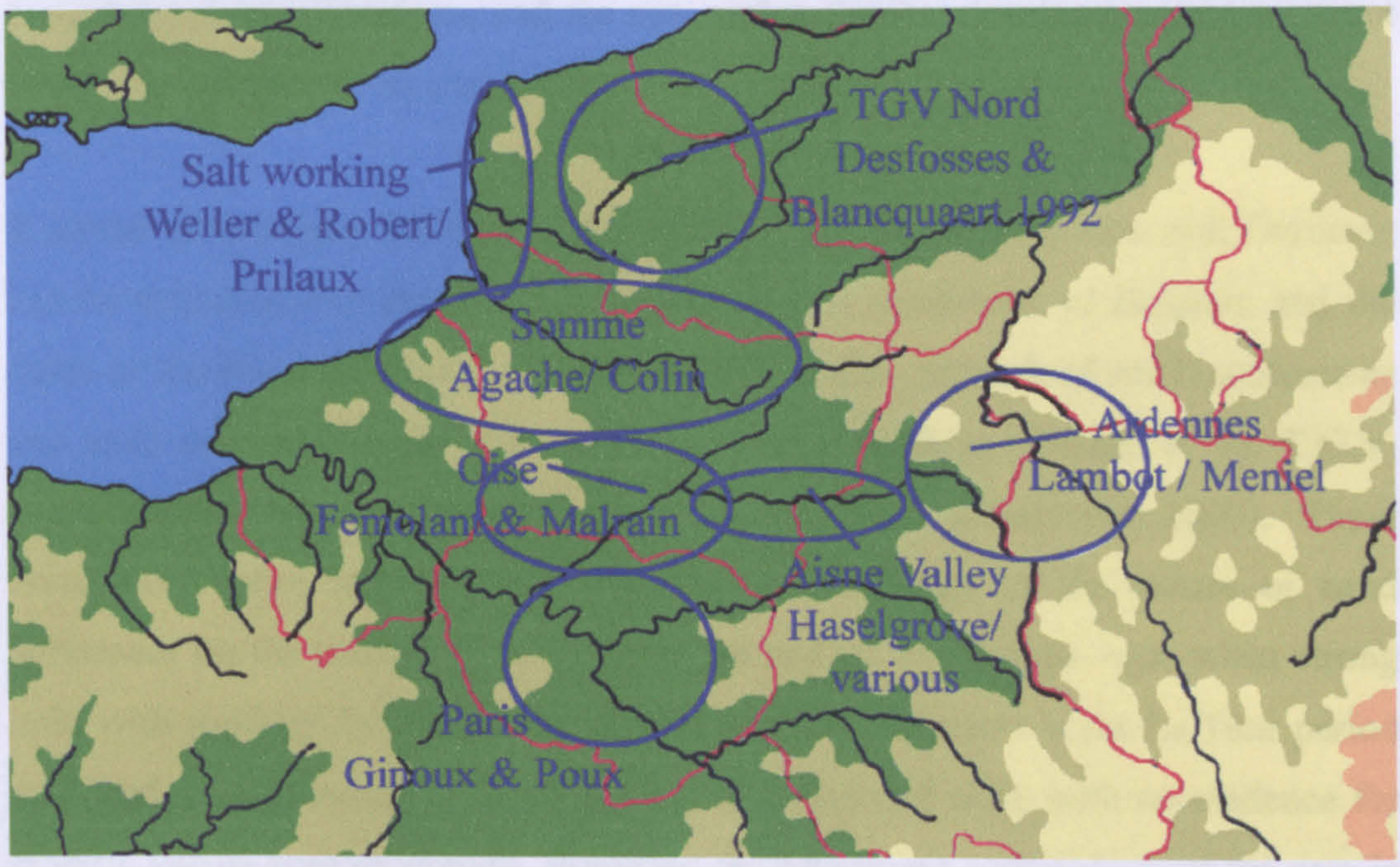
1.2. THE CURRENT STATE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE STUDY AREA

Before considering the votive sites of the study area specifically, this section aims to place them within their broader archaeological context, and also to consider the recent developments of landscape and settlement within the study area. There has been no synthesis of the whole region since Wightman (1985) and Roymans (1990) and the present trend is towards increasingly regional research, although Fichtl

(1994) does survey recent archaeological finds. In northern France large-scale landscape surveys have not been common outside of the Picardy region until recently.[2] However, large-scale excavation programmes in advance of the T.G.V. Nord rail extension (Desfossés & Blancquaert 1992), and the expansion of the autoroute networks in the last fifteen years (e.g. the A26, A29, A28 and A16) have now been published (Colin 2000, Desfossés 1996, 2000). These have made a significant impact on our interpretation of the changing nature of settlement and land use in the late Iron Age (fig 1.5).

In the north-east of France as a whole, there is a trend towards an increased hierarchy of settlement in the later Iron Age. In the early Iron Age, there were many enclosed farmsteads, and there is little evidence for a hierarchy of settlement as exhibited through settlement construction (see Büchsenschutz 1996 for a summary of settlement changes). Display appeared to be concentrated in funerary activity in many areas (e.g. the Champagne, see Diepeveen-Jansen 2001 for a recent reassessment).

Figure 1.5. Major landscape studies carried out in the study area



[2] Where gravel extraction has been the driving force in the river valleys (e.g. Archéologie 1991, Demoule & Ilett 1985).

Recent work in the Dutch Meuse-Demer-Scheldt area (summarised in Roymans & Gerritsen 2002) shows many similarities with the north of the study area. Research in this lowland area has indicated a dramatic change from the 'Urnfield' culture of the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age to a network of small inter-related rural communities in the later Iron Age and early Roman period. The early 'Urnfield' settlements depended on shifting agrarian 'celtic fields' systems, and short-lived habitation.

Settlement patterns changed in the middle Iron Age, with increasingly fixed locations for farm buildings, and a smaller number of fields in regular cultivation but with a regular fallow period (Roymans & Gerritsen 2002:269). The authors suggest that this is due to a specific set of regional climatic conditions and population increases in this restricted area. It is also evident that major changes in social networks must have resulted from this, and Gerritsen (2001, 2003) has suggested the development of complex local communities, with ritual activity and power functioning within local groups, and in a non-centralised manner. However, the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt area is only a small region, with specific geological and geographical considerations, and the new archaeological developments here cannot be applied off the coastal plain area.

It seems increasingly likely that the model suggested by Roymans and Gerritsen can be extended into the geologically contiguous north-west of Belgium and the north of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais area. Here a similar network of small settlements and local communities have been shown by the work in advance of the T.G.V. Nord (Desfossés & Blancquaert 1992), and A16 (Desfossés 2000). These excavations have indicated that the important change in the nature of rural settlement on the coastal plain came at the end of the Bronze Age, when strong links with southern England seem to have ceased. Settlement in the La Tène period consisted predominantly of small ditches and enclosed sites, with no evidence for specific votive sites or *oppida*. However, the settlement archaeology of the area is still in its early stages of study, and more excavation is needed before any broader

changes in the last two centuries BC can be identified. The area saw intensive exploitation of salt (e.g. in the Canche area and at the mouth of the Somme, Weller & Robert 1995, Prilaux 2000) throughout the Iron Age.

The present evidence does indicate that the northern part of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais area is very different archaeologically to most of north-eastern France, and has closer affinity with settlement along the coastal plains in northern Belgium and the Lower Rhine area. The coastal plain areas which only developed small-scale ditched and enclosed sites do not exhibit any of the traditional signs of social complexity, such as *oppida*, and this has led to their neglect in archaeological studies until very recently. Where these areas exhibit ritual activity it is on a small, intra-site basis, with structured deposition of ceramics, human and animal remains being the norm.[3] However, as recent theoretical and anthropological advances indicate, the lack of large monuments is no bar to social complexity amongst societies.

One part of the study area that has been the focus of intensive landscape survey is the Aisne Valley, which has seen a great deal of excavation in the face of gravel extraction (e.g *Archéologie* 1991). An extensive fieldwork programme since the 1970s has led to new conclusions about the nature of activity in this area in the first century BC. However, it is clear that here too there were major changes in the latest Iron Age. Many of the scholars have singled out the development of *oppida* such as Condé-sur-Suippe, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Pommiers as being the most important of these developments (e.g. work by Debord (see bibliography for full references); Haselgrove 1995:81). Settlement archaeology is becoming increasingly important, and an increasing number of settlement sites have been excavated in the area (Pion, Gransar & Auxiette 1996).

Equally important for the purpose of this study is the significant evidence for

---

[3] E.g. the discovery of two human skeletons (at 10m and 15m down) and a deposit of pottery in a 21m deep shaft at the settlement site of Fresnes-lès-Montauban, Le Chemin des Vaches (Pas-de-Calais) (Desfossés and Blancquaert 1992:240).

settlement discontinuity in the later second century BC and early first century BC. The abandonment of small open farmsteads in the Aisne Valley occurred around this period, and archaeologically we see the emergence of larger enclosed settlements or '*fermes indigènes*'.[4] These have been interpreted as comprising several social units (Haselgrove 1990b), and there is no archaeological evidence for the reoccupation of any of the La Tène C2-D1b unenclosed sites in the early Roman period.

Interestingly the archaeological evidence also suggests an intensification of settlement in the Aisne Valley (Haselgrove 1996b:152) and there is evidence for increased use of marginal locations, such as the edge of river terraces. This evidence for increased population does not fit well with traditional crisis models, and it is clear that the expansion of archaeological activity present an increasingly diverse picture. These rural developments in the Aisne Valley point to an increasingly centralised society and the development of more complex social networks from the late second century BC. The development of *oppida* in north-eastern France ties into this picture of an increasingly hierarchical and complex society. The development of these societies is closely tied into the production and use of coinage, and these phenomena are inter-related.

It is important not to overemphasise the importance of the Aisne valley area at the expense of other regions, and one cannot generalise from the evidence found there. Although much archaeological excavation has been carried out on the gravel terraces, comparatively little is known about other parts of the Aisne department. In many ways the archaeology of the Aisne valley dominates other possible models, due to a mixture of prompt accessible publication,[5] clearly identifiable pottery sequences and sheer volume of excavation.

---

[4] Such as those at Condé-sur-Aisne: La Maisonette (Beeching et al 1976), Missy-sur-Aisne: Les Gardots (Pion et al 1986), Pommiers: La Robinette Roland (Constantin et al 1977a) and Bucy-le-Long: Le Fond du Petit Marais (Brun et al 1990), information from Haselgrove (1996b:152).
[5] Such as the Revue Archéologique de Picardie.

Other areas are now beginning to be looked at from the broader landscape perspective, and are producing increasingly discrepant and highly regional settlement evidence for the later La Tène period. The middle Seine area around Paris has recently been reviewed after rescue excavations in and around Paris (Ginoux & Poux 2002). The banks of the Seine are particularly well studied due to the volume of development, and the presence of a series of sites with consecutive chronology dating from the mid third century onwards has allowed the identification of unusually tight chronological sequences.[6]

Some of the sites are very rich, Nanterre: Les Guignons (Hauts-de-Seine) has produced many finds, including imported pottery and amphorae, and also functioned as a centre of coin production (Ajot 1994, Pasquier 1997, Ginoux & Poux 2002). This site was an open settlement, so in this area at least, proximity to the river was preferable to high places. This pattern is supported by other similar sites, such as L'Île Belle at Meulan (*ibid* 2002:235). The distribution of these rich open settlements does not overlap with the distribution of defensive *oppida*, which do not appear in the Paris area, suggesting a parallel function. The nearest defensive *oppidum* downstream is that of Vernon (Eure), which has been the subject of recent excavation (Dechezleprêtre et al 1996, 1998), and does not exhibit the same type of assemblage. As well as rich riverbank settlements, there are secondary sites in the Paris area away from the river, with few finds on them.[7]

The secondary sites are primarily agricultural, and appear to be operating in a similar way to the small enclosed settlements further north (Sennequier 2001). They do not seem to be much affected by the upheavals of the first century BC, and continue in use into the first century AD, while the rich sites on the river-banks are short–lived and do not survive the first century BC (Ginoux & Poux 2002:235). It is

---

[6] The sites which date to the first century BC in this area include Meulan (which possesses a very long continuous sequence from the La Tène C2 to the Roman period), Nanterre (La Tène C2 – La Tène D2a), Varennes-sur-Seine (La Tène D1a – La Tène D2b), Melun and Paris (both dating from the later La Tène D2a onwards). Information from Ginoux and Poux (2002:234). All are along the banks of the Seine.

clear in this area that the central focus in the early first century BC was the Seine, and the trade which operated along it. Agricultural sites are small and produce little material culture, in comparison to some other regions of north-eastern France.

The Somme valley has produced a series of settlements along the route of the A16 autoroute (Colin 2000). As with the Aisne this area combines a relatively dense network of rural sites with *oppida*, in this case the major sites of La Chausée-Tirancourt and Liercourt-Érondelle, both of which have yielded significant quantities of coinage (and the latter a probable votive site). In contrast to the Aisne sites, those that have been recently excavated in the Somme region have produced little datable material and no coins.[8] It is evident from the occasional finds that these sites had access to prestige goods, but they were not being used (or at any rate deposited) on rural settlements. The major difference between the settlement sites of the Aisne and those of the Somme region is the quantity of coinage and other 'prestige goods' which have been found on the Aisne sites. However, it is important to point out that this does not seem to be due to variable access to these goods, as they are equally present on the *oppida* of both areas.

The Aisne area has (as yet) produced no convincing archaeological evidence for specific votive sites (although see below for a discussion of votive deposition on *oppida*), while the Somme has produced many. Therefore it seems likely that communities in the Somme were depositing prestige goods, such as coinage and amphorae, on votive sites in preference to rural settlements. It is also probable that we are seeing the presence of richer material on sites with river access in the Aisne,

---

[7] These include sites such as Fontenay-en-Paris (Seine-Saint-Denis, excavated by I. Daveau) and Chelles (Seine-et-Marne, Coxall et al 1994). Information from Ginoux and Poux (2002:235).

[8] Although Bernay-en-Ponthieu produced pre-Conquest Dressel 1 amphorae, painted pottery and a Nauheim brooch (Colin 2000:453) and Bouchon produced some earlier 'high-status' artefacts from graves.

much as we see in the Paris basin.[9] This raises interesting questions about the power structures in these communities, and these variations suggest profound differences in the social organisation of communities in the first century BC which are not shown in other aspects of the archaeological record.

In other parts of the study area, previous research has not concentrated on rural settlements. The Oise region has a very large number of votive sites, which have been the focus of much of the work in the département until recently. Late Iron Age settlement sites have produced little material in comparison. The vast quantities of coins and other items on the votive sites again suggest that the material was available, but the main community (or possibly élite) investment in this area was going into votive sites, and not to structured deposits on settlement sites. Generally, discoveries of coinage are unusual on settlements in the Oise area, although there are exceptions.[10] The large-scale rescue excavations which have been carried out in the middle Oise Valley in recent years[11] have found much settlement evidence, but these sites have yielded virtually no Iron Age coins (Fémolant & Malrain 1996).

There is a concentration of later La Tène settlement on river plateaux in the Oise area.[12] In contrast to the smaller *'fermes indigènes'* of the area to the north, some of the settlements in the Oise are extensive. Lambot (1996b) found a series of complementary enclosures at Verberie which were 30 ha in extent. The excavated area was 16 ha (Fémolant 1991), and this did not find the edges of late La Tène activity. Settlement in the Oise area seems to have remained fairly static in the later

---

[9] However, few sites have been investigated away from the Aisne and Vesle valleys, and comparably little is known about the rest of the department, which is largely chalk plateau with poor access to water. The excavations around St Quentin during the construction of the A26 suggest that the chalk plateaux were not heavily occupied in the Iron Age, but more work is needed to confirm this pattern. A few rich sites, such as Damary and the *oppidum* of St. Thomas are not in the river valleys, but few sites are more than 5km from rivers, and these are no exception.

[10] Such as Béthisy-Saint-Martin: Le Barillet (Jouve 1973), Criel: Les Cerisiers (Femolant 1989) and Verberie: Le Buisson Campin (Jouve 1981).

[11] The Val d'Oise has been the focus of much emergency excavation in the advance of gravel extraction. The finds have been published in several volumes. These include Rapport (1995, 1996), *Archéologie de la Vallée de l'Oise* (1991) and *Fouilles dans les sablières de la moyenne vallée de l'Oise en 1989*, RAP no. spécial 8 (1990).

Iron Age, and complexes are usually characterised by enclosed settlements, with a multitude of overlying enclosures (Fémolant & Malrain 1996:41). Some sites have shown evidence for short-lived occupation, but these were largely sites with simple enclosures.

The sites with more complex enclosures usually indicate some evidence of continuity, and it seems likely that enclosures became increasingly complex over time. Iron Age settlement remains difficult to see, sites such as Cauffry (Decormeille 1978, Fémolant 1989), Criel (Fémolant 1989) and Chambly (Fémolant 1992) have produced no evidence for actual buildings, despite extensive archaeological excavation discovering much evidence for late La Tène activity. The majority of later La Tène sites have not produced much material culture, and there is evidence for the channelling of resources into sanctuaries, as the period preceding c.250 BC in the area has produced rich settlements (e.g. Montmartin; Brunaux & Méniel 1997).

However, one may argue that the presence or absence of votive sites is more closely related to the presence or absence of *oppida* than to rural settlements. There are some points in common. Centralised votive sites and *oppida* both represent significant and major investments by a community. Their construction and maintenance would not have been possible without the presence of social groups which were larger than the family units suggested by the archaeology of the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt and northern Nord-Pas-de-Calais areas.

To the east, in the Ardennes département, Lambot and Méniel have recently (2000) reviewed the context of a large area (around 1000 ha) along the upper Aisne Valley around Acy-Romance[13] (see below for a fuller discussion of the site). The area has been considered in a much less functional manner than the middle Aisne valley, and the region raises interesting questions about the inter-relation of ritual and secular

---

[12] With a few exceptions, such as Chevrières "La Plaine du Marais" (Malrain 1991) and Cauffry "La Petite Vallée" (Fémolant 1989) which are both on primary river terraces.
[13] They have used both excavation, a programme of aerial photograph analysis and field survey.

in society as a whole. However, even with the intensive work in this area it has proved difficult to identify small rural agricultural settlements (Lambot & Méniel 2000:133).

The prevalence of ritual deposition on large settlement sites is striking, and the development of large numbers of sanctuaries in the early Roman period is only rivalled by the Oise. The inter-relation between the large open settlements and the *oppida* has yet to be fully resolved. The abandonment of the large open settlements at the turn of the millennium suggests some major social change, perhaps the move to towns, or dispersal into the secondary rural settlements. The known small rural settlements show very little change in the first century BC. This change in landscape use could be connected to the dispersal of larger multifunctional sites which did not fit into the Roman ritual framework in the Augustan period. Some ritual sites were rebuilt as Roman rural temples, but these are not the ones that have produced settlement evidence.

Apart from the multifunctional site of Acy-Romance, one is struck by the inter-relation of settlement activity, burial and ritual activity, and this does suggest that with wider-plan excavations, the boundary between ritual and secular is going to become more blurred in the north of France. This has already happened in Britain and the Netherlands, and it is likely that there are more hybrid settlement/ ritual sites out there, which are being missed with current small-scale research and rescue excavation. Acy-Romance is worth citing as a cautionary note to the over-definite ascription of certain types of activity to certain types of site. The references above to 'settlements', 'cemeteries' and '*oppida*' should be considered with this in mind.

1.3.1. ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH ON VOTIVE SITES

Moving on from the generalities of the broader archaeological record, a great deal of work has been done on individual votive sites within the study area. There is a history of antiquarian excavation in France, exemplified by the excavations of

Napoleon III in the mid-nineteenth century (e.g. Gran-Aymerich 1998, Blanchegorge 2001). This focussed on the large hillforts of the Gallic Wars, such as those at Alise-Ste-Reine and Mont Beuvray, and the concept of a distinct 'Celtic' archaeology was established early. However, votive sites were also dug in large numbers, partly due to the near certainty of discovering a plethora of artefacts.

As in the rest of the Roman world, another primary focus of antiquarian excavation at religious sites in France was based on the study of Roman temple forms. The majority of the nineteenth century work in northern France, such as the publications of the Abbé Cochet in the lower Seine area (e.g. 1866, 1874) was not primarily ritual in focus, but recognition that the finds from temples and sanctuaries were often spectacular seems to have come early. The work of Leon de Vesly (1909) in Normandy led directly on from this work, looking regionally at the '*fana*' and distinctive double-square planned Gallo-Roman temples.

Hettner (1901) and Hettner and Jacobs (1910) identified the religious nature of the temple complex at Trier (Germany), which influenced individuals within the study area such as Delatigny (1922, 1927) who identified many of the known temples in Haute-Normandy. The difference between France and other parts of north-western Europe is a historic interest in (and awareness of) the pre-Roman archaeology. In France, due to the texts on the Gallic Wars, as well as for political reasons, archaeologists have historically been more open to ideas about the Gauls than north of the Channel or in Germany, where early archaeological work was Roman based (see Dietler 1994 for a summary of this approach).

Some areas of the study area saw a higher level of antiquarian interest than others, usually due to individual interest or the discovery of spectacular finds setting off a flurry of excavation. Records of antiquarian excavations are kept in some départmental archives (e.g. Haute-Normandy) while others have much less comprehensive information recorded on pre-twentieth century excavations. Some areas also lost a lot of records to the world wars during the first half of the twentieth

century, and in areas without regional journals or where museums were damaged much information disappeared. There is now increased interest in nineteenth century archaeology in France, illustrated by the recent reissue of Napoleon III's work "*Histoire de Jules César*" (originally published in 1866). However, much archaeological information is preserved in synthetic works, such as Dechelette's (1914) general prehistory of France, and Grenier's (1931-1960) summary of Roman archaeological finds.

Antiquarian interest in the Champagne-Ardennes region has been summarised by Chossenot (1997:13-16). The earliest interest in the regional Iron Age focussed on the rich burials of the middle Champagne and oppida, although the general records of antiquarian excavation are not good. There seems to have been relatively little excavation on votive sites in the region, although the site of Bouvellemont was discovered and dug in 1938, with the main finds being 2 bronze statuettes (of Mars and Jupiter, summarised in Squevin 1988). Due to the disruption of the First and Second World Wars in the region, there was very little excavation of any type from 1914 until well into the 1950s. It is only at this point that well recorded archaeological excavation of votive sites really commences in this area.

There is more evidence for antiquarian excavations in Picardy, with several of the key sites being the focus of antiquarian activity. Many sites preserve the fact that they have had antiquarian excavation, but not any plans or details. Berton (1879) found a 'fanum' at the oppidum of Bailleul-sur-Thérain (also discussed in Malrain et al 2002) but there has been no modern excavation of this. Pierrefonds "Mont Berny" was excavated in the 19th century (Cauchemé 1900: 39-40).

The Forêt de Compiègne, of which Pierrefonds forms part, saw much antiquarian excavation in this period, summarised by Blanchegorge (ed. 2001). Coins were found at Saint-Maur (Liebbe 1898). The temple in the Forêt d'Halatte was discovered in 1825 and partially dug in 1873 (by Caix de Saint Aymour, Durand 2000). Champlieu "Orrouy" Nizy-le-Comte and Digeon were the subjects of 19th

century excavations, but there are no more details (Cadoux & Woimant 1977, Roymans 1990: 67, unpublished reports).

The Nord-Pas-de-Calais area has well published antiquarian excavations, with the establishment of the Revue du Nord in the 19th century (a major factor in the survival of antiquarian records). Mœuvres was excavated after accidental discovery during canal digging (Salomon 1913). Sains-du-Nord was excavated in 1834 (unpublished reports), while Viesly, which produced Iron Age coins buried stratigraphically in pits, underwent significant 19th century excavations (in 1839-43, 1849, 1860 and 1899). On the coast at Sangatte, the first recorded finds were in 1628, and there were many 19th century discoveries, many being gold. The site at Sangatte seems to have been ritual in nature, although perhaps the closest parallels are with British sites such as Selsey.

Haute-Normandy has extremely good antiquarian records, with an important role being played by the Société des Antiquaries de Normandie, the Amis des Monuments Rouennaise, the Société Normande pour d'Etudes Prehistorique, and individuals such as de Vesly, L. Delatigny and the Abbés Cochet, Tongard and Delmaire. Due to the high volume of publication, we have many records and plans for the 19th century excavations which are lacking in many other parts of the country. We know a great deal about the extensive 19th century activity in this area. In addition, until the last decade there was comparatively little modern information available on Normandy, causing the area to form something of an 'archaeological black hole', now slowly being filled. Therefore, the antiquarian excavations are still an important source of information.

Apart from vague records of 16th century discoveries at Cracouville (Baudot 1936) the first major and well-published find from a votive site is the large silver hoard from Berthouville "Le Villaret" in 1830. This was a major hoard of temple silverware dedicated to Deo Mercurio Kantonnessi, buried in the 3rd century AD (Rochette 1830, Chabouillet 1858, Babelon 1916, Quesne 1988) but interestingly it

was found in the boundary of the eastern enclosure ditch. This seems to have sparked considerable interest in the excavation of votive sites in the area, and as well as unofficial treasure hunting at Berthouville, more systematic excavations took place in 1862 (in unpublished excavations by Le Métayer-Masselin), 1895 (in unpublished excavations by Père Camille de la Croix), and the theatre was dug in 1897 (Quesne 1988). Cracouville (part of the larger Vieil-Evreux complex) was also excavated in this period, with lamentably bad excavations in 1845 (Bonnin 1845) and later by Robillard. In 1913 a 'church' was found by Lemiray, excavation was continued by Ésperandieu (1913, 1921), and the site was also excavated in 1949 by Baudot.

The mid 19th century saw major excavations across the area, with most of them undergoing at least partial publication. Bracquemont is one of the best published. Parts of the hillfort (encompassing the temple) were dug in 1864 (Cahingt 1977), and by Casques in 1901 (1901, de Vesly 1909:10-12). The fortifications were sampled by Wheeler in 1939, who also mentions excavations by the Abbé Cochet in the 19th century (Wheeler & Richardson 1957: 65) which seem to have been in the temple area, and produced Iron Age coinage. Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon was excavated in 1862, when de Lilliers found what he believed to be a fanum (de Lilliers 1867-9 in Cochet 1874:136), and the site was also investigated by Apel in 1906 (Apel 1907).

Roncherolles-en-Bray "Liffremont" was another site with high levels of early excavation. An Iron Age gold coin was found in 1842 (Tongard 1879, 1888). Delamare (1865) published a history of the parish, while Cochet (1866, 1874) excavated the site. Votive sites discovered and excavated in the later 19th century include Oissel, following the discovery of Iron Age coinage in 1891 or 1893 (de Vesly 1909:131). Another coin hoard (a major Roman one weighing 26kg) was discovered in 1899 at Oissel, followed by 60 mid fourth century AD coins in 1903 (Loriot & Delaporte 1978), indicating a major Roman votive presence. A potin coin was also discovered in 1903 (de Vesly 1903:21), and the site was dug by Aubé

(1902:130-1). Saint-Saëns was dug from 1888-92 by G. Le Breton (Le Breton 1893) who found Iron Age coins in the ambulatory of the Roman temple. Other reports exist for the site, by Quenouville (1897) who excavated as well, and Delatigny (1933: 222-3) who places the site in his general review of the area in the Roman period.

Orival was excavated by Delatigny (1927). The fortified hill of Brionne seems to have a (probably Roman) temple on the top in a 1906 lithograph (Delatigny 1922), although no further work has been carried out here, and the temple of Orgeville was dug in 1907, although it produced no Iron Age coins. A less successful excavation at Grand-Coronne "Le Grand-Essart" in 1902 by de Vesly led to 70cm of stratigraphy being erased to expose the line of the early stone cella. Despite this, the excavation led to the site being declared a national historic monument in 1922. Other 19th century excavations of temples are known to have taken place at Beaumont-le-Roger (3 temples), Heudreville, Eu/ Bois l'Abbé, Criquebeuf-sur-Seine, Illiers-l'Evêque, Orival-les-Elbeuf and Thomer-la Sôgne "Écrillon" (where the Iron Age coinage was subsequently lost).

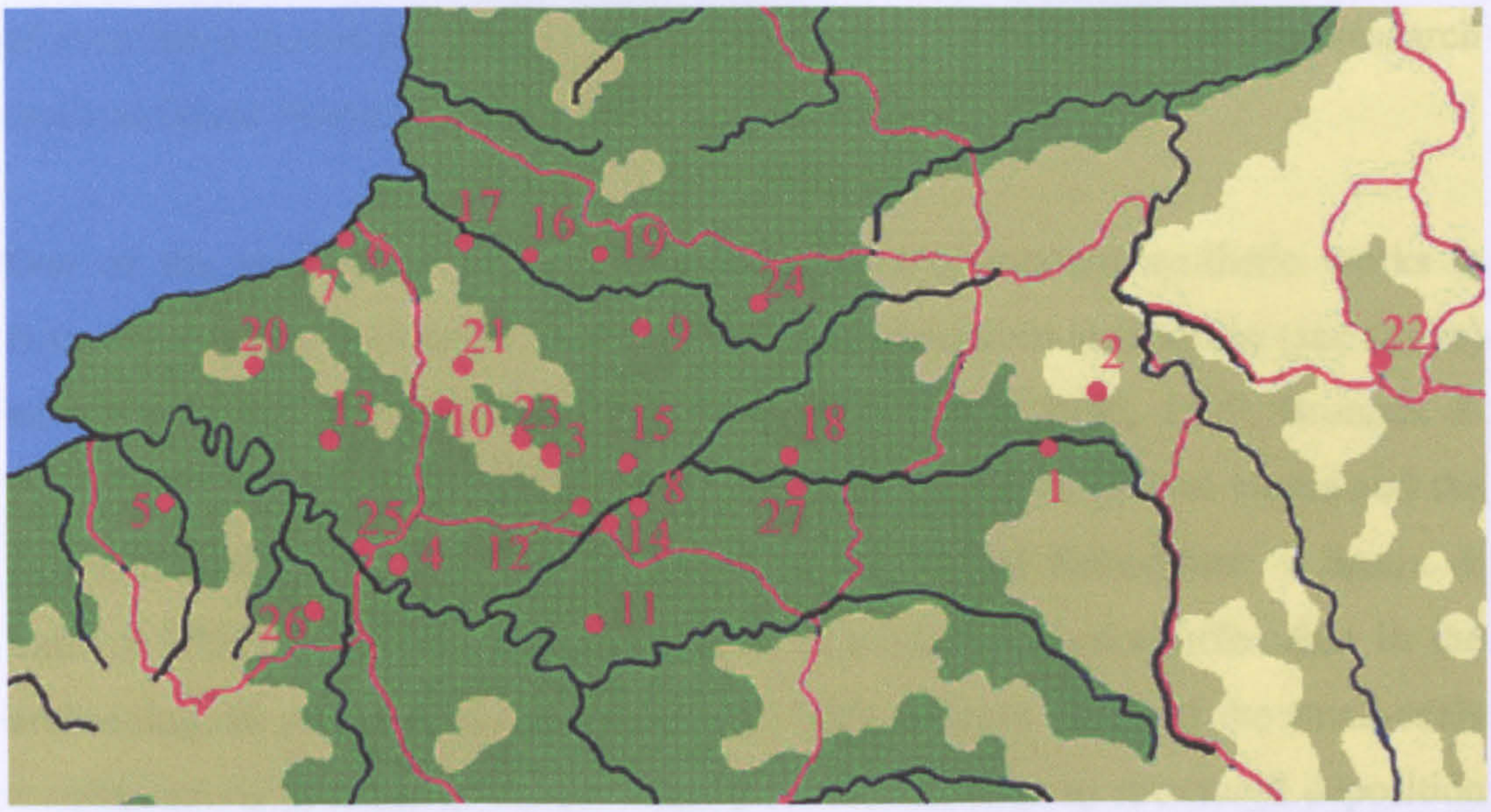
1.3.2. MODERN RESEARCH ON VOTIVE SITES

The volume of excavation has increased so swiftly since 1950 (and especially with the advent of rescue archaeology in France) that it is not practical to discuss every site which has been excavated. However, there has been a significant quantity of synthetic work done, and the establishment of DRAC national research programmes have led to a clear research focus on religious sites (the main ones discussed in this chapter are in fig 1.6), both in terms of money spent, and publication.

Since the 1975-1984 excavations at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985) the Picardy votive sites have been recognised as major pre-Roman cult foci. In other parts of northern France, the recognition of cult centres has been

less rapid.

Fig 1.6. Main sites mentioned in Chapter 1



1 Acy-Romance
2 Baâlons-Bouvellemont
3 Bailleul-sur-Thérain
4 Bennecourt
5 Berthouville
6 Bois l'Abbé
7 Bracquemont
8 Champlieu
9 Chilly
10 Digeon
11 Épiais-Rhus
12 Estrées-Saint-Denis
13 Fesques
14 Forêt d'Halatte/ Ognon
15 Gournay-sur-Aronde
16 La Chaussée Tirancourt
17 Liercourt-Érondelle
18 Pommiers
19 Ribemont-sur-Ancre
20 Roncherolles-en-Bray 'Liffremont'
21 Saint-Maur
22 Titelberg
23 Vendeuil-Caply
24 Vermand
25 Vernon
26 Vieil-Evreux
27 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

The pre-eminence of Picardy in the study of cult sites, aided by a programme of research in the area, and rapid publication of sites (mainly in the Revue Archéologique de Picardie) has led to a 'Picardy-centric' approach to votive sites, although much of the material remains partially published (see Appendix 1). This is only recently being challenged by excavations outside this area, but the discovery

of sites such as Gournay has led to a more rigorous examination of the archaeological record, and other sites are being identified. A recent increase in votive site investigation across France has led to the adoption of modern standards of excavation across many areas which had a history of extremely variable research (such as Haute-Normandy and Champagne-Ardennes).

One of the most important and prolific authors of modern synthetic works is Brunaux who has dominated the field since his excavations at Gournay (see above) with a plethora of publications (e.g.1986, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1999, Brunaux & Rapin 1988, Brunaux & Lambot 1987). These include both general works and the excavation of other sites (e.g. Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Saint-Maur: Brunaux & Lambot 1991). However, Brunaux's sheer productivity masks differences in the archaeological record, and the spectacular finds obscure much of the small-scale manifestations of ritual in the archaeological record, such as structured deposition on settlements. The comparison of the discrete group of Picardy sites with geographically distant ones is not always productive either.

A recent burst of interest in votive sites has led to the publication of several synthetic volumes on the phenomenon in the last 15 years (e.g. Lafon 1989). Roymans (1990) published one of the first works dealing with religion as part of a general study of an area in the later Iron Age, and this is still one of the few attempts to integrate the cult sites within the general archaeological record in the late Iron Age. He introduced the idea of a hierarchy of cult places and integrated this with the apparent socio-political levels which were evident in the settlement record. While the great increase in the number of modern investigations has led to Roymans' categories becoming more muddied, it is still apparent that there are distinctly different types of site.

Roymans suggested that votive sites were organised on three levels: that of local group, *pagi* and *civitates* (1990:49). Examples of the former were private acts at the level of the *familia*, and the cult of the Matronae in the Rhineland, where small

local dedications to various Matronae are widespread. The *pagi* was characterised as a "*rather autonomous unit in the religious sphere*" (Roymans 1990:50), and inscriptions from the Roman period citing dedications to a *pagus* or the *genius* of a *pagus* have been found,[14] especially from around Trier. *Pagi* could construct and operate votive sites, and were autonomous cult communities. Religion on the tribal or *civitas* level was organised around the cult site of the dominant sub-tribe, and "*at particular times, all of the sub-tribes sent representatives to the cult centre to carry out rites collectively*" (*ibid*: 51). He also cited the annual gathering amongst the territory of the Carnutes (Caesar BG:VI:13) as an example of pan-tribal organisation. Most of these distinctions are not applicable to the pre-epigraphic period considered here, and with subsequent finds some chronological compression of the material is evident, although the idea is worth further consideration.

An important volume was published in 1991, entitled "*Les sanctuaires celtiques et le monde méditerranéen*" (Brunaux (ed) 1991). This contained a series of papers, and discussed sanctuaries in various different regions, as well as discussing several otherwise unpublished sites, and the finds from them. This was followed in 1993 by an atlas of all Roman and pre-Roman cult sites known at this time (Fauduet, 1993 a). Fauduet also published a general survey of the Roman period temples in Gaul (1993b), which has not really been challenged in scope, and dealt in the first half with the architectural remains. The second half of this book discussed the artefacts from these sites, but in a general rather than an archaeological sense. Pre-Roman sites and rites were also touched on in "*Les sanctuaires de tradition indigène en Gaule Romaine*" (Goudineau et al (eds) 1994), which concentrated mainly on the Roman finds. Although these were extremely significant volumes, many of the sites which are discussed in short papers did not go on to be fully published, leaving tantalising but unsatisfactory records.

After this, there has been a lull in the publication of synthetic and edited volumes

---

[14] Examples that Roymans cites from northern France are inscriptions to *pagi* from Nizy-le-Comte (Ardennes) and Eu/ Bois l'Abbé (Somme).

until recently. However, the publication of individual sites has continued steadily, and we can see the difference in approach and the increasing importance of stratigraphic studies in the latest volumes. The difference between the publication of Vendeuil-Caply (Piton & Dilly 1985, Piton (ed) 1993, Delestrée 1985) and the recent publication of sites such as Fesques (Mantel (ed) 1997) and Bennecourt (Bourgeois 1999) is marked, with more primary information, and stratigraphic contexts now being published.

Recent edited volumes have begun to integrate ritual activity with settlement evidence. Key to this has been the work of Bernard Lambot at Acy-Romance in Champagne-Ardennes (Lambot & Méniel 1992, 2000, Lambot et al 1994, Lambot 1999, 2000). This site, although initially viewed as a settlement, has produced evidence which has been interpreted as representative of cult activity in recent excavations. In a recent volume (Verger 2000) this concept has been considered in some depth and the integration of cult and settlement is becoming a recognised phenomenon.

The artefacts on votive sites have been considered in a series of articles, of varying degrees of usefulness. Although I consider the history of coinage elsewhere (see below) one major publication on the coinage has had considerable impact on the way in which votive sites are looked at. It considers coinage found in stratified contexts during excavations (Brunaux & Gruel (ed) 1987) and concentrates on the contexts in which the coins were found. Most of the sites published in the volume are votive sites. The book does deal with fairly small quantities of coinage, but these were securely stratified, and came from distinct areas of the sites. Much of the dating has now been superseded, but the volume still remains the most comprehensive publication of stratified coinage in the study area, and is an invaluable resource.

The other main category of artefact that has seen a high level of scholarly interest is weaponry. Rapin has studied the weaponry from Gournay in some depth (Rapin

1983, 1991, Brunaux, Méniel & Rapin 1980, Brunaux & Rapin 1988), and Lejars has done more recent work, both on Gournay (Lejars 1994), Ribemont-sur-Ancre (1998) and beyond (Lejars 1996 a,b). Cadoux has also looked at the weaponry from Ribemont (Cadoux 1986). Animal bones from the Picardy sanctuaries have been considered by Méniel, who has looked in depth at Acy-Romance as well (Méniel 1992, 1998).

1.4. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN THE IRON AGE

Moving beyond the study of individual sites, there has been a series of trends in the study of Iron Age religion in the last few decades, which it is useful to explore further here. The study of religion and ritual activity in the later Iron Age is one of the few aspects of the archaeological record to still maintain a strong dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'modern' approaches to the subject. There is a strong contrast between the study of religion from an iconographic, textual and epigraphic standpoint, and its study from an archaeological perspective.

On the subject of gods within pre-Roman contexts, and the use of these as evidence for pre-Roman religion, M. Green and G. Webster (e.g. 1986 a,b) have been prolific in their use of iconographic (and recently archaeological) evidence to consider deities. Green takes a pan European view of Iron Age religion, and has published extensively on religion across northern Europe (e.g. Green 1986, 1989, 1995 and 2002). However, a very inclusive approach does imply that similar activity was taking place across an implausibly broad geographical area. The pan European approach is also marred by selective utilisation of the archaeological record, concentrating on the spectacular at the expense of the bulk of votive activity. Alternative evidence and regional variation that would contest this approach is often given insufficient consideration. Work of this nature has regrettably dominated research on pre-Roman religion in Britain, and is a major factor contributing to the abandonment of the study of religion as a serious topic within mainstream Iron Age archaeology.

Although there is no epigraphic evidence for the names of deities until after the Roman conquest,[15] the existence of composite names do indicate a wide and extremely regional pantheon of deities in the immediate post-Conquest period. However, the post-Conquest practice of linking the local god with a small range of Roman deities does serve to homogenise what may have been very different local gods and goddesses. It is also impossible to project these post-Conquest developments back any distance before the mid first century BC. This ties into debates in current circulation within Roman archaeology on the problems of identity within the Roman Empire, and the difficulties of defining 'Roman' or 'native' within the archaeological record of the north-western provinces.

Derks (1998:73-130) dealt with this transition in some depth for Gaul and Germany. In Britain Roman temples cluster in the south and east, the civil zone, while epigraphy is mostly in the north, the military zone[16] (Millett 1995:95). Double naming is also less common in Britain (Zoll, 1995, Millett 1995:95-8), and does not tally with the occurrence of 'Romano-Celtic' temples. However, this is of little use in the period preceding the first century BC, and merely hints at pre-Roman regional differences. Discussion of individual gods and the division of votive sites by various deities is avoided here, rather the sites are considered holistically.

The state of current archaeological excavation is such that it is difficult to make any accurate assessment of the deities worshipped on pre-Roman votive sites. The fairly regional distribution of these sites suggests that they operated on a local scale, with more than one god or goddess worshipped on each. However, the early dedication of sites such as Empel (Roymans & Derks 1994b) to one god (in this case Hercules

---

[15] Unless some of the names on Iron Age coins denote gods (Haselgrove *pers. comm.*). The references to secular ranks on coins from central Gaul (Colbert de Beaulieu & Fischer 1998) and the identification of individuals mentioned in Caesar's text from the coin legends (e.g. Colbert de Beaulieu 1962) would suggest that this is not the case.

Magusanus) indicates that this is not a definite assertion; and the evidence is such that the question cannot be answered with any degree of certainty at present.

Generally speaking, most recent archaeological research in the north of France has moved beyond the study of the classical authors, and into the use of archaeological material in its own right. The emphasis for those who study votive sites today is very much archaeological, with the occasional use of texts to flesh out a point (a pronounced difference from earlier work). Brunaux (1986) lists the textual references to cult activity and druids in northern Gaul in the Gallic War period (mostly gleaned from Caesar and Strabo), but the modern focus of most archaeologists is firmly on the sites themselves and the finds from them.

In many respects there has been a reaction against a historic tendency in France to dwell heavily on the Gallic Wars and to focus archaeological research on the sites mentioned by Caesar (Blázquez 1989, Dietler 1994). Déchelette and others working in the early 20th century (e.g. Déchelette 1914) focussed their research interests on historical issues, and in modern French archaeology we see their legacy in the tradition of hillfort and *oppidum*[17] excavation, such as the ongoing project at Mont Beuvray.

Of course, authors such as Caesar discuss the customs of the inhabitants of Gaul, but critical study of the classical texts tends to be the preserve of classicists and ancient historians. The problems inherent in the indiscriminate use of ancient texts are well known and discussed more elegantly elsewhere (e.g. Webster 1992, Büchsenschutz & Ralston 1986). Recent syntheses on the Roman period, such as

---

[16] Although this does appear to be a bias of the archaeological record, as there are enough seal boxes and individual metal letters from temple sites in southern Britain to suggest that a different form of written representation was in common use (Revell *pers. comm.*).

[17] The term *oppidum* is used throughout this study to denote the fortified (and generally) hilltop enclosures known in the English speaking world as hill-forts. While I am aware of current work criticising the identification of a discrete group of sites under this nebulous heading (e.g. Woolf 1993b, the term is used here to maintain a clear and international definition of a type of site intensively studied on the Continent. While British scholars generally eschew the term *oppidum*, it is felt by the author that the term should be used with regard to Gaul in the later Iron Age, as this is where the word was used in antiquity. However, Fichtl (2000) discusses the problem in more depth.

that by Woolf (1998) have successfully combined texts, epigraphy and archaeology, and are an important way of integrating the historical and archaeological sources.

1.4.1. RITUAL DEPOSITION IN THE IRON AGE

By far the most dynamic work on religion in recent years has been the work on ritual and its manifestations. In the last ten years British archaeologists have identified a much greater quantity of ritual activity beyond the traditionalist approaches utilised by Green and her adherents. This has largely come from large-scale excavations at settlement sites across southern Britain, most importantly Danebury in Hampshire (Cunliffe 1984, 1995, Cunliffe & Poole 1991). With large areas being uncovered during modern excavations, ritual deposition is now being identified in much greater quantities. This has become known as 'structured deposition' in Britain. The term is used to denote deposits of artefacts (often, but not exclusively, in ditches and pits) which although they could be of everyday objects,

" were not a result of the daily disposal of refuse, but were made during irregular rituals which engraved a cosmology into the physical setting and daily lives of Iron Age people" (Hill 1995:126).

This idea contrasts with the earlier opinion that religion was very separate from everyday life, as it frequently is within our modern secular society.

The concept of structured deposition of everyday objects as denoting votive activity is now starting to filter through to the Continent, especially in the Netherlands. It is becoming increasingly important in recent work in the Coastal plain area (which exhibits a similar kind of structured deposition to southern Britain), and to some extent in the Champagne-Ardennes. Although some individuals have recently picked up on this practice in France (e.g. Auxiette 2000, Lambot 2000), 'structured deposition' is still not a universally recognised phenomenon in the majority of the

study area, although awareness is increasing.

In the early 1980s the possible association of pits with fertility rites was suggested by Bradley (1981, 1984) and Cunliffe (1983). Although the specific linking of human deposits in pits with fertility rites is a matter of some speculation, the act of deposition itself is clearly connected to rites, and denotes a different and conspicuous treatment of the dead. This idea was elaborated by Bradley (1998: 164) who associated the deposition of the dead in storage pits, and the concept of regeneration symbolised by the seed corn that had been kept there. However, the failing with this idea is that it does assume that the dead were treated differently from other deposits in these pits, which cannot be taken for granted (as pointed out by Hill 1995). Cunliffe (1992) also looked at deposits this way, considering human and animal remains differently.

The consideration of pit and ditch deposits as structured offerings was developed furthest by Hill (1995), with his study "*Ritual and rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*", showing the high level of ritual deposition which was evident on settlement sites in central southern England. The study relied heavily on the site of Danebury. Although this work has been influential in the way that the Iron Age is studied in Britain, and much of the latest British work pays lip service to Hill, in settlement studies other trends have taken priority, without full investigation of structured deposition in other parts of the country (with a few exceptions: e.g. Hingley 1990, Parker-Pearson 1996, Gwilt 1997, Bevan (ed) 1999, Barrett, Freeman & Woodward 2000). The study has not been extended geographically in any systematic manner, and we are in danger of developing a 'factoid' (to use Millett's 1990 term) about the manifestation of cult activity in the Iron Age based on a small part of southern England.

The recognition of structured deposition on settlement sites, and a very local manifestation of cult is important to the study of the votive sites which are not connected to settlements, as they promote a fuller understanding of the 'ritual

landscape'. Nobody has yet made a systematic study of the interaction of these sites, and the way in which settlement deposition was differentiated from the phenomenon we see on the larger specialised sites (see chapter 4). Although a study of structured deposition in its totality is beyond the scope of this project, it is hoped that some of the preliminary conclusions presented here will begin to consider the role of structured deposition from the numismatic perspective. For the purposes of this study, I take structured deposition to mean deposits which were placed in the ground in a formalised and premeditated way, and can be identified archaeologically by their formation, which shows that they were consciously structured by the individuals who placed them in the ground.

The continuity of pre-Roman ritual activity into the Roman period in northern France was tackled preliminarily in Fauduet (1993b), Blagg and Millett, eds (1990) and Metzler, Millett, Roymans and Slofstra, eds (1995), but these have largely been superseded. The role of religious activity in the Romanisation of Gaul has been the focus of much recent work. Woolf (1998) discussed Romanisation in its wider context, while Derks (1998) considered "the transformation of religious ideas and values in Roman Gaul' in greater depth. Woolf viewed religion as one of several aspects of change (1998:206-237) and within the wider field of the formation of the development of the province in the early Roman Empire. Pre-Roman religious activity is considered briefly (1998: 207-15) in relation to its effects on the later Roman pantheon and manifestations of cult worship.

While Woolf's approach is fundamentally Roman in approach, and concentrates exclusively on the elites whom we find textually and epigraphically, he brings an interesting perspective to the predominantly archaeology-led subject of Romanisation, However, there have been criticisms of his concentration on elites in presenting a picture of Roman Gaul (e.g. Bruce-Hitchner 2000). In *Becoming Roman* the archaeology takes a supporting role, and some assumptions, such as the elite role of the pre-Roman sites may be questioned, but the book takes a deliberately broad sweep. Woolf believes that "*a revolution in practice and belief*

had occurred in Gaul" (1998:229) in the early Roman Empire, a theory which Derks also subscribes to.

Derks (1998) has produced the most significant work to date looking at the Romanisation of religion in the north-western provinces. He considers religion within the landscape, and the transformation of indigenous cosmologies, as well as the development of cult places and votive offerings within the context of romanisation. Although Derks develops many important ideas in the course of the book, he is quick to see change for change's sake, and does downplay the role of continuity into the Roman period which the artefacts, if not the architecture, suggest.

The focus of Derks's thesis is on the public cults of the Roman world, and the changes in ritual and votive sites in the early Roman Empire. Derks sees no continuity of architecture from the late Iron Age into the first century AD, but suggests an underlying continuity in the importance of these sites (as discussed in Woolf 2000:622). When Derks looks at the pre-Roman cult manifestations he is viewing the evidence with an eye for Romanisation in a way which differs significantly from the approach taken here. Derks discusses the appearance of votive sites from an anthropological and historical perspective, and artefacts are not considered in depth.

Other recent work on religion in the Roman period includes the volume edited by Van Andringa (2000) entitled "*Archéologie de sanctuaires en gaule romaine*". This consists of a series of case studies, showing the latest work on a series of urban and rural sanctuaries, with several more general and thought provoking articles at the beginning by Van Andringa (2000) and Scheid (2000). This clearly shows the influence of Derks' (1997, 1998) work integrating religion with theory and landscape. Derks (2002) recently reviewed this volume, and considered the late Iron Age cults as "*collective undertakings firmly controlled by local war-leaders*" (*ibid* 2002:542) and suggested the possibility of public/ private cults in the late Iron

Age. However, I do not believe the identification of public or private cult in the late Iron Age is possible or particularly helpful, and have chosen not to follow this line of argument here, concentrating instead on the objects themselves. Finally, Fichtl, Metzler and Sievers (2000) have recently introduced an interesting and provocative point into the debate on votive sites, suggesting the possibility of the association of oppida in northern France and western Germany with earlier sanctuaries established on the same sites.

1.5. NUMISMATIC RESEARCH IN THE STUDY AREA

1.5.1. GENERAL WORKS/ CATALOGUES

Numismatic research in France has become increasingly diverse in recent years with the growing volume of material being found. While a series of catalogues is in existence, much of the recent work is small-scale and regional. Scheers (1977) included a comprehensive review of antiquarian research (also Delestrée and Tache 2002 for a shorter summary), and I will not discuss it in depth here. The main (and most geographically comprehensive) catalogues remain Blanchet's (1905) numismatic study, de la Tour's (1892) pictorial one, and the catalogue of the coinage in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris by Muret & Chabouillet (1889). The illustrated volume by de la Tour was reissued by Fischer in 1992, and was expanded by Scheers (1992) in the same year.

Additionally, Blanchet and Dieudonné published a more basic work on the Iron Age coinage of France (Blanchet & Dieudonné 1912). Forrer (1908) also published a major volume, based mainly on the eastern issues, but this work also contains some ideas which were considered wildly outré - even at the time of printing, (although it was reissued with revised notes in 1969). A survey of the coinage of the study area was issued by Lambert (1864).

Colbert de Beaulieu[18] initiated a major review in 1973, with his *Traité de Numismatique Celtique.* This summarised his prolific output over the previous twenty years, and still remains the only comprehensive French language text on numismatic methodology and techniques. However, it has now been superseded chronologically, and Colbert de Beaulieu's dating has been modified in the light of the huge volume of subsequent archaeological activity (see chapter 2). A second volume in the *Traité* series was published by Scheers (1977) dealing with the coinages of Belgic Gaul, and the third and last volume was by Delestrée (1984) on the coinage of Bois l'Abbé.

Scheers' survey is vital to the consideration of coinage in the later Roman province of Gallia Belgica. The cataloguing of the coin types in use in Belgic Gaul was a monumental undertaking at the time, and although now requiring updating (both in terms of quantity of finds and chronological frameworks), it is still the key reference work in the study area. As well as a typology, the main body of Scheers' work contained a gazetteer of findspots, and although this can now be greatly expanded with subsequent finds, the work is still invaluable for antiquarian, early and mid twentieth century finds. The archaeological implications of coin use are only touched upon in the work, and although subsequent finds have shifted the distributions of some types, many of her conclusions have been supported by later finds. It still remains the only work of this scale and volume in Continental Europe, and it is hard to see how it could be repeated, especially when one considers the effects of excavation and metal-detection in Europe.

A recent pictorial catalogue of the same area has just been published by Delestrée and Tache (2002) and it remains to be seen whether this will supersede Scheers' work. The work is not a gazetteer, but a typological catalogue, with many new variants, reflecting the huge increase in coin finds over the last twenty-six years. It

---

[18] Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Beaulieu proved to be the most significant figure within continental Iron Age numismatics in the mid 20th century. He dominated the study of Iron Age coinage in France at the same time that Derek Allen did north of the Channel.

also attempts to remove some of the oddities of Scheers' work.[19] However, in the effort to sort out some of the faults of Scheers' catalogue, one is left feeling that perhaps the baby has been thrown out with the bath-water, and the new system causes some new problems of its own due to confusing geographical ascriptions (discussed in more depth below).

The introduction of an entire new catalogue is not completely welcome (although perhaps unavoidable), as the study area is already covered by several, and the somewhat eccentric use of old catalogues is widespread. Scheers was finally beginning to dominate over nineteenth century ones, such as de la Tour (1892) and the Bibliotheque Nationale catalogue (1889) which are discussed above. With the introduction of another catalogue, the problem is magnified. On the other hand, some of the most confusing cataloguing has been done by Delestrée (e.g. 1996a), so some formal quantification and standardisation of his descriptive method of recording is welcome.[20]

Delestrée/ Tache (2002) divides the area of Gallia Belgica into four areas, which are considered using the coins and tribal groups, and lead on from the work of Delestrée in Picardy in the last twenty years (fig 1.7). The first is "Belgium", which is used to comprise the Ambiani in the Somme basin, the Veromandui between the upper Somme and Oise rivers, the Atrebates in the east of the Pas-de-Calais around the Scarpe and upper Escault, the Bellovaci in the east of the Oise département and the Catuslugi in the Bresle valley. An anonymous people to the west of the Bellovaci and to the north of the Pays de Bray are also included.

The second area stretches from the east of the Oise to the Meuse, and comprises the Suessiones to the east of the Oise and along the lower Aisne, the Meldi who were

---

[19] One which is emphasised is the splitting up of tri-metallic series, such as the Scheers 27 (CRICIRV) group into their separate metallic groups under different numbers. Scheers conflated several coin types in some cases, and these are separated and given their own groups.

[20] Which centres around the use of ambiguous (and possibly interchangeable) terms, such as the use of the terms "personnage courant" and "personnage agenouille" for the same coins (see Delestrée/ Tache 2002:12).

probably in the south of the lower Marne and the Remi, who were considered to live along the middle and upper Aisne, and the Marne. The third area is to the east of the Meuse, along the middle and lower Moselle and the Rhine; considered to be the area of the Treveri. The fourth consists of the area to the north of area three, and comprises the vague groups which are mentioned in Caesar, and were found to the north of this.

Figure 1.7. Delestrée/ Tache and Haselgrove coin analysis areas.



Although the authors do admit that the Caesarian tribal boundaries are of no use before the first century BC (2002:11), a fact which is supposedly shown by the distribution of the early coin types (see Scheers 1977), their use of historical tribal groups renders this caveat irrelevant. Their backwards projection of tribal groupings is presumably based on what we know of Poseidonius's early first century BC ethnography (based on reports from the 120s: Nash 1976) but is on dangerous ground for firm coin attributions, due to the survival of his information only being within secondary sources. The first of the four areas is also rather an umbrella group, as there are clearly several different things going on over this area,

as indicated by the variability of the archaeology in the later Iron Age. One feels that the author's research has led to an over-reliance on the evidence from this area, at the expense of the eastern material. Why the catalogue uses these very traditional groups to regionalise the coinage is unclear.

The introduction is extremely culture-historical in its approach, and dates the formation of the Caesarian tribes to the time of the victory of the Belgae against the Cimbri and Teutones (2002:11). The earlier coinage is not placed in these groups (see below), but the archaeological discoveries present an extremely regional picture in the latest Iron Age. It seems evident from the variations in other aspects of the archaeological record that there was significant generalisation in Caesar's groups. Smaller groups are apparent archaeologically and numismatically, which renders their use questionable. Perhaps a vaguer regional approach for all periods would have been more suitable?

The study areas used in the volume differ from the study areas used in this volume, although the early regions are similar to those introduced by Haselgrove (1999a) – but using different terminology (fig 1.7). The eastern group is similar in both studies, Haselgrove's central group is (confusingly) the same as Delestrée's northern group, Haselgrove's western group corresponds to Delestrée's north-western, Haselgrove's southern group is the same as Delestrée's Central. Delestrée and Tache include two further groups (this study extends into a southern zone beyond the scope of the earlier work, and includes Seine-Maritime as a south-western group). However, in this study I use modern regional names, to avoid confusion.

Away from these stylistic points, this study uses the Scheers volume as a main catalogue, and the new work as an ancillary catalogue where Scheers does not list types. The cataloguing work for the thesis was done using Scheers prior to the publication of Delestrée/ Tache. Scheers is still the main catalogue, and it remains to be seen how popular the new work will be. Overall, the Delestrée/ Tache volume

does feel like a wasted opportunity, as the stated aim – to update De la Tour, is negated by the creation of a whole new catalogue system. Also, one cannot help but feel that other areas were more of a priority than Belgic Gaul, which possessed the most recent catalogue and the most intense numismatic work.

Moving beyond catalogues or dating based articles, surprisingly little work has been done on Iron Age coinage to move beyond these points within the study area since Colbert de Beaulieu's 1973 book (and arguably beyond the study area). A general work on Iron Age coinage in Gaul, by Gruel (1989), '*La monnaie chez le Gaulois*', has yet to be superseded in its readability and general approach, and she was one of the first scholars to recognise the different contexts of coinage in different regions. Other articles on the whole of Belgic Gaul include the review of the early coinage by Scheers (1981). Another recent article is the short but wide-ranging work by Gruel (2002) recently published on '*Monnaies et Territoires*', which is one of the few attempts to use the coinage to look at why and where they were struck and by whom and, as such, breaks new ground.

1.5.2. REGIONAL ASSESSMENTS

Modern reviews of the regional coinage of Iron Age Gaul are harder to collate, as they are published in many diverse articles. For an assessment of important numismatic articles prior to 1980 the bibliography of Allen & Nash (1980) makes some attempt to order the data, although Scheers (1977) contains the largest collection of antiquarian and early twentieth century work on the study area. More modern research is contained within the Surveys of Numismatic Research, issued by the International Numismatic Commission (e.g. Alfaro & Burnett 2003, Morrison & Kluge 1997), but relevant articles are discussed below.

The *Festchrift* volume offered in honour of Colbert de Beaulieu (Mélanges 1987), contains work by all of the leading Iron Age numismatists of the time, several being of particular relevance. Brunaux (1987) discussed the finds of Iron Age coinage on

sanctuaries in terms of the numismatic aspects. This has largely been superseded by the work of Delestrée (see below), but contained some insightful points. Buchsenschutz and Ralston (1987) contributed an overview of the economic factors at work in the Gallic War period, and the archaeological impacts of this. They included an early suggestion that the archaeological contexts of potin suggested a revision of the historically influenced numismatic dating was needed (1987:169). Amandry and Bourgeois (1987) included a paper on the Iron Age coins from Bennecourt, preceding the full publication of the site (Bourgeois 1999).

More typological and numismatic papers included that by Debord (1987b) who discussed the production of silver coinage at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain in the Aisne, while Delestrée and Delplace (1987) considered the development of the "à l'astre" series (many of which came from votive contexts). A. Duval (1987) looked at the large potin issues, and P.-M. Duval (1987) reviewed gold staters in the Paris area. Scheers and also Villette (both 1987) looked at the coinage from Alésia in two articles, both of which have relevance to the dating of coinage in the study area. Moving away from the *Mélanges* volume, much other influential work took place at this time. One of the most archaeologically relevant was by Polenz (1982). He considered the finds of Iron Age coins in graves in western and central Europe, which although there has been a subsequent expansion in finds, is still influential.

More recent work in the study area includes key articles by several individuals. In the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Delmaire has been an important figure, with his (1996) article on late Iron Age and early Roman coinage, and ongoing work on the *Corpus des trésors monétaires antiques de la France*. He also co-ordinates the new coinage section of the *Revue du Nord*, an important resource for the coins of the region. Reding (1984) looked at the 'Treveri' coinage from Luxembourg and the Trier area.

The only numismatic work on Alsace and Lorraine to date is the unpublished thesis by De Coninck (1997). In the north-east of the study area, much German and Dutch work impinges upon the interpretation of numismatics, although they are only

summarised here. Roymans and van der Sanden (1980) made the first comprehensive study of Iron Age coinage in the Netherlands. The quantity of coinage in this area is now much greater and the later finds have recently been reviewed by Aarts (2000). Cabuy (1991) considered coinage when looking at the temples around the Tongres and Trier areas, but this has been superseded by Scheers, Aarts and van Heesch.

Scheers' (1996) article on coin production and circulation in the area of the future *civitas Tungrorum* considered recent developments in the area in the light of new finds. Van Heesch (1998) considered the coinage from north-west Gallia Belgica in a major work, concentrating mostly on the Roman period, but also considering the later stages of Iron Age coin use from the numismatic perspective. Roymans (2001) looked at the '*triquetum*' coinages of the lower Rhine, which are found in large quantities at military bases and temples such as Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994a).

Apart from van Heesch (1998) and Scheers (1996) little published work has been done in Belgium, although ritual deposits of Iron Age coinage are considered by van Heesch (forthcoming). The area suffers from a lack of publication of votive sites, and although this is being rectified, it still stands out when compared to the Netherlands, Britain and northern France. However, neither the coastal plain or lower Rhine areas were heavy coin producers (or apparently users) until the middle of the first century BC, so the absence of work is in many ways understandable.

Looking further east, to the Rhine area, there has been a large quantity of work done by German scholars which has been influential to work within the study area. Much of the German work has been tied up with work on the Roman army, and virtually all scholars persist in an extremely economic/ functionalist interpretation of Iron Age coin use, which is becoming increasingly questionable in the light of the Gallic evidence.

Ziegaus (1993) discussed the economic functions of money, and has also recently published the results of a new votive site in Swabia (2002) which included a coin die. Overbeck and Wells (1991) considered the use of coinage at Kelheim, while Reding looked at the coinage from the Titelberg (1972), although Metzler (1995) has the most recent finds. Wightman's work on the area around Trier (1970) has been superseded numismatically by Loscheider (1998) on Iron Age coinage from the 'Treveran' area.

Wigg has published on the integration of the latest Iron Age coinages and the earliest Roman ones (1997, 1999) looking at the finds from along the Rhine frontier and in northern Gaul (1996). This includes the finds of Iron Age and Roman coinage in mixed contexts from the short-lived earliest Roman forts which were in use for a very short period of time along and beyond the Rhine in the Augustan military advance from 12BC (such as Oberaden and Haltern, Wigg 1996: 415). He is currently studying the coinage from the ritual site on the Martberg (Wigg forthcoming).

However, the approach taken in much of the German work is extremely functionalist and economic (see below for a fuller discussion of this point). Several articles in the recent volume edited by Schlüter and Wiegels (1999) impinge on the pre-Roman coinage; it is principally about the Roman period, but reveals how much so-called Iron Age coinage has been found on the early military sites along the Rhine.

Picardy has seen a great deal of numismatic work since Scheers' (1977) volume due to the quantity of archaeological finds, and the evidently high volume of coin use in the area in antiquity. Debord, Delplace and Delestrée have all published on the subject of Iron Age coinage in this area.[21] The numismatic finds from the Picardy sanctuaries have been the major research focus of Delestrée, who has

[21] E.g. Delplace & Delestrée 1987, Debord 1987a,b, Delestrée (various, see bibliography for details).

published extensively on this subject (e.g. 1984, 1991, 1996a). Votive sites produce the majority of the known Iron Age coinage from the Somme area.

The most important work on Iron Age coinage, from the point of view of this study is the book published by Delestrée (1996a) on coin finds from a selection of sanctuaries in Picardy. This is the distillation of many years of coin lists by the author on individual votive sites in the Oise and Somme area, and forms a discrete corpus of 10 votive sites, which are then compared with other finds in the region. The study is invaluable in terms of coin lists, many of which are not recorded elsewhere. The chronology of the volume places the production and use of potin in the Gallic Wars period. This led to the author concluding that the use of coins on sanctuaries was largely post-conquest (apart from the Aisne area), a position which he has changed in his latest article (Delestrée forthcoming).

A problem with the publication is the lack of integration with other aspects of the archaeological record, and the study of coinage in isolation. This is a feature of much of Delestrée's work, and limits the information which can be gained. The eccentric cataloguing system renders much of the ascriptions unusable for further study, and the absence of comparison with other types of site (beyond a brief consideration: Delestrée 1996a: 13-17, 107-108) is also a weakness. He divides the production of coinage into four geographical groups, with the main one being the 'Ambiani' or group IV, which is centred on the Somme valley.

Although this is clearly an important coin region, where large quantities of coins were deposited in votive contexts, it is not the only coin using area in northern France, and a wider study shows that other regions have produced ample evidence for coin use. Much of the information in this volume came from nebulous 'collections' and the lack of contexts or clearly ascribed association with sites raises problems (there is also the problem of the huge impact of illegal metal-detection on French archaeology).

As well as the 1996 volume, and his earlier publications on similar subjects[22], Delestrée has also published a series of articles on coinage more generally. This included an article on coinage on sanctuaries (1991), in many ways a preliminary study to the larger volume discussed above. Other works include several wider articles on coin use in Belgic Gaul generally, from the numismatic perspective (e.g. 1994, 1997a, 1999a, forthcoming). These articles are important for the recording of many finds of coinage not recorded elsewhere, and form an important body of work on coin development.

However, these have had little impact outside of the field of numismatics, and rarely consider the wider archaeological contexts of coin use. Until recently, Delestrée has tended to date Iron Age coinage too late, and ascribe much importance to interaction with the Roman world (e.g. 1999a, see chapter 5), although this is now changing. In addition, the virtual absence of Roman coins from his work often leads to the false impression that Iron Age coins are never found with Roman ones. This is especially a problem in earlier publications. However, the tendency to remove coinage from its stratified contexts is not unique to Delestrée and it is unfair to single him out as alone in this practice, which is widespread, and is a factor of the separation of numismatics from mainstream archaeology prevalent in many areas.

Other work on the coinage of Picardy and Seine-Maritime is published in a variety of regional journals. Specific site publications include the work of Lardy (et al) on Épiais-Rhus (1987) who looked at the stratified contexts of coins on part of this extensive site. Huysecom and Woimant (1983) published the coinage found during Woimant's excavations carried out from 1978 to 1981, but regrettably these coins are not stratified. Scheers (1982) published the coinage from the excavations carried out at Chilly from 1978-1980, while Collart (1987) published their

---

[22] Among Delestrée's prolific articles on Iron Age coinage on votive sites are the following: Bois l'Abbé (1984), Vendeuil-Caply (1985), Camp-Rouge (or Fontaine-sur-Somme) (1987), Digeon (with Delplace 1986, and also solo, 1985, 1987), Estrees-Saint-Denis (1993) and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (1999a, 2001).

stratigraphic associations in the Brunaux and Gruel volume. Delplace (1987) published the stratified coins from Digeon in the same volume.

These publications all used the older dating of potin coinage, and will be revised below (chapter 3). Coinage in the Forêt de Compiegne has been reviewed by Jouve (1981) and Petit (1994). Other recent publications include that of Bennecourt (Bourgeois ed. 1999) and Fesques (Mantel 1997, including a coin report by Delestrée), which look at the stratified coinage in relation to the other finds. Delestrée and Tache (2001) published the coinage from Vieil-Evreux, and Fournier, Fournier and Fournier (1989) have recently extended the known coinage from Fontaine-sur-Somme, in the Somme. Mitard (1993) published the coinage from Genainville, including the Iron Age finds. Pion (forthcoming) covers the evolution of the circulation of money in north-eastern Gaul in the second and first centuries BC, using the archaeological evidence, and concentrating on the Aisne valley.

Coins from the settlement sites and *oppida* of the Aisne Valley (especially the coins from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Acy-Romance) have been important in the establishment of the coin chronologies of this region. The main finds from these sites were used in an important article on the dating of coinage by Guichard, Pion, Malacher and Collis (1993), which looked at the *oppida* of the Aisne Valley in conjunction with those known from further south. This article reviewed the coinage in the light of other finds, and was a major factor in the re-dating of coinage to the new chronology.

The coins were also used by Pion (1996a) in his PhD on the Aisne Valley. Specific articles on the coinage include the coin finds from the oppidum of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, considered by Debord (1987a,b, 1995b), Debord and Scheers (1984) and Debord et al (1985). The site is also discussed by Haselgrove (1996b, 1999a:118). Brun and Debord (1991) and Foucart et al (1979) looked at the coinage from the nearby site of Pommiers (Aisne). The coinage from Vermand was studied

by Scheers, Sallandre and Severin (1980). These sites and their implications to numismatic deposits will be discussed in chapter 4.

French numismatic work on votive sites and sanctuaries in the study area has been limited outside of Picardy, although it is increasing dramatically in quantity. Allen (1973) discussed the issue of the representation of supposed temples on Gallic coins in a short article in the Antiquaries Journal. Lambot has carried out a significant quantity of work along the upper Aisne, in the Ardennes in which he has considered coinage (one example of this being Lambot and Friboulet 1996) and also published a few specifically numismatic articles (e.g. Lambot and Delestrée 1991, Lambot 2002). Mahin discussed the coin finds from his excavations at Foy (Noville) in a 1991 publication. The earlier articles published in the Champagne-Ardennes are listed in Chossenot (1986, 1997). Lepage (1984) discussed coinage as part of his wider study on the Iron Age in the Marne, Meuse and Aube basins, dedicating a rather traditional chapter to the local coinage.

To the south of this area several numismatic studies have been done on the Seine and Vexin regions and in the Paris basin. These include the Vexin region by Mitard (1999) and Drouhot (1998) on the area of the Meldi (on the right bank of the Seine in the Paris region). The Paris region is also the subject of a more archaeological study by Ginoux and Poux (2002) which considers the coinage in conjunction with the archaeological material.

Penela (1996) completed a thesis on coinage in the territory of the Senones, but it is out of date in its approach, and adds little to earlier studies. Some work on other areas to the south impinges on the study area, Gruel and Barrandon's (2000) work is of interest for the central Gallic silver which is found in significant quantities in the south of the study area. Nash's (1978) work on coinage and state development in central Gaul still draws some interesting parallels, although it is now in need of updating.

1.6. SKETCH OF THE ARGUMENT

This study looks at a discrete body of data; the Iron Age coins found on votive sites in north-eastern France from 250 BC until the Augustan period. It aims to consider the role which coins played on these sites, and the significance of votive sites within local and regional communities from the perspective of the coin finds. By looking at the archaeologically stratified coinage on these sites, coinage will be considered more holistically, as one form of artefact within a wider tradition of votive deposition. The development of coin deposition will be considered, from the earliest finds of coinage on votive sites to the expansion to the point of predominance as a deposit in the Augustan period. As well as these points different types of coinage will be considered individually, to identify regional and chronological patterns of coin use within the area under consideration.

In chapter 2 a consideration of general Late Iron Age chronologies in north-western Europe, will be followed by a review of the specific dating of Iron Age coinage. Chapter 3 will review the development of coinage generally in the study area, and the main coin types considered here will be reviewed. Chapter 4 will look at the archaeological development of the earliest votive sites, from their foundation until c. 120 BC. Chapter 5 will review the evidence for the development of votive sites from this period until the mid first century BC, while the last chapter will consider later first century BC sites until the age of Augustus.

❖❖❖

Chapter 2

Coins and chronologies in north-western Europe

❖❖❖

2.1. LATER IRON AGE CHRONOLOGIES IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

Developments in the dating of the Iron Age in north-western Europe over the past century have led to an increasingly complex series of chronological groups and sub-groups which differ from country to country. The prevailing (and most influential) ones have been placed in figure 2.1, showing the many variants on the basic La Tène chronology which have been used on the Continent, followed by the convention which I have used in this work. Even today there is little concordance on what exactly denotes such sub-groups as La Tène D1b (for example) and, confusingly, individual authors frequently use different dates for the same period. For comparison, the traditional British chronological divisions of relevance to this study are Middle Iron Age - 300-100 BC and Late Iron Age – 100BC-43AD.

Figure 2.1. Main dating chronologies in northern France

Year		Déchelette 1914	Reinecke/ Polenz 1971	Miron 1986	Fichtl 1994	Pion 1996	Haselgrove 1999a	Chronology Followed
BC	270	LT II	LT C1		LT B2		Stage 1	LT C1
	260			LT C1	LT C1			
	250							
	240							
	230							
	220							
	210							
	200			LT C2	LT C2		Stage 2	LT C2
	190		LT C2			Aisne 1		
	180							
	170							
	160							
	150							
	140				LT D1	Aisne 2		LT D1a
	130							
	120			LT D1a		Aisne 3	Stage 3	LT D1b
	110							
	100							
	90	LT III	LT D1	LT D1b		Aisne 4		LT D2a
	80							
	70				LT D2			
	60			LT D2a		Aisne 5	Stage 4	LT D2b
	50							
	40		LT D2					
	30			LT D2b		Aisne 6	Stage 5	Augustan
	20				Augustéen			
	10		GR					
	1							
AD	10	GR						
	20							

Early chronologies, such as those by Déchelette (1914), divided the later Iron Age up into three periods (LT I, II and III), which ended around 1AD. Others, such as Tischler (1885) had also worked on refining this, Tischler using brooch finds. Reinecke (1902) developed a chronology which used the Hallstatt/ La Tène division, but divided this up into A, B, C and D, forming the basis of the modern dating divisions. Polenz (1971, 1982) modified the later stages of this chronological system. Miron (1986) developed a chronology following the study of Nauheim brooches from excavations at the cemetery of Horath, splitting the La Tène D1 period into two, with the introduction of Nauheim brooches marking the transition between La Tène D1a and D1b, refining Reinecke's chronology. This distinction has been kept, but has been moved back to around 130 BC (as Miron acknowledged in 1996).

Pion (1996a) established a chronology for the later Iron Age in the Aisne Valley, based largely on excavations at Acy-Romance, Condé-sur-Suippe, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Pommiers. This is of great relevance for this study, but it is questionable whether his very precise chronology is archaeologically identifiable beyond the specific context of the Aisne with its short-lived shifting settlement pattern. Whether any form of artefact can be dated with this much precision if not part of a large stratified assemblage is also questionable. Haselgrove's chronology is based on the coinage, and will be discussed in more depth below (section 2.2.2.). Colin (1998), in her study of the chronologies of the *oppida* of central Gaul dated her sites using the material culture, which she tested favourably against the Aisne Valley, eastern Picardy and Champagne. Her stages are comparable with Pion's, although they do differ slightly[23] in the early stages.

The chronology followed for the course of this thesis broadly follows that of Fichtl (1994), who published a chronology which encompassed the less extreme

---

[23] Colin's (1998) Phase 1 is comparable with Pion's 1 and 2, containing elements of Miron's La Tène D1a (she states that her chosen sites contained no contexts which allowed a differentiation such as Pion had distinguished in the Aisne Valley). Phase 2 was comparable with Pion's 3 and Miron's La Tène D1b, her 3 linked to Pion's 4, her 4 to Pion's 5 and her 5a was parallel to Pion's 6 and Metzler's (1995) Gallo-Roman 1.

dating conventions of the time, and tied them into the archaeology of the study area. Where I differ from Fichtl, I have followed Pion's (1996) groups, using the stratified archaeological finds of the middle Aisne Valley to refine the latter stages of the second century until the end of the La Tène D2b period.

2.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN COIN DATING CHRONOLOGIES

The dating of coinage has changed significantly over the course of the last thirty years, and with the recent increase in archaeological information, the dataset has greatly increased, allowing coinage to be dated with a new precision. The traditional numismatic approach is outlined below, followed by the modern developments in archaeological dating, which are now dominant. After the coin dating, other forms of dating are summarised; historical dating, other artefact typologies and absolute dating. However, the latter is still in its infancy in the study area.

2.2.1. COLBERT DE BEAULIEU AND THE HISTORICAL APPROACH

Chronologies for the coinage of the study area have been the subject of heated and often vociferous debate in recent years, and major redating of some aspects of the numismatic evidence have taken place. Coin dating traditionally relied on historical dates until recently, such as the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones and the Gallic Wars. It is only with the excavation of large quantities of coinage in stratified association with other types of archaeological material which has allowed the redating of coinage to fall in line with other aspects of the archaeological record, and for the more glaring inconsistencies to be resolved.

The development of coin chronologies up to the 1970s reached its apogee in the work of Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Beaulieu, published in a series of articles, but most extensively expounded in his 1973 work, *Traité de numismatique celtique*. He dated the coinage on a chronology based on historical events (figure 2.2). The initial coins were copies of the coinage of Philip of Macedon (reigned 359-336 BC) and his successors, which had been imported into northern Gaul by mercenaries who fought in the large armies of the Greek and Macedonian

campaigns of the later fourth and early third century BC. The Philippus series is long-lived, and Colbert de Beaulieu believed that these coins were produced from the end of the fourth century until about 250 BC.

Figure 2.2. Coin dating concordances

	Year	Colbert de Beaulieu 1973	Guichard et al 1993	Haselgrove 1999a	Delestrée/ Tache 2002
BC	270 260 250	Gold Philippus copies			
	240 230 220 210 **200** 190 180 170 160 150 140 130 120	Arvernian/Belgic hegemonies Only gold-Philippus+ Tarentine copies	Uninscribed gold. Earliest potin	Stage 1 Half stater gold coins	Early gold
				Stage 2 Broard flan gold early potin in S. Belgic Gaul	Regional gold broad flan coins. Earliest potin
	110 **100** 90 80 70	Smaller groups issuing.Gold debasement. Silver in central Gaul	Gold, potin and earliest AE	Stage 3 Regionalised gold & potin, early silver. Struck AE in W. Belgic Gaul	Later gold debasement. Early silver
			Gold, silver, potin and AE		
	60	AE/ potin. GW			
	50 40 30 20 10 **1**	AE and potin substituted for precious metals. Smaller groups minting.	Domination of struck bronze (Pommiers)	Stage 4 Tri-Metallic sets potin replaced by AE	Tri-metallic sets, struck bronze
				Stage 5 Last local coinages	Late brass. Roman imitations
AD	10 20			Roman coins	

After this, again using historical dating, Colbert de Beaulieu believed that coinage from 250 to 121 BC was controlled by the powerful Arverni and Belgic tribes. This was based on Strabo (4.2.3.), who recorded an Arvernian empire stretching from the Rhône to the Atlantic in the late third or early second BC (based on Poseidonius, see Nash 1976). Historically this was believed to end in 121 BC, when the Romans defeated an Arvernian army led by Bituitus. Colbert de Beaulieu believed that the Arverni struck derivatives of the Philippi coinages, while the Belgae struck imitations of the staters of Tarentum. He saw this period as being one of restricted coin issues, ending when the Arverni and Belgae lost their stranglehold over political power, and therefore coin production, in

northern and central France. The existence of an Arvernian hegemony was questioned by Nash (1975); if such an empire ever existed, ithad collapsed long before this time, and it is now clear that regional coin production was well underway by 121 BC.

Colbert de Beaulieu believed that after the Arvernian hegemony ended, and until the Gallic Wars, there was a regionalisation of coin production. Smaller groups issued coinage, and regional issues sprang up rapidly. Silver was introduced for the first time, and in many areas gold was abandoned, with south-western Gaul and the Rhône Valley going to the silver *drachma* standard (initially c.4-5 g), and central Gaul using the *quinarius* standard (initially c.2-2.25 g) instead. In the traditional chronology Belgic Gaul continued to use only gold until the Gallic Wars.

The major change in coin production was linked with the Gallic Wars (58-52 BC), specifically using the coin deposits from excavations of the siege ditches at Alésia to tie different regional coinages together (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955). Colbert de Beaulieu associated the Gallic Wars with a lack of precious metal coinage, due to the cost of war and Caesar's depredations on the region. He believed that this period saw massive issuing of struck bronze, and the initial appearance of potin,[24] which he considered to be an 'emergency small-change coinage' issued during this period only (*ibid* 1954a), as a substitute for precious metal coinages. He also believed that there was more coin convergence between regions, which he put down to the movement of individuals, moving regional and tribal boundaries, and local coin shortages.

After the Gallic Wars, Colbert de Beaulieu believed that the processes which had been set in motion by the conflict continued, with a general mingling of currencies exacerbated by the movement of troops. The Romans were seen as deliberately removing gold and silver from circulation, with struck bronze and potin replacing these coinages, although rare silver issues did continue (e.g. by the Remi). He believed that the conflict had destabilised existing coin minting

authorities, and that the myriad of small issues were due to the emergence of new smaller groups (clients and pagi) striking coins.

This chronology held sway for a significant time (and can still be encountered), and as coins were (and to some extent still remain) the main means of dating a site, the numismatic chronology generally took precedence over other forms of archaeological evidence when sites were analysed. Allen (summarised in his 1980 publication) raised the first major published objection to numismatic chronology, especially on the dating of potin coins, although this was largely ignored by continental archaeologists. Furger-Gunti and Von Kaenel (1976) also disagreed with the prevailing numismatic chronology when they discovered coinage in association with earlier metalwork at Berne and Basel in Switzerland. Büchsenschutz and Ralston (1987:169) also emphasised the importance of archaeological finds at a period when stratified finds of coinage (as discussed in Brunaux & Gruel 1987) were being found in increasingly discrepant contexts across northern France, Germany and Switzerland.

This increasing wave of dissent grew, and by the early 1990s it was clear that coin dating was problematic. Archaeological finds were not fitting into the chronology that numismatists still adhered to. Coins were increasingly moved from their dominant position as a main dating tool to a questioned footnote (see Lambot and Méniel 1992:144 for an example of this). Of all of the datable finds, coinage is the most problematic. Colin (1998) pointed out that the relative lack of coins in datable contexts in comparison to other finds meant that they were not securely tied into the established chronologies which were current in northern France, and pretty well abandoned them for her reassessment of the material culture on *oppida*:

"Malheureusement ces monnaies sont très peu nombreuses et ont circulé fort longtemps, ce qui rend leur potentiel chronologique souvent moins intéressant

---

[24] Although Allen demurred on this point at the time; see Allen 1971, Colbert de Beaulieu 1973 in reply.

que celui de mobiliers plus évolutifs, comme les fibules ou la céramique locale" (Colin 1998:57)

Coins also appeared in odd contexts, often appearing earlier than the numismatic dating allowed. A major review of dating was needed, and in this case it was led by archaeologists, using stratified finds.

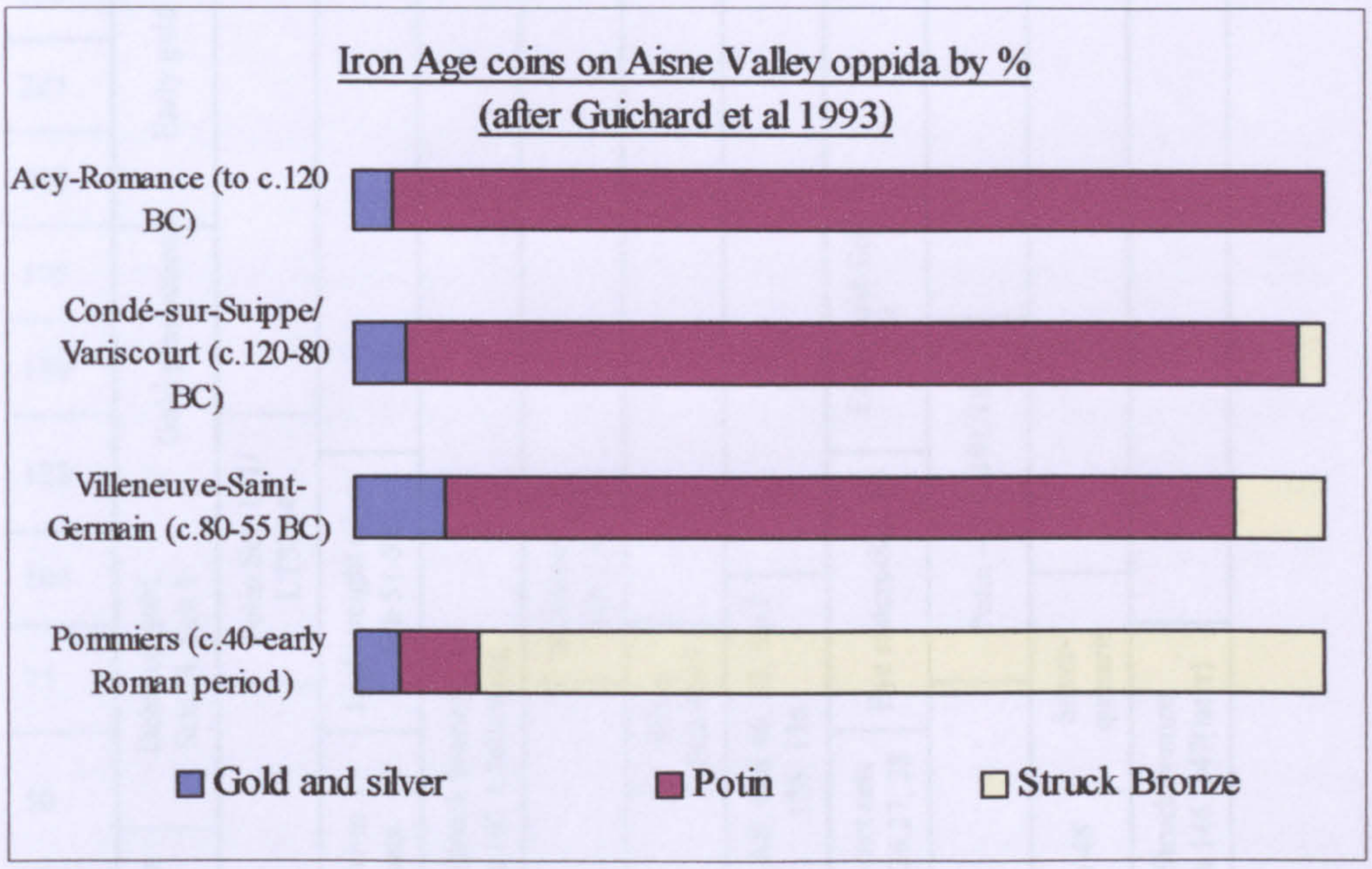
As figure 2.2 shows, archaeological evidence has caused significant changes in numismatic chronology in the last ten years, the most dramatic one being the redating of potin coinage from the Gallic War to a much earlier date. However, figure 2.2 also shows that the exact chronology of coin use in northern France and the Low Countries is still a subject of major debate, although the basic ordering of typological series is now less contentious. Most serious modern scholars broadly agree with the progression of coin denominations in the study area, although one still occasionally encounters the late-potin chronology (especially amongst numismatists), an interpretation that is now unsustainable due to the volume of stratified archaeological finds.

2.2.2. ARCHAEOLOGY BASED CHRONOLOGICAL AND TYPOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The consideration of chronological and typological development of coinage within the study area has been considered here by coin type, although many of the series discussed in different categories did circulate consecutively. Guichard, Pion, Malacher and Collis (1993) used the finds from a series of well-dated sites in France to look at regional coin production. Pion used four sites along the Aisne Valley to review coin deposition. Due to the short-lived settlement, and the shifting nature of the larger sites along the middle Aisne Valley a clear progression of new coin types could be postulated for the area (figure 2.4). This was extremely influential at the time, and led to the reassessment of the coin dating. They divided the development of coinage into four stages, from these four sites, and the Aisne Valley remains the section of the study area where the coinage is best understood. However, the numismatic

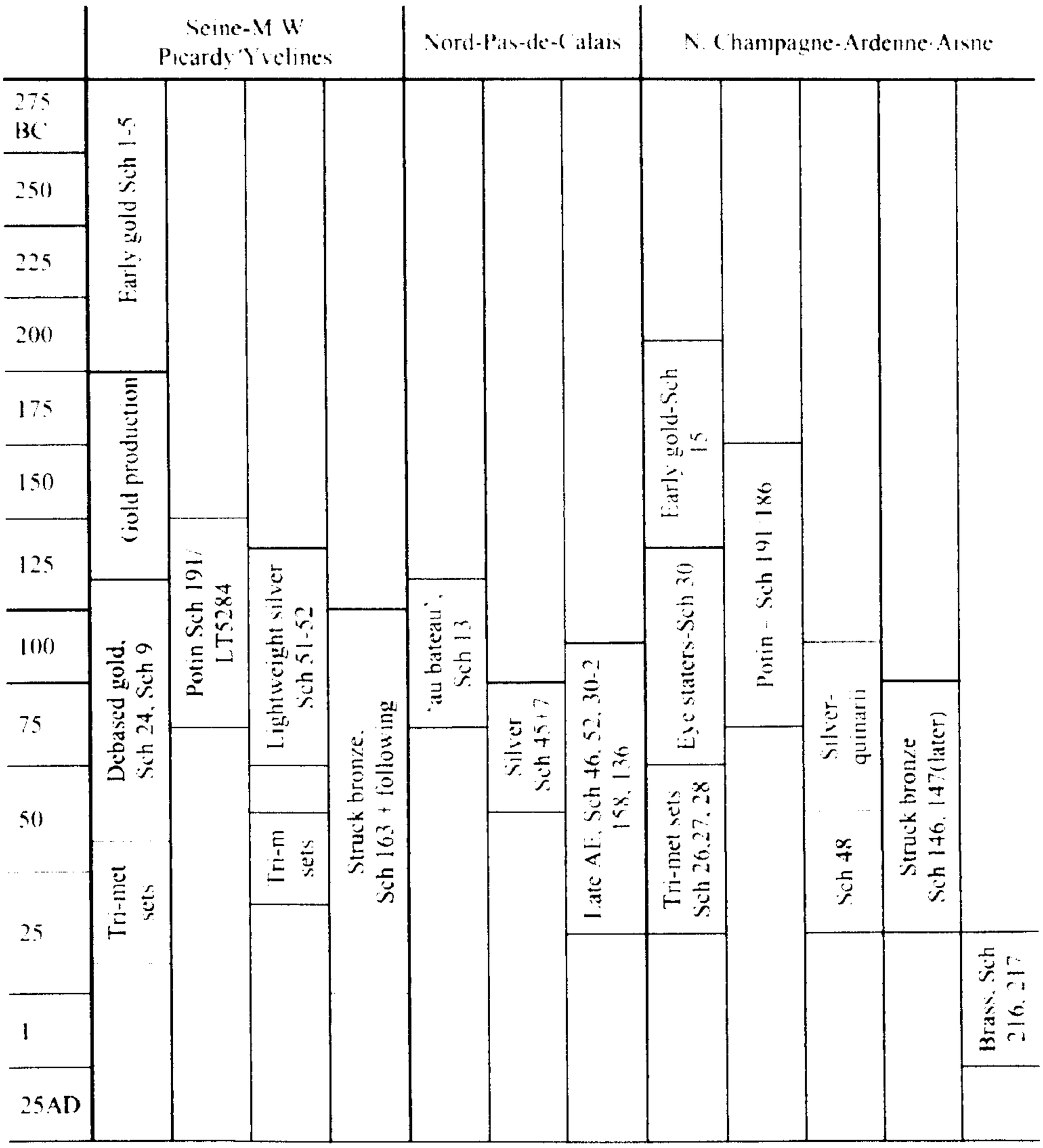
developments in other areas of north-eastern France did not occur at the same time across the whole study area.

Figure 2.3. Coin dating in the Aisne Valley.



Haselgrove (1999a) has published a recent article looking at the coinage of the north of Gaul in its archaeological context, which proposes an extremely early dating for much of the coinage. He used archaeological finds to argue his point, and in many cases, the argument is persuasive. A few points are problematic, such as the initial introduction of coinage, and the date of the introduction of struck bronze. Delestrée and Tache (2002) differ markedly from Haselgrove in their coin dating. Potin coins are given an early date (following Gruel 1995b). The potin coins are correctly placed in the second century BC, although the introduction of silver (which is down as the second quarter of the first century BC) is too late, especially for the lightweight issues, which are coming up in stratified contexts with the earlier potin coins (see below). A majority of coin types are placed in the post-Conquest period, although types such as the Gallo-Belgic 'E' (Scheers 24, DT 235 and following) are dated too late, as there are finds of these types from pre-Conquest contexts, and they were clearly in circulation for a lengthy period.

Figure 2.4, coin dating concordances.



2.2.2.1. GOLD

The arrival of coinage in the study area commenced with the importation of early copies of staters of Philip of Macedon (ruled 359-336 BC) and occasional original coins[25] which have traditionally been associated with mercenary activity (Scheers 1980). In the Somme area, copies of a coin of Tarentum (southern Italy) appear.[26] Although it is still unclear how many of these early

---

[25] Which are listed in Roymans (1990, chapter 6) and has been updated by Haselgrove (1999:n. 44). A new publication by Sills (2003) on the early gold coinage of north-western France and southern Britain updates the picture significantly.

[26] These coins appear to have been the earliest coins struck in the study area (Scheers 1981, Haselgrove 1999:23), and are also found in south-eastern England, where they form the beginning of the Gallo-Belgic series (Allen 1960).

types were minted in north-eastern France and the Low Countries it is apparent that Philippus copies were minted in the study area (Polenz 1982). The minting of local coinages began on a small scale fairly quickly after this (Scheers 1981) and this early coinage was deposited in some quantity, usually in small hoards or singly.

The dates of the earliest gold coinages (such as Scheers 1-5) have been the focus of significant recent research, enabled by the recent increase in coinage found in stratified archaeological contexts (fig 2.4). They are traditionally held to date from the early second century BC (e.g. Allen & Nash 1980:70) but the dating is now being reassessed. Haselgrove (1999a), pushes the coinage back to the third century BC (fig 2.2), and has proposed the earliest chronology. However, this has been contested by Delestrée (1997) using finds from the early sanctuaries in Picardy. An early date is becoming increasingly likely on archaeological grounds, but comparison with torcs (Haselgrove 1999a) is not conclusive, due to the subjective nature of dating precious metalwork and art styles. In any case, the nineteenth century dating of much of the decorative metalwork is heavily dependent on coin dating, and the argument is a circular one.

One sanctuary, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, has produced several very early gold coins from central Normandy, discussed in chapter 3. Other votive sites with early coins in the Picardy area include Epiais-Rhus. The Scheers 1 type from this site comes from a settlement occupation layer, which probably does not date earlier than the mid-second century (Fichtl 1994:25, Derks 1998:169), which again places the coin in a later context than Haselgrove suggests (1999:124). However, the discovery of the Scheers 1 type on the site is notable. Copies of the coins of Tarentum are found only in Picardy, and in small numbers,[27] but it is interesting that both Epiais-Rhus and Ribemont-sur-Ancre have produced these very early coins. Very early coins are also found at Vieil-Evreux, Vendeuil-Caply and Bracquemont, none stratified this early.[28]

---

[27] The main discoveries are fairly tightly distributed around modern Amiens (Allen & Nash 1980, Scheers 1977).

[28] Vieil-Evreux has a half and a quarter stater of second generation Philippus copy type (Scheers 1980:2, 1981:22 no.165). There is a quarter stater of the same type as Vieil-Evreux from Bracquemont (Scheers 1978:45 no.153), and from Vendeuil-Caply (Roymans 1990:121).

The minting of gold coinage became more widespread from the second century BC, and the issue sizes seem to increase.[29] One variety of gold coin which developed in the study area in the second century BC (Haselgrove 1999, Delestrée/ Tache 2002) is the broad flan gold coinage (Scheers 8/ Gallo-Belgic A). These distinctive coins are found on both sides of the Channel, and are part of an extensive series of more robust thicker flan "Gallo-Belgic" coinage found in the study area and southern Britain.[30] They are found widely in hoards, but are rare on sites. Two Scheers 8 coins are known from sanctuary contexts (Haselgrove 1999:124), one from Vendeuil-Caply (Delestrée 1985) and one from Fesques (Delestrée, Mantel & Moesgaard 1997:293).[31]

As the above discussion shows, the number of coins from non-hoard contexts is low, and of those, all appear to be produced significantly later than Haselgrove proposed mint date. Delestrée (1996c) has argued in the past that Haselgrove's dating of gold coinage in this area is too early, a suggestion that Haselgrove responds to in his most recent chronological article (1999a). In a recent change of opinion Delestrée & Tache (2002) now date the earliest gold earlier than Haselgrove, rather illustrating the confusion and shifting nature of coin chronologies at present. Haselgrove muddies the waters still further by suggesting (*pers comm*) that although he believes that the production of gold coins began in the third century BC, he does not believe that all were necessarily deposited then, but later!

---

[29] We are probably seeing an actual increase in production as die-linking studies (e.g. Sills: conference presentation 2001) do suggest that these coins were issued in reasonably large groups, and the increased deposition may also reflect a surge in minting.

[30] Although these coins were traditionally considered to be produced in Gaul and exported to Britain, and are not included in some British catalogues for this reason (e.g. Hobbs 1996), minting in Britain has been suspected for a long time on the grounds of distribution. The recent discovery of a Gallo-Belgic B (Scheers 10) coin die in southern Britain finally produces firm evidence for minting in southern Britain as well as Gaul (if not instead of). To add another twist to the chronological morass, the alloy which the die was made of has been proved metallurgically to be a perfect match for the alloy used in potin coins (J. Williams, *pers comm*). The coin type was previously believed to pre-date the production of potin coinage in central and northern Belgic Gaul and southern Britain, although this is no longer the case. The chronological debates may continue for some time!

[31] The coin is number 303, and appears to be a contemporary forgery, a bronze core with gold plating over the top.

Although some minting may have taken place at the end of the third century, there is no convincing archaeological argument for the deposition of coinage in the third century BC and a production date in the La Tène C1 period (Haselgrove 1999a:124) seems highly unlikely. All of the arguments for third century BC minting within the study area are conjectural; only the Ribemont finds are this early, and the coins on the site originated to the west of the area considered here. While it is possible coinage may have been produced earlier in the study area, on present evidence it is questionable.

Production of gold continued through the later La Tène, and it is now clear that minting of gold continued in some areas until after the Gallic Wars, although it generally got lighter and more debased than earlier issues. This indicates that Colbert de Beaulieu's idea that gold was rapidly replaced by struck bronze and potin is no longer sustainable. Many types which were in circulation before the Gallic Wars continued to be struck afterwards. The long-lived "eye" staters of the middle Meuse and Rhine area (Scheers 30-V) continued to be produced into the later first century BC (inscribed POTTINA), and a version is found in the north of the Champagne (Scheers 30-II and 30-III, inscribed VOCARANT and LVCOTIOS). Also in the north of the Champagne area two issues (Scheers 27 and 28, inscribed CRICIRV and ROVECA) were struck in large numbers. In the upper Oise and German border, "epsilon" staters (Scheers 29-IV) continued to be struck (inscribed VIROS). In western Picardy, the "au bateau" quarter stater series (Scheers 13-IV) continued, while the "à l'astre" (Scheers 25) staters were issued through the Gallic Wars and after (Delestrée & Delplace 1987). Many of these series were part of tri-metallic sets, with silver and struck bronze also being issued by the same authorities.

2.2.2.2. POTIN

At the same time as the expansion of gold coinage a cast, rather than struck, coinage was introduced which was exclusive to north-western Europe and southern Britain. These coins are called 'potin', using the French term, and are made of tin rich bronze. Although they now have a dark brown patina, when

produced they would probably have been silvery in appearance,[32] and may have been considered as part of the precious metal coinage tradition at the time of minting. We certainly know nothing about the relative value of tin and bronze in the pre-Gallic Wars period, and it is distinctly possible that they could have been extremely valuable metals.

Potin coinage was assumed to be a post-Gallic War small-change coinage until recently, with the quantity of potin coins found in post-Conquest contexts being used to suggest a late date for production (see above). However, even before this time, potins had been the subject of considerable debate. In 1719 de Montfaucon had considered potin coinage to be the most ancient of Iron Age coins (Gruel 1995:4). Lambot also thought that they were early in date, due to their similarity with early Roman bronzes. He dated them to c. 300-278 BC (Lambot 1844:14). Blanchet (1905:175) considered this comparison to be unscientific, and thought that they were similar to struck bronze, and therefore post-Conquest, a theory which was reiterated and expanded on by Colbert de Beaulieu (1954a). A major reconsideration has recently reassessed stratified potin coins, and indicates that their production began in the second century BC, with the main arguments and archaeological contexts summarised in a series of papers edited by Gruel (ed. 1995). These hinge on archaeological dating.

When looking at the archaeological discoveries it is clear from settlement evidence that potin coins date early, and were introduced in the Champagne and upper Aisne areas by the La Tène D1a period, the third quarter of the second century BC (Lambot & Delestrée 1991, Haselgrove 1999[33]). Key to the reassessment of potin in the study area is the site of Acy-Romance (Lambot & Méniel 1992, 2000, Lambot & Friboulet 1996) which has produced potin

---

[32] Ongoing research at the Fündmunzen der Antike suggests that the potin coins in the middle Rhine area would originally have had a gold appearance, very similar to the staters in use at the time of early potin production (Wigg, pers comm). Although potin within the study area would appear to have had a silvery, not a gold appearance, it is clear that more work needs to be done on potin alloys in western Europe, as a gold appearance would have major implications for the role which potin played in a society. Perhaps the alloys are different in different areas to reflect regional metal preferences?

[33] Delestrée (1999) now considers the BN 5284 type (found in the Paris Basin and reasonably widely spread in the south of the study area) to have been introduced on settlements as early as the La Tène C2 period.

coinage from very early contexts. The finds from Acy-Romance suggest that the production of Scheers 191, 203 and 186 potin coinage was underway by the end of the La Tène C2 period (information from burial contexts, see chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of the archaeology).

Several sites in the Aisne Valley and Marne (such as Damary and Bisseul) have been reviewed by Haselgrove (1999:31), who believes that the potin coinage dates to the later second century BC. Potin coins tends to be found on settlement sites with more regularity than struck bronze and silver (although see chapter 4 for a critique of this). Important areas of production include the middle and upper Aisne valley, and the Picardy sanctuaries. Potin is found on virtually all of the larger sites in the study area, and do appear well beyond their core areas of distribution (de Jersey 1999). Britain developed an indigenous potin coinage at a later date which is distinguished from the Gallic primary series.[34]
However, although the coins are definitely relatively early, and can be placed in the second and early first century BC, much of the potin coinage from northern France is residual, coming from late first century BC contexts. The apparent contradiction between the dating of coinage on settlement sites and the contexts in which 'early' potins are found on votive sites needs to be resolved. It may be that the dating of the potin coins has been pushed back too far, or that other chronologies need to be reconsidered.

While this is a rather pessimistic approach, there are problems which current scholars of Iron Age coinage in northern France have failed to resolve adequately. One of the most difficult ones is the apparent longevity of potin

---

[34] The date of the introduction of potin coinage in Britain is contentious. Although Van Arsdell (1989) considered them to have been introduced in the first century BC, the dates of potin coins found in stratified contexts is steadily pushing the date of introduction back, a situation very similar to northern France. Haselgrove (1988, 1993, 1996a) suggested the introduction of a linked early chronology, pushing back the dating in Gaul. He saw no reason why the adoption of potin coinage should be significantly later in Britain, as many other forms of artefact appear to have made a fairly rapid appearance to the north of the Channel after their adoption in Gaul (e.g. amphorae, see Fitzpatrick 1985). To support this assertion the earliest types, the 'thick flan' or 'early Massalia imitation' potins have significant cross-Channel links, especially with the Val-d'Oise coins, which have also been found in Britain (de Jersey 1999). However, in mitigation of an early potin introduction in Britain, the beginning of production at the same time as the early Gallic issues would mean a large chronological gap between the first and later potin series in Britain, which is highly unlikely. The longevity of the Val-d'Oise potin types found in Britain

compared to all other types of find, and other kinds of coin. While silver and struck bronze coins seem to have operated in a relatively restricted chronological framework, dating systems have been proposed for potin (and to a lesser extent the earlier struck bronze) which would require the coins to be available for three centuries. Gruel (1995b) and Wigg (1995) discussed this problem as part of the redating of potin, but scholars have yet to come up with a convincing reason why only potin survives so long in archaeological contexts, longer than any other form of artefact.

Potin coinage is not evenly spread over the north-east of France. While some areas, such as the Somme and northern Champagne started producing potin in the mid to late second century BC, other areas did not develop these coinages until later. The Nord-Pas-de-Calais never developed local issues of potin coins (although there are finds of potin minted to the west of the area). The production of potin coinage seemed to be linked to changes which were starting to occur in the archaeological record in the later second century BC. They are found in large numbers on major sites, such as Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1995b);[35] they are also found in large numbers on earlier sanctuaries. Areas with little evidence for centralisation,[36] such as the coastal plain area, did not appear to issue potin coinage.

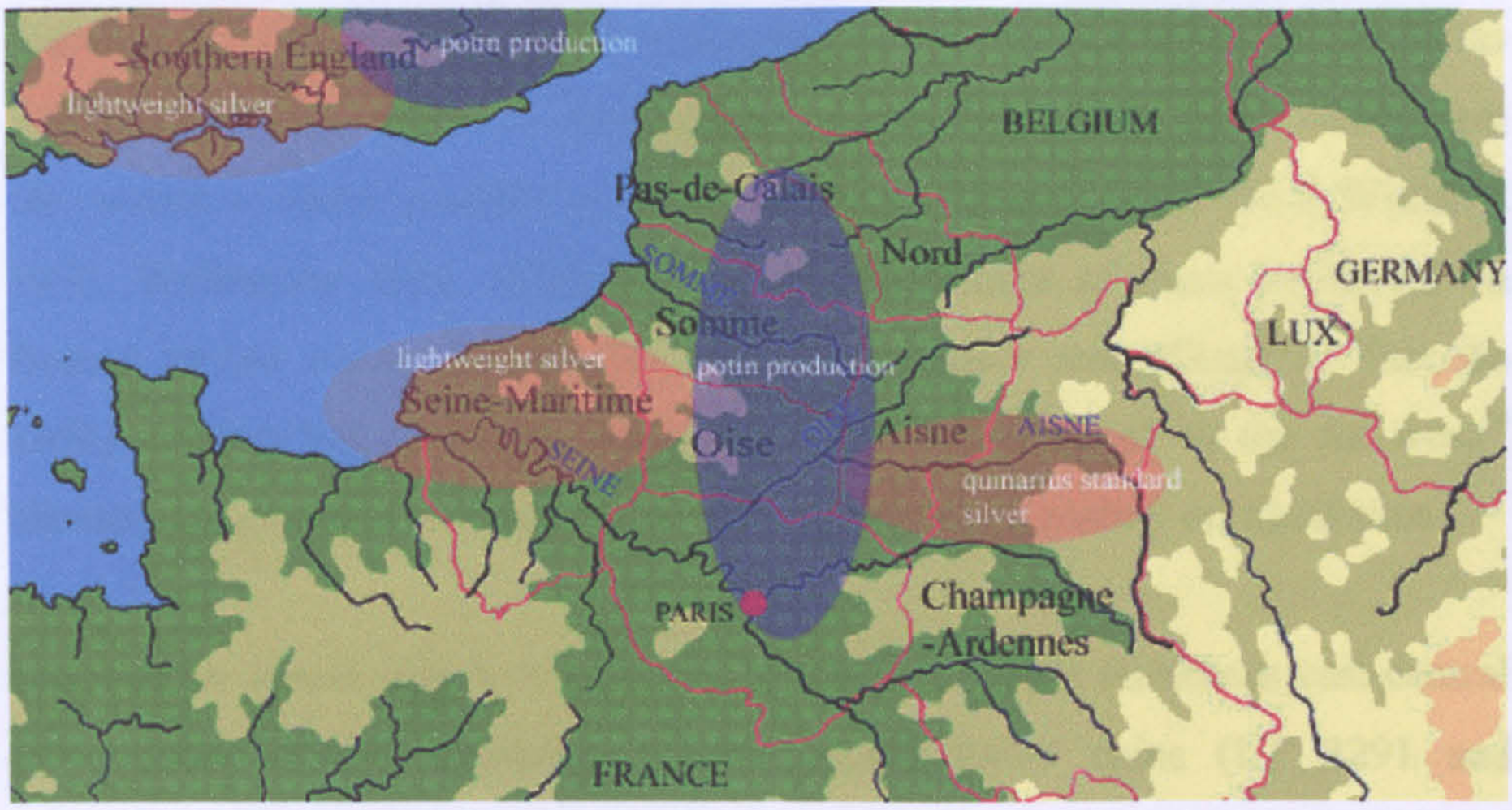
---

urge caution on an early production date; and on balance caution is required with tying Britain too closely to Gaul on this point, as present stratified British finds do not support it.

[35] Although the nearby site of Condé-sur-Suippe was metal-detected and very few potin coins were found.

[36] Taken here to mean (perhaps contentiously) *oppida* and votive sites, although the point will be discussed further in chapter 4.

Figure 2.5. Silver and potin producing areas.



2.2.2.3. SILVER

The production of silver coinage appears to have been episodic in north-east France, and never formed more than a small part of the overall coinage. Compared to the large silver hoards from the Armorican peninsula in the north-west of France (de Jersey 1994) there is relatively little silver coinage in most of the study area (fig 2.5). This may be a factor of survival/ discovery which could be remedied by a single discovery such as that made at Wanborough (Surrey, O'Connell & Bird 1994, Williams 1999) which revised views on the availability of silver coins in southern England. When silver does occur in north-eastern France it is found on several different weight standards. The first standard follows the central Gallic quinarius standard,[37] especially those silver issues found in the Champagne and Paris basins.

The second type of silver is on a lightweight standard and early in date. These are thin coins, known in France as *"petit billon armoricain"*. They are found in

[37] Work on these coins includes Deroc (1983) for the Rhône Valley silver issues, Perrin (1990) for a recent discovery of a large votive deposit of silver at Larina. Sarthre et al (1996) have recently reviewed the silver issues of the centre-west of Gaul, and Gruel and Barrandon (2000) have looked at the silver coins from the centre-east.

small issues, partly to the west of the study area, in Normandy.[38] They are also found in Seine-Maritime and Oise (Scheers 51-53) and are based on the Pallas Athena types widespread in central Gaul. These lightweight silver coins were also struck in some quantity in central southern Britain (Allen 1965, Williams 1998, Wellington 2001, 2003). A significant number of them are found on Roman period votive sites to the west of the study area (Gruel & Taccoën 1992). Within the study area they are generally restricted to the far west[39] (Seine-Maritime and western Picardy). They are found mainly on ritual sites.

Other silver issues found in the north of France include numerous east-central issues such as the quinarius standard KAΛETEΔOY coins (LT 8291 and following). These were the inspiration for series in the Meuse and Rhine areas to the east - Scheers 54, 55 and later 56, – found at Nauheim (Wigg & Reiderer 1998). The use of silver coinage was a more prominent feature in the latest period of production in the upper Oise, Belgium and on the German border. These were late in date, such as the ANNAROVECI coins (Scheers 58) and include mid first century BC issues such as the ATEVLA/VLATOS coins (Scheers 41) which were very widespread and are found well beyond their area of origin.

Many east-central Gallic silver coins are found in the north of France, mostly issues which were produced from the middle to later second century BC (La Tène D1a), although large mid first century BC issues such as the TOGIRIX coins are important in later layers. Haselgrove (1999:44) has argued for the appearance of these east-central silver coins in the study area before the minting of indigenous silver issues, based on the discovery of KAΛETEΔOY coins with Scheers 186 potin coins in La Tène D1b contexts at Manching and Etival-Clairfontaine (Vosges). This seems likely, as many of the silver types in the

---

[38] For further information on these see Colbert de Beaulieu 1954b, Gruel & Taccoen 1992 and Allen 1965. A large number were found at the temple of Trogouzel (Gruel & Clément 1987). Others were also found at the temples of Cracouville (10) and Oisseau-le-Petit (8) (Gruel & Taccoen 1992:183-7).

[39] A few examples of Scheers 53 are found further east, with one coming from Condé-sur-Suippe and two from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain in the middle Aisne valley (Guichard *et al* 1993). However, the bulk of their distribution is from the west of the study area. One was found in the Le Catillon hoard (Allen 1960), although the majority come from the Somme and Seine-Maritime areas.

south of the study area were struck on the southern standard, and were clearly typologically related.

At Villeneuve-Saint-Germain [40](Debord 1987a, Fichtl 1996, 2000) several different types of silver coinage were struck in the LT D2a period, although some scholars have suggested an earlier date (Pion 1996, Haselgrove 1999). Many of these silver coins were over-struck onto central or eastern Gallic silver.[41] The distribution of these coins is geographically discrete, and extremely local in nature. Their striking is perhaps related to the large quantities of central Gallic material which was arriving at the site at this time, although the close distribution of the coins around the *oppidum* show that they were not being struck as a trading currency. Potin also appears to have been produced at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (such as the Scheers 185-III, 196-II and 197 types, Debord 1987) which seems to have been a major centre of coin production in the area.

2.2.2.4. STRUCK BRONZE.

Although the use of silver is strongly connected to votive sites in northern France it is not the dominant denomination found in archaeological contexts. The vast majority of Iron Age coins on any kind of site in northern France and the Low Countries (including votive sites) are struck bronze issues (see Chapter 5). However, in reality this is more of an illustration of the dramatic increase in the quantity of coinage produced in the middle to later first century BC throughout the study area. Struck bronze counted for a large percentage of all of the 'native' coinage ever produced. The use of coinage seems to have exploded around the time of the Gallic Wars, and with the rapid decrease[42] of precious metal production the vast majority of remaining issues are minted in bronze.

---

[40] See below for a review of the chronology of the Aisne Valley oppida.

[41] Debord (1987) identified several central Gallic types, the Q. DOCI, ΚΑΛΕΤΕΔΟΥ and SEQVANOIOTVOS issues.

[42] There is textual evidence for Caesar looting vast quantities of precious metal from Gaul to fund later political developments in Rome, some of which must have been in coin form. It seems likely that precious metal was relatively scarce in post-Conquest Gaul, and was simply not available for large-scale coin minting. Struck bronze seems to have been the preferred alternative, although there are exceptions, and tri-metallic sets did continue as well.

Bronze is the last metal type to appear in central and Belgic Gaul. It was first introduced in western Belgic Gaul, and the earliest stratified contexts are found in the Ardennes and Oise areas. Guichard, Pion, Malacher and Collis (1993) believed that the earliest struck bronze dated from c.120-90 BC, after looking at stratified finds from *oppida*. Haselgrove (1999:47) followed their lead, and dated the introduction of struck bronze coinage in the western zone to the earliest first century BC, although Delestrée and Tache (2002) believe it did not pre-date the 60s BC. The truth is probably somewhere in between, although archaeological evidence is leaning towards an earlier date rather than a later one. The introduction of struck bronze coinage is unlikely to occur before the start of the first century BC, and even a date in the early part of the first century BC relies heavily on a few coins from archaeological contexts. The earliest coin, a Scheers 120-1, is from a supposed La Tène D1b cremation at Acy-Romance (Lambot & Friboulet 1996:131).

Gournay-sur-Aronde has also produced two Scheers 163-1a coins (see chapter 5 for a full discussion of this find) from the enclosure ditch, and another one from the upper layers of the central pit fill (Brunaux 1987:17) in association with several potin coins. The coins in the outer ditch are associated with La Tène D1b pottery, and a filiform brooch. This would suggest a slightly later deposition than the excavators revised date of the latest La Tène D1a period (c.130-120BC) (Brunaux & Méniel 1997:219), which they argue due to the brooch, although it is long-lived type. The dates for this type of brooch is not necessarily as early as Brunaux and Méniel suggest, and a date in the latest La Tène D1b (c. 100-90 BC) seems more likely for this deposit.

Considering these problems with the early dating of the coinage, it seems most likely that the introduction of struck bronze coinage is slightly later than Haselgrove (1999) suggests. However, after the introduction of struck bronze in the first third of the first century BC, it rapidly dominated the coin pool and became the dominant coinage at a time when there was a great expansion of minting throughout Gaul. When struck bronze was introduced, the majority of the study area was using potin coinage, which reached its fullest extent at this

time, although the two coin types are rarely found together in the earliest stages of bronze production. However, there is little indication of why this change took place.

Bronze was an important coinage in the post-Conquest period in northern France, and stayed in circulation until the turn of the millennium. There are important and widely distributed issues, such as the REMO/ REMO three portrait busted coins (Scheers 146), which were issued by the Remi and are found widely across the study area, with many being found in votive deposits. Although legends on coins were in existence before, by the 50s BC the use of Greek characters, which is seen on earlier coinage, is discontinued as the use of Latin becomes universal. Minting of these bronze issues seems to be centred on a few major sites, such as the Titelberg (Metzler 1995) where eastern issues such as the Scheers 162-I and 162-II[43] coins were probably minted.

Another development in production was the emergence of large-scale brass (or *orichalchum*) issues at the end of the first century BC.[44] These would probably be better referred to as Roman provincial coinage, such as the late issues we see in Spain. These coins must have been struck under Roman authority, and were undoubtedly issued by regional tribal groups, initially in debased gold coins and tri-metallic sets, and then later (in a much smaller range of issues) in bronze and brass. Wigg (1999) suggests that they functioned in a monetary sense, and were used for regional exchange, probably with the Roman groups on the Rhine frontier. This is supported by their presence on Roman military installations along the Rhine, and their production in nearby areas. They can be differentiated from the small local bronze issues found primarily on votive sites by their wide circulation, reaching beyond the local distribution of the smaller bronzes.

---

[43] Both coins definitely date after the 50's BC. The Scheers 162-I coins were inscribed A.HIRTIVS and are a copy of the elephant denarius of Julius Caesar, and the Scheers 162-II coins are dated by the inscription CARINA referring to the governor of Belgic Gaul from 31-30 BC, C. Carinas (Haselgrove 1999:61).

[44] The distinction between bronze and brass coinages is not always easy to obtain without metallurgical analysis. Antiquarian reports do not always list metal type, which means that work on older sites is difficult. Several well-studied brass coinages are known, but these date to the Augustan period, such as the extensive GERMANVS INDVTILLI L. (Scheers 216) and AVAVCIA (Scheers 217) series. However, these are linked into the provision of coinage in the early Roman province, and represent a different reason for production than we see in the early AE coinages.

2.3. OTHER CHRONOLOGIES

2.3.1. HISTORICAL DATING

Other means of dating need to be briefly considered as well as coin dating. While historical dating has been important in the past, it is less so now. The historical dating is generally linked to Roman dates. The camp of Scipio at Numantia is known to date to 133 BC, and Frégelles in the south of France was destroyed in 125 BC. Entremont in the south of Gaul has a destruction layer supposed to date to 123 BC (Benoit 1968, Cayot 1984), during the Roman conquest of Gallia Narbonensis (if it was the capital of the Salyens), although this has recently been questioned by Arcelin, Congès and Willaume (1990:101) and Colin (1998:21). Mortimer Wheeler associated the abandonment and destruction of the *oppidum* of Le Petit-Celland (Wheeler & Richardson 1957) with the campaigns of Sabinus in 56 BC during the Gallic Wars. However, the coins from the destruction layer (Armorican types) do date to the earlier first century BC (de Jersey 1994), and so although this date cannot be abandoned totally, the destruction of the site could be earlier.

However, the most influential sites for the chronology of the later Iron Age is the site of Alésia (modern Alise-Saint-Reine) in Burgundy. This forms the basis of the dating systems for the late Iron Age in central Gaul, and many types of artefact were also found there (primarily coinage, weaponry and brooches). The deposits from Alésia were key to the establishment of the later coin chronologies of central Gaul, and included coinage from the study area. Over 2000 coins have been found on the site,[45] and they have been the subject of much numismatic debate (e.g. Colbert de Beaulieu 1955, Crawford 1969:146, 565, Nash 1978, Scheers 1987, Bénard 1989, Fischer 1995). The majority of numismatists dated all the coinage from the site to the famous siege carried out by Caesar in 52 BC during the Gallic Wars (BG VII: 68-84). The older deposits from Alésia are problematic. It is not always certain which deposit the coinage

found in the antiquarian excavations came from. The very small quantity of coinage from this study area on the site does make the site of less relevance than it has for central Gaul, although it was used to establish some chronological links to Belgic Gaul.

The antiquarian stratigraphy from Alésia is uncertain, as the excavation report and the plates from the original excavation are not in agreement, and the finds from the hilltop itself are not unambiguously early in date. The weaponry from the site has recently been reconsidered (Sievers 1994) and some of it is earlier that the traditional 52 BC date. This could support Brunaux's theory of a disturbed sanctuary on the site (Brunaux 1990:176), or may suggest utilisation of whatever weaponry was available in a time of crisis. The problem is not yet resolved, but has been recently reconsidered by Colin (1998:22) who considers the presence of a sanctuary to be questionable, due to the relative lack of them in the Alésia area. However, on such a large site it seems unlikely that every single coin at the site could be ascribed to the siege of 52 BC. Considering the large quantity of coinage on other *oppida* in the area (Bibracte has produced more than 2400 Iron Age coins to date, Gruel 1998) it seems likely that coinage not directly related to Gallic War features should be treated with caution. However, 134 Roman coins which were found on the site were definitely minted before 54 BC, and the archaeology of the siege is definitely identifiable.

Bénard (1989) carried out excavations in the 1980s, on the lower layers of the Roman forum area, and identified two Iron Age and one Augustan horizons. A pre-Gallic Wars horizon was dominated by potin coins (also discussed by Fischer 1995:41) and contained no Roman coins. The second layer had about 35% central Gallic denarii, while the third combined asses from Lyon and Nîmes with GERMANVS INDVTILLI L. (Scheers 216) issues, although 75% of the

[45] Until the latest excavations 1805 Iron Age coins had been found on the site (Fischer 1995:37). These comprised three gold/ electrum, 376 silver, 265 struck bronze, 190 either potin or struck bronze (antiquarian finds and not specified) and 971 potins. The Reddé & Von Schnurbein excavations (2001) produced 230 Iron Age coins, discussed in more detail below.

coins from this late layer were potin. There was considerable intrusion and disturbance in the upper layers. However, the quantity of potins from the lowest level conclusively proved that potin pre-dated the Gallic Wars on the site.

The recently published Franco-German excavations of the circumvallation ditches at Alésia have produced new coinage from less ambiguous contexts than the older excavations. The Roman ditches and camps of the 52 BC siege were surveyed and small-scale excavation was carried out. 230 Iron Age coins were found during surface surveys (and 134 Roman coins), with 207 Iron Age coins coming from the Roman camps themselves (Fischer & Gruel 2001), a certain identification that Iron Age coinage was used by Caesar's troops in central Gaul at least. Interestingly, although a fair quantity of coinage from the study area was found in the camps and in the surrounding area, 23 coins, the majority are late inscribed struck bronze issues in circulation in the middle of the first century BC (Fischer 2001).

Most of the coins from the circumvallation area or the camps came from either the upper Paris basin, from the local region around Alésia itself, or from the Aisne area. This suggests that the troops had exchanged coins prior to their arrival at the siege, or that these areas supplied either people or goods to the camps. Those early issues which were found (e.g. two LT 7417 potins, three Scheers 186 potins, one Scheers 190 potin) are long-lived coins, also found in late contexts in the study area (see chapter 5). The new deposits at Alésia do not contradict the modern coin chronologies.

Few other historical dates have as much bearing on the artefact evidence from the study area. Although all of the sites where Caesar is alleged to have spent any length of time have been used to argue for activity in the middle of the first century BC, Alésia does have the most comprehensively excavated evidence. A recent exposition at the Musée de la Civilisation Celtique at Mont Beuvray (Beucher & Guidicelli 2002) unintentionally emphasised the relative lack of recent archaeological evidence for the Gallic Wars outside the Alésia excavations (although there have been excavations at Gergovia; Deberge & Guichard 2000, and Uxellodunum).

Nauheim brooches have been found outside of the study area in more convincingly dated contexts. As Colin (1998:22) discussed, Nauheim brooches were found in the destruction levels of the sanctuary of Talamone in Etruria (Von Vacano 1980), which is dated to 82 BC by historical sources. The next historical dates of direct relevance are related to Augustan campaigns along the Rhine, especially the finds from the forts which were abandoned in the wake of the Varian disaster of 9AD. In addition, now that the battlefield itself at Kalkreise is known and its coin finds published (Berger 1996), the finds give a much clearer picture of what was in circulation at the time. Local coinages were used by the Roman troops, and are found on the forts of the Rhine frontier, ensuring fairly exact dating of the latest stages of coin production in north-eastern France (Ilisch 1999, Wigg 1997b).

2.3.2. ARTEFACT BASED CHRONOLOGIES

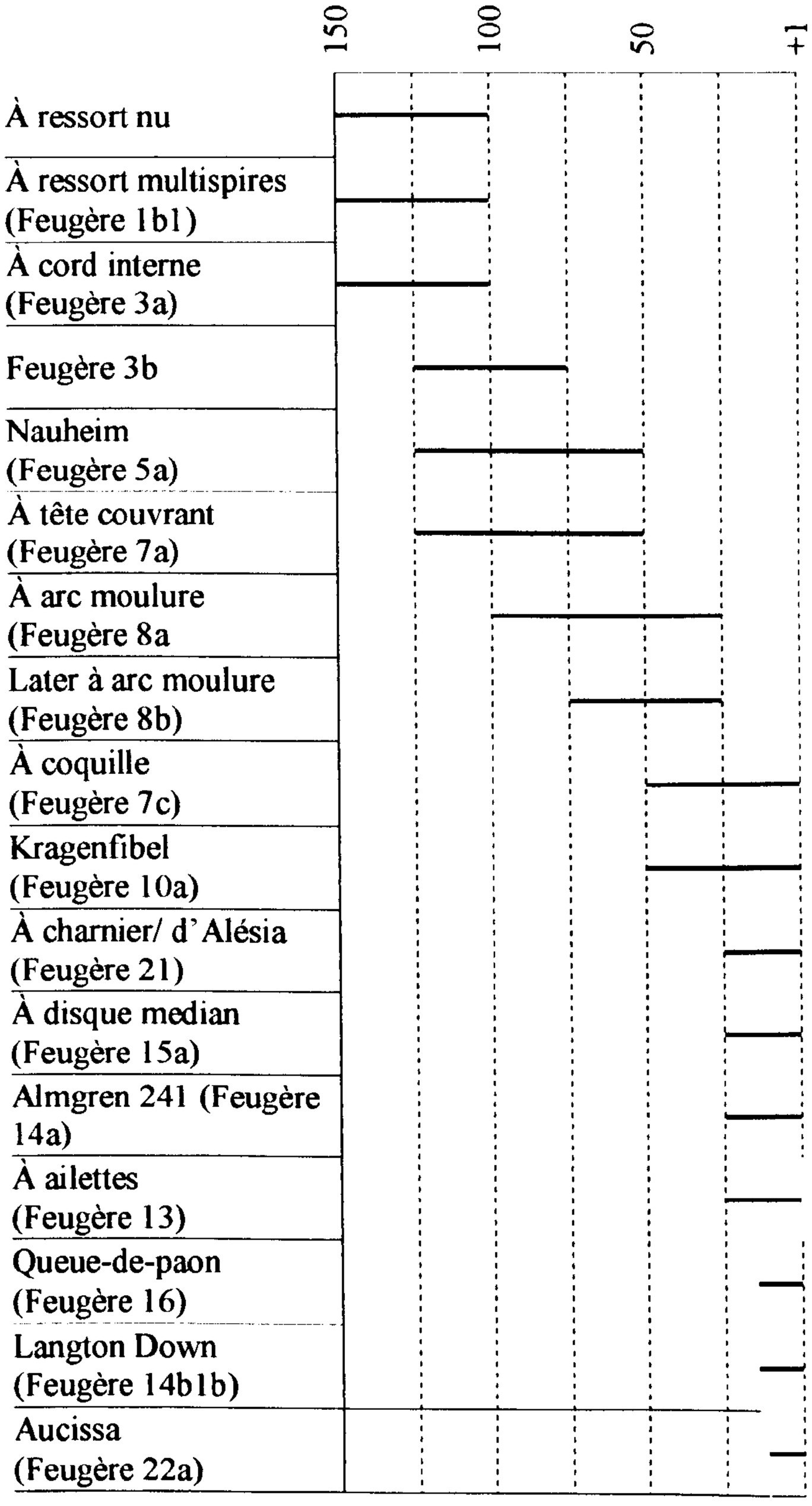
The early coin chronologies are problematic, and it will probably take a significant quantity of further excavation before the problem is fully resolved. The use of coinage is geographically specific; areas such as the Nord-Pas-de-Calais have very few coin finds from any form of archaeological context, as the majority of coins come from hoards. The middle Aisne valley has produced coinage in relatively early contexts, and much work has been done to establish archaeologically sustainable chronologies in this area, using imported material such as amphorae to attempt to calibrate the material culture (e.g. Pion 1996). However, the relative chronologies of northern France are much less secure than is usually indicated, and in some respects a 'house of cards' has probably been constructed (as investigated by Colin 1998).

Relative chronologies are less secure than they appear, and rely heavily on the integration of local pottery, coin and brooch issues with imports from the Mediterranean world (such as amphorae). However, the residuality of these objects can be problematic. It is clear that the brooch and pottery chronologies are more widely applicable than numismatic chronologies due to the larger quantities of these objects found in archaeological contexts. Coins are not found

in settlement contexts across much of northern France, and burial finds remain fairly uncommon.

The generally rapid evolution of brooches is taken as the best way of dating the middle and later La Tène period (fig 2.6), and these have been studied in some depth.

Figure 2.6. Brooch dating chronologies (after Colin 1998 & Pion 1996)



Feugère (1985) looked at central Gaul, Ettlinger (1973) Switzerland. More regional studies include Guillaumet (1984) who looked at the brooches from Bibracte (although this concentrated on their production), while Gebhard (1991) studied the brooches from Manching in an influential study. Striewe (1996) considered the Nauheim type in depth.

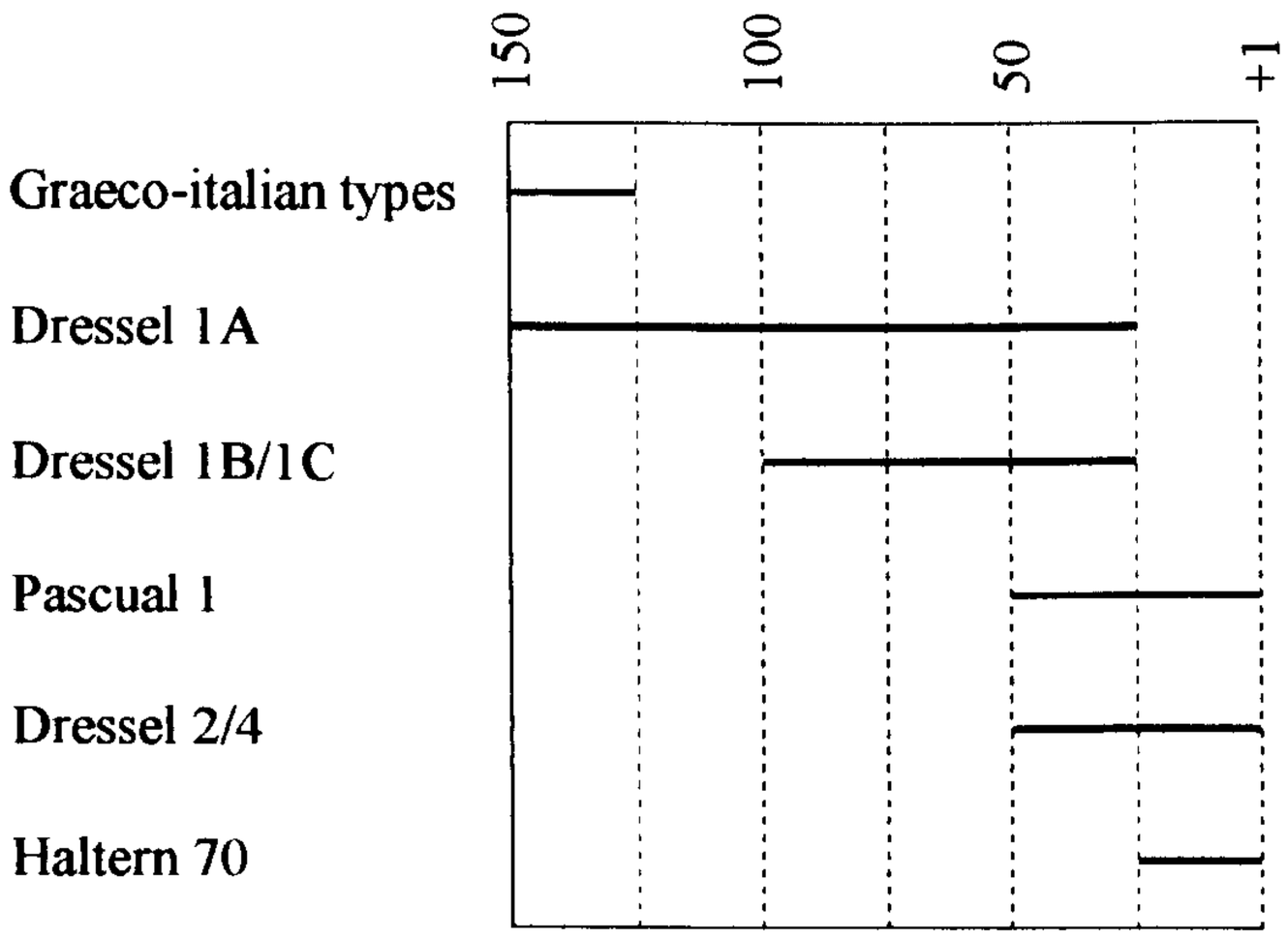
The brooch chronology of the Aisne Valley is as useful as the coin chronology . Pion (1996:268) recorded that Acy-Romance being dominated by the '*corde externe*' type, Condé-sur-Suippe the Nauheim type, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain the Almgren 65 and the '*fibule à coquille*' types (Debord 1996), both of which are absent from Condé. Pommiers is dominated by the latest types, the 'à griff' (Almgren 241) and the '*à disque médian*' forming 67% of the assemblage, these types not being present at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. These give a clear picture of the rapid brooch evolution of this period, and it is clear that brooch types changed much more comprehensively and rapidly than coinage.

The dating of some individual brooch types is not as exact, such as the long-lived and diverse filiform types (Colin 1998:39) which appear from the La Tène D1 period (Polenz 1971, Haffner 1969 (his horizon 3)). Nauheim brooches are also long-lived and are found in a wide variety of contexts, which could cause chronological imprecision when used to date coins. The traditional introduction of Nauheim brooches is the start of the La Tène D1 period, although the chronological shifts do render this a somewhat flexible date. Brooches are often used to support numismatic dating with more conviction than the actual evidence permits, and therefore add an element of certainty to many coin contexts which is perhaps unwise. The variable survival of iron brooches can be problematic, especially in places such as the Aisne Valley with relatively acidic soil (Pion 1996b), and this undoubtedly leads to the data being biased towards bronze brooches in some areas. When considering La Tène B and C this is problematic, as the majority of brooches produced in this period were iron, although in the later period more bronze brooches were produced and consequently survive.

More work has been done on the brooches in northern France than the pottery, although this is changing. In many areas, regional pottery is not well-studied, and although areas such as the Aisne are relatively well-known, other areas (such as the Somme) are still very ill-studied. Areas such as the Champagne, with a clear funerary tradition have the best-known regional pottery. However, regional pottery has not been reviewed here.

Imported pottery and amphorae types are more effective for dating than regional pottery at present, and are present in some quantity on votive sites and *oppida* in the study area. Amphorae dating to the Republican period are numerous in France and have recently been reviewed by Loughton (2003), who identified 1975 findspots, although the majority of his sites were in the south and centre-east of the country. He (2003:177) estimated that tens of millions of amphorae were imported into France and Spain during the late second and early first centuries BC.

Figure 2.7. Amphorae dating chronologies (after Colin 1998)



The majority of amphorae that found their way north before the later first century BC were Dressel 1A and 1B types (fig 2.7). From the Roman conquest of southern Gaul (121 BC) it is clear that large quantities of amphorae were finding their way northwards, and there are now many findspots which can be

dated to the late second century BC. Dressel 1A amphorae can be dated from the mid second century BC till the second quarter of the first century BC, with Dressel 1B appearing from around 100 BC until the third quarter of the first century BC, when other Italian and southern Gallic forms begin to appear. Although the transition is often put at an arbitrary 80 BC, in reality it was less abrupt. The perception of a shift from an Atlantic supply route to the Rhône Valley with the Dressel 1A to 1B transition is also now proving unlikely.

Fitzpatrick (1985: 309-10[46]) suggested a concentration of amphorae in the southern half of the study area. However, recent reassessments have suggested that the pattern is not as simple as he suggested. New concentrations have been affirmed in the area of the Seine/Yonne confluence, on the ritual sites (Poyeton & Seguier 1999, Poux 2000), and around Arras and along the Somme river. The known concentration along the Aisne Valley has been strengthened by further finds (Loughton 2003:194). The concentration is no longer so pronouncedly in the south of the study area, and distribution is predominantly along rivers.

Towards the end of the period under consideration here, the quantity of Roman imported pottery increases greatly, and this is relatively securely dated. From about 20 BC the amount of imported pottery increases greatly, and samian pottery, Pompeian red ware, 'clair' ware and new amphorae forms appear on sites in the study area. However, earlier in the La Tène period a few southern forms do appear. In the La Tène D1b period Campanian ware and Ampurian grey wares are found in small numbers in central Gaul, and occasionally appear in the south of the study area. The latter disappears in the first quarter of the first century BC. Reduced grey ware pottery becomes a major deposit on sites in the middle of the first century BC in the study area, until the quantity of samian ware increases towards the end of the first century BC.

[46] Also reiterated in Roymans (1990) and Haselgrove (1996).

2.3.3. ABSOLUTE DATING IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

As Colin (1998) discusses, the application of absolute dating to the Late La Tène period in north-west Europe has not been an unmitigated success. Little dendrochronology has been carried out, and few of the dates can actually be stratigraphically associated with any material culture, never mind coinage. Even if it could be, this would still only give us a TPQ. Colin (1998:23) notes that there are only a few sites where dendrochronological dates can be usefully associated with archaeological material, and little has changed since her survey.

La Tène in Switzerland (Haffner 1979) produced a La Tène C1 (pre-200 BC) shield boss attached to wood dendrochronologically dated to 229 BC. Yverdon-les-Bains (just inside the Swiss border, close to Jura) (Kaenel & Curdy 1985) produced a group of (relatively long-lived) ceramic finds (mainly painted 'vases-tonnelets') were deposited before the construction of two palisades. One of these dated between 173/171 BC and 161/160 BC and the other was slightly more recent at 159/158 BC. The excavators suggested a date in the La Tène C2 period for the ceramic deposits. Fellbach-Schmiden (Germany) has produced wood from the pit of a *Viereckschanze* (Planck 1982) which dated to 123 BC and is associated with a Nauheim brooch and pottery of La Tène D1 date. No

Along and beyond the lower Rhine, several of the short-lived military camps dating to the Augustan campaigns into Germany (see the historical dating section) have been dated using dendrochronology. Oberaden (Ilisch 1992) has been dated to 11-8/7 BC. Rödgen (Schonberger 1985) has been dated to 10-8/7 BC. Haltern (Von Schnurbein 1981) was occupied from 8/7 BC to 9 AD, and was abandoned after the Varan defeat at Kalkreise, which has been confirmed dendrochronologically.

2.4. CONCLUSION

The dating chronologies of the later Iron Age in north-western Europe are extremely complex, and are still the subject of major debate. However, recent discoveries of stratified site assemblages in north-eastern France are going a

long way towards resolving these problems. The Aisne Valley has produced site assemblages such as those from Acy-Romance and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, which can be compared with the major *oppida* assemblages to the south and east (e.g. Mont Beuvray, the Martberg, the Titelberg). However, more work still needs to be done in other parts of the study area.

There is a tendency to generalise using the finds from the Aisne to draw conclusions about a wide swathe of the study area, and it is still unclear how valid many of these conclusions are. Coin development is extremely regional in the later Iron Age, and the development of coin types did not occur simultaneously across wide areas. This impression is still often given. In addition, not enough work has been done on the function of coinage in the study area, and the ways in which coinage was used within local communities. Therefore, the next section considers the ways in which coinage was used in the later Iron Age, both generally and on ritual sites in particular.

❖❖❖

Chapter 3

The function of coinage in later Iron Age societies

❖❖❖

Any discussion of the use of coinage in later Iron Age societies largely boils down to four questions, which can be summarised as when, where, why and who? The first question (and to some extent the second) has been discussed as part of the previous chapter, and in this section I would like to introduce some hypotheses for the last two. Why was coinage struck in the late Iron Age and what was it used for? Secondly, who was striking these coins, and how did the production of these small metal discs help them within local and regional communities? The question of what coinage was used for has always been a difficult one, and scholars have come up with varying interpretations of the reasons why coinage was produced and use in later Iron Age societies in north-western Europe.

3.1. MODERN CONSIDERATIONS OF COIN USE

There has been surprisingly little work to date on the function of Iron Age coinage in western Europe. Most archaeologists concentrate on the dating of these coins, and amongst those who do consider coinage beyond its ability to date a context with (sometimes questionable) accuracy, the monetary function of an individual coin is rarely questioned. Occasionally, an individual brings up the thorny problem of what coins were actually used for, a brief debate ensues, then everyone forgets about the problem for another decade. Archaeologists in the past (where they have considered the question) have generally assumed an economic function for coinage (e.g. Cunliffe 1981b), a view which has rarely been contested by numismatists (and occasionally strongly endorsed- e.g. Van Arsdell 1992). More recently, those working in the field have decided that coinage either indicates the beginnings of a market economy (e.g. Allen 1971) or is a symbol of gift exchange, illustrated by using anthropological models (e.g. Roymans 1990). However, the use of anthropology presents its own

assumptions. Both of these current orthodoxies; the economic and gift-exchange models, need to be reassessed in the light of new evidence.

The vast majority of numismatic articles concentrate on chronology and typology (see the previous chapters). This is important, but the numismatic perspective of Iron Age coinage and the 'just another form of material culture' view of coins common in archaeological circles are becoming increasingly divergent. The function and role of coinage is a difficult question, and apart from a few honourable engagements with the subject there is a policy of 'if it is ignored it will go away'. This is a problem that can only be addressed by considering the numismatic aspects in conjunction with the contextualisation of archaeological discoveries.

Previous work on the function of coinage is not widespread but has taken place. The initial attempt to move away from the economic and historical model favoured by Colbert de Beaulieu (1973), Mack (1975) and Allen (e.g. 1960) was taken by Collis (1971, 1975). His archaeology driven approach differed from the prevailing 'invasion led' theories in vogue at the time, and introduced the idea of coinage as reflecting "social and economic relationships" (1971:73). Collis introduced the idea of non-economic functions in the gold and high value silver coinages, an idea reiterated by Allen (1976). The functions of bronze and potin coinages were linked to the introduction of market transactions (Collis 1971:77), although an important distinction was made between the findspots, and therefore functions of different denominations. Collis also argued for the changing function of potin coinage over time which was elaborated on and extended by Haselgrove (1988).

Non-economic functions for coinage were championed by Haselgrove (1979) and Hodder (1979) in a volume edited by Burnham and Johnson (1979). Hodder used the example of Polanyi et al (1957) to propose an 'embedded' primitive economy for pre-Conquest Britain (1979:190), using anthropological models. He suggested that the exchange of coinage need not have been through economic media, but in a social gift-exchange network, an idea which still garners much support. Hodder saw the bronze coinage as acting "as payment in

the form of tribute and obligations and as a local standard" (1979:191). Haselgrove also used the work of Polanyi to consider the possibilities of non-economic coin use in the later Iron Age, concentrating on the use of coinage as a means of payment and for the storage of wealth (1979:202). Parry & Bloch (eds 1989) have made the most coherent study of the anthropological uses of coinage (see below for a fuller discussion of this), the theoretical interpretations of which have great bearing on this study.

The use of anthropological approaches was also seen in Roymans and van der Sanden (1980) who considered the non-economic role of Iron Age coinage in the north-east of Belgic Gaul, a groundbreaking study, but one which had its most attentive audience in the Netherlands. It had little impact on French numismatics, which continued in a very monetary vein in this period. Roymans expanded his consideration of gold coinage and its role in conjunction with social elites as part of his wider archaeological study (1990), where he linked the use of gold coins to the establishment and maintenance of social networks at the highest levels of societies.

Haselgrove extended his 1979 work by considering coinage in its archaeological context (1987), conducting the most geographically expansive survey to date of the archaeological findspots of coinage in south-eastern Britain. The introduction of metal-detection and increase in excavation has greatly increased the quantity of coinage which is now available, but the majority of his assertions are still valid. Haselgrove recognised several important archaeological patterns; the tendency of gold to be found away from settlements and individually (1987:113, 119), the domination of silver on ritual sites (130) and the association of struck bronze coinage and settlement sites in eastern England (also noted by Collis). He also re-emphasised the possibility of non-economic coin use.

On the continent, Iron Age coinage is usually assumed to be primarily monetary (e.g. the influential work of Colbert de Beaulieu, i.e. 1973). Amongst French numismatists economic functionalism still largely prevails. Nash (1978, 1981) suggested a range of other functions for the use of coinage in central Gaul,

concentrating on mercenary payments, and the use of coinage to pay for clients and troops, but also emphasising the importance of coinage as a ritual deposit (e.g. 1981:14). One exception to this was the work of Gruel (1989), who did promote some interesting ideas on the ritual functions of coinage, and linked the production of potin coins with temples (1989:123). She also looked at the transformations in ritual deposition at the time of the Conquest, which led to a great intensification in coin deposition on temples (1989:125). These arguments have only recently been considered by other French scholars (e.g. Delestrée 1996).

A primarily economic function for coinage had also been assumed by Cunliffe (1981) and subsequently by Van Arsdell (e.g. 1992) although this assumes the presence of certain economic factors, and is increasingly unsustainable in the light of new archaeological discoveries. Certainly this extremely functional approach is now at odds with the way the rest of the archaeological record is now considered.[47] It is dangerous to project economic models backwards, and recent work by Aarts (2001) has suggested that it is increasingly doubtful that the model of a fully monetised society can even be projected backwards onto the Roman world in the north-western provinces, let alone the Iron Age (also pointed out by Reece 1980).

The most recent specific consideration of the function of coinage was that by Fitzpatrick (1992), who reviewed the role of the coinage of south-eastern England from the earliest Gallo-Belgic types to the later 'dynastic' coins. Fitzpatrick's approach emphasised the importance of cross-Channel links, and considered coinage (in this case the Gallo-Belgic series) was used to "articulate clientage and dependency in an overtly militaristic society and to maintain traditional, ancestral, familial links" (1992:19).

This approach was also taken in Creighton's recent (2000) review of interaction

---

[47] Structured deposition on settlement sites has now become the orthodoxy, rather than the exception in British excavation reports.

with Rome before the Claudian conquest, although this work concentrated largely on the iconography and images on late Iron Age coinage, and not its archaeological contexts. The anthropological approach is becoming increasingly popular in continental archaeology, but many numismatic studies are more traditional in approach (forming a dichotomy with the archaeology). Fitzpatrick's general view of coinage is not an economic one, and the uses of coinage in votive contexts as well as the changing role of coinage over time are considered. However, these points deserve further exploration in the light of recent discoveries.

The main debates at the moment are chronological, and the majority of recent continental scholarship has concentrated on the quantification and organisation of different coin series. There is some recent work which uses the coinage to identify political groups and boundaries (e.g. Gruel 2002, Ginoux and Poux 2002) although this work rarely articulates or explores the assumption that coinage was primarily used to reinforce chief/ client relationships. Recent work on ritual deposition of coinage (e.g. Delestrée 1996, 2001) has been heavily numismatic, and considerations of the coins' role have yet to be fully integrated. The most recent Dutch survey (Aarts 2001) considers the function of coinage, although the study of Iron Age coinage in Germany is still heavily influenced by Roman numismatics.

The interaction between Roman issues and the local coinages is one that has been recently tackled by Wigg (1997a, 1999) with regard to eastern Belgic Gaul and the Rhine frontier, van Heesch (1998) in Belgium, and Aarts (2000) with regard to Luxembourg and Holland. However, their approaches differ significantly. While Wigg (and to a lesser extent van Heesch) believes in a 'native' monetised economy preceding the domination of Roman coinage in the Rhine area (1998, also Nash 1978), Aarts differs. He believes that the role of coinage in the non-Roman sphere is primarily for gift exchange (2000:6).



Coinage, he argues, did not function in an economic sense away from the payment of troops[48] but was limited-purpose money (Aarts 2000:8), considering "coins as exchange goods- not as the means to facilitate the exchange of other goods" (2001:112). However, confusingly, Aarts sees so-called native coinage such as the Aduatuci bronzes on the Rhine as locally struck *quadrantes* issued to fill a gap in the Roman coin pool. This appears likely from the archaeological evidence, although I believe that the imposition of economic theory on non-Roman coinage is futile beyond the highly militarised Rhine area, and even there it is arguably a very simplistic approach. Certainly it is an interpretation which would be less sustainable for northern France, in light of other archaeological evidence.

3.2. REASSESSING COIN USE IN LATE IRON AGE SOCIETIES

The role of coinage in Iron Age societies has commonly been associated with the elite, and associated with the existence of patronage and client relations in the later Iron Age (Roymans 1990:38-43). Coinage is viewed as a 'prestige good', which could be used to maintain and articulate these patron/ client relationships. It is also viewed as a form of 'conspicuous consumption', with coinage being one form of display, enabling elites to show their power to the masses (Woolf 2002:8-11). One problem with this theory is shown by the increase in small-scale struck bronze production in the later first century BC, where it seems to have become the preferred form of votive deposit in the north-west of the study area.

At this time, the changing nature of the political powerbases should not have resulted in a plethora of small local issues if they were only ascribed to 'elites'; one would expect larger issues and a broader geographical distribution of these. This is not occurring in the study area. I suggest that local communities were more important to coin production than has previously been proposed. Coinage

---

[48] In areas such as the Rhine frontier this is problematic, as it is not clear what he believed that troops actually did with their pay. Even accounting for the fact that a large percentage of troop pay was not in coin, the quantity of bronze from the Rhine forts shows that there was a great deal of coinage (both Roman and local) available. On the lower Rhine, in the early Roman period, it is likely that coinage had taken on an economic function.

doesn't really fit in well with other objects usually suggested as being for elite self-aggrandisement: one can display a gold torc or indeed an *oppidum* with considerably more ease than a group of coins. The main criteria for the placement of coinage in these groups centre round their production in precious metals, and the modern interpretation of coinage as being something one can use to make payments to clients with. However, anthropological work would suggest that the latter at least is simplistic.

The finds from Alésia were used by Colbert de Beaulieu (1955, 1973) to argue for a transactional currency in the later Iron Age, arguing that the presence of coinage from a large geographical area (including the study area) proved that the forces assembled at the *oppidum* brought coinage along individually. This, he argues, is evidence for the use/ expectation of personal expenditure. However, when considering the coinage from the site, another interpretation could be suggested. There is an extremely large quantity of coinage from Alésia. Even discounting the coins which do not seem to be archaeologically associated with the Gallic War siege, there is still a great deal of coinage to be interpreted as casual losses in such as short time period. Considering all we know about late Iron Age society, it seems distinctly likely that some of the coinage at least was brought to the site as votive offerings, to be deposited before the battle. We know from examples discussed below that weaponry was an important deposit, as was coinage, and there is evidence of the sacrifice of both at Alésia (Sievers 1994). Coinage was a suitable votive deposit, and had the advantage of being more portable than a pig or cow.

The Rhine frontier is also used as an example of an Iron Age monetary economy (Wigg 1999), but it is clear that the area was very different in the later Iron Age, and certainly by the time that a monetary economy is proposed. Anyway, very few coins from the study area made their way to the Rhine in the Caesarian or Augustan period. At the Kops Plateau in Nijmegen, the early auxiliary fort has produced 60 Iron Age coins, but these are predominantly from central Gaul, and appear to bypass the study area completely (Kemmers, *pers comm).* Therefore, any parallels with this area must be treated cautiously.

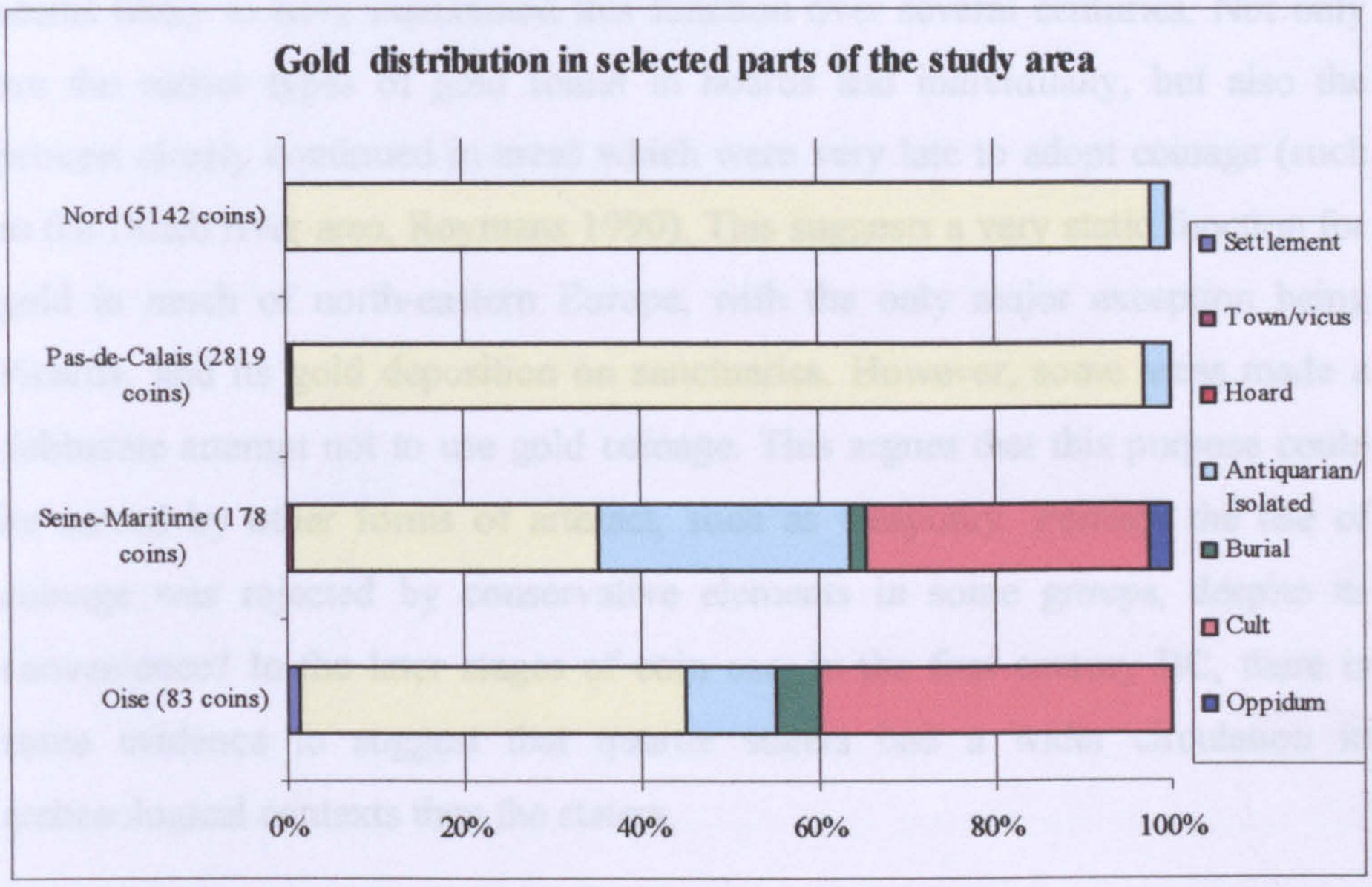
This study argues from the archaeological evidence in the study area that the primary function of coinage in the later pre-Roman Iron Age was as a votive deposit, and not as a major player in trading and exchange. Coinage operated within the society it was produced in as a form of artefact to be dispensed for the well being and advancement of the community. This ties in both the ritual and secular aspects of its exchange to the same essential purpose, without presenting any major ideological boundary, or indeed distinction to those using it. Therefore, when looking at coinage as an aspect of votive deposition, we should be regarding it in a non-monetary fashion - it was used in a similar way to other types of artefact, such as brooches. In later periods when dealing with external groups, such as amphorae traders, coinage was one type of object exchanged, but probably with other forms of bullion. There is no archaeological evidence which suggests that a market economy of any kind was in operation in the majority of the study area until the very late brass and struck bronze coins from the Augustan period, see chapter 5 for an elaboration of this.

There are geographic and chronological problems which need to be addressed when considering the purpose of Iron Age coinage in north-western Europe. Above all the use of coinage shows great flexibility in different areas, with the metals and denominations often differing across restricted regions. Availability of ores is a factor which deserves more intensive work, as it must have played an important role in the choice of coinage, constraining certain areas to producing certain types of coinage.[49] The ideas presented here are less applicable to the Armorican and south-west English peninsulas due to the different denominations and predominance of silver in these areas.

It is clear from the consideration of coin findspots that the use of coinage cannot usually be accurately generalised about on a supra-local level, especially outside of the direct zone of production. The types of coin in use over time also differ, so in some ways the picture presented above is misleading. While the comparison of the findspots of gold and struck bronze is interesting, the actual incidents may be separated by a significant chronological margin (although not

always). However, bearing these factors in mind, I believe that it is possible to begin to consider the way in which coinage was used in the later Iron Age.

Figure 3.1. Gold distribution in selected parts of the study area.



When looking at gold coinage, one generalisation that can be made is that gold is found individually in large quantities throughout the study area. It is also frequently hoarded in some départments (notably the Nord and Pas-de-Calais), while in Picardy it is found on early votive sites (fig 3.1).[50] Most of the gold produced dates to the third to early first centuries BC; gold was the earliest coin type to be widely used in northern Europe, and it seems likely that the hoarding and individual deposition of gold is (at least in part) early. Other authors have dwelt on the importance of liminality, and the possibility of gold being deposited singly in important ritual locations such as boundaries (Haselgrove 1987), but this is not unique to coinage. I believe that the early gold should be considered as part of a wider phenomenon of metalwork deposition, with weaponry and such enigmatic objects as 'currency bars' forming part of the same process (e.g. Bradley 1998, Hingley 1993, Fitzpatrick 1984).

---

[49] Nash (1981, 11) pointed this out for central Gaul, suggesting that in the area of the Bituriges Cubi, silver coin production was based at Argentomagus (St. Marcel, Indre) due to the proximity of sources of silver ore. This is likely to be true for other areas.

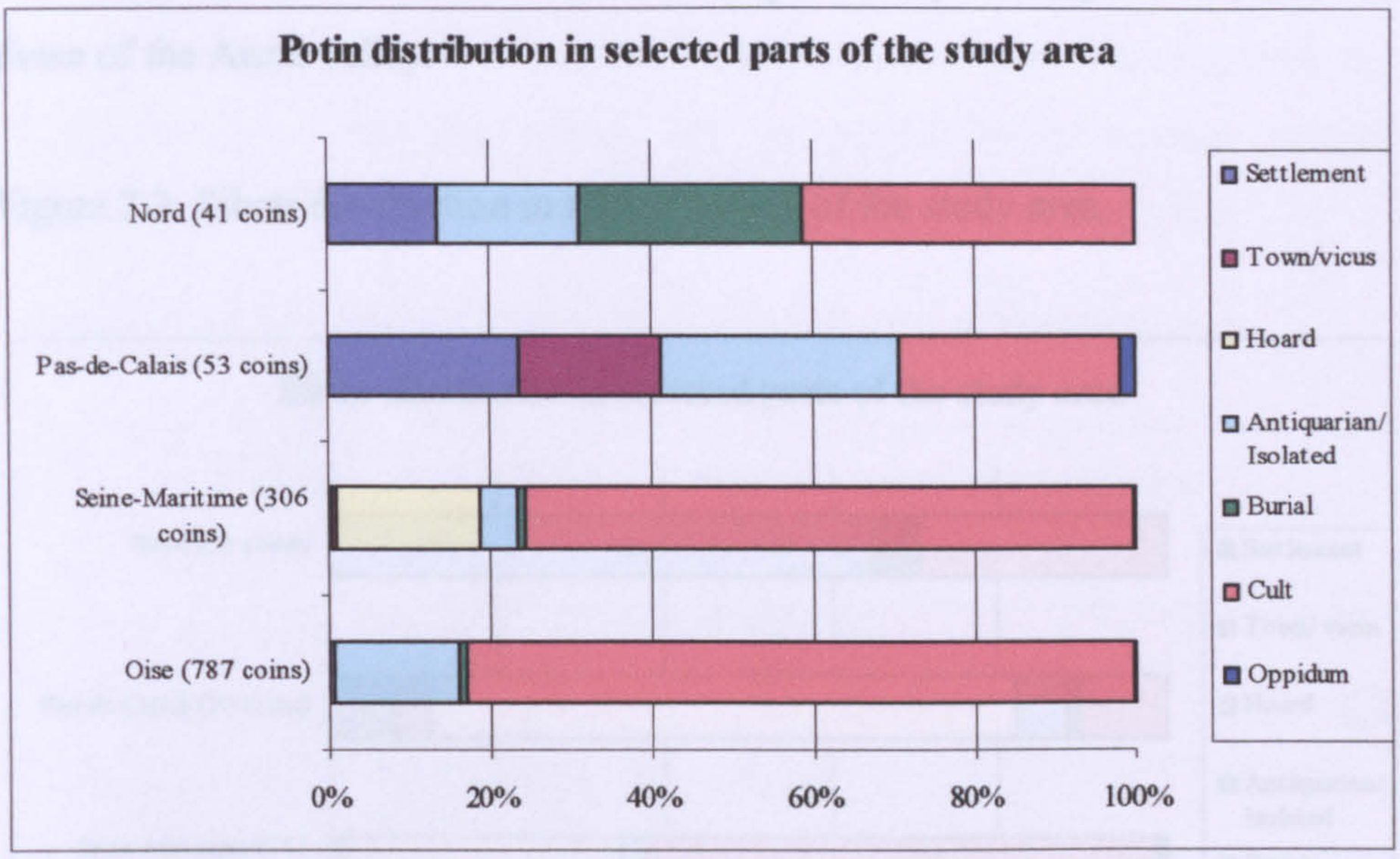
Gold is not unique in this deposition, nor in the process of hoarding, and in the earliest stages of production, gold coinage (and in some areas silver coinage) functioned as an unusual votive deposit, to be placed in liminal locations with no intention of recovery, away from settlements and funerary contexts. Gold seems likely to have maintained this function over several centuries. Not only are the earlier types of gold found in hoards and individually, but also the process clearly continued in areas which were very late to adopt coinage (such as the Dutch river area, Roymans 1990). This suggests a very static function for gold in much of north-eastern Europe, with the only major exception being Picardy, and its gold deposition on sanctuaries. However, some areas made a deliberate attempt not to use gold coinage. This argues that this purpose could be served by other forms of artefact, such as weaponry. Perhaps the use of coinage was rejected by conservative elements in some groups, despite its convenience? In the later stages of coin use, in the first century BC, there is some evidence to suggest that quarter staters had a wider circulation in archaeological contexts than the staters.

Despite recent dating work, the contexts in which potin coins are found have not been widely considered. In the early stages of production potin coinage is found largely on votive sites in Picardy and Seine-Maritime (fig 3.2). Along the Aisne valley, the Ardennes and the Paris region it is found in votive, settlement and burial contexts (Lambot and Delestrée 1991, Haselgrove 1999, Ginoux and Poux 2002). It appears to undergo a change of function during the period of its circulation, with potins being amongst the earliest coins to be found in stratified contexts, usually on votive sites (e.g. Gournay-sur-Aronde) and settlement sites. The later finds of potin coinage come from the same layers as struck bronze, and where potin is found in later contexts, it seems likely that it was used in the same way as bronze. In this way many of the potin types have surprising longevity if we follow currently accepted chronologies. Even so, with regard to some types the earliest dating must be questioned, and there is still the problem of the speed of diffusion of the coin type from the areas where it was first minted (such as Picardy and perhaps Kent).

---

[50] Although the majority of these finds are not stratified, an exception being the early gold from the excavations at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Brunaux 1999, Delestrée 2001).

Figure 3.2. Potin distribution in selected parts of the study area.

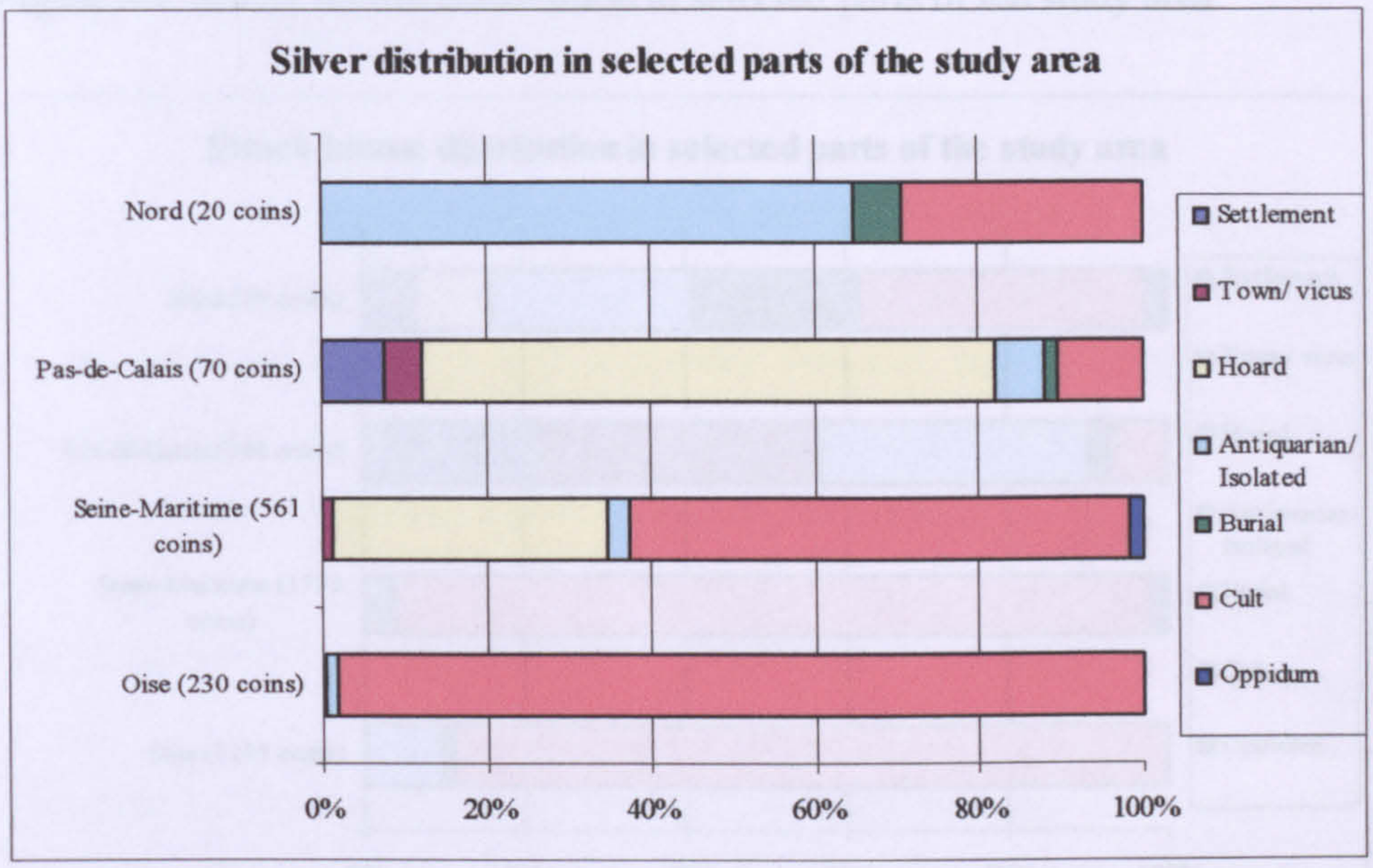


In the Aisne Valley at least, it seems likely that there was a major change in the Gallic War period which caused the change from potin to struck bronze. The reason is impossible to guess; perhaps there was pressure on tin sources, or the influence of the regions to the south, with their struck coinages? It is interesting that the transition comes so late here; in other areas of northern France the transition to struck bronze seems to have happened earlier, in the early first century BC, as illustrated by finds from sanctuaries in the Seine-Maritime and Picardy areas. Again it illustrates the regionality of coin use in the Iron Age, and the essential futility of broad generalisations.

The deposition and indeed presence of silver coinage varies geographically. The minting and use of silver coin is patchy to the north of Burgundy, and is only really found on any scale in a few areas (Seine-Maritime, the Oise, the middle Aisne, central southern England and in north-western France). Where silver coinage is a significant part of the coin pool, it is found predominantly on votive sites and in votive contexts (fig 3.3). The rarity of silver coinages in north-western Europe, and the lack of availability of the raw metal made silver an unusual commodity for most of the late Iron Age. The predominance of votive deposits suggests that it functioned in a non-monetary way until the latest phases of the Iron Age. At this time interaction with central Gaul and the

Roman world would have introduced a ready supply of *denarii* and *quinarii*, and silver seems to have become a trading currency on major sites, such as those of the Aisne valley.

Figure 3.3. Silver distribution in selected parts of the study area.

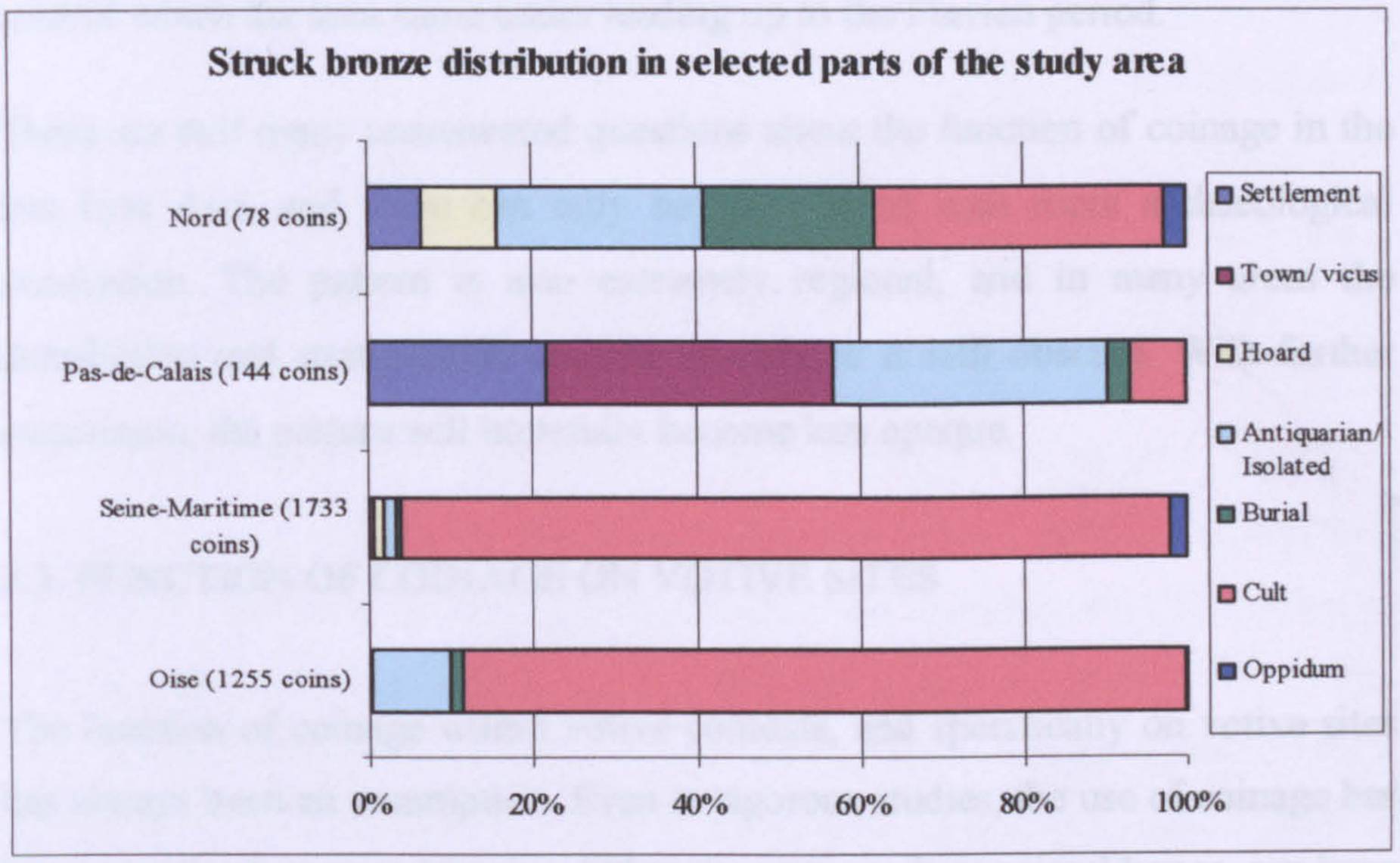


In the core area of its Iron Age production, however, much of the exotic silver is found on later votive sites. Excavations carried out in the last twenty years have produced a large quantity of silver coinage from votive contexts, and in Seine-Maritime and western Picardy there is a localised domination of silver on ritual sites. Outside these areas, even where we find a reasonable quantity of silver, such as on the *oppida* of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Pommiers in the Aisne valley, it is still greatly outnumbered by the vast numbers of potin and struck bronze coins respectively on the two sites (Guichard et al 1993).

Coins minted in struck bronze are introduced later than the other types of coinage which we find in northern France. Although any reason that can be suggested for the introduction of struck bronze can only be speculation at this stage, it is incontestable that in the post Gallic-Wars period its minting rapidly increases to the point where struck bronze dominates the coin pool across a wide range of site types. In the later first century BC the production of a

plethora of small, local issues of struck bronze on votive sites (fig 3.4) is indicative of the importance of coin production to local identities. They do indicate the importance of coin minting for the local groups, and suggests that by the middle of the first century BC the production of coinage was an important part of the identification of a group or polity (or indeed tribe).

Figure 3.4. Struck bronze distribution in selected parts of the study area.



Although struck bronze coinage has often been seen as 'small change' the large quantities found in ritual contexts, combined with the large quantities on *oppida* suggests that the main reasons behind minting are those of prestige and social identification. Struck bronze (in common with all Iron Age coinage apart from gold) is usually found in an extremely restricted geographical area, which is at odds with the idea of a widespread trading economy such as that suggested for the Rhine frontier.

In only a few cases do we find issues over a wide area, and these are usually the brass issues, or those which would have appealed to Roman military users, such as the triple bust (REMO/REMO), the AVAVCIA and GERMANVS INDVTILLI L. issues, probably struck by the Treveri.[51] These were clearly struck by groups

[51] These coins are very iconographically Roman (therefore presumably an appealing substitute for the official coinage) and were issued by one of the prominent client groups.

with the approval (or at least sanction) of the official sources, and were struck until the earliest Augustan period. They should perhaps be considered less as 'Iron Age' coinage than as a local "Roman provincial" issue corresponding to a shortage of appropriate small change (perhaps for tax payments) in a relatively non-monetised and recently conquered part of the Roman Empire. The minting of all provincial coinage in the area definitely ceased with the Batavian revolt, and this was evidently part of the increasingly centralised political and religious control which the area came under leading up to the Flavian period.

There are still many unanswered questions about the function of coinage in the late Iron Age, and these can only be approached with more archaeological excavation. The pattern is also extremely regional, and in many areas the distribution and stratigraphic context of coinage is still obscure. With further excavation, the picture will hopefully become less opaque.

3.3. FUNCTION OF COINAGE ON VOTIVE SITES

The function of coinage within votive contexts, and specifically on votive sites has always been an assumption. Even in rigorous studies, the use of coinage has been perceived as unambiguous. Other deposits, such as animal bones, can have a range of functions; in the case of bones, deposition has been connected to both ritual feasting and sacrifice. Coinage is not seen as being subject to any such variability. However, this does rest on a number of uncertain assumptions. The primary and most questionable assumption is that coinage functioned as money, and was thus used as 'payments to the gods' (to quote Roymans 1990). Objects (such as amphorae) are considered in a less functionalist manner, but numismatic studies seem trapped in an economic role which, certainly in north-eastern France, is difficult to tally with the archaeological record. This will be tested in the following sections, but some general points are introduced below.

The survival of Iron Age coinage on votive sites is problematic; for example, the amount of gold found on temple sites is low. There is some literary evidence

for Roman robbing of temple sites in Gaul,[52] particularly in the south, and the evidence for temples having precious metals on clear show is present. Caesar discusses the presentation of gifts to the gods during the Gallic Wars amongst the Gauls (BG VI, 17) and Diodorus Siculus describes the practice of offerings to the gods:

"*And a peculiar and striking practice is found among the inland Celts, in connection with the sacred precincts of the gods; for in the temples and precincts made consecrate in their land, a great amount of gold has been deposited as a dedication to the gods, and not a native of the country ever touches it because of religious scruple, although the Celts are an exceedingly covetous people*" (Diodorus Siculus V.27.4)

There is the possibility of sites originally having a high level of gold deposition, subsequently removed in antiquity. There is a lack of gold on many votive sites, although it seems odd to remove only the gold, and leave the rest of the coinage. It seems likely that gold was used for a different purpose, was not deposited in the same contexts as other coin types, and is therefore not found in large quantities on votive sites. The gold which is present is dominated by quarter, and to a lesser extent half staters, suggesting that it was preferentially deposited.

Briggs et al (1992:44-46) have discussed the absence of gold in votive contexts for the British site of Hayling Island and conclude that the precious metal coinage may have been collected in antiquity,[53] but the sample of coinage available is probably representative. At Harlow in Essex (France and Gobel 1985, Haselgrove 1989) early gold is present sealed underneath the central temple building, but is not found not elsewhere on the site. This perhaps suggests that the gold which was in a retrievable context when the Roman shrine was constructed was taken away. Conversely, it may imply different practices and attitudes to the deposits of coins in the different areas of the site;

---

[52] Such as Caesar (Suetonius, Divus Julius, 54) – "*In Gaul he plundered large and small temples of their votive offerings*"

[53] Classical authors discuss the deposition of coinage in the open on votive sites, which would have assisted the removal of coinage while sites were still extant. These are Strabo (IV.1.13), Diodorus Siculus (V.27.4) and Caesar (BG, VI:17).

silver was not removed in the same way. Whether this occurred in the Iron Age or in the early Roman period in the study area is as yet unclear.

The archaeological evidence shows that potin was the pre-eminent early numismatic deposit on votive sites (fig 3.2), and the commencing of potin production is related to its arrival on votive sites. Potin was probably struck on votive sites, as with silver in the north-west of the study area. It is likely from the proximity of coin production sites to votive deposits that coinage may have functioned as a form of 'temple-token' in the later Iron Age, and the majority of coins were produced for local deposition as part of religious rites. Therefore, coinage seems to have become an increasingly important form of votive deposit, and as the quantity of coinage on votive sites increases, so small local issues will become predominant. This will be tested against the archaeological evidence below.

When considering the deposition of coinage on votive sites, a risk is the backward projection of the Roman traditions on the pre-Roman period. Although many of these sites do exhibit significant continuity between the immediate pre- and post-Conquest periods, the interpretation of the earlier levels in the light of the Roman practices of *nuncupatio* and *solutio* is methodologically unsound.[54] We know of a significant number of types of Roman votive offerings that we do not find in the pre-Roman period, such as medical ex-votos, curse tablets, and statuary (such as that found at the Forêt d'Halatte).

Roman cult sites reliably produce significant quantities of coinage, especially those from the third and fourth centuries AD. However, even in the Roman period deposition on cult sites is episodic, which refutes the idea of a steady stream of visitors. We know of coin deposition in the Roman period from votive

---

[54] Henig (1984:32) defined *nuncupatio* as a declaration by an individual, promising to sacrifice if the requested divine aid was granted. The *solutio* was the payment after the vow was fulfilled, and in the Roman period usually took the form of a votive altar. Although these terms are in widespread use in French archaeology, and are discussed here for this reason, the appropriate inscription on Roman coins appears to be VOTA SUSEPTA for the request, and VOTA SOLUTA for the payment. I am grateful to John Casey for this information.

plaques, such as an example from Stoney Stratford in Britain (Henig 1984: 145) where the individual, one Vassinus, promises six *denarii* to Jupiter and Vulcan. These were presumably paid into the temple treasury, for which we have no evidence.

However, for the late Iron Age we cannot assume this practice of individual deposition. On many sites the tradition of individual deposition seems unlikely until the latest stages of the Iron Age anyway. The sporadic nature of deposition on many votive sites suggests that deposition was an event which was regulated, and took place at certain occasions, perhaps connected to the agricultural cycle. The presence of 'tribal treasuries' is also a questionable one. The votive sites may have functioned as tribal repositories, but the contemporary literary evidence stresses the existence of penalties if material was removed from votive sites, which would seem to negate this theory. The need for a centralised coin repository would also suggest that a large proportion of society had access to coins, and a monetary society or a toll paid in coinage was in operation, and this is also extremely debatable for the Iron Age in north-western Europe. The archaeological evidence from the study area indicates that coinage was not deposited with the intention to recover it, so this is unlikely. Payment of troops is also questionable, as the patchy distribution of coinage (e.g. in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais) does not support the widespread existence of a military society motivated by coinage.

There is also the problem of access to votive sites. The possibility of transhumance in votive activity, coupled with the fact that many of the actual cult foci are very small, presents the real possibility that access to the rituals which took place on these sites were confined to a restricted section of society. It is impossible to specify beyond this, (perhaps an elite?) but the presence of large numbers of weapons on some of the third century BC sites would suggest that (at least in the early stages) the focus of some of these sites was martial in nature. This would therefore perhaps exclude the non-martial sectors of the population, or restrict them to a non-depositional role, and thus rendering them archaeologically unidentifiable.

Sanctuaries have usually been associated with the élite (e.g. Brunaux 1986). Although input from powerful sections of society (which we can probably term the élite) are arguably identifiable in the mid to late first century BC (with the appearance of very early stone built structures), it is usually impossible to discriminate between large deposits by a few individuals and small deposits by many. One exception is Bois l'Abbé, where 14 individual 'purse' hoards of coinage were found in a position which showed that they had been hung from the roof of the votive building in discrete groups (Delestrée 1984, 1996a).

The small size of many of the focal deposition areas would suggest that the restriction of access to the central parts is likely. For example, the central enclosure at Gournay-sur-Aronde[55] was very small, and the enclosing fence means that it would be physically impossible for many people to enter the central area at any one time. This also seems likely to apply to most of the sites in the study area, although occasional sites are more wide-ranging. The actual centre of the site may not have been the focus of all of the ritual activity either. Most of the known sites have outer *temenos* enclosures, sometimes with significant quantities of deposition, and this would suggest that votive activity was also happening in the outer area. Ribemont-sur-Ancre produced a double enclosure for the later LT D1 period, showing that there may have been some differentiation amongst worshippers at this period.

Preferential selection of coinage is clearly happening on some sites. The lack of gold is only one example; several sites have unusually high or low quantities of imported coins on them (see individual site discussions below). The treatment of some coin types also seems to have differed. An interesting point on this subject is the high number of cut Republican or very early central Gallic issues finding their way into the deposits at Fesques. But was this was happening to the local coinages? Although the study of coin mutilation in the study area has not progressed beyond the level of noting the practice on individual sites, it is interesting that the temple of Hayling Island in southern Britain has also produced a number of coins with surface slashes or halved. The early slashed

---

[55] Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin (1985), Brunaux & Rapin (1988), Lejars (1994).

coins were all either exotic Gallic issues or Republican coins (Kiernan 2002:21). The halved coins did include a few local coins but Gallic or Republican coins again predominated (*ibid*:24).

Kiernan suggested that halved coins were cut for religious reasons, which is also likely for Fesques, where there was not a shortage of low value coinage at this period (the prevailing explanation for this practice amongst Roman numismatists). It is interesting that this practice was only being carried out on non-local coins, unless the Republican coins were reaching these sites in this state. Further research is needed to determine whether this is a widespread or local pattern. In the west of Gaul and Burgundy, Aubin and Meissonnier (1992) have looked at the incidence of mutilated coin on votive sites. There was a peak amongst latest Iron Age, Republican and Augustan coins at Juvigné and Alésia (*ibid* 1992:146), implying that it was a widespread practice at this time. Ritually mutilated coins of the same date were found at Empel (Seijnen 1994).

3.4. CONCLUSION

When looking at Iron Age coinage it is clear that a purely numismatic approach needs to be tested archaeologically. A prevailing votive function is suggested by the general distribution of coins in the study area, and this will be tested in the next three chapters, which look at coin deposition on votive sites. So little coinage is found in settlement contexts that the use of coinage cannot have been economic. There is now increasing evidence for votive sites in the majority of the study area being at the centre of coin distribution networks. The *oppida* in the south of the study area (but not in the north or west) did produce large numbers of coins, but this area shows considerable influence from central Gaul, and also evidence for acting as a form of entrepôt, which is not found elsewhere in the study area. However, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain has produced a coin production workshop next to a votive deposit, consisting largely of coins struck on the site, so it is clear that trade was not the only *raison d'être* of these *oppida*. Even here the coinage struck on the sites rarely goes far. I do not believe that most of these coins were ever 'acquired' by an individual, but

remained in restricted circulation; a 'limited-purpose money' to quote Aarts (2000).

I believe that the different metals should be considered in different ways, and that archaeology indicates a flexible and variable function, both chronologically and geographically. Gold coinage (and potin in some areas) seems to have been a coinage largely reserved for individual deposits and hoarding, with a small and localised tradition of sanctuary deposition in Picardy. Silver was an important votive deposit, which was also a primary coin type in a few areas. The use of silver seems to have been a matter of regional choice and availability of the metal, and it was minted on sanctuaries as well as on *oppida*. Potin was introduced early, is found largely on votive sites (and in hoards in south-eastern Britain) and underwent a major change in function with the introduction of struck bronze. Small, local issues of struck bronze was minted in large quantities on votive sites in the latest Iron Age, and rapidly dominated the coin pool in most areas, being found on a wide range of sites, and continuing in use after the Roman conquest. A few struck bronze and brass issues were issued on a wider scale in the last decades of the first century BC, and these marked the appearance of an Augustan monetary economy.

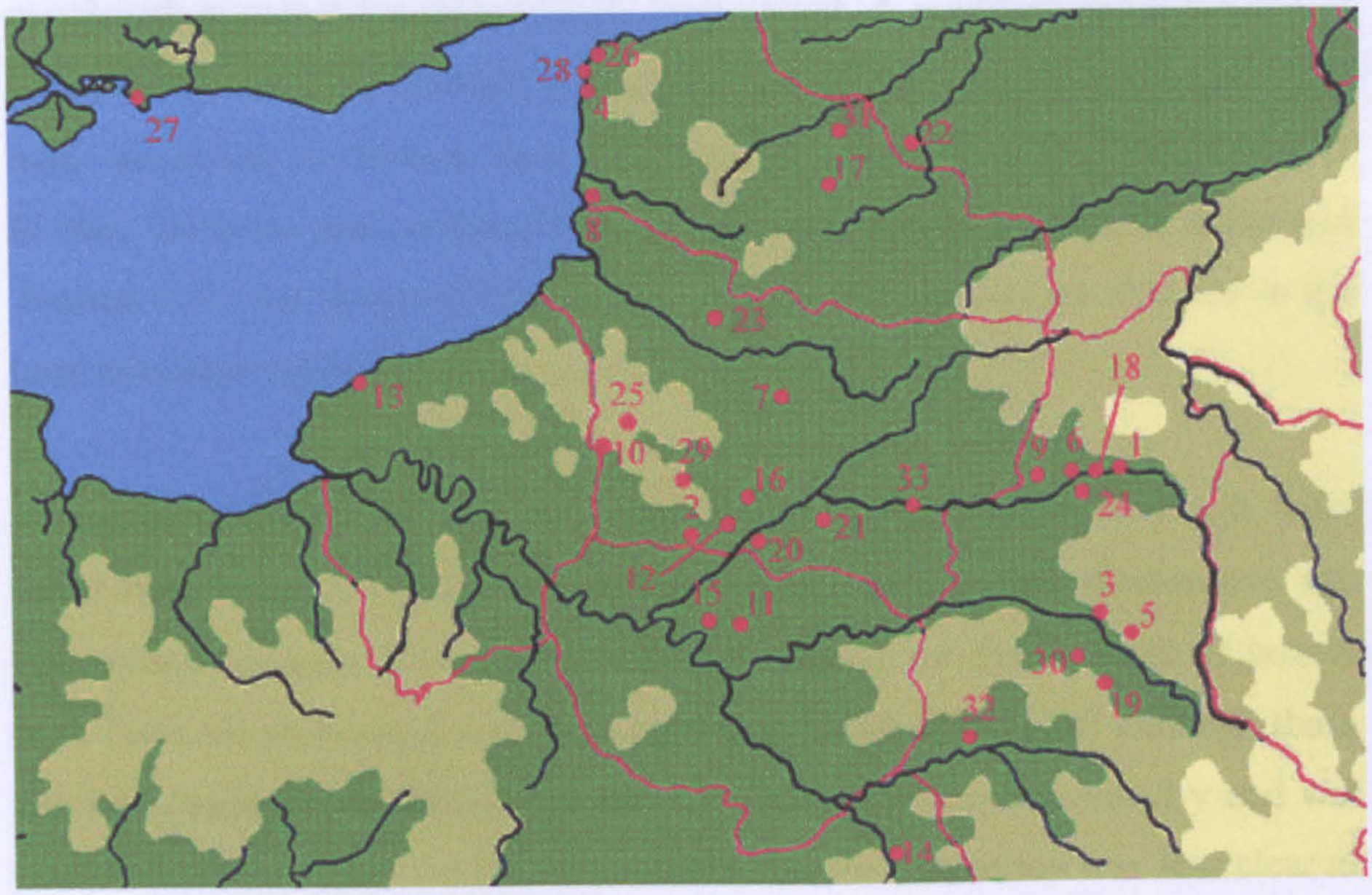
I would suggest for the 'why?' of coin production asked at the beginning of this section, that coinage was used predominantly for votive deposition in the study area. As for the 'who?' coin production was tied up with the major votive sites and *oppida*, and did not take place where these did not exist. This places coin production with the religious and political elite if one uses the top-down approach, or community leaders if not. Due to the scale of investment which these sites represented, and the fact that the quantity of sites shows a high level of community involvement (if only to dig the ditches) on a fairly local scale in some areas, I would suggest that local communities invested in their local votive site. Therefore, coin deposits can be seen as being a reflection of local and regional communities in the later Iron Age. These ideas will now be tested against the archaeological data from the study area.

❖❖❖

The earliest ritual uses of coinage

❖❖❖

Figure 4.1. Main sites discussed in Chapter 4



1 Acy-Romance
2 Bailleul-sur-Thérain
3 Bisseul
4 Boulogne
5 Bouy
6 Chateau-Porcien
7 Chilly
8 Conchil-le-Temple
9 Damary
10 Digeon
11 Épiais-Rhus
12 Estrées-Saint-Denis
13 Fécamp
14 Fontaine-la-Gaillarde
15 Genainville
16 Gournay-sur-Aronde
17 Mœuvres
18. Nanteuil-sur-Aisne
19 Normée 'La Tempete'
20 Orrouy 'Champlieu'
21 Pierrefonds
22 Pommerœul
23 Ribemont-sur-Ancre
24 Roizy
25 Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée
26 Sangatte
27 Selsey
28 Tardinghen
29 Vendeuil-Caply
30 Vert-la-Gravelle
31 Villeneuve d'Ascq
32 Villeneuve-au-Châtelot
33 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

4.1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITION OF OBJECT DEPOSITION

The deposition of objects in ritual contexts is one which has a long history in north-western Europe. Bradley (1990) produced an overview of the main traditions of votive deposition and hoarding in prehistory in western Europe, and placed the deposition traditions of the late Iron Age within a broader chronological framework. However, subsequent work has proved that many of

Bradley's patterns are in fact subject to a high level of local variation (see Roymans 1990, Fitzpatrick 1984).

Some themes can be taken from Bradley's work for the purposes of this study. The use of wet places and boundaries as the focus for the deposition of metalwork occurred for an extremely long period. A predilection for the use of lakes, rivers and bogs for ritual deposition from an early period is shown by the huge quantities of Bronze Age weaponry found in the rivers and lakes of Britain, Germany and northern France.[56] Rivers such as the Rhine, Seine and Thames were the focus of this deposition, a practice which we also see in the later Iron Age and early Roman period.

Bronze Age dry-land hoards also appeared in large numbers, although these differ from the Iron Age deposits in being largely constructed of weaponry and agricultural equipment (see Taylor 1993). Criteria for the analysis of hoards have been advanced (Levy 1982, expanded in Bradley 1990:14) although these can be considered somewhat simplistic.[57] The distinction between dry and wet hoards is a modern one, and it is probable that the distinction was less clear at the time of deposition. Any alternate functions of deposition are largely ignored as soon as the deposit contains coinage, as an economic function is often assumed (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989, 1992). Boundaries have been discussed, and while natural boundaries are clearly important (e.g. Hingley 1993, Sellwood

---

[56] This has been discussed by Bradley (1990/1998 chapter 3) and Taylor (1993). Others working in this field include Fitzpatrick (1984, 1989) Lejars (1996b). Of course, the emphasis on wet deposits does assume that offerings were made preferentially in these contexts – the high survival rate of objects placed in wet locations does create bias, as these have a higher survival rate. Evidence from dry-land finds suggests that these were potentially equally important.

[57] Levy and Bradley divided hoards into two types, 'ritual' and 'non-ritual'. The former were considered to be deposited in specialised locations (such as bogs, wells and groves), to have a restricted range of items (such as weapons) and for the artefacts to be mainly whole and arranged formally. The 'non-ritual' hoards were deemed to be in unspecified dry land locations, to have a less stereotyped assemblage, with a high proportion of tools, and a large number of broken or damaged artefacts, metalworking residues and freshly made objects (Bradley 1990:14). Some of the criteria can be questioned in the light of French finds, such as the destruction of artefacts or freshly made artefacts having solely non-ritual functions. The division of objects into ritual and non-ritual is also simplistic and of questionable validity (see Brück 1999, Hill 1995).

1984), political ones are harder to make any firm conclusions about (although see chapter 5 for a fuller consideration of this).

When considering coin deposition, it is important to remember that there is a strong tradition of ritual deposition of valuable items which stretches back to the Mesolithic period (at least). While the reasoning behind this deposition will doubtless have varied through time, it is difficult to divorce Iron Age practices from these antecedents. There were periods of intensification in these processes, and the intensification of deposition in western Europe in the later La Tène period is clear (especially from the third century BC onwards). However, regional models are complex, and it is important not to ascribe a uniformity of purpose behind the practice of deposition.[58]

Wyss (1974) and later Roymans (1990:89) did not believe in a distinction between dry and wet deposits. Some areas, such as the Low Countries, seem to have a much greater incidence of hoards discovered in modern times than others. Many factors contribute to this, some of the most important being the frequency of metal-detecting, regularity of dredging and rate of development, not all of which are quantifiable in an archaeological context. As Roymans points out (1990:84) archaeologists have (historically at least) not been as interested in finds of isolated metalwork, due to the difficulty of interpretation. Modern initiatives, such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme in Britain are greatly increasing the quantity of precious metal hoards recorded.

A decrease in the quantity of metalwork deposited in the early Iron Age is partly ascribed to changes in votive practice and a decline in long-distance trade (Collis 1984: 87-92). It may relate to shortages in bronze, which caused the emergence of iron use in north-western Europe. With the decrease in metalwork deposition, major changes must have taken place in votive practice across a wide area, perhaps catalysed by some non-local factor.

---

[58] For example, the deposition of coins in 'wishing wells' in modern Britain cannot be taken seriously as a continuity of votive deposition, despite being a practice of considerable antiquity, or frequently on the site of ancient deposition (e.g. into the thermal springs at Bath).

Whatever the reason, after this period, there is an increase in deposition in the middle Iron Age, and several sites stand out as important deposits of a ritual nature, which have many similarities with the development of sites in the study area from the mid-third century BC. The type-site for the Continental later Iron Age, La Tène, is a key one (largely due to the relatively high standard of the excavation in the early 20th century). This site (along with the nearby deposits at Les Cornaux and Port) has produced large quantities of metalwork, timber, bones (both human and animal) and tools (Schwab 1972, De Navarro 1972, Wyss 1975, Vouga 1923).

Although other interpretations have been put forward for the deposits in the Swiss lakes[59] it is now generally accepted that these were ritual in nature (Furger-Gunti 1982, Brunaux 1987:42-3). These deposits were spectacular, although the largest were removed in the early 20th century without modern standards of excavation, so much additional information has been lost. Dry-land sites have been less prominent in the archaeological record, but they do exist, and of course may have been wet in the past, such as Berne "Massenfund" (Furger-Gunti & Von Kaenel 1976). Many dry sites have also been considered as hoards in the past, and have escaped attribution as votive deposits.

Research on the period 500-300BC in the south of the study area has historically concentrated on the rich early La Tène cemeteries (e.g. Flouest & Stead 1979, and continues in Demoule 1999, Diepeveen-Jansen 2001 and Millotte et al 2003) which appear across western Germany and northern France. Little work has been done on the wet finds apart from Bonnamour on the finds from the Saône valley (1976, 1985). It is evident that deposition in rivers does not entirely cease, but further decreases (from the low rates in the early Iron Age), with the main focus of rich deposition being the cemeteries of the period. Comparatively little is known about the settlement of the period, although this is being rectified with recent work (see chapter 2). What settlement exists is

---

[59] One of the most prominent is the interpretation of these deposits as lake villages (following on from earlier settlements in the same area) –see Schwab 1972, 1974. Other interpretations include hoards buried in advance of the invasions of the Cimbri and Teutones, flood deposits, and a harbour, e.g De Navarro (1972).

generally dispersed in nature, and individual groups of dwellings are relatively small.

Votive deposition in the study area begins to increase around the La Tène C1 period, around c. 250 BC, perhaps a little earlier (Fitzpatrick 1984, Roymans 1990:88). This occurs across the study area in rivers, but dry-land sites also emerge in this period. However, this is where we see increasing regionalisation of deposition, and the different regions are best considered separately. While Picardy develops a well-excavated series of early *'sanctuaires'* other areas of northern France do not. The Champagne-Ardennes region has evidence for early ritual deposits, but they are mostly found on settlement sites, especially in the east of the département. The votive sites of the Low Countries remain archaeologically ephemeral until the first century BC, with ritual deposition being concentrated on settlements and in rivers, rarely involving coinage until the latest phases.

4.1.1. THE ORIGIN OF VOTIVE SITES IN NORTH-WESTERN EUROPE

Before considering the deposition of coinage, the development of specific votive sites in north-western Europe must be reviewed. Away from the deposition of objects, another important feature separates the emergence of cult sites in the study area from the earlier Bronze Age and Hallstatt traditions of artefact deposition. While the ritual destruction of metalwork is an important part of votive practice in prehistory, the cult sites that emerge in the third century BC mix the deposition of objects with structures and ditched areas. The demarcation and delimitation of space (usually by ditches and palisades) is a significant development in the emergence of an archaeology of ritual practice, and should not be underestimated. While the deposition of coins show the

continued importance of natural places in ritual practice[60] the emergence of these structured cult sites is an important development.

However, we are still unclear on the origins of these sites. Although several of the major works (e.g. Roymans 1990, Derks 1998) have not considered the question, other archaeologists are divided on both the geographic and chronological foundations of cult sites in north-west Europe. Some have argued for the development of the earliest cult sites in northern France from funerary monuments (e.g. de Laet 1966, Schwarz 1975, Black 1986, Lambot 1991b). King (1990) does not agree with this approach, arguing that funerary enclosures such as Ecury-le-Repos and Menil-Annelles have little in common structurally with the later cult sites in this area, and that:

"A salient observation that appears to diminish support for the hypothesis is that temples and mausolea are not normally found together in either the late Celtic or Roman worlds, although mausolea could take the form of temples" (King 1990:224)

Bradley's argument (1990: chapter 4) that temples and shrines of the late Iron Age can be traced back to sites such as La Tène (and also some of the *Viereckschanzen*) is now looking doubtful, both geographically and due to recent work (see below). It now seems increasingly probable that the origin of specific votive sites is funerary. The discovery of important votive deposition connected to funerary activity date from the late Bronze Age on sites such as Acy-Romance and more famously at the fifth century complex of Vix (Joffroy 1954, Chaume, Olivier & Reinhard 1995).

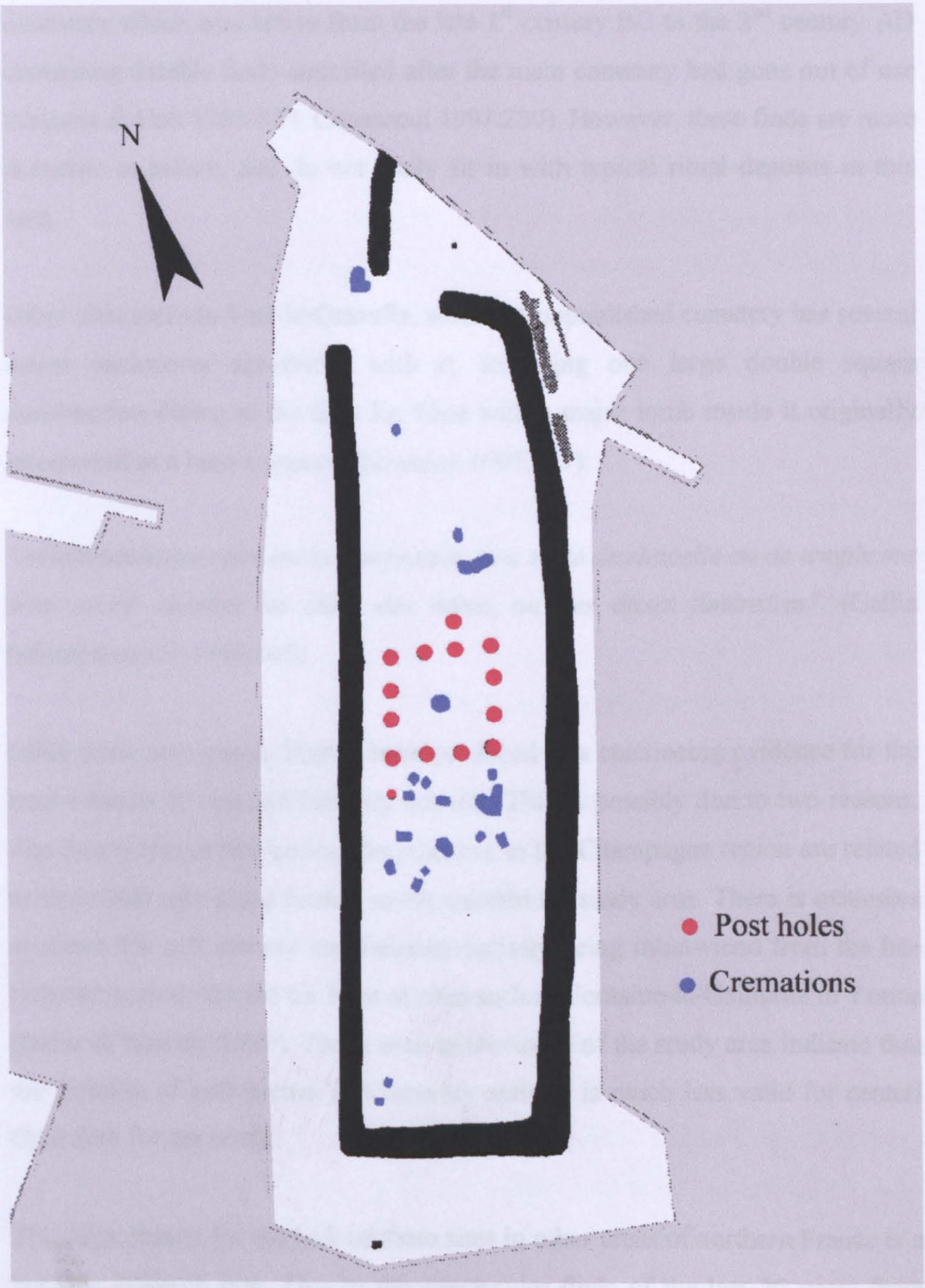
In a recent review of the Champagne area in the middle to late La Tène period, Chossenot (1997) reviewed the evidence for sanctuaries in funerary contexts, and has identified a series at Acy-Romance. 'La Terrage' has a series of "velodrome" shaped enclosures with structures inside them (fig 4.2) dating to

---

[60] E.g. Condé-sur-Aisne, where 304 Iron Age coins (mostly potin and AE, the potins implying deposition began before the mid first century BC) and 5449 Roman coins were found during dredging at the confluence of the rivers Aisne and Vesle during the 1960s (Giard 1968, 1969).

the latest Bronze Age (Lambot & Méniel 1992, 2000). 'La Noue Mauroy' (Lambot 1989) produced a trapezoidal enclosure dating from the early first century BC connected to cemetery evidence. The site had other evidence of structural remains in association with burials (Chossenot 1997:226).

Figure 4.2. Acy-Romance "La Croizette" (after Lambot & Méniel 2000)



Away from Acy-Romance, there is an increasing body of evidence pointing to the development of a group of these sites in the La Tène C1 to C2 transitional period (around the early third century BC). The site of Bouy 'Le Chemin de Vadenay' has produced varied metalwork, charcoal deposits, animal bones and fragmentary human bones from a series of enclosure ditches in a cemetery (Brisson & Hatt 1955). According to the excavators, this site developed into a sanctuary which was active from the late 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD containing datable finds deposited after the main cemetery had gone out of use (Brisson & Hatt 1955:329, Chossenot 1997:230). However, these finds are more domestic in nature, and do not really fit in with typical ritual deposits in this area.

Other sites include Vert-la-Gravelle, where an unpublished cemetery has several major enclosures associated with it, including one large double square construction dating to the later La Tène with a major tomb inside it originally interpreted as a hero's grave (Chossenot 1997:231):

"indépendamment des enclos funéraires, une sorte de chapelle ou de temple sur plan carré, destiné au culte des héros ou des dieux funéraires" (Gallia Informations 5, 1947:446).

Other parts of northern France have produced less convincing evidence for the inter-relation of cult and funerary activity. This is possibly due to two reasons. The first is that at this period the practices in the Champagne region are related to those that take place further south, outside the study area. There is extensive evidence for cult activity and funerary activity being intertwined from the late Hallstatt period into the La Tène at sites such as Fontaine-la-Gaillarde in Yonne (Delor & Rowley 1989). These sites to the south of the study area indicate that the division of votive sites and funerary activity is much less valid for central Gaul than for the north.

The other reason for the lack of these sites in other areas of northern France is a possible research bias. Due to the spectacular finds of the last 20 years from sanctuary sites, excavations in areas such as Picardy have concentrated on this

type of site, and archaeologists may have been missing the wider picture on cemeteries. This is a possibility, as is the fact that very few cult sites have had any systematic excavation away from the central area. However, recent work (e.g. Leman-Delerive (ed) 1998) is starting to consider the links between funerary activity and ritual in the Iron Age.

Another likely possibility is that individuals and groups were preferentially investing in centralised cult sites, and concentrating resources at the expense of elaborate cemeteries and ritual activities connected to death. We are also attempting to separate the two factors in a way that the individuals involved may not have. There is no reason why individuals should not have been buried or cremated in one place, and commemorated at another, such as a votive site. The separation of the two categories is undoubtedly a modern construct (as suggested by Brück 1999, Forcey 1997 and Hill 1995), although not investigated further here.

Much of the recent excavation analysing settlement in north-western Europe has reconsidered the apparent separation of ritual and domestic activity (see chapter 1 for further details). While individuals were pointing out the deposition of individual human burials in grain silos as long ago as the 1960s (Brisson & Hatt 1969), it has only been since the 1990s that the structured deposition of human remains has really been seriously considered by the wider archaeological world (e.g. Roymans 1990, Cunliffe 1992, Hill 1995). Structural deposition can vary from a single bone in a pit to the widespread silo burials found across northern France, the Low Countries and southern Britain.

'*Viereckschanzen*' (or '*enclos cultuels*') are found from the early La Tène in the east of France and across Germany. Most of the research on these sites has taken place in the German speaking world. These structures are identifiable by a quadrangular bank and ditch, often still upstanding, which must have been monumental (Wieland 1999). They are usually interpreted as open cult sites, and do occur widely across Europe, although the core of their distribution lies outside the study area, in modern central and southern Germany, central France and the lower Meuse area.

Their ritual focus has been argued against in the past, but is now generally accepted[61] (Schwarz 1962, Planck 1982, Slofstra & van der Sanden 1987, Wieland 1999). Excavations have shown that there were structures within the monumental ditches.[62] Venclová (1993) is one of the main dissenters from the '*viereckschanzen* as votive enclosures' camp, and she believes that although they had a votive function, the absence of finds is not in itself conclusive proof of solely votive function (1993:56). She also points out that so little is known about settlement in this period that the *viereckschanzen* cannot be ruled out as unusual settlement types with the current state of our knowledge (1993:64).

Although these sites form an interesting parallel to the cult sites in northern France, they are rarely found in the study area, and generally contain no coin deposits, and so will not be considered as part of the present study. However, most authors consider their appearance to be connected to the general monumentalization of votive practice in north-west Europe, which is worth drawing attention to.

In the Netherlands, there has been a significant quantity of recent excavation and reassessment of settlement evidence (first considered by Slofstra & van der Sanden 1987), leading to the identification of cult activity in regions previously assumed to have none. Roymans (1990) reviewed the role of the élite within northern Gaul, considering archaeologically recognisable ritual to be largely a function of élite groups. This was expanded in later work (e.g. Roymans 1996a). Other aspects of ritual activity have recently been looked at, both from the local settlement perspective (Gerritsen 2003) and from the coinage (Aarts 2000).

What these studies have shown is a lack of large centralised cult sites in the Netherlands until very late (with sites such as Empel having a regional

---

[61] Although Brunaux (1986:35-7) questions this hypothesis in the light of the northern French sanctuary sites.

[62] However, few have been archaeologically excavated. Some of the best known are Holzhausen (Schwarz 1962) and Mšecké Žehrovice (Venclová 1993) which have both produced post-built wooden buildings of apparently rectangular plan, dating to the 3rd to 1st centuries BC. King connects these to the possibility that the emergence of sanctuaries was a native, not Roman inspired phenomenon (1990:224).

significance only after the conquest). Ritual activity in this region is mainly found in connection with local communities. Although sites such as Oss-Ussen (Fokkens 1998)[63] mix funerary activity with cult sites these are earlier and much smaller than the specialised votive sites which appear further to the west.

The association of funerary monuments and quadrangular enclosures is also found in Flanders, and the funerary origin of sanctuaries in this area has been discussed by de Laet (1966). These sites do not have coinage, the deposition of which is not common on settlements until the later periods. Coins in these areas do seem to be exclusively from hoards dated to before the middle of the first century BC. Although these are probably ritual deposits, such as the large number of gold coins found in isolated contexts in the Flemish Ardennes (Van Heesch forthcoming), they seem to have little similarity to votive sites.

4.2. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF COIN DEPOSITION ON VOTIVE SITES

The third century BC sees the emergence of centralised votive sites on a scale rarely found before. However, the third century examples only appear in an extremely restricted geographical area, and are inextricably tied up with the general emergence of social hierarchies in the archaeological record. The widespread appreciation of ritual sites dating to this period is a relatively recent development,[64] dating to the excavations at Gournay-sur-Aronde initially published in 1985.[65] Since then much excavation, especially in the Picardy area has been focussed at establishing the origins of large-scale votive sites, and the picture is changing.

---

[63] Slofstra & Van der Sanden (1987:155-6) and Gerritsen (2001:110) considered Oss-Ussen to be a composite monument containing funerary aspects, and believe that it was an open-air sanctuary associated with a funerary cult and a forerunner to Roman period examples (Fokkens 1998) This association of funerary monuments and quadrangular enclosures is also found in Flanders.

[64] Although Derks (1998:170) points out the earlier discovery of pre-Roman structures under a cult site at 'Le Tremblois' in the Fôret de Châtillon-sur-Seine (Côte-d'Or) (Paris 1960), which went largely ignored in the wider archaeological world.

[65] Brunaux, Mèniel & Poplin 1985, Brunaux & Rapin 1988, Lejars 1994

Coinage is introduced at this time in the north of France, and much of the earliest securely stratified coinage comes from votive sites. However, the way in which coinage was used on these sites in its initial stages is rarely considered. The general assumption of early coin deposits as being a curiosity, and merely the deposition of coinage gained from elsewhere does not work once the local production of coinage begins. There is now an increasing body of evidence indicating that the production of coinage began fairly quickly after the first coins appeared in the area.

Therefore, the idea that early coin deposition was largely a few curiosities deposited for want of a better function is no longer sustainable, either archaeologically or within current theoretical approaches to ritual deposition. These coins were produced in some areas (e.g. western Picardy), although not in others, and the presence of early types in votive contexts or hoards indicates an acceptance of coinage as a suitable votive deposit. The prevalence of the earliest types in small hoards or votive deposits suggests that their initial production may well have been for this purpose.

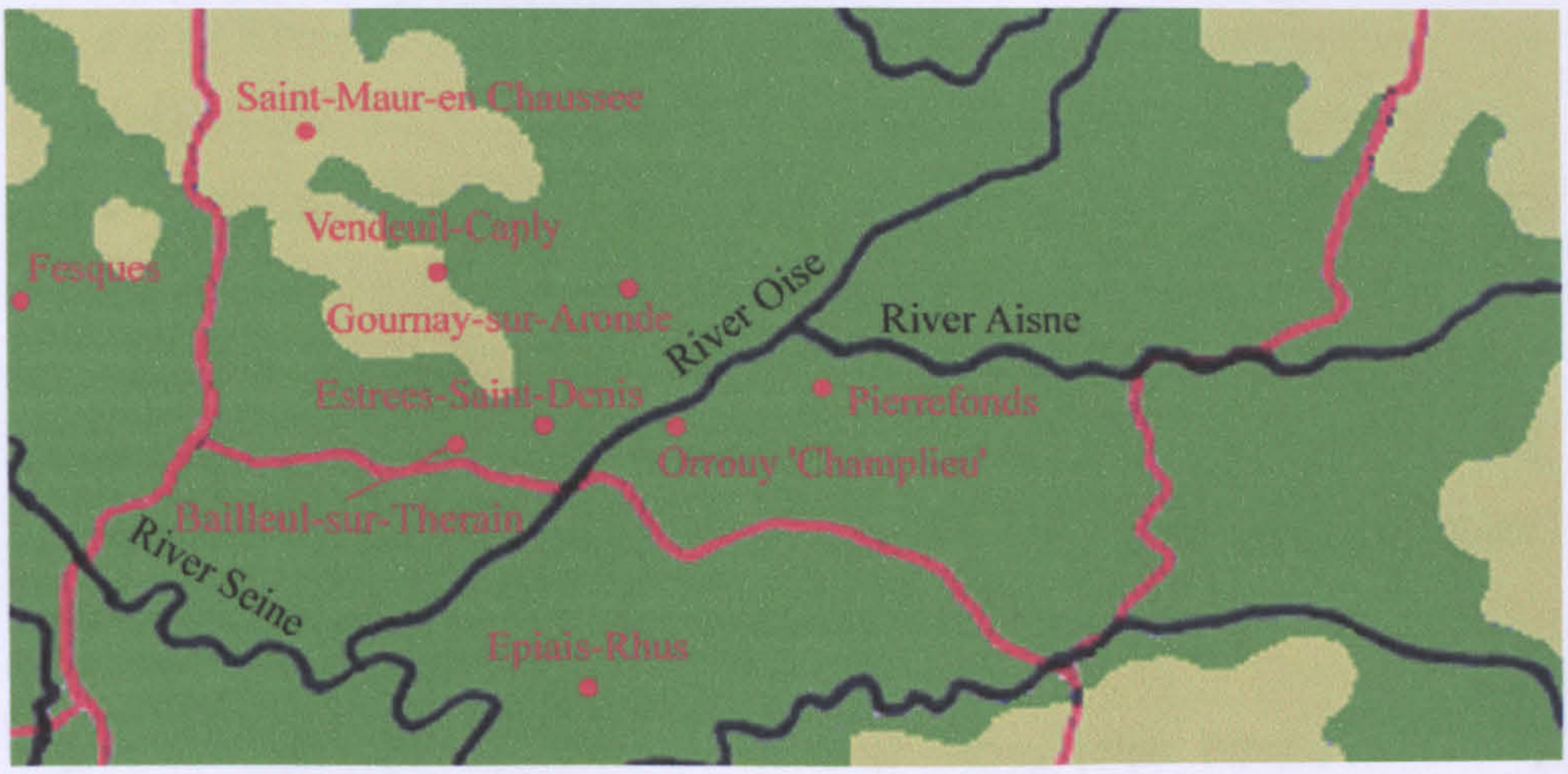
However, there are caveats to this. The quantity of early coinage found in stratified contexts is not great. As Sills (2003) shows, the majority of early gold coinage is found in hoards, unconnected with other archaeological material. The coins that are found stratified on early votive sites are not numerous. Although they are found across a wide enough area to be more than a minor localised phenomenon, some areas did not produce coinage until much later, and the production and deposition of coinage is an option which many areas did not choose. Despite these problems, and the need for more excavation in some areas, there are still strong regional patterns, further explored below. The sites which are discussed in this section and as part of the following three chapters, are listed in full in Appendix 1.

4.2.1. SEINE-MARITIME/ WESTERN PICARDY/ YVELINES

The development of coin production and votive sites in this area is extremely early in comparison to the immediate east and north. Even considering the bias

generated by the focus on cult sites in Picardy from the late 70s, it is clear that the earliest votive sites occur within an area broadly delimited by the Seine to the west, the Authie to the east and the Oise to the south (fig 4.3). This area covers several modern regions.

Figure 4.3. Area of the earliest votive sites (Picardy)



The late third and early second centuries BC were a period of considerable change in the archaeological record, of which the earliest manifestation is the appearance of sanctuaries. Although there is evidence for groups of richer inhumations in north-western France in the early La Tène, by the third century BC the rite of cremation is fairly widespread. They do appear to be part of the increasingly hierarchical society, initially developed at small high-status settlements such as Montmartin (Brunaux & Méniel 1997), which are starting to emerge in the area. The *sanctuaires* are the earliest manifestation of this, the initial group appearing in the main in the early second century BC, although the earliest sites pre-date this.

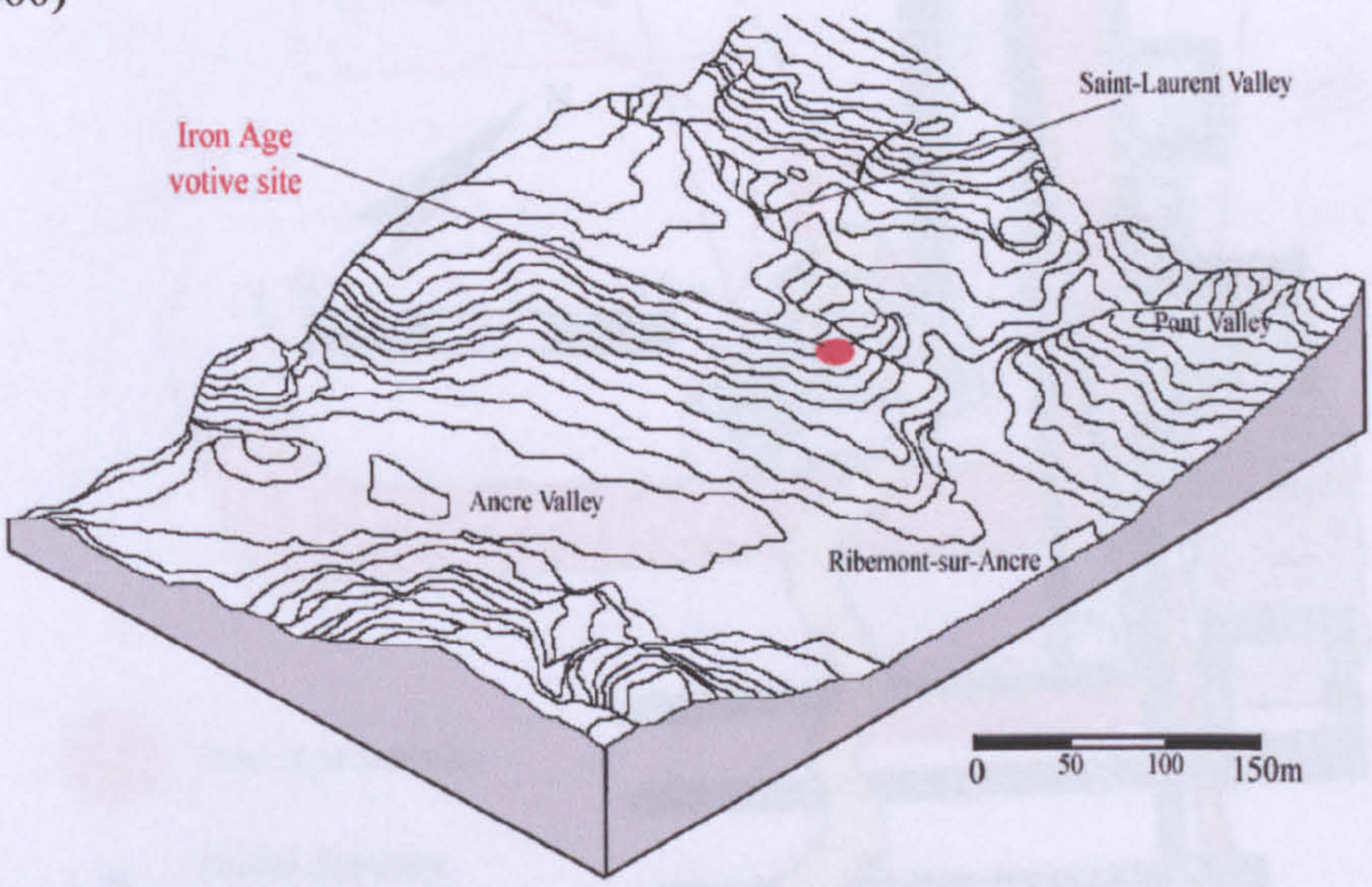
Many of the early sites have proved elusive, with the exception of a few pieces of metalwork on later votive sites. This is partly due to the nature of archaeological fieldwork in the area, and partly due to problems such as the abrasion of pottery in the chalky soil of the Somme, and the relatively uniform pot types in the area before the second century BC. With the emergence of new

types of pottery in western Picardy and the Paris Basin in the second century (Amalon 1987, Pion 1996b) more exact dating can be advanced. Of course, on many votive sites (especially those on chalk) the ceramic record is poor, so these sites are more reliant on metalwork to date their early phases.

4.2.1.1. SITES WITH STRATIFIED COIN FINDS

The site of Ribemont-sur-Ancre is situated on a promontory overlooking three valleys (the Font Saint-Laurent, the Pont and the Ancre) and near the confluence of the Ancre and the Somme (fig 4.4). The site was discovered by Roger Agache in the 1960s (Agache 1964), who photographed the elaborate cropmarks caused by the Roman buildings. The site was excavated by A. Ferdière (1966-67) and J.L. Cadoux in the 1970s and 1980s (Cadoux 1971, 1978, 1984, 1986, Cadoux & Massy 1970), concentrating largely on the Roman temple complex, but finding a series of pre-Roman deposits in the 1980s.

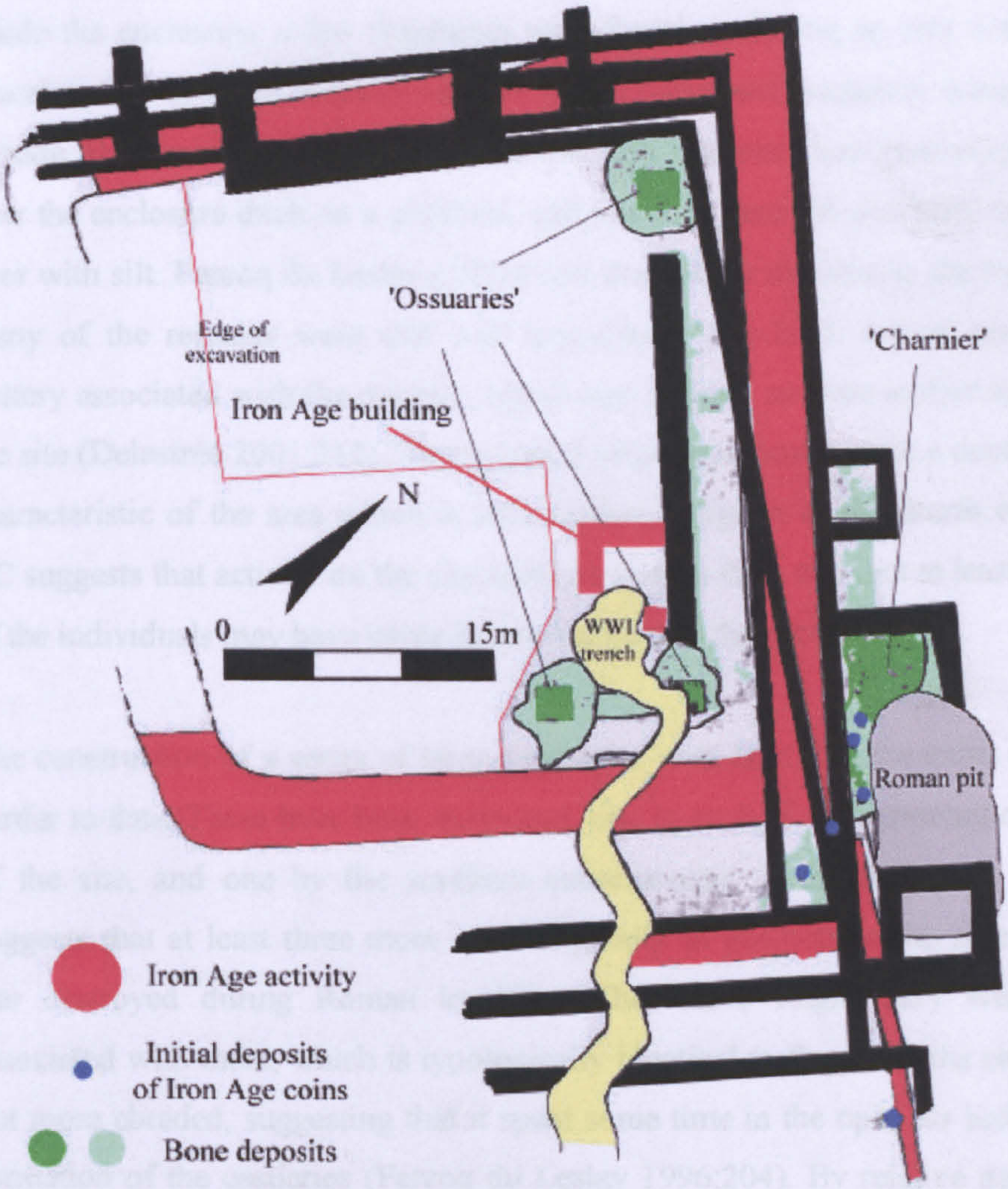
Figure 4.4. Ribemont-sur-Ancre in its local setting (after Fercoq du Leslay 2000)



Since 1990 Jean-Louis Brunaux has investigated the pre-Roman sanctuary under the central Roman temple (summarised in Brunaux 1999). Ribemont has produced evidence for major activity in the later La Tène, Roman terracing preserving the east side of the pre-Roman site very well. The site has produced a great deal of early weaponry, at least 3 ossuaries of human and animal bones,

and a charnier constructed of human remains (fig 4.5). At least 150 Iron Age coins have come from the site, and excavation continues. Dating has been the focus of a spate of recent scholarship, with Brunaux's re-dating (1999) being questioned by Fercoq du Leslay (1996, 2000), the latter redating much of the Iron Age activity, and attributing more activity to the later first century BC than the former gives credit for. Brunaux dates initial activity on the site to La Tène C1b[66] (c. 250-200 BC), although some of the weaponry was made slightly earlier - in the La Tène C1a period.

Figure 4.5. Ribemont-sur-Ancre (after Brunaux 1999 and Delestrée 2001)



[66] This dating agreed with earlier work by Cadoux and Lancelin (1989) who dated initial activity on the site to the La Tène C1 period.

Fercoq du Leslay (1996:198, 2000:124) dates the first phase to a short episode in the middle of the third century BC, when a quadrangular enclosure ditch was dug. Fragments of human and horse bone, and weaponry were found along its length in the primary fill, but these were not in a primary position. Soon after this was constructed, a major deposit of human bones in a fragmentary state (with no skulls) was deposited on the outside of this enclosure. This was associated with a homogenous group of weaponry and ornamentation of middle La Tène C1 period, and contained the first coins. Brunaux (1999) referred to this as the '*charnier*'.

Inside the enclosure, a few fragments were found, including an arm with two bracelets still in place, but the majority of the bones and weaponry came from outside. Brunaux (1995, 1999) believed that this 'charnier' had been suspended over the enclosure ditch on a platform, and had then decayed and been covered over with silt. Fercoq du Leslay (1996) cast doubt over this due to the fact that many of the remains were still well articulated. The 2001 season produced pottery associated with the deposit, which may suggest an even earlier start for the site (Delestrée 2001:212). The presence of ceramic bowls, with a decoration characteristic of the area which is now modern Belgium in the fourth century BC suggests that activity on the site may commence then, and that at least some of the individuals may have come from a significant distance away.

The construction of a series of large 'ossuaries' was later, but the exact date is harder to date. Three have been excavated, one in each of the surviving corners of the site, and one by the southern entrance-way to the enclosure, which suggests that at least three more were originally in position on the side of the site destroyed during Roman levelling. They have fragmentary weaponry associated with them, which is typologically identical to that from the charnier, but more abraded, suggesting that it spent some time in the open air before the formation of the ossuaries (Fercoq du Leslay 1996:204). By relative dating, it seems likely that they were constructed in the La Tène C2 period, and destroyed in a single episode in the La Tène D1 period. Apart from the ossuaries, the site shows evidence for low activity in the La Tène C2 period. Soil and environmental sampling indicate that reforestation of the site took place around

this time; trees, bushes and weeds being indicated in the environmental remains (Brunaux 1999:276-9).

Ribemont-sur-Ancre has produced an important collection of early gold coins. Two Scheers 1 quarter staters were known before the recent excavations (Brunaux & Delestrée 1995[67]) and two half staters of the Normandy 'sword' group of stylistically early gold issues. These coins are very light, and are debased, suggesting that they are late in the series (Haselgrove 1999a:124). Delestrée (1996:116) believed that they were intrusive. However, a 1999 find of a small hoard and several individual deposits of similar gold coins on the site (Delestrée 2001) now question this interpretation. It is now clear that stratified gold coinage is deposited in extremely early contexts at Ribemont, forming an important data-set.

The coins, which comprise two quarter staters and twelve half staters were discovered in the north-east corner of the pre-Roman sanctuary (fig 4.5), related to the 'charnier' or in the immediate vicinity. The nine coins which come from stratified contexts in the charnier are three individual finds, and a hoard of six coins found with a half torc. The discovery of coins with torcs is relatively widespread, with examples as far apart as Snettisham (Norfolk, England) and Tayac (Gironde). It seems likely that in the earliest phases of coin use in north-western Europe, that coinage and torcs circulated amongst the same individuals, and had similar circulation patterns in society – amongst religious elites. Much of the gold for the early coins probably came from a common metal source to the torcs, thus possibly linking the two together in the minds of the community.

Two of the half-staters (85-5 005 and 93-3 189) were found previously on the south side of the charnier placed outside of the large ditch, on its exterior angle. In the excavation they could not be linked directly to the charnier, but could well have been associated originally. Delestrée believes that due to the similarity between these coins and those definitely connected to the charnier, it is likely that the date of deposition was close (ibid 2001:178). This is supported

---

[67] However, Sills (2003:115-117) has recently reassessed these coins and believes that one of these is not a Scheers 1, but an early eastern Gaulish type.

by the fact that one of the coins, 93-3 189 was die-linked to several other stratified coins (see below).

Of those coins which were definitely stratigraphically related to the charnier, three - a quarter stater (99-A07-80, BN 6821/6930) and two half-staters (99-B10-282, BN 6931, and 99-B10-871, BN 6938, which was die-linked to three of the other coins found in this area) were individual finds. These were found in the body of the charnier, with the two half-staters found close together. One was under a bone, and immediately to the left of a sword hilt (which may suggest that it was originally connected to the nearby belt, perhaps in a purse or pouch). The other was found under the point of an iron lance to the east of the sword. Both were in square B10 of the site. The other three coins were not found in stratified contexts.

The charnier also contained an important hoard. This consisted of 5 half-staters and a quarter-stater. Two of the half staters were die-linked, and were also die-linked with coin 99-B10-871, found in the charnier and 93-3 189, one of the coins found outside of the charnier (see above). The hoard consisted of two BN 6938 coins (99-119 and 99-121, the die-linked coins), a variant of the BN 6938, with a new reverse type (99-126), a BN 6926/ 6929 type, struck with very worn dies (99-127) and a Scheers (1978) 1a, a half stater of the LT 7169 type, which seems to have originated around Évreux (99-122). The quarter stater (99-120) has no type given.

These were found with a torc fragment, with a plug end, which the excavators date to the La Tène B2 period (the end of the fourth century BC), from its similarity to the bronze Hahnheim torcs and gold Cibar Varos torc (Delestrée 2001:183). A few fragments of weaponry, a fragment of bronze sheet, certain iron decorations and a bracelet fragment date this early, but the majority of the weaponry and brooches in the deposit date to the La Tène C1b period (Lejars, in Brunaux 1999).

We are therefore looking at the deposition of the hoard and individual coins in the period 250-200 BC, probably towards the end of this range. This is

important, as de Jersey, who completed the most recent survey of the north-western French series, tentatively dated the series to the early second century BC (1994:45) but admitted the lack of stratified coins made this attribution unclear. No coins were produced in the study area as early as 250 BC, but the earliest Scheers 1-5 staters were starting to appear towards the end of this period. However, there is no firm evidence for coin deposition before the earliest second century BC outside of these finds (see chapter 2 for the current state of the debate on the dating of early gold).

Most of the discoveries of the type of coins found at Ribemont come from the Calvados area, with a few known from the Eure and Manche. However, the Ribemont finds are significantly to the east of the other known findspots, apart from a historical find from Fécamp (see below). How they found their way to the site is unclear, but the excavators have suggested that the individuals who constructed the 'trophy' could have come from this area, perhaps as a (presumably unsuccessful) raiding party or war-band (Brunaux 2000, Delestrée 2001:212).

The ceramic evidence supports the hypothesis that some of the individuals who deposited/ were deposited on the site originated in the Normandy area. Therefore the coins can either be viewed as a deliberate offering, or as the pouches of some unfortunate individuals who had just lost a battle - depending on one's view. However, it is clear that coinage was not yet playing a major part in ritual activity on the site in the way it was to do in later periods, and these coins are significantly earlier than the next group of stratified coins from the site. It seems likely on balance, that coinage was not yet an important deposit in its own right, but was an aspect of a larger offering, which also included bones and weaponry. Coinage was not treated in a distinctly different way, but was one offering amongst a range of objects.

The new information from Ribemont has important implications, both for the early use of coinage on the site, and also for the use of gold coinage in votive contexts as a whole. Very few gold coins are ever found in archaeologically stratified contexts, especially the early types, and this is an important group. On

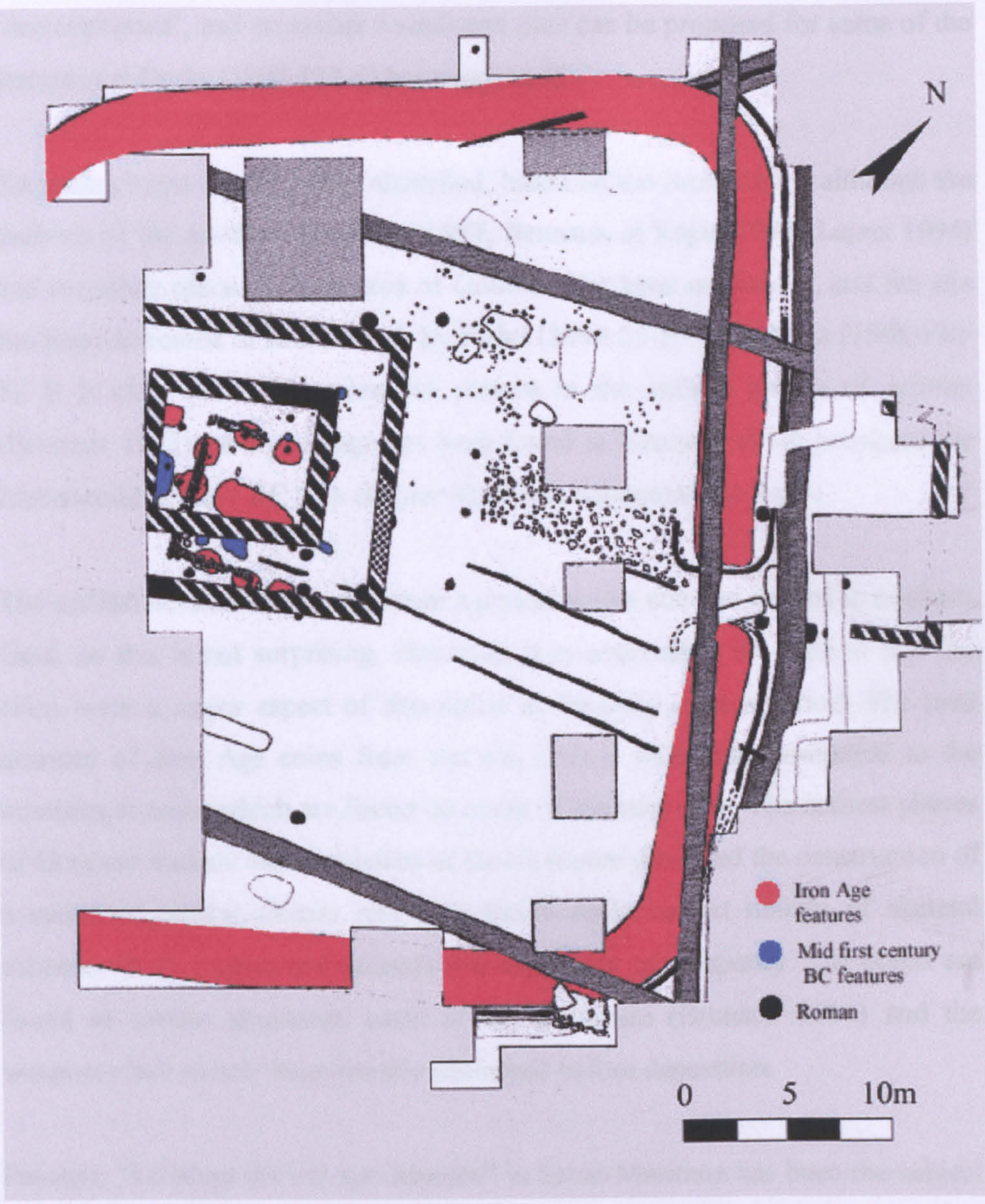
the whole the prevailing deposition of gold coinage is in hoards or individually, and they are usually isolated from other archaeological evidence. Ribemont now joins a small group of sites which have produced Iron Age gold coins which can be stratified to early levels, and therefore the importance of the find cannot be overstated. However, it does not seem to herald the start of the deposition of coins on votive sites, but to be part of a distinct and as yet unique early deposit. It will really take the excavation of a comparable site with modern standards of excavation to establish whether Ribemont is unique or not.

Brunaux (2000) has attempted to find parallels for the human bone deposits at Ribemont in the archaeological record, but Ribemont is the only '*trophée*' to have been excavated recently. Although a few other sites have suggested the presence of large deposits of human bones, e.g. Mœuvres (see below) none have been excavated under modern conditions and none of the others have produced coins. The only site which can be compared with Ribemont at this stage is Fesques in Seine-Maritime (Mantel 1997), which has both human bones in clearly ritual deposits, and early coins, although the latter are not stratified (see below).

Gournay-sur-Aronde (fig 4.6) was the first votive site to be excavated (1975-1984), and it also appears to be amongst the earliest of these sites which has a stratigraphic sequence. Brunaux et al (1985) dated the earliest phases at Gournay to the La Tène B2 period (now probably best placed under early La Tène C1[68]). However, the authors' chronological framework has been questioned (see chapter 5), and the interpretation of the earliest layers of sites is not always clear-cut in the published evidence. There is no coinage present in the earliest layers at Gournay, but the site is comparable to the other early sites in the region in all other aspects, and so is included here for that reason.

[68] See figure 2.1 for the chronological framework. Although the deposit was considered to be La Tène B2 in date in the 1980s and early 1990s, it is now better to place this phase at Gournay in the earliest La Tène C1 period (mid third century BC) from the associations of the material (mostly weaponry).

Figure 4.6. Gournay-sur-Aronde (after Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985, Derks 1998)



Gournay also suffers from being the type-site of the north-eastern French sanctuaries, which has led to it assuming something of a 'tick box' role. The assemblages of new early votive sites are often compared with Gournay, and if large quantities of animal bones and weaponry are not present, then the votive function of the site is cast into question. This has led to many assumptions about Gournay being published, and the initial coin dating on the site (in the old potin chronology) led to a chronological compression of the upper layers, and some

confusion about the dates of activity on the site. With the redating of the potin coins which have been found at Gournay, the chronology of the site can be 'decompressed', and an earlier foundation date can be proposed for some of the features (as Derks (1998:172-6) has suggested).

Six main phases were initially identified, based on the stratigraphy, although the analysis of the artefacts (Brunaux 1987, Brunaux et Rapin 1988, Lejars 1994) had not taken place. A large area of Gournay has been uncovered, and the site has been discussed at some length by Fichtl (1994:25-29) and Derks (1998:170-5). It is clear that coins were not present in the earliest phases of activity (Brunaux 1987), as no coinage has been found at Gournay which pre-dated the later second century BC (see chapter 4), unlike Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

The earliest datable finds come from a period before coinage arrived in northern Gaul, so this is not surprising. However, it is overstating the case to say that coins were a major aspect of deposition at Gournay in any period. The total quantity of Iron Age coins from the site (23) is minuscule compared to the numbers of coins which are found on many of the later sites. The earliest phases of Gournay include the foundation of the enclosure ditch and the construction of a series of central shrines and pits. Small finds consist mainly of skeletal evidence (both human and animal) and especially of weaponry. The bones are found in certain structured parts of the enclosure (Brunaux 1991) and the weaponry had mostly been ritually destroyed before deposition.

Fesques, "Le Mont du Val aux Moines" in Seine-Maritime has been the subject of a recent excavation project in advance of motorway expansion (Mantel 1997). The site produced a mass of coinage, 1314 coins in total, although only 297 coins were stratified, and many of the contexts were very mixed. The site produced a few earlier finds, such as three possible tumuli (marked by circles in the plan, figure 5.6), and several Bronze Age finds from the top of the hill. The earliest material does not include coinage, and consisted mostly of third century BC brooches, bracelets and weaponry. There were no structures apparent, although the excavators believed that these could have been erased by later activity on the site (Mantel 1997:19). Some of the visible remains may originate

in this period, but the lack of identifiable stratigraphy renders firm identification impossible.

However, the large-scale utilisation of the promontory came at the middle of the second century BC (La Tène C2 to D1a transition), when a horse-shoe shaped ditch (Ditch D in figure 6.2) was dug on the brow of the hill. The finds from this feature (St. 250) consisted mostly of pottery and animal bones, and the upper levels produced fragments of about 50 weapons; mostly sword and spear fragments. Three human bone fragments were found. More ornaments were present, bracelets, belt-fittings and iron brooches.

A few coins were found associated with the upper levels of this ditch, but they were not a homogenous group. Most were struck in the middle or later first century BC, but a Scheers 191 potin was found, and there is no chronological reason why this should not have been contemporary with the other La Tène C2/ D1 deposits. However, the other 8 coins were later. This enclosure was compared with those at Gournay and Ribemont by Mantel (1997:22), who also identified a post-hole building in the centre of the site which dated to the same phase, although it is probably later (see chapter 5). The presence of large quantities of La Tène C2 to D1 pottery in the central enclosure suggests that the original foundation may have been the focus of ritual feasting, a theory supported by the large quantities of animal bone from the same contexts.

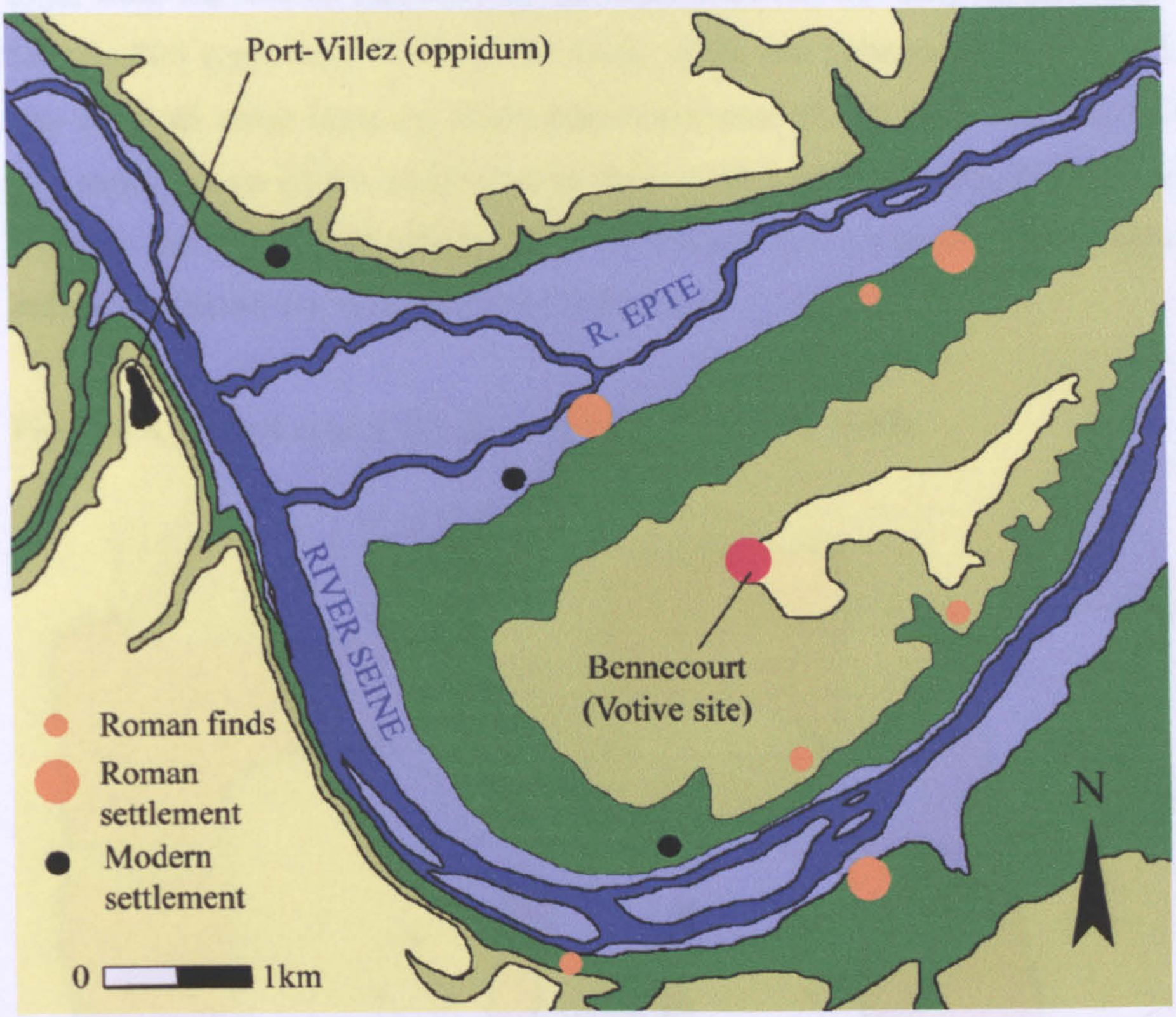
Away from the central area, the earliest outer ditch at Fesques (St. 1) dates to the mid second century BC, (the La Tène C2 to D1 transition) contemporary with the central D-shaped ditch. This massive enclosure is c10 ha in circumference, and encircles the entire promontory and its flanks. Although this ditch is badly preserved in places, it did produce much animal and human bone mixed in its lower contexts (Mantel 1997:26). The associated pottery is mid third century BC, as is the weaponry (mostly shield bosses and swords), indicating that earlier finds were incorporated in the ditch. The latest find from the central ditch was a Nauheim brooch, dating to c.120 BC. The material is abraded, and looks like it was not originally deposited in the ditch itself, but was a secondary deposit, which would explain the broad chronological range. The

ditch was associated with a series of spectacular human remains from shallow pits just outside the enclosure.

Fesques has produced unstratified coins from the "aux glaives" series although they are billon, not gold, and are later in date. They are not from stratified contexts, although a Scheers 8 stater did come from structure 546, a late rectangular building outside of the central area. The coinage from the site is very mixed, and although there was activity at Fesques in the second century BC, it is difficult to isolate any stratified coin deposition from this period, although it was undoubtedly taking place. In addition, Fesques is one of the few votive sites in the study area which has not been discovered under a Roman temple complex, thus proving conclusively that not all of these establishments expanded into the Augustan period. The site was discovered due to aerial photography, and it seems likely that similar sites without Roman masonry await discovery within the study area.

The site of Bennecourt (Yvelines) has recently been published (Bourgeois 1999). The site comprises a group of three Roman temples with an earlier quadrangular ditch underneath them. The site is set in a heavily occupied ancient landscape (fig 4.7). The sanctuary is on a large and prominent hill, the Butte de Moulin à Vent. The hill is immediately south of the confluence of the Seine and Epte, on the opposite bank from the promontory fortification of Port-Villez, which was visible from the votive site (Bourgeois 1999:11). Bennecourt is also on a promontory; the Seine bends round it, and the site is bounded by water on three sides, which suggests a reason for the original siting of the sanctuary. There are three Roman settlements known around the banks of the Butte de Moulin à Vent promontory, and isolated Roman finds from the lower slopes, but Iron Age settlement has yet to be found. The situation of the votive site is visually dominant, with views over the surrounding area, and both river valleys (*ibid*:188, 196) for a significant distance.

Figure 4.7. Bennecourt in its local context (after Bourgeois 1999)



Eighty-four Iron Age coins (and 297 Roman ones) were found at Bennecourt (Yvelines) in stratified contexts (Bourgeois 1999, coin report Amandry & Bourgeois 1987). These consisted of 2 silver coins, 35 potins (including one British one[69]) and 47 struck bronzes.

The Iron Age issues from the site date predominantly to the first century BC, although the potins were minted earlier. The earliest activity on the site[70] occurred in the La Tène C2/ D1 transition (*ibid*: 31-34), the mid second century BC, with the construction of an enclosure ditch around a central pit (fig 4.8). As well as producing large quantities of animal bone (65.8% pig, 29.2% goat) and at least 161 ceramic vessels, brooches, jewellery and coins were deposited. This

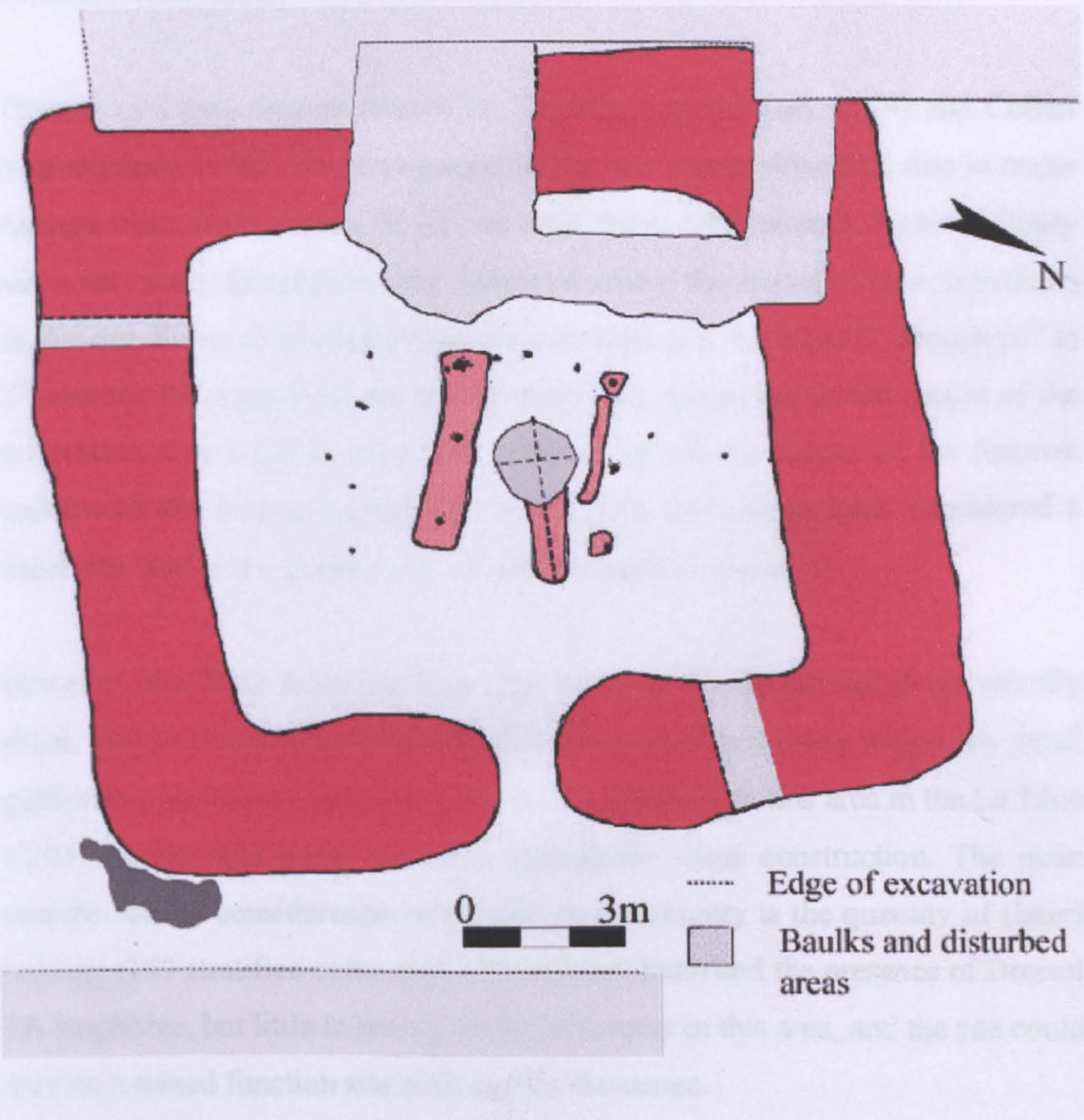
---

[69] An Allen class II linear type (Allen 1971)/ BM 715-23 (Hobbs 1996).

[70] Bourgeois (1999:16) suggests that a 'charnier' could have been present on the site in the Hallstatt/ La Tène transitional period by the presence of three earlier metal objects, small fragments of brooches and jewellery. However, if there had been anything on the scale of the

phase had 15 coins in stratified contexts. These were six LT 6328 potins, which came from the area to the south of the study area, but are early in date. Eight Scheers 206 types were found in the ditch, while one Scheers 203 was found. The coins all came from the south-eastern terminal of this ditch. The Scheers 203 series is one of the earliest potin series found in the eastern Paris basin, dating to the mid second century BC. The Scheers 206 is a smaller series, from around the Bennecourt area, but is of similar date.

Figure 4.8. Central area at Bennecourt (after Bourgeois 1999)



When we compare the coins to the other objects found in this ditch, it is clear that the date range of the other objects is fairly tight. There were no Nauheim

---

charniers from other early sanctuary sites, it is unlikely that so little would have been left. There is no other evidence for an earlier sanctuary.

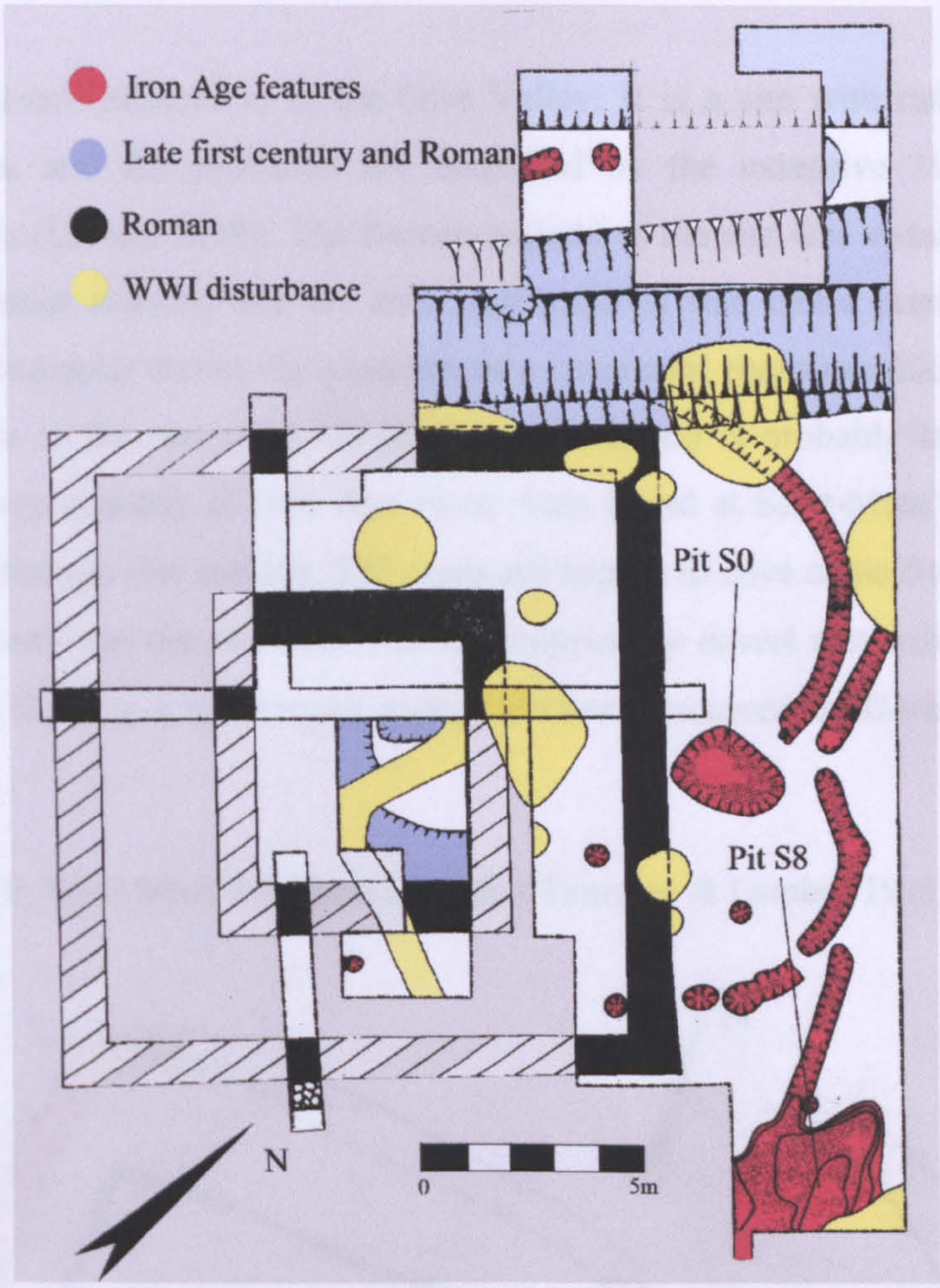
brooches from the enclosure ditch or the central pit, and the brooches, "*à ressort long*" types, have been dated to the earliest La Tène D1a (the short pre-Nauheim phase) by Miron (1986, 1994) after excavations at Horath and Wederath. The ceramic evidence supports a date around the La Tène C2 to D1 transition, around the middle of the second century BC. Morphologically the site is similar to burial enclosures, but the presence of so much material is unusual. The presence of a number of coins from the area to the south shows that the site did have some contact with central Gaul at this time, and Bennecourt is reminiscent of the funerary sanctuaries of the upper Seine and Yonne, although no human remains were present.

The site of Chilly was excavated by Vasselle (unpublished, 1974) and Collart (unpublished, 1979). The stratigraphy of the site was problematic, due to major damage from shells during WWI. As with many other sites in Picardy, Chilly had a very early foundation date, which pre-dated the arrival of coin deposition on the site. Some of the finds from the site, such as a 'La Tène II' brooch (4th to 3rd century BC transition) are clearly early, but due to the partial nature of the excavation it is hard to draw any conclusions on the nature of the features underneath the Roman temple (fig 4.9). Chilly has always been considered a ritual site, due to the presence of a Roman temple on top of it.

However, the finds from the Iron Age levels at Chilly are not diagnostically ritual. The presence of a palisade ditch with many phases along with many small gullies and postholes is not exceptional for settlement in this area in the La Tène C2/D1 period, and many not be a specifically ritual construction. The main reasons for the consideration of the site as a sanctuary is the quantity of (later) coinage (169 stratified coins, and 178 isolated finds) and the presence of Dressel 1A amphorae, but little is known about settlement in this area, and the site could well be a mixed function site such as Acy-Romance.

Chilly does illustrate the danger of rigid categorisation, and the projection of Roman cult status backward onto the Iron Age. While I believe that the labelling of Chilly as a sanctuary is in many ways simplistic, the presence of so many Iron Age coins do indicate some votive activity, so the site is included here.

Figure 4.9. Chilly (after Collart 1987)

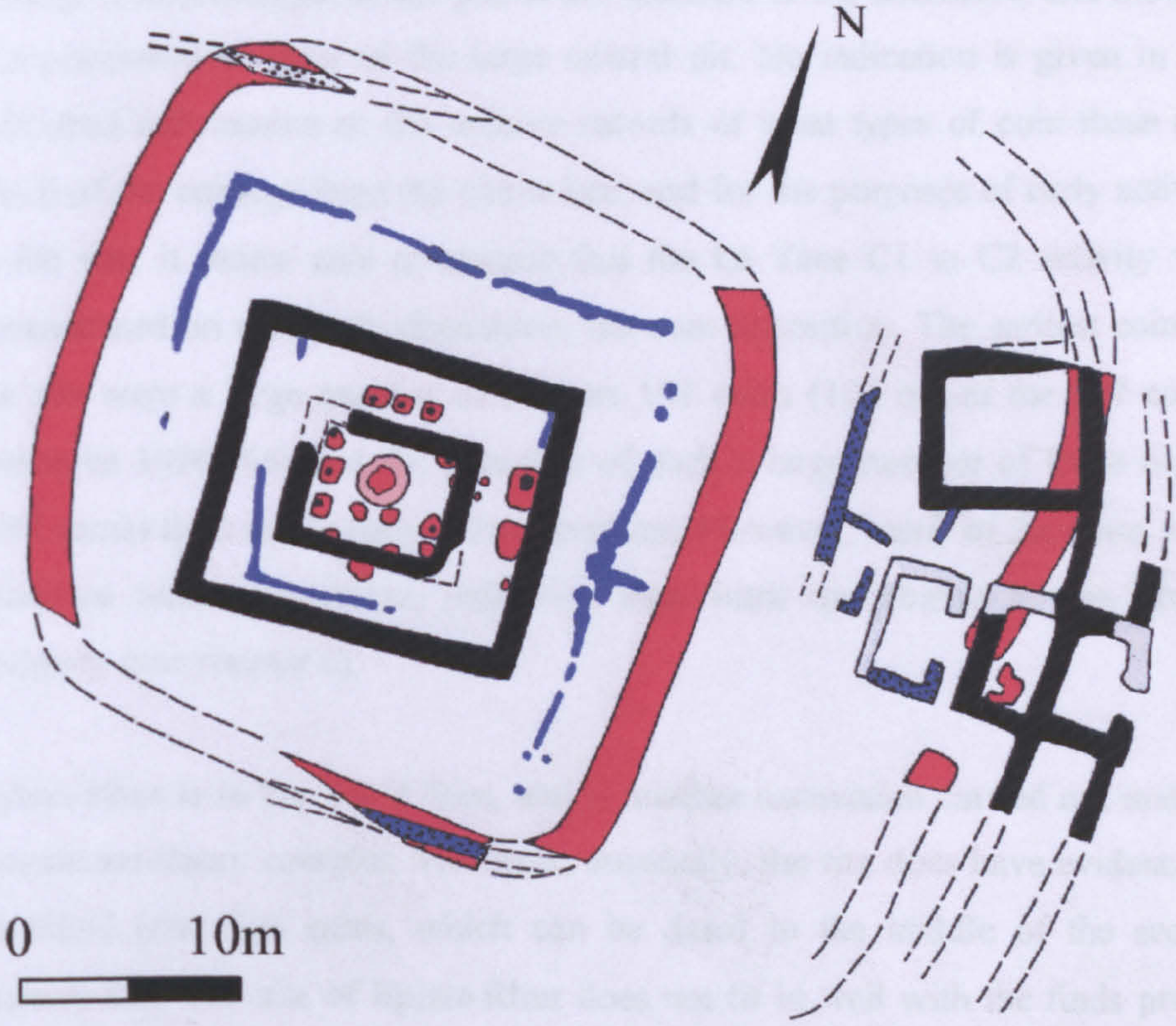


The site needs re-dating in the light of recent chronological developments, as the original dating relied heavily on the Colbert de Beaulieu 'Gallic War' dating, and it is clear that some parts of the site are significantly earlier. Only some of the contextual information from the site can be ascertained, which does not enable the position of all of the stratified coins to be analysed nor the exact situation of the coins in pits to be deduced. The earliest finds from the site (apart from some Neolithic activity) include a mid third century BC belt fitting (Collart 1987:64), which may suggest the deposition of weaponry on the site in this period. However, no other early material was found, apart from an iron brooch of similar date. The earliest coins are Scheers 191 potin coins, and theScheers 9 (class III) gold stater. The quantity of potin coins would not

suggest a great deal of early coin deposition, and the stratified examples were found with struck bronzes (Collart 1987, Delestrée 1996c).

Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée is in the Oise Valley. It is a site with rather patchy publication, and the problems are amplified by the extensive 19th century excavations (Liebbe 1898). The Roman activity at the site was virtually erased by antiquarian activity, but the Iron Age material was better preserved, and aerial photography shows the presence of a large oval enclosure ditch which is comparable to the one from Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, and is probably Iron Age in date. A large quantity of Iron Age coins were found at Saint-Maur in the 19th century, although few survive. 587 coins are known to have come from the site. More recently the site has been heavily stripped by covert metal-detector use, with such finds as a spectacular seated warrior (discussed by Derks 1998:46-48).

Figure 4.10. Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée (after Brunaux & Lambot 1991)



What makes Saint-Maur important as an early site is the presence of a set of circular pits (fig 4.10) which are morphologically similar to those from Gournay, and underlay the Roman temple. Archaeologists from the area usually date these types of pit to the La Tène C1-C2 period (e.g. Fichtl 1994:25) based on the dating from Gournay-sur-Aronde. The coins have been studied by Delestrée (1996a:64-68) who lists 587 coins, although some of these are from uncertain sources, and most are later. The chronology of the site is very difficult to assess, due to the lack of publication, and the dispersed nature of finds. Both Iron Age and Roman pottery come from the site, but little else can be said about the ceramic record. Weaponry fragments were also found, and these would support an early foundation date on the evidence of Ribemont and Gournay. Some of the weaponry fragments were very weathered, indicating a long period in the open air, and suggesting the presence of an open-air cult focus (Brunaux and Lambot 1991).

One point which can be made about coin deposition on the site is that Iron Age coinage is concentrated in the pits at the entrance to the enclosure, and the two pits positioned in front of the large central pit. No indication is given in the published information or the archive records of what types of coin these are. Much of the coinage from the site is late, and for the purposes of early activity at the site, it seems safe to assume that the La Tène C1 to C2 activity was concentrated on weaponry deposition, not coin deposition. The earliest coins at the site were a large number of Scheers 191 coins (104 out of the 587 coins, Delestrée 1996c:66) and the presence of such a large number of these potins (187 coins) does imply early coin deposition. However, many of the coins were found in residual contexts, indicating significant disturbance of the site in antiquity (see chapter 6).

Epiais-Rhus is in the Val d'Oise, and is another excavation carried out under a Roman sanctuary complex. However, unusually, the site does have evidence of stratified Iron Age coins, which can be dated to the middle of the second century BC. The site of Epiais-Rhus does not fit in well with the finds profile from the central Picardy sanctuaries, and some of the coins on the site are found in burial contexts, which is still fairly unusual in Belgic Gaul. Lardy et al (1987)

published the stratigraphical analysis of the site which had been carried out to that point, and he refers to the site as a "habitat". No plan for the site could be obtained by the author. The presence of stratified early coins and burials on the site may suggest a mixed purpose site, such as Acy-Romance.

Lardy (et al) use Colbert de Beaulieu's coin dating in their 1987 article, but it is clear that the chronology of the site can be pushed back significantly from the dates he proposes. It would also remove the problem of contraction of the archaeology into a very restricted chronology which occurs with the late coin dating. The extended chronology on this site is supported by the brooch dating.

The excavators divided up the ceramic phases on the site into 5. G1 consisted mostly of non-wheel turned local forms, largely S-profiled bowls or pedestal urns, along with early filiform brooches. The second and third phases of pottery were characterised by a steady decrease in the quantity of hand turned pottery, with most of the vessels in these two phases being decorated bowls (these mostly coming from G3) and pedestal urns. Brooches develop from medium tailed filiform brooches to a short footed/ arc filiform brooch between the two phases. Wheel turned pottery started to appear in G3. G4 sees another decrease in the quantities of hand turned pottery, and 'exotic' material starts to increase. This layer apparently produced Nauheim brooches, early iron brooches, and a few bronze filiform brooches, although the pottery is later.

Lardy et al (1987) date these stages as follows:

Phase	Proposed date, Lardy et al (1987)	Proposed revised date
G1	c. 250-120 BC	c.250-200 BC
G2	c. 120-80 BC	c.200-125 BC
G3	c. 80-50 BC	c.125-80 BC
G4	1– c. 50-20 BC, 2- c. 20 BC – 20 AD	c. 80 BC-

Lardy's dating is based largely on the premise that the potin coins cannot date any earlier than the Gallic Wars. Obviously, re-date the coins and the picture changes. The phase where BN 5284 and Scheers 203 potins first appear is the same one in which local forms were replaced with extra-regional pottery. These

coin types are now known to be early (Pion 1996, Haselgrove 1999a). The BN 5284 potins are a small series from the Vexin region, which are now believed to be the earliest potins in use in the study area, dating at least to the La Tène D1a period, the later second century BC (even La Tène C2 if Delestrée's 2003 chronology is used). The Scheers 203 potins are also early, dating to the earliest La Tène D1a period. Pion (1996) dates them to the latest La Tène C2 and D1a periods (c.165-120 BC), from examples found in the Aisne Valley at Acy-Romance, Damary and Bisseul.

When we look at the brooches found in the layers, these are also earlier in date. There are several different kinds of filiform brooch which have now been dated with more assurance in the Aisne Valley, and these agree with the earlier date now proposed by numismatists such as Delestrée and Haselgrove. For example, filiform brooches "à arc plat" have now been found in association with well dated Greco-Italic amphorae in the Aisne Valley (Pion 1996, Loughton 2003 for amphora dating). Amphorae have also been found with Nauheim brooches. Nauheim brooches were considered to date from the Gallic Wars period by Lardy, but recent work in the study area and Germany now indicates a much earlier date for the introduction of the (long-lived) type (summarised in Colin 1998). Aisne Valley examples now appear in the La Tène D1a period, from c.150-120 BC. The introduction of wheel-turned pottery has also been pushed back. It seems likely that all of the contexts can be pushed backward in date, and the coins fit in with this evidence.

Up until 1985, 293 Iron Age coins had been found on the site, 99 of which were from definite stratified contexts. Two layers contain the main Iron Age sequence, Layer 3, with occasional finds, and Layer 4, a silty brown/ black clay which contained the majority of the Iron Age finds. This was sealed by a layer of burnt wall material across much of the site. 60 pits or silos and 1000 postholes were found in an area 600m², which indicates dense activity, and extremely complex stratigraphy.

One of the most interesting discoveries at Epiais-Rhus, and one which is key to the understanding of depositional practices on the site, is the identification of

repetitive fills in a single feature which seem to have taken place in episodes. Many of the pits have a layer of burnt material, which was left to partially decompose with some deposition of 'rubbish'[71] occurring. Then a layer of natural clay was inserted and the process repeated, sometimes many times. This indicates a high level of organisation on the site, and many incidences of this are seen in the two fully analysed pits, Pit 3 (43 layers) and Pit 53 (15 layers). Some coins are known from these layers, perhaps seasonal deposits?

The site has a significant quantity of coinage from the so-called habitation layers. Fifty-eight coins are known from the occupation layer SP 2 (Lardy et al 1987:160). Six of these are from pits (2 from F3, one of the pits producing the layers of deposition mentioned above[72]). One of the coins from pit F40 was a silver Massalian obol, a BN 689 type associated with La Tène D1 wheel-turned pottery. The association of coinage with pottery is the main way of dating in the stratigraphic analysis available from the site. However, the stratigraphic associations are not stated in the publication (Lardy et al 1987:181-2), and it is unclear what other material comes from the features.

Three coins came from the earliest contexts dated to period G1 to G2. This is equated to Hatt's La Tène C/D transition by Lardy, but the pottery is now probably best dated to the early second century BC, or slightly earlier (which places it in the La Tène C2 period). The coins associated with this pottery are three BN 5284 types from three postholes, the early Vexin region potin coins, and they support the dating of the pottery well. This could potentially mean the deposition of coins in votive contexts right from their inception. As Haselgrove points out (*pers comm*) the quantity of pot sherds in these postholes (80, 1098 and 278 sherds) makes them pretty unusual (or very large) postholes, and it is likely that they are pits.

---

[71] This term was used by the excavators (Lardy et al 1987).

[72] These coins are a Scheers 51 thin silver coin, dating to the La Tène D1b period, which came from layer 11, about a third of the way from the bottom of the feature; and a Scheers 203 potin, one of the earliest potins from the northern Champagne region, dating to the La Tène C2 period. The potin came from layer 8b, several layers above the Scheers 51 coin. Both of these layers were associated with pottery of the La Tène D1b/ 2a period (Lardy et al 1987:181).

Unfortunately no other information about the positioning of the coins in specific postholes or their relation to other material is available. Another BN 5284 coin comes from a posthole on the site, with slightly later (LT D1a) pottery, and the quantity of pottery from this 'posthole' is also great. Three other BN 5284 coins are from postholes with La Tène D1b pottery.[73] It seems impossible that the features can be anything apart from pits with ritual deposition, due to the quantity of ceramics and coinage from them. Full publication is needed to make more certain, and establish the other material from the features, but this has not been forthcoming to date. With the exception of the Massalian obol (BN 689) all the coins from early contexts were potin, and it is clear that potin coins were deposited swiftly after their introduction to the area.

It is possible that Epiais-Rhus possessed a series of early pits such as the ones which have been discussed from Gournay and Saint-Maur. However, the information available cannot back up this theory with solid evidence, and it remains conjectural. The excavator of the site has suggested that area SP2 is a settlement area, and not a sanctuary, but the site has always been included under the lumped heading of sanctuaries by most authors (e.g. Fauduet 1993a) largely due to the presence of a later Roman temple on the site. While this is debatable, the site has undoubted ritual activity in the La Tène D1 period in the large pits, and is included in this survey for this reason. Quite apart from the presence of early stratified coinage, how many postholes have a thousand sherds of pottery in them?

Orrouy "Champlieu" is another of the Iron Age ritual sites which have been discovered under large Roman temple complexes. The site is on a plateau, which has evidence for extensive ditches around the central area. It is badly plough-damaged. Excavations by Cadoux and Woimant in the 1980s (Woimant 1993) attempted to find evidence for pre-Roman activity under the Roman ritual site, inspired by the excavations at Gournay and Ribemont.

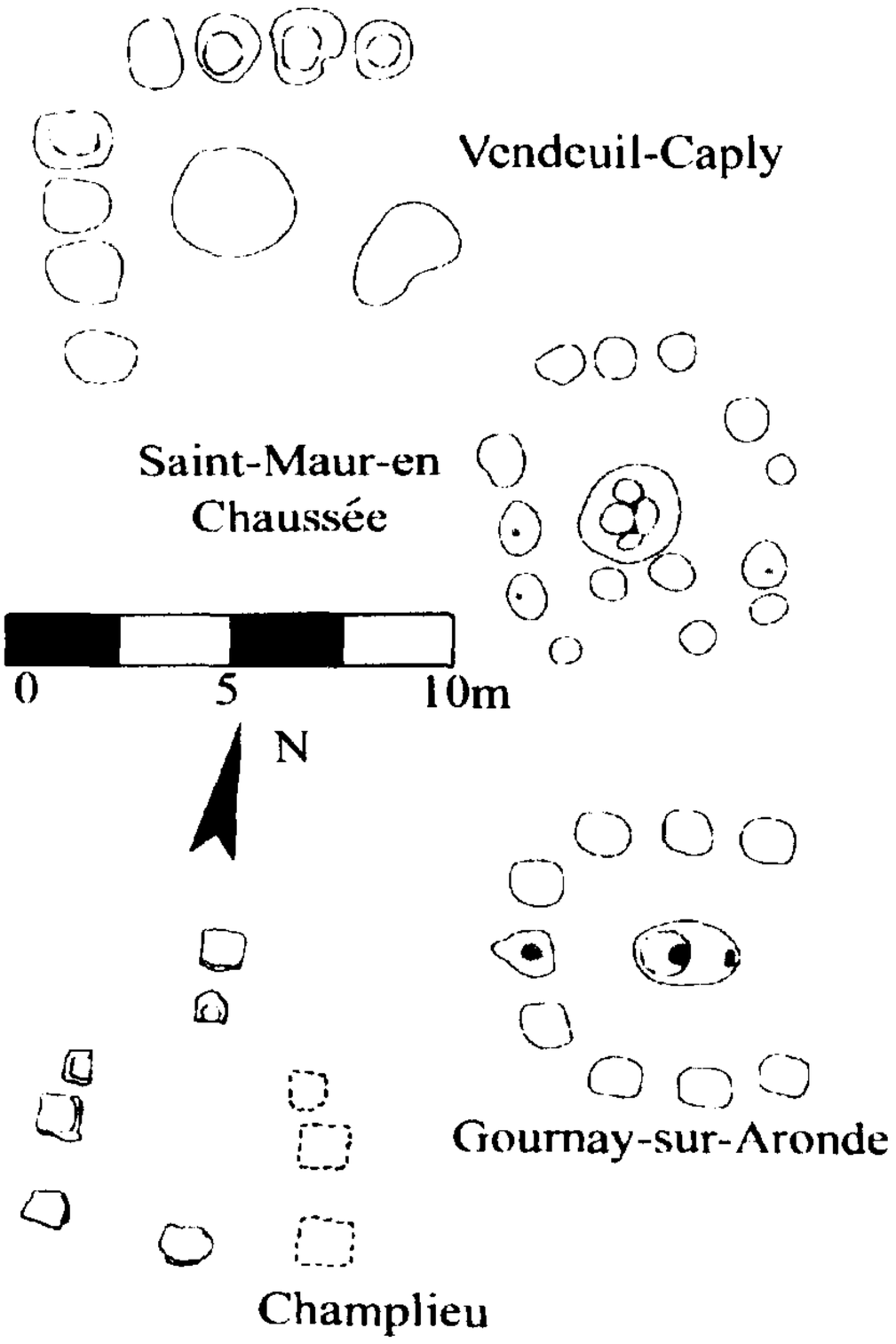
---

[73] Two have G2/ G3 pottery, from postholes PT322 and PT 334/365. The third is associated with G3 period pottery, and this comes from PT 372.

The coins have been published by Huysecom (1980) and Huysecom and Woimant (1983) and wear patterns are available. The site suffers from using the old coin chronology, and so the dating needs reviewing in light of modern work. There are considerable quantities of finds and features from underneath the Roman remains, and there are very early remains. Although the Roman construction layers had mostly destroyed it, fragments of third century BC weaponry were found in the remains of a possible Iron Age enclosure ditch which underlay the Roman *cella* wall. This feature also contained the remains of a few fragments of local hand-turned pottery, and lots of bone that was in very bad condition.

There are also a series of pits in the central area of the site similar to those found at Saint-Maur and Gournay-sur-Aronde (Woimant 1993:81) (fig 4.11), of which only half survive. These pits had no coins associated with them.

Figure 4.11. Composite pits at early votive sites (after various, including Fichtl 1994)



Fragmentary brooches, fragmentary weaponry, spears and a fragment of possible 'currency bar' were found in the central area. The excavators assumed (based on the model of Gournay) that they must have come from the ditches, but the well-preserved surface levels at Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Aube) (Piette 1981, see below) have produced weaponry which was apparently strewn across the site in antiquity. Of the features which are datable and associated with coinage, Ia 3 had a potin coin from the upper layer (no other information available). The rest of the information at Champlieu is largely associated with stages, of which stage 1 probably began in the late second century BC if not earlier (not c. 55/50-30 BC as the published article, Piette 1981, suggests). Some of the coins on the site are early,[74] but the coins appear to come mostly from the upper layers on the site, and due to the lack of coherent vertical stratigraphy in the features, several which appear to have several phases cannot be further elucidated.

The lack of coins stratified to early levels at Champlieu suggests that coinage played no part in the early manifestations of ritual on the site. The presence of the remains of a pit circle, early weaponry and brooches do indicate early activity on the site. However, the information is simply not available to make any further comments on the earliest activity on the site, and the bulk of the coinage comes from the later La Tène phase, and is discussed in the next chapter.

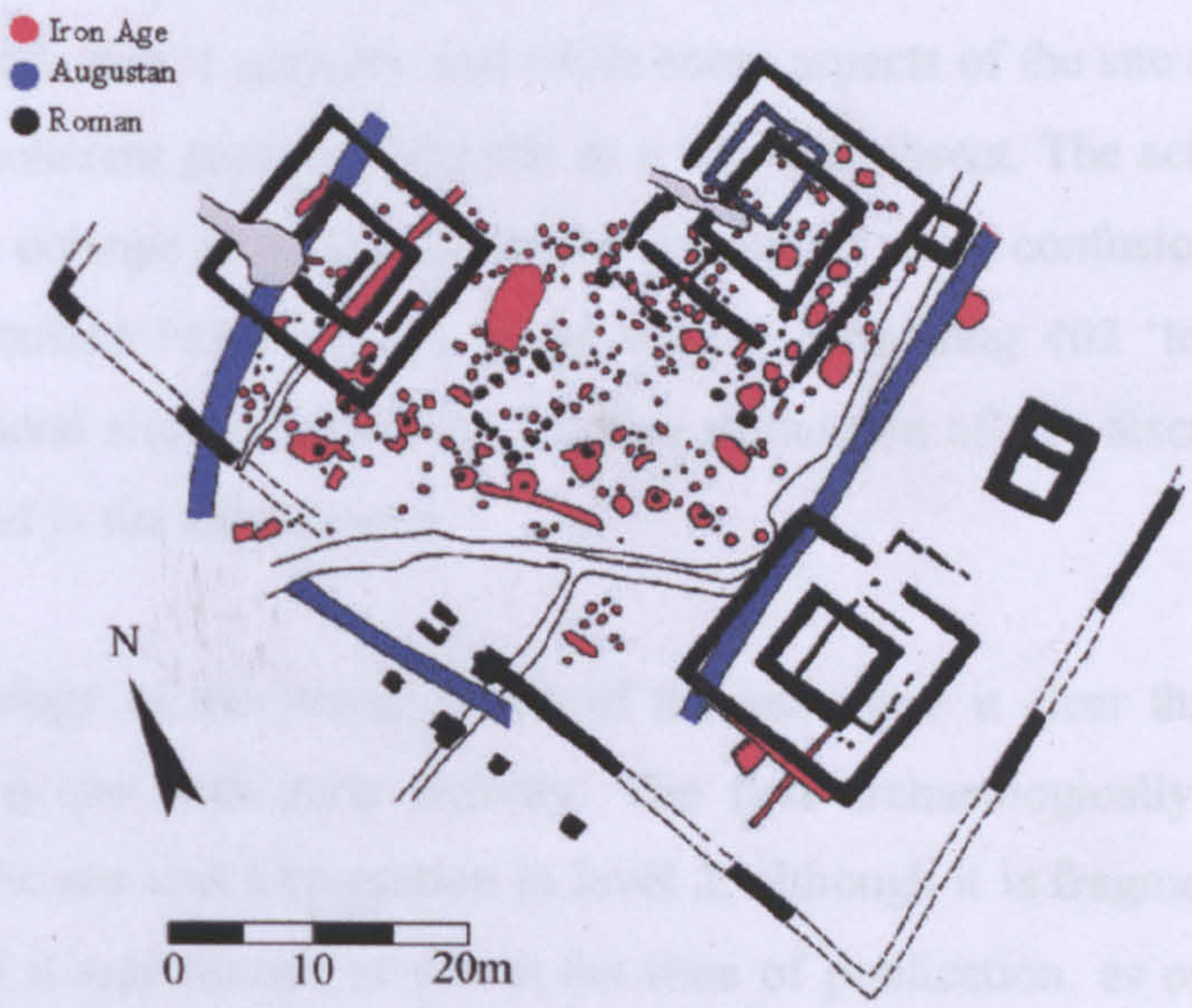
The site of Éstrees-Saint-Denis (Oise) became a massive and important Roman centre, of which several parts have been excavated. The site has been intensively metal-detected, and this has badly damaged the archaeological remains on the site. Consequently, there are question marks over some aspects of the early archaeology which cannot be answered. The ceramic record is extremely fragmentary. Éstrees-Saint-Denis has a history of extensive excavation. As well as many antiquarian excavations, the main 'sanctuary' site

[74] There is a Scheers 152 gold ¼-stater, and a number of early potins, principally the Scheers 191 series, some of which are only lightly worn. Of course, introducing the problem of wear on coins introduces a whole new set of problems: such as the nature of coin circulation and use in the wider context of the European Iron Age. These have still not been fully considered by numismatists and archaeologists. However, here is not the place to review these major problems.

was dug by Woimant from 1983-88 and in 1993, while recent work has been carried out at 'Le Moulin des Hayes' and 'Les Sablons' by Quérel (1996, 2001), looking at apparent settlement evidence. These two areas have the only structural evidence for pre-Roman activity which has been discovered to date.

The 1993 excavations by Woimant uncovered very few finds apart from coinage. The Roman layers had been largely eroded or "destroyed by the surface stripping of workmen".[75] Of the 199 coins, 61 are potin, and of these 11 are the LT 7417 type (which comes from early contexts in the study area) and 16 are Scheers 191 (which was minted by the early La Tène D1a period). The stratigraphy on the site is extremely complex, with a mass of features. Regrettably, these are not fully resolved in the available publications, or in the regional archives. If we take the plan by Delestrée (1996:51) as an exact one (fig 4.12), it is evident that the features which he shows underneath the Roman temple buildings (these are in black, the Augustan features in blue, and Iron Age in red) do not have the appearance of ritual structures, but instead look like small 'granary' and post-built structures. They would not be out of place on a settlement in this area.

Figure 4.12. Éstrees-Saint-Denis (after Woimant 1991)



[75] Woimant is rather coy as to whether he means the 19th century excavations which are known to have occurred at the site, or modern 'fouilleurs clandestins'.

The case for early Iron Age ritual activity rests on the weaponry and the considerable quantities of human bone from the site, which include skulls and some complete skeletons. The presence of a Scheers 13 quarter stater which probably originated in the La Tène D1a period, and another quarter (Delestrée, SENA. no.87, 129, 1986 type) is not persuasive for the presence of early gold deposits, as the potin was earlier in date (as at Chilly). The site is not fully published, although likely that the pre-Roman activity had some similarities with other sites which have produced weaponry and human remains. The presence of a Scheers 5 type elsewhere on the site is worth mentioning, although it came from a 'settlement' occupation layer (Roymans 1990). Tarentine copies are only found in Picardy, and in small numbers,[76] but it is interesting that both Epiais-Rhus and Ribemont-sur-Ancre have produced these very early coins. The material from the other excavation (Quérel 2001) dates to the first century BC, apart from a few bits of fragmentary weaponry (see chapter 4).

The villages of Vendeuil and Caply to the north-east of Beauvais formed the focus of a large Roman settlement, a series of smaller sites which have been the focus of a long-term excavation programme. The Iron Age and Roman votive area at Vendeuil-Caply was published in an article (Piton and Dilly 1985) and a series of papers edited by Piton (1993). Unfortunately the edited volume raises more questions than it answers, and while some aspects of the site are analysed in depth, a coherent picture of the site as a whole is absent. The actual quantity of Iron Age coinage from the site is the subject of some confusion: Delestrée (1996a) identified 163 Iron Age coins, despite discussing 403 'temple' coins and 369 general site coins in 1985. Further discussion of this discrepancy will be considered in the next chapter.

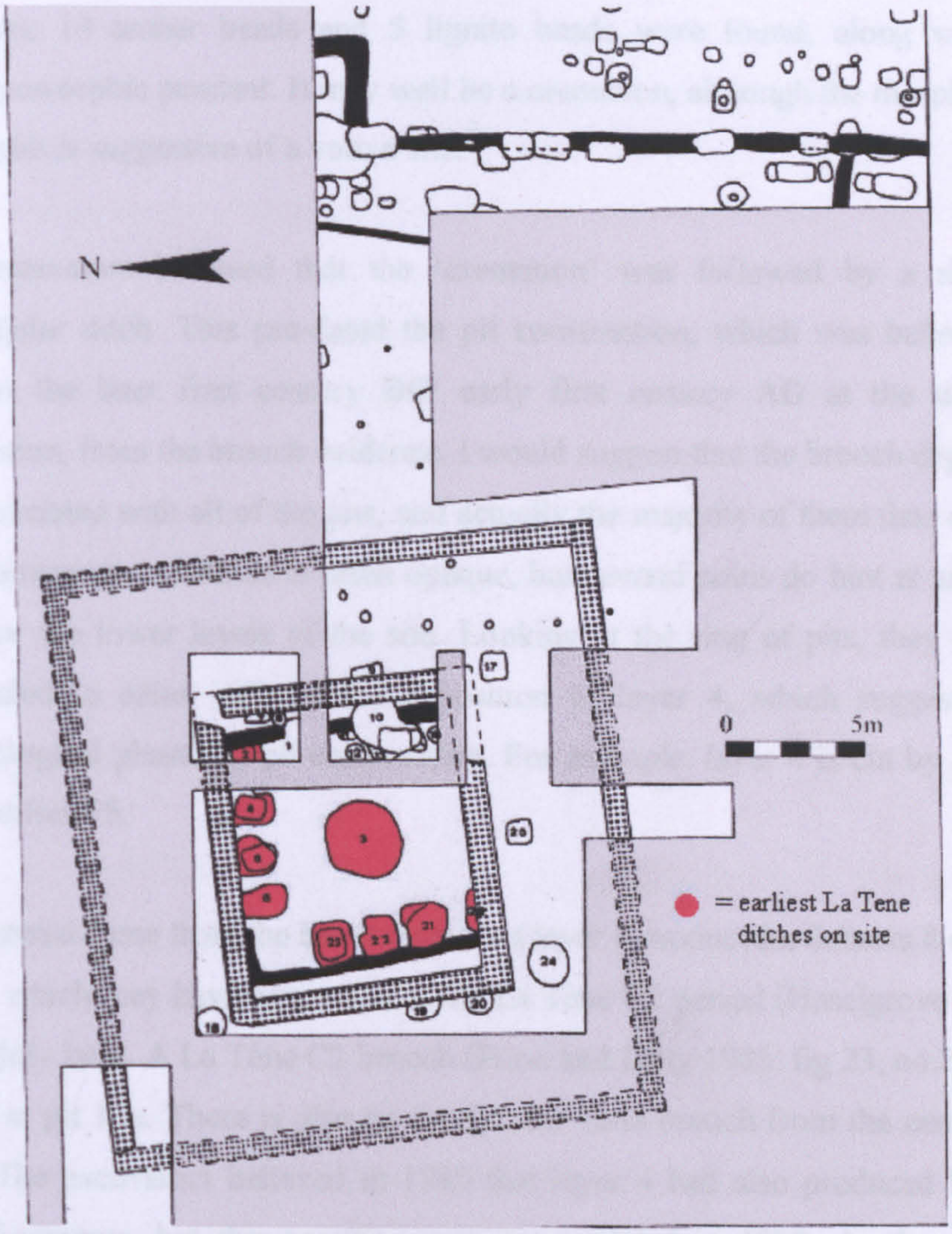
The archaeology of the lowest levels of the site make it clear that Vendeuil-Caply was a site with early activity. The first archaeologically identifiable activity at the site was a cremation in level 2, although it is fragmentary, and it is unclear if it was human or not at the time of publication, as only traces of carbon remained. Piton and Dilly suggested that it may have been the focus of

---

[76] The main discoveries are fairly tightly distributed around modern Amiens (Scheers 1977).

later cult activity based on the premise of ancestor worship (1985:32), although this must remain speculative.

Figure 4.13. Vendeuil-Caply (after Piton & Dilly 1985)



As at Gournay and Saint-Maur (both of which are nearby) the site has a collection of early pits in the centre of an enclosure. No coins were associated with this level, although 78 "La Tène II and III"[77] brooches are 'associated' with

[77] Delestrée (1996a:46) refers to these as a homogeneous deposit of Alésia and Aucissa brooches, which would make the brooch deposit datable with some certainty, and significantly later than c. 100 BC. Colin (1998:42) dates the Alésia type to the second half of the first century BC, with a few appearing slightly earlier. The Aucissa brooches are an evolved form of the Alésia brooches, and form the majority of the brooch types found at Haltern and Oberaden (the former occupied 8/7 BC to 9 AD, the latter 11-8/7 BC from dendrochronological dating). However, a question mark must be placed over the association of the brooch deposit to the stratigraphy of the rest of site, as it is never made totally clear. If the stratigraphy is as Delestrée indicates, then the lower layers were post-Conquest, highly unlikely considering the other finds.

the pits. There is unfortunately very little pottery from the site due to soil conditions. There is some suggestion from the section drawings (fig 4.13) that the pits are two phase, and this may explain the wide time span of the brooch evidence. The central pit has also produced beads (of which there are 194 from the site), 14 amber beads and 5 lignite beads were found, along with an anthropomorphic pendant. It may well be a cremation, although the morphology of the pits is suggestive of a votive site.[78]

The excavators believed that the 'cremation' was followed by a shallow rectangular ditch. This pre-dated the pit construction, which was believed to date to the later first century BC/ early first century AD at the time of excavation, from the brooch evidence. I would suggest that the brooch deposit is not associated with all of the pits, and actually the majority of them date earlier. The numismatic evidence is often opaque, but several coins do hint at an early start for the lower levels of the site. Looking at the ring of pits, they are all associated to either side of the deposition of layer 4, which suggests two chronological phases of pit construction. For example: layer 4 is cut by pit F4, but overlies F5.

No material came from the lower levels but layer 4 produced a Scheers 8 quarter stater, which may have originated in the La Tène C2 period (Haselgrove 1999), or slightly later. A La Tène C2 brooch (Piton and Dilly 1985: fig 23, no.24) was found in pit 10a. There is also an "early" La Tène brooch from the central pit (F3). The excavators believed in 1985 that layer 4 had also produced Roman altar fragments, but this assertion was not repeated in 1993. As the area in question is well below the level of any Roman activity on the site, I would suggest that this is extremely unlikely. The presence of a large quantity of early potin (e.g. Scheers 191 and LT 7405) also supports the idea of significant activity before the middle of the second century BC, and indicates that the site was probably in use at this time.

---

[78] Other votive sites have also produced beads. For example, the site of Ballieul-sur-Thérain (Berton 1879) produced amber and glass beads from the central votive area.

4.2.1.2. NUMISMATIC SITES

Several other sites have produced evidence of minor early activity in this area. However due to a series of factors, usually a lack of excavation, or unclear antiquarian reports, they must be considered in less detail. Not all of the sites have coins on them either, although it must be emphasised that in this early stage, coinage is not a common deposit on any type of site. The sites fall into several categories, probably artificial ones, but useful nonetheless. The presence of early but unstratified coinage is probably the most shaky of these categories, due to the known mobility and residuality of coins, but sites with very early coins are mentioned here although they must be viewed with healthy scepticism. Sites which do not have early coins, but have other artefacts which are diagnostically early in date are perhaps slightly more reliable, as the mobility of other artefacts is known to be lower (e.g. larger objects). The sites that combine early coinage with other forms of early activity are most likely to have early deposition, not residual finds, but it must be emphasised that none of the coinage is stratified.

Digeon is best known for the later La Tène finds, but it is still not fully published. The Iron Age site below the Roman temple produced weaponry dating to the second century BC (and probably earlier using modern reassessments)- mostly belt fittings and assorted sword and shield fragments (Delplace et al 1986). Some of these did have some shallow stratified context remaining (on the very eroded site), but no coins were associated with this early layer, and it must be assumed that it pre-dates the adoption of coinage on the site.

Delestrée (1996a:91) recorded one apparently early deposit of coins, a hoard of 29 gold coins from the 'clay-sand' layer 'above' the La Tène sanctuary. If the sanctuary dates from the second century BC (and this is a conservative estimate), then the coins could be from any point after the deposition of the original weaponry, and we could be dealing with a very early deposit. The hoard consisted of 29 gold coins: one uniface stater, copying the helmet types of the earliest coins from Normandy, one coin "*à l'arbre*", which seems to have been a

Scheers 13, and a Scheers 24 stater. The other 26 coins which are described as "*exemplaires unifaces d'une totale fraîcheur de frappe*" (Delestrée 1996a:91), either unstruck blanks or extremely worn Scheers 24 coins. With the exception of the first coin none of these are very early. Although exact ascription to a type is impossible due to the vague description of the coins, it is likely that they do not pre-date the La Tène D1b period, and are not as early as the weaponry deposits.

An important ritual deposit was excavated at Mœuvres (Pas-de-Calais) in 1913, during the construction of a canal (Salomon 1913). This contained the mixed remains of about 200 individuals, with weaponry and brooches. There were no skulls present (Salomon 1913: 319, Déchelette 1914: 1040-41). Mœuvres is in the extreme south-east of the Pas-de-Calais, and there are no geographical reasons why it should not be regarded as part of the Picardy/ Seine-Maritime group, as it is only a short distance to the north of Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

The large numbers of individual skeletons without skulls do seem to place Mœuvres tentatively with those other very early sites which also contain large numbers of human remains such as Gournay-sur-Aronde, Fesques and especially Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Brunaux 1986:83, Brunaux 2000; Roymans 1990:66). There were no coins or diagnostically late finds recorded by Déchelette (1914: 1040-1), implying that the site could have been in use in the late 3rd century to early 2nd century[79]. However, it is hard to draw any firm conclusions about the site from such an old and unsystematic excavation, as it could potentially have been a large sanctuary site, of which the ditch was probably only a section.

The Abbé Cochet found two coins from the central area of the *oppidum* of Fécamp "Camp du Canada" in the nineteenth century. These came from the central area of the oppidum, which was bounded by a quadrangular enclosure, and as Wheeler pointed out (Wheeler and Richardson 1957:65), do sound as though they came from a probable votive site, as the Abbé is recorded as

[79] Déchelette dates it to the La Tène II period.

digging "around the margins of the pool". The coins are early, one was a central Gallic gold half stater, while the other was a pale half stater of the Calvados type, similar to those discussed at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Scheers 1978). No further excavation has been carried out on the pool area of the site, but Wheeler and Richardson found no coins during their 1930's excavations on the fortifications of the site.

Pierrefonds "Mont Berny" is the last of the sanctuary sites from this area that may have an early starting date. The site is an *oppidum*, which continued in occupation into the Roman period. Mont Berny has produced a great quantity of Iron Age material, although the only publication of the excavations was by Caucheme (1900), and many details remain obscure. The ritual deposits consisted mostly of coinage, but there was a large ditch around the outside with ossuarial evidence (mainly horse, cow, pig and ovicaprid bones, with human bone also being present). The excavation report is not terribly illuminating, but I believe that Fichtl (1994:171) is probably right when he tentatively dated the initial ditch to the La Tène C2 to D1 period, around c.150 BC, based on comparison with Gournay-sur-Aronde. There is hand-turned Iron Age pottery from the site which would back up this theory (Jouve 1973).

4.2.1.3. SUMMARY

The early votive sites in the Picardy area do have a distinct character to them, and in many ways, archaeologists are justified in viewing these sites as a distinct group. However, there are problems. Most of the sites discussed above have been discovered by looking underneath Roman temples, and this approach is now beginning to be questioned in the light of sites such as Fesques, which show that continuity and development into Roman sanctuaries was not inevitable.

Some grouping of the early sites is evident. The Oise sees the most spectacular evidence of this, with Orrouy/ Champlieu, Pierrefonds, Éstrees-Saint-Denis, Gournay-sur-Aronde, St-Just en Chausée, Vendeuil-Caply and Saint-Maur all very tightly grouped geographically (fig 4.3). It does suggest that the area may

have been in a liminal zone in the third century BC. On the other hand it could just indicate the effect of Gournay-sur-Aronde on local archaeology, and the prolific excavations of Jean-Louis Brunaux in the area. The Oise region with the concentration of sites does have a series of small rivers which originate in its low chalk hills and drain into the Oise and the Somme. These include the Aronde, the Arré, the Herperie, the Brêche and the Noye. The source of so many streams and rivers in the area may have been one of the reasons for the situation of so many sites so close together, although not all of the sites can be tied to modern river sources.

Some regional characteristics do seem to link the majority of these sites. The presence of a standardised layout is clear on several of them, with an enclosure ditch and a collection of pits in the centre (as best preserved at Gournay, fig 4.11). The material culture also appears to be dominated by several types of evidence in the earlier phases of the votive sites. Weaponry and bones (animal and human) dominate the early phases of the sites, with only occasional deposits of coins and smaller types of metalwork.

4.2.2. NORTHERN CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE/ AISNE AREA

The votive sites that appear in the area to the east of the Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/Yvelines group are very different in form. The nature of votive deposition in the area is spread more widely across a range of sites, and is not confined to 'sanctuaries'. Recent excavations on non-votive sites in the area, especially in the intensively studied Aisne Valley, are more common than in the area to the west, and more is known about these aspects of society. Some areas do produce Iron Age coinage from settlement sites and this, combined with the well-dated local pottery,[80] helps to provide one of the more reliable chronologies for the later Iron Age available in France for the Aisne Valley. Some settlement sites in the north of the Aisne département have votive deposition, such as Vermand "Champ des Lavoirs" (Lemaire and Malrain

[80] And the extensive archaeological work carried out in the area in advance of gravel extraction.

2000), which produced a number of articulated skeletons[81] dating to the third century BC. Work is patchy in the Champagne area, and comparatively little is known about the Ardennes. Few votive sites in the area have produced coinage that has been stratified to early levels. However, some sites have emerged in the last ten years which combine votive function and settlement, and seem to have been hybrid sites, such as Acy-Romance.

Acy-Romance (Ardennes) was initially excavated as a settlement with surrounding cemeteries, but in recent years the interpretation has changed, and the excavators now refer to the site as a sanctuary (e.g. Lambot & Méniel 2000). The cemeteries surrounding the settlement / votive centre have seen extensive excavation (Lambot, Friboulet & Méniel 1994). As well as the continuation of building construction on burial sites (a practice which changes at this time in Picardy), votive finds and coins were placed within graves in this area, although they are not common finds. They are mostly potin and struck bronze, reflecting the majority of coinage in circulation in the upper Aisne, and are found from the second half of the second century BC.[82] An example of votive objects in a funerary context is the bronze half *rouelle* discovered in grave I:11 at Thugny-Trugny "Le Mayet" on the upper Aisne in a late second century BC context.[83]

Lambot and Méniel also identified an intensification of votive deposition at Acy-Romance in the La Tène D1a period, with iron tools found in post-holes, and a large quantity of animal remains. However, this votive focus probably began earlier. Some of the silos in the central "ritual" area now seem likely to

---

[81] Such as a single deposit of 22 lambs in a ditch.

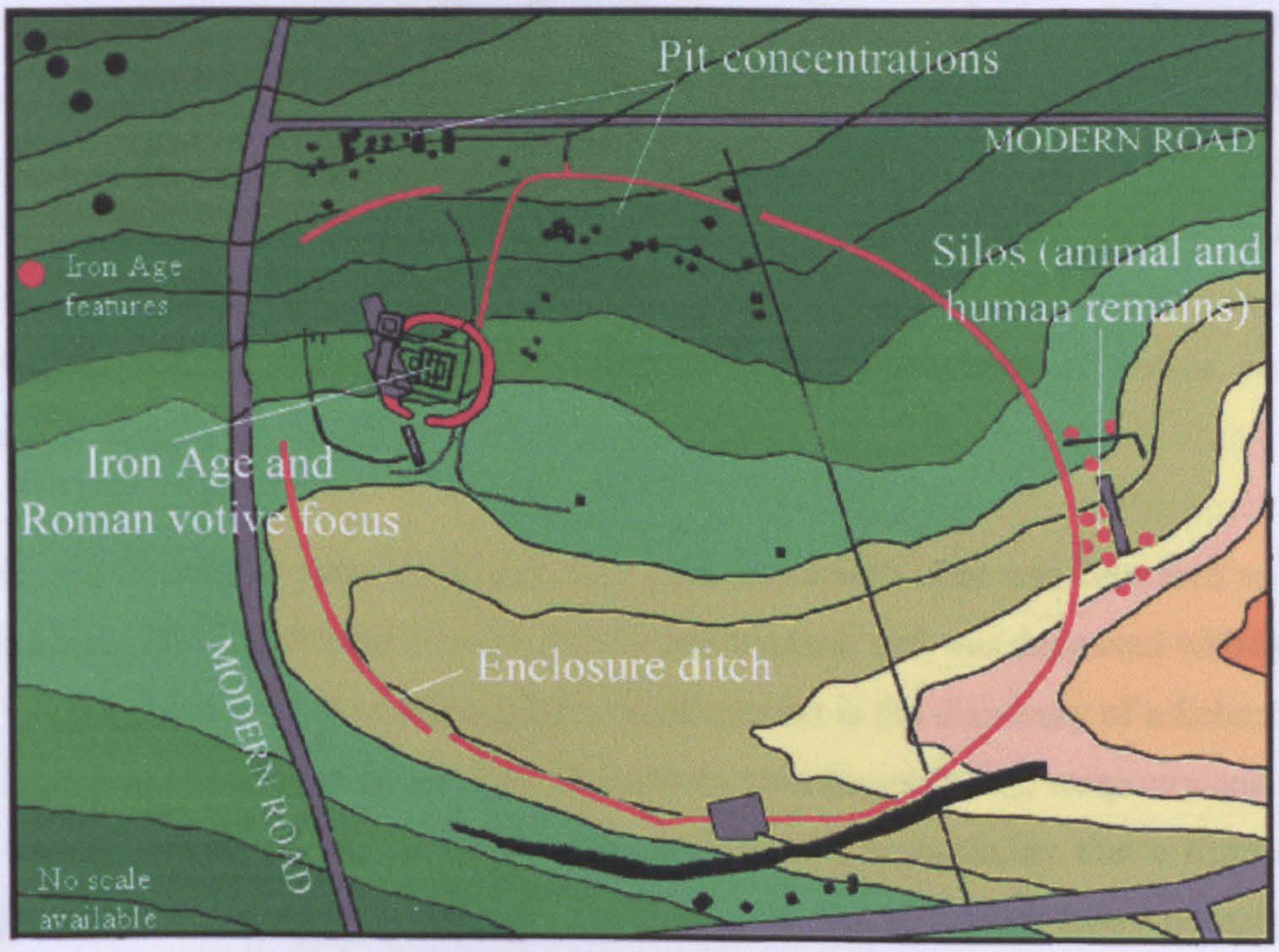
[82] Due to space I have not included an exhaustive list of examples here. I direct the reader to Polenz (1982) and Lambot, Friboulet & Méniel (1994) for further information on the use of coins as grave-goods in the upper Aisne and Ardennes. However, it is worth briefly indicating the well-dated and recently published finds from Acy-Romance. "La Noue Mauroy II": a Scheers 191 potin from a phase 5 tomb (c. 90-70 BC), another Scheers 191 from a phase 7 tomb (c. 50-30 BC) and 7 Scheers 191's from another phase 5 tomb. "La Noue Mauroy I": a Scheers 120 struck bronze in a phase 4 tomb (c. 110-90 BC), a Scheers 152 struck bronze from a phase 5 tomb, and another unidentified struck bronze, also in a phase 5 context. "La Croisette": eight Scheers 191 potins from a La Tène C2 context (the first half of the second century BC), one of the earliest potin contexts in the study area.

[83] Other finds from the grave were two vases "à jatte" (S-shaped urns), a decorated belt loop, an iron Nauheim brooch, an iron filiform brooch, the latter with a fragment of blue glass bracelet stuck to it and a fragment of a bronze ring (Lambot, Friboulet & Méniel 1994). All of these finds are diagnostic of the last decades of the second century BC to the earliest first century BC.

date from the La Tène C2 period (c.150 BC) onwards, and have produced coins. Silo 3362 contained a Scheers 191 potin and a bronze Nauheim brooch (type Feugère 5a), while 3360 also produced a potin (Scheers 186) as well as a fragment of Dressel 1A amphora rim, a fragment of tubular bracelet and a La Tène C2 brooch. A nearby post-hole (St. 3364) produced what appears to be a miniature shield, and a Scheers 203 potin (Lambot & Méniel 2000:86-88). All of these are found in an area which has produced a significant quantity of structured deposition from the second century BC onwards.

Both Nanteuil-sur-Aisne and Roizy are close to Acy-Romance, and activity on both of these sites can be said to start in earnest in the early second century BC. Nanteuil-sur-Aisne is a vast site (fig 4.14).

Figure 4.14. Nanteuil-sur-Aisne (after Lambot 1996a)



The central sanctuary is morphologically similar to many of those found further west, but aerial photography has identified a massive enclosure ditch around the whole area[84] (Lambot 1996a). The central Iron Age circular ditch encloses an

[84] Which raises the question of how many other sites could be more extensive than the area normally excavated around the central shrine?

area 165m², which indicates that the area covered by the outer enclosure is in excess of 4000m², although no exact proportion was available. Nanteuil-sur-Aisne produced silos from outside the large enclosure which had both horses and humans interred in them. It also had a fourth to third century BC transition brooch which was discovered on the surface, which perhaps suggests an early start to the site (Lambot 1978). The site suffered from ill-recorded excavation in the late 1950's and early 60's (Guerin 1961) although the history of excavation at the site has been reviewed by Lambot (1989).

The ditches at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne produced much votive material from Guerin's excavations: bent weaponry, hundreds of coins, human and animal bones and Iron Age pottery are amongst the earlier finds. Surface finds from Nanteuil include half-made brooches, which probably indicate production on the site.[85] Few of the older finds are from any coherent context, but there are a few hints. One coin (number 58), a 'Catalauni issue of a seated god facing horses', which is probably a Scheers 194 potin, was found with what seems to be a Scheers 191 potin and a bronze 'filiform bracelet' (brooch?), a large chunk of sword, many boar and pig bones and unidentified small bits of iron. This does suggest a ritual deposit, with the prevalence of pig bones and the presence of weaponry (see Méniel 1992 for details on the animal bone composition of votive site assemblages).

Two Scheers 191 potins (100 and 101) were found with what was described as a La Tène III brooch which had been bent and twisted, and was deposited without the pin. Another find which suggests ritual context is the discovery of a Scheers 191 (coin 89) with an unspecified Suessiones coin (number 88), weaponry and a bronze wheel, although this is not certain. There is a possibility that a Roman brooch may be associated with this deposit. Of the 109 coins from the early excavation 43 of them are Scheers 191 coins, and another 12 seem to be Scheers 195, 194 and 186 types, by the descriptions. This suggests a predominance of early types, although very little information can be gleaned from the enigmatic notes and vague sketches. A great deal of weaponry was found, but little other

information is present, and much of it seemed to be miniature, which would imply a late date.

In the recent excavations much useful information was obtained. Unfortunately Mr. Guerin and his parents had effectively removed the stratigraphy of the central sanctuary area, but a half sword was found at the base of the ploughsoil, and a shield handle was found in what Lambot (1991a) considered to be a definitely Iron Age ditch. The large ditch to the north turned out to have many phases, but the final fill dated to the later first century BC. In 1996 (Lambot 1996a) weaponry was found in the area below the gallery of the smaller temple, lying flat on the ground surface. Fragments of bone were also present. The weapons dated to La Tène C2, the earlier second century BC. Outside of the largest enclosure a collection of silos were discovered, although it is uncertain if they had any link to the original site, as they were some distance from the site of the weaponry.

Lambot investigated these pits, which appeared very similar to those at Acy-Romance. St 3 produced a horse skeleton with feet pointing east with two decapitated human skeletons on top. The pottery from the deposit dated to the 5th century BC. However, it is not clear if this area was connected to the ritual centre, or if it was a separate settlement. Perhaps we are looking at another complex like Acy-Romance? The presence of La Tène C2 and D1a weaponry at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, much of it found under the Roman temple, does suggest an early start to activity in the central area. The surface finds indicate continuity from the La Tène C2 to the start of the first century AD, although there are no features that can give a clear indication of structural continuity over this period. The destruction of the central sanctuary is regrettable, as judging by the volume of finds and the depth of delving in the 1959-61 digs, features and stratified contexts had survived on the site.

The previously unexcavated site at Roizy "Le Cinq Horles" was sampled by

---

[85] No indication is given of the types of brooch. The site is known to have a metal-detecting problem, and material is probably not being reported.

Lambot in 1991, at the same time that he investigated Nanteuil-sur-Aisne. The site had been metal-detected for many years, and the majority of metalwork had been stripped out. Like many of the other votive sites in this region, Roizy is on the west flank of a chalky outcrop, 2.5 km to the north-east of the confluence of the Wassigneau and Retourne rivers, and some 4km to the south of the Aisne itself. It seems to have developed into a fairly major complex in the Roman period, and archaeological finds are attested over c. 7.5 ha (Lambot 1991a). Features to the south of the Roman temple are considered to be Iron Age pits or silos by Lambot, due to their morphological similarity to the silos from Nanteuil-sur-Aisne and Acy-Romance. The severe metal-detector problem on the site suggests that there was originally a great deal of metalwork present. Not much more can be said, but there is a distinct possibility that the site is early in date, due to its geographical position, surrounded by other very early sites.

Chateau-Porcien is an *oppidum* on the right bank of the Aisne, which has produced Iron Age coinage from several parts of the site. Although it is likely that there were several votive foci on the plateau, the site of "Nandin" has been excavated, and 377 Iron Age coins have been found during various excavations and surface collections (Delestrée 1996a:133). However, only 9 coins were found in archaeological contexts. Although the majority of the Iron Age coin finds from the excavations at Chateau-Porcien "Nandin" came from the Augustan layers, one area of the site has a suggestion of an earlier, pre-Roman cult focus. It has not been fully excavated or published, but an area which the excavators considered to be a foundry due to the quantity of metalwork there (Neiss 1971) arouses suspicion. As well as the (unspecified) metalwork, the area produced pins and brooches, and a small stone block engraved with wheels (a mould?).

A potin "of the Catalauni" (probably a Scheers 191 or 194) was found in the area. Under the later fanum a series of pits was found (Neiss 1972) with no Roman finds. One of the pits contained a deposit of just under a hundred cow horns, which argues strongly for ritual deposition. "Numerous examples" of Scheers 191 potin coins were discovered at the site historically (Scheers 1977), suggesting the excavation of an early votive focus in the 19th century. Of the

coins from Nandin recorded by Delestrée, the majority are later bronze issues, but some silver and potin has been found (12 and 28 coins respectively) which may be earlier.

4.2.2.1. SUMMARY

The northern Champagne-Ardenne/Aisne area does seem to have a concentration of early sites around the upper Aisne, immediately to the west of the Ardennes, similar to the concentration in the Oise area. Again, there is the bias of a prolific local archaeologist (in this case Bernard Lambot), so it is difficult to judge just how many of the finds are due to this factor. However, the early deposition of coins in votive contexts is sufficiently unusual to be noted, and it seems likely that there is a true concentration here too. The prolific excavations in the middle Aisne Valley have not produced any evidence for votive sites in the early period, supporting this hypothesis. The most significant difference in this area is the multi-functionality of sites, with the boundary between votive and settlement sites being less definite than it seems to have been in the Picardy.

4.2.3. THE COASTAL PLAIN AREA

Any ritual activity from the Nord-Pas-de-Calais area is difficult to identify with conviction, let alone its manifestations in the third and second centuries BC. Despite a concentration of antiquarian work, there are still very few sites which can be considered as equivalent to the sanctuaries of Picardy and Seine-Maritime. A very different votive tradition is at work in this area, and anyway most of the ritual sites that are known have either little or no excavation. Coins are extremely unusual finds on archaeological sites of this area until the La Tène D2b period.

The structure of society in the north of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais (to the north of the Artois area) varied from the areas to the south in the later La Tène period. Due to the relatively undiagnostic ceramic record, the identification of structural activity in the area has been slow, but the archaeological record has been greatly

expanded in the last 15 years, with major excavations at Villeneuve d'Ascq, Conchil-le-Temple and along the route of the T.G.V. Nord. Although the absence of ritual activity was previously assumed to stem from a lack of research, this is no longer the case. It is becoming evident that the northern Nord and Pas-de-Calais lack the archaeological indicators of a hierarchical society in the late Iron Age which are common in the rest of north-eastern France (such as *oppida*, rich burials and sanctuaries).

Ritual activity seems to have been conducted on a localised level in the absence of the centralised sanctuaries found further west. The northern area links in well with the Dutch river and the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt areas, which also lack centralised ritual activity until the earliest Roman period.[86] Although there is more evidence in Holland for the emergence of cult sites within local communities in the late Iron Age (see below for a comparison) the quantity of excavations in the north of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais would not necessarily preclude the possibility of ritual sites connected to settlement evidence. More work needs to be done. However, it is clear that ritual use of coinage was not widespread in the northern area. Coinage does not seem to have played a major role in the societies of the area in the pre-Conquest period, and it is not widespread. Although gold coinage was minted in the area, little other coinage seems to have been produced, only a few silver types and post –Conquest struck bronze.

The connection of ritual sites with political centralisation seems clear, and the northern Nord-Pas-de-Calais is an example of an area organised on a local basis in the later Iron Age, and therefore not developing centralised votive sites in the way that the area to the south does. What ritual exists is embedded within very local groups.[87] Interestingly, although this normally changes in the latest La Tène period with the increasingly centralised society which developed in reaction to Roman activity, this does not happen in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais

---

[86] With the earliest supra-local sites being Empel, Elst and Kessel/Lith.
[87] This is shown by such archaeological manifestations as the use of foundation deposits in the construction layers of buildings.

area.[88] The exact reason for this is unclear, but it is probable that the lack of a pre-Conquest ritual tradition did not predispose the inhabitants of the area to develop a network of rural sanctuaries in the way that we see further south. On the whole there is a lack of metalwork found in archaeological contexts in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais compared to the quantity which is known from Picardy, and recent work in the region has concentrated on the settlement evidence.

4.3. WIDER COMPARISONS

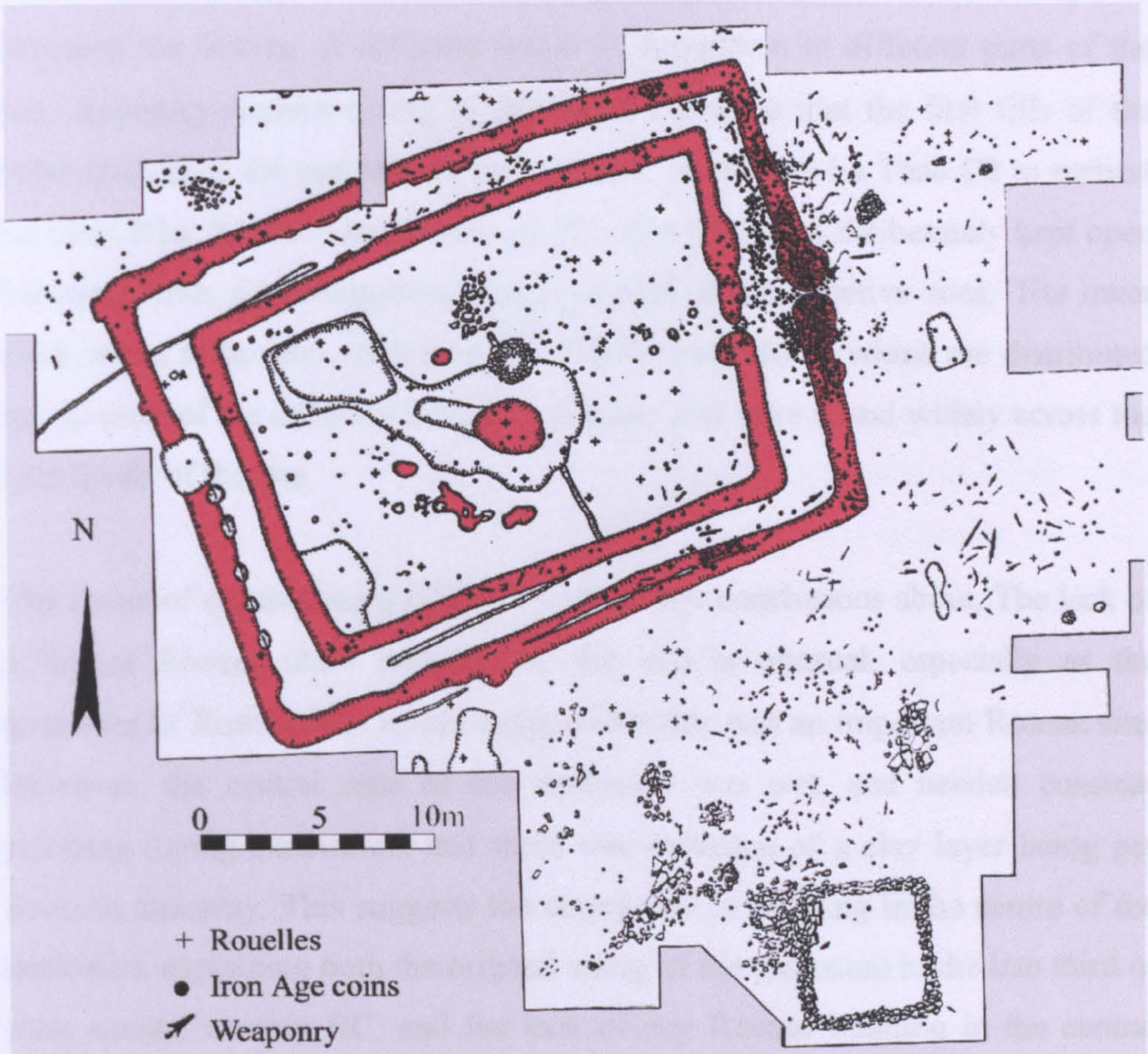
When considering the appearance of votive sites in the study area, it is illustrative to consider the neighbouring areas and the development of votive traditions there. One of the areas which has seen a high level of excavation is the Aube département, directly to the south of the study area, and some sites have produced coinage from early contexts, which can be compared with finds in the study area.

"Les Greves", La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Aube) is extremely unusual. In many ways the closest parallels are to the south, and not with the rest of the study area, but the site has been extensively excavated in a way that few other sites have, so is worth consideration. The later stages of the site have produced masses of artefacts, and it has produced more recorded metalwork than any site in the study area (Piette 1981). The initial excavations were carried out in box-trenches, and therefore the depths and squares are all that survives of contexts. Nonetheless some of the squares have a lot of potin coins from the lower levels. Some of the deposits are of exclusively Iron Age material. A small inner ditch in square C2 had only La Tène material present, and an iron sword was found in the lowest fill.

---

[88] In this aspect it differs from the area to the east (modern Belgium and the Dutch River area) which develop specific votive sites in the later La Tène period. However, the numismatic deposits at some Dutch sites have been explicitly connected to the activities of the Roman army in the area, such as Empel (Roymans & Derks, 1994a).

Figure 4.15. La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (after Piette various and Brunaux 1995)



The earliest finds are weaponry, dating from the La Tène B1 period (the late fourth century BC). Much of the weaponry[89] was spread out on the original ground surface (fig 4.15), which survived across part of the site (Piette 1981). Piette suggested that these remains may originally have been part of a trophy (using the example of Ribemont), although the fact that they were spread out on the ground makes this suggestion unlikely. No coins came from this layer, but the date suggested by the weaponry would be too early for coins anyway. It seems likely that coins were not used in the early phases; as on many of the other sites in the study area, the weaponry and bones deposits preceded other activity on the site.

---

[89] The weaponry from the area of the proposed 'trophy' included 41 swords, 30 scabbards, 20 shield bosses, 35 spearheads, 47 small spearheads/ arrowheads, 60 hooks and 52 brooches (Piette 1987). No other information was available, and the brooches were not individually described or available for study.

The earliest stratified coin finds were all potins, although the box trench system obscured the linking of different levels of deposition in different parts of the site. Applying modern dating to the coins, I believe that the first fills of the outer ditch have the potential to date as early as the late La Tène C2 to earliest La Tène D1a, the mid second century BC. The ditch was deliberately kept open for some time, a phenomenon which we find at other votive sites. The inner ditch seems to be later, as it contains 50,000 lead wheels which are distributed across most of the different parts of the ditch, and were found widely across the later levels of the site.

The centre of the enclosure is harder to draw any conclusions about. The lack of a formal Roman stone building on the site is unusual, especially as the quantities of Roman coin would suggest that this was an important Roman site. However, the central area of the enclosure was wet, and needed constant pumping during excavation, and there was evidence of a clay layer being put down in antiquity. This suggests the emergence of a spring in the centre of the enclosure, explaining both the original siting of the enclosure in the late third or early second century BC, and the lack of any Roman building in the central area. However, the fragmentary nature of the archaeology of the central area suggests that it was either regularly cleaned out or flattened, and this makes the firm identification of any early structures impossible.

It is clear that La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot was an important early site, and had both weaponry and an enclosure from an early period. The earliest coins are potins, although the absence of any understandable stratigraphy in the centre of the enclosure means that we have no idea what the central focus of the site was, if indeed there was one. The spring may have formed a natural focal point and was probably the reason for the foundation of the site. Due to the nature of the archaeological remains, little more can be said about the early activity at La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, but it is clear that it was a significant site in the area.

The evidence for specialist cult sites to the north and east beyond the study area is scanty for the third and second centuries BC. A recent review of the

settlement evidence in the Netherlands (Gerritsen 2003) has identified some ritual activity connected to settlement sites, but there are no early cult centres as we find in the Seine/ Authie/ Oise area. The development of cult activity is on a very localised level, and takes the form of ritual deposits within the settlement areas, and small cult areas connected to local settlement.

A (now rather out of date) review of the evidence for ritual activity in the lower Rhine area (Slofstra & van der Sanden 1987) concentrated on rectangular enclosures with funerary connotations, although there is also an increasing body of evidence indicating the presence of foundation and terminal deposits within settlements. De Laet (1966) had previously discussed the influence of square burial enclosures on the tradition of square temples in northern Europe, but he was looking at too wide a geographical and chronological area to draw true comparisons. Rectangular enclosures connected to funerary and settlement sites emerged in the middle to late Iron Age. These enclosures (which have many similarities with the '*enclos cultuels*' of Belgian and northern French type) contain post alignments, such as the site of Hoogeloon (Slofstra & van der Sanden 1987). However, coinage was not available in this area in the second century BC as anything more than an occasional curiosity.

Another aspect of cult activity in the Netherlands is the deposition of objects in wet places. Rivers, river sources, bogs and lakes are foci of wet distribution, as Derks (1998:138-142) and Roymans (1990) have pointed out. Although many places have wet deposition, the quantity of dredging in the Netherlands has accentuated the amount found here, although much of it dates to later periods (Roymans 1996), especially the earliest Roman period. Empel is next to a wet place[90] of Iron Age date. The likelihood of river dunes and other prominent places in the landscape being important is also indicated by Empel, which is on a raised dune (Roymans & Derks 1994a).

---

[90] Roymans (pers comm). Gournay-sur-Aronde, Oissel "Mare du Puits", Vieil-Evreux "Cracouville", La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot and Beaumont-sur-Oise are also next to pools or wet places (although the latter was probably founded in the Roman period), so this is a recurring theme. However, many sites have no environs surveys of any quality, so it is often surprisingly difficult to find out about the setting of sites so they may be under-represented. The establishment of votive sites next to river confluences and sources is well-attested and needs no further elaboration here.

Derks' theory of regarding the ritual as demarcating the cult place is an important one here, but the division he makes (1998:133) between a site used where *"the odd individual incidentally carried out his own personal rituals"* and those sites where *"the members of the cult community regularly gather in order to perform their personal or collective rituals before a ritual focus"* is difficult to define archaeologically. It also fails to take into account the value of various deposits. The deposition of several gold coins at a site may have been a major undertaking for a community. The lack of any other metalwork at a site may also be misleading, as the deposition of organic material[91] at some central French sites shows. A site may have been the focus of significant quantities of deposition and ritual activity without showing much archaeological evidence, and this is doubly important for the more ephemeral Iron Age sites.

In Belgium a few sites suggest the emergence of archaeologically identifiable votive practices in the third and second century BC, Pommerœul being one of them (De Boe & Hubert 1977, Hubert 1982). As in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region, the predominant use of coinage in votive contexts is in hoards of precious metal coins. This has been especially evident in the Flemish Ardennes (Van Heesch 1998, forthcoming) where a series of individual finds and hoards of gold coins are the only evidence of Iron Age coin use. No potin or struck bronze coins are known from the area.

Pommerœul is a site at the confluence of the Petite Haine and the Grand Haine, in a fossilised riverbed which later became a Roman port. A horse-bit and weaponry, specifically swords and spears and belt chains were found. These were discovered in the same area as a torc and half of another one, and an unusual filiform or Nauheim transitional brooch (De Boe & Hubert 1977). Roymans described the weaponry as six swords and a dagger (Roymans 1990:85). This material all dates to the middle to late third century BC. No Iron Age ceramics were recovered from this phase, which is common for many wet deposits. Van Heesch (1998:281) has identified several coins, found in the area

---

[91] Such as the deposits of wooden statuary at Chamalières, the source of the Seine (Deyts 1983).

of the later Roman vicus, including a Scheers 29 'epsilon' stater and a Scheers 191 potin, which may have been deposited at a fairly early date, although their period of arrival on the site is obscure. However, even with the state of preservation at Pommerœul it is impossible to identify any structures found in conjunction with the finds.

When we look at the archaeological evidence for the period c.250-100 BC in the Netherlands and Belgium, it is difficult to see any major archaeological evidence in favour of social change such as that shown in northern France. In the period immediately following this, there is much archaeological and textual evidence which implies that the area went through dramatic and rapid social changes (Roymans 1996a, and below, chapter 6). However, in the earlier period, this is less evident.

Krausse (1999) has looked at the middle Rhine and Moselle regions, concentrating on the latest Iron Age activity on six recently excavated sites. No archaeological evidence exists as yet for any early votive sites, despite recent excavation projects with the explicit aim of looking for early activity using the example of Gournay-sur-Aronde (1999:55). The Saar/ Moselle region has produced a large number of mid to late La Tène cemeteries. This differs from north-eastern Gaul, and the main distribution of *viereckschanzen* (mostly Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria). Krausse (*ibid*:68) suggests that these cemeteries were where ritual activity was taking place in the middle and later La Tène period, although they were:

"not temples as such, but holy places for the dead and for ancestor-worship. Temples proper and gifts for the gods, comparable to the kind of religious activity so familiar from Greek and Roman culture, are so far archaeologically invisible in this area until they finally appear in the middle of the first century BC" (1999:68).

Whatever the function of these places, it is clear that they denote a different form of religious practice in this area until the middle of the first century BC, when votive deposition does commence on a large scale. In the third and early

second century BC, votive activity seems to have been concentrated on burial sites.

The sanctuary at Manching is very early, dating from the La Tène B2 period and has produced weaponry, harness, chariots and cauldrons, as well as fragments of even earlier Hallstatt material (Sievers 1991). A polygonal enclosure to the south west of the site produced a large quantity of human skulls (Schubert 1983), and may be a secondary votive focus (Fichtl et al 2000). The Titelberg also had a sanctuary by LT D1a, with a large ditched enclosure, and major weaponry deposits (Metzler 1995). The recent excavations at the Martberg have yet to produce coinage that can be stratified earlier than LD D1b, despite an ongoing major excavation programme. The site as a whole has produced unstratified early coinage, such as six Scheers 186 and one Scheers 191 potins (Wigg 1995). The area around the Martberg has yet to produce much potin coinage from votive contexts (Wigg *pers comm*), so they may be from other parts of the site. There are few parallels to the votive sites found in the study area to the immediate west and south-west, and none which have produced coherently stratified coinage.

It would seem that in many parts of north-west Europe, the forces of change which are so evident in the ritual landscape of Picardy and the Ardennes were not so prevalent. Only the south-west of Germany and Luxembourg can be compared chronologically, while Belgium and the Netherlands do not have an early tradition of centralised votive sites. Other archaeological evidence, such as the appearance of '*Wohnstallhäuser*' (byre housing) and glass La Tène arm-rings (Roymans 1996b) would indicate that there were changes in society in the third century BC in these areas, but cult deposition has not been detected on the model of the study area.

4.4. CONCLUSION

The period 250-120 BC saw the foundation of coin production and the establishment of specialised votive sites in certain parts of the study area. It is a period of major transition throughout Europe, and the archaeology reflects

major changes across many areas, as well as the firm re-establishment of archaeologically recognisable elites across many parts of Europe. The distribution of specialised votive sites is very regional in this period. Although the study area has some widespread votive practices, such as the deposition of bodies in grain silos, and weaponry in rivers, it also has many differences. The Seine/ Authie/ Oise area stands out as having an archaeologically distinct practice. The *'sanctuaires'* of this area are unusual in indicating a level of centralisation and utilisation of resources on a scale which implies more investment than a single community could produce. The area does have much in common with the emergence of early sites to the east, in Luxembourg, and on the middle Rhine, such as the Martberg (Klein 1897, Haffner 1984, Wigg 1997, forthcoming) and the Titelberg (Metzler 1995).

It is important to emphasise that I am not advocating the complete absence of ritual activity in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Belgium and the lower Rhine area before the first century BC. There is clear evidence of structured deposition across the areas, and the manifestation of ritual behaviour is clear in the archaeological record of settlements. However, the centralised sites showing the separation of ritual into an activity not connected to individual family units are not found in these areas. The votive sites of the Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines area show a level of social organisation making the foundation of major (perhaps supra-local) sites possible, and this is not happening in the eastern area at this time.

Coinage is connected to this, as the minting of coinage is another example of organisation on a supra-local level. I believe it is no coincidence that coinage was not struck in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Belgium/ Lower Rhine areas until the first century BC. When exactly does coinage become an important factor in cult deposition on votive sites? The examination of coinage on the early votive sites indicates that the deposition of coinage is one rite being carried out amongst a range of others, and not the dominant one.

The earliest numismatic deposits, such as those at Ribemont, appear on pre-existing sites. They have an almost 'incidental' quality to them; coinage was

merely one type of artefact which was deposited rather than a major part of the rites as it became later. However, some points can be made. The earliest coins which we find deposited on votive sites are gold coins, most commonly half and quarter staters. These are deposited in small groups or individually, sometimes in conjunction with torcs (Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Pommercœul[92]) which would suggest that however they are being used, the bullion value of the metal is the gesture which is the important one. This deposit can be paralleled with many hoards which have been found in north-western Europe- the Tayac hoard being the best known of these.

Potin is found more widely on votive sites, and across a wider area.[93] Its production on votive sites is likely in the early stages due to the importance of these sites in their distribution, although no certain archaeological evidence has yet been found for production. The deposition of potin certainly accelerates from the earliest deposits on the Oise sites (such as Gournay-sur-Aronde, Chilly, Saint-Maur and Epiais-Rhus). By the end of the second century there is a much higher quantity of coinage on votives sites. If we add in the unstratified early coins which are found on many of the early sites, the practice of coin use in a votive context clearly intensified with the introduction of potin. It has also spread geographically. The use of coinage on votive sites in the Champagne-Ardenne region was established by the end of the second century BC. However, the major intensification in the use of coinage on ritual sites comes in the first century BC.

❖❖❖

[92] This seems to have occurred on a wide scale as the association of coinage and torcs is not specific to this area. The site of Snettisham in England is one of the other well-studied examples of the ritual deposition of coins and torcs in conjunction (Stead 1991), and the site has recently produced evidence of an enclosure ditch (Curteis 2001), which may indicate it has more in common with many of the continental sites than previously suggested.

[93] Especially certain types of potin coin which circulated widely and well outside their area of origin, such as the Scheers 191, which originated in western Picardy, and the Scheers 203 potin, which came from further east, probably from the northern Champagne. Other types which are starting to appear in earlier contexts include the LT 7417 potin, which comes from an area immediately to the south of the study area, and has previously been dated later (e.g. Pion 1996a)

The intensification of votive deposition

❖❖❖

From the last quarter of the second century BC significant changes occur in the archaeological record. It is evident that there were major changes in society as a whole, reflected archaeologically in the development of new forms of settlement activity and fortifications. The nature of object deposition on votive sites also changes in this period, and coinage is no exception.

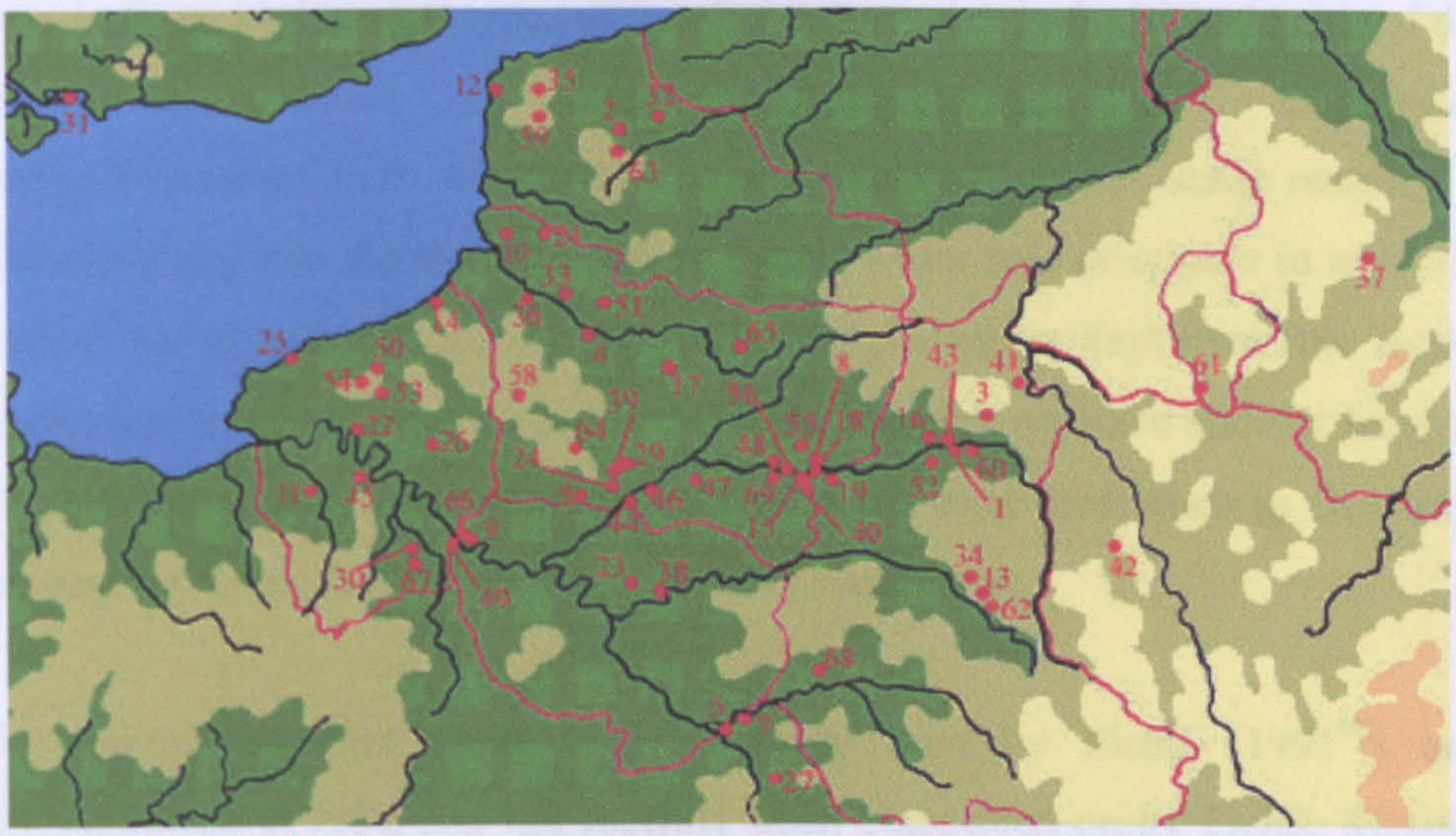
5.1 DEVELOPMENT OF VOTIVE SITES

The greatest change in coin deposition is quantitative. More coinage starts to be minted in a range of new types, and it is found in a wider range of archaeological contexts. This allows the coins from votive sites to be compared to coinage found in other contexts in a way that is not possible for earlier periods. Votive sites themselves also increase in number, and spread across a wider geographical area (fig 5.1). However, there are still problems with the data. The identification of pre-Roman votive activity is difficult on many sites in Seine-Maritime, western Picardy and Yvelines, and in the majority of older excavations it relies on the presence of Iron Age coinage in the absence of any firm archaeological evidence. A cautionary note is sounded by sites such as Ognon / Forêt d'Halatte (Durand 2000a), where Iron Age coins have been found on a site which has produced no structural evidence for the existence of pre-Conquest votive activity, despite recent thorough excavation.

Coins minted in the earlier first century BC often remained in circulation until the end of the century (see chapter 6) so residuality of deposition is a major problem. Although there is an assumption that most of the sites with a few Iron Age coins were founded after the conquest, and the coins were residual in the early Roman coin pool, the recent increase in excavation in north-eastern France have produced new finds of stratified coins. These now indicate that these sites were frequently founded in the early first century BC, if not earlier. Another

association is that of *oppida* and votive sites. Many scholars (see below) have seen the development of the *oppidum* as a symptom of dramatic changes in society and its power-structures in the late second and early first century BC. However, increasing quantities of excavation on *oppida* show that a surprising number have late Iron Age votive activity, and significant overlap is evident.

Figure 5.1. Main sites discussed in chapter 5.



1 Acy-Romance
2 Arras
3 Baâlons-Bouvellemont
4 Bailleul-sur-Thérain
5 Balloy
6 Bayonvillers
7 Bazoches-lès-Bray
8 Beaurieux-les-Grèves
9 Bennecourt
10 Bernay-en-Ponthieu
11 Berthouville
12 Boulogne
13 Bouy 'Chemin du Vadenay'
14 Bracquemont
15 Braine
16 Chateau-Porcien
17 Chilly
18 Concevreux
19 Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt
20 Danebury (not shown)
21 Dompierre-sur-Authie
22 Duclair/ St Pierre de Varengeville
23 Épiais-Rhus
24 Estrées-Saint-Denis
25 Fécamp
26 Fesques
27 Fontaine-la-Gaillarde
28 Foy 'Noville'
29 Gournay-sur-Aronde
30 Guichainville
31 Hayling Island
32 Hornaing
33 La Chaussée-Tirancourt
34 La Cheppe 'Camp de Mourmelon'
35 Ledringhem
36 Liercourt-Érondelle
37 Martberg
38 Meaux
39 Montmartin
40 Mont-Notre-Dame 'Vaudigny'
41 Mouzon 'Bois du Flavier'
42 Naix-aux-Forges
43 Nanteuil-sur-Aisne
44 Ognon/ Forêt d'Halatte
45 Orival
46 Orrouy 'Champlieu'
47 Pierrefonds
48 Pommiers
49 Port-Villez
50 Quièvrecourt
51 Ribemont-sur-Ancre
52 Roizy
53 Roncherolles-en-Bray
54 Saint-Saëns
55 Saint-Thomas
56 Soissons
57 Springhead (not shown)
58 St-Maur-en-Chaussée
59 Thérouanne
60 Thugny-Trugny
61 Titelberg
62 Vadenay
63 Vaulx-Vracourt
64 Vendeuil-Caply
65 Vermand
66 Vernon
67 Vieil-Evreux
68 Villeneuve-au-Châtelot
69 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

5.1.1. *OPPIDA* AND VOTIVE SITES

The archaeological evidence from the larger *oppida* of north-eastern France (fig 5.2) is patchy. Little systematic and modern excavation of *oppida* along the Seine has taken place, with the exception of a few small-scale investigations (summarised in Sennequier 2001). Where it has (e.g. Vernon, Eure) few coins have been found when contrasted with sites from further south and east. In Picardy there are fewer *oppida* (although these are rich in finds) and some of the bigger sites (such as Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Condé-sur-Suippe/Variscourt, both Aisne) have been the focus of more intense research.[94] Without going into the thorny question of the wider role of *oppida* in northern France[95] archaeological finds prove that they played an important role in the production and deposition of coinage. However, here we have another facet to the problem. Some of the *oppida* that have been excavated, such as Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise), have also produced early sanctuaries.

This point was first made for the study area by Fichtl (1991[96]) and Büchsenschutz (1995), and has recently been elaborated on by Fichtl, Metzler and Sievers (2000). They looked at the association of votive sites and *oppida*, and concluded that on some sites[97] the votive sites pre-dated the fortifications of

---

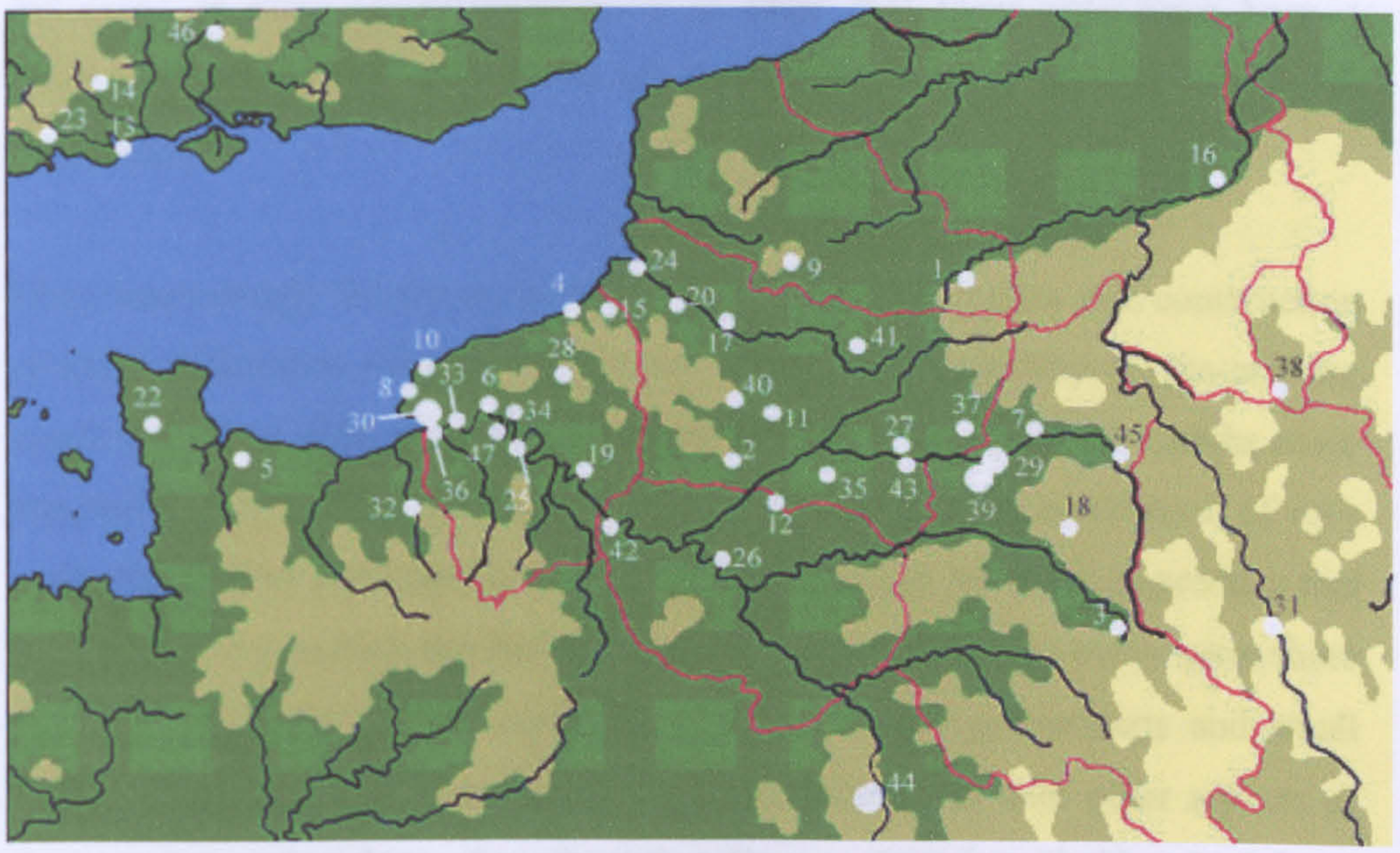
[94] For Villeneuve-Saint-Germain see Ilett et al 1981, Constantin, Coudart & Demoule 1982, Debord 1982, 1993, Robert & Debord 1986, Debord, Lambot and Buchsenschutz 1988. For Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt see Beeching et al 1976, Constantin et al 1977b, Constantin & Ilett-Fleury 1982, Pion, Pommepuy, Auxiette, Hénon and Gransar 1997.

[95] In summary, in the recent past *oppida* were considered by Collis (1984), with some of the latest work done by Brun (1995), Colin (1998, on chronologies and dating) and Fichtl (2000). While they have been considered as the physical expression of increased political centralisation and social stratification (Haselgrove 1995:81), *oppida* are often considered to be a predecessor of urbanisation (e.g. Guichard, Sievers & Urban 2000) although I think this is a rather simplistic assessment. Essentially, the dichotomy between Caesar's descriptions and the archaeological evidence is still a matter of some debate, although recent archaeological research is tending towards the interpretation of *oppida* as centres of production and settlement. One aspect which has been neglected is the regional diversity of *oppida*, which is evidently greater than many synthetic works give credit for. The ritual function of *oppida* also needs further investigation (see above).

[96] The association of *oppida* and votive sites had long been recognised in Germany, where Bittel (1930) made the link when excavating the Donnersberg, and Drda et alii (1971) has also observed the phenomenon in Bohemia and Moravia. Fichtl introduced the association to the north of France. Nash (1976:115) believed that most *oppida* in central and eastern Gaul also had an association with votive sites. It does seem to be a widespread phenomenon in the areas where *oppida* occur.

[97] Their main examples in this article were the Donnersberg, Mont Beuvray, Gournay-sur-Aronde, Manching and the Titelberg, all sites with recent excavations.

Fig 5.2. Main *oppida* in the study area (after Fichtl 2000)



1 Avesnelles
2 Bailleul-sur-Thérain
3 Boviolles
4 Bracquemont
5 Castillon
6 Caudebec-en-Caux
7 Château-Porcien
8 Etretat
9 Etrun
10 Fécamp
11 Gournay-sur-Aronde
12 Gouvieux
13 Hengistbury Head
14 Hod Hill
15 Incheville
16 Kanne-Caster
17 La Chaussée-Tirancourt
18 La Cheppe
19 Le Thuit
20 Liercourt-Érondelle
21 Lion-devant-Dun
22 Lithaire
23 Maiden Castle
24 Mareuil-Caubert
25 Orival
26 Paris
27 Pommiers
28 Quièvrecourt
29 Reims
30 Sandouville
31 St Mihiel
32 St-Désir
33 St Nicholas de la Taille
34 St-Pierre-de-Varengville
35 St-Pierre-en-Chastre
36 St-Samson-de-la-Roque
37 St-Thomas
38 Titelberg
39 Variscourt
40 Vendeuil-Caply
41 Vermand
42 Vernon
43 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain
44 Villeneuve-sur-Yonne
45 Vouziers
46 Winchester
47 Yainville

the *oppidum*. Although in the last article they were looking at the evidence from the point of view of urbanisation, it is clear that there may have been a deliberate selection of impressive places and lofty sites for original votive deposition.

More interestingly for the purposes of this work, this implies that construction of the fortifications may in some cases have been secondary to pre-existing ritual sites. The wide geographical range of their article probably masks more regional trends, as although some areas do seem to have an association of very early votive sites and later fortifications,[98] other areas have yet to produce this evidence. These include the Ardennes and the lower Seine. In many cases there is also a tendency towards confusion between Iron Age ramparts and small Roman temples, which were constructed much later. As with other aspects of the Iron Age archaeology of north-eastern France, there is probably a high level of regional diversity, which is as yet not being identified.

Fichtl et al (2000) raised very interesting questions about the association of votive sites and fortifications, and the role of *oppida* within local communities. At some sites, such as the Titelberg, the Martberg and Mont Beuvray, the sanctuary acted as a focal point within the site, and may have been the epicentre of activity.[99] This phenomenon is clear along the middle Rhine where more *oppida* have been extensively excavated, but it is worth considering for the study area, where the quantity of votive sites is greater, and the proportion of recently excavated *oppida* is much lower.

---

[98] See below for examples in the study area. The middle Rhine area also seems to exhibit this, and the recent excavations at the Titelberg (Metzler 1995) and the ongoing project at the Martberg (Haffner 1984, Wigg forthcoming) support this duality of function. I am grateful to Dr. D. Wigg for information about the recent unpublished excavations of the votive area at the Martberg.

[99] The picture is complicated by the presence of secondary votive foci on some of the larger sites. Mont Beuvray (Bibracte) has produced several votive foci within the fortifications, as well as the main one at the highest point of the hill "La Terrasse" which was excavated by Gruel (morphologically votive, although few finds came from this area), several of the more remote sections have produced votive material. Some of the other massive sites had more than one votive focus (see previous chapter). Of course, we may also be seeing votive sites shifting around these sites over time.

Another problem which needs addressing is that of smaller fortified sites. Although my discussion here deals mainly with the large sites (due to the nature of the excavated evidence) some of the smaller fortifications may also be centres of votive activity. Roymans (1990:chapter 8) made a distinction between small, medium and large sites (although these are of course subjective definitions), and it is conventionally only the largest sites which are referred to as *oppida*.[100] He recognised that small fortifications were less common in northern France than they are in the Trier region and southern Belgium (*ibid.* 1990:195).

Few of these sites exist within the study area away from the lower Aisne and the Ardennes, although sites such as Fesques show that smaller fortifications can encircle votive sites. Increasing quantities of settlement excavation show that the majority of the population lived in shifting open settlements in the late Iron Age (see the overview in chapter 1). Small fortified sites may have had a votive function, but further excavation is needed for any definite conclusions to be drawn. It is possible that some of the smaller fortifications encircle votive sites which functioned on a local, sub-regional, level, but this cannot be confirmed at present.

Some of the German smaller fortified sites have been excavated, and they are usually seen as centres of élite settlement (e.g. Schindler 1975, 1977), although the distribution of élite graves does not support this. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the inter-relation of these sites with either votive activity or coin use, but it is worth noting that the Niederzier hoard of several torcs and 46 gold coins from the Rhineland came from one of these small fortified sites.

The association of the larger *oppida* with votive sites has now been confirmed archaeologically, and has profound implications, suggesting a more important role for religion within regional social dynamics than recent (highly secular)

---

[100] Caesar referred to the smaller sites as *castella*, making a distinction between these and *oppida* (BG 2.29.2, 3.1.4). They do not seem to have played a major role in the resistance to Roman activity, although Roymans (1990:194) suggests that they were used primarily as places of defence during inter-tribal and inter-community skirmishes, and were abandoned for the major sites during large-scale conflicts such as the Gallic Wars.

interpretations have suggested. On the other hand, there are many areas within the study area where there are no centralised votive sites, coin production or *oppida*, which suggests a deliberate non-adoption in some regions. The three are clearly inter-related, and suggest a level of social complexity, which other areas (probably deliberately) did not subscribe to in an archaeologically identifiable way.

5.1.2. DEVELOPMENTS FROM EARLIER SANCTUARIES

As discussed in chapter three, the initial development of coin deposition on votive sites was an extremely localised phenomenon in the early second century BC but there are also occasional grave finds. Early deposits on votive sites are of gold, with a few deposits of potin from the middle of the second century. This picture changes dramatically in the first century BC. While coinage is a relatively rare find on early sites, the quantity of coinage increases dramatically from the early first century BC, indicating a major shift in the nature of coin deposition.

It is impossible to say whether the increase came about due to the pressure of an increased demand for coins for votive deposition, or whether the increased availability of coinage meant it was more convenient to make ritual deposits in coinage, and not weaponry and organic material. It may be rather a 'chicken and egg' question, and not one which can be answered archaeologically. However, the apparent presence of mints at sanctuaries[101] as well as *oppida* in the first century BC suggests that the requirements of votive deposition were an important primary aspect of coin use in the early and mid first century BC. Certainly a large quantity of coinage in north-eastern Gaul was finding its way into votive deposits, in comparison to other areas such as the lower Rhine and southern Britain. Some coin types are also tightly distributed around votive sites, indicating a distribution focussed on votive sites for some types.

---

[101] This has been suggested by Delestrée (forthcoming) and is evident from coin distribution work and the presence of dies on sanctuaries in the study area (see chapter 7 for a further discussion of this).

The types of coinage which we find on sanctuaries also changes. Discoveries of gold end[102] and the deposition of potin increases into the first century BC. Gold coinage seems to have gone out of regular use as a deposit on votive sites, which suggests that whatever the function of gold, it was circulating in different spheres than the votive sites[103] (Wellington forthcoming). Although potin continues to be deposited, other forms of coinage come into play from the early first century BC (with the early silver pre-dating this). Towards the middle of the first century BC struck bronze becomes increasingly important. Other types of metal become rare, and the latest votive sites are dominated by struck bronze.

5.2. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF COIN DEPOSITION ON VOTIVE SITES

Broadly speaking, the quantity of coinage on votive sites increases in the first century BC, but is by no means universal. There are some areas where coinage remains a relatively unusual find on sites of any type, such as the Lower Rhine and the coastal plain regions, and these areas are usually characterised by non-monumental forms of votive deposition until the later first century BC. Considering the study area geographically, the geographic and quantitative expansion of coin use is such that regionalism is increasingly evident. Although I have used the same sub-regions as previously, the evidence points towards increasing regionalisation, and the picture is increasingly complex. This supports the increasing diversification shown in settlement evidence (above).

5.2.1. SEINE-MARITIME/ WESTERN PICARDY/ YVELINES

Although considered here as one region, due to the presence of an early and archaeologically identifiable votive tradition, the general picture in the Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines area is one of increasing regional

---

[102] The exception is in areas where little coinage is available or minted, or in areas which did not usually use coinage.

[103] However, evidence from the Nord, Oise and Pas-de-Calais départments (and southern Britain) show that gold coinage is found either individually or in hoards away from recognisable archaeological sites. The widespread nature of this method of deposition suggests that this was the preferred one for gold, and was probably connected to votive deposition of a different type. This point has been discussed further by Aarts (2000:111, 113).

diversification in the first century BC. This is probably due in part to the better visibility of the later sites, and increased excavation may yet change the picture. However, it is evident that after a fairly homogeneous start, votive traditions developed in different ways in different areas, echoing other aspects of the archaeological record.

The Oise and Somme have fewer *oppida* than Seine-Maritime (see fig 5.2), although one suspects this is due in part to the topographical differences. In the Oise the importance of sanctuaries in the first century BC is paramount, and the settlements in this area are generally lacking in material culture, especially coinage (e.g. Colin 2000). Deposition in these communities seems to have been focussed on votive sites. Recent discoveries of coinage in the Vexin area (Mitard 1999) show a prevalence of coinage on major sites, and fewer on smaller ones. Coins tended to be found on votive sites, near rivers and in later (usually Merovingian) cemeteries such as Banthelu (Val-d'Oise[104]).

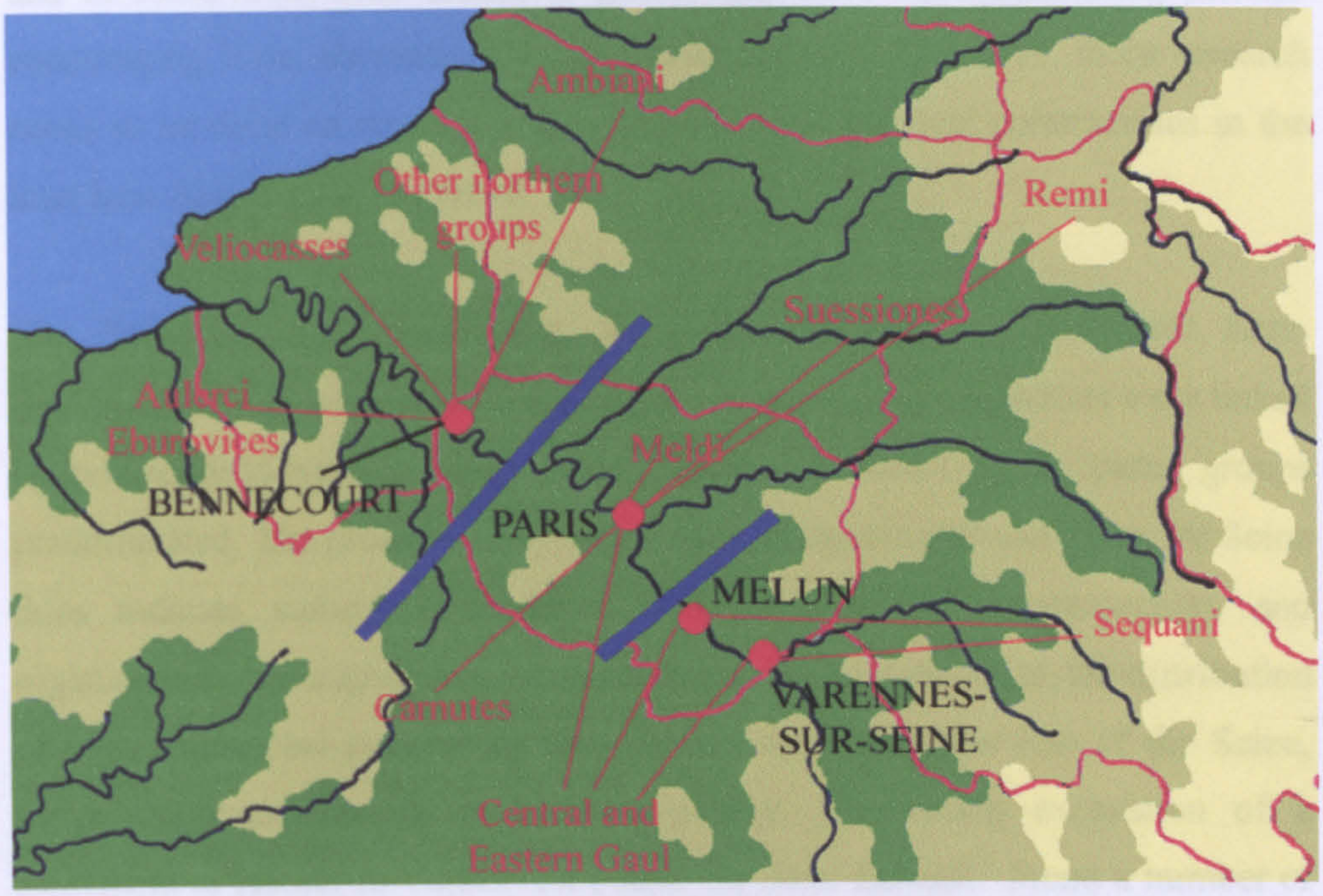
The Somme area has been the subject of intensive aerial survey (e.g. Agache 1978) and much is known about the dense habitation of the area in the Roman period. However, although identifiable prehistoric settlement, field systems and enclosures were evident from aerial photography, little excavation had been carried out. It is now clear that these formed part of a dense network of settlement in the later Iron Age. Excavations along the A16 (Colin 2000) sampled the hinterlands of two major *oppida*, La Chaussée-Tirancourt and Liercourt-Érondelle (both of which have produced significant quantities of coinage). The settlements in this area produced no coins, and little other datable material. There were exceptions, such as the site of Bernay-en-Ponthieu, which produced amphorae[105] and a Nauheim brooch. Another site, Bayonvillers 'Chemin d'Harbonnières' (a transitional Iron Age –Roman site to the east of Amiens) has recently produced 8 Iron Age coins (Prodeo *et al* 1998), although their context is as yet unavailable. At the present state of research it is unclear

---

[104] There are a significant number of Iron Age coins which have been found on Merovingian cemeteries in the north of France (see below for discoveries to the north-east). This is a relatively widespread phenomenon, although one which has not been widely explored.

how representative these last two sites are. However, in comparison to the votive sites, the quantity of coinage on settlements pales into insignificance. It is clear that the main focus of numismatic deposition was the votive sites.

Figure 5.3. Map of coin movement along the Seine Valley (after Ginoux & Poux 2002)



Ginoux and Poux (2002, especially 236 onwards) have recently published a thought-provoking article on the Paris basin which suggests that the increasing regionalisation of the first century BC is due to shifting tribal alliances and changing trading and economic loyalties. Using the coinage they show an archaeological and numismatic rift between the lower Seine and the Paris basin, with the former having links with the areas to the north, west and east, but not to the south along the Seine. The Paris area appears to have gained coins from along the Aisne and Oise, as well as to the west (fig 5.3).

The rich open settlements along the middle Seine shows the importance of river trade but this was not being exploited to its logical extent. The most obvious

---

[105] The amphora consisted of pre-Conquest Dressel 1 amphora, and the early Roman types included Baetican and other Spanish types. Later Gallo-Belgic pottery was also present, suggesting a continuing importance. Therefore the site does stand out as unusual.

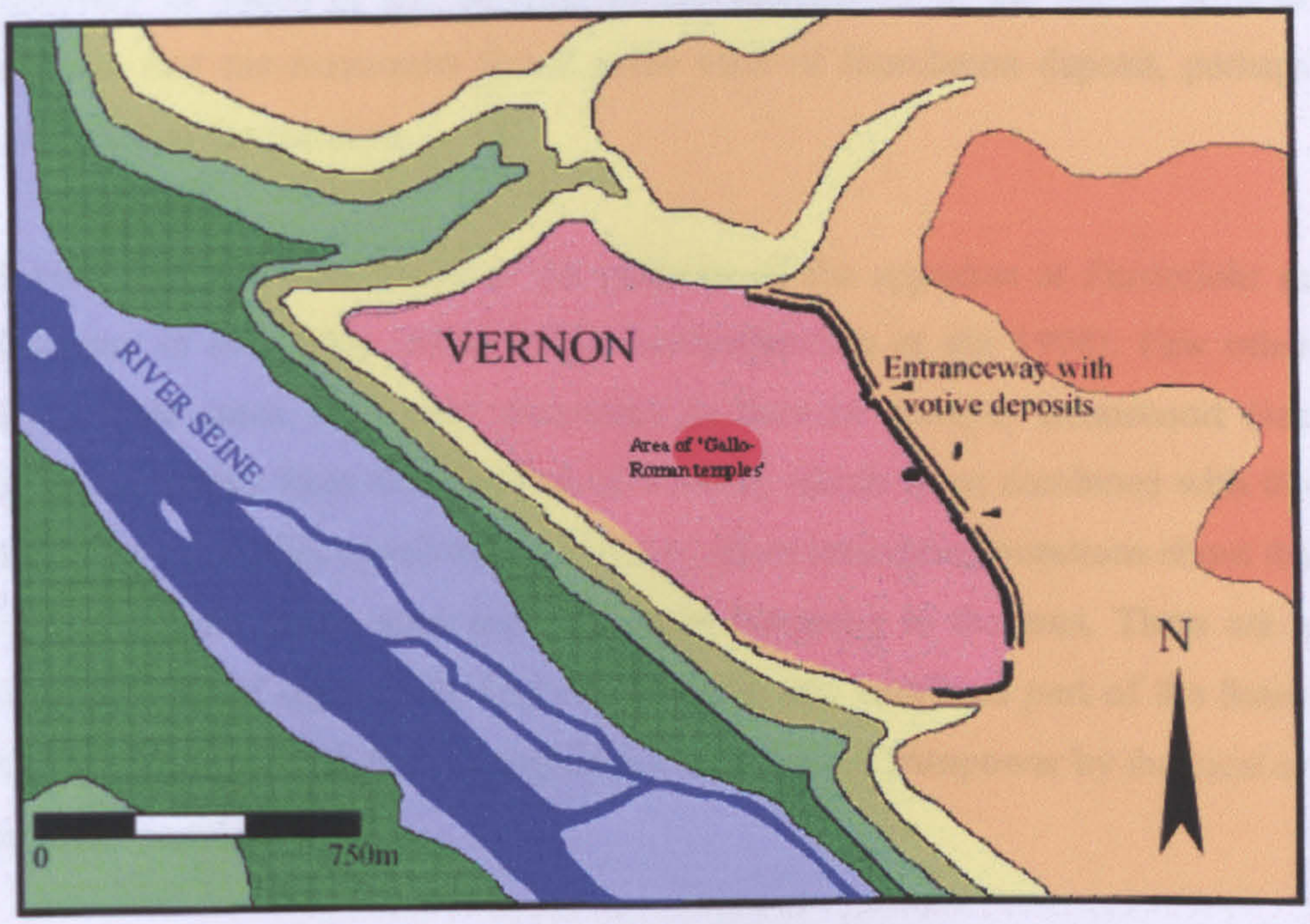
route along the Seine seemed to be shunned, and this can only have been a deliberate political decision. The Seine has traditionally been seen as a boundary too, but this has changed with recent excavation (see Dechezleprêtre 2002:246 for a fuller discussion of this). This decision to select goods from certain areas has interesting implications for supply of goods to votive sites in the study area, and in some areas their access to goods may have been controlled, perhaps encouraging local alternatives to preferred deposits. However, more research needs to be done on riverine trade and its impact on local communities in the later Iron Age, as little is known.

The Seine-Maritime department has very different archaeological sites. Settlement was dispersed, although sometimes several communities were linked by related field-systems, and it seems likely that small family based groups predominated. The presence of *oppida* on the Channel coast and along the Seine does indicate some centralisation of labour for their construction, and organisation on a supra-local level. Interestingly, in contrast to the distribution of the *oppida*, few settlements have been found along the line of the Seine, either by excavation or aerial photography. The recent excavation of a settlement at Hautot-le-Vatois "La Plaine du Bosc Renault" found a number of stock enclosures, and suggests that animal husbandry may have played a more important role in society than previous archaeological finds in the region indicate (Blancquaert 1998: 233-5, Dechezleprêtre 2002:249). Votive sites are fairly evenly spread across the département (see fig 5.1).

5.2.1.1. VOTIVE DEPOSITION ON *OPPIDA* OR HILLTOPS

Of the few recently excavated fortified sites, Vernon (Eure) has produced ten Iron Age coins (Dechezleprêtre et al 1998). The site also produced interesting deposits of destroyed weaponry from phase I of the rampart fill, fragments of swords and other arms, and fragments of a coat of mail. These all came from around the excavated eastern entrance (fig 5.4). The ceramic evidence included Dressel 1B amphora sherds, dated to the LTD1b/ D2a transition, the same as the majority of the weaponry.

Figure 5.4. Vernon (after Dechezleprêtre 2000)



The coinage from Vernon consisted of six struck bronze coins, two potins and two unidentified coins (Dechezleprêtre et al 1996, 1998). Five of the coins were found together in context US 1003, associated with Dressel 1B amphora.[106] Fragments of currency bars were also found in this context. An unidentified struck bronze with a horse was found in an upper level, and three coins in bad condition were found together, one Scheers 191 type potin and two unidentifiable coins (probably struck bronzes, but unspecified in the preliminary report).

Vernon is one of the few *oppida* in the area to have been excavated under modern conditions. It is worth noting that Wheeler also found no coins during his (admittedly restricted) excavations on *oppida* in this region in the late 1930's (Wheeler and Richardson 1957), at Fécamp (Camp du Canada),[107] and at Duclair/ St Pierre-de-Varengeville (Le Câtelier) on the north bank of the Seine. The Vernon deposits do have much in common with the sort of material which

---

[106] These coins were all struck bronze apart from one potin, and consisted of two Scheers 163 (one a class II, variant a), one of which was cut, two coins from further east (a Scheers 202 potin and a Scheers 62 AE) and a LT 2277.

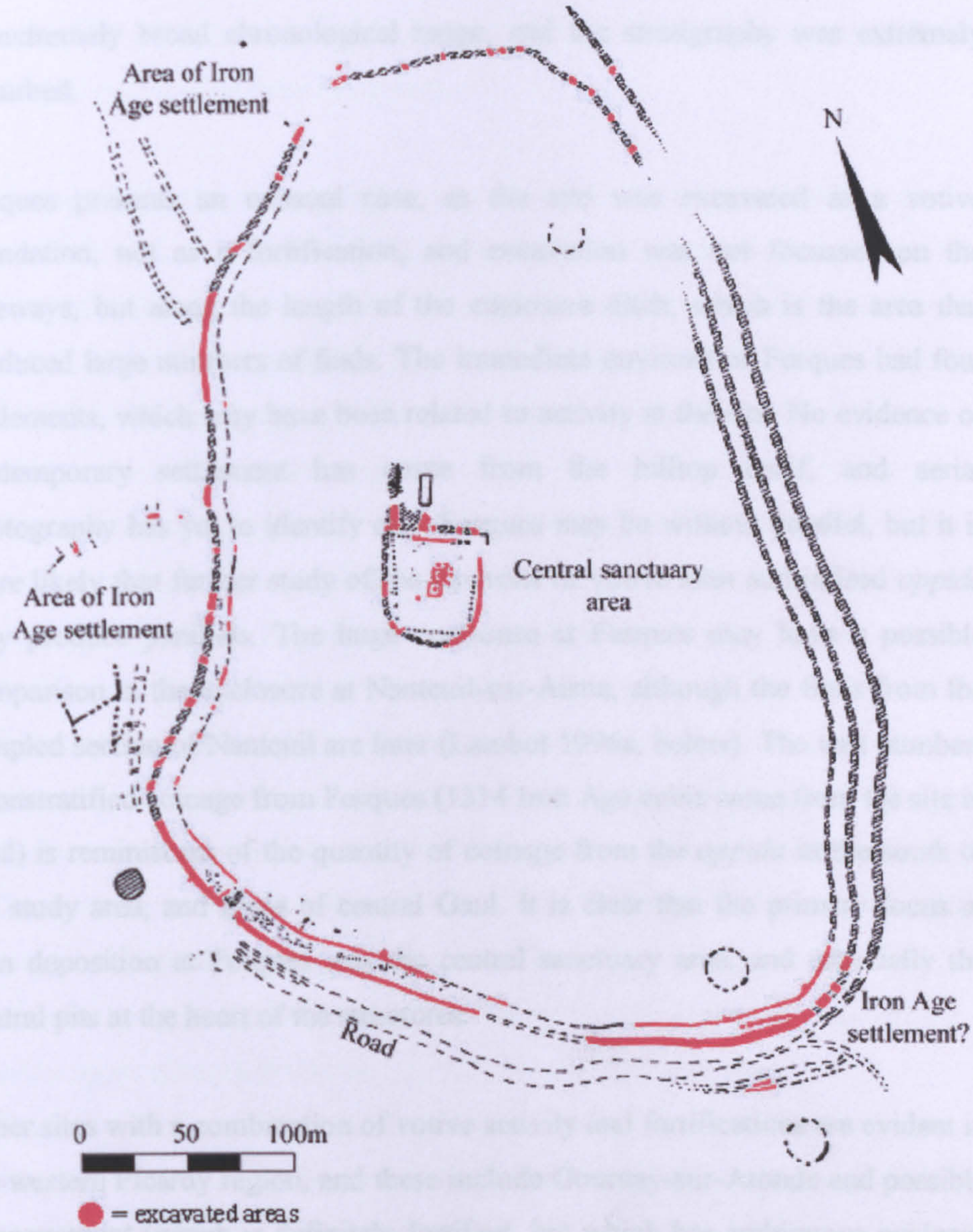
[107] However, there may have been an early votive focus on this site- see chapter 4.

is found on votive sites, with weaponry and coinage being present. Indeed, the discovery of much of the material in the foundation of the *murus gallicus* suggests that the excavators found some kind of foundation deposit, perhaps connected to the entrance.

Similar deposits were found at the gateway of the *oppidum* at Finsterlohr in Germany in the 1940s (Bittel 1950, Dechezleprêtre et alii 1998). Few other comparable cases have been excavated in western Europe. Bennecourt (see below) is visible from the *oppidum* of Vernon, which when combined with the proximity of another *oppidum*, Port-Villez, raises interesting questions about the role of *oppida*, votive sites and settlement hierarchy in the area. There are a large number of supposedly élite buildings in this restricted part of the Seine Valley, and they do indicate significant investment of manpower by the local or regional population.

The site of Fesques (Seine-Maritime) developed in this period, from the early D-shaped ditch feature discussed above. The votive focus at Fesques is on a promontory, which was then encircled with a c.10 ha enclosure (fig 5.5). It would probably be considered a 'traditional' hilltop site fort were it not for the spectacular nature of the finds, and the association of the ditch with human remains and weaponry. The central focus of the sanctuary is on the shoulder of the promontory, not on top, in a similar situation to Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

Figure 5.5. Fesques (after Mantel 1997)



The central area of the site had at least two main phases, with two very similar central sanctuaries, one replacing the other.

In the first century BC, the original outer ditch was filled in, and a larger one constructed (although it is difficult to pinpoint its exact construction date due to lack of associated material). A square building (B on figure 6.2) with a central pit was constructed, which was used for a relatively short period of time, from the earlier first century BC to the middle (Mantel 1997:46). The associated finds

were mostly ornaments, brooches, belt-fittings and coins. Pit 318, the central pit of this building produced 149 stratified Iron Age coins, although they covered an extremely broad chronological range, and the stratigraphy was extremely disturbed.

Fesques presents an unusual case, as the site was excavated as a votive foundation, not as a fortification, and excavation was not focussed on the gateways, but along the length of the enclosure ditch, which is the area that produced large numbers of finds. The immediate environs of Fesques had four settlements, which may have been related to activity at the site. No evidence of contemporary settlement has come from the hilltop itself, and aerial photography has yet to identify any. Fesques may be without parallel, but it is more likely that further study of the environs of votive sites and indeed *oppida* may produce parallels. The huge enclosure at Fesques may have a possible comparison in the enclosure at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, although the finds from the sampled section of Nanteuil are later (Lambot 1996a, below). The vast numbers of unstratified coinage from Fesques (1314 Iron Age coins come from the site in total) is reminiscent of the quantity of coinage from the *oppida* in the south of the study area, and those of central Gaul. It is clear that the primary focus of coin deposition at Fesques was the central sanctuary area, and especially the central pits at the heart of the structures.

Other sites with a combination of votive activity and fortifications are evident in the western Picardy region, and these include Gournay-sur-Aronde and possibly Bracquemont (which is definitely fortified, but which has ambiguous evidence for a votive centre). While Gournay has had archaeological investigations outside the votive area (Brunaux *et al* 1985), other sites have seen either fortifications or votive foci investigated, not both. Bracquemont (the 'Cité des Limes) produced at least 12 Iron Age coins from the Roman temple area

(Mangard 1969), but these are only part of the total.[108] One of the Iron Age coins was found in a stratified context (this coin was vaguely identified by Blanchet[109]), although two more coins were apparently found with 'Gallic' finds, with no more detailed information.

An 'important' group of Iron Age coins were found (regrettably they were not quantified) with a bronze helmet (Mangard 1969- from Bulletin 1901:98-99), although the only details were that two were from north-central Gaul (LT 7166 types). It is unclear exactly where on the site this deposit was found, but the combination of weaponry and coinage is indicative of a ritual deposit. The coin finds from Bracquemont do suggest late Iron Age ritual activity. Excavations in 1996 to investigate any possible Iron Age antecedents for the Roman temple on the site found a couple of ditches and some layers with Iron Age activity, containing burnt stone, charcoal, bone and ceramics.

Metalworking was attested on the site, but no structured deposition or conclusively ritual activity was identified, and the finds tallied with the typical settlement evidence from the region. The Roman temple had eroded out of the cliff, and only a corner still survived (Beurion 1997). Although the recent excavations proved inconclusive, it seems likely that the site was the focus of ritual activity in the later Iron Age, and the presence of coinage and weaponry would suggest a possible cult centre.

The inter-relation of coin deposition and *oppida* appears less pronounced in the Oise and Somme areas. Although sites such as La Chaussée-Tirancourt have

---

[108] The information available on the site is partial, due to the destruction of records and finds in the bombing of Dieppe Museum during WWII. De Vesly (1909:10-12) recorded 24 struck bronze Iron Age coins from 'in and all around' the fanum, although Féret (1975) ascribes these to a late Iron Age cemetery from the area to the north of the ramparts. It is clear that the records are extremely fragmentary, and the archive reports preserves in the SRA Haute-Normandie are confusing and contradictory. The Roman temple has now eroded out of the cliff, and no further excavation is possible.

[109] The description was of a previously unpublished type, a struck bronze coin. This was vaguely identified by Blanchet as having: o/ boar like the Veliocasses one, r/ serpent/dragon curled up, and deformed in the same way as certain staters from Bavay (Mangard 1969). However, it is not possible to assign a type with certainty.

produced coinage, it is on the votive sites that the largest quantities of coinage were deposited. Gournay-sur-Aronde is important because both the fortifications on the site and the sanctuary have been investigated, although ironically it has produced comparatively small amounts of coinage. Here the sanctuary is one of the earliest in north-eastern France (see previous chapter for detailed dating), but while the sanctuary was in use, fortifications were put up around the contours of the hill. However, it is not clear how many sites this contemporary duality of function can be archaeologically attested on.

Bailleul-sur-Thérain, 'Le Mont César' (Oise) has been the focus of antiquarian excavation. The *oppidum* is situated on the left bank of the Thérain, 12km to the south of Beauvais. As well as its fortifications, which were excavated in the nineteenth century, recent work below the hill itself has produced rare earliest Roman pottery (from archive reports) but no Iron Age material. A large quantity of Iron Age coinage (gold, silver and 'compound' (potin?)) had been found at Bailleul-sur-Thérain by M. Buquet at the end of the 18th century (Berton 1879), and Lambert (1864) had found Iron Age coins with rings (or possibly rouelles?).

Further excavations in the summer of 1878 by Berton discovered a Roman temple on the summit of the *oppidum*. This had a large quantity of finds, which included bones, weaponry, brooches, rings, amber and glass beads, Iron Age pottery and coins. 27 coins survive (Malrain et al 2001), mostly local issues, but it is clear from Berton's publication that many more were found and then dispersed. Iron Age weapons were found in a layer of flint, presumably below the Roman temple. One of the swords from the 1878 excavation looked like it had been ritually destroyed in antiquity, much like those at Gournay. There was a Neolithic tumulus under the temple, which was also unwittingly excavated, with the finds from this originally being ascribed to the temple. The stratigraphy is very confused in the report.

Calculating the original quantity of coins is not easy. As well as the coins found by Buquet (which were not quantifiable in the late 19th century) and Lambert, Berton estimated that the site had produced 'hundreds' of Iron Age coins (Berton 1879:29). Although the 1878 excavations only found 27 Iron Age coins

(including three British coins, unusual for the area), if we add in the figures from Scheers (1977) more than 109 Iron Age coins are known from the site (1 gold, 2 silver, more than 40 bronze and 52 potin). To confuse the issue further Le Clert (1897:97) records 'many' Scheers 217 coins from the site. It is possible that these are the coins found by Buquet, which were dispersed and sold after his death, which would suggest a predominantly late coin deposition. As well as the suggestive association with weaponry and the deposition under a Roman votive site, the constitution of the known coinage is outside the ordinary. The three British coins are unusual finds, although they can be discounted for the purposes of this analysis.[110] There are some exotic silver coins; a small silver unit of the Aedui and a silver issue inscribed TOGIRIX. Several of the bronzes came from central Gaul, and there are few local coins which are quantified. However, the original figure was probably higher, and the exotic coins were probably preferentially recorded.

Liercourt-Érondelle is a promontory fort in the Somme area. Prospections within the site found "*Une sanctuaire celtique à monnaies ... à l'intérieur de l'enciente*" (Fichtl 1994:165-6) and the marks of beams laid onto the chalk were discovered when Agache excavated the site in 1964 (Agache 1978, Fichtl 1994). Three late bronze coins were found in the excavations, Delestrée (1996a:107) mentions another 27 Iron Age coins which were found during '*prospections*', found in three distinct lots, of which 70% were struck bronze. He lists no other details, and their exact origins and current locations are obscure.

Orival (Seine-Maritime) is a hill-fort with a temple in the south-west corner which was excavated in the nineteenth century. Although Iron Age coins are known to have come from the site (Coutil 1908) it is not clear whether they came from the temple area or from elsewhere on the site. The only definitely

---

[110] These coins consist of one potin and two gold coins. The potin is a BM 660 type, while the gold are one British 'G' stater (BM 145) of 'Clacton' type and a gold issue of Cunobelin (BM 1827), the latter dating to the early first century AD, so its deposition must have been in the Roman layers. However, the potin was produced in the mid first century BC and the British G in the early first century BC. It seems likely that all three coins reached the site in one episode, as they appear to have come from the same context, and for this reason I have discounted them from consideration.

attested coin from the temple area is an antoninianus of Tetricus, which would imply a later Empire construction.

Orrouy "Champlieu" (Oise) is situated on a plateau above the Roman road. The site is close to the *oppidum* of Pierrefonds, and it seems likely that the two sites were inter-related in the first century BC. Although the fortifications have not been dated, it seems likely that they post-date the probable third century foundation of the sanctuary (see above, chapter 4). Four Iron Age coins are known to have come from the site.

Pierrefonds also has important pre-Roman finds, dating from the late second century BC onwards. The excavations at Pierrefonds (Caucheme 1900) produced Roman material and Iron Age coinage, but the site continued in use, and any Iron Age features were probably destroyed by subsequent construction. As well as mid second century BC activity, Iron Age pottery (date not defined) and coins are known from the hilltop, as is a republican denarius of Porcius/ Cato (RRC 343/1c) minted in 89 BC. The continuity of votive function into the Roman period is suggested by the presence of ex-voto's of eyes discovered by Napoleon III in the 19th century, which are now in the National Museum, Paris. If the foundation of the votive area is in the La Tène C to D1 period, as Fichtl (2000) suggests, it may well predate the construction of the fortifications as well.

5.1.1.2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON NON-FORTIFIED VOTIVE SITES

At Éstrees-Saint-Denis "Les Sablons" the majority of the site excavated by Quérel (2001) to the south of the main votive area dates to the first century BC, with 20 Iron Age and 95 Roman coins coming from the excavated area. The earliest feature was ditch 1352, a large ditch in the south part of the area which was interpreted as the outer palisade ditch of the settlement. This had some weaponry fragments (a sword blade, a shield boss and several other unspecified fragments) which may hint at an early ritual function, but other finds are mostly

later, including a Scheers 185/ II and also a totally corroded potin coin, which was regrettably unidentifiable.

The Scheers 185 series seems to have been introduced in the Aisne valley in the La Tène D2a period, with initial issues of the coin apparently being minted at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain from about 90 BC. However, the later issues, such as the one found at Éstrees-Saint-Denis are found in the Alésia deposits, and are dated to the Gallic Wars period by Pion (1996a, fig 322). The sequence of the ditch is not clear, but the material does cover a broad chronological period, which either suggests several phases of activity or significant residuality. Neither can be ruled out, although perhaps the fragmentary nature of much of the weaponry may preclude too early a date for the foundation of the site.

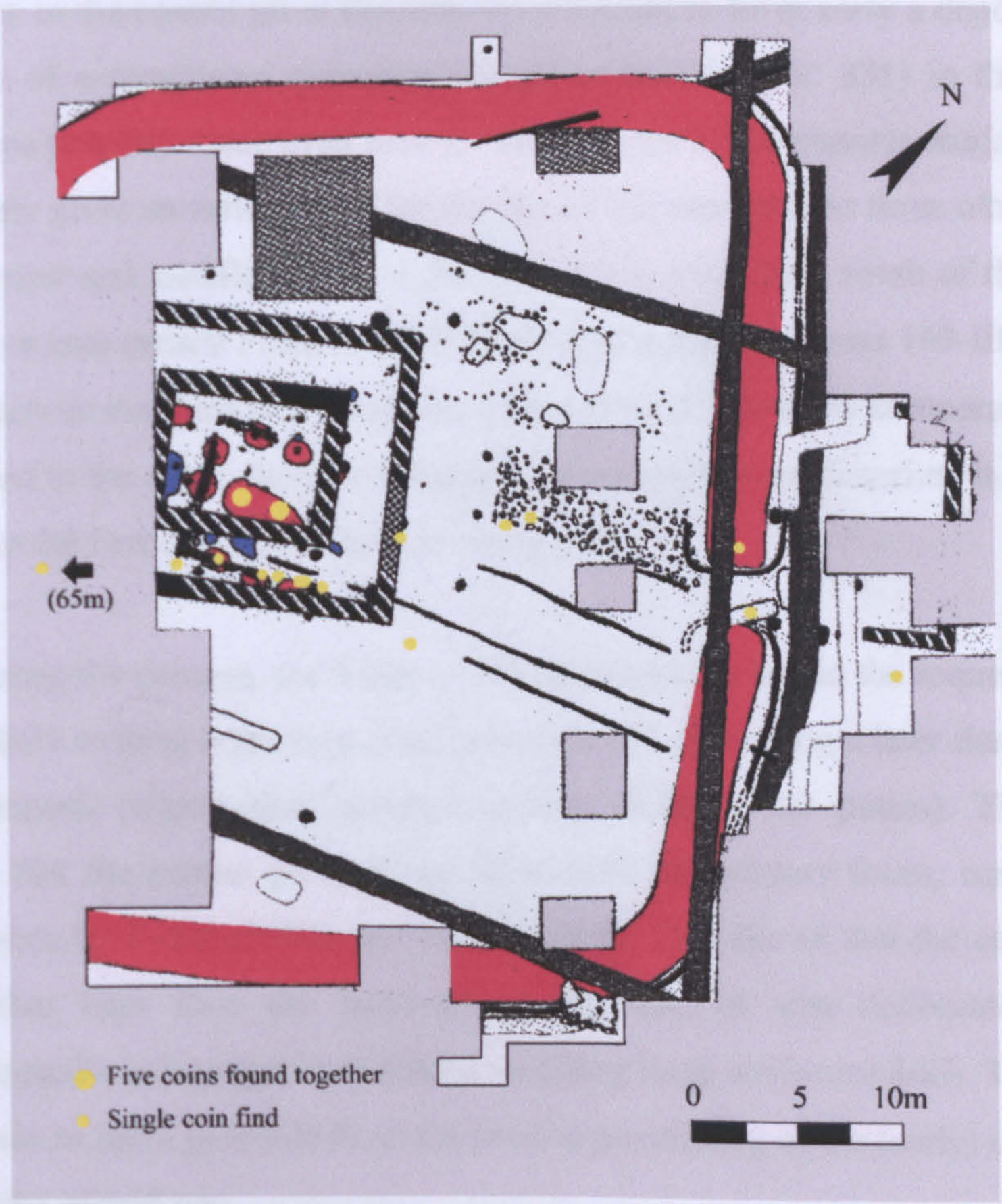
The other finds from "Les Sablons" range from the late Iron Age to the fourth century AD, although there is significant mixing of contexts throughout the site. Iron Age coins were found in Roman contexts, such as cellar 1536. Three other ditches, apart from ditch 1352 (chapter 4), produced a great deal of bone and Iron Age pottery (Quérel 2001). Ditch 1350 was slightly to the south of ditch 1352, and was parallel to it. The ditch was fragmentary and had no datable finds, the excavators placed it in the La Tène D2b period, but it is possibly pre-Conquest by its position.

Le Moulin des Hayes – the main votive focus at Éstrees-Saint-Denis excavated by Woimant in the 1980s, had three sondages cut recently (Quérel 1996). The first was to the north of the Roman temple, and was rich in later Empire finds; no material was found which pre-dated the first century AD. The second sondage, near the back wall of the sanctuary, produced no Iron Age material either. However, the third sondage, parallel to the second one but thirty metres away from the back wall produced Iron Age pottery from the foundation layers of the chalk wall of a building. A "*prospecteur*" (their italics) affirmed a concentration of Iron Age coins in this area, and between the latter two sondages (Quérel 1996). However, the lack of coinage and metalwork suggests intensive activity by metal detectors.

Another recent excavation to the south of the sanctuary complex (Derbois-Delattre & Vangèle 1998) found a large quantity of ditches and other material, but no coins. It is clear that there was activity at Éstrees-Saint-Denis "Le Moulin des Hayes" in the late Iron Age. The quantity of struck bronze Iron Age coins (66 out of 90) from the central area of the sanctuary suggests intensive deposition in the early first century BC. Building 1 (fig 4.12) produced 32 Iron Age coins (listed in Delestrée 1996a:53) of which 24 were struck bronze issues, and 8 were potins. The coins were found inside the building, in two lots.

Although Gournay-sur-Aronde was founded in the third century BC, the main deposition of coinage was later, after the initial deposition of weaponry and bones was largely over. The earliest stratified coins are two from the outer ditch (fig 5.6).

Figure 5.6. Gournay-sur-Aronde, coin findspots (after Brunaux 1987)



When Lambot and Delestrée (1991) reanalysed the dating of potin coinage in the Champagne-Ardennes area they reconsidered the dating of the coins from the outer ditch at Gournay, which had previously been placed in the mid first century BC. As stated in chapter 2, the two coins (both early bronze coins of the Scheers 163-Ia series) which come from the upper fill of the ditch were previously difficult, as they did introduce the need to consider the outer ditch as being left open for an unrealistically long period. However, they are not problematic when viewed in the light of the redating of potin in the north of France, as they could be dated earlier. The coins are associated with pottery dating to the end of the La Tène D1b period (around 100/90 BC) and a filiform brooch (Brunaux et al 1985) which would be a reasonable date for deposition, as opposed to residuality. The ditch seemed to have several fills and re-cuts, the latest of which now appears to be in the La Tène D1b period, after which it was allowed to silt up.

The coins in the central pit at Gournay do not seem to be as early a deposit. The presence of a republican quinarius minted in 99BC (RRC 331) in the lower layers was possibly made even later by the fact that it was counter-marked. This effectively gives an earliest date for the rest of the deposit. The three other coins in the lower and middle layers of the pit were a potin from south of the study area (from east-central France), a LT 5368 type and two Scheers 163-IIIc coins. The pottery in the ditch was less homogeneous but it is broadly comparable with that found in the outer ditch, and therefore (considering the denarius) it is likely to date to the first quarter of the first century BC.

Considering the coinage, the Scheers 163-IIIc coins are late in the sequence, and are unlikely to have been deposited before 60 BC, indicating a later date for the entire deposit (which also included residual Scheers 191 potins). This does suggest that the central pit may not have been the primary focus, contrary to suggestions by Fichtl (1994) and Derks (1998). This shows that the central pit was either later than the surrounding material, or was deliberately kept open/cleaned much longer than the surrounding large enclosure ditch. The latter theory seems more probable from the precise positioning of the (early) outer pits around the central one.

The evidence for continuity from the early phases at Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée (Brunaux & Lambot 1991) is most convincing from the numismatic evidence, which is listed in Delestrée (1996a:64-68). The site produced a relatively large quantity of thin silver coins (58 coins, 10% of the total assemblage), some of which seem likely to have been minted on or close to the site due to their fragility. These coins dated from the first part of the first century BC. Their fragility implies that they did not travel far, and were deposited reasonably rapidly.

However, a lot of the coinage was mixed up with Augustan material (Brunaux & Lambot 1991:178) and the upper levels of the Iron Age stratigraphy had probably been disturbed by the antiquarian and clandestine excavations. To support this, a large quantity of the coinage was found in the ploughsoil (Delestrée 1996a:65). In addition, there were probably several phases to the "*volumineuse couche superieur*" (Brunaux & Lambot 1991:178) which produced both Iron Age and Augustan material, although it is common for late Iron Age material to be found in Augustan contexts, so this is not irrefutable.

Stratigraphic deposition of coinage at Vendeuil-Caply (Oise) began with early deposits (see chapter 3), but there was an intensification of deposition in the first century BC. According to Delestrée (1996a: 46-48) the Iron Age coins from the site come from two main stratigraphic phases. However, there is some confusion about the quantity of coinage from the site. Although Layer 4 (discussed in the previous chapter) split the central pits, and produced Iron Age potin coins, which appeared to date to the second century BC, the upper layers were more mixed. Seven inscribed Iron Age coins came from level 4, and these were found with a Roman quinarius of M. Cato (RRC 462/2) which was struck in 47/46 BC, but was very worn. Apart from the coinage it is not possible to identify any structures which conclusively date to the early first century BC, although it is probable that some of the pits which have produced Iron Age coinage dated to this period.

Vendeuil-Caply was an important site in the late Iron Age, despite the lack of identifiable structural remains. The coin assemblage is interesting, and contains some oddities. Colbert de Beaulieu (1973a) believed that the coin assemblage from Vendeuil-Caply showed evidence of inter-regional circulation due to some of the 'exotic' coins found at the site. Delestrée (1996a:47) disagreed with this, contesting that 85% of the coins were 'Belgic'. Scheers reviewed the site (1977:132-4) and pointed out that the site produced many unique coins (at least at the time of her publication) and many coins which were only found in the immediate environs of the site.

The site appears to have been a coin production centre (or close to one) due to the number of unique types, although due to the absence of stratified contexts it is not clear whether this was in the early or late first century BC. However, although this accounts for the high numbers of local coins, some of the oddities are very odd indeed, and the presence of Alésia and Aucissa brooch types in large numbers does suggest that it was part of (or had access to) a wider network of exchange. The presence of southern coins, such as a silver issue from the Rhône Valley (LT 5815), and several bronzes from central Gaul (a LT 4072, two of LT 6077 type, a LT 6088 and a BN 6294) does support this. Although any speculation on the numismatic evidence alone is tentative, it seems likely that the site had links beyond the local sphere. Regrettably, it is unclear whether these were active before or after the Gallic Wars period, due to the lack of coherent stratigraphy.

Epiais-Rhus has a long sequence of activity with intensive activity in the later Iron Age. Much of the Iron Age material comes from the cemetery area, which was excavated between 1975 and 1980, and where more than 500 graves were exposed. Two graves had Iron Age coins in them, although both of these have been dated to the Late La Tène/ Gallo Roman transition. S297 (a shallow cremation) had two La Tène D2 brooches and a Scheers 27 struck bronze. Three connected inhumations (S 382, 383 and 384), which all faced east were placed in shrouds (traces of textiles remained) and they all had the front quarter of a pig (the same part in each). These were dated by the presence of a Nauheim brooch in S382, and two coins (a Scheers 109 and a Scheers 172) in S 384. Away from

the cemetery. the lengthening of the chronology of the site proposed in the previous chapter indicates that development on the site was less intensive than previously believed when the activity was dated between 60 BC and the Conquest.

Phase	Proposed date, Lardy et al (1987)	Proposed revised date
G3	c. 80-50 BC	c.125-80 BC
G4	1– c. 50-20 BC, 2- c. 20 BC – 20 AD	c. 80 BC-
G5	c. 20-60 AD	c.20-60 AD

The previous ceramic phases have been discussed as part of the previous chapter. To continue, G4 sees a decrease in the quantities of hand turned pottery, and 'exotic' pottery starts to increase. This layer had Nauheim brooches, iron brooches are starting to appear, and there are a few bronze filiform brooches. G5 has little hand turned pottery, and new forms of ceramics appeared, such as La Graufesenque samian. The earlier coin types disappear with the arrival of this pottery on the site. In contrast the Scheers 27 struck bronze type is found in these later contexts.

The main later Iron Age activity occurred in areas SP 10 and SP 20, where the majority of post-holes and silos dating to this period occur. A Scheers 27 struck bronze coin was found in the most ancient layer of the oldest building, SP 20 (Lardy et alii 1987:159). A Scheers 109 and a Scheers 121 were found in the lower levels of the latest post-hole building before the construction of the Roman forum on the site. However, the upper layers of this building did produce two Roman coins, an Augustan denarius (minted in 17 BC) and a corroded half as (probably cut in the Augustan period as well). The majority of the coins from the 'settlement area' were struck bronze coins, with potin and silver coins from area 2.[111]

The excavators of Ribemont-sur-Ancre originally believed that it was abandoned between the third century and the Augustan period (reiterated in

[111] 6 potin coins, 10 struck bronzes, 3 silver and 3 gold coins came from the latest Iron Age level. The lower levels were higher in potin, and contained less struck bronze, while the cemetery had mostly struck bronze, suggesting a broadly earlier date for the central area.

Brunaux 1996). However, the work of Fercoq du Leslay, and recent excavation (1996, 2000) has indicated that there was more activity in the late La Tène D1 and early D2 periods than Brunaux suggests. The positioning of the Roman temple directly above the Iron Age ritual ditches (fig 4.5) always indicated that the site is unlikely to have been totally abandoned for two centuries. Although the main deposition of weaponry took place in the La Tène C2 period, this does not mark the total abandonment of the site, and it is likely that it was still visited, perhaps sporadically.

The deposition of human remains continued on the site, albeit on a smaller scale after the main weaponry deposits. One deposit with human bones, spearheads and a boar skeleton also included a thin silver coin (Brunaux 1999:211). The upper fill of the main enclosure ditch, thought to date to the 30s BC by Brunaux, contained local pottery, and Iron Age struck bronzes, and probably dates to the period under consideration here. The phasing of the ditch is more complex than previously anticipated, and the presence of a palisade from the La Tène D1 period is now archaeologically attested. Several phases of this were built, and the latest was destroyed in the third quarter of the first century BC. Associated material included pig bones (which were absent from earlier layers), La Tène D1b weaponry, including a helmet and many shield bosses of a type which were also found at Alésia (Sievers 1994, Lejars 1994), but no offensive weaponry. Although fragments of amphorae and a La Tène D1b brooch were found in the highest level of the 'charnier' there is not a great quantity of material in this area.

To the south of the main enclosure an 'esplanade' or annexe was constructed in the La Tène D1 period, probably around the time that the ossuaries were covered over. A palisade was constructed, and this extension was not ditched. The postholes indicate that there were two successive phases. A small square building was constructed inside the main enclosure with two phases in the La Tène D1 period. The oldest layer contained evidence for many hearths and the remains of several small animals (Fercoq du Leslay 1996:205), and three bronze Scheers 53 coins were associated with the building (Delestrée 1996a:85). Fercoq du Leslay drew attention to the radical transformation of sacred space

which took place in the later Iron Age, with a shift in the ritual focus of the site to the building and the appropriation of a much larger votive area. However, the majority of the finds are late, and the absence of potin indicates a lack of major activity in the early first century BC. The 156 known Iron Age coins include little potin (in accordance with the relative lack of activity in the later second and earliest first century BC), but there are 17 silver coins, and a quantity of pre-Conquest struck bronze which came from the site.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Chilly was possibly founded in the third century BC. This also means that there are fewer contexts in the first century BC than previously assumed. The coins from the site are comparatively well published, by Scheers (1982), Collart (1987, on the stratigraphic contexts) and Delestrée (1996a). 178 non-stratified Iron Age coins were found on the site, 1 gold, 22 potins and 155 struck bronzes (Delestrée 1996a). 169 other Iron Age coins came from stratified contexts (7 potins and 162 struck bronze coins). The total number of Iron Age coins now totals 347. These coins include few early issues, but there were coins stratified to early first century BC contexts.

Pit S8 (fig 4.9), a feature immediately to the east of the Roman temple building, is a good example of this. This feature was originally dated to after 52 BC on the Colbert de Beaulieu coin chronology. However, the coinage and other finds indicate a much earlier date. There were three coins from the pit, a bronze of the Carnutes (LT 6377) and a Scheers 191 potin, from the main fill. A potin "au swastika" (BN 6284-92) was found in the lowest fill.

The potin coins date to a period significantly before the first century BC; the Scheers 191 series has been discussed previously, but the BN 6284-92 series is also an early one. The absence of any LT 6377 coins at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Pommiers[112] suggest that the type predates the coin deposits from these sites. Delestrée (1996a) believed that this context dated to around 75 BC,

[112] Both sites have produced large numbers of coins from the Loire, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain has produced at least 6 and Pommiers 37 coins from the same area as the LT 6377 coin. The absence of the type from these sites suggests (although not categorically) that the coin predates the arrival of coinage at Villeneuve in c.100/90BC and definitely the later foundation of Pommiers.

but associated archaeological evidence would push the dating back, and the coins are probably earlier. The other firmly datable finds, Dressel 1A amphorae, a Nauheim brooch, and a filiform brooch (*à corde interne*) all suggest a date in the late second century BC or the start of the first century BC. The pottery indicates that there are probably several phases in the pit, which were not identified by the excavators, as the pottery ranges over some time.

Small ovoid vases and cylindrical vases indication a La Tène D2a date at the latest, although large comb decorated urns of early La Tène D2b form were also present in pit S8. Large quantities of animal bones were present. The feature was disturbed at one end by a shell hole, and was also truncated by later activity on the site. However pit S8 is connected to a series of features on the site which include a set of shallow circular ditches (S7, S6, S5 and S4). These may indicate either an early votive structure, or part of a settlement which has evidence for ritual deposition of coinage from the late second century or early first century BC.

In addition, Ditch 1 had no Roman material. No coins came from the lowest layer, although the pottery was very similar to that in pit S8. The middle layer also contained no coins, but a Nauheim brooch and sherds of pedestal urns. The upper layer contained two bronze brooches '*à corde interne*' and two iron brooches '*à corde externe*', three currency bar-like objects, a bronze ring, and a small bronze bead. The pottery was all local ware, which at the time of the article (Collart 1987) was not well studied, and which he dated using the coins. It now seems likely to be Iron Age in date. The coins from this layer were mostly first century BC struck bronze issues. Two earlier potins (Scheers 191) were found, as well as 6 individual struck bronzes (two Scheers 120's, a Scheers 123, a Scheers 165, two Scheers 122s). A hoard was also found in the upper fill of this ditch, which consisted of 121 struck bronzes "*au hippocamp adossés*" (Scheers 122).

Although Ditch 2 contained samian pottery dated to the Augustan/ Tiberian period, the lowest levels also contained pottery dating to the middle of the first

century BC, and some earlier brooches.[113] The coins were all Iron Age struck bronzes (one Scheers 80, one Scheers 122 and a small bronze Scheers 152). The other features on the site were all Augustan in date.

Chilly is a problematic site, and illustrates the difficulties surrounding the identification of early ritual sites. The problem of isolating stratified contexts at Chilly is compounded by heavy disturbance during WWI. Only the immediate environs of the Roman temple building have been excavated, and the site is not fully published. The presence of isolated Middle La Tène artefacts; and the fact that only the central area has been excavated suggests early activity on the site, but it is hard to date anything conclusively without the recording of vertical stratigraphy, which was not obtainable from the (limited) archive material.

5.2.1.3. NUMISMATIC SITES

Several other sites in the Seine Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines area have produced evidence suggesting pre-Conquest votive activity, either from coinage alone, or from badly recorded antiquarian excavations. Early first century BC votive activity has traditionally been inferred from the Iron Age coins found on later Roman temple sites. However, this is not infallible. The site of

Guichainville "Le Devant-de-la-Garenne (Eure) (Bilan Scientifique Haute-Normandie 1996) shows that Iron Age activity under a Roman temple does not necessarily mean ritual activity in the pre-Conquest period. The early first century BC activity at Guichainville does have all of the hallmarks of a settlement, and not a specific ritual site. The occurrence of ditches, pits and four-posters on the site (as well as the deposition of querns) all tally with the small rural settlements which have recently been excavated in the region (Jahier

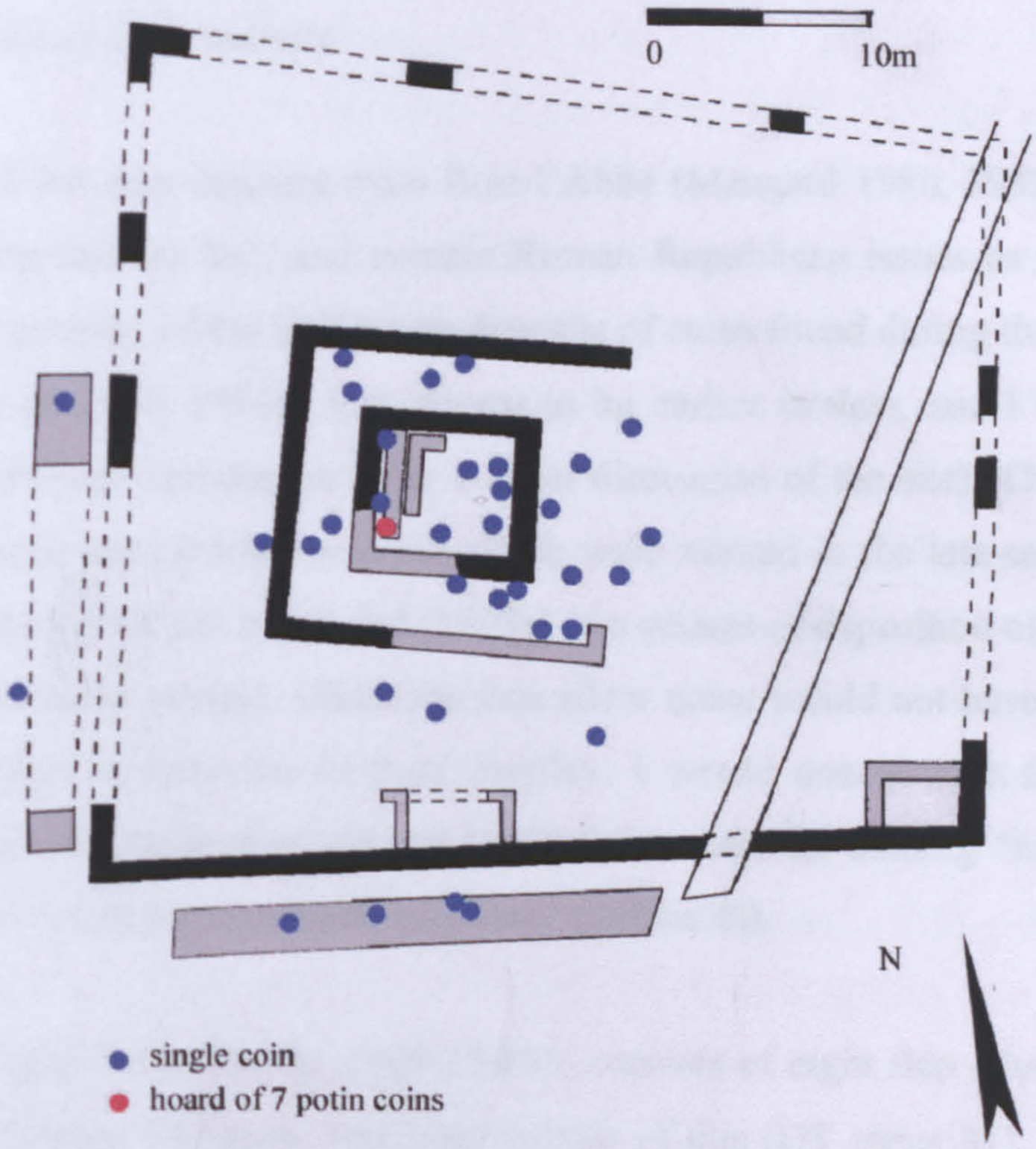
---

[113] There were 5 complete brooches, 2 Nauheim types (one bronze and one iron), 2 bronze filiform brooches (*arc à plaquettes*) and an earlier brooch which was an iron filiform brooch with external cord. However, these were found with Augustan date pottery, which either suggests significant disturbance of earlier material at the time of the construction of the Roman temple, or late deposition. Due to the damage to the site in the early twentieth century this is hard to assess.

et al 2000). The assumption of the continuity of ritual focus is not always justified.

Ognon, "Foret d'Halatte" (Fig 5.7) is one of the sites in the study area which has been the focus of recent re-excavation and reassessment (Durand 2000a). Antiquarian excavations at the site were carried out by Caix de Saint Aymour (1874, 1906) but only two Iron Age coins were discovered, and these do not survive (Durand 2000b:201). Between the antiquarian excavations and the new campaigns the site was badly pillaged by metal-detectors, creating the impetus for the modern project. 42 Iron Age and 1081 Roman coins were found in the excavation, although it is unclear many coins were taken. The only other coins which are definitely known to have come from the site are a hoard of 20 gold *aurei* dating to the first and second centuries AD.

Figure 5.7, Ognon Foret d'Halatte (after Durand 2000a).



Some of the potin coins from the site are early ones, but the excavators believe that they were brought to the site in the early Roman period (Berdeaux-le Brazidec & Durand 2000:258). There is no evidence of pre-Roman structures or other material although there was a hoard of potin coins from under the foundations of the central part of the Roman *cella* (fig 5.8), which hints at early activity on the site, if not in conjunction with structures. The seven coins from this hoard were a Scheers 197, a Scheers 185-III, a Scheers 188, three Scheers 196-III's and a Scheers 198-I. All of these coins come from the later end of the potin series, and if the hoard is contemporary to the minting of the coins it could have been deposited in the early first century BC.

Sites with more tentative evidence for early first century BC votive activity include Berthouville, "Le Villaret". This site historically produced "many Iron Age and Roman coins, some very rare" (Rochette 1830) during the excavations which followed the discovery of a large hoard of Roman votive silverware in the ditch of the Roman temple. No other information was preserved, but this may indicate early activity.

Most of the coin deposits from Bois l'Abbé (Mangard 1980, 1982) date to the later first century BC, and contain Roman Republican issues as well as local ones. However, of the 14 discrete deposits of coins found during the excavations (Delestrée 1984, 1996a) four appear to be earlier in date, and I include them here (although see chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of the site). They consist of local silver and thin silver coins which were minted in the late second century BC. Haselgrove has suggested (1999a) two phases of deposition of these hoards on typological ground, whilst the thin silver coins would not have survived for any length of time due to their fragility. I would concur with this assertion, although Delestrée does describe all of the coins as coming "*tous du même horizon stratigraphique julio-claudien*" (1996a:36).

The first of these hoards, 1969-13-216, consists of eight thin silver coins, four of the Scheers 52 series, and four variants of this (DT séries 31), which due to their fragility were probably struck at or near Bois l'Abbé itself. The second hoard, 1970-I-33, had 33 coins, also in thin silver, of the DT 261 type. This type

was a derivative of the Scheers 13 series. The third early deposit (1971-I-242) contained 25 coins. These were 12 of the same type as the previous group, the DT 261 silver coins, 9 variants of this (DT 263), one coin of the Scheers 25 '*à l'astre*' series and two Scheers 52 thin silver coins and a Scheers 163 (small module). The fourth group discussed here (1976-I-160) consisted of six silver coins, one Scheers 52, four DT 261 coins and one Scheers 53.

All of the coins in these deposits date to the La Tène D1b and earliest D2a period. The thin silver issues were struck in the La Tène D1b period, and were certainly production by 90 BC. The Scheers 25 series is a little later in date, but definitely La Tène D2a, and the Scheers 53 dates to the same period. The thin silver coins are extremely delicate, and would not have survived long in circulation, so it is likely that these coins were deposited in the La Tène D2a period. Although the excavators believed that all of the coin deposits came from a homogenous horizon, three of the earlier ones were excavated 5-6 years before the second series of deposits was excavated. Assuming the excavation took place in a slightly different sector of the site, I would suggest that they formed a different deposit in proximity to the later deposits. On coin grounds these deposits were probably formed in the early decades of the first century BC, and were deposited soon afterwards. The availability of the other material from the site would confirm or deny this suggestion.

No modern excavation has been carried out at Saint-Saëns. The site was extensively excavated in 1891 to 1892, when it produced major structures and a great deal of material. Saint-Saëns was assessed by Fajon and Michel in 1999, who reported that little was left above ground, and the surviving remains were in a bad state of repair. The main body of the site dated to the second and third centuries AD, but there is evidence of earlier activity (in the form of coinage and pottery). As with Bailleul-sur-Thérain (chapter 4) the site overlay a Neolithic funerary chamber.[114] However, Iron Age pottery was found (exact type unspecified) and an iron lance was recorded in the 1999 survey (which seemed to be from the ambulatory of the Roman temple). The presence of a

huge enclosure around the tombs, the temple and the "villa"[115] may well hint at an Iron Age phase. Due to the nature of the nineteenth century records, little else can be said about Saint-Saëns.

No vertical stratigraphy has been recorded from Dompierre-sur-Authie, a site which dominates the valley of the river Authie, overlooking the site of the later main Lyon to Boulogne road. The site is unusual as the original ground surface was preserved, which confirmed the deposition of objects on the ground surface, and not just in ditches and pits. In addition, the absence of post-holes argued against the suspension of objects on structures at this site. Although most of the coinage was later, one context suggested an earlier start to activity. In square D18/19 a central Gallic silver coin derived from Massaliote silver issues was found in conjunction with fragmentary human remains, weaponry and fragments of an amphora handle (Piton 1991). No other details were available, and the exact coin type was either from the Lingones or Aedui according to Delestrée's coin list (1993).

Roncherolles-en-Bray "Liffremont" was a major Roman ritual complex, with a large theatre, which has not been systematically excavated. Agache identified Iron Age and extensive Roman activity on the site (1975) and a large quantity of material has been found. Only one Iron Age coin is known to have come from the temple area, a Scheers 24 stater (produced in the first half of the first century BC) found in 1842 (Scheers 1977:123). This may indicate pre-Conquest activity on the site, although gold is an uncommon metal type on votive sites.[116]

Collas (detailed in Riand 1996) identified a concentration of coinage in areas 80-83 of the wider site, to the south-east of the later Roman cult area, and some of these are earlier. The presence of Scheers 191, 186 and 203 potins suggest an early start to whatever is happening in this square, and deposition on the site continues sporadically throughout the Roman period. Brooches and bells were

---

[114] This presents an interesting case for the reuse of ancient monuments in the late Iron Age and early Roman period in the area.
[115] The so-called villa also produced apparently votive material and lots of early brooches.

also found, and there is a spring in the middle of the area, which would raise the possibility of there being an important and perhaps long-lived votive focus to this section of the site. Agache (1975) identified buildings in these fields during his aerial survey of the site, but it was not possible to define their exact nature.

The site of Evreux was a major Roman town, with Vieil-Evreux, "Cracouville" now interpreted as a peri-urban sanctuary complex (Bertaudière and Guyard 2000), in the manner of Meaux "La Bauve" and Autun, area round the "Temple of Janus". The section of the site with Iron Age coinage, "Cracouville", is close to the town (about 4km from the centre), and was dug in the 1840s (Bonnin 1845) and in the early decades of the twentieth century (Espérandieu 1912, 1923, Baudot 1936). The excavations were badly recorded, and the 1840s excavation was extremely dubious. Various other "excavations" seem to have been carried out with confused and partial records. Baudot found 149 Iron Age coins to the south of the Roman temple, "around the pool", which seems to have been a spring.

As well as the coins (four silver, 41 potin and 104 struck bronze), there were many brooches of "La Tène II" date, which implies an early start to votive deposition. This is supported by the potin coins from the deposit, although the types are not recorded. The majority of the coins were probably late Iron Age. Many Iron Age coins have been found in the area by farmers (SRA Haute-Normandy). It seems likely that votive deposition at this site was underway by the first century BC, and probably before. The supposed "Iron Age" temple that was described by Baudot (1936:88) had chalk wall foundations, and painted walls. It was on the same plan as the second century temple, and it was undoubtedly Augustan or Neronian in date, not Iron Age.

---

[116] It may have been a separate deposit. Single gold coins are relatively common finds within the study area, and the deposit of an individual gold coin may not indicate an early votive focus, but a separate incident of deposition, unrelated to later activity.

5.2.1.4 SUMMARY

The use of coinage as a votive deposit in the early first century BC is evident within the Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines area. Both stratified and non-stratified archaeological finds suggest a pattern of increasing coin use within votive contexts, building on an existing tradition of object deposition and centralised votive sites which were discussed in chapter 3. The deposition of coinage around reputed springs is marked, especially in the antiquarian sites, and indicates a predilection towards the use of springs as foci for votive sites in the area. On a more practical note, the geology is such that many springs and streams rise in the chalk hills.

It is clear that votive activity and hilltop sites are closely linked in Seine-Maritime. Fauduet (1993a:23) identified 11 sanctuaries of Roman date along the lower Seine. Although some, such as Beaumont-le-Roger, have been excavated and were founded in the Roman period, others had earlier beginnings, and may be connected to possible or definite Iron Age fortifications. Vieil-Evreux has evidence for an Iron Age cult centre, although it is not fortified (see below for a fuller discussion of the site). Many of the other sites listed in Fauduet's catalogue have only been cursorily investigated, and it is distinctly possible that more of these sites had an Iron Age ritual focus than previously suspected. The recent discovery of major fortifications in the area, such as that at Quièvrecourt on the Bèthune in 1989 (Beurion 2001) shows just how little is known about the archaeology of the area at present. It seems likely that the association of structured deposition and fortified sites was more widespread in this area than previously believed. Structured deposition on settlements throughout the Seine-Maritime and western Picardy areas did not utilise coinage, and its deposition seems to have been restricted to a small number of sites.

In Yvelines and the Val d'Oise a few rich settlements have been found, but there is a lack of fortified sites as one descends into the Paris Basin from the lower Seine. The rich open settlements along the middle Seine (discussed in more depth in chapter 1) seem to have taken the place of *oppida* and contain a similar range of artefacts, including coinage. Little evidence has been excavated

in the Paris area to indicate centralisation of votive sites, but sites in the north of the Île-de-France such as Epiais-Rhus show that there is evidence for the foundation of specific votive sites in this period. However, an archaeological division between the north of the region and the south of the Île-de-France is clear (although Paris is problematic for archaeological investigation for obvious reasons) Sites such as Epiais-Rhus have their closest parallels to the north, in western Picardy and Seine-Maritime.

The sites in Seine Maritime/ Western Picardy/ Yvelines show the geographical expansion of centralised votive practice beyond the restricted area of the previous chapter. The intensive nature of activity on sites such as Éstrees-Saint-Denis in the early first century BC indicates that votive activity on specialised sites accelerated in this period. The increasing quantity of coins and the decrease in certain other types of deposit (such as weaponry and animal sacrifice) indicate that the transition towards coin deposits was occurring in the late Iron Age, and was not initiated by the Roman invasion. Looking beyond the stratified evidence to the distribution of coinage in general, this shows that coin deposition was a widespread aspect of votive activity in this area in the late Iron Age. There are a range of sites which have produced corroboratory evidence to support this without intensive archaeological work, with non-archaeological and antiquarian finds indicating that the practice of coin deposition was more widespread than the stratified evidence indicates.

5.2.2. NORTHERN CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE/ AISNE AREA

When one moves away from western Picardy, the archaeology changes significantly (see chapter 2). The *oppida* along the Aisne are concentrated beside the river and on the plateaux overlooking the river valleys, and in the Marne area this also seems to hold true. Settlement increases on these plateaux from the Middle La Tène period, and this intensifies in the La Tène D1b period. It is evident that there was also agricultural specialisation in the later La Tène

period, with animal husbandry (especially cow) in the valleys[117] and cereal production on higher ground in conjunction with horses, sheep and goats (Chossenot 1997:268). The link between burial and votive deposition evident in the La Tène C1 and 2 periods (see chapter 4) remained into the late second and early first century BC, although some shift to centralisation of votive activity was taking place. The boundary between Iron Age cemeteries and votive sites is always more opaque in this area. Small finds continued to be deposited in the ditches of cemetery enclosures, or to be burnt within the enclosures.

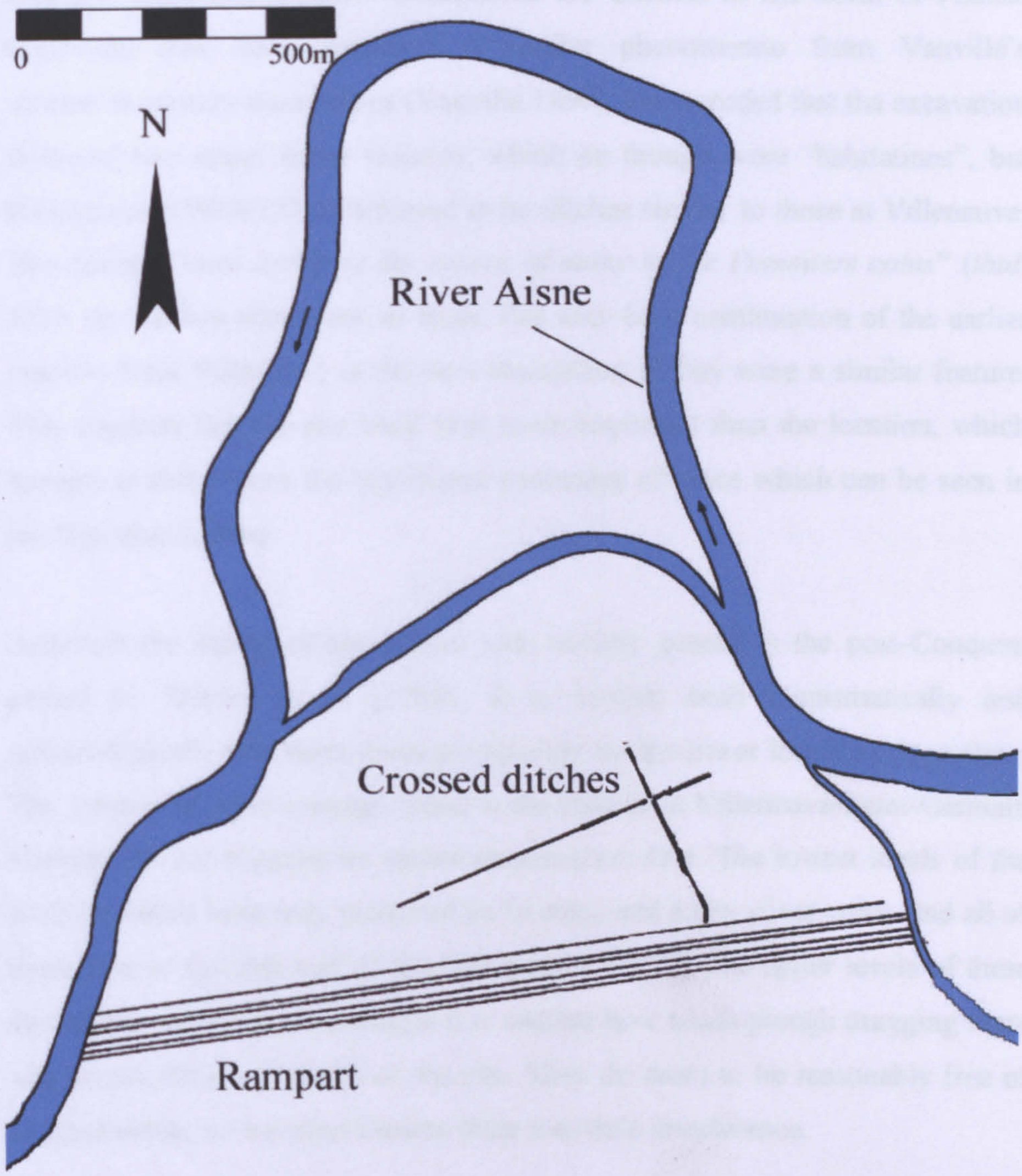
The emergence of votive sites in the Ardennes and upper Aisne does not appear to be echoed in the middle Aisne Valley or the Marne/ Meuse areas. Despite significant quantities of excavation, centralised votive sites have not emerged in the middle Aisne. It is clear that votive expression in this area was achieved in a different way, primarily on *oppida* (see below). The Marne/ Meuse area does have structured deposition and coinage on settlements, and this seems to be a localised tradition. The sanctuaries in the Champagne and Ardenne regions differ significantly from those found in Picardy, although they are often directly compared.

5.2.2.1. VOTIVE DEPOSITION ON *OPPIDA* OR HILLTOPS

The *oppida* of the Aisne valley have been the focus of massive excavation programmes in the last thirty years, and much is known about the archaeological record there (e.g. Demoule & Ilett 1985, Pion 1996a,b, Haselgrove 1996, Fichtl 2000, Debord various, Audouze & Buchsenschutz 1989). However, the enormous size of the *oppida*[118] along the middle Aisne precludes full excavation. Excavation generally in the Aisne has concentrated on the valley and along the river itself, and little is known about activity in other parts of the département, so votive activity may have been concentrated elsewhere.

[117] As shown in Champagne by sites such as Bisseul "Les Noires Fosses" (Chossenot 1997:268) and Ory "Le Pré Moutilleux" (Joffroy 1974).
[118] Condé-sur-Suippe and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain have been the focus of the second and third largest *oppidum* excavations in Europe (Haselgrove pers comm), and they have still only sampled the utilised area.

Figure 5.8. Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, site plan (after Debord various and Peyre 2000)



The extensively excavated *oppidum* of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (fig 5.8)[119] has produced a pair of long and possibly covered ditches (Debord, Lambot and Buchsenschutz 1998, Peyre 2000). These contained an impressive collection of

[119] This has been the focus of long-term research by the UMR 12 (Ilett et al 1981) and J. Debord (Debord 1982, 1993, 1995a, 2002).

material (Debord 1987, 1989). These ditches have no modern parallels,[120] although large-area *oppidum* excavations are unusual in the north of France. Pommiers may have produced a similar phenomenon from Vauvillé's nineteenth century excavations (Vauvillé 1890). He recorded that the excavation followed two major linear features, which he though were "habitations", but Haselgrove (1996b:150-1) believed to be ditches similar to those at Villeneuve. The ditches "*were certainly the source of many of the Pommiers coins*" (*ibid*: 151). As the two sites were so close, this may be a continuation of the earlier practice from Villeneuve at the new foundation if they were a similar feature. This suggests that the rite itself was more important than the location, which appears to differ from the significant continuity of place which can be seen in the Oise and Somme.

Although the dating of the ditches was initially placed in the post-Conquest period by Debord et al (1988), it is evident both numismatically and archaeologically that these dates are too late for the lower levels of deposition. The volume of potin coinage found in the ditches at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1987a) suggests an earlier construction date. The lowest levels of the ditch terminals have only produced potin coins and a few silver coins, and all of these date to the first half of the first century BC.[121] The upper levels of these ditches are more mixed, although it is unclear how much plough dragging there was across the upper levels of the site. They do seem to be reasonably free of contamination, so we must assume there was little interference.

What is interesting about the coinage from these ditches, and what tallies best with votive site assemblages, is the wide range of places these coins came from. Most coin producing areas of north-eastern Gaul are represented, and a British

---

[120] Away from Pommiers, there are no local parallels. Although distant, and unlikely to be part of the same phenomenon, the *oppidum* of Liptovska Mara (Slovakia) produced a portico near the entrance, which comprised a double colonnade in wood, bordered round with a paved road, interrupted in the middle by a vast ditch with votive offerings. Brunaux (1986:44) and Debord, Lambot & Büchsenschutz (1998) thought that this was the only known parallel, linking the walkway at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain to the processual way at Liptovska Mara. However, this is geographically tenuous.

[121] In the case of the potin coins, some of them are the very early La Tène C2/D1a Scheers 191 and Scheers 186 types, although the other material in the ditches and stratigraphic context of these potins indicates that they were not deposited until the first century BC.

'Q' stater was also found in the ditch.[122] When the coinage from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain is analysed in conjunction with other artefacts from the ditches, it is clear that the fill was deposited earlier than 50BC. This ties in with the modern dating of the site, which after some debate is now generally acknowledged to be from c. 80BC to 60/50 BC, when there is a clear shift of activity to the nearby site of Pommiers.[123]

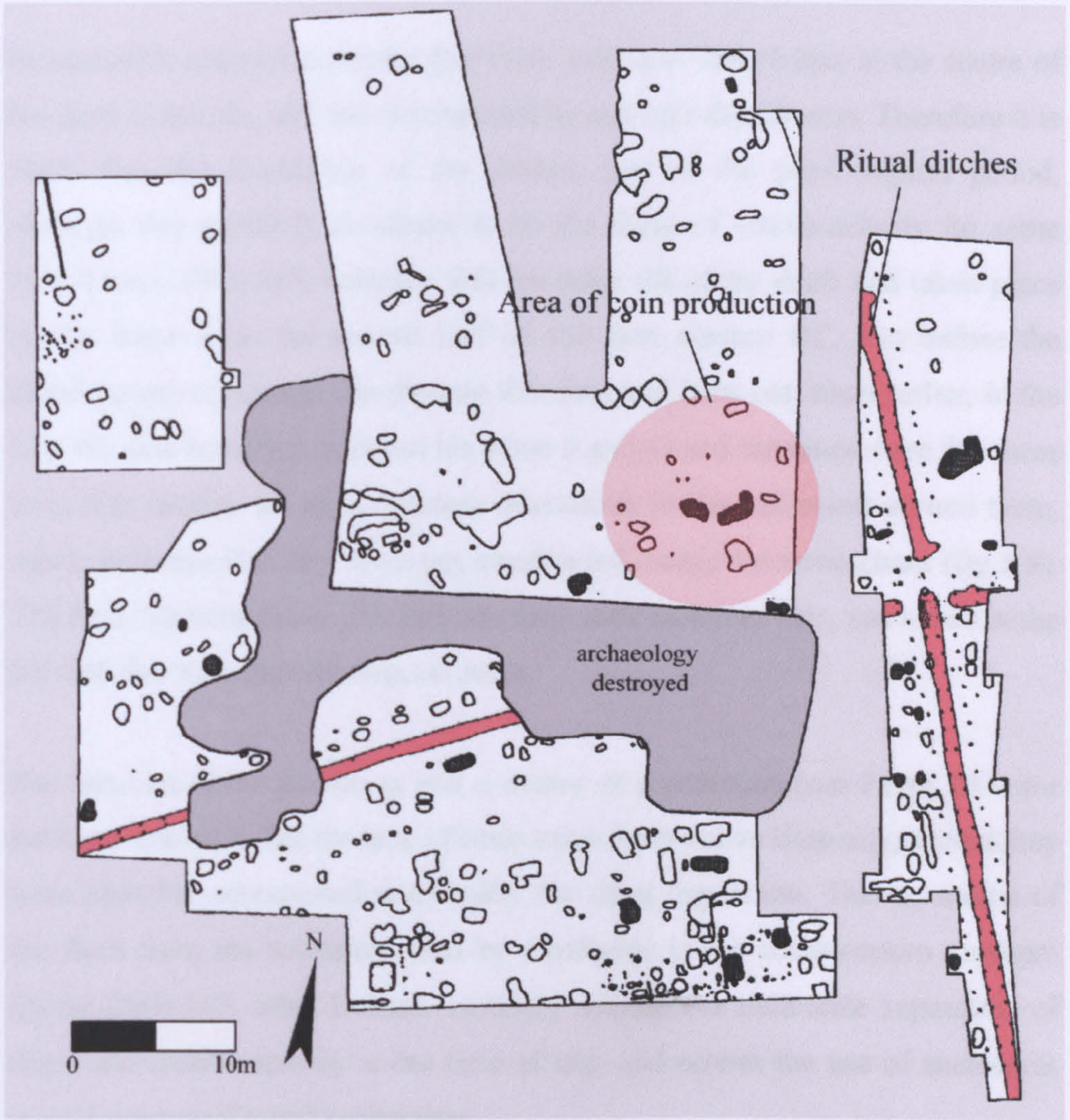
Twenty-eight of the fifty brooches from the 1980s ditch excavations (Debord 1987a:107 onwards) are filiform types, which date mostly to the early first century BC, and to Pion's (1996a) stages 2 and 3 (150-90 BC). Four Nauheim brooches were also found. Later brooches were present in the ditches, including Almgren 65 (variant) and '*arc triangulaire bombé*' types, and these do date to the mid first century BC. These late types do form around 10% of the assemblage from the ditches, which fits with the brooch finds from the rest of the site (Debord 1996). Their stratified position in the ditches was not published, the numismatic evidence would suggest that the later types came from the upper levels. Regrettably the vertical stratigraphy of the brooches cannot be confirmed, and a question mark must remain over this hypothesis.

---

[122] This series was minted in the late second to early first century BC, and its presence here implies a fairly swift deposition after the production date.

[123] The dating of the Aisne Valley sites has been the source of some controversy. Condé-sur-Suippe is fairly incontestably the earliest, with occupation in the La Tène D1b period, from c. 120-80 BC. The dating of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Pommiers is more problematic. The principle excavator of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Debord (e.g. 1995a, 2002) still considers the site to date to the post-Conquest period using the traditional (and now abandoned) late date for potin coinage. However, he is now in the minority, the majority of recent scholars and the overwhelming evidence of the artefacts indicates that Villeneuve-Saint-Germain is earlier than Pommiers. Guichard, Pion, Malacher and Collis (1993, and Pion 1996a) have argued convincingly from the numismatic evidence that the site must pre-date Pommiers. The early date for potin coinage is now incontestable in the light of the volume of recent excavations producing early stratified contexts across a wide area. The main phase of occupation at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain dates to the La Tène D2a period- c. 80-55 BC and the site has been linked to Caesar's Noviodunum (Haselgrove 1996, Debord 2002) although there is also limited activity after the Conquest. Pommiers dates from the later first century BC (La Tène D2b) to the earliest Gallo-Roman period, and has also been considered to be Noviodunum.

Figure 5.9. Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, central votive ditches (after Debord various, Peyre 2000)



The presence of a large quantity of lead and bronze wheels (hereafter *rouelles*, using the French term) in the ditches suggest a late Iron Age or early Roman date (Debord 1989). These cannot be dated exactly, although the majority of the known *rouelles* have been assumed to be post-Conquest in the past, due to the discovery of Roman period examples in Roman temple deposits. Recent numismatic redating suggests that at least some of the deposits of *rouelles* in the north-east of France could well date to the earlier first century BC, and one has been found from a second century BC grave at Thugny-Trugny on the upper Aisne (see previous chapter for details). The *rouelles* from Villeneuve-Saint-

Germain are found mostly in the upper levels of the ditch (Debord 1989:29) but a few are found in the lower levels in the centre of the ditch terminals.

Stratigraphic analysis indicates that there was later disturbance at the centre of the ditch terminals, and this is supported by the coin distribution. Therefore it is likely that the foundation of the ditches was in the pre-Conquest period, although they probably continued to be the focus of votive activity for some time. Pion (1996a:333) believed that the main fill of the ditch had taken place by his étape 5, in the second half of the first century BC, just before the abandonment of the site. He thought that they had been cut much earlier, in the 90's BC (the transition between his étape 3 and 4) and remained open for some time. The ditches are on a different orientation to the settlement around them, which indicates that they were not constructed during the same phase (fig 5.9). The finds from the lower fills indicate they were earlier in date, and a date in the 90's BC fits well with the coin evidence.

The function of the ditches is still a matter of speculation (see Peyre 2000 for the latest theories), but the lack of finds away from votive sites suggest that they were probably constructed specifically for ritual deposition. The separation of the ditch from the habitation area by a palisade in the south-eastern quadrant (Peyre 2000:163, after Debord 1993:95) indicates a deliberate separation of ritual and secular activity at the time of use, and echoes the use of enclosures around more traditional votive sites.

A large number of other coins came from the settlement area, which Pion (1996a:333) associated with a coin production area in use in the La Tène D2a period (his étape 4). Scheers 50 silver "*lion et sanglier*" type, and several variants – the "*au bige*" (DT série 32, class I) *and "à la chevelure nattée"* (Debord 1984, 1995b) types were struck at the site in this period. The production of coinage at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain was in a building immediately to the north west of the confluence of the crossed ditches (fig 5.10), which produced evidence for the working of precious metal. This, combined with the quantity of these types found in the crossed ditches (29 coins) suggests that this workshop could have been connected to the

depositional rites. However, the majority (86%) of the coins from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain were potin, and Scheers 185, 188, 196, 197 types were cast on the site (Pion 1996a) at the same time as the silver (the first half of the first century BC). These are also found in significant quantities in the fill of the central ditches.

Villeneuve-Saint-Germain suggests another facet of collective votive activity that may account for the lack of the readily identifiable 'Gournay' type of sanctuary in the region, despite intensive fieldwork. However, it is worth mentioning that despite recent open-area excavations, the nearby (but slightly earlier site) of Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt has not produced any comparable features.[124] The latest excavations at Condé-sur-Suippe (Pion et al 1997) have produced an apparent industrial area and evidence of intensive settlement. None of the other *oppida* in this part of the study area have produced definite evidence for votive deposition on the scale of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. However, most of them (such as Pommiers and St Thomas) have historically produced large numbers of coins. It seems increasingly likely that certain *oppida* in this area also functioned as votive centres. Further excavation is needed to confirm this, but the evidence from Villeneuve supports this theory.

5.2.2.2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON NON-FORTIFIED VOTIVE SITES

The use of coinage in this part of the study area varies across the different localities. In the Aisne coinage is present on *oppida* and on settlements. Further east coins are mostly found on votive sites and cemeteries. Some areas (e.g. the Ardennes) do not produce large numbers of coins at all. Away from *oppida* the Aisne sites with coinage date to the later La Tène period. Earlier sites lack coinage, but have evidence for structured deposition of human and animal bone. This may indicate the gradual replacement of an earlier rite of structured deposition on settlement sites with votive deposition involving coinage. This

---

[124] Condé-sur-Suippe has produced fewer finds, but a small area was excavated, and this may also account for the lack of votive activity discovered to date.

suggests a different role to that played by coinage in the Somme and Oise regions.

It is interesting that coinage is not exclusive to votive sites; and amphorae and drinking ceramics are also found on settlement sites, such as Montmartin (Brunaux & Mèniel 1997) and Braine "La Grange des Moines" (Auxiette 1998). Poux (2000:221) believed that the presence of ritual feasting in both votive and settlement sites shows that the boundaries between ritual and secular are not as clear-cut as usually believed. However, neither Montmartin nor Braine is what one could call a typical settlement (if such a term can be used).[125] The enclosure at Braine "La Grange des Moines" (Auxiette 1998) yielded four potins as well as an important series of structured animal bone deposits,[126] while Beaurieux-les-Grèves (Haselgrove 1996b) had three potins and a late first century BC Scheers 216 struck bronze. The majority of coins on settlement sites in the Aisne Valley are potin coins, which suggests that they were getting to the site by the early first century BC. It is a distinct possibility that they reached the settlements as part of a network of river based trade, as *amphorae* are also found in large quantities on these sites. The presence of LT 7417 and Scheers 191 types, both of which originate outside the Aisne Valley, supports this.

It is likely that some authors (e.g. Haselgrove 1996b, 1999a) have overstated the importance of coinage on settlements in the Aisne Valley. Although coins are present on some sites, when considered as a proportion of sites which have recently been excavated they do not constitute a large number (Pion, Gransar and Auxiette 1996). On closer inspection, some of the deposits could be connected to votive deposition on a smaller, more local scale than on specific

---

[125] The settlement at Braine "La Grange des Moines" (Auxiette 1998) was long-lived and well dated, and has an unusually rich assemblage, including coinage. The morphology of the site is also unusual. It stretched from the second half of the 2nd century BC to c.80BC, although occupation is characterised by two phases of radical change of activity on the site, around c. 130/120 BC and c.80 BC, the latter after destruction of the site. Montmartin (Brunaux & Méniel 1997) stands out due to the richness of its assemblage, and its proximity to Gournay-sur-Aronde. It had unusual deposits of animal bones in structured deposits, including imported horses, as well as large quantities of feasting material. Both sites have many similarities to votive sites.

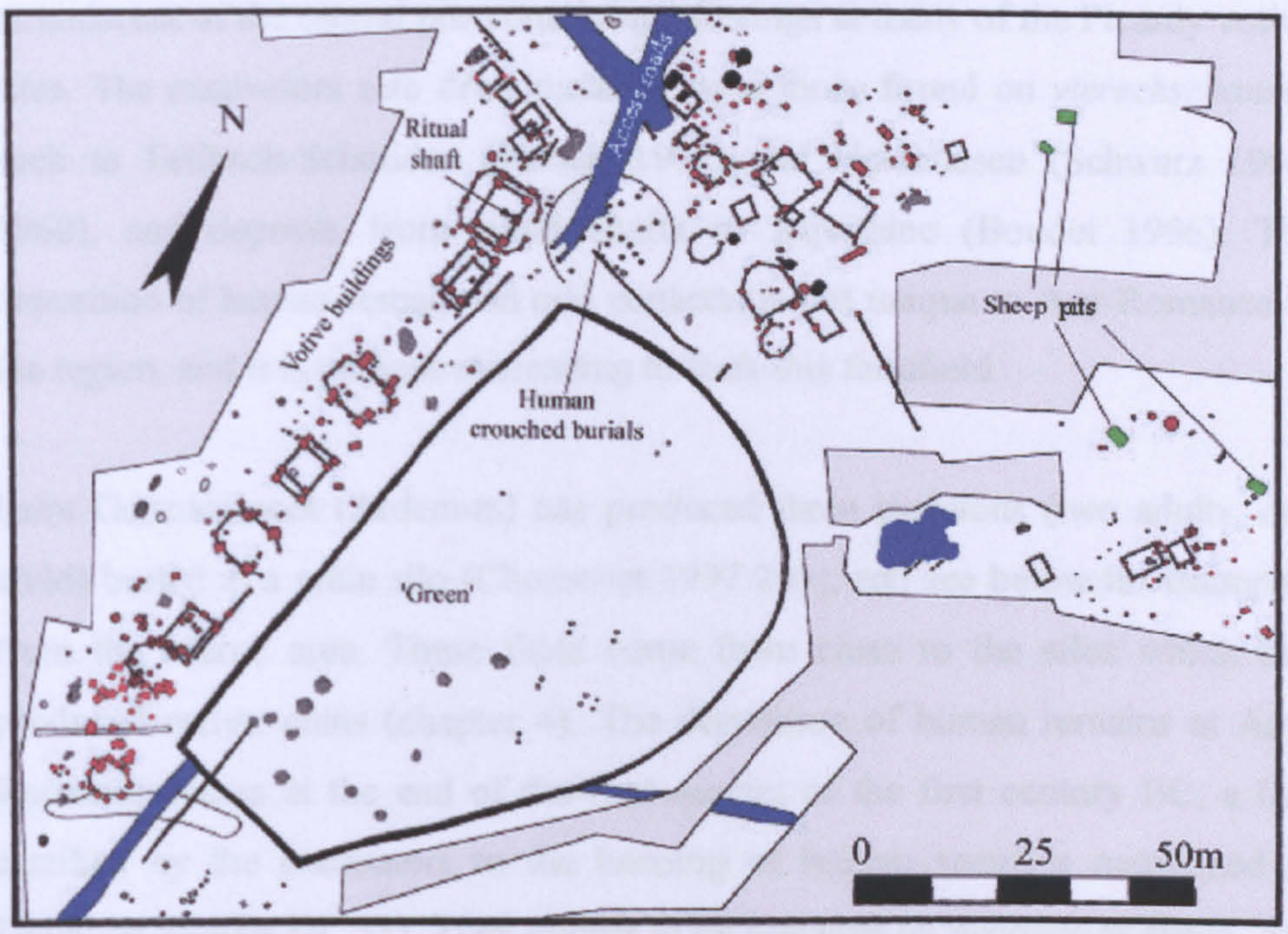
[126] One potin (a LT 7417) was found in a late Iron Age ditch with five late La Tène brooches, a bracelet, a ring and assorted tools. Two more potins (both Scheers 191) came from a second ditch, this time with a ring, a sword and an ingot. The fourth (a Scheers 196) was found with a small quantity of metalwork. These contexts are clearly ritual deposits.

votive sites. Concevreux "Devant Chaudardes" (Firmin 1983) produced a Scheers 191 potin and hand thrown pot from a black layer 40cm down. It was from a dried up arm of the Aisne itself and would probably have been a wet deposit in the Iron Age. Although Mont-Notre-Dame "Vaudigny" (Thouvenot 1990, 1992, 1993) did not produce coins, amphora and a filiform brooch were found on the site. The site was on the floor of the Vesle valley, on the edge of a marsh, an unlikely lifestyle choice. It seems increasingly likely that many of these so-called settlement deposits could have been wet finds connected to settlements, and that closer analysis of the contexts of recovery is needed.

Pion, Gransar & Auxiette (1996:65) have suggested that further attention needs to be paid to the little known set of small sites on promontories overlooking the Aisne. These are usually around 1ha in extent and have produced large quantities of surface finds dating to the late Iron Age and early Roman period. Considering the quantity of votive sites in prominent locations on promontories in the Oise area, these sites may turn out to be the missing votive sites in this region. Again, more work needs to be done away from the gravel terraces. The information from aerial photography indicates intensive late Iron Age settlement on the terraces overlooking the Aisne, and also along the Retourne and Suippe to the south. Sites are found across the intervening plateaux, but it is apparent from the aerial photograph plans that the settlements seem to favour the higher ground, while the cemeteries are generally placed nearer to the river valleys. This is contrary to what one might expect for the ease of water transportation for everyday use.

Further up the Aisne, into the Ardennes area, the pattern changes. It is becoming clear that structured deposition is also widespread on settlement sites in the Ardennes, the best-known example being Acy-Romance. Although geographically close, not far upstream from the aforementioned Aisne valley sites around Soissons, there are important differences. One of the most significant is the very intensive nature of votive activity, with Acy-Romance and many of the surrounding sites forming a network of sites with votive activity (see Lambot and Méniel 2000:9 for a plan of this).

Figure 5.10. Central Acy-Romance (after Lambot & Méniel 2000)



Although there are earlier votive foundations in the area, it is evident that the majority of sanctuaries were established in the first century BC, although Acy-Romance itself shows continuity into the early first century BC (Lambot 1988). Lambot and Méniel (2000:49) have recently suggested that early first century octagonal buildings around the central 'green' at Acy-Romance are 'temples' (fig 5.10). They suggest unconvincing parallels in the Aisne and Oise regions, widely spread chronologically, and with the exception of the two from Bazoches-en-Bray (Seine-et-Marne, Gouge & Séguier 1994) not convincingly octagonal. The projected buildings have little resemblance to the pit alignments at Gournay-sur-Aronde, Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée or the buildings at Beaurieux (Pion 1996a). Although the presence of a different kind of votive architecture along the upper Aisne is supported by the finds from Acy-Romance, there are yet few strong parallels during the first centuries BC. At present it seems that the majority of work in the middle and lower Aisne went into *oppida* and settlement construction and elaboration.

A series of deep shafts and nearby human remains have been dated by ceramic finds to c.100-80 BC (Lambot & Méniel 2000:59). One of these shafts was

found within building 4, which suggests a cult focus for the building, which is reminiscent of the central pits containing offerings at many of the Picardy votive sites. The excavators also drew parallels with those found on *viereckschanzen* such as Fellbach-Schmiden (Planck 1982) and Holzhausen (Schwarz 1960, 1962), and deposits from ritual shafts in Aquitaine (Boudet 1996). The deposition of human remains in odd contexts is not unique to Acy-Romance in the region, and it is perhaps misleading to look this far afield.

Saint Germainmont (Ardennes) has produced three skeletons (two adults, one child) buried in a grain silo (Chossenot 1997:245), and see below for examples from the Marne area. These finds come from close to the silos which had produced earlier coins (chapter 4). The deposition of human remains at Acy-Romance ceases at the end of the first quarter of the first century BC, a fact ascribed by the excavators to the banning of human sacrifice mentioned in Diodorus Siculus (V, 31). They appear to be replaced by deposits of sheep, one of which contains coinage (Lambot & Méniel 2000:103). This occurs at the same time as the deposits of weaponry at nearby Nanteuil-sur-Aisne are replaced with coinage, and suggests a wider change in votive deposition in the area.

Four pits at Acy-Romance containing significant quantities of sheep bones were found to the north-east and east of the shafts. Ditch St. 3071 contained largely animal remains, as well as a sherd of La Tène D1 small ovoid urn, a fragment of a blue glass bracelet of the same date, a fragment of iron brooch (probably filiform type), and a bronze Nauheim type (Feugère 5a). The coins were a Scheers 191 potin and a Scheers 152 quarter stater (Lambot & Méniel 2000:92). Although the potin was produced in the second century BC, the other finds and the Scheers 152 date the pit to the earliest first century BC. The sheep remains were deposited only in the eastern part of the pit. Ditch St. 3153 did not produce coinage, but the pottery and an iron brooch (*à arc très courbé*) suggest that this sheep deposit is broadly contemporary with St. 3071, although it is probably slightly later. The other two sheep pits contained no other dating material or coins, but are morphologically similar, and are probably contemporary.

There are a series of votive sites in the environs of Acy-Romance where deposition intensified in the first century BC. However, few have undergone intensive excavation, and although some have produced large numbers of coins, few are stratified. The site of Chateau-Porcien "Nandin" (Ardennes) produced some early first century BC features during excavations in the 1960s and 1970s, but the site remains only partially published. A 'La Tène III' (La Tène D1b/2a) brooch was found in pit BA in the central sanctuary area at Nandin, and the pit also included many complete vessels and "much metalwork" (Neiss 1968).

The ten Iron Age coins from the 60s and 70s excavations comprised three AE (one Scheers 147, one Scheers 217, the other unidentified), three potins (all "of the Catalauni") and four other unidentified Iron Age coins. These do not bear much resemblance to other known coins from the site, such as those listed in Scheers (1977). She lists one Scheers 147 (although this one was also listed in Colbert de Beaulieu 1960, so cannot be the same one as above) and one Scheers 151 (from 19th century excavations on the site). More coins seem to have come from the site in older excavations. Scheers lists "numerous examples" of Scheers 146 bronzes from the excavations of the Gallo-Roman "villa" at Nandin in the 19th century (information from Scheers 1977: 628). Numerous examples of Scheers 191 potins were also found at the same time. It seems likely that this "villa" was the temple area, and it is interesting that large numbers of early potins were found.

Delestrée (1996a:133) identified 377 coins from non-excavation discoveries on the site. Although the majority of these were post-Conquest issues, such as Scheers 151, Scheers 147 (ATISIOS REMOS) and Scheers 146 (REMO/REMO) types (76% of the total coin), 28 potins were found and unusually 12 quarter staters (Scheers 152). This group of coin differs from Scheers's reports of the antiquarian finds in its relative lack of potin. However, it is not clear which part of Chateau-Porcien these coins came from, and they seem to be unrelated to other finds from the site. They may come from "La Briqueterie" which Delestrée lists as a "*sanctuaire*" (1996a:138) but gives no additional information.

Nanteuil-sur-Aisne has produced evidence for early activity in the La Tène C2/D1a period (see chapter 3). Surface finds indicate that this site continued in use for the rest of the Iron Age and into the early Roman period (Lambot 1996a). At least 111 Iron Age coins have been found on the site, mostly in the 1959-61 "excavations" (Guerin 1961, see also Lambot 1989). Only two stratified Iron Age coins were found in the recent re-excavations by Lambot (1996a[127]). One was a Scheers 146, which dates to the post-Conquest period, and the other was associated with a Roman coin. It is likely from the non-stratified artefacts that activity continued on site through the La Tène D1b and D2a period, but there are no stratified finds or features which can give a clear indication of structural continuity.

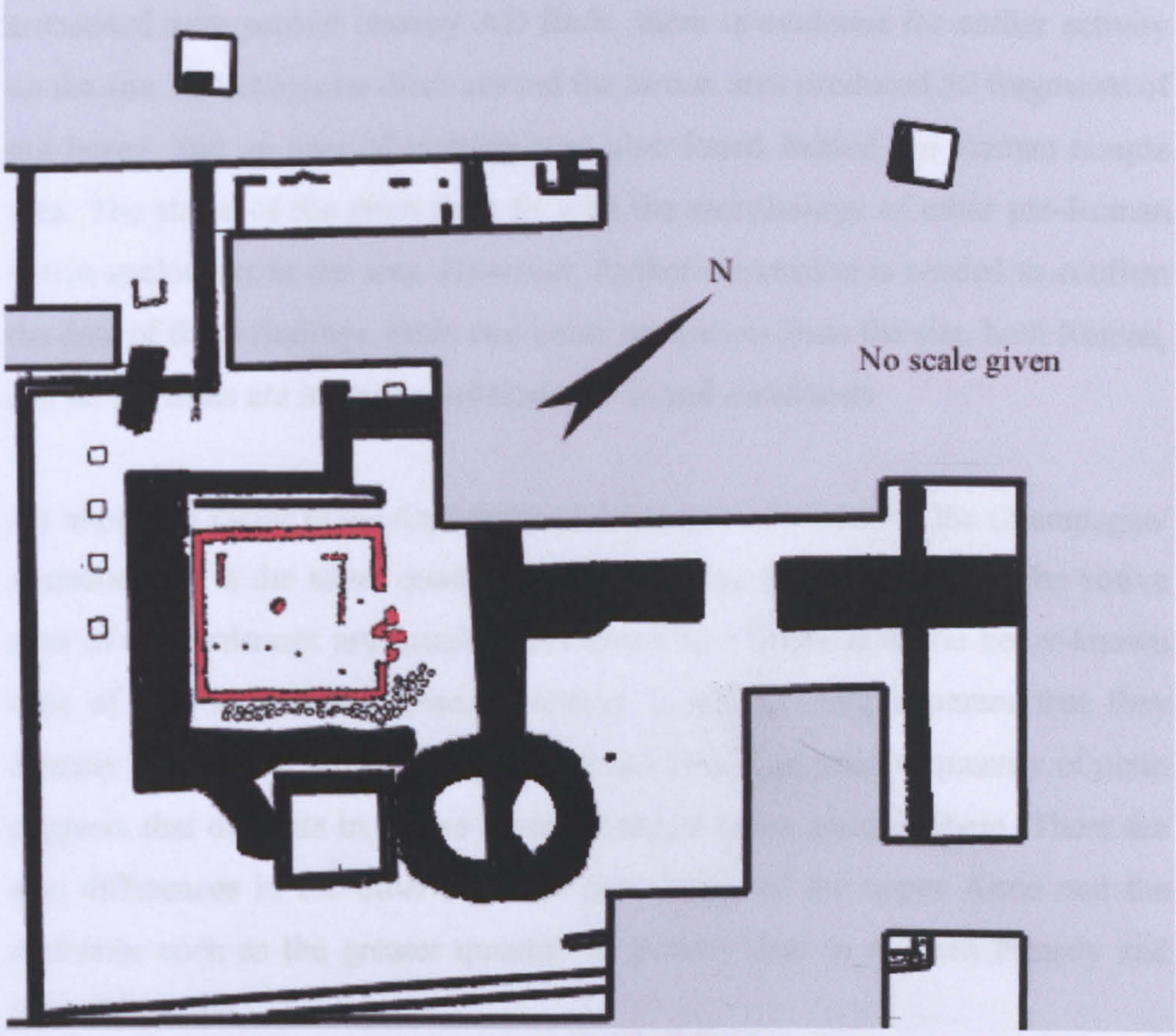
The volume of material known from the antiquarian excavations: bent weaponry, hundreds of coins, thousands of wheels, human and animal bones and late Iron Age pottery (Lambot 1989) indicates that the site was functioning on a larger scale than modern excavations give credit for. It is quite possible that these excavations removed the evidence for later Iron Age activity, although this cannot be proven. Certainly it is extremely unusual for a votive site to be totally abandoned after intensive early activity (although not impossible) and surface finds do indicate continuity, not episodic activity.

Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" is a patchily published site that has produced a large number of coins (fig 5.11). It is in the Ardennes, on the river Meuse, close to its confluence with the Chiers. The site has been extensively excavated, seeing 20 years of excavation from 1966 to 1986 (Tisserand 1981 and Congar 1971). The archive reports give a slightly clearer idea of the nature of the site, but little stratigraphic information can be gleaned for the early excavations, and even coin types are obscure. Mouzon produced a few early coins, although there were not many of them and most came from Augustan layers. An 'eye' silver unit of POTTINA (Scheers 30) was found in the lowest level of the site, in association with fragments of oyster shell, bones, eggshell and a sherd of mid first century

[127] Although more were found in the 1997 excavation, which was unavailable (Haselgrove *pers comm*).

pottery. The coin dates to the same period as the pottery, and it is evident that this was not an early foundation. Two late La Tène C1 to C2 brooches were found in 1975, as well as another 70 coins, but as the excavators did not investigate widely below the Augustan layer, any earlier start to the site is speculative.

Figure 5.11. Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" (after Tisserand 1976)



The site of Roizy "Le Cinq Horles" is also enigmatic in this period. Although its position on the flank of a chalk outcrop near to the confluence of two rivers is suggestive of other votive sites (chapter 3) the first firm archaeological evidence dates to the late Iron Age. "Late La Tène pot sherds" came from the ditch of the quadrangular enclosure on the site (Lambot 1991c), which suggests a pre-Conquest start to votive activity if the enclosure can be proven in future to definitely have a ritual function. The only other published apparent ritual site in the Ardennes to have produced coinage is Ecly, which has produced 70 Iron

Age coins (Delestrée 1996a:138), although no other details were available, and the site is unexcavated.

A few other sites in the Ardennes have produced probable evidence for votive deposition before the Conquest. One example is Foy "Noville" which was excavated by Mertens from 1969 to 1970 (as yet unpublished) and in the late 1980s (Mahin 1991). Although the majority of the finds and structures are Roman in date, consisting of 2 Gallo-Roman *fana* and a portico building associated with second century AD finds, there is evidence for earlier activity on the site. A rectangular ditch around the *fanum* area produced 55 fragments of pig bones, and an area of burning was also found behind the Roman temple area. The shape of the ditch does fit with the morphology of other pre-Roman votive enclosures in the area. However, further excavation is needed to confirm the date of these findings. Only two coins are known from the site, both Roman, and all the finds are in poor condition, due to soil conditions.

An important factor in the deposition of coins on votive sites in the Champagne/ Ardenne area is the sheer quantity of coinage that has been found. The votive sites of the Ardennes are usually considered as a footnote to the better-known sites of the Somme and Oise. However, it is becoming apparent that they actually produce far more coinage in the late Iron Age, and the quantity of potin suggests that deposits in votive contexts are of some antiquity here. There are also differences in the other finds on sanctuaries of the upper Aisne and the Ardennes such as the greater quantity of pottery than in western Picardy and Seine-Maritime.

5.2.2.3. SUMMARY

Votive deposition in the northern Champagne-Ardenne and eastern Picardy differs from that found further west. There is a greater level of regional diversity, and some parts have yet to reveal any archaeological evidence for centralised votive sites in the late Iron Age. Different kinds of artefacts are found on the votive sites in the east and south of the study area, with more pottery than the Somme, Oise and Seine-Maritime sites, and a larger quantity of

rouelles. More potin coins are evident, and potin continued to be struck and deposited in the early first century BC.

In the middle Aisne area specific votive sites have yet to be found. *Oppida*, such as Villeneuve-Saint-Germain have produced large numbers of coins, and Villeneuve has produced a separated area with ditches filled with votive material. Potin coinage is found on settlements in the Aisne, although this is likely to have arrived in the area with amphorae as part of a network of river-borne trade. There is evidence to suggest that at least some of these potin coins were being deposited in wet locations, which would hint at small-scale ritual deposition. Structured deposits on the settlements suggest that the majority of rituals were carried out within the settlements amongst local communities, and the *oppida* took the role of centralised votive sites, perhaps being used on an less regular basis.

In the area to the east, along the upper Aisne in the Ardennes département, votive sites are found in the first half of the first century BC. Votive deposition has also been found at Acy-Romance, which suggests that a higher level of votive deposition may have been taking place at other so-called settlement sites in the area at this period. The bodies in shafts and the 'votive structures' indicate that there was intensive votive deposition at Acy-Romance in the first quarter of the first century BC. Interestingly the cessation of human burials in pits ended around the same time that coinage replaced weaponry as the main votive deposit at nearby Nanteuil-sur-Aisne. This suggests a wider change in votive deposition at this time, perhaps moving from a specifically martial cult to a more general one.

The main foundation of votive sites in the Ardennes was in the first century BC, and this tallies with a general intensification of deposition on all types of site. A distinction can be made between the foothills of the Ardennes Massif and sites in the lowland chalk valleys in the latest Iron Age. The adoption of specialised votive sites in the hilly area can perhaps be associated with largely stock-rearing

communities.[128] while the manifestation of structured deposition on all types of site occurs on the lowland agricultural sites. This indicates different types of activity connected to the different ways of life which the two communities would have experienced, despite their proximity. It is hard accurately to assess the scale of activity on the Ardennes sanctuaries in the latest Iron Age, but the large quantities of coinage do suggest deposition. Some of the sites have produced very large numbers of coins when compared with the Picardy sites, which have lower numbers at this time.

The Champagne area is clearly linked to central Gaul at this period, and there is little evidence for the widespread adoption of votive sites. Coinage is found on settlements, and votive activity seems to have taken place largely on burial sites, which is also found across Burgundy. The pattern generally in the Champagne-Ardennes/ Aisne area is towards an increasing regional diversity, with some areas engaging in ritual activity on settlements within local communities while other areas did construct elaborate votive sites.

It is evident that the apparent separation of votive deposition and settlement which is found in the Oise is not present in this area. Why this is happening is as yet unclear, and needs further excavation, but it does represent an important regional variant in votive practice amongst groups living in this area. Ritual activity is more integrated into everyday life, in a way which is found along the Rhine, and suggests a different manifestation of ritual in society. The possible evidence for the shifting of parallel ditches from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain to Pommiers suggests that the rites carried out were more important than the veneration of a place. This may prove to be the archaeological manifestation of a very different way of viewing their relationship with the gods in this region.

5.2.3. THE COASTAL PLAIN AREA

Evidence for the use of coinage in votive activity is much less clear in the

---

[128] Although the quantity of sheep remains at Acy-Romance does suggest that the animal played an important role on this site.

northern area than in the rest of the study area. The circulation of coinage was not really introduced until the La Tène D2a period, and most coin production dates to the La Tène D2b period, the third quarter of the first century BC. The coastal plain area has no evidence for votive sites such as those found in other parts of the study area. Therefore, for the purposes of this study a comparison with the other areas has been made by considering all of the coinage from this area. In the coastal plain the total number of coins is dominated by a couple of very large hoards, and stratified deposits of coinage are virtually non-existent (Desfossés *pers. comm.*).

There are some important differences in the contexts in which different denominations of coinage are found. The different denominations of coinage are found in very different contexts, and in differing quantities. In the northern regions fairly early gold dominates the absolute quantities of coinage, largely due to a couple of very big hoards, in contrast to the Oise and Seine-Maritime regions directly to the south, where coinage is dominated by the very late struck bronze deposits from cult sites.

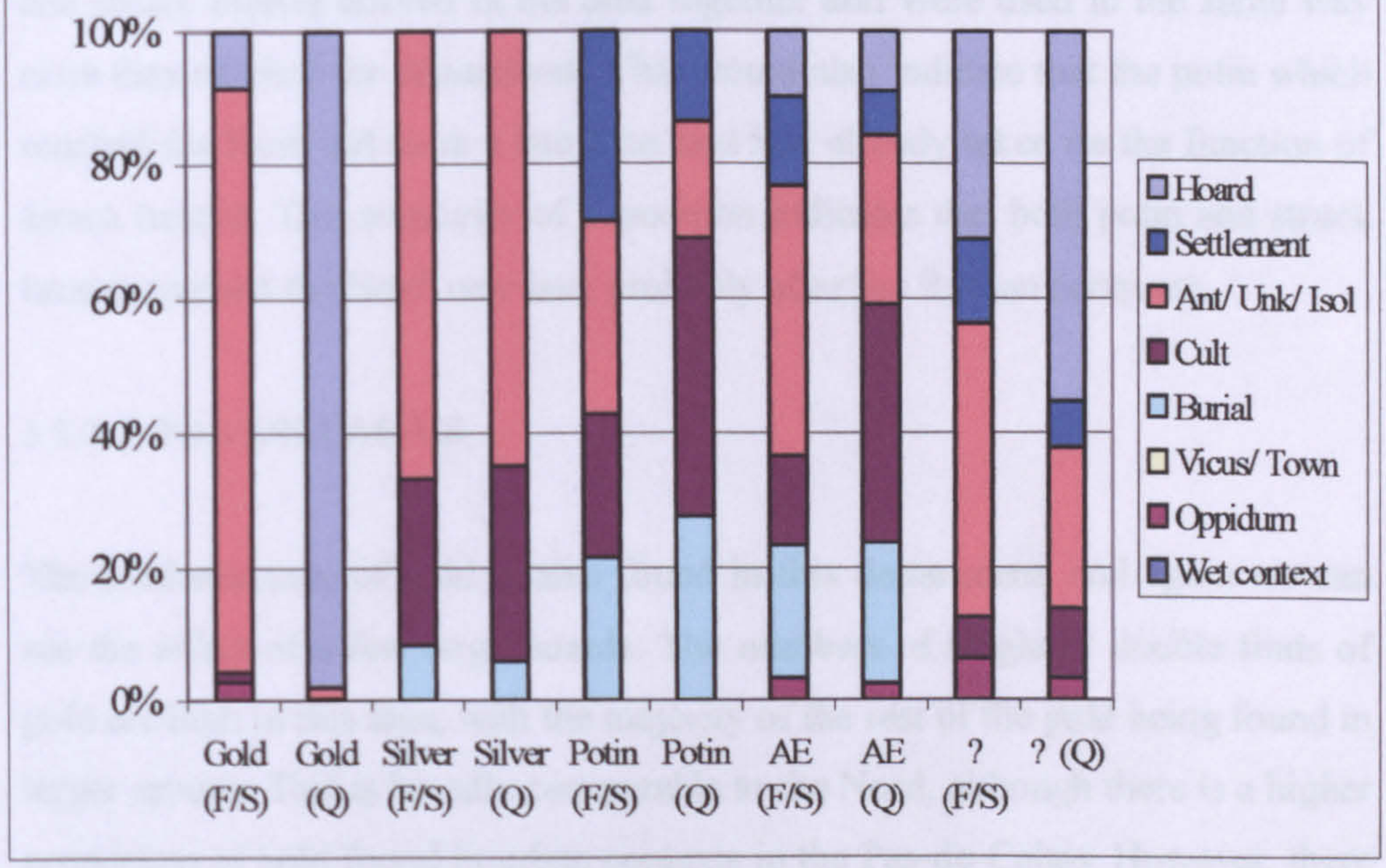
5.2.3.1. NORD

In terms of absolute quantities of coinage, the Iron Age coins from the Nord département are dominated by gold (fig 5.12). However, this is largely caused by a single hoard containing c. 15-18 litres of staters (estimated at 5000 coins for the purpose of this analysis) from Ledringhem near Dunkirk.[129] Looking at the individual metals we can see differences between the contexts in which we find coins. The contexts of gold coins are dominated by individual and antiquarian finds, with a small quantity of hoards, *oppida* and wet contexts forming the rest of the record. They are not found on settlements or in urban contexts, despite the increase in the excavation of these types of site recently. When we look at absolute quantities, we can see that the single large hoard is dominant. With this extremely unusual find removed the 97 coins which are

[129] The Ledringhem hoard is relatively well published, but only a fraction of it survived (see Leclercq 1978). Original reports indicate an extremely large hoard (Cousin 1857: 352, CAG 59:295), the small part which was examined consisted of Scheers 24 and 29 coins (Leclercq 1978:754).

found in individual or antiquarian contexts would actually form 65% of the total number of coins.

Fig 5.12. Coin find-spots in Nord



Only 13 find-spots were identified for silver coins of which the majority were antiquarian or unknown, making it hard to draw any major conclusions. Potin coins are also rare- neither silver nor potin coins were produced in the area, and out of the total, nearly half of these came from unknown or antiquarian sources.

Although a small number of potin coins are known from settlements, such as Hornaing (Barbieux 1992) which produced one potin and one struck bronze coin, none are stratified in pre-Conquest levels, and the majority come from Roman layers, probably suggesting the bulk of coin movement came after the conquest. Most potin coins come from Roman cult sites, and it seems likely that they ended up there as unusual late deposits. Whatever the function of potin in this area, they were not common coins, and appear in the archaeological record

as an occasional curiosity rather than a widespread find, as sites to the south suggest.[130]

Struck bronze is more numerous than either potin or silver, with more than 78 coins known. With the exception of a few struck bronze coins in early Roman hoards the coins are found on the same sites as potin. This suggests that potin and struck bronze arrived in the area together and were used in the same way once they reached the department. This would also indicate that the potin which reached the Nord did so at a late date, and had already taken on the function of struck bronze. This similarity of deposition indicates that both potin and struck bronze reached the Nord very late, probably after the Roman conquest.

5.2.3.2. PAS-DE-CALAIS

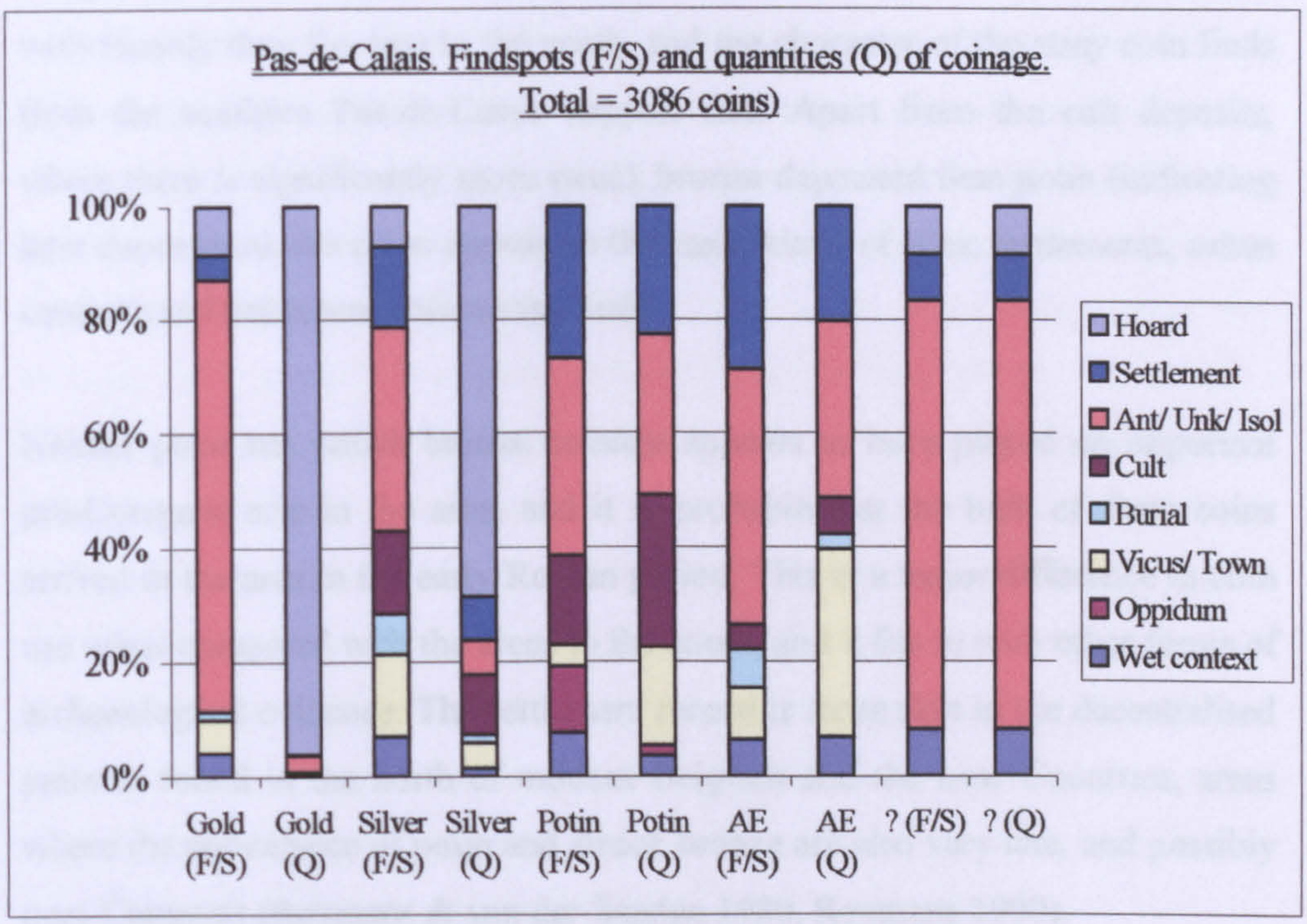
The predominance of gold is also found in this department, and again we can see the effect of a few large hoards. The numbers of single or double finds of gold are high in this area, with the majority of the rest of the gold being found in larger groups. This is broadly comparable to the Nord, although there is a higher proportion of gold found in urban contexts in the Pas-de-Calais. However, there are more urban contexts to consider, as major Roman centres such as Arras have recently been the focus of intensive digging programmes.[131] The difference in distribution is probably due to the nature of excavation in the department.

The overall quantity of silver, potin and struck bronze is higher in this department than the Nord (fig 5.13). This can be ascribed to more coin production in the area itself, but proximity to the very rich coin producing areas of the Somme and Aisne seems a more likely explanation. Silver in the Pas-de-Calais was largely hoarded, and the metal seems to have been treated in a similar way to gold - relatively unusual for silver coinage in the Iron Age, which usually clusters on votive sites and 'unusual' contexts.

---

[130] Such as the Ardennes and Aisne Valley sites. The lack of this evidence from the Nord suggests that potin was not available on settlements in the Iron Age.
[131] These are largely unpublished at present.

Fig 5.13. Coin find-spots in Pas-de-Calais



Potin coins are found across a wide range of contexts, none particularly predominating, but compared to other departments they are found in fairly high numbers on Roman period settlements and urban sites. This would again suggest a late appearance in the area. Deposits of potin coins on a few probable votive sites are present on in the very south of the département, clearly part of the Picardy group in morphology.

Struck bronze coins from the Pas-de-Calais occur in overwhelmingly late archaeological contexts. Over 50% of them are from Roman settlement layers or Roman urban contexts, such as Vaulx-Vracourt, Thérouanne, Arras and Boulogne. The north of the area does not seem to have received (or perhaps deposited?) much Iron Age coinage. In the Iron Age the south of the Pas-de-Calais was clearly closely related to Picardy, and the kinds of archaeological finds which the southern Pas-de-Calais produces support this. In geographical proximity to each other, the modern departmental boundary is of less significance than the geology, and the south of the Pas-de-Calais has richer soils, unlike the coastal plains in the north of the department. It was clearly an

agricultural area, although little archaeology has taken place there in comparison to the adjacent Somme area. Still, what little is known ties in better with Picardy than the area to the north, and the character of the stray coin finds from the southern Pas-de-Calais support this. Apart from the cult deposits, where there is significantly more struck bronze deposited than potin (indicating later deposition), the coins appear on the same kinds of sites; settlements, urban contexts and unknown/ antiquarian finds.

Neither potin nor struck bronze coinage appears to have played an important pre-Conquest role in the area, and it is probable that the bulk of these coins arrived in the area in the early Roman period. This is a major difference in coin use when compared with the areas to the south, and it fits in with other forms of archaeological evidence. The settlement record is more akin to the decentralised patterns found in the north of modern Belgium and the Low Countries, areas where the appearance of potin and struck bronze are also very late, and possibly post-Conquest (Roymans & van der Sanden 1980, Roymans 1990).

There is a tradition of coin finds (especially gold) from coastal contexts, and the Pas-de-Calais has historically produced significant quantities of Iron Age (and Roman) coinage and metalwork, from the earliest recorded discoveries in 1628. The coinage from Sangatte (Pas-de-Calais, Scheers 1977:876) is dominated by gold finds, such as the many Scheers 13 quarter staters found in 1866 (Cousin 1867:286, Scheers 1977:303). These have many similarities with the coin finds from Selsey in southern Britain (which now comprise at least 318 mainly gold coins, Bean 2002:270-271).[132] Coins have also been discovered in the sea at Boulogne (Scheers 9 and 13 coins are recorded, Scheers 1977), and on the beach at Tardinghen (CAG 62/2:586), as well as in the Sangatte/ Wissant area (CAG 62/2:589) (also Scheers 13's where types have been recorded).

Other finds of coins in maritime areas do show a preponderance of beach and

---

[132] Although Selsey has produced the most spectacular finds of gold coins, other deposits are known from Britain. Examples include the Yarmouth (Isle of Wight) hoard (Evans 1860, Wellington 2001) and Pevensey (Sussex) (Evans 1864). These finds are both discussed by Bean (2002).

coastal finds, especially with gold coins, which is a point which deserves further investigation. The Roman texts which discuss this area of northern France (chiefly Caesar) emphasise the importance of the sea to the inhabitants, and perhaps the deposition of coinage on or near the coast is an earlier manifestation of this veneration. Coinage is extremely rare in stratified contexts on settlements or in burial contexts. The use of coinage in this area in the late Iron Age seems not to have included deposition on settlement sites, and it seems likely that coinage did not reach the small agricultural settlements of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais in any quantities. Different denominations of coins also seem to have different patterns of deposition (see chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of this point).

In both the Pas-de-Calais and Nord there are definite trends to the use of coinage. Gold coinage is the most common in the area, but does not seem to have been issued in large quantities, and the coin types tend to derive from many of the large eastern issues (such as the 'eye' staters, Scheers 30). It is found in hoards and in isolated discoveries of a single coin (or a few). Cross-Channel links can be clearly seen in some of the coinage, such as the quarter staters "au bateau" (Scheers 13, classes IV & VI) which had a major stylistic impact on the silver coinage along the south coast of England. On the whole, the use of coinage in the region does rely heavily on what is going on in the area immediately to the east, especially with the so-called Nervii coinages, and derivatives of these.

The use of coinage in the region must be considered as reactive until the first century BC, and certainly in this early period. The use of precious metal coins, primarily gold (and perhaps the earliest silver issues) is exclusive until the Conquest. The lack of coinage on identifiable sites is very different from the area to the south (the Ardennes and Champagne départments). Bearing in mind the lack of votive deposits with coin finds, it seems likely that the primary uses of coinage in this area were hoarding and elite exchange, with the probability

that the majority of the single finds of gold and smaller gold hoards were ritual depositions. These were possibly deposited on boundaries of some sort.[133]

5.3. WIDER COMPARISONS

Outside the study area, the use of coinage on votive sites was very regionally specific until the early Roman period. In central Gaul and the middle Rhine area coins were found on votive sites by the early first century BC. In other areas, such as Brittany and southern Britain, the evidence is much less convincing, and it seems likely that the ritual deposition of coinage was a less structured occurrence. Few sites have been studied systematically, but recent work in the Rhineland and in central France is starting to produce parallels to the coin deposition found in the study area.

To the south the Marne/ Meuse and southern Aisne regions present a different picture. Research has concentrated on the rich cemeteries of the early La Tène period, and the nature of the overall settlement pattern is still comparatively unknown. Gold coinage appears late in this region, but the early potins that are common in the north are fairly widespread. There is little evidence in this area for pre-Conquest votive sites, and this continues into the early Roman period as well. Many of the settlements are rich in finds, and the majority of the coinage is found on these. The open settlement at La Cheppe "Camp de Mourmelon" has over 50 coins, almost all potins, along with Dressel 1A amphorae and numerous late La Tène brooches (Chossenot 1987). Settlement was less dense here than in the Aisne valley, probably due to the quality of the chalk soils, which are less fertile than those to the west.

Although historically there has been little recognition of structured deposition in this area, a series of silos have been found which contain burnt grain and occasional fragments of quern. At Suippes, Camp Militaire (Marne) wheat, barley and millet were placed in the bottom of a pit (Chossenot 1997:101).

---

[133] As has been suggested for the gold coinage deposits in Britain (Haselgrove 1987) and other finds, such as currency bars (Hingley 1990).

Although on the face of it there is a simple functional explanation for these finds. Semide (Ardennes) had a dozen kilos of barley and fragments of millstone in a pit (Frezouls 1975). This may have been some kind of propitiation rite like that identified at Danebury, England (Cunliffe 1992, Hill 1995). Human remains were a feature of deposition on some settlement sites in this area, and perhaps also indicate an alternative form of votive activity. Fourteen of the 150 pits excavated at La Cheppe "Camp de Mourmelon" yielded human remains, and two bodies were found in silos at Normée "La Tempête" in the Marne département (Chossenot 1997:253).

Despite the small size of middle to late La Tène cemeteries in the Marne area, they too seem to have been a focus of votive activity. The individual cremation burials are often rich in finds, while at several sites the surrounding enclosures yield what appear to be votive finds. At Bouy "Chemin de Vadenay" the enclosure ditch contained metalwork, charcoal, animal bones and fragmentary human bones[134] and burnt barley was found in the bottom of a pit (Brisson & Hatt 1955). This is a phenomenon we also find to the south of this area, in southern Champagne and northern Burgundy, where coin and pottery yielding sanctuaries such as Mirebeau (Côte d'Or) are found. These finds suggest that the integration of burial and ritual practices was more important here than it seemed to be further north. In this respect, the Marne-Meuse area should perhaps be considered in conjunction with the Yonne-Seine zone to the south, where the link between burial and ritual is more pronounced. The Marne has produced evidence for riverine trade,[135] although the agricultural land is less fertile than that of the river valleys to the north. There are few coins known from the Marne, and those finds which come from the département are mostly hoards or from *oppida* (Chossenot 1997:151).

The rather ephemeral finds from the third and early second century BC in the Ardennes are not really developed in this period, although this could be due to the lack of excavation of all types of site. While some of the sites in the area

---

[134] Chossenot (1997:226) is probably correct in seeing these and similar burial enclosures as 'proto-sanctuaries'. They are more common in the Aube and Haute-Marne départments.

have produced early material (such as Nanteuil-sur-Aisne and Chateau-Porcien) the stratified material dated to the first century BC is patchy away from Acy-Romance. It can hardly amount to convincing evidence for a widespread votive tradition in the way that the evidence from Picardy clearly does, although this will probably change with further excavation.

Van Heesch (forthcoming: 9) has pointed out the presence of a series of gold coin finds (both hoards and individual finds) from the Flemish Ardennes. No bronze, potin or early Roman coin hoards are known, and none of the hoards have yet been found in conjunction with other archaeological material. It would be interesting to see if this pattern extends down into the French Ardennes. One suspects that it does, and it would certainly present a local phenomenon (perhaps related to geology) if hoards were deposited in this area.

One of the most important sites to the south of the study area, La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Aube) continued to be the focus of deposition in the early first century BC. The presence of potin coins in the lower fills of the outer enclosure ditch indicates an early start to the site, but the inner ditch and the upper levels of activity show that the site remained active for several centuries. Most of the pottery on the site dated to the first century BC, and deposition on the site seems to have intensified in this period, as the volume of lead, silver and bronze wheels suggests (more than 70,000 of them). Chossenot (1997:238) indicated that 3000 Iron Age coins have been found on the site, although a detailed breakdown was unavailable, and he believed that only 1594 of them were from the sanctuary area (*ibid*: 151). The excavation reports record 1850 Iron Age coins, 367 Roman Republican coins, and 2704 Imperial coins (of which 1479 were from the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius) (Piette 1979). Initial stratigraphic analysis was carried out by Piette (1981), and this remains the only detailed publication of the stratigraphic relationships on the site.

In the late Iron Age the central spring area remained the focus of deposition,

---

[135] As an example Dressel 1A amphorae have been found at Vaires-sur-Marne. This trade fits in well with the better known finds from the Aisne and the Seine.

which included many coins and lead wheels. Ritual feasting on the site in this period is attested by a large quantity of late La Tène pottery and some parts of the central area produced large amounts of amphorae. These aspects have much in common with the Burgundy sanctuaries, which have a large body of ceramic finds, and where evidence for ritual feasting is more common[136] (see Poux 2000 for a fuller discussion of feasting on votive sites).

As well as early primary fills, the outer ditch of the sanctuary remained open for some time, and seems to have been re-cut on several occasions. Deposition of both wheels and Iron Age coinage was especially intensive around the entrance to the enclosure, although both were found in large numbers in all areas of the site. The confused stratigraphy in the centre of the site indicated that it was regularly cleaned out or objects were removed. One of the reports (Piette 1981) suggests that some sort of Roman structure was constructed on top of the Iron Age ditch, but there is no other record of this, and no indication is given on the plans. No comprehensible stratigraphy was deduced, although many rare Iron Age coins were found, including three gold coins (two of the Senones and one Scheers 28-IV of ROVECA). A range of structures surrounded the enclosure, including a miniature tumulus to the south of the main site which produced a great number of lead wheels from the central area of its base, thus indicating its construction in this period. The rest of the ancillary structures do appear Augustan in date.

Meaux "La Bauve" is one of the closest sites to La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot that has undergone archaeological excavation. The site overlooks the river Marne and lies just outside the town of Meaux (later becoming an important peri-urban sanctuary). The coinage is mostly local, and more than a hundred coins of ROVECA and EPENOS (Scheers 28 and 143 respectively) were found during excavations in the 1980s (Magnan 1988). To the east of the Augustan votive focus, foundations and post-holes were found, and it is apparent that there was

---

[136] This is possibly misleading, as more amphorae were available in central Gaul, and therefore the archaeological visibility of feasting is also greater. Any feast where drinking was from local ceramics or organic vessels would be harder to identify in the archaeological record.

two parallel ranges of wooden buildings present, which Magnan (2000:83) believes can be dated tentatively to the early first century BC.

Although Magnan believed that the faunal remains from Meaux "La Bauve" indicated domestic activity, the presence of late Iron Age brooches and coinage, as well as the nature of the middle Iron Age material on the site (especially the weaponry), suggests that the activity may be ritual. However, this is not conclusive. The site did produce 120 Iron Age coins, mostly late (4 silver, 10 potin and 106 struck bronze) (Dhenin & Amandry 1988). Many of the coins are late local types, but some early coins do come from the site.[137] Unfortunately, the stratigraphy of the site was heavily disturbed (both in antiquity and in the nineteenth century).

Feasting equipment is found on votive sites in the extreme south of the study area, with pottery and amphorae being common finds on southern sites. This is harder to identify on many of the Picardy sites, especially those dug before the 1990's, but Poux (2000) has identified the presence of ritual feasting on some of the sanctuaries and high-status settlements in the study area in the later Iron Age. These include Fesques, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Montmartin and Acy-Romance, which have produced rich deposits of animal bones, wine amphorae and ceramics connected to drinking. Large quantities of amphorae are being found across northern France (Loughton 2003) and to a lesser degree in southern Britain (Carver 2001) suggesting wine consumption was widespread in the late Iron Age. Feasting seems to have been an important aspect of votive deposition, and although textual evidence for the importance of banquets and ceremonial feasting has long been recognised, and is archaeologically well-known in southern and central Gaul it is only now being identified archaeologically in the study area.

Feasting on votive sites seems to have been one of the main archaeologically identifiable activities to the south of the study area, with sites in Burgundy and the Auvergne producing large quantities of amphorae and animal bones (Poux et

al 2000). Returning closer to hand, Naix-aux-Forges (Meuse), on the periphery of the study area, where feasting seems to have been central to the rites carried out, has produced over 2000 amphorae rims, which were dispersed on the periphery of the first phase of the sanctuary.[138] This dated to the first half of the first century BC (Legin 1989). Other late Iron Age sites along the Seine/ Yonne confluence, such as Fontaine-la-Gaillarde "La Grande Chaume" and Balloy "Bois-de-Roselle" (Poyeton & Seguier 1999) have produced evidence of ritual feasting. This seems to have been the main manifestation of ritual activity along the Seine/ Yonne confluence and further south, central France producing a large number of enclosures with evidence for feasting and ritual destruction of amphorae.

Southern Britain began to show signs of coin deposition on votive sites by the middle of the first century BC, although it is questionable whether this was an indigenous development or one introduced from the study area. When Hayling Island (Downey, King & Soffe 1980, King & Soffe 1998, Briggs, Haselgrove & King 1992) is considered, it is clear that a significant proportion of the coinage and pottery actually originated in northern France, which argues for close links, and perhaps overt influence. The lack of other convincing examples for the intensive use of coinage on centralised votive sites before the turn of the millennium (Smith 2001) suggests, probably rightly, that coinage was not a widespread votive deposit in southern Britain until the first century AD, and on the whole, phases with coinage are later (although the sites may have been founded earlier). The main zone of influence seems to have operated along the Seine-Solent axis, although Springhead in Kent has recently produced 55 Iron Age coins during excavations along the Channel Tunnel Rail Link[139] which may have been deposited as early as 25 BC.

Further east, the Lower Rhine area shows little evidence for coin deposition on votive sites until the mid first century BC, and the few extensively excavated

---

[137] These include a BN 7783 potin, and several SVTICCOS and ROVECA bronzes. However, most of the other potin coins were heavily worn, so it is possible that these were deposited later.
[138] Interestingly, the site of Naix-aux-Forges is close to the *oppidum* of Boviolles, which suggests that the association of *oppida* and votive sites may also have been occurring in this area. However, no work has been done on this association to date.

sites, such as Empel (Roymans & Derks 1994a) have not produced convincing evidence for coin deposition until the middle of the first century BC. Empel is one of the few sites to show evidence for centralised votive practice from around 100 BC, when an open-air cult site was constructed, but coins were not deposited in this period. Some sites in modern Belgium and the Lorraine have produced Iron Age coins, but only Pommerœul has coins stratified to clearly pre-Conquest contexts. Pommerœul has produced a layer of late Iron Age material stratified under the later Roman material. This layer produced a hoard of ten potin coins (Scheers 190, class 4) which probably dated to the early first century BC, as well as a later Nauheim brooch, and sherds of a late La Tène cooking pot. The coins were found away from the majority of the weaponry, but were associated with some of it. In 1982 more pottery and 34 twisted metal objects were found, a couple of which seemed to be the 'sword currency bars' (De Boe 1982).

5.4. CONCLUSION

Considerable diversity of ritual practice is evident in the study area in the late second century and early first century BC. Although some areas do maintain or develop specialised '*sanctuaires*', other areas have very different manifestations of ritual practice. Recent work on the regional archaeology of north-eastern France enables the votive sites of the study area to be placed into a firmer archaeological perspective. Although areas using coins and areas with votive sites are not identical, their distribution is closely linked.

The quantity of stratified coinage found on votive sites in the study area in the first half of the first century BC is fairly large. Although the actual numbers of coins discovered in definite late second and early first century contexts is not vast *per se*, when they are compared to other groups of site, it is evident that votive sites and *oppida* produce the majority of datable finds. Silver and struck bronze coins were important deposits in the later Iron Age, and not just a phenomenon which came into being after the Conquest. The preponderance of

---

[139] I would like to thank Phil Andrews (Wessex Archaeology) for this unpublished information.

some coin types on votive sites suggests that certain types of coinage (if not all) were minted for use in this way. Silver coins are overwhelmingly found on votive sites, especially in the north-west of the study area. Some types from this period, such as the Scheers 51 to 53 silver issues, have been found predominantly in votive contexts.

The popularity of coinage as a votive deposit was not confined to areas that produced it. The Nord and Pas-de-Calais had a surprising quantity of coinage deposited (such as the single deposits of gold coins). This suggests that the primary function of coinage in these areas was votive deposition. In other parts of the study area, such as the Aisne and Champagne regions, votive deposition was widespread in the later second and early first centuries BC; and coinage clearly played an important role in this. However, it was not established as a common deposit as early as it was in the Seine-Maritime, Somme and Oise areas.

Coinage is commonly assumed to have been part of a network of elite exchange in the later Iron Age. What is clear is that coins played an important local role, with their deposition, especially certain types[140] forming a significant part of activity on votive sites. Coinage is present in a wider range of contexts and in a broader range of types than in the later second century BC. As well as potin and gold coins, silver and bronze appear, and the distribution of all types increases.

Whilst the deposition of weaponry continued into the later second and early first centuries BC it became less pronounced. Sites active in the later period show an increasing quantity of coins and brooches, and a decreasing quantity of weaponry. Episodic deposition was clearly happening on some of the sites in Picardy and the west of the study area, and this may suggest a shifting pattern of use which was related to the dominance of certain family groups over the votive practice of a larger community.

---

[140] Especially silver coins, and potin in non-silver producing areas.

In summary, areas which had an older '*sanctuaire*' tradition continued to follow this pattern, but with increasing coin and other small artefact deposition. The foundation of specialised votive sites accelerated into the first century BC, perhaps connected to an increasing population, and to the increasing hierarchy apparent in society from the settlement and *oppidum* evidence. This raises the interesting question of who founded these sites. They were not present in all parts of the study area at this period, and the decision to build votive sites seems to have been related to the increasingly hierarchical society which was emerging in the Oise, Somme and Seine-Maritime areas. The coastal plain area shows no evidence for centralised votive sites, coin minting or a hierarchical society at this time. As discussed above, *oppida* and votive sites were clearly connected, and fortifications post-dated the foundation of votive sites on some of the major sites. The situation became increasingly complex towards the mid first century BC, and by the Gallic Wars, a large quantity of coinage was being deposited on votive sites.

❖❖❖

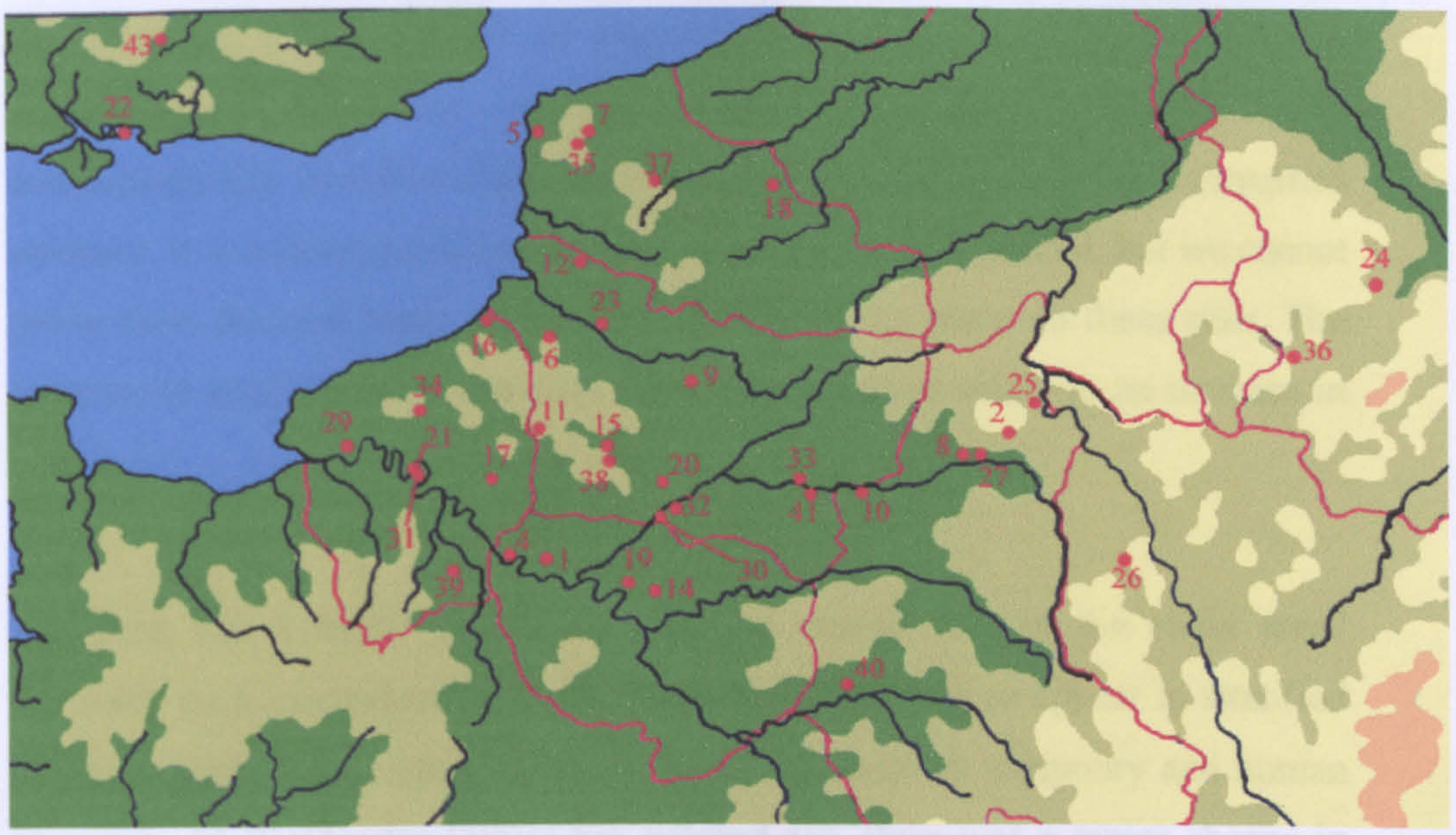
Expansion and adaptation – development in the later first century BC

❖❖❖

In the Augustan period, there was a dramatic increase in the number of votive sites, both rural and urban. However, many of these sites were not new foundations. The evidence shows that the expansion of archaeologically recognisable deposition on votive sites in the later first century BC had less to do with the introduction of Roman rites than with the intensification of minting on a local scale. The increased production of coinage enabled more deposition on votive sites, but this led directly on from practices developed in the late second and early first centuries BC.

From the first century AD investment on sites increasingly shifted to the buildings, statues and altars, and away from deposits in the ground. In the later Iron Age and earliest Roman period, more importance was still attached to the act of deposition itself than the buildings at the shrine, and on many sites the deposits were not collected up as they were later on. The quantity of small finds on all types of site increased in the mid first century BC throughout the study area. New types of artefact were introduced at the expense of animal bones and weaponry. Coinage was the most common type of object deposited, but personal adornment also became increasingly significant. This is part of a wider phenomenon found both inside and outside the formal boundaries of the Roman Empire. In Britain, Burnham et al (2001) and Hill (1997), amongst others, have noted the explosion of artefacts on sites of the mid first century BC. These include brooches, coins, 'toilet implements' and iron objects. Hill (1997:103) has suggested that these objects indicate the increasing emergence of individuals in the archaeological record of Britain. In north-eastern France we also see a general decrease in grave goods and an increase in deposition on votive sites and settlements.

Fig 6.1. Main sites mentioned in Chapter 6



1 Authevernes
2 Baâlons-Bouvellemont
3 Bastendorf
4 Bennecourt
5 Boulogne
6 Brionne
7 Cassel
8 Chateau-Porcien
9 Chilly
10 Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt
11 Digeon
12 Dompierre-sur-Authie
13 Empel
14 Epiais-Rhus
15 Estrées-sur-Noye
16 Eu/ Bois l'Abbé
17 Fesques
18 Flines-lès-Raches
19 Genainville
20 Gournay-sur-Aronde
21 Grand-Couronne
22 Hayling Island
23 La Chaussée-Tirancourt
24 Martberg
25 Mouzon 'Bois du Flavier'
26 Naix-aux-Forges
27 Nanteuil-sur-Aisne
28 Nijmegen
29 Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon
30 Ognon 'Forêt d'Halatte'
31 Oissel 'Mare du Puits'
32 Orrouy 'Champlieu'
33 Pommiers
34 Roncherolles-en-Bray
35 Thérouanne
36 Trier 'Altbachtal'
37 Vaulx-Vracourt
38 Vendeuil-Caply
39 Vieil-Evreux
40 Villeneuve-au-Châtelot
41 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain
42 Wallendorf
43 Wanborough

The increase in the number of artefacts on most types of site shows that the higher number of coins in votive contexts does not reflect a specific increase in activity on these sites. It is more likely to reflect a general increase in the

quantity of objects in circulation within these societies, and therefore available for deposition. It is clear from the ceramic record that organic goods were deposited on votive sites in all periods. With more artefacts surviving in archaeological conditions it is possible that these replaced other archaeologically invisible votive activities and the use of these sites remained constant. It is an inarguable fact that more coinage was deposited, but we cannot prove from this that more activity *per se* was taking place on these sites. The increase in artefacts on votive sites cannot be ascribed solely to an increase in activity.

However, can a major change be seen on votive sites in the study area? Certainly on a macro-level a wider range of objects start to appear in stratified deposits, while a few types of object disappear (such as weaponry and human remains). As Rey-Vodoz (1991) has pointed out, there was a major change in the nature of offerings at the end of the Augustan period, with deposits taking on the characteristics of the Mediterranean area. The introduction of votives, *stelae*, terracotta, gold and silver statuettes and other similar finds indicates a major change in the available objects in the Augustan period, and this ties in with the major changes in material culture we find throughout the Empire in the Augustan period (Macmullen 2000). Before this period the changes appear to be more regional, and this will be explored below. However, as well as the archaeological changes, there were important political and social developments in this period, which would have had a profound effect on local communities, and therefore the way in which they expressed themselves in votive contexts. The principal event was the Gallic Wars.

6.1. THE IMPACT OF THE GALLIC WARS

The Gallic Wars have long been a key point in the establishment of archaeological and numismatic chronologies in northern France and the main focus of much of the coin dating, especially in central France (see chapter 2). However, the Gallic Wars occurred after many of the numismatic changes traditionally associated with them (such as the introduction of potin coinage).

The reliance on a 'Gallic War chronology' was misleading, as it compressed the numismatic and archaeological material into an unrealistically short episode.[141] On the other hand, previously scholars (e.g. Jullian 1909) have also been to keen to imply dramatic change immediately after the Roman invasion and this is proving to be equally questionable.

Although it would be interesting to speculate on how visible the Gallic Wars would be without the textual evidence, when one looks at the archaeology as a whole there are major changes visible in the archaeological record in the later first century BC. However, the earlier archaeology (see previous chapter) makes it clear that society was in a state of major upheaval during the period preceding the Gallic Wars. Politically the Gallic Wars were clearly of major significance. Some parts of the study area resisted Caesar, while other parts became Roman allies. Although the intention of this study is not to extrapolate historical meaning from the archaeological evidence (see Webster J. 1992) it is evident that differential treatment would have greatly affected the societies concerned. The famous example of the Remi, who became allies of Rome at a very early stage,[142] can perhaps be shown archaeologically in the votive deposits present in their region (see below).

But how did communities react to the upheavals of this period? The example of the Remi has not been the subject of a great deal of archaeological interest. This differs from the Batavii to the north-east of the study area, where a combination of archaeological and historical evidence has produced some stimulating conclusions on the nature of the complex relationship between the Batavii and the Roman military forces situated on the Lower Rhine[143] in the early first century AD. In terms of votive activity, it is clear that the heavy recruitment of natives into the Roman military amongst the Batavii during the immediate post-Conquest period caused major changes in votive deposition. Roymans, in his

---

[141] See the classic critique of the dating by Nash (1975) for a debate of this.

[142] Throughout Caesar's commentaries, the Remi and some of their vassals were steadfast allies of Rome (for example BG II: 3-7, VII: 63).

[143] The history of research into the Batavii is summarised by Hessing (2001). A recent revitalisation of the study area has been catalysed by an increase in field archaeology in the Netherlands. Recent work on the interaction between the Batavii and Rome includes Brandt & Slofstra 1983, Willems 1984, and Roymans 1995, 1996.

significant 1996 study, argued for the continuation of a martial ideology along the Lower Rhine during the period 15BC to AD100, from the large quantities of Roman militaria deposited in the Rhine and its tributaries. He linked this to the discovery of significant quantities of militaria in rural native cult places such as Empel (Roymans 1996b:31), which was clearly an important cult site to Hercules Magusanus, the presumed chief god of the Batavii, in the earliest Roman period.

By this continuity of martial ideology, and the weaponry found in the area, as well as on sites in the territory of the Treveri (Möhn, Pommern, Dhronecken and Klein-Winternheim, Roymans 1996b:31), significant freedom to continue with pre-Conquest martial rites is suggested. This is contrasted with the study area of this thesis, where a lack of weaponry on votive sites is seen as *"a clear break... with pre-Roman traditions concerning the ritual deposition of weapons at cult places and graves"* (1996b:30). However, the lack of weaponry within the study area cannot be explained this simply. On many sites weapon deposition was already in decline in the second century BC. The replacement of weaponry and human remains with animal remains, ceramic deposits, personal adornment and coinage was already underway significantly before the mid first century BC, as the previous chapter shows.

As Roymans pointed out (1996b:30) sites in the Ardennes, such as Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" and Baâlons-Bouvellemont continued to deposit miniature weaponry. However, the presence of miniature weaponry was a distinct regional tradition, and can be related to sites south and east of the study area, such as the recently excavated sanctuary of Viuz-Faverges in Haute-Savoie (Amandry & Remy 1996). The Ardennes sites produced other oddities which can be explained when sites further south are considered (see below). The dichotomy between the 'Batavian martial ideology' and the 'Remian pastoral' one is simplistic. Although there were important differences between the two areas, it is clear that there was significant variability on a smaller scale, and close attention needs to be paid to local conditions and regional variation. The intense focus on martial aspects of the Batavii also masks the fact that the majority of the settlement evidence remains resolutely pastoral in nature.

The period immediately following the Gallic Wars is not well understood archaeologically. It is not until the Augustan period that architecture and religion were used actively to promote the identification of local élites with Rome (Zanker 1988). The Gallic Wars did not mark the end of hostilities. As well as the prominent Batavian revolt of 69 AD, there were other insurrections in the early years of Roman rule in Belgic Gaul, and (as Delestrée 1999a:25 pointed out) things were not as peaceful as are usually indicated in historical and archaeological studies. The Bellovaci (on the north bank of the Oise, and along the Thérain) revolted in 46 BC (Livy, 114). During the first Aquitanian revolt of 39 BC the 'people of the Seine and Rhine' rose up (Cassius Dio, Roman History, 48-49), while during the second Aquitanian revolt of 33 BC the Morini and their subjects (in the north of the Pas-de-Calais) rose up in 31-30 BC (Cassius Dio, 51-21). The Treveri (to the east of the Meuse) revolted in 29 BC (Cassius Dio, 51-20). These are merely the insurrections mentioned in historical sources; undoubtedly there were additional smaller revolts. Archaeologically, things cannot be studied with such precision, but it is worth bearing these examples in mind when considering changes and developments in this period. There must have been a fairly active military presence in the study area during the later first century BC, although this is hard to identify archaeologically.

The Civil War and the drain on manpower and resources which this entailed (especially towards the East) may suggest that the control over Gaul and the Rhineland probably mainly entailed crushing revolts and troubleshooting in the third quarter of the first century BC. Little is known about military movements in Belgic Gaul at this time, although the archaeology suggests that Roman *imperium* may have been lightly, or at least indirectly, administered in the early stages. Within Belgic Gaul there was little effort to organise coinage or centralise aspects of administration until the Augustan period. Therefore, while the Gallic Wars had an undoubted impact politically, the archaeology shows much more limited changes before the Augustan reforms, although changes were regionally specific. Roymans (1996b:61) did not believe that the change from native settlements to a villa-dominated landscape took place until the later first century AD in the German Rhineland, central Belgium or northern France.

Rural developments to large villa complexes have been well studied in several parts of the study area (Bayard & Collart 1996), and the chalk plains of Picardy are especially well covered by aerial photography (Agache 1975, 1978) and excavation.[144] Changes in local social organisation must have had a major impact on votive practices.

The impact of the Roman military on the study area and on votive practice is unclear. Some scholars such as Delestrée (1999a) believe that the military had a major impact on the study area, interpreting sites such as La Chaussée Tirancourt, just to the north-west of Amiens as Roman camps. The more recent theoretically aware approach, initiated by Millett's (1990) study of Britain, considers the Romanisation of provinces was locally led, rather than a conscious policy by an over-riding "Roman Imperialism".[145] Individuals such as Roymans (1990) and Pion (1996a) have followed this, and it is clear that archaeologists need to look at local developments to understand the changes taking place at this time.

Haselgrove (1990b:45) has made the reasonable point that the lenient treatment of the native élite in Gaul was undoubtedly a sensible policy for Caesar, as revolt in his rear was undesirable considering his aim of ultimate power in Rome. However, the texts do not always agree with this, and Tacitus ascribes more central control than modern archaeologists presently argue for. The 'native-led' archaeologists have probably gone too far in their wish for self-perpetuated reforms, and a mix of the two approaches was probably the case, although there were regional variations, and generalisations across wide areas are risky. Woolf argued that:

> "*it is ... pointless to ask whether Rome civilised the Gauls or whether*

---

[144] Villa type settlements in wood appeared in Picardy in the Augustan period, e.g. Verneuil-en-Halatte, Beaurieux-les-Greves, Juvincourt and Limé "Les Terre Noire" (Collart 1996).
[145] This debate on enforced versus aspirational imperialism in the Roman world has been one of the most interesting research foci in the last decade within Roman archaeology. Although this is not the place for its full elucidation, key texts include Blagg & Millett (1990), Metzler et al (1995), Woolf (1993a, 1998), Webster & Cooper (1996), Mattingly (1997) and Keay & Terrenato eds (2001), as well as a selection of papers in the TRAC volumes.

> *they civilised themselves. The educated elite of the empire joined together in the civilising mission, sharing an identity that was Roman, humane and aristocratic*" (Woolf 1998:75)

although he was discussing a slightly later period.

Archaeologically though, can we identify Roman forms of architecture in the study area in the period from the Gallic Wars to the reforms in the Augustan period? The strongest case for early stone construction in the study area is undoubtedly in votive contexts, and this will be explored below. However, other aspects of the votive record indicate that we may be looking at some form of local continuity – the picture is complex, at least archaeologically. Considering this, it is not surprising that local minting and pre-Roman forms of votive deposition continue into the later first century BC. It was only with Augustan rule that major changes in local settlement patterns in north-eastern Gaul can be seen archaeologically. Continuity and change in votive practice is one of the most important indicators of local communities we have for this period.

From the other viewpoint, that of Roman studies, little work has been done on Roman religion until recently. Although the nature of Roman imperialism has been a key focus of the study of later prehistory and early Roman Britain, the study of religion has historically fallen into either the 'traditional' Roman study of towns and epigraphy, or into the firmly prehistoric identification of archaeological ritual activity. Religion as a major consideration has largely been eschewed in Britain, largely due to the domination of the field by a small group of extremely a-theoretical individuals. Authors of general studies, such as Millett (1990) have largely glossed over the effect of religion as a major factor in the study of this period (as pointed out by Freeman, 1993, and to some extent tackled elsewhere, e.g. Millett 1995). However, it is important.

There were few studies of the important role of religion in early Roman Gaul until Derks' (1998) groundbreaking study of the nature of religious transformation in the north-western provinces. He believed that there was no secure predecessor for Roman temples in north-eastern Gaul and the Rhine

frontier, and did not believe that Iron Age religion was already being transformed under Roman or Mediterranean influences (chapter 2).

I believe that he was mistaken in concentrating on the architectural remains, when the act of artefact deposition continued in the later first century BC. He did believe that the

> "*cultural changes in the Roman period are to be regarded as products of an articulation between the cultural codes of the local communities and those of the Roman state*" (Derks 1998:241)

Rightly, he ascribes the Roman changes not just to the action of elites, but to the redefinition of adopted ideas and goods within local cultural contexts, a process which we can see with amphorae in the late Iron Age in the study area. This also applies when considering the extent to which the nature of religious deposition in the study area changed after the Roman conquest.

There are distinct regional differences between the way in which the archaeologically visible remains of Roman religion were adopted, which implies some continuation of local variation, and regional practices. However, we do not know how deeply changes went, whether the introduction of new architectural forms was symptomatic of a fundamental change, or whether the transition was cosmetic in the early stages.

It seems likely from continued high levels of artefact deposition throughout the first century AD that there was significant continuity of practice on an individual and local scale. However, it was highly regional. Millett (1995:94) pointed out the problems of discussing the Romanisation of religion across wide geographic areas, and any wide-ranging approach is glossing over regional differences. This is especially problematic in the north-western provinces where, as we have seen, there was great regional variation before the Conquest. The presence of Romanised architecture is also regionally specific in the early Empire, and some areas never really developed a monumental tradition (e.g. the coastal plain area). As the archaeology of the study area is highly variable, so

are the manifestations of ritual activity, and it is becoming apparent that there is no such thing as a 'Gallo-Roman' (or 'Romano-Celtic') religion.

There are archaeological changes, and the problem of who or what galvanised them is one which is rarely approached (but frequently assumed) although it has been considered in a preliminary way (Woolf 1998:206-37, Millett 1995:94). The epigraphy from southern and central Gaul indicated changes led primarily by the local elites[146] from the first century AD onwards, although this may not be the case within the study area, which has a marked lack of epigraphic material in comparison (until the late Empire). The swift construction of stone temples in some parts of the study area in the Augustan period (such as at Baâlons-Bouvellemont, see below) seems to indicate the significance of rural cult sites to local groups, and presumably the identity of rural populations as a whole, although again, any association with elites is conjectural.

Additionally, the fact that many of the Roman rural temples overlie pre-Roman foci does argue persuasively for the continuing importance of these sites in maintaining local identities, as state religion in the Roman West was generally found in urban sites. I believe that Derks (1998:243) and Woolf (1998:chapter 5) are right in seeing the gradual shifting of the Iron Age practice of object deposition towards the construction, maintenance and embellishment of public buildings (including temples). However, this did not take place until after the Augustan period, and as we shall see below, the Iron Age practices were tenaciously held to in the later first century BC.

The relation between the town and the countryside in Roman France has still to be fully understood, and recent attempts to articulate the relations between the *urbs*, *vici* and countryside have left many aspects unresolved (e.g. Ferdière 1988). Small towns (also called *agglomérations sécondaire* or *vici*) are

---

[146] This has recently been discussed by Woolf (1998, 98-105) who believed that urban epigraphy only represents a small percentage of the population. This was quantified by Gayraud (1981) for the south of Gaul, although the quantity of epigraphic material available in the north is much smaller. See Raepsaet-Charlier (1995) for a study of the cities in Gallia Belgica, although Woolf (1998:102) believed that it is impossible to characterise who was erecting inscriptions in most of northern Gaul due to the lack of a large enough sample.

especially badly excavated in France.[147] However, this is not a major concern within this study, as there is no definite evidence for distinctly Roman modes of urbanisation in Belgic Gaul before the 30s BC (see Guichard et al 2000 for the latest evidence on the earliest stages of urbanisation in Gaul). The study area lags behind central and southern Gaul.

Scholarship in France has considered the Roman concept of *stipis jactatio*[148] in a way which the English speaking world has not (e.g. Magnan 1998). Magnan saw the ritual of deposition as being changed from weaponry to coinage after the Roman Conquest, and sees the distribution of coins on sites (such as at his site of Meaux "La Bauve") as relating to *jactatio*. In the Eastern Empire, coins are found at temple entrances, and in the peripheral galleries of temples. Although Iron Age coins are frequently found at the entrances to votive sites, this is more likely to relate to the known practice of structured deposition at entranceways and boundaries in the Iron Age study area, and not to a Roman practice imported from the east. A secondary point is that when one considers the quantity of deposition which took place across a wide swathe of north-western Europe up to and after the Roman invasion, it seems perverse to look to a specific Roman tradition to explain a practice which was already widespread before this time.

6.1.2. LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Although the changes in the later Empire are beyond the scope of the present discussion, it is worth noting the differences between cult sites in the first and second centuries and those in the later Empire. There is a major increase in the level of deposition on existing sites in the third and fourth centuries AD, and the quantity of coinage found on ritual sites increases greatly. This has been associated with an increase in the level of deposition and as a 'final floruit of pagan activity' in the face of Christianity (Henig 1984), but was actually due to increased access to a very low value coinage for donation. This has nothing to

---

[147] Although the *vicus* has been considered by some scholars, such as Chevallier (1976), and the collections of articles in *Villes et agglomérations* (1992) and most recently by Petit et al (1994a, 1994b) and Rorison (2001), the latter reviewing a large part of the study area.

do with the manifestation of cult activity, but instead indicates changes in the way in which coinage was used and discarded, connected to inflation, amongst other things (see Reece 1980 and Casey and Hoffmann 1999 for fuller consideration of this problem). A major increase in the quantity of coinage found on all types of non-religious site is found in the fourth century.

Across the provinces of Gaul and Britain there is a significant increase in the formalisation and monumentalisation of cult sites from the reign of Tiberius onwards, and the trend accelerates into the second century. Yet attempts to distinguish between sites which are set up to the Capitoline triad or the cult of the Emperor, or to amalgamations of 'native' and Roman gods seem to miss the point of the activity on the site (as pointed out by Woolf: 1998: chapter 8). There is also an assumption (which has been questioned by Scheid (2000: 21-22) and Derks (2002:541)) that *civitates* cult sites in the West can be directly compared with those elsewhere in the Empire.

Even in the first and second century AD the level of uniformity throughout the Empire was clearly much lower than we have assumed in the past. Cult sites were monumentalised in the study area from the end of the first century BC onwards, although many of the non-urban sites seem to have been fairly short-lived, and never grew beyond a single '*cella* and *fanum*' Romano-Celtic temple.[149] This is likely to be connected to the concentration of elite investment in the towns. This theory is supported by the fact that the foundation of rural sanctuaries does not increase in number again until the fourth century, a time when euergetism and urban investment by the elite were on the wane in Gaul.

6.1.3. CHANGES IN THE COINAGE

There were significant changes and developments in coin typology and deposition in the later first century BC. The production of coinage, as with

---

[148] In Latin, literally a thrown donation.

[149] The lack of wide-area excavation on many of these sites does place a question mark over this assertion. There are of course exceptions; large rural complexes such as Champlieu and Ribemont-sur-Ancre, were as large as the majority of British small towns, but the bulk of rural cult sites were much smaller.

do with the manifestation of cult activity, but instead indicates changes in the way in which coinage was used and discarded, connected to inflation, amongst other things (see Reece 1980 and Casey and Hoffmann 1999 for fuller consideration of this problem). A major increase in the quantity of coinage found on all types of non-religious site is found in the fourth century.

Across the provinces of Gaul and Britain there is a significant increase in the formalisation and monumentalisation of cult sites from the reign of Tiberius onwards, and the trend accelerates into the second century. Yet attempts to distinguish between sites which are set up to the Capitoline triad or the cult of the Emperor, or to amalgamations of 'native' and Roman gods seem to miss the point of the activity on the site (as pointed out by Woolf: 1998: chapter 8). There is also an assumption (which has been questioned by Scheid (2000: 21-22) and Derks (2002:541)) that *civitates* cult sites in the West can be directly compared with those elsewhere in the Empire.

Even in the first and second century AD the level of uniformity throughout the Empire was clearly much lower than we have assumed in the past. Cult sites were monumentalised in the study area from the end of the first century BC onwards, although many of the non-urban sites seem to have been fairly short-lived, and never grew beyond a single '*cella* and *fanum*' Romano-Celtic temple.[149] This is likely to be connected to the concentration of elite investment in the towns. This theory is supported by the fact that the foundation of rural sanctuaries does not increase in number again until the fourth century, a time when euergetism and urban investment by the elite were on the wane in Gaul.

6.1.3. CHANGES IN THE COINAGE

There were significant changes and developments in coin typology and deposition in the later first century BC. The production of coinage, as with

---

[148] In Latin, literally a thrown donation.

[149] The lack of wide-area excavation on many of these sites does place a question mark over this assertion. There are of course exceptions; large rural complexes such as Champlieu and Ribemont-sur-Ancre, were as large as the majority of British small towns, but the bulk of rural cult sites were much smaller.

many other aspects of the archaeological record, did not stop abruptly with the Roman Conquest. Instead, it seems to have intensified in many areas, and some types of coin were produced in vast numbers.

There were pronounced regional variations in the coinage, and this intensified after the Conquest, with small regional issues. The north of the study area followed different coin production traditions during the later first century BC. The south west and east of the study area adopted localised tri-metallic sets from around c.60 BC, and this continued until about 30/20 BC. In western Picardy, Seine-Maritime and Artois, the "à l'astre" (Scheers 25) tri-metallic set was in use by the middle of the first century BC, and this continued in production until after the Gallic Wars (Delestrée & Delplace 1986). This series is unusual for being uninscribed; all of the other tri-metallic sets from the study area bear inscriptions, and is hard to date with any definition, although it is from this general period.

As well as the Scheers 25 coins a series of small local silver and bronze issues were produced in the Seine-Maritime/ Western Picardy area. In Normandy, the production of silver remained important, with silver coins apparently being struck at sites such as Saint-Maur and Bois l'Abbé, and certainly being found on these sites in large quantities. This led directly on from the lightweight silver coins used in the area in the later Iron Age. Many of the struck bronze issues were very small, such as those in the Somme Valley (Haselgrove 1999a, Delestrée 1996a), and at least some of these were struck on or near to votive sites.

The upper Oise did not develop tri-metallic sets, although further north it did produce a restricted series of coins, including gold and bronze coins inscribed VIROS (Scheers 29), which formed the principle series. Several smaller series were also produced in this area. No coins were produced in the coastal plain area in the middle or later first century BC, although coins are found in the area. In the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, coins start to be found on settlements from the later first century BC, the majority of these being late issues, such as the Scheers 216 type.

Further south, in the middle Aisne Valley, and into the Champagne region, tri-metallic sets did not appear until the later first century BC, Haselgrove (1999) dating the CRICIRV (Scheers 27) and ROVECA (Scheers 28) series to the 30s BC, or perhaps slightly earlier. The latter may predate the former due to its mixed Latin and Greek inscription, the CRICIRV series having a solely Latin iconography. However, this is not certain. The ROVECA coinage was certainly more extensive, although the two were closely related, both chronologically and geographically. The CRICIRV series appears to have been minted at Pommiers, the late *oppidum* in the central Aisne Valley, where it accounts for half of the known assemblage from the site (Vauvillé 1904, Foucart et al 1979, Brun & Debord 1991, Guichard et al 1993).

There was much continuity in this area, with many coin types remaining in production, but gaining inscriptions. Some silver was issued, but many struck bronze issues were produced, including the prolific and highly Romanised REMO/REMO issue (Scheers 146). These coins are found on many votive sites, and also at Alésia (Colbert de Beaulieu 1955, Villette 1987, Fischer & Gruel 2001) so must have been produced from the mid first century BC, although they continued to be issued for some time. These were related to the ROVECA series. Other issues, such as the ATISIOS REMOS series (Scheers 147) were slightly later. Both the Scheers 146 and 147 are unusual in the study area in clearly naming a known tribal group, the Remi, and this may have been a local attempt to promote them through a Roman medium, coin inscriptions.

Why minting continued into the later first century BC is an interesting question. There are two distinct schools of thought in modern numismatics and archaeology. The first approach is championed by Delestrée, who believed (1999a) that much of the coin production in Belgic Gaul in this period was heavily influenced by the Roman military, and many of the coins were struck to pay local auxiliary troops or for local exchange. The other approach, which is more common amongst archaeologists, believes that the continued production of coinage indicates a lack of centralised control in the earliest Roman period, and

the continued functioning of local social groups, and the power bases of local élites.

The former approach has a number of aspects which are of interest, although some of the points do not stand up within a modern theoretical framework. The interpretation of struck bronze coins as a small-change currency (Delestrée 1999a:26) is rather simplistic, and is not tenable when one considers the important role which votive deposition played for many of these issues. If these coins were an acceptable small change, they would operate within a market exchange system, but their deposition – predominantly on votive contexts - does not support this.

The assertion that the many small struck bronze issues of the later first century BC were a direct successor to the abundant issues of small silver coins in the later second and early first century fails to take into account the extremely regional nature of silver production. In fact, it is evident that areas which produced silver in the late Iron Age appear on the whole to have continued production where possible into the later first century BC. However, the idea of a two-tier currency system which Delestrée introduced (1999a:27) is a valid one. He saw two different spheres of circulation, the "*civile*" and the "*militaire*". The "*civile*" circulation operated on a local or regional basis, and the coins are found on votive sites or on settlements, while the "*militaire*" circulation can be found on Roman camps (his main example being La Chaussée Tirancourt"). The archaeological evidence strongly supports the existence of a two-tier currency system, and his idea of the local model is supported by the archaeology (see below for specific examples). However, his reliance on the Roman military as the only force capable of moving coinage around on a wider scale is not tenable.

It is clear from deposits on votive sites that non-local coinage generally only formed a small proportion of finds, but there was still a significant quantity. Regrettably the nature of the finds from many of the key sites precludes detailed stratigraphic analysis of this point. However, stratified finds of 'exotic' (i.e. central Gallic or eastern) coins from sites such as Chilly (Lardy et al 1987) and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord & Scheers 1984) indicates that some of this

material was definitely in circulation before the middle of the first century BC. Therefore, it is likely that the 'exotic' coins found on all votive sites were just a reflection of the coinage available for deposition at the time, which seems to have included a certain quantity of non-local coin, both before and after the Gallic Wars.

Haselgrove (1999a:161) disagreed with the assertion that the coinage from La Chaussée Tirancourt indicated a typical Roman coin circulation of the very early Empire (as suggested by Delestrée 1997b), believing that the site had an assemblage more akin to that of neighbouring *oppida*. There were Roman military finds from the site (Brunaux, Fichtl & Marchand 1990), and a military presence is likely, but it is unlikely that all of the coins can be associated with one incident on a fairly long-lived site. It is also unlikely that the Gallic defences at La Chaussée-Tirancourt were anything to do with Roman activity and the definite early Roman fortification on the site dates to the first century AD anyway. The samian ware found by Vasselle during his excavations on the site dated to the Claudian-Vespasian period (Fichtl 1994:165). Little is known about Roman military movements in the area. Delestrée's assertion that the 250 known Iron Age coins from the site indicate a Roman presence is not sustainable, as by the Claudian period local coin production had definitely ended, and to support this, local issues from the area were not found on military sites along the Rhine.

Haselgrove believed that several different deposits were present at the site, and the unusually large quantity of silver coins at the entrance (43% of the total site finds) actually denoted a votive deposit. Certainly the site is in an area where a higher proportion of silver is found on votive sites. La Chaussée Tirancourt does have a very high proportion of non-local coinage (69%, 1999a: note 232) but none of it is stratified, so little else can be said. It seems likely that several deposits were present on the site, and some conflation of finds is taking place in the large number of stray finds. The site is unusual, but the lack of Roman coins from the deposits of Iron Age coins (Brunaux et al 1990) raises a question mark over the 'Roman' tag.

Towards the end of the first century BC there were changes in the nature of coin production. The small local issues become rarer and rarer, and several large issues of brass coins dominate the coin pool. There were either struck by Roman authorities for auxiliary payment (Delestrée 1999a) or by dominant and powerful tribal groups (the theory I support). It seems highly unlikely that the coins were issued to auxiliaries. Although we know that the Batavian tribal leaders maintained a hierarchical control over their *cohortes* and *alae* within the Roman army in the period leading up to the Batavian revolt (Goldsworthy 1996:21) from Tacitus (Hist. 4.20) this seems to have been unusual in the Roman *auxilia* even at the time.[150] Without any specific evidence it seems rash to extend this to all of the units from Belgic Gaul too. If the units were not led by their own tribal élite, it seems unlikely that they were paid in local coin.

Even during the regular shortages of coinage in the Roman world, strenuous effort was made to pay the military (see Burnett 1987, Casey 1994, Reece 1987) and the payment of troops in good (Roman) coin was a central tenet of the minting policy of the Senate in Rome. On the Rhine this is illustrated by the rapid turnover of struck bronze coins, indicating regular production and issuing. This was unlikely to be waived in the study area. Even if the payment of troops was possible on a local level, issues such as the Scheers 216 and 217 types seem very widespread, although the use of brass rather than struck bronze is suggestive of some desire to fit in with the Roman coin pool.[151] However, the distribution of these coins indicates that they were not struck in the study area, but towards the German frontier.

If instead the latest issues were struck by a few powerful local groups, their extremely wide dissemination is more likely, as they are ubiquitous on all types of site, from military camps along the Rhine (Ilisch 1999) to small rural

---

[150] Although not unique. There are a few other examples, such as the *ala* set up by Classicianus.
[151] The other reason why the coins were minted in brass may be that the main source of metal for their production was Roman brass coins. Little metallurgical analysis has taken place on the Gallic coinages or brooches so this cannot be ascertained with any certainty, although it is a distinct possibility. Ore availability and mining in the early Roman world is a subject which has a fascinating application to numismatics. It is likely that it played a more important role in the selection of coin metals than numismatists and archaeologists give credit for, and may indicate the reason behind such decisions as the choice between silver and bronze or potin and bronze in many areas. Further research is necessary.

settlements. Roman military action is very hard to identify in the archaeological record in the study area. Although the number of troops and the level of unrest was undoubtedly higher than we give credit for, all the evidence does indicate significant continuity in the archaeological record in the later first century BC, especially on votive sites. This differs to other parts of the Empire such as the middle Rhine, where some *oppida* seem to have been swiftly abandoned, perhaps forcibly, after the Conquest.

6.2. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF COIN DEPOSITION ON VOTIVE SITES

As with earlier chapters, the increasing regionalisation apparent in the previous period continued into the later first century BC. Overall the picture is one of significant continuity of place, with new types of artefact and rites coming into use but with few major changes until the latest stages of the first century BC.

6.2.1. SEINE MARITIME/ WESTERN PICARDY/ YVELINES

Activity on votive sites in this area increased dramatically in the later first century BC. This is partially due to the increased visibility of the archaeological remains, and the identification of stone buildings in the chalk plateaux of the western Picardy area, but also due to the larger quantity of artefacts found on these sites. The increase in the quantity of coinage on votive sites in the Somme and Oise area have been explained as an explosion of votive practice in the later first century BC under the influence of Romanisation by Delestrée (1996a) in his study of the coinage. The majority of known sites with later first century BC activity lie under Roman temples. Therefore, there has been a tendency to ascribe the presence of Iron Age coinage on many of these sites to residuality and Roman influence.

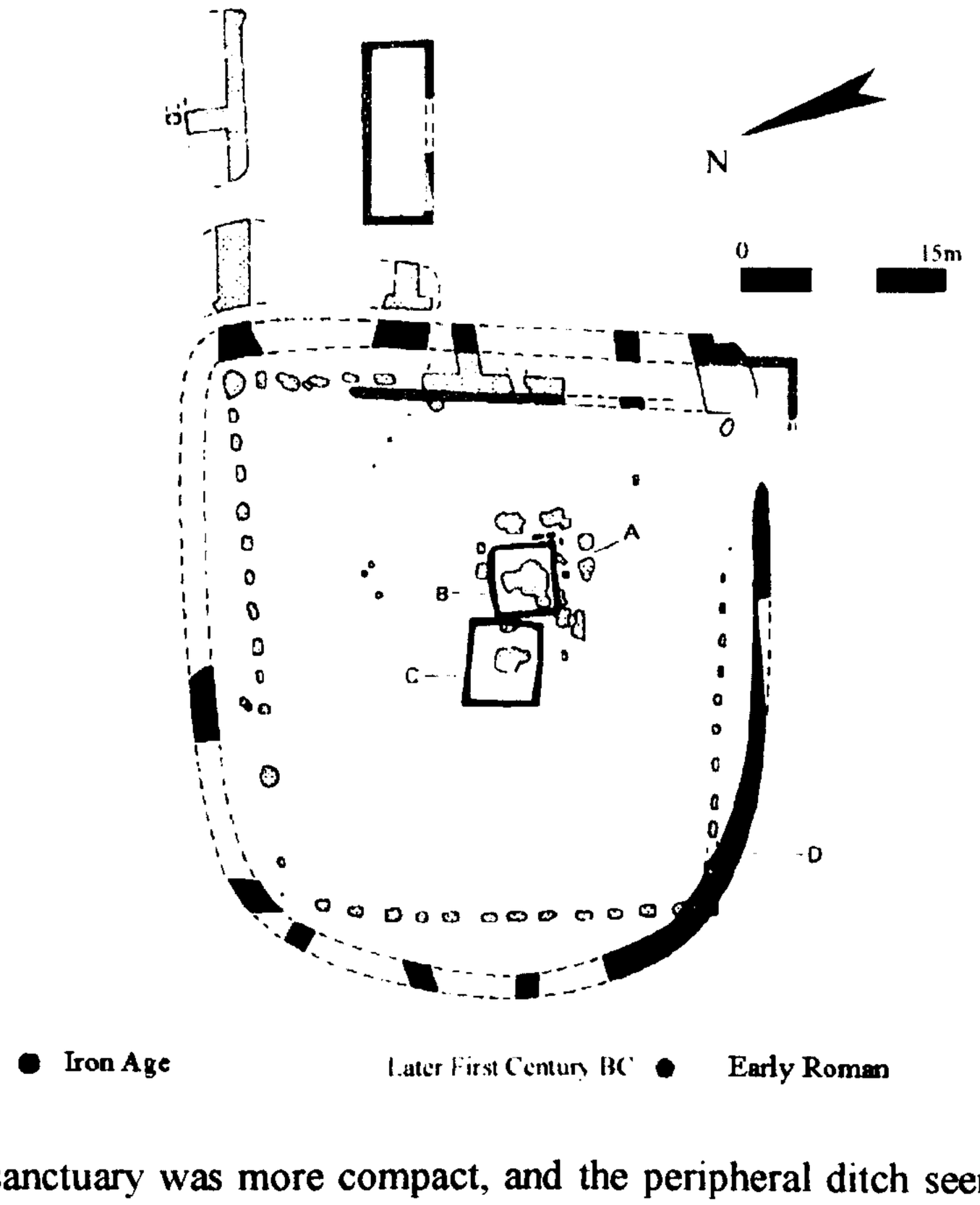
Although residual Iron Age coins have been found during excavations of Roman period votive sites (such as Authevernes in the Eure), all Iron Age coin deposits cannot be dated to this period, as some scholars have suggested (Derks

1998, Painter 1999). There is a great deal of continuity on these sites, both in the nature of coin deposition, and in the use of votive sites.

6.2.1.1. SITES WITH STRATIFIED COIN FINDS

As well as the pre-Conquest finds, the votive site at Fesques continued into use into the middle and later first century BC. The later first century BC replacement to the large outer ditch can only be ill-defined archaeologically, perhaps being a range of trees or bushes (Mantel 1997:46).

Figure 6.2. Central votive area at Fesques (after Mantel 1997)



The new sanctuary was more compact, and the peripheral ditch seems to have been integrated into the consecrated area, with deposits being placed in it. Fesques saw a major restructuring of the central area in the La Tène D2b and Augustan period. There were dramatic changes on the whole of the 'sacred zone' of the site at this period, and a coherent plan of restructuring. A new trapezoidal ditch (fig 5.7, in yellow) surrounded an area c. 1400m² was

constructed to replace the D-shaped ditch (St. 250), which remained visible enough for its lines to be followed, but was mostly filled.

Inside this enclosure a second regular square enclosure was constructed, very similar to the earlier one (chapter 5), this shifting of the cult buildings indicating a slight change in the layout of the sanctuary. Mantel (1997:48) believed that this happened in the later first century BC, and the presence of Roman Republican coins from the destruction layers of the earlier square building would indicate that the foundation of the later building postdates the Gallic Wars (see below for the Roman coins).

The later buildings would appear to have been tiled in its latest stage, as *tegula* and *imbrex* were found in the destruction deposits of the central pit. In the Augustan period a temple was constructed of tiles and brick, judging by the surface scatter in the surrounding area. The building continued in use into the first century AD, and Fesques is one of the few sites in the area where activity seems to have continued unchanged into this period. A change in the nature of animal deposition can be isolated, as the faunal remains change. Larger animals are replaced with chickens and other small bones, indicating a change in cult practice at the site (Mantel 1997:48). The central votive site was destroyed in the Augustan/ Tiberian period, and this is supported by ceramic evidence.

This construction produced large numbers of related coins. Gully 301, the drip gully of the western of the two central buildings produced 70 Iron Age coins. These are again from extremely mixed contexts, and were not in a coherent stratigraphic matrix. They were mostly local coins, mixed with a few oddities. These included a Republican denarius of 77 BC, and a local copy of an Augustan as (Altar/ Lyon issue), the original of which dated from 15BC-10AD. A British potin coin, of the BM 686-695 type (VA 129) was also found. Structure 302, the central pit in the western building produced another of these British potins, of the same type, which was corroded to a debased and eroded gold coin possibly of the *"du Calvados"* type (Delestrée et al 1997:293). A local potin (Scheers 206), a struck bronze *"type du Bracquemont"* (DT 56, II), a cut Republican as and a quadrans of Trajan were also found in this pit. The cleaning

deposit of the central sanctuary also produced 52 Iron Age coins, but this was not sealed, although the coins do seem comparable with the other two groups. Other deposits on the site display a similar mix of local issues sprinkled with a few exotic coins.

The upper layers of the site contained several deposits where late coins were found in conjunction with Roman and central Gallic provincial issues, indicating that coin deposition continued into the earliest decades of the first century AD. The upper layer of the earlier central pit (St. 318) produced a cut dupondius of Vienne, and a quinarius of Mark Antony which had been struck in Gaul, both of which were struck in the later first century BC, showing the stratigraphic confusion. The latter coin was in very fresh condition, important as many of the denarii and quinarii of Antony continued in circulation for some time in the early Empire due to their low silver content. The deposit contained a large quantity of small local struck bronze issues, and shows that the deposition of local coinage did not preclude the deposition of Roman coins.

When the unstratified find from Fesques are considered, it is clear that many of the coins date to the later first century BC (Delestrée, Mantel & Moesgaard 1997). Although the site was founded early, the quantity of coinage intensified in the later period, and the coin assemblage (both stratified and surface finds) is dominated by small local struck bronze issues (*ibid*, also Mantel, Moesgaard & Delestrée 1997). There was a large quantity of struck bronze coins, 1000 were found on the site, although not all of these were local issues. In contrast, there were 50 gold and silver coins from Fesques, less than 5% of the total (Mantel et al 1997:295). Only 70 Roman coins came from Fesques,[152] so coin deposition at this site clearly peaked in the later first century BC. Of these 70, 33 coins were Republican issues. The total coin assemblage from Fesques is not dominated by silver, as is the case at the nearby site of Bois l'Abbé. It seems to be in the same typological network as Digeon, which is also dominated by struck bronze.

---

[152] Sites which continue into the Roman period where large numbers of Iron Age coins but few Roman ones have been found suggest that a change in votive practice was taking place in the first century AD. It is likely that with the increasing monumentalisation of votive architecture in the first and second centuries AD, offerings were retained and invested in the maintenance of the cult complex as is found widely across the Roman world (as argued in Rey-Vodoz 1991).

Several other structures show a mix of very early Roman coins and local issues, showing that Roman coins were probably getting into the local coin pool in small numbers, although they are not a major part of the site assemblage. A Nîmes cut as (10-14 AD) was found in the top levels of St 250, the early D-shaped ditch around the central votive area, along with potins from the east of the study area, and a Scheers 216 (GERMANVS INDVTILLI L.) brass coin. They are likely to have arrived on the site together, and seem to have been deposited in the very top of the ditch, although possibly they denote later disturbance. The assemblage from the later outer ditch was more mixed, from potins to the third century AD. The use of sections at intervals through the ditch does raise question marks over the relation of various layers. The quantity of cut coinage at Fesques is high, and it is notable that it is the Roman, not the local issues which are being cut (see chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of this point).

Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Brunaux 1999) continued in use in this period. Brunaux (1999) believed that the main re-foundation of the temple was in the 30s BC, by a military population, but the Roman coinage which has been found in the previous three years is mostly second century AD onwards.[153] I would also argue that when one compares the site with more likely military foundations, such as Empel (Roymans and Derks 1994a) and Bourbonne-les-Bains (Sauer 1999) there is simply not enough early Roman coinage. However, stone buildings were constructed on the site in the third quarter of the first century BC. The stone building in the central enclosure on the site of the earlier smaller one (see previous chapter) was built in the mid first century BC, and remained standing until the Augustan period, when a stone building replaced it. The palisade encircling the annexe attached to the main votive enclosure was rebuilt in stone in the third quarter of the first century BC, from the finds (Fercoq du Leslay 1996:206). This is exceptionally early in date for stone construction in the study area, and is as yet unparalleled.

---

[153] I am grateful to M. Amandry for information on the Roman coins from recent excavations at Ribemont-sur-Ancre in advance of publication.

The stone building in the central enclosure have produced several coins, a Scheers 60/I "*à l'archer*", a late Scheers 163 struck bronze, a Scheers 65 and an uninscribed Scheers 80, as well as fragments of two Scheers 52 thin silver coins (Delestrée 1996a:85). Most of the struck bronze coins are small issues, struck in the Somme basin in the later first century BC, perhaps at Ribemont-sur-Ancre itself (although the site still has to produce firm evidence for minting). The Scheers 163 and 60 are late issues of large series. The silver coins originated further west, and are rather earlier in date (c.90 BC at the latest), which undoubtedly accounts for their fragmentary condition. They were probably deposited on the site in an earlier context and then got disturbed during the construction of the building.

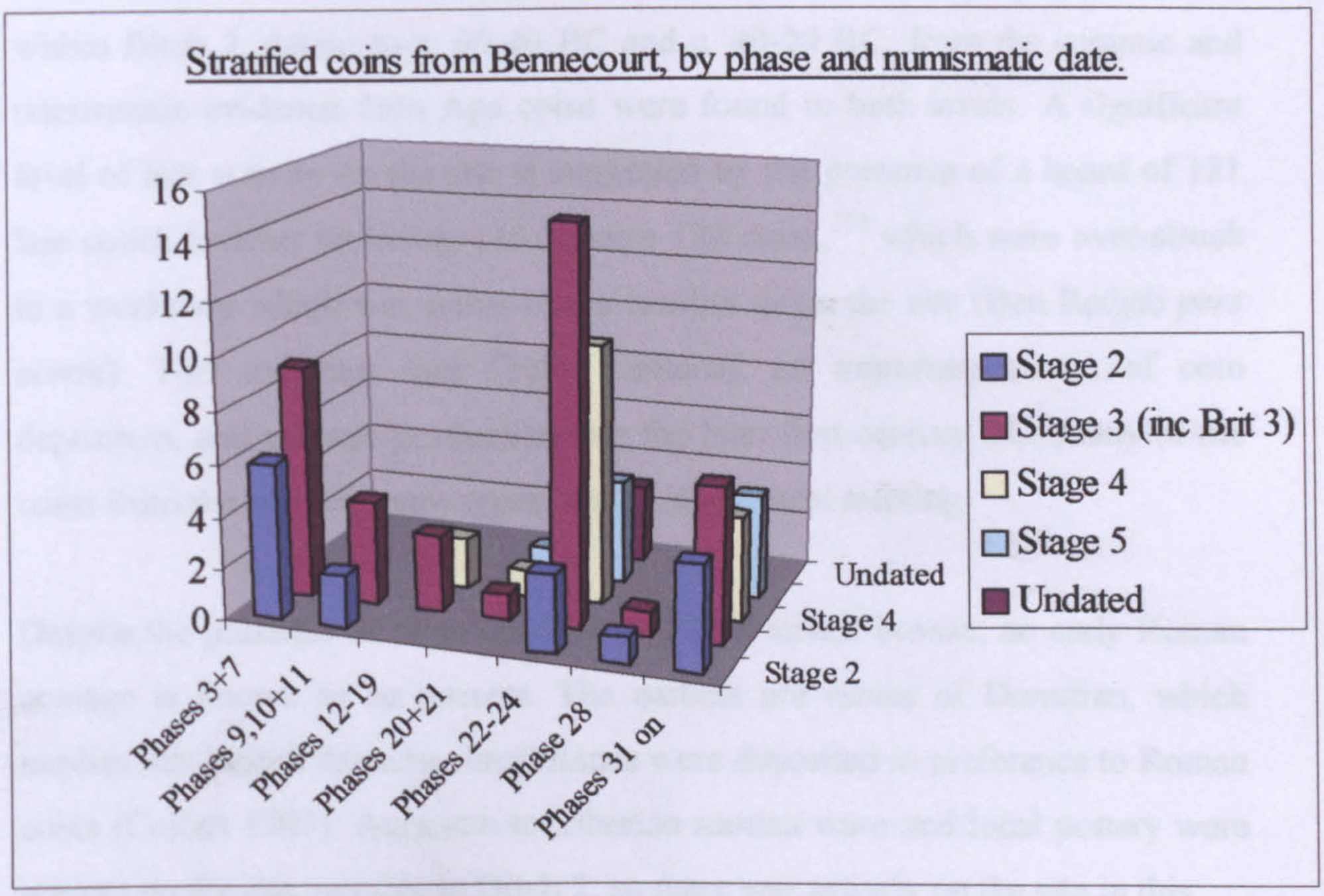
The excavations at Bennecourt (Bourgeois 1999) did show evidence for limited activity in the first century BC, but compared to the enclosure with potin coins from the earlier phase (chapter 4) there was a significant reduction in activity. The enclosure and pit were filled in in the La Tène D1 period, and in the La Tène D2a period the evidence for activity on the site is patchy. A six post small building was constructed over the former ditch, but on a different alignment, while several burnt patches produced dating evidence. An imitation '*Kragenfibel*' (c.40 BC in date) came from one of the burnt patches. One of the other burnt patches had a deposit of brooches, a '*Schüsselfibel*' (type 3)[154], and a '*Knotenfibel*' (4a), which was also dated to the third quarter of the first century BC.

A scatter of small beads on the top of the La Tène C2/D1 ditch also dated to this period (Bourgeois 1999:39). This phase was dated by the excavator from around 50-40 BC to the Augustan period. There was no other dating material or coinage. The construction of the initial two stone buildings was underway by the Augustan period, as an Augustan/ Tiberian brooch (Feugère 14a) and a struck bronze Scheers 1979:X, (ΓΙΧΤΙΟS) were deposited under the building. However, struck bronze is not present in very large numbers, as at some of the Picardy sites. This is due to the comparative lack of activity in the third quarter

of the first century BC, and the majority of the Iron Age struck bronze coinage appears to have reached the site in the later, Augustan, phase.

The site produced a number of early first century BC coins. Only 28.5 % of the Iron Age coinage was minted after 60 BC, which is a low percentage on these sites when considering the total assemblage. However, looking at the stratified deposits (fig 6.3) a different picture emerges. Although the issues may have been minted early, they were mostly not being deposited until a significant period had elapsed (apart from the earliest potin). The associated archaeological material shows that the majority of the coinage is decidedly residual. Although 15 coins were stratified to levels which pre-dated c. 60 BC (see chapter 4), the rest came from later levels, most being found with Hadrianic material in phases 22-24.

Figure 6.3. Residual coinage at Bennecourt



[154] Which were in existence by 45-30 BC; one was found stratified in a layer of this date in the excavations at Basel, Usine à Gaz (Furger-Gunti 1979).

A further quantity of Iron Age coinage came from the latest phases (31 onwards), dating to the late third and early fourth centuries AD. This must be redeposited, and suggests the disturbing of earlier contexts. Despite the redeposition of Iron Age coinage in later Roman levels, it is clear that the use of local coins did not end abruptly at Bennecourt, but continued, at least into the Tiberian period. The site saw the foundation of stone buildings rapidly after the Conquest, and the site remained in use throughout the Roman period. It never became a major Roman sanctuary on the scale of Champlieu or Ribemont-sur-Ancre, but continued to function on a local level.

The dominance of struck bronze at Chilly suggests that, although the site was important in earlier periods, coin deposition intensified in the middle and later first century BC. Activity on the site seems to have continued without any major disruption during this period, continuing into the Augustan and Tiberian period. Two wooden constructions dating to the middle and later first century BC underlie the later Empire stone foundations. Two main fills can be identified within Ditch 2, dating to c. 60-40 BC and c. 40-20 BC, from the ceramic and numismatic evidence. Iron Age coins were found in both levels. A significant level of late activity on the site is suggested by the presence of a hoard of 121 late struck bronzes including 116 Scheers 122 coins,[155] which were over-struck in a workshop which was either in the locality or on the site (Ben Redjeb *pers comm*). This indicates that Chilly remained an important centre of coin deposition, and perhaps production into the later first century BC. Many of the coins from the site were new types, and indicate local minting.

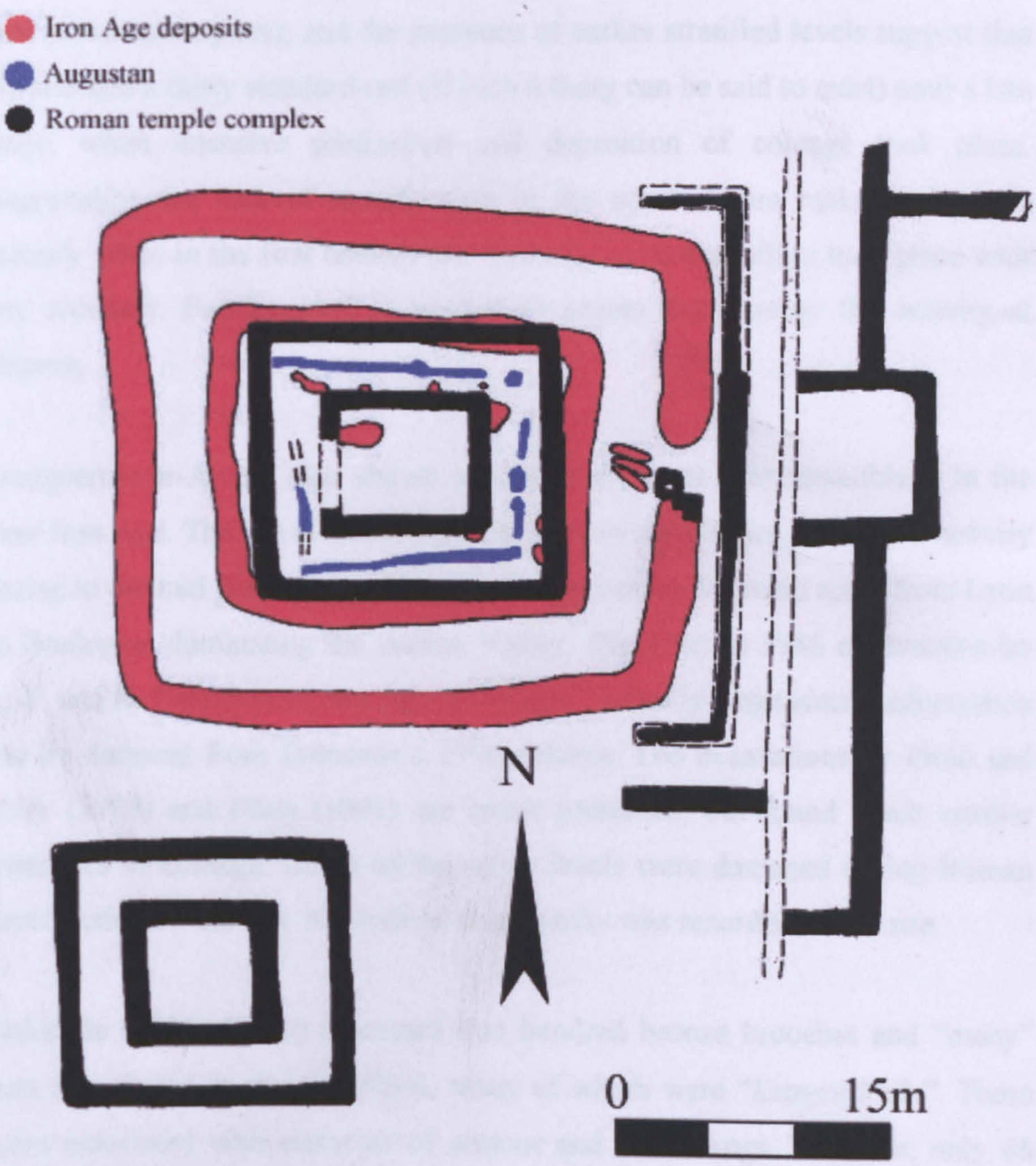
Despite the presence of large quantities of local struck bronze, no early Roman coinage is known to be present. The earliest are issues of Domitian, which implies that before this time, local issues were deposited in preference to Roman coins (Collart 1987). Augustan to Tiberian samian ware and local pottery were present on the site, notably in Ditch 2, so there was activity on the site in this

[155] These are a late, uninscribed struck bronze issue. The hoard at Chilly is the largest deposit of these coins known, and it seems likely from their distribution (which is largely local) that the coins were produced on or near the site itself. Another excavated example of the Scheers 122 type is known from the nearby site of La Ville d'Ingond (Scheers 1977:594).

period, suggestive of a deliberate decision not to deposit Roman coins. Chilly differs from the norm in its lack of Augustan issues. However, local struck bronze is also found in pre-Conquest contexts, so this was not entirely a post-Conquest phenomenon, and minting probably began before the 50s BC and continued throughout the later first century BC.

Digeon also has a very large number of late issues, large quantities of which were probably struck on the site, such as the "*au coq, type de Bracquemont*" (DT 56, II) discussed by Delestrée (1996a:90-1), 2978 of which were found on the site (Delestrée & Delplace 1986).

Figure 6.4. Digeon (after Delplace, Jobic, Méniel & Rapin 1986)



these many were bent or fragmentary, which were interpreted by Piton as being due to ritual destruction. The discrepancy may be due to the way in which fragments have been considered, although with such a difference it is unlikely that they are the same brooches. Without illustration it is impossible to say.

The archive reports for the 1987 excavation season (Piton and Dilly 1987) indicated a significant scatter of material, including brooches, bones and fragments of amphorae handle mixed up with coins on a substantial flint surface. The finds came from the destruction layer, and included fragments of bronze bracelets, amber beads, rings from mail shirts and a bronze brooch fragment. The only coin with further identification was a silver issue, a copy of a Massaliote silver coin. Delestrée found 92 coins in association with this layer or a thin layer of grey clay above the gravel, although the types were not specified (1996a:57).

Only 10 coins were found in stratified contexts during the more recent excavations[156] (Piton and Dilly 1987). One Scheers 27, CRICIRV issue was found during excavations in 1991 (Piton 1991) but it came from a Roman context, associated with the Tiberian-Flavian temple, and in conjunction with a collection of half-asses, an as of Tiberius and an Altar/Lyon issue. The highly mixed composition of this deposit (largely Tiberian to Hadrianic) with many brooches included suggests significant disturbance during the construction of the third century temple. On the whole, the majority of the coins found on the site were local bronze issues, and this fits in well with the rest of the local votive sites, which see this increase in small local bronze coins deposited on votive sites in the later first century BC.

The assemblage from Éstrees-Saint-Denis "Le Moulin des Hayes" (Woimant 1993a, Delestrée 1993) was also dominated by struck bronze, although the site produced a higher than normal quantity of non-local coinage compared to many

---

[156] Thirteen coins were found during these excavations, one was a third century AD Roman coin, two were unidentified, and the remaining 10 consisted of 9 AE and one Scheers 191 potin.

of the other sites in the Oise.[157] It is evident from the muddled stratigraphy that many of the bronze coins were found in pre-Conquest layers, but apparently the use of local coins, especially the Scheers 120 "*au coq*" series continued into the middle of the first century BC according to Delestrée (1993, 1996a). We know they were produced from the LT D1b period from other sites, and this seems like a large chronological range for struck bronze, which normally sees a fairly rapid typological change during this period. It is impossible to test this assertion with the evidence available in published and archive sources, but I would cast doubt on the assertion that struck bronze continued in use into the mid first century BC.

Vendeuil-Caply "Les Chatelets" is one of the earliest votive sites (see chapter 4). However, the site saw intensive deposition in the later first century BC, with Iron Age and Roman coins appearing in mixed contexts. Despite Delestrée's assertion that "*avec certaines réserves, le contexte archéologique des monnaies gauloises paraît surtout julio-claudien*" (1996a:46) it is clear from the potin coinage that deposition began by the start of the first century BC (chapter 4). The reported presence of a large and homogenous group of 78 Alésia and Aucissa brooches indicates continued deposition, the former dating from the mid to late first century BC and the latter dating to the last decades of the millennium (Colin 1998:42). Vendeuil-Caply has produced a great deal of later struck bronze coinage, although compared to the potin, a small quantity of this is stratified (87 (55%) of the stratified coins are struck bronze, while 57 (36%) are potin, Delestrée 1996a:46). However, when the total numbers of coins are taken into account, only 17% of the total struck bronze from the site was stratified, compared to 62% of the potin. This supports the assertion by the excavators (Woimant 1993a) that the lower levels of the site were less disturbed by the later Roman buildings.

One of the most prolific sites within the study area is Eu/ Bois-l'Abbé (Seine-Maritime), which regrettably remains only partially published (Mangard 1980,

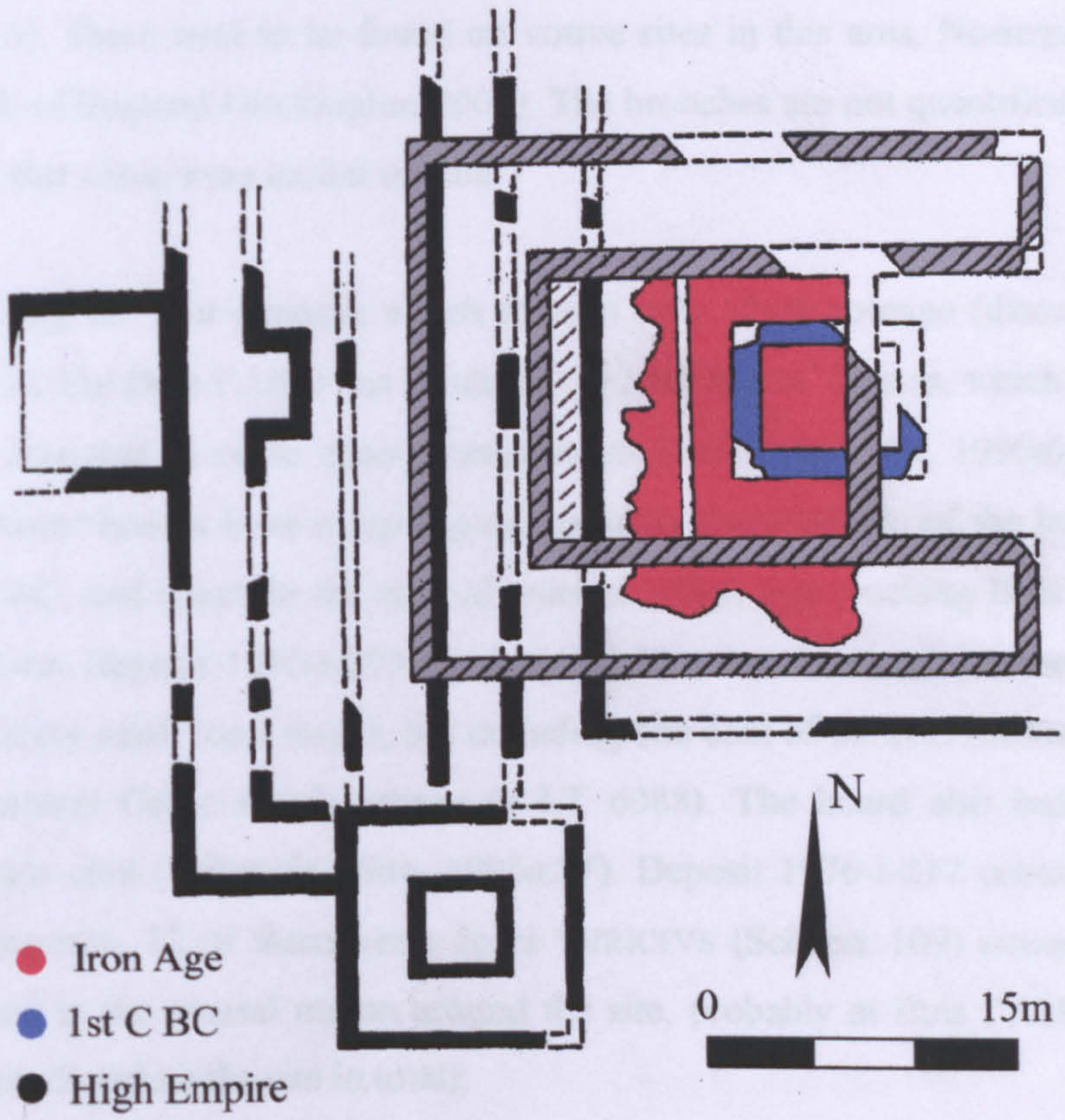
---

[157] Eighteen out of 43 potins were non-local (although 11 of these were the very common and widespread LT 7417 type). Seven of the AE were non-local (although the other 125 were of local production) and two of the four silver were from central Gaul.

1982, Delestrée 1984). Bois-l'Abbé is situated on a hill[158] overlooking the western bank of the river Bresle in the Somme département. The site had produced 968 Iron Age coins by 1996, as listed in Delestrée (1996a:33). However, none of the modern discoveries are from stratified contexts,[159] and the coin publications (Delestrée 1984, 1996a) remain the primary source of information on the site. However, it remains impossible to place the coins in any form of stratified context in the absence of detailed information about non-numismatic material (although it was alluded to in Delestrée 1996a:33).

The Iron Age coinage was mostly found sealed underneath the later Roman temple (fig 6.5), although the lower layers were not fully excavated by Mangard between 1968 and 1972.

Figure 6.5. Eu/ Bois l'Abbé (after Delestrée 1996a)



[158] The site is on the highest of the series of hills which form the "Plateau de Beaumont" and dominate the western bank of the Bresle (Delestrée 1996a:32).
[159] The source of the most recent coin finds is not listed in Delestrée 1996a, and in the absence of stratified contexts one must suspect illegal metal detection of the site.

Most of the stratified Iron Age coins and other material came from a thick black layer that was sealed under a bed of grey mortar, which the second and third century AD buildings lay on. This layer was only sampled; no features were identified and no investigation was conducted under this, as the focus of the excavation was on the Roman layers.

From Delestrée's records, it is unclear if there were discrete layers in this black deposit, although he does refer to it as "*très homogène*" in a later publication (1996a:32). Much metalwork was present on the site; most of it being personal objects (brooches, jewellery). Some of it was late (such as Aucissa brooches), and was probably found in conjunction with Augustan ceramics, indicating a late date for deposition. However, the coinage does suggest an earlier origin, especially the presence of 10 potin coins and a significant proportion of thin silver or "*lamellaire*" issues (including twenty-six of the Scheers 52 type, see chapter 5). These tend to be found on votive sites in this area, Normandy and the south of England (Wellington 2003). The brooches are not quantified, and it is likely that some were earlier in date.

Discounting the four deposits which contain only silver coinage (discussed in chapter 5), Eu/ Bois l'Abbé has produced 10 later 'purse' hoards, which consist of Iron Age and in some cases Roman coins (Delestrée 1984, 1996a). These other 'purse' hoards have a typological makeup characteristic of the later first century BC, and illustrate the type of coinage which was reaching Bois l'Abbé at this time. Deposit 1976-I-203 consisted of 72 coins, 71 struck bronze issues, mostly fairly small local issues, but including one coin of IMONIO (Scheers 104) and a central Gallic struck bronze (a LT 6088). The hoard also included a Massaliote obol (Delestrée 1984, 1996a:37). Deposit 1976-I-217 contained 16 struck bronzes, 12 of them being local VIIRICIVS (Scheers 109) issues which originated in the coastal region around the site, probably at Bois l'Abbé itself (161 were found on the site in total).

Deposit 1976-I-229 contained 24 silver coins, although these were distinctively late in character, and contained no thin silver issues. Most had inscriptions, and the latest coin, a central Gallic Q. DOCI-SAMF issue (LT 5405) dated to the mid

first century BC. Several other central Gallic coins also came from this deposit including one originating in Burgundy (LT 5138). The coins in this deposit indicate that coins were coming from a significant distance to the site. If they did come from the Julio-Claudian layers, as Delestrée suggested, they probably represent Gallic silver issues circulating as quinarii, and reaching Bois l'Abbé after production on the site had ceased. Deposit 1976-I-230 contained 4 central Gallic silver coins, and can be assumed to be broadly contemporary with 1976-I-229, and with the other hoards.

Deposit 1976-I-244 contained 24 Iron Age silver coins and four Roman silver issues, supporting the idea that the majority of these geographically distant coins reached the site in the later first century BC. The Iron Age coins are from a wide range of sources, including the Rhône Valley, south-western Britain and the Rhineland, and including a few local issues.[160] The Roman coins consisted of two denarii, one of Caesar (RRC 468-2) and one Republican one from 138 BC (RRC 231-1), and two quinarii, one of Caesar (RRC 529-4) and one legionary quinarius of Mark Antony (RRC 489-6), struck in 43/42 BC.

The rest of the Iron Age coins also date to the third quarter of the first century BC. The absence of Scheers 216, Altar/ Lyon or Augustan issues indicate that the deposit pre-dates the Augustan period. It is likely that the deposit was made relatively soon after the Antony quinarius was produced, indicating that Roman coins were making their way into the coin pool fairly quickly in the pre-Augustan period. However, it was probably into the coin pool of the Rhône Valley, central Gaul or the Rhineland, and then reached Bois l'Abbé with other silver issues. It is unclear whether any distinction was made. Certainly there is no evidence for the preferential mutilation of Roman coins that occurred at Fesques.

Deposits 1976-I-253 and 1976-I-349 are similarly exotic, but contain a range of metal types. The former contained one gold uniface stater, 21 silver coins from

---

[160] These were four Scheers 45 (GARMANO-COMIOS) issues, one Scheers 25 '*à l'astre*', one Scheers 28 (CRICIRV), a Scheers 41 (ATEVLA VLATOS) and one each of the uninscribed Scheers 55 and 57 series. All were struck bronze.

a wide range of Gallic sources, and 14 struck bronzes, mostly of the latest stages (later first century BC) of the long-lived local running man series (Scheers 163). The latter contained 28 coins; 17 silver and 11 struck bronze (very similar to deposit 1976-I-253's bronzes). Deposit 1977-I-31 contained four uniface gold staters, one of which was cast (and may be earlier in date). The penultimate deposit contained 4 Massaliote silver obols and 20 small struck bronzes, mostly local (in 1976-I-148). The last deposit (1976-I-121) consisted of a gold stater which was British in origin (British D, 'Cheriton type', BM 86-128), and three non-local silvers (a SOLIMA, LT 9025, and a TOGIRIX, LT 5550).

An interesting aspect of this site is the discovery of closely stratified groups of the later first century BC, which assists the dating of several of these series. The deposits are believed to have hung from the roof in pouches or purses, and when the roof fell in, they were sealed (Mangard 1980), which may explain why they ended up in the same layer. This is a rare case of survival in situ, and the deposits from Bois l'Abbé are a salutary lesson in the chance nature of much later coin deposition. We do not know how many coins were suspended from the roofs of other votive sites;[161] it may have been a large number, if it took place at all elsewhere. Due to site formation processes the bulk of finds from votive sites come from ditches and pits, but Bois l'Abbé gives a tantalising glimpse of another facet to deposition at these sites. The deposition of coins in the ground may have been to underworld gods, while the placing of coins in pouches from the eaves may have denoted offerings to the gods of the sky/air. Unfortunately, the latter type of deposit rarely survives archaeologically.

Since the publication of Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux et al 1985) the redating of coinage has led to the reassessment of the earlier levels of Gournay. Derks (1998:172-176) has recently reconsidered the dating of the later phases as part of his study of Roman temples in north-western Europe. Although the Roman building was originally considered to be fourth century AD, Derks rightly believed it to be Augustan in date. This indicates an unbroken chronology, and the construction of phase 5 can now be placed firmly in the later first century

BC. Gournay is unusual in that it did not seem to prosper into the second and third century AD. There are few late first century BC coins on the site, and it is one of the rare sites where coin deposition does not greatly expand in the latest Iron Age and earliest Roman period.

Gournay-sur-Aronde is an example of a site where the main deposits were not coinage but martial objects. In the earlier stages of activity, the assemblage was dominated by weaponry and bones, but these were not replaced by large quantities of coinage in the way they are at other sites. Perhaps the deity or deities worshipped at Gournay were martial ones, and the deposition of coinage was not considered to be a suitable offering? This does indicate that all deposits at votive sites are not homogenous, and different offerings were undoubtedly appropriate in different contexts, and from site to site.

The Iron Age deposits at Orrouy "Champlieu" have been discussed in the previous chapter. Iron Age coinage is mixed with early Roman issues in what the excavators describe as the "*pré-fanum*" stage (Woimant 1993b). It is interesting that the relatively local issues, such as Scheers 146 variants have less wear, while some of the more widespread coins, such as the Scheers 216 GERMANVS INDVTILLI L. brass coins are more worn (with the examples from layer 6a, the earliest layer with Roman coins, being moderately worn). This would perhaps support the assertion that the locally issued coins did not travel far, and may well have been struck for deposition relatively quickly. It is known that the very late brass issues were used in conjunction with Roman coinage, and circulated over an extremely wide area in the later first century BC.

The Roman coinage on the site is generally worn, and even coins which were deposited quickly (e.g. the Lyon asses in Deposit 1, layer 6a) had some wear. The Republican coins were heavily worn, and it seems most likely that these arrived at Champlieu as part of the Roman coin pool, not in the pre-Conquest period. What these deposits suggest is a two-tier coin system, with the

---

[61] Although later in date the temple of Harlow in Britain may show a similar pattern of deposition in groups suspended from the roof of a building.

production of small local issues continuing into the later first century BC, and a wider coin pool of a few large issues which were found across a wide area, and seem to have been utilised by a well-travelled section of society.

6.2.1.2. NUMISMATIC SITES

Most votive sites of Roman date within the study area have produced a few Iron Age coins. However, there are many more examples of sanctuaries that have not been excavated thoroughly enough to produce conclusive evidence either way. Examples include Estrées-sur-Noye (Fichtl 1994, Delestrée 1987), Brionne "Tombeau de Druide" (Pitte 1988) and Notre-Dame-de Gravenchon (Le Maho 1986). It is not my intention to list every unstratified example of an Iron Age coin here. However, some sites have produced enough material to indicate that activity continued in the middle and later first century BC.

Oissel "Mare du Puits" produced a "La Tène" cremation burial from the southern boundary ditch of the Roman temple complex during the 1891 to 1893 excavations. It was accompanied by two coins, an Iron Age bronze (described as being of the Veliocasses or Senones, so local) and an AEGYPTO CAPTA denarius of Augustus (RIC 275-1). Due to the nature of the recording, this "burial" may well have been a votive deposit of an individual, similar to sites discussed previously with human remains, although this can only be suggested, due to the nature of the original records. A Scheers 36 bronze was also found in 1891 or 1893, although its context is unknown (Loirot & Delaporte 1978). Oissel was by the side of a lake, and it is likely that the site was also a centre of votive activity in the later Iron Age, due to the frequent use of lakes for votive deposition.

As discussed in chapter 4 Roncherolles-en-Bray "Liffremont" produced Iron Age coins from a section of the site which was probably a votive focus in the early stages of activity (Riand 1996). Although these deposits included potin coins, the assemblage continued chronologically into the later first century BC (with late coins such as Scheers 216 and an unidentified brass issue) present. These were found with early Roman coins, including a denarius of Lollia (RRC 473/1) minted around 45 BC, and Augustan coins. This implies continuous use

of the area until the High Empire; no gap is apparent from the surface finds, although no excavation has taken place.

The excavations around the pool at Vieil-Evreux "Cracouville" by Baudot (1936) have been discussed in chapter 5. Although the high proportion of potins indicate that deposition began in the late second and early first century BC, the deposition of 104 Iron Age struck bronze coins suggests that it continued into the later first century. A large proportion of the struck bronze coins were local issues (described as being struck by the 'Aulerci Eburovices', leading Baudot to suggest the site was the principle sanctuary of that tribe). This dominance of local issues makes Vieil-Evreux another of the possible mint sites, with coins being struck in the vicinity and finding their way into votive deposits in large numbers.

Grand Couronne "Le Grand-Essart" (Seine-Maritime) was excavated in 1902 by de Vesly (de Vesly 1909), who found a post-hole structure under the temple, and an irregular circular enclosure round the temple which was 45cm deep and very irregular. Neither of these was on the same orientation as the later Roman temple. Nine metres north-east of the temple building, sondage 15 produced a ditch section with a great deal of local ware dating to the third quarter of the first century BC. Although three Iron Age coins were found in the rubble fill of de Vesly's excavations no other early coinage was recovered, and these may have been deposited in the Augustan period. However, the mid first century BC ceramic remains suggest that the post-hole structures identified by de Vesly in 1909 may date to this period.

Excavations at Authevernes "Les Mureaux" are currently in progress, and the possible votive building has been excavated but not written up. However, an unbroken sequence from the late Iron Age to the early Roman period exists, and Iron Age coins have been found in association with pottery of Augustan date (Bonnin et al 2000, Rondié 1999). There is a history of coins, brooches and metal objects being found on the site. Although the excavators consider the site to be a cult site, due to ritual deposition in ditches, pits and silos, the excavated finds do look like a settlement. The publication of the 'votive building' will

make this clearer, and it is worth pointing out that the historic discovery of metalwork is not indicative of a settlement in this region, as they rarely produce coins or brooches.

Epiais-Rhus has produced a series of late coins from excavated contexts in the cemetery area of the site (Lardy et al 1987). Although activity in the cemetery area began in the late Iron Age, it continued in use into the Roman period. Fourteen Iron Age coins were found in the pyre layer,[162] the latest being a Scheers 216 (dating to the later first century BC) but some of the coins dated significantly earlier, such as the LT 7417 potins. The pyre layer also produced eight Roman coins and 'many' glass fragments, but may have had several phases, which have not been identified (Lardy et al 1987:164).

As noted in the previous chapter, there was less deposition on the votive sector of the site in the later Iron Age, which may indicate a reduction in activity in this period, or a decrease in archaeologically recognisable forms of artefact. None of this activity is clearly votive in nature. There is more evidence for later first century activity, and by the turn of the millennium, the construction of stone buildings on the site was well underway. Although some of the buildings in area SP 10 and SP 20 were built and used in the late Iron Age, this area seems to have continued in use without major development until the end of the first century BC, when the Roman forum was constructed. However, there is no evidence for votive deposition in the later first century BC; the deposits are morphologically similar to those on high-status settlements, although with a higher proportion of coinage than is found on conventional settlements in the region. The continuity of construction from the Iron Age buildings to the Roman forum implies that the group here had influence in the construction of the Roman buildings, and we may be dealing with a privileged group who had access to metalwork in the period leading up to this.

---

[162] These coins consisted of one BN 7095-6, one Scheers 163, two LT 7417 potins, one each of Scheers 144, 143, 28, 155, 109 and 216, two Scheers 27's and two unidentified Iron Age struck bronzes.

Ognon "Forêt d'Halatte" has produced Iron Age bronze coinage, although interestingly there is more potin on the site than struck bronze (24 coins to 15). Most of the Iron Age coinage is local in manufacture, although it is unlikely that Ognon was the centre of coin production at any period. Most of the stratified coins come from the centre of the site, although the excavators believe that the stratigraphy and the Iron Age coinage do not indicate activity on the site which pre-dates the middle of the first century BC (Berdeaux-le Brazidec & Durand 2000). Apart from the hoard of potin coins (discussed in chapter 4), there is no stratified archaeological evidence for activity in the later first century BC. Some of the Iron Age coins clearly formed part of the Roman coin pool at the Forêt d'Halatte, and are found in first and second century AD contexts. It is likely that a minority of local coinage found its way into the Roman coin pool. The preference does seem to have been for brass coins, and not struck bronze, as the brass ones seem to have survived longest within the Roman coin pool, and are found in the latest contexts on the site.

The major Roman source sanctuary at Genainville (Val d'Oise) has been argued as an Iron Age foundation on the strength of the discovery of 10 Iron Age coins (Roymans 1990:65). However, despite extensive excavations (Mitard 1993) the site has produced no evidence bar the coins for an earlier foundation than the Augustan period.

6.2.1.3. SUMMARY

Sites with a high proportion of struck bronze coinage have been viewed as being post-Conquest by scholars such as Delestrée (1999) but, although a useful rule of thumb, this is not totally true (as the early struck bronze deposits at Gournay-sur-Aronde show). Some bronze issues were struck in the early first century BC, and it is overly simplistic to generalise. Certain types of coin produced in the late first century BC indicate later activity, although it is not foolproof, as some issues continued in use within the Roman coin pool for some time. The proportion of struck bronze to potin can be used as a rough guide to the relative date of coin deposition, but as with so much else in the archaeological record, the full picture is never that simple.

The use of votive sites in this area seems to have undergone some significant changes in this period. While some of the sites flourished, and very early stone or wooden buildings were constructed in the third quarter of the first century BC (e.g. Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Chilly), others have a very low level of activity, and certainly minimal deposition (e.g. Bennecourt, Epiais-Rhus), despite being the site of later Roman constructions. The variation during this period is probably a reflection of social and political turmoil, and it is more surprising that so many sites continued and indeed expanded during this difficult period. The ways in which coins were used is also illustrative. There seems to be little coherent pattern across the region, and this argues strongly for the local control of these sites.

6.2.2. NORTHERN CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE/ AISNE

The north of the Champagne and Ardennes areas saw a general intensification of votive activity around the middle of the first century BC, and there was increased activity on votive sites, although this can only be seen in restricted parts of the region, partly due to patchy archaeological activity. Although the upper Aisne area has been intensively studied by Lambot, other areas like the north of the Ardenne département, and the bulk of the Marne département have yet to produce any evidence for centralised votive sites in the mid first century BC (see Fauduet 1993a for a broad illustration of this). Given the recent increase in archaeological work, it is increasingly likely that the area did not experience the same centralisation of votive activity during this period as other parts of the study area.

In the middle Aisne Valley the lack of specialised votive sites continued into the later first century BC. The quantity of coinage on the *oppida* there suggests that they played an important role in the votive deposition of the groups based in the area, and it is likely that some of the finds from the *oppida* are from votive complexes. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is some suggestion that the nineteenth century excavations at Pommiers produced votive ditches like those at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Vauville 1890), but this remains to be

confirmed by modern excavation. The point of transition from potin to struck bronze coinage comes at the beginning of this period is neatly illustrated (for the Aisne area at least) by the short-lived *oppida* there (fig 2.4, chapter 2). As shown by Guichard *et al* (1993) Villeneuve-Saint-Germain was dominated by potin coinage (80.7%), while the later site of Pommiers, dating to the period under consideration here, is dominated by struck bronze (81.1%). The sites also neatly illustrate the growing intensity of coin deposition in the later Iron Age. Villeneuve has 758 coins from surface survey and excavation, while the antiquarian excavations at Pommiers[163] produced 2230. Presumably large-scale excavations at Pommiers would increase this number even more.

In the Aisne Valley, it seems likely that there was a major change in the Gallic War period which caused the final shift from potin to struck bronze. Although the introduction of struck bronze had occurred before this period (e.g. Scheers 151, 154), the major shift seems to have happened at this time. The reason is impossible to guess; perhaps there was pressure on tin sources, or the influence of the regions to the south, with their struck coinages? It is interesting that the transition comes so late here; in other areas of northern France the transition to struck bronze seems to have happened in the early first century BC, perhaps due to availability of silver ores. This indicates a local desire to maintain the potin coinage. It may have been connected to the close relation of the Aisne valley to central Gaul, which maintained a potin coinage later than the areas to the north. Again it illustrates the regionality of coin use in the Iron Age, and the caution needed with broad generalisations.

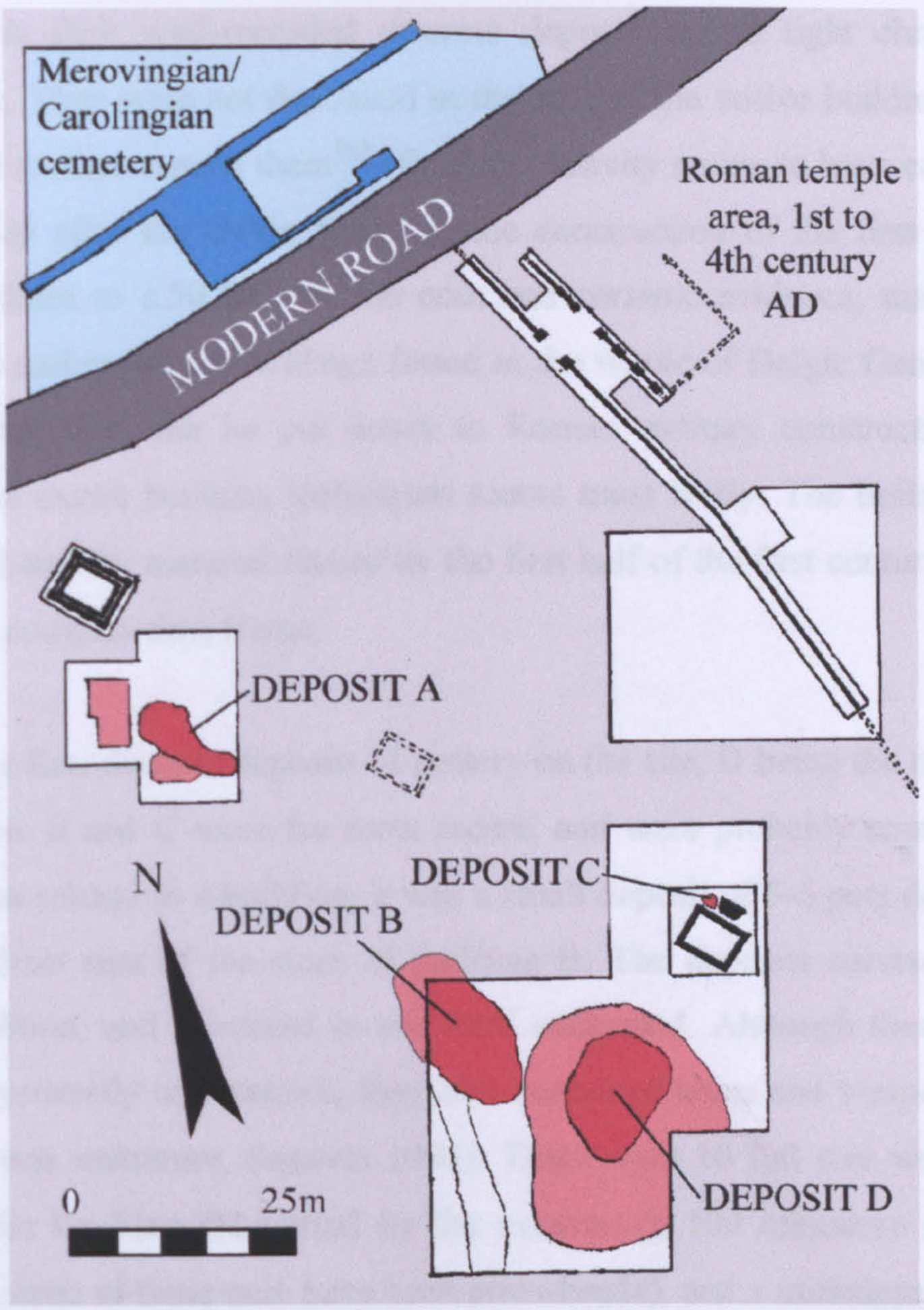
6.2.2.1. SITES WITH STRATIFIED COIN FINDS

Baâlons-Bouvellemont is one of the most comprehensively excavated sites in the Ardennes (Squévin 1988, 1994). The site is situated between the Seine and the Meuse, and had a short period of deposition, from the latest Iron Age to the middle of the first century AD.

---

[163] The antiquarian excavations were over a wide area. The 1987-1988 ERA 12 excavations were small-scale.

Figure 6.6. Votive scatters at Baâlons-Bouvellemont (after Squevin 1994)



The nearby village has produced many Roman foundations, so it is likely that the ritual focus (which pre-dates other activity in the vicinity) developed into a short-lived peri-urban sanctuary complex, with at least 3 Roman temples known. Baâlons-Bouvellemont stands out for its ceramic deposits, which rarely survive in the corrosive chalk soils of the Somme and Oise. It also produced miniature pots, which are paralleled by the miniature pot deposits known from major sanctuaries further south (e.g. Alésia, Mirebeau). The coinage from the 1988 excavations numbered 765 (477 Iron Age, 193 Roman and 95 illegible).[164]

[164] However, by 1994 (Squevin 1994) more coins seem to have been found; as Squevin says that 480 coins were discovered in the excavations and more than 600 on the surface. These were not broken down by metals or period.

The finds at Baâlons-Bouvellemont are virtually unique in this part of the study area due to their well-recorded discrete deposition and tight chronological framework. They were not deposited in the area of the votive buildings, but on the ground surface around them[165] (fig 6.6). Activity seems to have commenced very quickly after the Gallic Wars, as the construction of the first two stone buildings dates to c.50 BC, by the coin and ceramic evidence, making them among the earliest stone buildings found in the whole of Belgic Gaul. It seems unlikely that they can be put down to Roman military construction. Local adoption of exotic building techniques seems most likely. The buildings were abandoned and the material reused by the first half of the first century AD – an extremely compact time frame.

There were four discrete deposits of pottery on the site, D being the oldest, then A. Deposits B and C were the most recent, and were probably contemporary. Only C was related to a building, it was a small deposit of 5-6 pots deposited to the immediate east of the steps of building B. The deposits survived in very good condition, and remained in situ until excavated. Although these deposits consisted primarily of ceramics, they also contained coins and weaponry (most of which was miniature, Squevin 1994). There were 10 full size weapons (all dated to the La Tène D2 period by the excavator), 109 miniature spearheads (although some of these may have been arrowheads), and a miniature shield and two swords joined by a ring (Squevin 1994). 51 fragments of mail shirt were found in several deposits.[166]

---

[165] This deposition of objects directly onto the ground surface is paralleled by finds from Picardy (such as Dompierre-sur-Authie) and further south (such as La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot). The practice was undoubtedly widespread, although material rarely survives in situ on most sites. The famous quote from Caesar is pertinent here:
"*After a victory they sacrifice such living things as they may have taken, and all the other effects they gather into one place. In many states heaps of such objects are to be seen piled up in hallowed spots*" (Caesar BG, VI:17).

[166] 28 pieces came from deposit A; one from deposit B and 22 from the armour deposit D (Squevin 1988). It is unclear whether these came from the same mail shirt. If they do, it was shredded in a way which goes beyond rendering it unusable, and does raise questions over the rites carried out on the site. It also implies that these three deposits were broadly contemporary. The fragment in deposit B was oxidised to a miniature spear.

Other finds included 40 metal scraps, 50 various objects (including nails, small bronze plaques, eye ex-votos, and hooks), and more than 600 fragments of bone. There were large quantities of pottery in all of the deposits, mostly local wares from the Vesle area. The dominant pot type on the site is the archaic late La Tène type shallow bowl (90% of the assemblage) which forms the main local pot type in the middle of the first century BC in this area, and is deliberately archaic in type. One stamped amphora sherd came from the site, and a Dragendorf 27 samian bowl was found in deposit C, which can be dated to the end of the first century BC.

Deposits A and B contained the most coinage: A contained 76 coins, which were badly preserved; B contained 56 coins, 14 of which were found within pots (in 8 groups). There is interesting stratigraphy and evidence for structured deposition on the site, which can also be seen in the coins. Some were found on their sides, and at an oblique angle, implying that they may have been deliberately placed. Some of the pots were also deliberately placed, and the coinage appears to have been treated in the same way.

Figure 6.7. Position of ceramic vessels in deposits A and B, Baâlons-Bouvellemont (after Squevin 1988).

	On base	On rim	On side	Total
Deposit A	6	10	1	17
Deposit B	38	38	5	81
Total	44	48	6	98
%	45%	49%	6%	100%

In deposit B there were 13 cases of stacked pots, although the pots had to be deliberately broken to be stacked in this way due to the inward turn of the rim. The presence of many small sherds in deposit A led Squevin (1988) to suggest the presence of a "*zone de piétinement*" – a 'stamping zone' for violent destruction on the spot of deposition. Of the 81 pots or piles in deposit A, 46 (57%) contained offerings, eight of which were coins, although the most common content of pots was pottery sherds (26 examples). Four of the coins

were Lyon/ Altar issues, two were Scheers 216 (GERM INDVTILLI L.) struck bronzes, and eight were Augustan.

Figure 6.8. Position of coins in deposits A and B, Baâlons-Bouvellemont (after Squevin 1988).

Position	Deposit A	Deposit B	Total	%
Horizontal	23	24	47	53
Vertical	7	0	7	8
Oblique	24	11	35	39
Total	54	35	89	100

The types of coins found on the site are instructive, and deserve further consideration. It is clear that they are an extremely unusual example of a 'snapshot' of what was available for deposition in the area in the late first century BC, and as such are a valuable resource for understanding the coin pool of the time. The large numbers of early coins from the site are extremely atypical, and are especially important in the Ardennes, with less than 1% of the site assemblage being minted after Tiberius. There is a sizeable number of Republican issues from the site, supporting the continued use of these types in the early Empire, known from other parts of the Empire, but also present here. Interestingly for the purposes of this study, although the pottery comes from a very tight chronological band, a great deal of earlier coinage was found on the site, indicating significant residuality in the available coin pool (in this area at least).

The Iron Age coinage from the site consisted of 16 quarter staters (no further details on types, but possibly Scheers 152), 116 potin coins (70 Scheers 195, 32 Scheers 194, 11 Scheers 191 and three illegible) and 345 struck bronze coins. The majority of the struck bronzes were local issues struck in the immediate post-Conquest period, as at many of the sites in Picardy. Of these the Scheers 146 (REMO/REMO) type was the most numerous, with 182 found on the site. There were 45 Scheers 147s, another local type, and 53 Scheers 151s. Struck bronze coins from further afield included two Scheers 145s (from the area to the north), three 'Suessiones' (no further details given, but possibly Scheers 154 or

27), nine Scheers 216s and 51 coins "like the Scheers 216 type". The presence of such a large number of early potins is interesting, but a significant quantity of them are stratified, so the presence of an earlier focus on the site is possible but unlikely, unless they got disturbed during the deposition at this period. The Roman coinage from the site is dominated by half asses of Vienne and Nîmes (67 examples) and Altar/ Lyon issues (66 examples), as one might expect.

The reason for such an early focus of Roman material being placed here is unclear. Squevin (1988) sees the site as a snapshot of coinage in circulation immediately before the introduction of large quantities of non-Gallic coins into the coin pool. The site certainly has a large number of local issues, and has much in common with the Picardy area. It is clear that the coinage which was in circulation in this area before the conquest continued in use, and was augmented by other locally minted coins, as well as issues from elsewhere in Gaul (such as the widely circulated Altar issues from Lyon). The preference does seem to have been for locally minted issues, and a nearby mint site is a distinct possibility. However, Roman coinage was clearly acceptable as well. Why here though? The combination of the very early stone buildings and the presence of Roman coinage may be an indication of military use of the site. However, this seems unlikely in the circumstances, as the method of deposition is a wholly local one, with miniature weaponry, pottery and local coinage. Other sites in the area, such as Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" have produced similar assemblages, suggesting a local phenomenon.

The types of coinage found on the sites in this area do tally well with those from Picardy, in that they also have the explosion of struck bronze production in the later first century BC. However, there are other forms of find, such as miniature pots, which show the influence of the Marne and Burgundy areas. The Champagne and Ardennes sites are nearer to the Rhine frontier than the Picardy and Seine-Maritime sites, and may have seen more military traffic in the vicinity, and therefore more early Roman coin. Certainly sites to the south (e.g. the spa of Bourbonne-les-Bains (Sauer 1999) have produced large quantities of early Roman coins). Baâlons-Bouvellemont was in the territory of the Remi, who may have been rewarded for their support of the Romans in the Gallic

Wars. This may go some way to explain the reasonably high levels of Roman coinage and the early construction of stone buildings, which can also be seen in the territory of other pro-Roman groups (e.g. the Aedui and the early stone buildings at Bibracte[167]). The site may have been founded at the instigation of one of the local elite, and be a melding of local beliefs and those from further south. The presence of miniature vessels does suggest some links with sanctuaries in central Gaul (such as Alésia and Mirebeau).

The nearby village had produced evidence for walls under much of the modern village, and Roman artefacts. The site was believed to be a *vicus* by Squevin (1988:57), although it was pre-dated by the votive focus. The position of the site, at an equal distance between the known later urban centres of Mouzon, Castrice, Chateau-Porcien and Voncq, and close to the confluence of the Seine and Marne indicate its geographical importance. However, the early abandonment of the votive focus by the Tiberian period suggests that later votive activity was centred on the Roman *vicus*, which did continue in use. Little is known about this part of the site, and it is possible that it was not an urban site but a large rural sanctuary. More excavation is needed.

Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" is more problematic in the later periods. The reports conflate the potin and struck bronze coins under the title potin, so the identification of exact coin types is difficult (Tisserand 1975), but there do seem to have been a reasonable quantity of them. Although the site is somewhat isolated by the terms of this study, if it is looked at in conjunction with the rich coin producing sanctuaries of this period in the Moselle and middle Rhine area, it makes more sense. In many ways it is closer to these sites than those which are found further west, but the finds of miniature weaponry and large quantities of ceramics do link it with the other sites in the Ardennes.

Although the stratigraphy from Mouzon is problematic, it is clear that there was significant pre-Augustan activity on the site (chapter 5 above). As well as the

---

[167] Although this is not infallible, the area of the Arverni has also produced early stone buildings (Collis *pers comm.*) However, stone construction was not the norm in the north-east of France, so the situation and influences were different to central and southern Gaul.

large quantity of 'Iron Age' coins from Roman layers, some of the contexts indicate an earlier foundation. A potin "*au sanglier*" (probably a Scheers 186) was found at the base of the foundations of a pair of walls, just above the natural layer. A small stone and wood building and other features underlie the first century AD temple. The building produced a number of miniature weapons (which are common in this area, examples also being found at Baâlons-Bouvellemont, La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot and Chateau-Porcien). These bear close resemblance to sites further south, such as Alésia and Bibracte which produced miniature weaponry from antiquarian excavations[168] of their votive foci. The deposition of miniature weaponry is much rarer in western Picardy and Seine-Maritime, and this provides another clear link between the votive sites of the Ardennes and Aisne and those of central Gaul.

Chateau-Porcien "Nandin" (chapter 5, above) has produced finds which have many similarities with Baâlons-Bouvellemont and Mouzon "Bois du Flavier". Archaic bowls of late La Tène type were found in first century AD contexts in 1968, similar to examples found at Baâlons. This suggests the deliberate selection (or manufacture) of archaic types for deposition on these sites, and does raise interesting questions over the nature of ritual being carried out, and whether specific attempts were being made to identify with pre-Conquest activities.

Not a great deal of Iron Age coinage came from Neiss's excavations in the 1960s and 70s, although he was primarily excavating the Roman temple enclosure, and did not specifically seek out non-Roman material. "Numerous examples" of Scheers 191 and 146 coins are listed in Scheers (1977) as coming from the "*Gallo-Roman villa*" (undoubtedly the temple area) at Nandin in the nineteenth century. These finds suggest that the votive focus extended from relatively early beginnings, with another peak in the late first century BC (the

---

[168] Alise-Saint-Reine (Alésia) was excavated by a series of individuals during this period, including Napoleon III (1866), summarised in Le Gall (1990) and Reddé & von Schnurbein (2001). Antiquarian excavations at Mont Beuvray (Bibracte) were carried out by Bulliot (1899), Déchelette (1904) and have been summarised, along with other antiquarian excavations, in Goudineau & Peyre (1993), Guillaumet (1996) and a recent exhibition at the site (Beucher & Guidicelli 2002).

Scheers 146 coins). This continuing activity is supported by the discovery of pits underlying the Roman cella discussed in the previous chapter. Delestrée (1996a:133) briefly discussed 377 unstratified coins from the site, the majority of which were Scheers 151 (118 examples) and Scheers 147 (101 examples) bronzes, with 67 Scheers 146 coins as well. The assemblage discussed by Delestrée was largely late in date (although he does mention 13 gold coins and 28 potin also found at the site).

Nanteuil-sur-Aisne "Le Grand Nepellier" has produced evidence for earlier votive activity (Lambot 1996a, Lambot & Mèniel 2000). Some of the coinage dates to the later first century BC, although the ceramic evidence shows greater activity and saw significant quantities were deposited in the later first century BC. The outer enclosure ditch of the sanctuary at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne was constructed in the third quarter of the first century BC. Of the 109 known Iron Age coins found in excavations on the site only 48 were late struck bronzes; which are a reasonably low figure, with the equal proportions of potin and struck bronze suggesting there was not an increase in coin deposition in this period. Other types of artefact such as pottery must have been more important at this site.

The ongoing excavations at Langres "Usine Freudenburg"[169] are also producing what may be an early foundation date. A few Iron Age coins have been found, although these come from Roman layers or are unstratified (a Scheers 193 potin and a Scheers 216). The 1998 excavations produced an Augustan layer, which included much datable material (Joly, Mouton & Bataille 1999). As well as the Scheers 216, it included samian ware, local Augustan pottery as well as animal bones, charcoal and iron nodules. The foundation layer of earlier activity under this layer must date to the late Iron Age or the third quarter of the first century BC. This context produced no independent dating material up to 2000, but further excavation was planned.

---

[169] These have been recorded in the Rapport de Fouilles, kept at the Service Regional d'Archéologie Champagne-Ardennes, and remain unpublished. The rapports have been completed by Joly & Mouton 1998, Thevenard 1996, Copret & Vauquelin 1996 and Joly, Mouton & Bataille 1999). I am grateful to D. Chossenot for his assistance in gaining this information.

6.2.2.2. SUMMARY

Although there are fewer sites in this area than the Oise and Somme, there is clear evidence for a regional distribution of votive sites in the Ardennes. The preference seems to have been towards archaic coin and especially pottery types, with the deliberate manufacture of Late Iron Age pot types up to the first century AD. The deposition of miniature weaponry on sites such as Chateau-Porcien suggests that a series of artefacts were being produced deliberately for votive deposition, and this does suggest a preference for non-Roman types of deposit by the local communities. On the other hand, the presence of early stone buildings at Baâlons-Bouvellemont, and the quantity of Roman issues from the early levels of the site does indicate that a significant quantity of Roman coinage was available in the later decades of the first century BC.

In the middle Aisne, there is little to be added to the previous chapter. There is evidence for structured deposits on the settlements in the Aisne Valley, while Pommiers may have a continuation of the crossed ditches found at Villenuve-Saint-Germain. However, coin production increased on the *oppida* of the area, and Pommiers has large quantities of coinage which seems to have been struck on the site, but did not make it off the *oppidum*, suggesting a similar practice to that on the votive sites, where local coinage seems to have been minted for deposition. One exception is the Scheers 27 series, which was struck at Pommiers and is relatively common away from the site.

6.2.3. THE COASTAL PLAIN AREA

The coastal plain area saw little change during the earliest Roman period. The lack of monumental architecture continues, with little change until the middle of the first century AD, when urbanisation can be seen at sites such as Boulogne-sur-Mer, Thérouanne and Cassel. However, these had little impact on rural sites, and little change can be seen in the region in the period preceding 30BC. Cult activity remained small-scale and probably continued to take place on the level

of family groups or local communities. Coinage did not play a major part in this structured deposition in the coastal plain area.

Open-air sanctuaries associated with funerary cults were found in the earliest Roman period in the Low Countries (Slofstra & Van der Sanden 1987) and this form of cult site may also have existed in the study area. Gerritsen (2003) has recently questioned Slofstra and Van der Sanden's association of funerary contexts and rectangular enclosed sites in the Netherlands, and suggested that they became disassociated in the late Iron Age. The assumption that Roman period sanctuaries were primarily set up as cult centres for ancestors and the dead has also been contested, with a suggestion by Gerritsen (2003:118) that different settings indicating different ritual practices. This may have been taking place in the study area, with hoards and wet deposits denoting different kinds of rite.

Where late Iron Age coinage is present on votive sites in the Nord or Pas-de-Calais, it is from sites off the coastal plain in the south of the départments such as Duisans and Rollancourt, which were probably votive sites, and clearly have closer affinities with the Somme area. On Roman sites in the north of the region, such as Vaulx-Vraucourt, immediately to the south of Arras (Delmaire & Notte 1996), Iron Age coinage is unstratified, and is mostly from surface collections (Fontaine Dhénin & Dhénin 1973). Ritual activity seems to have continued in the pre-Roman vein, with structured deposition on settlement sites, and little coinage.

Hoards continue to be deposited in large quantities in the coastal plain in the later first century BC, and this remains the primary context for coin discoveries. This may form some kind of parallel to the intensification in wet deposition found further to the east discussed above (e.g. Roymans 1990, 1996) but with locally available objects. Coin deposition in wet locations seems to intensify during the later Iron Age and early Roman period, as seen at Flines-lès-Raches (Roymans 1990:85). This site produced many Iron Age coins, but also produced a large amount of Roman coins, a few bronze statuettes, brooches and numerous animal skulls from a small lake about 4ha in extent (Teirninck 1882). This

seems unlikely to be an isolated phenomenon, and is perhaps comparable with wet deposits from sites such as Nijmegen in the Netherlands (Willems 1990).

6.3. WIDER COMPARISONS

Looking beyond the study area, it is clear that there was a widespread intensification of coin deposition in the later first century BC. The presence of residual Iron Age coins on Roman votive sites is not enough to explain the phenomenon of coin deposition in this period. As seen above, the coastal plain area appears to have much in common with the geologically similar area to the east. The archaeological similarities of regions within the study area with those outside is striking in this period, and suggests that the tight regional associations of the later Iron Age were beginning to break down with changes to existing power structures. The south of the study area continued to have much in common with the Burgundian and Seine/ Yonne confluence votive sites in the later Iron Age (see chapter 4), but the north of the study area was more discrete. This was changing in the later first century BC, and the introduction of new forms of material culture must have been a part of this. While movement of individuals remains a perennially difficult subject in modern archaeology, one must acknowledge that there was probably increased movement of people during this period, although probably on a relatively small scale.

Along the Meuse, the foundation of sites such as Naix-aux-Forges (Meuse) can be dated to the later first century BC. The site was at the confluence of the Ornain and the Barboure, and close to the east of the Meuse. 85 Iron Age and 25 Roman coins[170] were found during the 1980s excavations (Legin 1989) which dated to this period, and a layer of Dressel 1 amphorae underlay the High-Empire temple (*ibid* 1989:123). An early post-built structure predates the Roman temple, and by the coinage was probably constructed in the Augustan period.

---

[170] These consisted of 47 Scheers 186 potins, 22 Scheers 137 (MATUGENOS), seven Scheers 216 (GERMANVS INDVTILLI L.) and three Scheers 146 (REMO/REMO) coins. The Roman coins from this layer consisted of 14 Lyon asses (RIC 230), six Nîmes asses (RIC 155) and one Vienna issue (LT 2943), all Augustan in date. All date to the latest first century BC/ earliest first century AD transition, and were stratified together.

It is possible that a similar pattern can be observed in the middle Rhine and Moselle regions. However, at Wallendorf (Haffner & Krausse 1995, Krausse 1996, 1999), an *oppidum* dating to the late second and early first century BC, activity in the later first century BC was seen as being very limited, although the site regained importance in the late Augustan to Tiberian period with the foundation of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary. On the site early potin and silver coins were widespread across the interior, but late struck bronze was concentrated on the top of the plateau. The recent excavations tied them into the sanctuary, with local struck bronzes deposited in Augustan contexts alongside Roman brooches and other votive objects. This may have been a case of local bronze issues circulating immediately before the Augustan period and continuing in use into the Augustan period, as we see within the study area. The middle Rhine had more Roman coinage available in the Augustan period, presumably due to the proximity of the highly militarised frontier, and trade routes.

Other Augustan sites in the middle Rhine area, such as the Martberg (Haffner 1984, Wegner 1997, Wigg forthcoming) and Bastendorf (Reinert 1995 a,b) have large quantities of late Iron Age struck bronze, and a big gap between the late Iron Age and the Augustan period. This does imply that the apparent gap could be filled by placing the production of the 'Iron Age' struck bronze coins in the second half of the first century BC. Continuity is more likely than a gap at all of these sites followed by a recommencing of activity "*as the result of a revitalisation movement, reviving notions of Celtic identity here at a settlement centre of 'the ancestors'*" (Krausse 1999:61)

Sites which were founded in the early first century AD, such as the extensive peri-urban cult complex of the Altbachtal at Trier (Loeschcke 1928, Gose et al 1938, 1942, Gose 1955, 1972, Alföldi 1979) have virtually no local issues. Any votive foundations on *oppida* during the last decades of the first century BC are unlikely to have been new foundations explicitly permitted to function as centres of worship dedicated to '*the ancestors*' or other potential rallying points against Roman rule. A more likely explanation is a low level of deposition and

coin production continuing on these sites throughout this period, with the agreement (tacit or explicit) of the nearby Roman units in control of the frontier area. Most of the temples which Cabuy identified in his 1991 study of votive practice in the region around Trier and Tongres were not founded until the first century AD, but a few did have first century BC activity.[171] Votive practice seems to have taken a different form before the first century BC.

In Britain, it is hard to identify a coherent body of votive sites which can be directly compared with the Continent before the Claudian conquest. Those that did exist were largely confined to the south coast, and are few in number. Smith (2001) identified 17 pre-Claudian conquest centralised votive sites that could be compared with Continental examples. Of these, only Hayling Island has produced convincing stratified evidence for the deposition of coinage in the period which this thesis considers. However, when one considers the significant quantity of Gallic coinage and pottery at Hayling Island (Briggs, Haselgrove & King 1992), the idea of an insular development is less certain. Although there is extensive evidence for votive deposition in Britain (see Smith 2001, Woodward 1992 and Bradley 1998 for overviews of the main sites) it is largely of a different nature, and is more comparable in the latest Iron Age with those sites in the northern French coastal plain area.

The development of large masonry temples in Britain is linked to their development in Gaul, suggesting that these sites are contemporaneous in both areas. Smith uses this to propose that:

> *"this type of temple structure only came into existence when the machinery and ideology of the Roman state began to effectively infiltrate the province, and certain members of the Romanized elite could thus benefit in status by constructing symbols of* Romanitas" (Smith 2001:159)

---

[171] Those with definite activity in the middle to later first century BC were Bellerberg and Mouzon (Cabuy 1991:172-3).

This negates the continuous deposition of artefacts on these sites, and the continuity of the practice of votive deposition of objects (primarily coins and brooches instead of weaponry) on these sites. This is a point which Smith does not address as part of his study, although the practice has differences in Britain, with such Gallic staples as potin and silver coinage being geographically restricted. A lack of recent excavation means that few sites are available for study.

A few sites in Britain have produced a great deal of coinage. These include Harlow in Essex (France & Gobel 1985, Haselgrove 1989) and Wanborough in Surrey (Cheeseman in O'Connell & Bird 1994) the latter producing 910 Iron Age coins from the excavations.[172] These coins date mostly to the first century AD, and were probably deposited then. With the exception of Hayling Island, no sites excavated in Britain to date have much evidence for coin deposition before the last quarter of the first century BC, with Harlow being a possible exception. Hayling is a very unusual site, and although it is not yet fully published, has still to produce a direct British parallel that has been archaeologically excavated.

Outside of northern France, there are major changes in the material culture of cult sites in the late first century BC. Van Andringa ed (2000:15) has pointed out that the Italian sanctuary of Marica (Coarelli 1992) showed a replacement of the local ex-voto deposits in the era of the foundation of the colony of the Minturnes in 296 BC. In the eastern Empire, major changes in votive practice are seen in the Augustan period. Alcock (1994) has recently reviewed the history of rural cult sites in Hellenistic and Roman Greece in a thought-provoking article which draws on the extensive survey evidence which has been collected in southern Greece in the last decades. She noted considerable change in the rural religious landscape in the Hellenistic to Roman period, and suggested that this reflected major changes in the society that inhabited it.

---

[172] The site of Wanborough was heavily stripped by illegal metal-detecting before it could be excavated, and a large body of coins are known to have been removed from the site and sold. The original number of coins is therefore unknown, but the excavators estimated that at least 9000 coins were removed (O'Connell & Bird 1994:7). Unfortunately the stratigraphy of the site was also damaged, so stratigraphic analysis of the site is problematic.

Although Alcock did not deal with specific finds from these sites, some interesting conclusions were drawn from the broader patterns. Southern Greece shows a shifting and fluid pattern of votive activity at this time, which the relative lack of landscape surveys and predominance of individual excavations in Gaul cannot identify. Small rural sites seem to have varied in regional density, and the demise of small rural cults in the early Roman period has some resonance in the study area.

Of relevance to this study is the fact that the peaks of rural cult activity accorded with the peaks of rural settlement and most intensive cultivation identified in the survey data (Alcock 1994:255). The disappearance of smaller rural cults in the early Roman period also appears to have been connected to their importance to their host cities (whether with a link to the foundation or early development of the city, or due to some regional significance, *ibid*:259). Alcock saw the continued maintenance of rural cult sites as being key to the perpetuation of an *identifiable civic memory* (my italics) and therefore the community itself. In Greece, the maintenance of these sites passed from rural communities to urban-based élite families, who used the maintenance of rural cult sites as part of a policy of escalating urban euergetism connected to power. Small-scale cults were abandoned. This could be considered in relation to the tribal identities of northern Gaul, which the epigraphic evidence shows remained strong into the Roman period (Woolf 1998). It may also bring us some way towards understanding the great predilection towards the elaboration and maintenance of the many rural cult sites in northern France in a period of supposed urbanisation.

A similar pattern is suggested for Italy at roughly the same time by Crawford (1981) and Frederiksen (1976). Although the evidence for Gaul is much less clear, with landscape archaeology being in its early stages, the patterns produced in Greece and southern Italy are extremely stimulating, and present suggestions for possible ways forward in the study area. Certainly, the apparent peak in late Iron Age settlement suggested by aerial photography and embryonic landscape surveys accords with a peak in rural votive activity. Many votive sites were abandoned in the second century AD at the same time that the aerial

evidence suggests that rural settlement became dominated by larger villa-based farming and smaller farmsteads seem to have declined in number (e.g. the Somme; Agache 1970, 1978). Further work is needed to confirm these patterns, and we can look beyond individual sites towards a consideration of the wider patterns of land use and votive deposition in the study area.

6.4. CONCLUSION

There are major changes in the use of coinage on votive sites across the study area in the later first century BC. A vast increase in coin deposition can be seen on many of the key sites, dominated by local struck bronze coins. Coin issues were generally fairly small, with a few exceptions produced in large numbers, such as the later coins in the "*au personnage courant*" series (Scheers 163), and a few of the earlier tri-metallic sets, such as the "*à l'astre*" (Scheers 25) coins in western Picardy.

We can see an increasing regionalisation of coin assemblages in the third quarter of the first century BC, and local circulation patterns can be pinpointed with accuracy for the first time. A high level of site-to-site variation is still apparent. This is probably partly due to the type of excavation employed and the problems of metal-detecting in some areas, but is also likely to be a factor of the extremely local reaction to Roman control in areas of the study area. On some sites, local communities seem to have been making the deliberate decision not to welcome Roman coins. Coins used in earlier deposits often come from a reasonable distance away, but in the later period, especially on Delestrée's main (1996a) sites in the Oise, the coinage becomes increasingly local, and many types appear to have been minted on votive sites such as Digeon and Chilly (see chapter 7 for a fuller discussion of this). It is clear that coin use continued on a local level until the latest first century BC. The association of minting and votive sites is less pronounced in the Ardennes group, but it does seem to have taken place on sites such as Mouzon "Bois du Flavier".

The majority of coins circulated on a local basis. Some sites, such as La Chaussée Tirancourt, Baâlons-Bouvellemont and Eu/Bois l'Abbé have yielded

coins from some distance away. This suggests a two-tier coin circulation system, with precious metal coins, primarily silver issues, and a few of the largest struck bronze issues travelling some distance, with the majority of struck bronze remaining fairly local. This can also be seen on sites such as Pommiers, which yielded a sizeable body of central Gallic silver coinage in this period, but is dominated by the struck bronze produced on the site (Vauvillé 1890, Guichard et al 1993).

In the latest period of Iron Age coin use the picture is very different. At the very end of the first century BC and into the earliest first century AD, local coin minting ended. It seems to have been brought under control in most areas in the Augustan period, when most of the sites in the study area stopped minting coinage, although local coinage does take time to completely disappear from the coin pool. A demonetisation is suggested by the appearance of copies of the Lyon/ Altar series of asses in some areas, in preference to local issues. Perhaps local minting was banned, and something more akin to a monetary economy (or at least monetary taxation) was being imposed at this period? There are a few late issues of brass coins (Scheers 216, 217), which are more likely to have been centrally sanctioned. They were minted to the east of the study area, and are found in large numbers all over Belgic Gaul, and further afield.

Finds on votive sites indicate that most coinage was finding its way onto local sites and not leaving the area of origin in the later first century BC, especially in Picardy and the Ardennes. This suggests that we are not seeing major changes in votive deposition *per se*, but that coinage was becoming an increasingly important deposit over time. This may have been connected to the decreasing availability of other forms of deposit which were traditionally placed on votive sites. A rise in the deposition of coinage is paralleled in other types of deposit, such as brooches.

The general picture is one of continuity of votive practice, and the slow adaptation of votive activity, with new practices such as the construction of stone buildings slowly being introduced from the middle of the first century BC onwards. This suggests a continuation and maintenance of local belief systems,

rather than a dramatic change, and until the Augustan period there are few signs of obvious change in the archaeological record. With the Augustan period, changes began to speed up, and the foundation of towns did have a major impact on votive activity, as the euergetism and power bases of the local élites shifted to towns, and the old rural power structures waned (Woolf 1998).

❖❖❖

Chapter 7

New interpretations

❖❖❖

This thesis set out to look at coins found on votive sites in north-eastern France, and to consider the way in which stratified coinage illustrates how it was used. Recently Brunaux, in a review of votive sites in the study area, stated that the major deposits of coinage on votive sites were due to Roman influence (2003:43). He saw coins as only being relevant as a deposit in the second part of the first century BC, and viewed them as payments for 'grand sacrifices' (2003:43). However, the archaeological evidence outlined above indicates that this was not the case, and in this chapter I wish to expand upon some of the observations made while evaluating the material, and to use the archaeological finds to form some conclusions about the wider implications of coin use in the later Iron Age of north-eastern France.

Coinage was one of a range of 'suitable' deposits on votive sites, and became more important as time went on, as the previous chapters show. In areas with votive sites in the later Iron Age the vast majority of silver, potin and struck bronze coins have been found in votive contexts (see figures 3.2-3.4 for the Oise and Seine-Maritime areas). Why is the majority of coinage found on votive sites? I believe that coinage was not used in a monetary sense, but was produced, probably on votive sites, for deposition in ritual contexts. Evidence for the minting of coins on votive sites is not extensive, but it is starting to emerge, and is discussed in more depth below.

Even *oppida*, previously seen as trading centres, are now producing significant evidence for votive deposition, and some types of coinage seem to have been produced on *oppida* for deposition in votive contexts on the sites themselves. Although undoubtedly centres of population and activity; could this activity be driven by religious reasons, not economic ones as previously believed? It certainly puts an interesting slant on the construction of large ramparts, and suggests the

importance of religion to local communities. Some types of coinage, such as thin silver coins in the west of the study area are rarely found outside of votive deposits. In the mid-first century BC an interesting floruit of coin production was taking place in the Somme and Oise areas and groups of closely knit votive sites have distinct numismatic profiles (Figure 7.3). The presence of many small local issues of struck bronze coinage on votive sites suggests that they are being produced for deposition.

I propose that later Iron Age votive sites formed an important part of the community, and were the focus of large scale rites, which helped to reinforce local identity. Coinage formed an integral part of the rites of deposition on these sites, and in some areas was produced primarily for this purpose. Moving away from the historical tendency to assume that coinage was produced for economic purposes, I believe that coinage was one form of deposit placed on votive sites by local communities.

Parry and Bloch (1989) edited one of the few interpretations of the use of money in anthropological contexts, and many of the findings have surprising resonance for the purposes of this study. They (*ibid*:1) revealed an enormous cultural variation in the way in which money (or in the case of this study coinage) was used and viewed by the groups which use it, and the vital importance of understanding the cultural matrix into which money is incorporated. Although archaeologically we are dealing with a different set of problems to anthropologists, many of the methodological points do have similarities. Marx and Simmel (1978) had linked the introduction of money to fundamental changes in society, and believed it promoted the growth of individualism and the destruction of solid communities. This idea of money (or in our case coins) as 'a bad thing' and as generally eroding the established networks of trade and exchange is common in the study of coinage in the later Iron Age (e.g. Haselgrove 1984, 1987). However, Parry and Bloch pointed out that:

> *"Given that money is held to have the profound impact on society and*

> *culture..., it is hardly surprising that there is a tendency to postulate a fundamental division between non-monetary and monetary economies (or even societies)"* (Parry & Bloch 1989:7)

When the votive function of money is added to the equation, it is clear that coinage had a profoundly different role in late Iron Age societies. Coinage was not a "*purely depersonalised instrument*" (Parry 1989) as it is in modern western societies. In our society, the very impersonality of money makes it of questionable appropriateness as a gift (Parry & Bloch 1989:8, Wolfram 1987), except for impersonal charity donations. In anthropological examples, money can often take on more than one role, and can be used in different cycles of exchange at different times, and in different circumstances. I believe that the coinage of the late Iron Age should be considered in a more flexible manner, and this study has suggested a range of possibilities for the changing use of coinage over the two centuries and geographical areas discussed here. Anthropological case studies of coinage as being an integral part of gift exchange are illustrative. The introduction of coinage into societies is not a definite indicator of economic activity (as Marx suggested), and anthropology shows that the presence of money can "*considerably pre-date the dominance of a capitalist sector*" (Parry & Bloch 1989:16).

7.1. 'ELITES'OR COMMUNITIES? THE NATURE OF VOTIVE PRACTICE.

As well as a perceived economic role, coinage in Iron Age societies has commonly been associated with the elite by archaeologists. Its use is explained by the existence of patronage and client relations in the later Iron Age (Roymans 1990:38-43). Coinage is viewed as a 'prestige good', which could be used to maintain and articulate these patron/ client relationships. It is also viewed as a form of 'conspicuous consumption', with coinage being one form of display, enabling elites to show their power to the masses (Woolf 2002:8-11). Fitzpatrick believed that coinage was used to "articulate clientage and dependency in an overtly militaristic society and to maintain traditional, ancestral, familial links" (1992:19). This

approach was also taken in Creighton's (2000) review of British interaction with Rome before the Claudian conquest.

These interpretations suggest that coinage can be taken as a simplistic 'payment to the Gods' to advance an elite cause, which I believe is not the answer. The equation 'coins = buying favours = bigger/better warbands' is a simplistic way of thinking of coin use, and while this may (arguably) be appropriate when considering the Roman period, it cannot be assumed to be the only solution when looking at the Iron Age. Marion (2004) has described votive sites with large weaponry deposits, such as Meaux 'La Bauve' and La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, as being

> '*collective manifestations of armed force, affirming the social cohesion and reinforcing the ideological control of the elite over a population which now saw the importance of access to weaponry*' (2004:350-351)

However, the view of votive sites as a showcase of military might to aid recruitment does not place it in context. Yes, these sites often had large weaponry deposits, especially in the third and early second centuries BC, but they were also the focus of other forms of votive deposition, such as coinage and brooches, and they fit into a wider network of votive deposition, which Marion's view does not give sufficient credit to.

The nature of deposition was moving away from large set-piece deposits of weaponry from the start of the second century BC, and few weaponry deposits are found stratified to first century BC contexts. Miniature weapons are found in the Ardennes until the Roman period, with sites such as Mouzon "Bois du Flavier,", Bâalons-Bouvellemont and La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot producing miniature weaponry in first century BC layers. However, sites with early third century BC deposits of weaponry, such as those in Picardy do not seem to have significant deposits of miniature weaponry. It is mostly localised to the Ardennes.

The limitation of coinage to a perceived elite group is also incompatible with the archaeological evidence presented for its deposition in north-eastern France. If coins were only an elite tool, they would be found in a restricted area on votive sites, not across large parts of them. The quantity of coinage which has been found[173] also indicates that it was available in much larger quantities than other 'elite' metalwork (such as weaponry).

Sites such as Fesques and La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot have evidence for votive deposition spread across a wide area, both in the inner votive focus and in the large outer ditch. If coinage was limited to deposition by a small elite group, it seems unlikely that coinage would be found in such a range of contexts. The central area of Fesques is morphologically similar to the site of Acy-Romance, in that the central votive area is surrounded by an enclosure, and several areas of settlement are evident just beyond this (Fig 5.6). The presence of a votive site at the centre of a zone of settlement argues strongly against elite focussed votive activity, and indicates strong community involvement and activity. Although the settlement areas at Fesques were not excavated as part of the published sanctuary excavations, they do suggest that with further excavation in the vicinity of votive sites those in Picardy and Seine-Maritime might begin to resemble the upper Aisne more closely.

Acy-Romance is an extremely large site, and even accounting for shifting settlement over time, it is clear that we are dealing with more than the activities of a small group. The construction and morphology of Acy-Romance strongly suggests community cohesion and the interaction of the whole community with the central votive activity. I suspect that there are more sites of this nature which await archaeological attention, and the sites of the Oise Valley, which seem so isolated, may prove to have more archaeological activity in their vicinities which remain to be investigated. However, at present there is a lack of excavation outside of the central focus on most sites in the study area. The presence of several scatters of

---

[173] This is without legal metal-detection, so it is likely that the quantity is actually far greater, as the dramatic increase in coin finds in Britain and the Netherlands after the recording of metal detected finds show.

material at Saint-Saëns, Roncherolles-en-Bray and Vieil-Evreux suggest that Fesques and Acy-Romance may not be unique.

In addition to the sites with settlement nearby, other indicators suggest that votive sites were not solely the preserve of 'warrior elites'. All the archaeological evidence for the buildings on these sites shows that they were not monumental constructions, but were firmly grounded in local building traditions. One might expect some element of elite display or 'otherness', such as we see in the construction of temples of a multitude of other groups, both historically and anthropologically. However, what we see is the opposite.

These sites frequently stand in a prominent or significant location (such as at a river confluence, a river source, or on a hill), but the morphology of the buildings is wholly rooted in the vernacular architectural tradition, such as we see on a multitude of settlement sites. This does not suggest a limited elite ritual, but instead seems to be drawing in the whole community, by linking the gods to the everyday. The appearance of pits in the shape of grain silos with votive deposits in them (such as individuals and horses at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, fig 4.14) echoes this mixing of the secular and ritual in a way which is ubiquitous on settlement sites.

Although unique, the crossed ditches at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain had post-holes along their length, and all reconstructions (such as those in Peyre 2000:170-171) suggest that the postholes formed a processional way, along which individuals moved, and threw objects off into the ditches themselves. The row of 'temples' at Acy-Romance (fig 5.11) also have a path in front of them, between the buildings and the 'green', suggesting that procession formed part of votive activities here. The element of procession suggests the participation of a large group of individuals, rather than 'closed' rites, which the small size of the central focus at sites such as Gournay-sur-Aronde are more suggestive of.

The literary evidence for votive activity in Gaul at this period backs up the assertion that religion was not just the preserve of a small elite group. Caesar puts the druids at the top of an alternate power structure to the warriors. Although there is some evidence of the association of these roles (as the case of Diviacus shows) his Gallic Wars emphasises that the druids are at the centre of communities, and also states that any individual or community not abiding by their verdicts is banned from the sacrifices, implying that sacrifices were something which the whole community participated in.

> "*The [Druids] are concerned with divine worship, the due performances of sacrifices, public and private, and the interpretation of ritual questions.....in fact it is they who decide in almost all disputes, public and private.....if any person or people does not abide by their decision, they ban such from sacrifice*" (BG VI:13)

This does not look like sacrifice by a small group, but instead appears to emphasise the role of the community in ritual and sacrifice, and the importance of taking part in these rites to become part of local and regional society. I believe that the size of those sites known archaeologically supports this suggestion that the activities which took place on these votive sites were community undertakings. They undoubtedly did involve the warrior elite, but they also appear to have involved the whole community as well.

Another argument against the domination of votive practice by a warrior led elite can be seen in the changing nature of deposition across the last three centuries BC. Weaponry becomes increasingly rare on votive sites from the mid second century BC, and deposits of Iron Age coinage, as we have seen, greatly increase until the mid first century BC. However, as well as coinage, we have a rise in the quantity of other smaller objects, such as brooches and lead wheels, sometimes in great numbers, as can be seen at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot. This vast increase in the quantity of non-martial goods cannot be taken as

an increase in warrior and elite deposition. It must concern a wider sector of society, even allowing for the fact that much of the population may not have had access to such objects. The presence of large quantities of pottery at votive sites is not considered to be as exciting as the metalwork, and has received less attention accordingly, but this does show that the deposition of metalwork and coinage was only one aspect of votive deposition, and undoubtedly a small aspect at that.

The concentration on a small warrior elite group also fails to consider groups such as women and the role which they would have played in local votive activity. Goddesses are attested in the Iron Age, and it seems highly unlikely that women were excluded from all ritual activity in the study area. Yet this is the prevailing impression which is given in the modern literature, which concentrates heavily on an implicitly male elite powerbase. A martial cult is arguable for a few sites, such as the initial deposit at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, with its weaponry and male skeletons (Brunaux 1999) and the ditch deposits at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985). However, it is archaeologically impossible (from the finds) that every site which has been excavated in the north of France was a male orientated warrior god sanctuary – some have produced no weapons at all. While the identification of the role of women in the archaeological record of the Iron Age is at an early stage, this is one example of how the idea of an elite martial cult practice has become imbedded in north-western Europe.

If we look at votive sites in conjunction with their local environments, and not in isolation, the prevalence of these sites and the major investment which they represent (both in their construction and in deposition on them) begins to resemble something which would be hard to gain without an element of community collusion. When one adds the ubiquity of these sites in the Iron Age, especially in parts of Picardy, and the close association of some of these sites with settlement evidence, then the suggestion of locality of cult focus comes a step closer to firm identification.

Roymans (1990:73) suggested a three-tier grouping of votive sites, and although only a few sites were known archaeologically in 1990, the emergence of sites closely linked to their local settlement sites begins to vindicate his identification of a series of local votive sites. To complicate the issue though, I believe that many of these sites (and especially the large ones) were the subject or irregular deposition, perhaps at major festivals, and were used in conjunction with the embedded everyday ritual and deposition which we find on settlement sites across the study area (which are beginning to be identified, e.g. by Auxiette, 2000 and Lambot 2000). What we appear to be seeing is episodic use of votive sites, and as a result of this, episodic coin production.

A detailed consideration of votive sites in the study area shows that activity is not continuous on many of them. Although the assumption is usually made that once activity began on a site, it continued (e.g. Fichtl 1994:25, Derks 1998:169), the archaeological evidence argues (fig 5.3) that this was not necessarily the case.

Figure 7.1. Sporadic deposition on selected votive sites in the study area

Site	LTC1	LTC2	LTD1 a	LTD1 b	LTD2 a	LTD2 b	E/R
Gournay-sur-Aronde	<- X	X	X	-	X	X	X
Vendeuil-Caply	<- X	X	?	?	X	X	X
Meaux "La Bauve"	X	X	?	?	X	X	X
Ribemont-sur-Ancre	X	X	-	-	X	X	X
St Maur-en-Chaussée	X?	X?	-	-	-	X	X
Bennecourt	-	X	X	-	-	X	X
Mœuvres	X	X	?	-	-	-	-
Bailleul-sur-Thérain	?	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fesques	?	X	X	X	X	X	X
Digeon	?	?	X	X?	X?	X	X
Pierrefonds	?	?	?	?	X	X	X
Éstrees-Saint-Denis	?	?	X	X	X	X	X

Unfortunately, the evidence on many sites is too ephemeral to establish phases of use. A few sites show clear and irrefutable evidence for a hiatus in deposition. Does

this merely show varying rates of deposition of material in the ground, or total abandonment of the site for a period? The small-scale nature of excavation on many of the sites considered here means that shifting votive foci are not identifiable, but spatial shifts within sites are also a distinct possibility.[174] The concept of 'miracles' and 'successes' can be seem in modern Catholic shrines, with religious sites tending to flourish when they record a 'success', which may be intermittent (Casey *pers comm*). This may impose a brake or an accelerator to the physical aspects of the site.[175] This is regrettably difficult to affirm or deny on Iron Age archaeological sites due to a lack of stratigraphy, and hard to date deposits of objects.

One site where there is strong evidence for sporadic activity is Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where soil and environmental sampling indicate that reforestation took place in the latest La Tène C1 and C2 periods, and an increase in trees, bushes and weeds on the site is evident (Brunaux 1999:276-9, chapter 4). However, information of this calibre is rare, and most sites rely on the finds to establish periods of low activity.[176] Bennecourt (Bourgeois 1999) shows little evidence for deposition after the initial La Tène C2/D1 enclosure was filled in. Although there was minimal activity in the La Tène D2a period, the construction of votive buildings did not take place until the Augustan period, and they were on a different alignment to previous activity (although in the same place). The continuity of place may indicate some form of folk memory or family tradition leading to the reuse of the site.

Some of the sites that were active at different times were in close proximity, such as Gournay-sur-Aronde, Éstrees-Saint-Denis and Pierrefonds. This suggests that in areas with many votive sites we are seeing a shifting pattern of use. The concept of a shifting pattern of votive activity is an extremely interesting one, as it has implications for the way in which votive activity functioned in society. It is also

---

[174] Antiquarian finds come from wide areas on several sites, such as the larger *oppida*. See above for a consideration of this.
[175] One is reminded of Knock in southern Ireland and the construction of an international airport there to facilitate access to the shrine. Lourdes in France is another example of this concept.
[176] This can be problematic when the residuality of artefacts is taken into consideration. Here I have only listed the examples where the absence of artefacts is supported by a lack of stratified features, to avoid circularity.

clear that few sites go entirely out of use (although Mœuvres is one likely example of this) but do see less activity for around 40 to 50 years before deposition resumes at a higher level. This may indicate a family or sub-tribal basis for the use of these sites, with immediate family references being eroded through time, and a number of acceptable sites going through a cyclical pattern of use until the latest Iron Age, when most see activity. This would tally with the population expansion suggested for the later Iron Age by the settlement evidence (see chapter 1).

The shifting pattern of deposition may also indicate the power structures and shifting political and social alliances within communities, with the development of a site relying on the dominance of a section of society, perhaps the dominance of a family group. If votive sites are to be considered as representing the power of family groups within a wider local community then a shifting power base is suggested. This suggestion would also take into account the major discrepancy in size between many votive sites, with each site reflecting the power of its patron group in a competitive society, as we see in early Roman Greece. It may also explain the association of major votive sites and *oppida* as representing the most powerful groups with communities or tribes. The sites may originally have been ancestor based, and have developed from there into reflections of the power of larger social groups.

How often the deposition of objects took place at all is an interesting point. Hill (1995) calculated that structured deposition in pits at Danebury would have taken place frequently[177] during the lifetime of the site. It seems likely that the deposition rate on many of the northern French votive sites was much lower. The evidence

---

[177] On average, this was 11.1 pits a year, although the quantity of pits filled a year varied over the lifetime of the site. The number of pits filled was greatest in phases 1-3 (28.4 pits) with the number decreasing after this: phases 4-5 (7.6 pits), phase 6 (5.4 pits) and phases 7-8 (4.2 pits) all show a marked decrease from the early stages (Hill 1995:3). This is a much higher number of pits than contemporary settlements looked at in the same study which had a much lower rate of pit deposition (Winnall Down: 0.2 pits a year, Gussage All Saints: 0.6 pits a year). Both latter sites showed a decrease over time. Further research may pinpoint whether this is the case for the study area, and whether the advent of votive sites had a quantifiable effect on the incidence of pit deposition on settlement and *oppidum* sites.

from Ribemont-sur-Ancre suggests that deposition was a rare but major undertaking, but this site is extremely unusual. Gournay-sur-Aronde also shows phases of intense activity alternated with periods where little archaeologically recognisable activity took place. This information is not easily extracted from the evidence, and is regrettably impossible to obtain for most of the sites in the study area.

Another important group activity which is becoming more apparent in the archaeological record of the study area is ritual feasting. Feasting equipment is found on votive sites in the extreme south of the study area, with pottery and amphorae being common finds on southern sites. This is harder to identify on many of the Picardy sites, especially those dug before the 1990's, but Poux (2000) has identified the presence of ritual feasting on some of the sanctuaries and high-status settlements in the study area in the later Iron Age. These include Fesques, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Montmartin and Acy-Romance, which have produced rich deposits of animal bones, wine amphorae and ceramics connected to drinking.

Large quantities of amphorae are being found across northern France (Loughton 2003) and to a lesser degree in southern Britain (Carver 2001) suggesting wine consumption was widespread in the late Iron Age. Feasting seems to have been an important aspect of votive deposition, and although textual evidence for the importance of banquets and ceremonial feasting has long been recognised, and is archaeologically well-known in southern and central Gaul it is only now being identified archaeologically in the study area.

Feasting on votive sites seems to have been one of the main archaeologically identifiable activities to the south of the study area, with sites in Burgundy and the Auvergne producing large quantities of amphorae and animal bones (Poux et al 2000). Returning closer to hand, Naix-aux-Forges (Meuse), on the periphery of the study area, where feasting seems to have been central to the rites carried out, has produced over 2000 amphorae rims, which were dispersed on the periphery of the

first phase of the sanctuary.[178] This dated to the first half of the first century BC (Legin 1989). Other late Iron Age sites along the Seine/ Yonne confluence, such as Fontaine-la-Gaillarde "La Grande Chaume" (Sarrazin 1989) and Balloy "Bois-de-Roselle" (Poyeton & Seguier 1999) have produced evidence of ritual feasting. This seems to have been the main manifestation of ritual activity along the Seine/ Yonne confluence and further south, central France producing a large number of enclosures with evidence for feasting and ritual destruction of amphorae.

7.2. COMMUNITY UNDERTAKINGS? – *OPPIDA*.

When we are considering the way votive sites functioned within their local communities, the inter-relation of votive sites and *oppida* in the study area suggests different relations than previously believed. Historically *oppida* have produced important coin assemblages, and clearly played an important role in coin production and use. Following Fichtl (et al) 2000, I looked at the *oppida* which have definite evidence for major coin deposits in the study area, and where possible reviewed where the coins had come from on the sites. Although the majority of finds were antiquarian, and it was impossible in many cases to pinpoint contexts, some did produce interesting evidence for early development of votive sites on *oppida*, and indicates that religion played a more significant role in the construction of these sites than previously believed.

As we have seen above (section 5.1.1) the construction of ramparts around pre-existing votive sites is present in the study area, with the earlier dating of many of these sites. However, the association of votive sites and ramparts is highly regional; although the central reaches of the Seine and the Aisne valley have evidence of an association, there is little evidence for this in the Ardennes. Nor is any form of monumental construction, votive or rampart, evident in much of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais. At Vernon (Dechezleprêtre et al 1998) the ten coins were found in the

---

[178] Interestingly, the site of Naix-aux-Forges is close to the *oppidum* of Boviolles, which suggests that the association of *oppida* and votive sites may also have been occurring in this area. However, no work has been done on this association to date.

foundation deposit of the rampart by an entrance with currency bar, weaponry and mail fragments, a symbolic deposit, and paralleled in central Europe. Bailleul-sur-Thérain produced coins and weaponry from the summit of the rampart (Berton 1879), as did Pierrefonds (Caucheme 1900). In the Aisne, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain has produced crossed ditches at the core of the site (figs 5.9, 5.10), which while not conventionally votive in morphology, are clearly ritual from their finds. These may be paralleled at Pommiers (Vauvillé 1890), but are unique in being extensively excavated.

The association of ramparts and votive sites says much for the important role of votive sites in the local and regional community. The construction of many of these large ramparts has puzzled military historians for many years, and many have pointed out the lack of defensibility. However, the discovery of large ditch systems round votive sites, such as Fesques and Nanteuil-sur-Aisne forms a hitherto unexpected link between so called 'open' votive sites and those on *oppida*. Could the ramparts of the *oppida* be seen in some cases as elaborate sanctuary enclosures? Certainly some are comparable in size.

Although the association of votive sites and fortifications is an archaeologically attested one, the prevalence of high places as one of the most common places for a votive site makes this inter-relation inevitable in some areas. In more hilly areas, votive sites tend to be found in high places, and many (such as the well-known examples of Vendeuil-Caply, "Les Chatelets" and Ribemont-sur-Ancre) are on promontories without ditch systems. In these two cases dominant positions overlooking valleys and in the environs of water sources or river confluences[179] explain the positioning. The placing of votive sites in prominent locations does not inevitably combine with the fortification of the hilltop, but the historic focus of excavation on these sites in the expectation of finds has helped to establish this link. However, many of the largest sites associate prominent locations with a situation

[179] Les Chatelets is on a promontory overlooking the Vallée St Denis, and the source of the Noye is c. 400m away. Ribemont-sur-Ancre is on a promontory overlooking three valleys, and is near the confluence of the Ancre and the Somme (see chapter 4).

not on the top of the hill, but on a flank, often giving a dominant view of the surrounding area.

7.3. MINTING ON VOTIVE SITES?

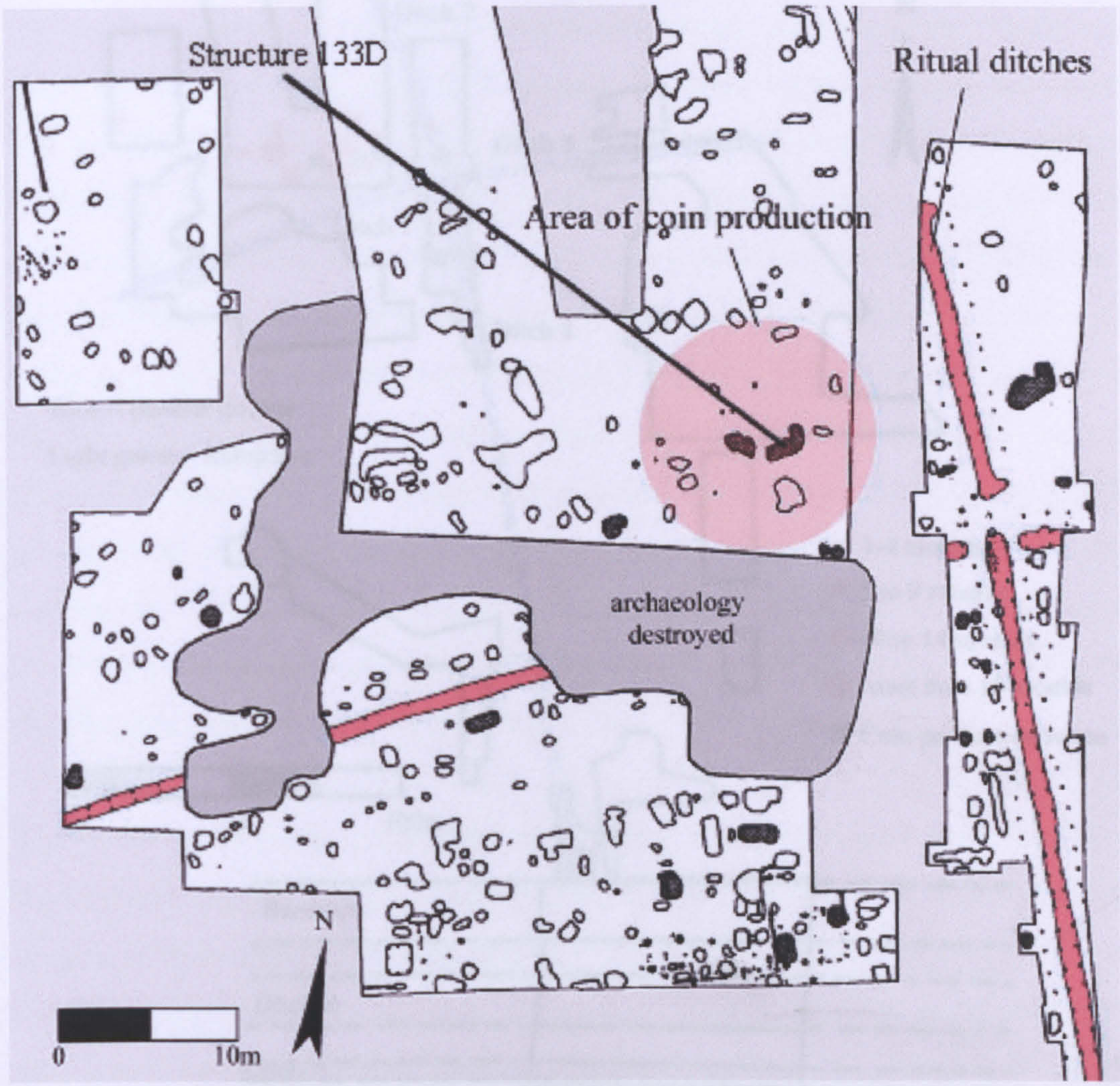
I have alluded to the production of coinage on votive sites in the discussion above. The main evidence for the production of coins is conjectural, in the concentrations of the coin types themselves. However, a few other finds have been found which support this assertion, as well as one firm example of coin production on a site in the study area. Discoveries of coin dies have been made. In Gaul, coin dies have been found mostly on major fortified sites and in votive deposits, examples of the former including Mont Beuvray (Delestrée & Duval 1977) and Corent (Malacher 1987). A die of a bull type ARDA coin (Scheers 30) has recently been found at the Titelberg (Reinert unpublished INC presentation), in a later Augustan grave with a Scheers 216 (GERM IND) coin. A coin mould was also found in the centre of the site, in a building, and their presence may indicate production in this area.

Ritual deposition seems likely for some other examples, such as the die found down a cleft on the fortified plateau of Larina (Hières-sur-Amby, Isère) with other votive offerings (Perrin 1990) and a heavily used Scheers 80 die from the votive site of Halloy-les-Pernois within the study area (Fournier et al 1989). If coin dies are to be taken as non- portable objects, this would suggest that coin production was based at major coin depositing sites, indicating that coins are not getting far from their point of origin. However, generalisations cannot be made using such a small data-set, and it is distinctly possible that some dies travelled some distance from their point of use. The burial at the Titelberg may suggest that only certain individuals struck coins, and the placing of a die in a grave indicates some kind of closure. Still, the evidence is not conclusive from the study area, the die from Halloy-les-Pernois was not found in a stratified archaeological context, although 58 other (unpublished) Iron Age coins are known from the site, and Agache identified a Roman temple there during an aerial photographic survey (Agache 1972).

The site with the most emphatic evidence for the production of coinage near to a votive deposit is Villeneuve-Saint-Germain in the Aisne Valley. The coinage has been published by Debord (1987, 1995), Debord and Scheers (1984). However, the publication of the evidence for industry on the site (Debord 1993) showed the quantity of the evidence for coin production on the site. All of the pits and features which are coloured in black below have produced evidence for industrial activity of some sort, showing the intensive nature of activity on the site. To the north of the junction of the crossed ditches, a feature; structure 133D, the L-shaped ditch in the red circle has produced a wealth of evidence for coin production.

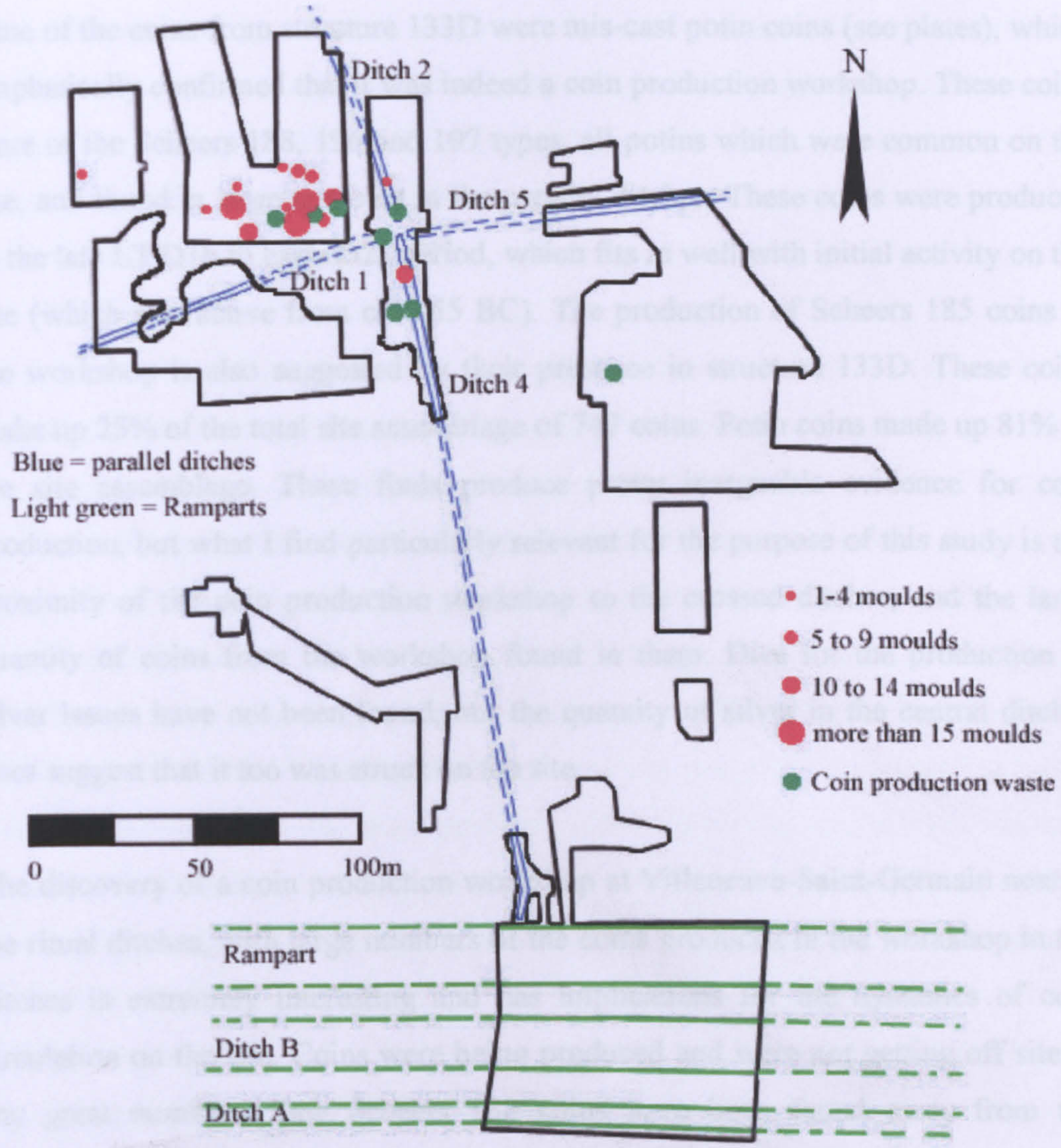
Structure 133D was 1.7m deep below the level of soil stripping (Debord 1993:72) and was c, 4.5m long, and c.1.7m wide. Another smaller pit to the north-west of it (immediately to the left of 133D above) had been disturbed by gravel extraction, but it was still possible to discern that they were two separate structures. The larger, L-shaped feature produced many black layers, more or less carbon rich, and containing many fragments of daub. Large blocks of stone followed the line of the carbon rich layers in the upper fills of the pit. The lower fills of the pit, below about 0.8-0.9m deep, were very clean, and clearly differed from those above. In the lower fill a pattern of post-beam structures were found, in a diamond shape (Debord 1993:73). Evidence for coin production was also found in these lower layers.

Figure 7.2. Repeat of figure 5.9. Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, central votive ditches (after Debord various, Peyre 2000)



22 coins were found in the feature, 21 of which Debord identified as locally produced types (1989). A rod of lead, ready for melting also supported this. Near the west end of the feature four fragments of small scales were found, suitable for the weighing and testing of metal prior to coin production. There were paralleled by scales from the *oppida* of Manching and Trisov in central Europe (Debord 1993:84).

Figure 7.3. Distribution of moulds and coin production waste in the central area of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (after Debord 1993)



12 fragments of coin moulds were found, as was bronze and lead slag matching that found in the metal composition of the potin coins common on the site. Numerous fragments of coin moulds were found on the site, 121 in total (Debord 1993:82) with some of them coming from the central ditches, although they were concentrated on the area around structure 133D (Figure 7.3). Laboratory analysis on the moulds has produced traces of copper from samples, although no silver,

which Debord suggested (1987a) meant that the production of silver flans was not carried out with moulds.

Nine of the coins from structure 133D were mis-cast potin coins (see plates), which emphatically confirmed that it was indeed a coin production workshop. These coins were of the Scheers 188, 196 and 197 types, all potins which were common on the site, and found in large numbers in the parallel ditches. These coins were produced in the late LT D1b to early D2a period, which fits in well with initial activity on the site (which was active from c.80-55 BC). The production of Scheers 185 coins in the workshop is also suggested by their presence in structure 133D. These coins make up 25% of the total site assemblage of 747 coins. Potin coins made up 81% of the site assemblage. These finds produce pretty inarguable evidence for coin production, but what I find particularly relevant for the purpose of this study is the proximity of the coin production workshop to the crossed ditches, and the large quantity of coins from the workshop found in them. Dies for the production of silver issues have not been found, but the quantity of silver in the central ditches does suggest that it too was struck on the site.

The discovery of a coin production workshop at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain next to the ritual ditches, with large numbers of the coins produced in the workshop in the ditches is extremely interesting and has implications for the dynamics of coin circulation on the site. Coins were being produced and were not getting off site in any great numbers. Few Scheers 188 coins have been found away from the excavations at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. Historically they have been found at Condé-sur-Aisne, Soissons, the Forêt de Compiègne, Vendeuil-Caply and Meaux-La Bauve (Scheers 1977), the latter three all sites with pre-Conquest votive foci.

Scheers 197 potins were also found close to Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, with few getting out of the Aisne area. Again many of these findspots (where anything was known about them) came from votive sites such as Vendeuil-Caply (4 coins), Pierrefonds and Beaumont-sur-Oise. Again the Scheers 196 potins mostly came

from a restricted area, in the locality of the site. A few were found further afield, one in the river in Paris, one on the beach at Criel-sur-Mer, and one in Rouen. The first two could well be from ritual wet deposits. The Scheers 185 issue is later, and seems to have been produced in larger quantities. 12 Scheers 185 coins were found at Pommiers, and these coins are found very widely, from Toulouse to Richborough in England. Many of these finds probably reflect residual noise rather than contemporary deposition, and stratified contemporary examples are restricted to the vicinity of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain.

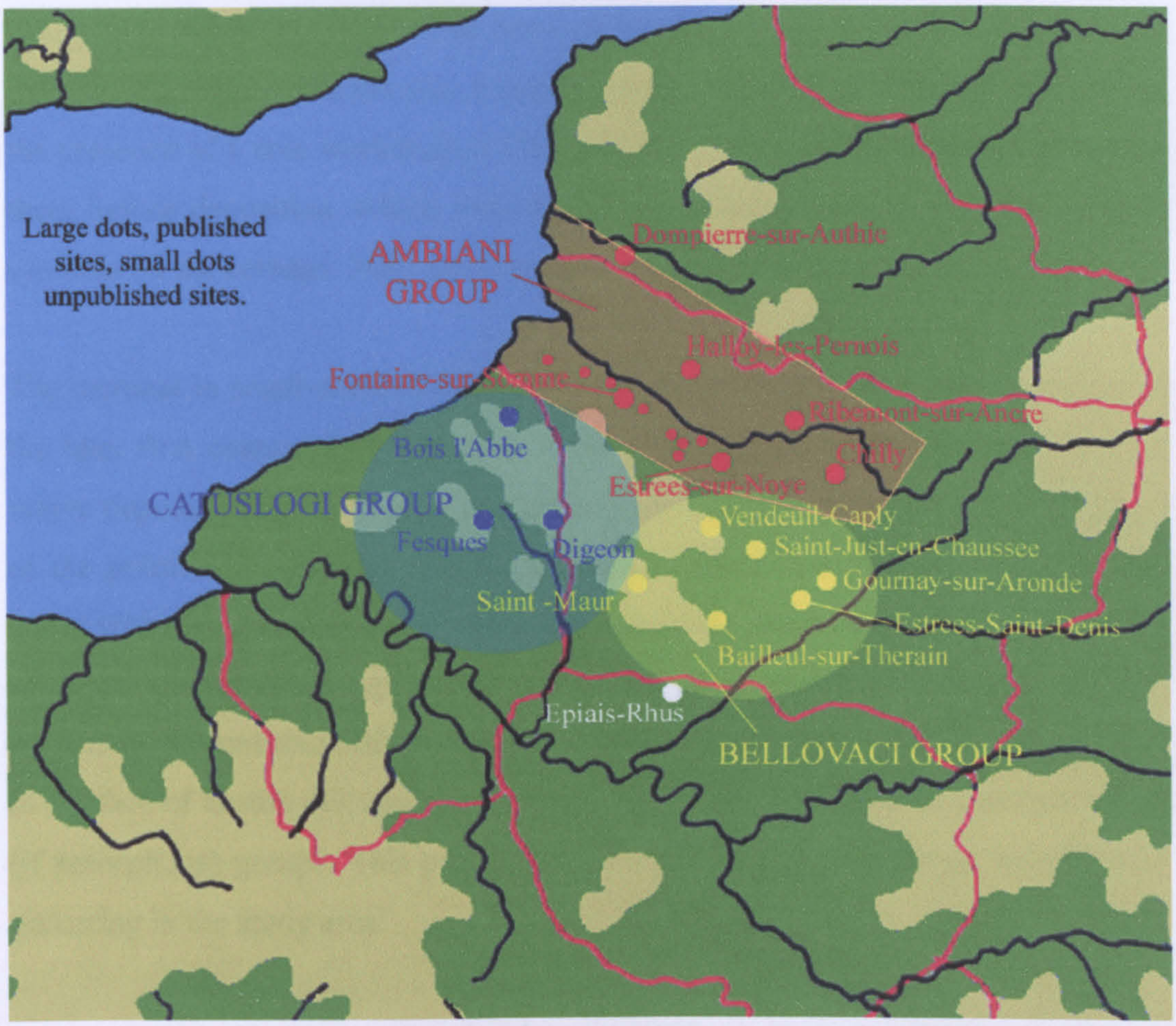
What these coin distributions show is production which is primarily for use in the vicinity of the workshop. Coins are not getting off the site in any large quantities. The majority of these coins are found within a couple of hundred yards of the mint. The coins that get off the site are frequently found in deposits on other votive sites (where contexts are known). I suggest a primarily ritual distribution for these coins on the strength of this. Coins seem to have been produced as a form of votive deposit, a 'temple token', much in the manner of medieval amulets. Where coins differ from amulets is that the production of coinage was probably controlled by the votive authority, and coins were probably not deposited by individuals, but as a community undertaking as part of a large-scale rite, and with other forms of offering, shown by the range of deposits found in the ditches, and the quantities of coins (over 700 from the site).

No other sites in the study area have produced so much specific evidence for coin production, but others have produced suggestive evidence. During the excavations at Fesques, no actual minting area was found, but fragments of a scale, a crucible and the fragments of an ingot were found on the site (Mantel 1997:338), as well as 2 mis-struck coins and 25 lead discs (tesserae in Appendix 2). These do suggest that the production of coins on the site did occur, especially the presence of scales, which seem to have been an important tool in the production of coinage at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, and would perhaps have been specific to measuring out small quantities of metals for small objects such as coins and brooches.

The relatively large-scale excavations at Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt did produce evidence for industrial activity, although not coin production. Historically a mould for the production of *rouelles* was found at Condé-sur-Suippe (information from Debord 1993:91). A stone engraved with *rouelles* which is likely to have been a mould from the gullies linking the wheels was found at Chateau-Porcien in 1971 (Neiss 1972), in conjunction with a possible metalworking workshop and Iron Age coinage (see chapter 5). However the finds have not been fully published and it is impossible to make any firm statement. Blank coins are more widespread than one might imagine, such as those from Digeon, which does suggest that blanks were being prepared in some quantity, and were stored for later use in some cases. This would fit with the precision in the coin composition of most Iron Age coins which have been analysed, and may suggest sporadic availability of metals.

The other evidence for coin production on sites centres round extremely localised issues, with some types of late struck bronze coins either being unique to sites or predominantly from one or two sites. Delestrée considered sites from the Somme and Oise areas (1996a), which have produced strong evidence for these extremely localised issues, which he grouped in tribal associations (Figure 7.4). While the use of tribal names is of questionable accuracy, the numismatic evidence does show that coins are not circulating across a wide area, but remain in their area of production. As discussed in chapter 6, these include Digeon, which had 2978 DT 56:II type coins (the *au coq, type de Bracquemont* types discussed in Delestrée 1996a). Unfortunately, the Iron Age layers at Digeon were badly damaged by the construction of the Roman temple, so no evidence of production was found, although the site produced a hoard of 26 gold blanks (mentioned above), which suggests that they may have been awaiting striking. However, there are no bronze blanks from the site.

Figure 7.4. Regional groupings of mid first century BC coin production by numismatic typology in the Oise and Somme areas (after Delestrée 1996a)



The archaeological evidence for minting at Digeon is not present, but the extremely large numbers of DT 56:II (type de Bracquemont) coins (2978 coins out of 6991), which are not found in large quantities elsewhere suggests that if the coins were not being produced on the site, they were being struck somewhere in the vicinity for deposition as part of votive activities at Digeon. Bracquemont, the *oppidum* where they were first found is 20km along the coast from Bois l'Abbé and c.50km from Digeon, not an insurmountable distance. For similar reasons, Dompierre-sur-Authie, Eu/ Bois l'Abbé and possibly Éstrees-Saint-Denis, Orrouy/Champlieu and Vieil-Evreux could well be coin production centres, due to the large quantities of

unique or extremely localised issues on these sites. At Champlieu, the local issues have little wear, supporting the suggestion that much of this coinage was not produced for deposition. This could also be the reason for the deposition of coin dies in votive contexts, perhaps part of a rite of closure on certain coin types? At Chilly, a hoard of 121 late struck bronzes (including 116 Scheers 122 coins) was over-struck, uniquely to the site. I suggested in .chapter 6 that these perhaps show the presence of a coin workshop at Chilly. Certainly it was felt necessary to remark them before deposition, which indicated the importance, and preference for local symbols on the coinage. New local types also came from the site.

The increase in small-scale struck bronze production in the study area is marked in the later first century BC, where it seems to have become the preferred form of votive deposit in the north-west of the study area. At this time, the changing nature of the political powerbases should not have resulted in a plethora of small local issues if they were only ascribed to 'elites'; logically one would expect larger issues of a smaller range of types, and a broader geographical distribution of these, reflecting the conflation of various social groups into larger 'tribal' fighting unities in the face of hostile military action. Certainly Caesar does discuss apparently large (if amorphous) groups. This prevalence of a smaller range of larger issues is not occurring in the study area.

I believe that this shows that local communities were more important to coin production than has previously been proposed. Coinage would also be expected to spread more widely with the increasing mobility of a larger portion of the populace (whether fighting or refugees) but this is not the case. In face, the opposite is true. Coinage becomes more localised, and small issues are travelling smaller distances than earlier issues, such as the Scheers 191 potins, which are found across a wide part of north-eastern France. The small local issues, such as the Somme and Oise ones discussed by Delestrée (Figure 7.4) barely travel to the next valley.

Coinage doesn't really fit in well with other objects usually suggested as being for elite self-aggrandisement: one can display a gold torc or indeed an *oppidum* with considerably more ease than a group of coins. The main criteria for the placement of coinage in these groups centre round their production in precious metals, and the modern interpretation of coinage as being something one can use to make payments with (and therefore promote self-advancement). However, anthropological work would suggest that the latter at least is simplistic.

7.4. TWO TIER COIN CIRCULATION

In the mid first century BC, struck bronze coinage becomes increasingly diverse, and small issues of rare coins are the norm. This is similar to the pattern of central southern British silver coinage at the same time (Wellington 2003), and suggests a wider phenomenon than the reaction to Roman invasion, which is generally viewed as the catalyst for change in this period. What many of these deposits suggest is a two-tier coin system, with the production of small local issues continuing into the later first century BC, and a wider coin pool of a few large issues which were found across a wide area, and seem to have been utilised by a different section of society. The deposition of Roman coinage on sites is not consistent either.

Despite Iron Age and Roman coinage being deposited in the same contexts on votive sites, we are still unclear about who had access to Roman coinage in the study area in the third quarter of the first century BC. Some sites have produced no Roman coins, a deliberate act? It is a distinct possibility that deposition of local issues was being undertaken by a different group than the one depositing Roman coins, which would explain what seem to be the deliberate shunning of Roman coin types on some sites (e.g. Chilly). The enthusiasm of the Roman military in offering to local gods is well attested both textually and epigraphically. With a relatively high military presence in the new province, the quantity of early Roman coinage on most Picardy sanctuaries is quite possibly due to this activity.

Some sites have no Roman coinage, and intensify production of small local struck bronze issues in the third quarter of the first century BC. Ribemont-sur-Ancre has little early Roman coin, despite having very early stone buildings, while Chilly is even more pointed – early Roman imported pottery is present (as well as local wares), but only local coinage is found at the site. There was clearly significant activity in this period, and pottery reached the site, but a deliberate decision not to use Roman coinage seems to have been made. At Fesques much of the early Roman coin was cut, which may also have been a deliberate decision by the users of the shrine, and indicates a differentiation between Roman and non-Roman coin types, which is interesting.

In comparison other sites show a very different pattern. Éstrees-Saint-Denis produced a relatively large quantity of 'exotic' coinage, although this was largely from central Gaul (which may be taken as a deliberate decision not to accept Roman coins?). The deposition of Iron Age and Roman coins together at some sites, such as Eu/ Bois l'Abbé is evident. At Champlieu, although Iron Age and Roman coins were deposited together, the Iron Age coinage is not worn, while the Roman coins are. This lack of wear patterns, and therefore implied circulation suggests that the local coinage was used predominantly within local communities, perhaps to reaffirm and emphasise local traditions and power structures.

Overall, in this period, the picture is one of local reaction and adaptation. Local coins were deposited in small numbers on the majority of active sites in the north and west of the study area, while a smaller quantity of coins were found on a wider scale. The majority of deposits do imply that the majority of deposits were carried out by those living in the extreme locality of the shrines, backing up the themes of community deposition and local identity. There were also distinct regional differences between the ways in which archaeologically recognisable remains of Roman religious practice were adopted in the study area. This implies the continuity of local variation, and the influence of local communities in the adoption of 'Roman' means of religious representation– such as the construction of stone

buildings. Areas such as the Ardennes and upper Aisne seem to have been particularly open to new developments, perhaps reflecting their closer proximity to the Rhine frontier and major Roman trade routes north, with sites such as Bâalons-Bouvellemont rapidly constructing stone buildings, while area such as the Somme maintained distinctly non-'Roman' forms of archaeological deposition.

❖❖❖

Chapter 8

Conclusion

❖❖❖

"For archaeologists to understand something of the ritual practices they study they must therefore move beyond the material residue of the code (a pattern of artefacts) to consider the cultural conditions which that code once addressed" (Barrett 1991:1)

This study set out to consider the development and use of centralised votive sites in north-eastern France from the vantage point of one of the artefact forms which were found on them, the coinage. Having reviewed the results, I shall move on to draw some broader conclusions. At the beginning of this project I asked a series of questions of the data. I wanted to review how coinage functioned in votive contexts of the later Iron Age, and how this affected the role played by coinage within local communities. This also included testing whether the prevailing idea of regional similarities across the study area would hold and whether coinage was used in the same way on votive sites during the period under consideration, from the third to the first centuries BC. Having considered a wide range of material, it is clear that the picture is more complex than previously assumed, and some of the prevailing theories, such as chronological and regional similarities are no longer valid.

Looking at the development of coinage, numismatic discoveries in archaeological contexts show that its role changed significantly over time. Initially coin use was erratic, with some areas producing and using coinage, while others deliberately chose not to. In its early stages, coinage was usually deposited in hoards, or in individual finds, a pattern which suggests that they may have been small-scale votive offerings, but not connected to other archaeologically identifiable rites. It is likely that coins were seen as a form of gold bullion, and the fairly frequent association of gold coins and torcs in hoards and on sites (e.g. Ribemont, the Tayac hoard) reflects this.

Gold is rarely found in archaeological contexts, but the quantity of single finds of gold coins throughout the north-east of France, the Low Countries and southern

Britain implies widespread continuation of the practice of deposition in rivers, wet places and on boundaries, which otherwise appears to be at a low point in the continental Middle Iron Age. We may be seeing transference towards these deposits, during a time of upheaval and archaeological change. The earliest deposits of gold on votive sites in Picardy were one-off deposits of an unusual commodity in exceptional circumstances. The more typical early sites, such as Gournay-sur-Aronde and Chilly did not produce coinage from the lower levels of votive activity. In the third century BC the preference seems to have been for weaponry, human and animal deposits over coinage and small metal artefacts. Coinage did not have a recognisable and widespread role within votive deposition at this time. In the period before production began, and in the earliest stages of gold coin production in the study area, coins can be viewed as an unusual élite commodity, deposited (and presumably functioning) in a way rather akin to torcs.

A dramatic change occurred in the use of coins in votive deposits with the introduction of potin coinage. The earliest deposits of potin come from votive sites and votive contexts on settlements. It is clear that votive sites played an important role in the production, use and diffusion of potin, as Gruel suggested in her initial work on Gallic coinage (1989). However, despite recent work the changing function of potin is still contentious. Considering recent finds, the early stages of potin coinage are largely found on votive sites in Picardy and Seine-Maritime. Along the Aisne valley, in the Ardennes and in the Paris region potin is found in settlement and burial contexts.

However, when the Aisne settlement contexts are analysed, the coins are often from structured deposits. Burial and ritual are closely entwined, and in the above areas, third and early second century ritual practice is manifested in this way. Therefore, dramatically different uses for coinage in a restricted area are not supported. Potin underwent a change of function during the period of its circulation, with potins being amongst the earliest coins to be found in stratified contexts, usually on votive sites (e.g. Gournay-sur-Aronde) and settlement sites. Later finds of potin coinage come from the same layers as struck bronze, and where potin is found in later contexts, it seems likely that it was used in the same way as bronze (perhaps connected to the changing appearance of the coins as they aged). In this way many of the potin types have surprising longevity. Potin is not ubiquitous though. In Haute-Normandy the

tendency was towards the production of silver coinage in the Normandy and Armorican tradition from the second century BC, while using similar votive sites to western Picardy.

During the latest second century BC, and the earliest first century BC, the quantity of coinage being produced increases significantly. Coinage replaced the deposition of weaponry and human remains on many sites (e.g. Acy-Romance). As coin use expanded, new types were introduced in some areas, such as struck bronze. The switch to struck bronze is widespread, but is possibly connected to availability of ore sources (the quantity of tin required for potin may have been problematic to obtain), and not due to the Roman practice of using low bronze and brass denominations. At any rate the switch to struck bronze was beginning in the earliest first century BC. Unfortunately we still know too little about coin composition and availability of ores to make more definite comment on this matter.

The production of struck bronze increased massively in the immediate post-Conquest period. This has been interpreted as being due to the effects of the Roman military (Delestrée 1999a) and due to the introduction of Roman depositional practices (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973). However, the majority of votive sites in the study area show a great increase in coin production and deposition in the later first century BC. Archaeologically we can see local intensification of coin deposition on votive sites. This late coin production is not a Roman influenced practice, but part of a continuing regional votive practice, which continued until the Augustan period. Coin deposition expanded to replace other forms of artefact, such as weaponry.

Moving beyond the artefact itself, what role did coinage play within local communities? The earliest votive sites developed in western Picardy and seem to have developed from funerary sanctuaries of the fourth and early third century BC. A major change in burial practice to cremation occurred in the mid third century BC, and the separation of votive practice and funerary activity occurred in the west of the study area at this time. During the late second century and early first century BC, the use of votive sites expanded. This manifestation of votive practice spread to a wide swathe of the study area, and with increasing regional variations in depositional practice.

Episodic deposition can be seen on many of the sites in Picardy, where the occurrence of votive sites is most dense. This suggests that we are seeing a geographical shift from generation to generation, with sites returning to use after some time. Initially, they may have been based on family groups, or ancestral memorial sites, and the development of larger sites represent more powerful family groups or local communities, and not tribes as previously thought. I have deliberately avoided discussing whether these sites were local, tribal or regional votive centres, (as seen in Roymans 1990 and Derks 1998). Using the archaeological evidence, such distinctions are arbitrary, and cannot be any more than a modern interpretation of the evidence. Due to the varying size and quality of excavations in the study area, it would be of questionable validity to discuss this, and the lack of written or epigraphic evidence (such as that used by Derks) makes the imposition of such divisions especially difficult.

It seems certain by their density and the varying size and quantity of artefacts found on them, that sites were of varying importance and some form of regional hierarchy must have existed. A possible case for this is La Chaussée-Tirancourt, which has produced a much larger number of extra-regional coins than other sites in its vicinity. However, further excavation is needed in most areas to produce this level of information, and even then the problems of site formation processes and the vagaries of archaeological survival may prove insurmountable in many cases. Depositions on boundaries have been considered as a possible reason for the seemingly random distribution of off-site coinage (e.g. Sellwood 1984), and this may be the case. Certainly, votive sites of the latest Iron Age in the Oise area do seem to cluster around tribal boundaries mentioned in Caesar. This distinction is not practicable to apply further back than the mid first century BC. The episodic activity on many sites indicates that far fewer sites were in use at any time than is implied here, and this is a topic for further research.

The perception of major votive sites as part of a network of elite activity (e.g. Roymans 1990) can be questioned. It is still unclear how social agents operated between political and ritual domains. Certainly, the ancient authors believed that there were two hierarchies in Gallic late Iron Age society; ritual and secular, although this was undoubtedly an oversimplification, as individuals such as Diviacus show. The

rapidly changing nature of late Iron Age societies indicated archaeologically do not suggest a reactive and traditional hierarchical society but something altogether more dynamic. Perhaps the votive sites represent the undertaking of projects encompassing the whole community? The quantity of activity on them does suggest occasional large undertakings by a body of people, not the small structured deposits which are found on settlements. The small local coin issues of the latest Iron Age fit into this.

This interpretation of votive sites impinges on those images of elite power, the *oppidum*. Duality of function is evident at many sites. Although I dwell on the ritual aspects of some sites such as Gournay-sur-Aronde, the distinction between fortification and votive activity was far from clear in the later Iron Age. Power and community standing in late Iron Age Gaul was closely connected to religion (e.g. Caesar, BG VI: 12-14) and the nature of coin production and use confirms this. However, any attempt to make a clear distinction between the secular and the ritual spheres is undoubtedly oversimplifying a complex situation. The intriguing evidence for the foundation of votive sites before the construction of ramparts at some of the key *oppida* of northern Gaul (see chapter 4) backs up this assertion.

It remains to be seen whether further excavation on the *oppida* of northern France will present more examples of coin production areas in close conjunction with votive structures such as the ditches found at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. However, the fact that some *oppida* had a votive function predating the construction of ramparts permits new interpretation of the sites as prestigious votive centres, as well as production and political centres. Power was deeply entwined with the gods in all aspects of society in the study area. It is possible that many of the fortifications in the study area were an elaborate *temenos* enclosure designed to show the power that the gods had conferred upon the community. This would also explain the lack of defensibility on many sites, which is still a cause of debate when the function of *oppida* are discussed.

Fewer *oppida* can be considered as "proto-urban" sites (as suggested in Guichard, Sievers & Urban 2000) and certainly such an interpretation is not tenable in large parts of the study area. In the first century BC the elaboration of the sites themselves seem to have played an increasingly important role. This indicates a shift from the

deposits having primary importance in site such as Ribemont and Gournay, to the sites themselves becoming increasingly monumentalised.

The scale and the ubiquitous nature of structured deposition in the study area makes it clear that any discussion of votive activity cannot be confined to abstract élites, votive activity was going on in all contexts, and the activity from settlement and burial contexts was part of this. Structured deposition on settlements is becoming increasingly evident in the study area, and it is likely that the majority of ritual deposition took place on a small scale for much of the later Iron Age, concentrated amongst local communities (e.g. the Oise Valley). The deposits of coinage, bones and weaponry found on specific votive sites represented an occasional higher tier of votive deposition which was differentiated spatially from everyday rites.

Evidence from a few sites (e.g. Chilly and Bois l'Abbé) indicates that we seem to be looking at a larger number of small deposits in the later stages of use. However, in the early stages of votive deposition, sites such as Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Mœuvres, have a very large but apparently one-off deposit in the first case, which was only followed by smaller deposits much later (in the case of Ribemont). This distinction seems to have been chronological, with the very early sites showing major rites which must have involved a large community undertaking and a large number of individuals.

This fits in with the increasing number of other artefacts, such as brooches in the archaeological record, deposition tying into the increasing levels of display which are bring found in other aspects of the archaeological record, indicating the increasing importance of smaller social groups. The continuing evidence for ritual feasting on later sites suggests that large community events still took place at these sites, and perhaps the enigmatic temple theatre complexes which we see in Gaul in the Roman period were the successors to these communal rites.

When looking at regional votive deposition, one is struck by its diversity. In the first century BC, sites became more regionally specific, with a plethora of small votive sites in Seine-Maritime and the Somme and Oise areas minting coinage for local deposition. In the Champagne-Ardenne, the distinction between votive deposition on settlements and that on votive sites is more blurred, and the deposition of coinage at

sites such as Acy-Romance (Lambot & Méniel 2000) suggests that the boundaries between different types of site is harder to identify archaeologically.

In the Ardennes area, the group of votive sites excavated by Lambot produced large numbers of Roman coins in the immediate post-Conquest period. This is perhaps a factor of their situation further to the east, closer to the Rhine frontier or due to their connections with central Gaul along the Aisne and Meuse. The latter is more likely, as the votive sites in the middle Rhine region do not show the same characteristics. Even within the relatively small area of the Ardennes département, differences can be seen between votive deposition in the upland areas of the Ardennes Massif, and the lowland areas around the upper Aisne Valley, where crop production took place. This indicates the extreme regionality of votive practice in the later Iron Age, and the importance of local types of votive practice to local communities.

In the middle Aisne valley the concentration of votive deposition on *oppida* by the early first century BC seems to have continued until the foundation of Roman Soissons. *Oppida* were the centres of coin production and large amounts of coinage remained on site, deposited as part of votive practice. Coinage does not seem to have been a significant part of votive practice away from the *oppida*, apart from a small amount of potin deposited on settlement sites. *Oppida* maintained the production of coinage, changing late from potin to struck bronze, in the La Tène D2 period. The discontinuity apparent on settlements and *oppida* in the middle Aisne in the middle of the first century BC is marked. However, the continuing importance of votive activity can be seen in the early foundation of temples in the early Roman period, the earliest stone buildings in this area are temples, not *fora*, as might be expected in traditional views of Romanisation.

In the immediate post-Conquest period, most of the coin producing parts of Belgic Gaul continued minting whether they had supported Rome or not. Local coin production intensified, and we see the acceptance or rejection of Roman coinage on a very local level, perhaps giving one of the clearest indications of small-scale reluctance to accept Roman control. This suggests individual agency and decisions made on a local level, and reiterates that coin deposition on these sites was not the actions of an abstract 'elite'.

The continuation of (and presumably tolerance of) coin production on votive sites undoubtedly had much to do with the concentration on matters on the Rhine frontier, and in the Augustan period, from around the last decades of the first century BC, coin production rapidly ended in the study area. The rapid cessation of coin minting at the start of the first century AD differs from the eastern Empire, and gives further support to the intertwining of religion and coin production in the study area. With the production of coinage clearly being connected to rural religious power bases, this gave all the more reason for its rapid suppression when a policy of deliberate urbanisation was encouraged in Belgic Gaul. I believe that the abrupt ending of local coin production in the study area in the Augustan period was a deliberate regional policy.

8.1. SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

While this study has considered some of the aspects of coin deposition within the north-east of France the subject is, of course, a larger one. The inter-relation of cult and burial practices has more common ground than the separation of the two in this study indicates, and further work needs to be done on this aspect of votive activity, especially in the eastern area considered here. Further excavation of votive sites within *oppida* would help expand our knowledge of the inter-relation of two important types of site.

The theory proposed here, that on some sites the fortifications were constructed as part of the elaboration of the status of the local community in the eyes of the gods, could be taken further. It is hoped that the major acceleration of rescue excavation in the study area will produce more stratified coin finds to refine these theories, and further regional patterns can be identified beyond those introduced here. This may include the role of coinage on settlements, which at present is very opaque. The integration of votive sites into their regional landscapes is an area where I feel that significant progress can be made, and the linking of the use of votive sites to settlement patterns is one way forward from here.

This study has considered one aspect of later Iron Age votive deposition in depth, the way coinage was used in votive contexts of the later Iron Age. It is clear that different types of coinage (i.e. gold, potin, and silver) were used in different ways, and that the use of coinage in votive deposition developed from its introduction. While I am aware of the perils of seeing votive deposition in every aspect of the archaeological record, and stripping the concept of its analytical value, the archaeological contexts in which Iron Age coinage is found leads to a reassessment of the way it was used within later Iron Age societies. In the study area coinage was primarily votive; potin, silver and struck bronze coins are found in large numbers in votive contexts, and were minted on or near votive sites for votive deposition in the majority of cases.

This has an impact on the way in which we regard the role of coins in votive activity within late Iron Age societies. Far from being a completely new innovation introduced in the later Iron Age and used in new ways, coinage slotted into existing regional traditions of object deposition and ritual activity. Although the earliest coins found their way into the study area by different means, coinage was quickly developed and fitted into existing patterns of material culture deposition; they were used as 'gifts to the gods', rather than in a modern economic sense.

❖❖❖

Appendix 1

Findspots and principal references of main votive sites with coin deposits recorded in the study area

Nord-Pas-de-Calais

Flines-les-Raches (Nord), Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Teirninck 1882, Roymans 1990:85

Haute-Normandy

Authevernes "Les Mureaux" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Rondie 1999, Bonnin 2000, Millard 1998

Berthouville "Le Villaret" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Rochette 1830, Chabouillet 1858, de la Croix 1895, Babelon 1916, Le Metayer-Masselin 1962, Bertin 1976, Quesne 1988

Bracquemont "Cité des Limes" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Coutil 1898, 1908, Toutain 1926, Mangard 1969, Cahingt 1977, de Vesly 1901, Beurion 1997

Brionne "Camp du Vigneron" or "Tombeau de Druide" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Delatigny 1922, Pitte 1987, 1998 and Lepert 1995 on village)

Eu "Bois l'Abbé" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Mangard 1978, 1979, Delestrée 1984, 1996, Cholet, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998,

Fesques (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Mantel, 1997, Delestrée 1996

Guichainville "Le Devant-de-la-Garonne" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Flotte, Leon, Richard and Adrien 1996

Grand-Couronne "Le Grand-Essart" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, de Vesly 1902

Orival (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Coutil 1908, Delatigny 1927, Wheeler & Richardson 1957

Oissel "Mare du Puits"/ "Foret de Rouvray" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Bull Arch 1905, de Vesly 1901, Aube 1902, Loirot & Delaporte 1978

Saint-Saëns "Le Terture"/ "Foret d'Eawy" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Le Breton 1891-3, Quenouille 1897, de Vesly 1909, Delatigny 1931-3, Fajon and Michel 1999

Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon "Nord de la Fontaine-Saint-Denis" (Seine-Maritime) Haute-Normandy, Cochet 1871, de Lilliers 1897-9, Apel 1907, Le Maho 1981, 1986

Roncherolles-en-Bray "Liffremont" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Delamare 1865, Tongard 1875-79, Cochet 1874, 1866, Grivault 1972, Grancha et al 1992, Anon 1998, Riand 1996

Vieil-Evreux "Cracouville" and "Les Terres Noires" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Bonnin 1845, 1860, Blanchet 1905, Esperandieu 1913, 1921, Baudot 1936, 1949, Mangard 1975, Humez 1995, Cliquet et al 1996, Bertaudiere and Guyard 2000

Île-de-France

Bennecourt (Yvelines), Île-de-France, Bourgeois, 1999

Jouars-Pontchartrain (Yvelines), Île-de-France, Blin 2000

Epiais-Rhus (Val d'Oise), Île-de-France, Simon and Lemoine 1970, Lardy 1987

Genainville (Val d'Oise), Île-de-France, Mitard 1967, 1993

Picardy

Bailleul-sur-Thérain (Oise), Picardy, Berton 1879, Malrain 2001

Chilly (Somme), Picardy, Vasselle 1974, Collart, Crampon and Cauvin 1979, Collart 1980, Scheers 1982, Collart 1987, Delestrée 1996

Digeon "Morvilliers-Saint-Saturnin" (Somme), Picardy, Delplace, Jobic, Méniel & Rapin 1986, Delestrée & Delplace 1986, Delplace 1987

Dompierre-sur-Authie "Le Plaine au-dessus du Bois" (Somme), Picardy, Piton and Dilly 1987, L.-P. and B. Delestrée 1985-6, Piton 1991, Delestrée 1996

Estrées-Saint-Denis "Le Moulin des Hayes" and "Les Sablons" (Oise), Picardy, Woimant 1985, 1993, Delestrée 1993, 1996, Quérel 1996, 2001, Derbois-Delattre and Vangele 1988, Foucray 2001

Estrées-sur-Noye "Les Coutures" (Somme), Picardy, Vasselle 1965, Delestrée 1987, Fichtl 1994

Fontaine-sur-Somme "Camp Rouge" (Somme), Picardy, Agache 1975, Delestrée 1987, 1996 – not excavated

Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise), Picardy, Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985, Brunaux 1987, Brunaux & Rapin 1988, Lejars 1994, Derks 1998

Liercourt-Érondelle (Somme), Picardy, Agache 1978 (1964 excavations), Fichtl 1991, Delestree 1996

Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne), Picardy, Ben Redjeb 1987, Fedi 1987

Ognon "Foret d'Halatte" (Oise), Picardy, Durand, 1996, 1997, 2000

Orrouy "Champlieu" (Oise), Picardy, Caix de Saint Aymour 1874, 1905, Cadoux & Woimant 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, Cadoux 1981, Huysecom 1982, Woimant 1993, 2001

Pierrefonds (Oise), Picardy, Caucheme 1900, Roymans 1990, Fichtl 1994, Delestrée 1996, Jouve 1972, 2001

Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme), Picardy, Cadoux 1971, 1984, 1996, Cadoux & Massy 1970, Delestrée & Brunaux 1995, Cadoux & Delauney 1995, Fercoq du Leslay 1996, 2000, Brunaux 1987, 1999. 2000, Delestrée 1996, 2001

Saint-Maur (Oise), Picardy, Liebbe 1898, Brunaux & Lambot 1991, Delestrée 1996, Derks 1998

Vendeuil-Caply "Les Chatelets" (Oise), Picardy, Piton 1984, 1985, 1979, Delestrée 1985, 1996

Champagne-Ardenne

Bâalons-Bouvellemont (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Squevin 1988, 1994

Chateau-Porcien "Nandin" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Neiss 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975

Ecly (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Delestree 1996

Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Congar 1966, 1967, Roussel 1971, 1972, 1973, Tisserand 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980a & b, 1981, Poplineau and Deveraux 1981, Poplineau 1983, 1984

Nanteuil-sur-Aisne "Le Grand Nepellier" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Lambot & Meniel 2000, Lambot 1989, 1991, 1996

Roizy "Le Cinq Horles" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Lambot 1991

La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot "Les Greves" (Aube), Champagne-Ardennes, Piette & Frichet 1975, Piette 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1987

Appendix 2

Additional information on the main votive sites recorded in the study area, and their coinage.

Below I have gathered additional contextual information on the sites from Appendix 1, and the coins which were found on them. Where no published coin list exists for a site, I have included all available details of the coins found at the site, and put coin types where possible. Where the coins are fully published elsewhere I have given less extensive details. I have attempted to give as much information as I could obtain from both published and archive resources for unpublished or obscure sites. If no reference for information is listed, it either came from the regional archives, or was kindly given to me by individuals thanked in the acknowledgements. Regrettably the information on many sites is extremely fragmentary, a legacy of the disparate nature of French excavation until the mid 1980s and the damage to both sites and records during WWI and WWII, which had a major impact on the study area, with the destruction of many museums, sites and collections of artefacts.

Nord-Pas-de-Calais

Flines-les-Raches (Nord), Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Teirninck 1882, Roymans 1990:85

Many Iron Age coins were found here in the 19th century, including a number of gold coins, a large amount of Roman coins, a few bronze statuettes of deities, fibulae, numerous animal skulls. These were collected from a small lake about 4 hectares in size called "Mer de Flines" (Teirninck 1882:156-162). The gold pieces seem to have mostly been Scheers 24 uniface staters (see also Scheers 77:347), and Scheers (1977:741) suggests that a large proportion of the Iron Age coins were Scheers 190 potins. No other information or excavation records have been recorded or were available in the regional archives.

Other coins recorded in Scheers (1977) were:

- A single Scheers 24 uniface gold stater found in 1880 (1977:347).
- 6 Scheers 46 silver coins found in the lake, date unknown, from Blanchet 1905:345.
- An unrecorded quantity of Scheers 191 potins and 9 Scheers 145 struck bronze coins were found in the lake in the 19th century (from Blanchet 1905: 352, 387).
- Scheers 190 potin were found "*en abondance*"; in large quantities, in the lake in the 19th century. Scheers 1977:741.

Haute-Normandy

Authevernes "Les Mureaux" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Rondie 1999, Bonnin 2000, Millard 1998

This is a possible votive site, sanctuary or settlement of late Iron Age or early Roman date. Iron Age coins were found in association with pottery of Augustan date. The site covers a wide chronological range, later Iron Age to the second century AD. What was described as a 'fanum' was to be excavated in 2001, but no records were available. The archive reports are unclear, and do not mention coinage. There is a history of coinage, brooches and metal objects being found on the site, but no details were available.

Berthouville "Le Villaret" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Rochette 1830, Chabouillet 1858, de la Croix 1895, Babelon 1916, Le Metayer-Masselin 1962, Bertin 1976, Quesne 1988

This site has a major Roman temple complex with a theatre and multiple temples, and was excavated in the 19th century. A large hoard of Roman votive silverware dedicated to Mercury Kantonessi was found buried in the temple boundary enclosure in 1830, and the site was comprehensively pillaged after the discovery of the hoard. No recorded modern excavations. 'Many Iron Age

coins, some very rare` were described in 1830 (Rochette, 1830). The *Annales de Normandie* (1975) described finds of Iron Age coins of the Lexovii and Veliocasses and an Iron Age armring, although these were not quantified. One Scheers 164 struck bronze was found at the temple by Le Metayer-Masselin (1962:259) but this is not a pre-conquest issue, and is not a definite indication of early activity. There is some confusion amongst historic reports between Berthouville and the nearby hillfort of Brionne (see below). It is likely from other evidence in the area that there is earlier votive activity on the site, but this cannot be confirmed without further archaeological discoveries.

Bracquemont "Cité des Limes" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Coutil 1898, 1908, Toutain 1926, Wheeler & Richardson 1957, Mangard 1969, Cahingt 1977, de Vesly 1901, Beurion 1997

Bracquemont is a major promontory fort, and was dug in 1826 by P.-J. Feret, although nothing survives of this excavation, apart from the plan, due to the destruction of Dieppe Museum during WW2. Mortimer Wheeler investigated the site in 1938-9 for his 'Hillforts of Northern France' (1957), listing the site as an *oppidum*, although he found no coins. Mangard published an article in 1969, listing finds from the hillfort, in which he included records and photographs of 11 Iron Age coins, and mentioned 72 Roman coins (of which no other information was obtainable). Scheers (1977) listed 7 of Mangard's coins, but also added 7 others, mainly from Dieppe and Rouen museums. These reflected the dates of minting of Mangard's coins well, with all of the coins on the site coming from Haselgrove's stages 3 and 4.

12 Iron Age coins, all struck bronze, 72 Roman coins (Augustan – Valens)
2 Coriosolites, 5 Ambiani, 1 Lexovii, 1 Suessiones, 1 Veliocasses, 1 Veromandui + 7 in Scheers. (Mangard, 1969)

Scheers (1977) lists 12 + coins:

- Sch 27 (1) AE Cricirv (Mangard 1969)
- Sch 74, type de Bracquemont (1) (Coutil 1908)
- Sch 105 (1) (Mangard 1969)

- Sch 106 (1) (Mangard 1969)
- Sch 109 (2) one class I, one class III. Viricivs (Mangard 1969)
- Sch 110 (2) (Mangard 1969)
- Sch 111, 'au coq', type du Bracquemont ('plusieurs'-lots) Toutain 1925-1926)
- Sch 112, 'type de la Cité des Limes' (1) (Toutain 1925-26)
- Sch 113 (1) (Coutil 1896)
- Sch 163, au personnage courant (2) one class Ih, one class IIIb (AE) (Mangard 1969/ Coutil 1896).

None of the coins are stratified, and there are undoubtedly more from the site, as Dieppe Museum was destroyed in WWII, and the records of their coin collection and previous excavations were lost. No Roman Republican coins are known. No modern finds from the site are listed in the regional archaeology service. The coins do not come from a recorded area and no clear pre-Roman votive focus has been identified. No distribution map available (destroyed). Non-local coins are from the west of the Seine.

Mangard's 11 coins are odd, as only one is local in origin, suggesting that the survival of coins is based on selective recovery. The most unusual of these are two billon coins of the Coriosolites, very rare finds on temples in Belgic Gaul. The metals of the coinage are also fairly notable. The site has the aforementioned two billon coins and 16 struck bronze. No potin is present, unusually, and the small numbers of struck bronze coinage include types such as the issue of VIRICIVS, (Scheers 109) which are generally found in large numbers where they are present.

Looking at the coinage from Bracquemont, it seems fairly likely that what we are looking at is the small surviving section of Iron Age coinage from the temple area. Unfortunately due to the lack of information on the Roman coins it is impossible to ascertain the nature of the Roman coins, whether they are early or late, but the Iron Age coinage probably does not pre-date the conquest period.

The predominance of struck bronze and the lack of potin coinage argues against a significantly early start to ritual activity on the site. The rampart construction predates the use of coinage in the area, and so the numismatic evidence would

indicate a gap in activity between the use of the site as a hillfort and as the site for a temple.

Brionne "Camp du Vigneron" or "Tombeau de Druide" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Delatigny 1922, Pitte 1987, 1998 and Lepert 1995 on village)

This is a hillfort along the Risle, a major tributary of the Seine. A 1906 lithograph published in Delatigny (1922) appears to show a Roman temple complex on top of the hillfort, but no other evidence for this has been found in the regional archives. Modern rescue excavations from the village under the hillfort have found rare very early Roman pottery, Dressel 1-4 amphorae and three Iron Age coins. The pottery is comparable to that on the Titelberg, according to the excavators, and dates to c.30-1BC (Lepert, 1995). The coins were described in the preliminary report as being one Carnutes struck bronze and two Aulerci Eburovices coins (Pitte 1988). Roman hipposandals were found from a post-Hadrianic layer by Pitte (1988), and stone wall foundations were also found in this excavation, suggesting that much of this activity in this area is Roman in date.

A Scheers 159, two Scheers 163 coins and one Scheers 165 struck bronze coin are also recorded in Scheers (1977) as coming from the hillfort, but no excavation is recorded.

Eu "Bois l'Abbé" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Mangard 1978, 1979, Delestrée 1984, 1996, Cholet, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998,

Little published information is available about the excavations which took place at Eu/ Bois l'Abbé. The main temple area was excavated between 1968 and 1972 directed by M. Mangard. The excavations carried out after 1972 are rather obscure, from 1973 to 1978 Delestrée (1996a:32) mentions considerable work on the ancillary buildings of the complex, but no other publication or records in the regional archaeology service could throw much light on the nature of excavations here. The regional archaeology service, which keeps records on all

excavations in the region had no information at all on the excavations at Bois l'Abbé, so Delestrée's coin report is the only reliable source of information, and this is not helpful on the general archaeological context and morphology of the site, nor on the other finds except when found in direct association with coins. The coins have been published by Delestrée (1984 and 1996a), but few stratigraphic associations are available, and it is now impossible to establish the existence of pre-Roman features on the site, although the discrete deposits of coins which were found at Bois l'Abbé suggest that archaeological features may have been preserved.

Most of the coins seem to have come from a "*couche stratigraphique ... très homogène*" (Delestrée 1996a:32). The pottery associated with Iron Age coins contained mostly non-wheel turned pottery, although a few sherds of samian were present, and late first century BC brooches (Delestrée 1996a:33). The wide range of dates of the coins and the association of hand thrown pottery with samian suggests that this thick and homogenous layer actually comprised several different deposits, and there was a wider chronological spread than the excavators gave credit for. In support of this, several of the groups of coins do seem to be earlier than others on typographical grounds (see chapter 6).

The coins from the site comprised two groups, those from excavations, and those found in "isolated" circumstances, although no other details were available on the circumstances of their discovery. The coin report in Delestrée 1996a is the most complete, but the source of the coins is not always clear, and the association of coins and archaeology is hampered by the original recording and lack of publication of the excavation.

<u>Coin quantities (from Delestrée 1996a):</u>

Excavations before 1972: 66 stratified coins, 337 isolated (403 in total)

Excavations after 1972: 246 stratified coins, 319 isolated (565 in total).

Total number of coins = 968.

The stratified coins are considered in greater depth in chapter 6, and were also partially published by Delestrée (1996a). There were 312 of these.

Isolated coins (656 in total)

27 gold coins:
1 biface stater
15 uniface staters
2 ¼ staters (au bateau)
4 à l'astre
2 ¼ à l'astre
2 British
1 ingot
127 silver coins:
4 new types
26 thin silver local issues
42 other 'Belgic' types
55 non-'Belgic' types
10 potin coins:
10 uncatalogued potin coins

492 struck bronze coins:
161 VIIRICUS types
15 unidentified
41 au coq
49 type de Bracquemont
2 derivations of the Bracquemont type
20 unpublished types
9 copies in AE of Scheers 13 ¼ staters
26 'other Belgic issues'
13 Scheers 216
1 British AE (no other details available)
11 central Gallic AE

Little else can be said about the non-stratified finds, as even the area of the site which they were found is not clear. Bois l'Abbé does seem to have a fairly large quantity of gold coins in comparison to other sites in the Somme basin, which may hint at an earlier start to activity on the site. However, without more stratified finds this is speculative.

Fesques (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Mantel, 1997, Delestrée 1996

The temple and promontory fort of Fesques has well stratified coin deposits, and excellent publication. The site was excavated and published by Étienne Mantel (1997) in advance of a road extension on the south side of the site. Unusually, as well as the central votive area, sections of the outer ditch of the fort were excavated in advance of the development. The site had not been the subject of antiquarian excavations or a large Roman sanctuary, so the stratigraphy was in good condition, although ploughed.

A large D-shaped ditch followed the contours of the hillside, and is c.10ha in circumference. When sections were taken through the ditch, human bones and weaponry were found, with the human bones well preserved. Several pairs of feet were found in the ditch, upright and facing inward towards the focus of the site. It can only be assumed that major sacrificial rites took place at Fesques,

probably from the 3rd century BC, and this does provide a well-excavated parallel to the site of Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

The site also produced a central votive area, on the flank of the slope, overlooking the valley. It had two main (morphologically similar) phases, before being replaced by a trapezoidal enclosure in the same situation in the Augustan period. The site never became a major Roman temple complex, and activity on the site seems to have dramatically declined at the end of the Julio-Claudian period, although there is some third century AD material which was found in the wider survey. A wide range of other objects were found on the site, from jewellery and domestic cooking equipment to 49 fragments of weaponry.

The nature of the excavation was such that large areas of the site were not opened up, and therefore the stratigraphy of the site was not clear across the whole of the area excavated. Many contexts were opened up in small sections, so wide associations were impossible to confirm. As well as the 297 identifiable Iron Age coins found in the excavations, a wider survey found 1314 Iron Age coins and lead tesserae in total (including the excavation finds) across the site including surface finds. The two coin groups were broadly similar, the only significant difference being the larger quantities of (fragile) thin silver issues to survive under excavation conditions, due to their delicacy.

<u>Coin list:</u>

297 identifiable stratified Iron Age coins

11 gold coins

- 1 Scheers 9
- 1 Scheers 15 globule à la croix
- 1 Scheers 13 ¼
- 9 'au Calvados' (Delestrée 1995, fig 1)

11 silver coins

- 1 Massaliote obol
- 8 Scheers 52 and variant thin silvers
- 1 LT 5550
- 1 Scheers 25 'à l'astre'

65 potin coins

- 3 British (Mack 1967 types)
- 42 Scheers 205/206
- 2 Scheers 208
- 2 unpublished (Cracouville type)
- 1 Scheers 203
- 9 Scheers 191
- 2 LT 7405
- 3 LT 7417

209 struck bronze

- 86 Scheers 163
- 16 Scheers 163, à l'archer
- 66 au coq, type de Bracquemont
- 1 Scheers 121
- 11 Scheers 109

- 5 Scheers 104
- 14 various Ambiani
- 1 AE Scheers 25
- 1 Scheers 27
- 1 Central Gallic
- 7 Scheers 216
- also 3 unidentified and 2 mis-struck Iron Age coins, and 13 lead tesserae (315 in total)

948 identifiable unstratified Iron Age coins

18 gold coins
- 1 Scheers 4 ¼ stater
- 1 Scheers 6 ½ stater
- 1 Scheers 30 eye stater
- 1 ¼ stater, paralleled at Digeon (D.1996:93-94:plate 18-20)
- 1 Scheers 25
- 1 Scheers 152 ¼ stater
- 5 Scheers 13 ¼ stater (one plated)
- 3 plated Scheers 9
- 2 plated unpublished Evreux series ¼ staters
- 1 Scheers 11 ¼ stater, plated
- 1 plated Scheers 24

38 silver coins
- 2 LT 5550
- 5 Scheers 51 thin silver
- 4 Scheers 52 thin silver
- 1 Delestrée 1996:95, plate 35
- 2 LT 6342
- 1 LT 4520
- 1 LT 8178
- 22 silver billon 'a l'épee', new type

139 potin coins
- 2 Scheers 205
- 60 Scheers 206
- 36 Scheers 191
- '11 other Belgic'
- 25 central Gallic issues
- 5 'au sanglier' Leuci type

753 struck bronze coins
- 152 Scheers 163 Ia
- 131 Scheers 163 IIa
- 6 Scheers 163 IIia
- 43 Scheers 163 IIIb
- 163 au coq, 'type de Bracquemont' (small and large issues)
- 7 other new types
- 71 Scheers 109
- 32 Scheers 104
- 38 various Ambiani
- 15 Scheers 25 (AE)
- 26 other Belgic (inc 6 new types)
- 38 central Gallic (33 Carnutes)
- 31 Scheers 216

Others
- 40 unidentified coins – 2 gold and 38 AE and 12 lead tesserae

Guichainville "Le Devant-de-la-Garenne" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Flotte, Leon, Richard and Adrien 1996

An Iron Age rural settlement, succeeded by a Roman temple, recently excavated. This site was excavated and produced a range of material indicating activity from the LTD2 and from the second half of the first century AD. The initial, Iron Age activity consisted of posthole structures, ditches and 'five-

posters` as well as pits, and a millstone. Although there was some disturbance from the Roman layers on top, the finds from this layer and the morphology of the structures, indicate the presence of a 'ferme indigène', or small rural settlement.

The pottery consists mostly of local wares, such as large S–profiled bowls, but Dressel 1 amphora was found in ditch 267. No Iron Age coins were found on the site, although a fragment of a Republican coin, worn smooth, was found in conjunction with Augustan pottery in structure 1052. Abandonment, total or partial, is suggested before the foundation of a Roman temple on the site in the Claudian/Neronian period. 16 Roman coins were found on the site, from Augustus to fourth century. There is no record of historic coin finds or of earlier excavations.

Grand-Couronne "Le Grand-Essart" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, de Vesly 1902

This was a large Roman temple complex on high ground on a promontory of the Seine, and is under 4km from both Orival and Oissel. It is in a striking position. The site was excavated in 1902 by de Vesly, who found a post-hole structure under the temple, and an irregular circular enclosure around the temple, 0.45m deep. This did not fit with the orientation of the temple, and was possibly connected to earlier activity. The pottery from the site was first and second century to fourth century AD, so it seems likely that the post-hole structure is not pre-Conquest like those in Picardy.

However, recorded in the 1991 *Bilan Scientifique* are the results of some small excavations, and 9m north-east of the temple, sondage 15 produced a ditch section with a great deal of earliest Roman local pottery. 3 Iron Age coins were found in the rubble fill of de Vesly's excavations, but no further details were available. It is possible that the discoveries under the Roman temple indicate a much earlier phase of votive activity, but further excavation would be needed to confirm this. The site is certainly suggestive of votive activity, and the plethora of hillforts along this part of the Seine may indicate that the 'ferme indigène' is

actually settlement from the interior of a hillfort. The plethora of grain storage structure (5-posters) does parallel finds from the interiors of hillforts in southern Britain.

Orival (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Coutil 1908, Delatigny 1927, Wheeler & Richardson 1957

Orival is an irregular contour hillfort on a promontory overlooking a meander of the Seine immediately upstream from Rouen. Coutil, in his study of Iron Age coins found in Seine-Inferieur (1908) recorded the discovery of coins at the site, but it is unclear whether they came from the general area of the hillfort, or from the Roman temple area in the south-west corner. The only coin explicitly ascribed to the temple is an antoninianus of Tetricus, which indicates later activity. Delatigny excavated at the temple in 1927, and found a standard double square building, inside a rectilinear enclosure. It produced few finds, and was not in good condition in 1927. The existing evidence does not suggest that the temple had an early foundation, but quarrying of the ramparts in the early 20th century produced pottery indicates early first century BC activity on the site (Wheeler & Richardson, 1957:123).

Oissel "Mare du Puits"/ "Foret de Rouvray" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Bull Arch 1905, de Vesly 1901, Aube 1902, Loirot & Delaporte 1978

The site is 2km upstream from the hillfort of Orival. It consists of a Roman temple, a lake and associated buildings, as well as a sizeable quantity of coinage. A central temple surrounded by a rectangular enclosure ditch is surrounded by other buildings, a bath-house and a basin was excavated by de Vesly in 1901. A Roman road and cemetery were also found nearby. 200m south of the fanum, a large vase, with 26 kilos of late Roman coin, principally bronze was found in 1899. 60 post-Magnentius bronzes were found oxidised together in a 'villa' on the site in 1903 (Loirot & Delaporte, 1978).

Iron Age coinage is attested from the site, a Scheers 293 bronze was found in 1891 or 1893 at the temple site (de Vesly, 1901). In the southern enclosure ditch, an Iron Age cremation burial was found, accompanied by a struck bronze of the Veliocasses or Senones, and a denarius of Caesar. This suggests some early activity on the site. De Vesly found 308 coins during his excavations, only 2 of which appear to be Iron Age, a potin with a large head and horse, and a coin of the Senones. The exact provenance of these coins is not clear. Scheers (1977:261) lists a Scheers 8 (Gallo-Belgic A, IVb) large flan gold stater as being found at Oissel in the 19th century, but no other details were recorded, and it is not mentioned in the archaeological excavations.

Saint-Saëns "Le Terture"/ "Foret d'Eawy" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Le Breton 1891-3, Quenouille 1897, de Vesly 1909, Delatigny 1931-3, Fajon and Michel 1999

Saint-Saëns is a Roman temple complex, which was excavated in 1891-2. Major structures survived above ground at this time, but an assessment of these in 1999 (Fajon & Michel) showed that little was left, and the walls were in a bad state of repair. No modern excavations have taken place.

No exact quantities of coinage from this site were recorded, but a Scheers 216 brass coin was found in the excavation of the temple. The majority of the finds and coins were second to third century in date, and only Roman coins came from the central cella. Iron Age pottery was found in the ambulatory. The excavation report from the 1890s shows much stratigraphic confusion, and boars tusks and flint knives recorded as being from the temple actually came from a Neolithic funerary chamber under the Roman temple, which they dug through. The pottery may be Neolithic, not Iron Age. An iron lance was recorded in the 1999 assessment which appears to have been from the ambulatory. A huge enclosure of uncertain date has been found, encircling tombs, the temple, and the 'villa' (which also produced votive finds, and lots of early Roman brooches), so there may have been an earlier focus to the site.

Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon "Nord de la Fontaine-Saint-Denis" (Seine-Maritime) Haute-Normandy, Cochet 1871, de Lilliers 1897-9, Apel 1907, Le Maho 1981, 1986

Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon is a Roman temple site, which does not seem to have definite Iron Age activity, though archaeological activity has been extremely patchy, and it may well exist.

One potin found (no other details) in layer 598 (Le Maho, 1986), however, this is stratified with medieval and modern finds, so not usefully stratified. There was much medieval activity on the site (abundance of 12th C AD animal bones). Little bit of Iron Age and Roman pottery, but it is residual. A marble plaque and 3 elements of sculpted chalk bas-relief were found in 1981, and a gold stater of Nero was found in 1906 in the area of the Roman temple, suggesting that this developed into a significant building (Le Maho, 1981). However, apart from the coinage, little can be said about Iron Age activity beyond the presence of the potin coin.

Roncherolles-en-Bray "Liffremont" (Seine-Maritime), Haute-Normandy, Delamare 1865, Tongard 1875-79, Cochet 1874, 1866, Grivault 1972, Grancha et al 1992, Anon 1998, Riand 1996

This site is an expansive Roman ritual complex or urban centre, with theatre, and has not been properly excavated. The site has been severely damaged; before the mid 19th century the buildings survived up to a height of several metres. Large stone buildings were destroyed by coppicing in 1866, and it has also been the focus of illegal metal detection. Recent excavations have been carried out by Riand (1996) away from the Roman temple, and have produced Iron Age coinage.

Historically the site has produced a reasonable amount of Roman coins. Only one Iron Age coin is known from the temple, a Scheers 24 (G/B A), which was found in 1842 (Scheers 1978:123). Elsewhere in the area, there is Iron Age activity. Agache has identified Iron Age activity and extensive Roman activity

from aerial photos, and the site is either a small town or a massive temple complex. Late Iron Age pottery has been found in excavations in the environs of the Roman site.

Iron Age coin finds from parcelles 80-83 (Riand 1996):

- 1 Sch 186 (potin)
- 1 LT 8124, Sch 191 (potin)
- 1 potin, type unknown
- 1 potin Leuci (Sch 203 possibly?)
- 1 AE (personnage courant) Sch 163
- 1 AE, Viromandui LT 8577, Sch 120
- 1 AE, Germ Ind, LT 8248, Sch 216
- 2 unidentified bronzes, one coppery [brass?].
- Copy of a denarius of Manius Cordius Rufus, triumvir in Rome in 49BC. (Babelon no.4, p.384) Corinthian helmet and owl/ Minerva and head of Medusa.

Roman coins are a denarius of Lollia (49-44 BC), two Augustan denarii, an Agrippan as, Augustan dupondius, Domitian dupondius, Hadrianic sestertius, Ant Pius sestertius, M. Aurelius sestertius and various other later coins, over 21 in total. Quite a few Imperial ladies though.

All of these coins from the recent excavation are surface finds and none are stratified to any archaeological context. Possibly a votive site, the mix of periods and IA/ Roman coins would suggest it. Brooches and bells were also found, and the site has a source in the middle of the area.

Vieil-Evreux "Cracouville" and "Les Terres Noires" (Eure), Haute-Normandy, Bonnin 1845, 1860, Blanchet 1905, Esperandieu 1913, 1921, Baudot 1936, 1949, Mangard 1975, Humez 1995, Cliquet et al 1996, Bertaudière and Guyard 2000

Evreux was a major Roman town, and the latest excavators of the Roman site (Bertaudière & Guyard) see Vieil-Evreux as a peri-urban sanctuary complex. It is certainly a large Roman temple complex. A recent excavation of the Roman baths has taken place. Iron Age coins were found; in a small area 1930s temple

excavation (Baudot) and in the 1840s (Bonnin). Neither are very good publications, and the 1840s excavation especially was not of a high quality.

IA coins are known from older excavations.

- 2 by Rever (with 276 Roman)
- 1 by Bonnin (with 1500 Roman)
- 1 by Espérandieu in 1912 & 1923 excs (with 259 Roman)
- 2 by Lamiray in the course of excavation of the basilica in 1913. (7 listed in Baudot).
- 'Many more' IA coins have been found by farmers and are in local collections (unpublished and unquantified).

Baudot's 1930s excavations.

149 IA coins were found to the south of temple, "around the pool" (details below) Baudot (1934-5). These consisted of 4 silver, 41 potin and 104 bronzes. No more specific typology could be ascertained.

He also found an "Iron Age layer" 20cm under the Roman layer – much smaller but on same plan as the Roman temple. It had chalk wall foundations and painted walls and sounds Augustan. 8 bronze bracelets, many brooches of LT II date and 24 rings were also found. Bertaudière & Guyard (2000) found one Iron Age coin (Senones, LT 7417) but it was in a layer dating to at least the 5th to 6th century AD. Bronze figurines found at Vieil-Evreux echo the boars pictured on Iron Age coins.

Although the excavations at Vieil-Evreux are confused, it is clear from the volume of coinage that the site had a major pre-Conquest focus, and with more excavation this may be resolved. Baudot clearly discovered a deposit to the south of the Roman temple, around the pool.

There are a lot of Aulerci Eburovices coins from Vieil-Evreux (Cracouville). The site is probably the principal sanctuary of the Aulerci Eburovices in the Roman period, and the quantity of Iron Age coinage does suggest that this could

well be based on earlier antecedents. A fair quantity of Carnutes coins were also found, and a few Veliocasses and Ambiani. 5 Remi. Non-local coins are from Belgic Gaul, indicating that connections were across into the east, not south into central Gaul beyond the immediate groups.

Île-de-France

Bennecourt (Yvelines), Île-de-France, Bourgeois, 1999

Bennecourt is an Iron Age sanctuary underlying a Roman temple complex of the early Empire, which has three temple structures. It is situated on a promontory at the confluence of the Seine and Epte, and is just across the Seine from the hillfort of Port-Villez, and 6km upstream of the hillfort of Vernon. The position of the site is visually dominant, with views over the river and the surrounding area.

Eighty-two Iron Age coins were found in the excavations at Bennecourt, along with 297 Roman coins. The publication is excellent, and it was possible to ascertain the stratigraphic relationships between the Roman and Iron Age issues. The Iron Age coinage at Bennecourt consists of 2 silver coins, 45 struck bronze and 35 potins, including one British potin (Allen Class II, linear). These date originally from Haselgrove's (1999) Stage 2 to Stage 5, with the majority of the potin coins being minted around the LT C2/ D1a transition period. The site contains a significant number of Stage 3 coins, and surprisingly few later issues, considering the site's continuity into the Roman period. This is a slightly unusual chronological distribution, echoed by Gournay. Only 28.5% of the Iron Age coinage was minted after 60BC, which is a low percentage on sites with continuous use. Bennecourt lacks the predominating quantities of struck bronze which occur on many of the latest sites.

Looking at the stratified deposits a different picture emerges. Despite a large percentage of the coinage on the site being early, it seems clear that although the issues may have been minted early, they were not finding their way into the

stratigraphy of the site until a significant chronological period had elapsed (Fig 6.3). The dating, in collaboration with other archaeological evidence suggests that the coinage is decidedly residual (on the whole).

The earlier Iron Age levels of the site, phases 3 and 7, have 15 coins stratified in the deposit. These all date from Stages 2 and 3, and pre-date about 60 BC. The first level, using non-numismatic evidence, is dated to the La Tène C2 to D1 period. The three coins found on this level are all from the boundary ditch round the pit and all come from the south-eastern ditch terminal, as do the brooches and tools. The numismatic evidence would suggest that this phase is fairly long-lived and that activity carries on at least to the end of Stage 3.

Unfortunately only one of the three coins is illustrated in the site report (p.76) so although this example looks in fairly unworn condition, it is impossible to ascertain the state of the other two coins. As they are potins, it is often hard to tell from illustrations whether they are actually worn, or whether they are cast from worn copies, but in a fresh state themselves. The coins from phases 9, 10 and 11 are all Stage 2 and 3 as well. This phase, dated to the mid La Tène D1 period does contain coins which could be minted in the early LT D2a period, again casting doubt on the end date for activity in this phase. However, none of these phases contain coins which date to the Gallic War period, so the phases would appear to pre-date this.

Stage 4 coins are found in phases 12-19, which are dated to the latest Iron Age, around 80-50BC. All Iron Age coins from the earlier levels of the site are potin, but this phase contains later struck bronze coinage in phases 18 (a coin of the Carnutes inscribed ΓIXTILOS, number 30) and phase 19 (a coin of SVTICOS, number 39). The vast majority of the Iron Age coins from Bennecourt date from post-Conquest layers, most coinage coming from phases 22-24 (Hadrianic in date, from the Roman coinage).

A significant amount of the coinage is from the latest phases, 31 on, dating to the end of the third and start of the fourth century AD. This is likely to be redeposited to some extent, but the lack of any coinage apart from potin in the

early layers of the site casts doubt on the pre-Gallic Wars use of struck bronze in any quantities. If struck bronze coinage was in widespread use in this area before the Gallic Wars one would expect some to be found in stratified contexts on a site which has been dug as thoroughly as Bennecourt.

Coin list: 82 Iron Age coins.

- *2 silver coins*
- 2 Massaliote obols, BN 643
- *35 potin coins*
- 10 LT 6328
- 2 Scheers 203
- 1 Scheers 198
- 1 British Allen II, type M3
- 3 LT 5284
- 1 Scheers 191
- 1 LT 7417
- 16 Scheers 206, cl I
- *45 struck bronze coins*
- 1 Scheers 59
- 4 Scheers 80e
- 1 Ambiani unpublished type
- 1 Scheers 181
- 1 Scheers 108
- 1 Scheers 1981:41-49
- 2 Scheers 25, cl II
- 14 Scheers 163, cl I
- 1 Scheers 163, cl II
- 1 ΓIXTILOS, Scheers 1979 X
- 1 LT 7034
- 2 Scheers 109, cl I
- 2 Scheers 109, cl II
- 1 LT 7151-7155
- 3 Scheers 164
- 8 Scheers 216
- 1 unidentified AE

Jouars-Pontchartrain (Yvelines), Ile-de-France, Blin 2000

Recent excavations have taken place at the urban centre of Jouars-Pontchartrain, with 302 coins found. 28 of these were Iron Age, but no further details could be obtained.

Epiais-Rhus (Val d'Oise), Île-de-France, Simon and Lemoine 1970, Lardy 1987

This site is an Iron Age votive site found under a large Roman agglomeration of c.100ha in extent. Lardy (1987), the most recent publication, referred to it as an open settlement with an associated cemetery, but the site was extremely large, and consisted of several foci, including a votive site with weaponry and coinage under the Roman forum. Iron Age finds from the second and first centuries BC have been found across an area c.30ha in size. The Roman town was extremely sizeable, and covered c.100ha.

Up to 1985 293 Iron Age coins had been found, of which 99 were from definite stratified contexts. Not all of the coins had been identified, but the 93 stratified ones which could be ascribed a type were:

- *4 silver coins*
- 1 BN 689 Massaliote obol
- 1 Scheers 51 thin
- 1 LT 5550
- *64 potin coins*
- 43 BN 5284
- 1 Scheers 212
- 8 LT 7417
- 1 Scheers 191
- 1 Scheers 206
- 8 Scheers 203
- 1 Scheers 186
- *25 struck bronze coins*
- 1 Scheers 144
- 1 Scheers 143
- 1 Scheers 181
- 1 Scheers 172
- 3 Scheers 163, cl I
- 1 Scheers 163, cl III
- 1 Scheers 28
- 2 Scheers 155
- 1 Scheers 177
- 5 Scheers 27
- 3 Scheers 109, cl I
- 1 Scheers 109, cl III
- 2 Scheers 121
- 1 LT 7032 (Eburovices)
- 1 LT 7095 (Carnutes)

Regrettably, the types of the other coins from the site could not be ascertained, and no record of the excavation existed in the regional archives. Interestingly Lardy goes into the relative contexts of the coins in his 1987 article, and 57 of them came from apparent settlement layers, as well as some from funerary contexts. However, many of them were misdated by several centuries, and modern techniques is able to push back the chronology significantly (see chapter 4 and 5 for further details). In the absence of coherent excavation plans and site drawings it is impossible to evaluate the morphology of the site, but the weaponry and large quantity of brooches from the site does suggest an important early votive focus, supported by the 64 potin coins which dominate the identified coin assemblage. Without further publication of Epiais-Rhus it is unfortunately impossible to say more about the site.

Genainville (Val d'Oise), Île-de-France, Mitard 1967, 1993

Genainville is a large Roman temple complex, and was excavated by Mitard, and published in 1993. A Roman cross-legged statue of a god was found on the site. Ten Iron Age coins were found during the excavations. The coins are predominantly early, and the discovery of the Scheers 191 coins in the central area does suggest that there is probably an earlier focus, and the coins are

distinctively votive in nature, especially the presence of Scheers 51 silver coins. Needs further excavation really, to firmly establish what occurred under the Roman temple.

Scheers (1977), Mitard (1967). 10 IA coins.

- Sch 213 (potin)
- Sch 191 (potin) 5, in the central building – in a little paved area.
- Sch 163 (AE) 3 class IIIa and one class IIIc.
- Sch 51 (silver) class III. This is a lightweight silver coin, same series as the Picardy lightweight silvers.

Picardy

Bailleul-sur-Thérain (Oise), Picardy, Berton 1879, Malrain 2001

This site is a hillfort which was excavated in the 19th century. Recent excavation below the hillfort has discovered some very rare and interesting earliest Roman pottery. Lots of Iron Age coins (in gold, silver, copper and compound (probably potin)) were found by M. Buquet at the end of the 18th century (Berton 1879). Regrettably they were sold and dispersed after his death, and no record of their types survives.

Berton (1879) found Iron Age swords which looked like they had been ritually destroyed. However, the stratigraphy on the site was extremely confused. The temple was built over a neolithic tumulus, and the excavators did not really understand the stratigraphy. It seems likely there was an Iron Age layer between the Neolithic and Roman ones though. IA coins were found in context with rings (perhaps rouelles?) by Lambert (1864).

Coin finds: Roman temple on top of the hill.

- IA coins: Total, 109 +.
- 1 gold, 2 AR, 40 + AE, 52 Potin.

- Hundreds of coins had been found on the site in the past (pre-late 19th century), estimated by Berton (1879:29)

1878 – Apparently 27 IA coins were found, all from the central area of the hillfort. One British coin (Cuno/ Caml). Officially Berton listed these coins as:- 8 Veliocasses, 3 Caleti (?), 2 Carnutes, 1 Senones, 5 Aedui, 1 Sequani (?), 2 Leuci, 1 Catalauni, 1 Veromandui (?), 1 Bellovaci, 2 unidentified and 6 corroded. However, this makes 33.

These which I could identify more specifically were:

- 2 Carnutes (small AE) (head and eagle)
- 1 Senones potin – BN 7443-7445
- 4 Aedui – taureau cornupetes (2 left facing, 2 right)
- 1 Aedui – small silver coin (52 of this type found on Mont Beuvray)
- 1 silver of TOGIRIX
- 2 Leuci, small bronzes
- 1 unknown
- 1 potin, Catalauni (?)
- 1 VIRO, Veromandui
- BM 660 (potin)
- BM 1827 (Cuno, gold)
- BM 145 (British G, gold, 'Clacton' type)

By Scheers (1977), more than 82 coins had been definitely listed in her vol. (not including British coins, or Le Clerts (1897:97) record of "plusieurs" AVAVCIA (Sch 217) coins.

Chilly (Somme), Picardy, Vasselle 1974, Collart, Crampon and Cauvin 1979, Collart 1980, Scheers 1982, Collart 1987, Delestrée 1996

Chilly is a temple discovered by Agache in the 1960's which has been the subject of excavation campaigns by Vasselle and Collart. It has Iron Age layers under the Roman temple, and stratified coinage is present. The site has produced c.347 Iron Age coins from excavations and surface finds, which have been listed by Scheers (1982).

The temple building identified by Agache is first century AD in date, but the earlier finds come from the east of the fanum, especially two pits and two large ditches, where the majority of the stratified coinage comes from. Interestingly, the ditches and pits of the early activity are not morphologically similar to other

votive sites in the Picardy area, and have the appearance of a settlement. However, the 169 stratified coins would be very unusual from a non-ritual context. The site may be a settlement site which developed into a votive site, or with votive aspects to it, like Acy-Romance. It does not fit with Gournay and Ribemont, and has no evidence for early weaponry deposits, apart from one belt-fitting.

- 178 coins from isolated contexts identified by Delestrée. 1 AR, 29 potins, and 148 AE. 169 from stratified contexts (7 potin and 162 bronze). Includes a hoard of 116 bronzes doublestruck with the mark of a workman, perhaps from Chilly itself, or from close by. Very interesting implications for coin minting on sites.
- The regional archives in Picardy have a record of 331 Iron Age coins.
- Collart (1987) wrote a stratigraphic analysis of the coins. The stratigraphy on the site is severely damaged by the First World War. Shell holes are found all over the temple. Despite this, 2 excavations have taken place: Vasselle (1974) and Collart (1979). Site is plough damaged, and has been metal-detected.
- The earliest finds are Neolithic flints and a middle LT belt fitting (connected to weaponry deposits?), in Collart, 1987:64.
- The oldest layer has a deposit of a bronze (LT 6377) and 2 potins, a LT 8124 and a BN 6284-92. However the ditch is not deep and is truncated (Delestrée 1996:72-3).

Several contexts with coins in them must be redated in the light of modern dating. These are:

- Pit S8, which is down as after 52 BC on the C de Beaulieu/ Delestrée 1970's dating. The other datable finds, Dressel 1A, Nauheim brooch, filiform brooch, all suggest a late second century BC or earliest first century BC date. No samian. Disturbed at one edge by a WWI shell-hole. Lots of animal bones. Fine local pottery includes 'bols carénés', small ovoid vases and cylindrical vases. Large urns with combed decoration form the majority of the fine pottery. LT D2b forms according to Amalon (). Dressel 1A amphora fragments. Nauheim brooch, filiform brooch (à corde interne), belt fitting

(late LT). 3 glass beads. Coins: 3 coins: Bronze of the Carnutes (LT 6377), two potins: one LT 8124 (Sch 191) and potin 'au swastika' (BN 6284-92). Latter from lowest level.

- Ditch 1. Layer 1. Late Iron Age pottery. Pottery similar to pit S8. Probably a similar date. No coins.
- Ditch 1. Layer 2. Pedestal urns, ovoid vases. S-shaped bowls, Nauheim brooch. No coins.
- Ditch 1. Layer 3. 2 brooches with internal cord in bronze, 2 with external cords in iron, one with 4 spires. 3 currency bar like objects. A bronze ring, a small bronze bead. Seen by the numismatic dating at the time as being post-Gallic Wars, but probably LIA, as no Roman pottery. Pottery all local stuff, ill-studied at the time of publication. Coins were:

- 2 bronzes 'au lion' Sch 120,
- 1 Sch 123 (AE)
- 2 potins, Sch 191
- 1 AE Sch 165 'au personnage courant'
- 2 AE 'au hippocamp adossés' (Sch 122)
- Hoard of 121 AE – 'au hippocampes adossés' (Sch 122) in upper fill.

- Ditch 2 has samian dating to the Aug/ Tib period. Also transitional date pottery. Terra nigra as well. 5 complete brooches, 2 Nauheim (one bronze, one iron), 2 bronze brooches with filiform arcs, à plaquettes. A LT II type iron brooch. A filiform brooch with external cord. Augustan in date from the samian dating. Coins: 1 AE Ambiani 'au cavalier' (Sch 80), 3 AE 'au hippocamp adossés' (Sch 122), 1 ¼ AE "aux segments de cercle" (Sch 152)
- Pit S0. Little dating material. Neronian or Vespasianic. Pottery bears much resemblance to that found at Amiens. Coins from Pit S0 are:

- 26 AE (Ambiani, no other details)
- 1 AE Sch 120, 1 potin 'au sanglier' (Sch 186)
- 1 potin Sch 191
- 1 AE VARTICEO (Sch 190)
- 1 AE ATISIOS (LT 8054, Sch 147)
- 1 AE CRICIRV (Sch 27)
- 1 AE SOLLOS (Sch 170)
- 1 Germ Ind (Sch 216)
- 1 AE LT 7032 (Aulerci Eburovices)
- 1 potin LT 7417

The finds at Chilly are not diagnostically ritual apart from the quantity of coinage and perhaps the presence of large quantities of Dressel 1A amphorae. The site has not really been dug extensively enough to make much sense of the IA features under the Roman fanum, but the site could be a settlement site. Palisade ditch with many phases and small gullies and postholes. Coinage is usually found in the upper layers of ditches, and there is very discontinuous archaeology on the site, which is unusual in a Picardy votive site.

Digeon "Morvilliers-Saint-Saturnin" (Somme), Picardy, Delplace, Jobic, Méniel & Rapin 1986, Delestrée & Delplace 1986, Delplace 1987

Digeon has an Iron Age site below a Roman temple complex, with two temples and a rectangular enclosure. The Iron Age layers have weaponry dating to the second century BC (belt-fittings and assorted swords/ shield fragments), which Brunaux (2000) associates with the similar activity taking place at Gournay and Ribemont. Weaponry fragments do have some shallow stratified context remaining, but there are no coins associated with the earliest layer (Delplace 1986). The site at Digeon has produced more Iron Age coins than any other votive sites, but Digeon is still not fully published, and anyway there is very little stratigraphy from the site. Previous (obscure) excavations, erosion, chalk and flint digging, as well as the disturbance of earlier layers during Roman and Merovingian construction have erased much of the stratigraphy. There have been problems with coins being taken from the site, and many coins have been lost.

<u>Coin quantities</u>

A full list of the known coinage to 1987 is published by Delplace (1987). No more recent report has been done. 6991 Iron Age coins have been found on the site, 1186 on the surface, and 5805 from archaeological excavations. These include 121 gold coins, 168 silver (99 thin silver), 335 potin and 6367 struck bronze coins. Of the bronze, 3626 are Scheers 111 'au coq' coins, of a type known in large quantities from Bracquemont. 2146 of the struck bronzes are Scheers 163 issues. Very few of the coins are non-local, with only 15 coming

from outside of Belgic Gaul. Delestrée (1996) records one stratified deposit of coins, gold coins, from the clayey sand layer above the LT sanctuary:

The deposit consisted of 29 gold coins:

- 1 uniface 'pseudo-casque'
- 1 biface 'à l'arbre'
- 26 gold blanks, unstruck
- 1 uniface stater

No other archaeological evidence or context for these coins was available. Interestingly, this large deposit of coins has the appearance of a hoard, like the deposits of early gold from sites such as Snettisham and Ribemont-sur-Ancre- hoards on sites, not loose deposits as we see for the other types of coin.

However, the excavation suffers by not being properly published and having a lack of contexts available. I would suggest that coin distribution at Digeon is usual until the very late Iron Age or early Roman period, when there is a massive increase in deposition for whatever reason, perhaps an increase in minting either on the site or locally. However, is not possible to tell as the wear on the early types (such as potin) is not recorded.

Dompierre-sur-Authie "Le Plaine au-dessus du Bois" (Somme), Picardy, Piton and Dilly 1987, L.-P. and B. Delestrée 1985-6, Piton 1991, Delestrée 1996

This is a Roman temple site, dominating the valley of the Authie, on the Roman Lyon to Boulogne road. According to Delestrée (1996:57) aerial photographs show many buildings in the area, which were identified by Agache as a Gallo-Roman villa, not a temple complex. Some illegal digging, but the most important factor on the site is the survival of the original ground surface, showing the presence of open air deposition, and this is confirmed by the absence of post-hole structures from the earliest level. It was found by Agache from an aerial photo (1968-69).

- Dug by L.-P. and Bertrand Delestrée in 1985 and 1986, Piton and Dilly excavated in 1987, and Piton in 1991. However, no vertical stratigraphy has

been recorded from the site. The coins are in Delestrée 1996 (page 57). In Piton's 1991 excavation the original surface of the Roman temple was preserved, meaning that the deposition of objects was the original strewn distribution.

- 119 Iron Age coins. 5 silver, 6 potin, 108 bronze (69 are Ambiani, with only 3 being non-Belgic Gaul types). However, the excavation report shows that 13 coins were found in the 1987 (Piton and Dilly) excavation – 10 IA, 2 unidentified (probably IA) and one 3rd century Roman coin, probably Tetricus (this is from ploughsoil though).

Coins from 1987 excavation

1. AE, 1 Sch 64
2. 1 Sch 80c
3. 1 Sch 80j
4. 1 Sch 80b (VOCIICA)
5. 1 Delestrée 1984 (B.S.F.N. no 9, fig 5-6) fragmentary
6. 1 Sch 120 (au lion)
7. 1 unidentified, corroded with croissants and bucraniums.
8. 1 small module with a boar, possibly British?
9. 1 small bronze, worn smooth
10. Potin, 1 Sch 191
11. Unidentified, 1 small fragment
12. 1 worn smooth and corroded
13. Roman 3rd century AD, small bronze of Tetricus.

Finds from 1991 excavation (Piton)

- Stage 1 (original open-air cult deposition) No coins in 1991
- Stage 2 (Stone buildings). Tiberian/ Claudian to the end of the Flavian period. One CRICIRV (Scheers 27) coin associated with many Roman coins, including half-asses, an as of Tiberius, and an Altar/ Lyon coin. Last coin is one of Hadrian. Very disparate assemblage, with many brooches included. Seems to be very mixed, and is probably disturbed by the construction of Phase 3.
- Stage 3 (classic fanum). Third century (Drag 45 – 3rd century present). Painted plaster fragments and glass fragments, as well as many nails,and roof tiles. Destroyed by fire.

- 66 brooches recorded, 12 iron, 54 bronze. Many are bent or fragmentary, interpreted as deliberate ritual destruction. Fragments of weaponry are present, such as a few iron rings from mail. No big weapons on the site.
- Square D18/19, a coin (91/126) (silver, after Massaliote silver issues) was found in association with human remain fragments (3 fragments) which were also found in association with weaponry and fragments of an amphora handle.
- Can date the foundations of the walls of the cella fanum to the Tiberian/ Claudian period by the presence of pottery of this date in the trench fill.

Delestrée's 1985-6 excavations (1996, partial discussion).

- Delestrée says that most of the Iron Age coins come from the most ancient structure. There is a flint-working surface, called a 'radier' (literally a striking off surface) by Delestrée, which he considers ritual. It is only 18cm deep, and is connected to the layer which has produced the abundant material.
- Numerous objects found in situ, including a hundred bronze brooches and many in iron (the discussion was this vague). Many 'Kragenfibeln' from the second half of the first century BC. Iron material which is associated, includes elements of armour and belt-fittings.
- 92 coins were found in the backfill, or in a thin layer of grey clay just above the gravel. Also 38 coins found in the topsoil by detection. In total 130 coins, of which 11 are unidentifiable.
- 3 out of the 6 potins are fragmentary.
- Mostly local, less than 4 coins are from outside of Belgic Gaul.
- There were 3 Scheers 52 thin silver coins from this site too. However, 69 of the coins are Ambiani bronzes, which dominate the assemblage. Some of the bronzes are unique to this site (or were in 1996 anyway) which perhaps hints at minting of small local issues for deposition on the site, in the way we seem to be seeing in many other parts of this section of Picardy.

No plan or picture of the original surface seems to have been published as yet.

Estrées-Saint-Denis "Le Moulin des Hayes" and "Les Sablons" (Oise), Picardy, Woimant 1985, 1993, Delestrée 1993, 1996, Quérel 1996, 2001, Derbois-Delattre and Vangele 1988, Foucray 2001

Estrées-Saint-Denis is a major site, as well as being an important pre-Roman centre, it developed into a major Roman centre. The two areas which produced Iron Age and early Roman activity were Le Moulin des Hayes and Les Sablons. The most wide-ranging excavations at the site were carried out by Woimant from 1983-88 and in 1993. He dug a major temple complex, which bears much resemblance to the Altbachtal at Trier in the quantitiy of temples in a restricted enclosure, containing 6 Gallo-Roman temples and an enclosure. Under these intensive Iron Age activity was present; a large quantity of pits with rich finds. Recent excavation has taken place at Le Moulin des Hayes (Quérel 1996, 2001) as well as several other fairly recent articles (Derbois-Delattre and Vangele 1988 and Foucray 2001). Unfortunately the site has been intensively metal-detected, suggesting a large quantity of coinage has been lost.

The 1996 rapport by Querel reports that IA pot was found in a building foundation layer, and a local "*prospecteur*" (their quotation marks) affirmed a concentration of Iron Age coins in this area. No coins came from the excavation.

Woimant (1993) also reported very few stratified finds, although 199 Iron Age coins were found (see below). The G-R layers had been largely eroded or destroyed by the surface stripping of workmen (19th century excavations? chalk extraction?). Only stratified find is some pottery sherds of Iron Age date deposited with a complete vase and 2 coins (one CRICIRV (Scheers 27), one worn Roman of unspecified detail - Republican?), a harness decoration in base copper and an iron chain, together with many bones, including human cranium fragments. Sounds like a burial. Roman coins are being published by M. Jouve.

- 1998 (Derbois-Delattre et al) excavation to south of sanctuary complex found no coins, but many ditches.

- Les Sablons, excavation by Quérel (2001) found 20 IA coins and 95 Roman coins. Stratified coinage, but the site does look like a settlement, not a sanctuary. Lots of material, especially pottery.

20 Iron Age coins from Quérel (2001) – preliminary identification, pre-conservation

- ATEVLA VLATOS, Sch 41 (silver)
- AE Sch 121
- AE Sch 121
- AE Sch 163, cl I, var m
- AE Sch 163, cl I
- AE Sch 163, cl I
- AE Sch 163, cl I
- AE Sch 163, cl I
- AE CRICIRV, Sch 27
- AE, LT 8456 'au cavalier'(Sch 80c)
- Corroded bronze.
- AE, unidentified
- AE fragmentary core
- AE fragmentary core
- AE corroded
- Potin Sch 185, cl II
- Fragmentary potin (in 6 bits and corroded, cleaning needed)
- Fragmentary potin
- Totally corroded potin
- Fragment of potin

16 and 19 come from ditch 1352, which may be quite early. Large ditch to the south of the excavation area, interpreted as an outer ditch of the settlement (palisade ditch??). Other finds from this ditch imply a LTD1 date. These are:

- Sword blade
- Shield boss
- 3 brooches, LT D1 date (second to first century BC transition)
- Bits of weaponry
- Much bone
- 2 jetons
- 2 awls.
- Iron Age ceramics.

The coins are dated by Delestrée at the end of the first century BC, but the Scheers 185 (no. 16) could be much earlier, and there is nothing to stop the deposit dating to the date suggested by the brooches. Only potins from this deposit.

Most of the rest of the contexts which include Iron Age coinage are pretty mixed although context 1754 is a pit, dating to the second phase of activity

(which includes a parallel ditch to ditch 1352). The pottery is LTD2 to Augustan, but all of the coins are IA which would suggest that there may be different phases to the ditch fill which is not being highlighted in the interim report. Really quite a lot of Roman coins though, dating from the earliest Altar/ Lyon till 4th century nummi.

Woimant, 1993, Delestrée 1996.

- Temple complex, including 6 GR temples, with earlier activity underneath. There was a lot going on here in the Iron Age, which is echoed by the quantity of coinage from the Woimant excavations (199 IA coins: 2 gold, 4 silver, 132 AE and 61 potin). Pottery is very fragmentary, although there are miniature vases from the site.
- Roymans (1990) refers to 'substantial numbers of coins from ritual pits'.
- Some stratified coinage on the site, although coins are the main dating evidence in the earlier reports, which makes the whole thing a bit circular.
- A fair quantity of non-Belgic pieces came from the site, especially potins (18 out of 43, although 11 of these are the very common LT 7417 types) and 7 non-Belgic AE (out of 132). Half of the 4 silver are non-Belgic (1 Aedui and one Lingones) although these are more likely to have come in with the Roman finds.
- 16 of the 61 potins are Scheers 191 (LT 8124) issues.
- Whole site is a very confused mass of post-holes and although some of these have coins, Delestrée doesn't really get involved in specifics except to say that 90 coins come from post-holes, silos and pits. If this site was dug today, it seems more likely that it would produce something like Bennecourt, but the lack of comprehension of stratigraphy and the partial publication has not helped. No coherent phasing or stratigraphy is possible from the reports or archive material, but see below for some associations which were extracted.
- Coins come from an Iron Age ditch (ST140, MG66, MG82 and MG191). Also structures 302 and 931 have definitely produced Iron Age coins.
- Bronze issues survive into Roman layers, especially the 'au coq' series and apparently gold quarter staters.

- Definite Iron Age activity – animal bones, weaponry and considerable quantity of human bones, disarticulated mostly, but including skulls and some complete skeletons from La Tène layers. Also IA brooches.

Finds from silos, pits and post-holes (1996:53), 90 coins in total:

- Gold: 2 gold quarter staters (1 'au bateau' and one Delestrée SENA, no 87, 129 (1986).
- Silver: 4, 2 local and 2 non-local.
- Struck bronze: 66 (45 'au coq', 9 personnage courant, 4 'other Bellovaci', 7 'autres belges' and one 'non-belges'). 3 of these (unspecified which) are of the Sch 181 type.
- Potin: 18 (3 LT 8124, 8 'autres belges', 7 'non-belges').

Finds from building 1 (32 in total):

- No gold or silver.
- Struck bronze: 24 (5 'au coq', 5 'personnage courant', 4 other Bellovaci and copies, 9 'autres belges' and 1 non-Belgic). 4 of these (unspecified which ones) are of the Scheers 181 type. Of the rest of the bronze, 3 are VIIRICVS and (contemporary) copies, (2 copies of Carnutes coins and a Lemovices stater copy are also known from the site).
- Potin: 8 (no LT 8124, 5 'autres' and 3 'non-belges').
- 2 early structures. One is a semi-sunken building and the second in a La Tène ditch. Confused.

It has 12 coins:

- 4 struck bronzes (1 LT 8471, 2 'au personnage courant', 1 'à la tête de loup'- from Gaul Celtique).
- 8 potin coins (5 LT 8124, 3 LT 7417).

Much of the coinage is very late, but it is clear that the site was used over quite a long period of time, and many of the key early types are found on the site, such as Scheers 191, and LT 7417. However, the coin list is very hard to use for anything. Delestrée is very vague, although it is possible to extract contexts

from Woimant's inventory. Unfortunately, there is no detailed record of the other finds from contexts (and the features themselves are only on a vague map). No record of the 1980s excavations exists in the regional archives. It is likely that the site contained a significant quantity of Iron Age votive activity, and the weaponry and human bones suggest it may have been an important sanctuary in the second century BC.

Estrées-sur-Noye "Les Coutures" (Somme), Picardy, Vasselle 1965, Delestrée 1987, Fichtl 1994

The site of Estrées-sur-Noye is another Roman temple which has produced Iron Age coinage, although not from archaeological excavations. The site is situated on the Roman road south of Amiens (Samarobriva), about 10km south of the Roman town. It is not far from the confluence of the Noye and Avre, and seems to have had early activity.

Down as being LT D2 onwards in Fichtl 1994(25) and Derks 1998 (169). 33 IA coins are known, and Delestrée published an article on the coinage (1987). Unpublished excavations by François Vasselle (1965) discovered numerous sherds of LT III pottery. The fanum walls were investigated, but no other archaeological features were looked at. The pottery came from the second sondage, from a ditch found next to one of the fanum walls, and it stopped 90 cm down. No coins came from the 1965 excavations.

There are at least 33 coins from Estrées-sur-Noye, which were found during '*prospections de surface*' (Delestrée 1996:107), presumably metal-detecting. Most are local struck bronze, and 5 Scheers 120 'au coq' coins came from the site, which Delestrée suggests may be due to links with the votive sites to the south which seem to have produced these issues.

Fontaine-sur-Somme "Camp Rouge" (Somme), Picardy, Agache 1975, Delestrée 1987, 1996 – not excavated

This site has not been excavated, but has produced 69 Iron Age coins from surface finds. The site was identified by Agache (1975), and his aerial survey showed two square temple structures and a gallery. The coins have been published by Delestrée (1987), and are all struck bronze coins, indicating that this site was active in the latest Iron Age, and some 9 of the coins were original to the site at the time of Delestrée's publication. Three uniface staters are also recorded as coming from the site, but no other details were available. Delestrée illlustrates the coins in his 1996 book (p.61-63), and lists the coins. These are:

18 Scheers 120, 'au coq'
9 Scheers 118, same series
9 unpublished unique AE coins
2 'au cavalier'
3 boar/ horse
1 '2 sangliers adossés'
1 Scheers 88
2 Scheers 80b, VOCIICA
2 Scheers 59
1 Scheers 125
1 Scheers 104, IMONIN
1 Scheers 123
2 Scheers 77
2 Scheers 61
1 Scheers 93 var
1 Scheers 112
2 Scheers 163
4 Scheers 120
1 'à l'archer'
6 Scheers 216, GERM IND

Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise), Picardy, Brunaux, Méniel & Poplin 1985, Brunaux 1987, Brunaux & Rapin 1988, Lejars 1994, Derks 1998

Gournay-sur-Aronde is an important votive site, dating from the third century BC to the early Roman period. The site has good stratification and clear dating. Few coins though. The development of the site is discussed fully in Chapter 4, so is not considered here.

Gournay has 23 IA coins, and 2 Roman coins (one Republican quinarius and a Tiberian as).

Stratigraphy of the coinage:

10 coins from Pit A, in the centre of the site

6 coins from the temple foundation ditches (Roman cella/ fanum)

5 coins are surface finds (dating to after the destruction of the temple)

2 coins from boundary ditch – one from the entrance, and 1 from outside the temple area.

Coins.

- Pit A. Lower fill (5th from bottom) 14, 15, 18, 21
  Next fill up 16, 17, 19, 20, 22
  Top fill 23.

- 14: Potin, LT 5368
  15: AR quinarius, RRC 331 (90 BC, P. Sabin)
  18: Potin, Sch 191
  21: Potin, Sch 191

  16: AE, Sch 163 cl III
  17: Potin, Sch 191
  19: Potin, Sch 191
  20: Potin, Sch 191
  22: Potin, Sch 191

  23: Potin, Sch 191

- Outer ditch coins are an AE, Scheers 163, cl Ia from the ditch terminal and another one the same from the body of the ditch.
- 1 is from a short ditch at the entrance to the sanctuary (a potin, Forrer 173, possibly Turones).

The coins from the temple foundation ditches support Derks' (1998) earlier dating for the Roman stone temple. It is undoubtedly Augustan, not fourth century. However, there are not that many coins on the site compared to most of the other sites in the area, and it is likely that the nature of deposition at this site did not include coinage as one of the favoured types of offering. The coinage from Gournay is predominantly early in date, and is dominated by potin coins. Only two coins were found in the major boundary deposit with the animal bones and weaponry, which supports the prevailing view that they were placed in the ditch before numismatic offerings became an important deposit on votive sites. Iron Age coins are found in their greatest numbers in the foundation deposit of 'temple 3' which dates from the end of the second century BC to the early first century BC.

Liercourt-Érondelle (Somme), Picardy, Agache 1978 (1964 excavations), Fichtl 1991, Delestree 1996

One of Agache's aerial sites, which he excavated in 1964. It is a promontory hillfort, and is mentioned in Fichtl 1994:165-6. Similar in type to La Chaussée-Tirancourt, and with Fécamp type ramparts. Fichtl only says that "*Une sanctuaire celtique à monnaies se trouve à l'intérieur de l'enciente*". Agache's excavations within found the marks of beams fossilised into the chalk. Surface finds include "numerous IA coins", suggesting an IA date. Delestrée mentions 27 IA coins (1996:107) from prospections, in three distinct lots, with 70% being struck bronze, although gives no other details, and these could well be modern metal-detected finds. They are certainly not stratified to any useful context.

Scheers 1977:

Scheers lists 3 coins found in Agache's 1964 excavations within the hillfort. They are 3 late bronzes, a Sch 59, a Sch 87 (class 1) and a Sch 88. Unfortunately, the excavations have not been fully published, although they are summarised in Agache's 1978 book.

Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne), Picardy, Ben Redjeb 1987, Fedi 1987

Excavated in the 19th century, but recent work on the Roman period area by Ben Redjeb. The coin list is published by Fedi, although there is no stratigraphic information available. The temple is in a vicus, but does have early IA coins (see below).

Iron Age coins.

1) from the Jardin Grand-Père excavations (1985)

- Potin, Leuci or Senones
- Potin, Sch 186
- Gold quarter stater, Sch 152 a, class III (Remi)
- Gold quarter stater, Sch 152
- Gold quarter stater, Sch 152
- Eye stater, Treveri, Sch 30, class I

2) From La Justice (surface finds)

- AE Remo/ Remo, Sch 146
- Potin, Sch 191 (LT 8124)
- AE, Sch 151 (small local issue)

3) Reported to the S.A.L. in 3/5/1851, Provenance: La Justice.

- Potin, Sch 191
- AE, leg ATISIOS REMOS, Sch 157
- AE, leg ATISIOS REMOS, Sch 157

4) Plates of Monsieur Callas (asterix means without precise provenance, and possibly not from Nizy-le-Comte)

- AE Remo/ Remo, Sch 146
- *Potin, Sch 191
- *Potin, Remi, Sch 195

There are also 88 Roman coins from the site, including a denarius of L. Rutillus Flaccus (77 BC, RRC 780), although this comes from group 4 and is also without exact provenance.

Ognon "Foret d'Halatte" (Oise), Picardy, Durand, 1996, 1997, 2000

Roman sanctuary, with a high number of stone ex-voto's showing ailments, which would indicate some kind of a healing sanctuary. No Iron Age sanctuary underneath. Consisted of cella, fanum and trapezoidal encircling wall. Linked to Senlis (Augustomagus), which is only 6km to the north. .It does not have any other votive structures outside of the immediate site, no baths or other buildings/ theatres etc. It seems to have been a small rural sanctuary in the proximity of Senlis. Interestingly, the Roman road to Amiens does seem to curve round and avoid the area (Durand 2000:97). The site was established in the middle of the first century AD (Claudian/ Neronian), in a setting of open countryside with scattered dwellings. It continued in use until the early fifth century AD, when it was gradually deserted over a couple of decades.

Excavated fairly recently and published in Durand (ed) 2000. Also ancient excavations by Caix de Saint Aymour, but very few IA coins came from his excavations (2; one was of the Suessiones). No idea of where they came from and they don't survive (Durand 2000:201). Had been badly pillaged by metal-detectors before the start of the modern excavations in 1996. Probably took a lot, only known find is 20 gold aureii dating to the first and second centuries AD, but undoubtedly other coins went too.

Coins: 42 IA coins. 1081 Roman coins (38 Rep or Julio-Claudian). 15 struck bronze, 24 potin and 3 lead potin copies. Mostly local. 21 of the coins come from stratified contexts. Most are from around the centre of the site, and there is one central hoard of 7 potin coins (in context 1003).

Potin.

- 2 'au swastika', Sch 197. 1 and 1 half.
- 2 'aux animals affrontés', Sch 185, cl III
- 1 Sch 185, cl I
- 1 Sch 188
- 5 'au cheval', Sch 196, cl II
- 2 'au sanglier', Sch 198, cl I
- 1 'au bucrâne', Sch 195
- 3 'au personnage courant', Sch 191
- 2'à la tête humaine', Sch 203
- 2 'à la tête d'Indien', LT 7417
- 2 'à l'aigle', Sch 212, cl II
- 1 'à la tête diabolique', BN 5656
- 1 imitation of BN 5656 in lead.
- 1 imitation of LT 5284 in lead.
- 1 fragment of an unidentifiable potin in lead.

Struck Bronze.

- 2 'à la tête janiform', Sch 154 (one class I, one class II)
- 5 CRICIRV, Sch 27
- 2 VIRICIVS, Sch 109 (1 class I, 1 class III)
- 1 GERM IND, Sch 216
- 5 unidentifiable AE coins, one a third of a coin (votive?).

The hoard of 7 potin coins consists of one Sch 197, 1 Sch 185:III, 1 Sch 188, 3 Sch 196:III and 1 Sch 198:I. All fairly early in date. The deposit is in the west of the cella, west of the two bits of walls, right up against the wall of the cella, and consisted of 7 Iron Age potin coins.

Most of the coins from the site are Suessiones in origin (20 of them) and they probably come from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, which is pretty close. 30 coins are Belgic, 6 from Gallia Comata and 6 unidentified. There is actually very little

Iron Age coinage on the site in comparison to the large quantities of third and fourth century Roman coinage. However, the excavators (Berdeaux-le Brazidec & Durand 2000:258) believe that the Iron Age coinage and the stratigraphy do not indicate IA activity on the site. There is no evidence of IA structures on the site, and no other pre-Roman material on the site. The coins are very early though. There is a coin deposit in the cella, in the middle of the construction levels.

Other deposits: 40 fibulae (60% of which are first century AD), 363 votive stone and metal sculptures, including 19th century finds. Very little first century AD pottery or coinage. Small bronze horse-harness fittings, and military bronze fittings of 1st C AD type were found. Animal bones found in 19th C, as well as glass, coins, brooches, jewellery, stone ex-voto's, pottery and small bronzes.

No real stratified Iron Age deposits on the site. Although there is Iron Age coinage, there are no IA brooches, pottery, weaponry, jewellery or wheels. Seems unlikely that the site dates prior to the mid first century AD. Definitely not a major Iron Age site. It has been metal detected, and parts of it are quite badly damaged, especially round the perimeter enclosure.

Orrouy "Champlieu" (Oise), Picardy, Caix de Saint Aymour 1874, 1905, Cadoux & Woimant 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, Cadoux 1981, Huysecom 1982, Woimant 1993, 2001

Champlieu is a large Roman religious complex on the Roman road, best known for its very well-preserved theatre. The site is a rural sanctuary in the Ribemont vein, and has many similarities (large theatre, very small bathhouse). It was placed on a plateau which does look suspiciously fortified in the plan which was in the regional archives. It is very close to Pierrefonds/ Mont Berny. The site is possibly a town, it does have dense habitation to the south of the temple complex, but it is badly plough damaged. Heavy antiquarian excavation, including Napoleon III. The 1993 excavations were trying to find pre-Conquest activity, inspired by Gournay and Ribemont, and the incoherence of 19th century excavations. Was a history of IA coin discovery on the site.

The site of Orrouy/ Champlieu is in the same area as the Forêt d'Halatte, Pierrefonds, Estrées-Saint-Denis, Gournay, St Just, Vendeuil-Caply and St Maur. Interestingly, the map which Woimant puts in his report (1993:64) shows all of these sites in the zone which marks the meeting points of the tribal boundaries of the Ambiani, Viromandui, Suessiones, Meldes, Silvanectes and Bellovaci. This concentration of sites may have had something to do with the original liminal areas, although of course these are first century AD administrative boundaries.

Excavated by Cadoux and Woimant in the 1980's, and Huysecom (1982). Articles on the coinage in RBN 1981 and 1982. The stratigraphic contexts of the coinage were published by Huysecom and Woimant in RAP 1983. Info below is from that. They do (interestingly) publish wear patterns of the individual coins. Full publication was by Woimant in 1993.

The excavators date the earliest layers to the period between the conquest and the Gallic Wars, from the late dating of potin coins, but actually, there are no Roman coins, and morphologically and numismatically they are more likely to date to the later second century BC. However, there are no details of any other finds, so this is a bit tentative. The five years of Woimant's excavations produced weaponry, coins and brooches all dating to the pre-Conquest period (1993:72). Post-hole constructions in the middle of the temple area pre-date the Conquest. These layers and burnt layers were associated with either a picket or a small posthole enclosure. Wide chronological range of material according to the excavators, who see LT II to post-Conquest material, although this may be due to the incorrect dating of the coins, or a lack of recognition of the stratigraphy. Possible 1A enclosure ditch underlying the Roman cella wall (small fragment of edge preserved in Ia19, mostly destroyed by later cella foundations), with fragments of LT II weaponry, although the main ditch position was deduced by the finds, not actually found (destroyed by Roman construction layers).

Little archaeological material survived in the early layers, a few bits of local pottery, ('*ceramique commune grossière*'), lots of bone, in very bad condition

("*pulverised*"). No coins were found in the features. Feature Ia 3 had a potin (M.28) from the surface, attributed to layer Ib. There is a plan on page 81 – showing a series of post-holes in a circle, showing an early IA sanctuary (see Figure 4.11). However, for the purposes of the coinage, it is stage Ia (7a in the coin chronology). Also has fragmentary brooches, and other metal objects (fragmentary arms, lances, fragment of a currency bar). Actually, the excavator assumed that they came from the ditches, but this is not necessarily true, as the well-preserved surface levels at Villeneuve-au-Chatelot have proved that the weaponry could be strewn over the surface.

- Phase I – their date ca 55/50-30 BC. Actually could be c. 125BC onwards.
- Phase II – their date to around 12-10 BC, from the GR coins. How long-lived is this context? It may well close at this time, but a longer chronology might extend the start of this layer backwards too.
- Phase III – end of Augustus/ Tiberius onwards. Lots of Roman coins. The authors have done interesting development graphs, showing the progressive appearance of Roman coinage and the potin/ bronze change over.

Unfortunately, total quantities of coinage from the site are unobtainable. It is a Roman town, with the Roman temple being a forum one at the core of the settlement, but it does seem to have some pre-Roman activity. It is focussed on a ritual pit, like Bennecourt and Estrées-Saint-Denis (Derks 1998:176).

Layer 7a [stage I, lower] (ditches to the right of the inner wall)

- 1. Sch 25, cl II (plated gold) moderate wear.
- 2. LT 5550, silver, light wear. (TOGIRIX)
- 3. Sch 191, Potin, light to moderate wear.
- 4. Sch 191, Potin, moderate wear.
- 5. Sch 27, AE, light wear.

Layer 7b [stage I upper] (mixed top of this layer)

- 6. LT 7417, Potin, moderate to heavy wear.
- 7. Sch 191, Potin, moderate wear.
- 8. Sch 196, cl III, Potin, light to moderate wear.
- 9. Sch 104, AE, moderate wear.
- 10. Sch 204, AE, moderate wear.

Layer 7b or 6a [Stage IIa] (construction levels of the possible pré-fanum)

- 11. Sch 27, AE, light to moderate wear.
- 12. Sch 154, cl I, AE, moderate to heavy wear.
- 13. Sch 154, cl II, AE, light to moderate wear.
- 14. Sch 163, cl I, AE, moderate wear.

Layer 6a [Stage IIa] (as above)

- 15. Sch 28, cl III, AE, light wear.
- 16. Sch 146 var, AE, light wear (local issue).
- 17. Sch 146 var, AE, light wear (local issue).
- 18. Sch 216 (GERM IND), AE, moderate wear
- 19. RRC 203/2, third of an as, very heavy wear. Rome 153 BC.
- 20. RRC 471/1, half an as, very heavy wear, Spanish 46-45 BC.
- 21. ? Half as, Nimes 28-3 BC, very heavy wear
- 22. As 21, but worn flat.
- 23. ? Half as Nimes, 28-10? BC, very heavy wear.
- 24. RIC 363, Semis, light to moderate wear, Lyon 10-14 AD.
- 25. RIC 371, Semis, moderate wear, Lyon 12-14 AD.

Deposit 1. (in layer 6a, and the latest possible date of deposition is 15-16 AD).

- 26. Sch 28, cl V, AE, light to moderate wear.
- 27. Sch 143, AE, moderate wear.
- 28, Sch 154, cl II, AE, light to moderate wear.
- 29. Sch 216 (GERM IND) AE, moderate wear.
- 30. RIC 357, heavy wear.
- 31. RIC 357, heavy wear.
- 32. RIC 371, Semis, moderate wear, Lyon 12-14 AD.
- 33. As 32.
- 34. As 32, light to moderate wear.
- 35. As 32, light wear.
- 36. RIC 12, Semis, light wear, Lyon 14-15 AD.
- 37. C.f. RIC 371, Semis, light wear, imitation.

Deposit 2. Also in layer 6a.

- 38. Sch 154, cl II, AE, mint condition.
- 39. RIC 370, As, moderate wear, Lyon 12-14 AD.
- 40. As 39, light to moderate wear.

Layer 6b, [Stage IIb| contemporary with the main temple.

- 41. Sch plate XXVII, 770, AE, moderate wear.
- 42. Sch 27, AE, moderate wear.
- 43. Sch 216 (GERM IND), AE. Light wear.

- 44. RIC 72, Quadrans, light wear, Rome 42 AD.
- 45. RIC 98, As, light to moderate wear, Rome 97 AD.
- 46. RIC 492, As, light to moderate wear, Rome 104-111 AD.

Layers 7a, 7b or 6a.

- 47. Sch 152, VII, gold quarter stater, probably layer 7a, cf no 1.
- 48. Sch 191, Potin, probably layer 7a or 7b.
- 49 to 51 are missing, it seems to be a typographic error where they have wiped a bit of the list off.
- 52. Sch 27, AE
- 53. Sch 28, IVa
- 54. Sch 28, IVb
- 55. RIC 371, Semis, Lyon 12-14 AD, layer 6a.

Layers 7a, 7b, 6a or 6b

- 56. RIC 691(copy), Quadrans imitation of one struck in Rome in 103-117 AD.

Layers 7b, 6a or 6b

- 57. LT 7417, Potin, very probably from layer 7b.

36 IA coins were also listed from unstratified contexts on the site. These comprised: 2 gold, 1 silver, 8 potins and 25 AE. 22 Roman coins are also known. Another IA coin was found in the excavations in the baths, found in a ditch with bones. It is a bronze Scheers 27 (LT 7951) (CRICIRV), which was probably struck at Pommiers. Other stratified Iron Age finds which support the numismatic evidence for early activity include.

- Early brooches include a fragmentary iron brooch, probably '*à quatre spires et corde interne*' dating to the late second, early 1st C BC, from layer Ib.
- There are also 3 copper Nauheim brooches. These date to the mid first century BC. One is from the rubble layer Iab-II while the others are from layer Ib.
- There is another '*à quatre spires et corde interne*' which was found in confused context, in layer IVabc = Ia18 (spoil from the lower levels of I).
- 2 other brooches, this time from the baths are early, one is turn of the first century BC, and the other dates to the turn of the millennium.

- It seems likely from the brooches and the potin coin that there is also early activity from the site of the later Roman baths, and the presence of a ditch suggested by the sondage that found the coin would indicate a possible large pre-Roman complex.
- A possible Iron Age kiln and a silo were found to the north corner of the bath range. Pottery is unusual but is early 1st C BC. There is much animal bone from the sondage. The silo has also produced ritual evidence (human bones, a horse skull with the top of the skull taken off). However, these are more settlement deposits, and do not denote a specific ritual site, more standard stratified deposition in silos. It is about as far from the main sanctuary as the horse deposits at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne are from the main ritual area.

Pierrefonds (Oise), Picard, Caucheme 1900, Roymans 1990, Fichtl 1994, Delestrée 1996, Jouve 1972, 2001

Geographically close to Champlieu. A hillfort (Mont Berny), with fairly important Roman finds too. At least 33 Iron Age coins come from the site (see below) but the actual figure is likely to be much higher.

- Derks (1998:169) believes it is fairly early, with definite activity from the LTD2 period, and possible from the LTC period.
- Only published by Caucheme in 1900. Discussed by Roymans (1990) and Fichtl (1994) but not a lot of detail on the site is available. The author was not able to work out how many coins are from the site, but then neither was Roymans (1990:76).
- The IA material from the site is mainly coinage according to Fichtl (1994:171), but there is also human and animal bone (with horse, cow, pig and ovicaprid being most apparent). Large ditch around the outside. Little other material from the site. It seems likely to Fichtl that the bones are not burial deposits but are ritual deposits à la Ribemont, as they are mixed up with the animal bones. However, it is not terribly clear from the excavation report. Fichtl tentatively dates the origin of the site to the LTC to LTD1

period on the strength of the animal bones. A Scheers 146 coin came from a Tiberian level from a sondage in 1969.

- Coins. There are IA coins from the site. Delestrée (1996) believed less than 10. Jouve (2001:90) states that there were some important finds: IA hand-turned pottery, Gallo-Belgic ware, IA coins, a Republican denarius of Porcius/ Cato, with a gold stater probably coming from an accidental discovery from the same layer (offered to the Musée Antoine Vivenel – Inv 1976:11). This is published in Jouve 1972, and is the Scheers 9 stater listed below.
- Ex-voto's of eyes have been found by Napoleon III in the 19th century, in the National Museum now. This indicates a Roman votive focus.

Coin list:

The 33 Iron Age coins listed in Scheers (1977) are:

- 1 Scheers 9 gold
- 9 AE Scheers 26, CRICIRV
- 1 AE Scheers 28, ROVECA
- 1 AR Scheers 58, ANNAROVECI
- 1 AE Scheers 106
- 1 AE Scheers 107
- 1 AE Scheers 143, EPENOS
- 3 AE Scheers 146, REMO/REMO
- 3 AE Scheers 154
- 3 AE Scheers 185
- 1 potin, Scheers 191
- 1 potin, Scheers 195
- 1 potin, Scheers 196
- 1 potin, Scheers 197
- 2 potins, Scheers 198
- 3 AE Scheers 216, GERM IND

One Scheers 26 came from an Augustan rubble layer, in a La Tène III context (1977:383) from the excavations. One of the Scheers 185 coins came from the Roman camp on the extreme south east of the hillfort, which was excavated by Boitel, pre-1845.

In the absence of a clear plan of the pre-Roman material, and without any detailed list of the coins or other finds, there is little that can be done with Pierrefonds beyond the general points. Certainly, the possibility of getting any idea of stratification out of the site is virtually nil.

Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme), Picardy, Cadoux 1971, 1984, 1996, Cadoux & Massy 1970, Delestrée & Brunaux 1995, Cadoux & Delauney 1995, Fercoq du Leslay 1996, 2000, Brunaux 1987, 1999. 2000, Delestrée 1996, 2001

Two phase site. The initial phase is very early, dating to the LT C1b period (c. 250-200BC). Some artefacts are a little earlier, some of the weaponry dates to around the LT C1a period, although the earliest date to c. 280-260BC. There is a noticeable lack of weaponry after the LTC1b period (Brunaux, 1999: 251, fig 63). Early deposits weaponry, bodies (min number of 80 bodies), and gold coins: seen by French excavators as the remains of a monumental trophy erected in the final years of the 3rd C BC. Remains cleared in 30's BC (from coin evidence) when a large, possibly military, population built a temple, in the middle of a well-structured sanctuary. Stone colonnade added in beginning of 1st C AD, second half of 2nd C AD temple rebuilt in monumental and classical form. This was accompanied by the development of a major rural cult centre, with theatre, 2 bath buildings, and 50 ha of buildings etc. Seen by Brunaux (et al, 1999) as the focus of a public cult under subordination to the *civitas* capital, Samarobriva.

One of the most significant sites in Gaul, and also, more importantly well excavated. The site is an important source of early material. At least 4 major ossuarial deposits were present on the site. Piles of bones and weaponry around a central post (the Cadoux, 1984 one is simply the best preserved of the collection). Ditch around the lot, with deposits in that too, the site was perhaps covered, but archaeological evidence unclear (fig 19:196). Some individuals appear to have been upright when placed in position, at least 3. Outside of the main enclosure, a series of ancillary Iron Age enclosures to the south have recently been excavated, and this excavation continues up to 2004, and to the south-east corner of the main enclosure several deposits of extremely early coins have been found in stratified contexts; a small 'purse' hoard of gold coins and 2 other gold coins (Delestrée 2001). Apparent abandonment in La Tène C1 and start of the LTC2 period, as soil and environmental sampling indicate that

reforestation took place at this time, and trees, bushes and weeds are indicated in the palynology.

Coins

A total of 150 IA coins came from the site in 1999 (Brunaux 1999). Excavations have continued since then, although no further numismatic details were available at the time of writing. 6 gold coins were published in 2001 (discussed further in chapter 4). Of the 150: 5 are gold, 19 silver (17 of these are thin silver), 6 potins and 120 AE. The coin list reflects and supports the projected phase of little activity, which is around the time where other sites have their major deposits of potin coinage, and is reflected in the lack of potin coins. It does have interesting chronological implications for the silver, which is either earlier than we thought or very late. They are mostly in contexts with bronzes, which would push them later by implication.

Only the IA coinage has been published. Coins have been found in association with other deposits. A thin silver coin was found in association with ritual deposit of human bones, lances and a boar (1999:211). The ditch fill of the 30's BC ritual site dated by fragments of indigenous pot, and fine wheel-thrown wares. Its upper fill is associated with struck bronzes of the Ambiani; Brunaux dated these to after the Gallic Wars (1999:218). In the soil contemporary with the first phase of the temple at the periphery 6 struck bronzes of the Ambiani were found, as well as an as of Agrippa, seen by Brunaux as perhaps intrusive (1999:218).

Other deposits:

Stage 1 – high levels of deposition, weaponry and human remains. Ossuaries date to the early period, and significant levels of deposition in pits. Circa 80 individuals in the best preserved ossuary (all male, apparently healthy, and from early teens to c.45 years old) and thousands of weapons in LT C levels. Weapons show signs of battle, but not ritual destruction. Few swords, mainly lances, shields, Very few animal remains apart from a few horses, and a prevalence of horse and human long-bones.

Gap between LT C2 and first half of LTD1 where little is deposited.

Stage 2 – End of LTD1 and start of LTD2. Arms, tools/equipment, elements of harness, and Roman military decoration, Iron Age and Roman coinage, ceramics and amphorae (LTD2). Large deposit of iron objects in the south-west angle of the enclosure ditch (largely military equipment, 573 pieces, mainly lances, swords). Burning evidence (charcoal), related deposits of a ritual nature. Boar buried with human thorax, several iron lances, and a thin silver coin. Animal remains in this level dominated by pig (80%). LTD2 levels at Ribemont also contain Roman military equipment, such as harness, rivets and fragments of armour also some is known from historic excavations (inc. one modern excavated section of *lorica hamata*). All in ditch fill and are datable to the end of the first century BC.

Well published in the last article (Brunaux, 1999). However, western and south western end of the La Tène ditches destroyed by later activity. Rest well preserved due to terracing in the Roman period. The deposition of bone outside of the enclosure in the LT deposits has been affected by predators in antiquity. Within the enclosure the bone remains are much better preserved. Roman construction of the major stone temple has destroyed much of the stratigraphy from the IA levels, and the centre of the site. However, the state of preservation of the weaponry/ remains that survives is excellent. Identification of the transition around c.30BC is difficult. Much of the main body of the site was destroyed by a First World War trench and ancient excavations, including the north-east of the central temple building.

Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée (Oise), Picardy, Liebbe 1898, Brunaux & Lambot 1991, Delestrée 1996, Derks 1998

Saint-Maur is another large Roman temple complex with a votive theatre. The bronze statue of a warrior (Derks 1998: 46-48) comes from Saint Maur, found in a box, in pieces during illegal excavations on the site. Iron Age coinage was found here in the 19th century, and is published by Liebbe (1898), also mentioned in Roymans 1990. The 19th century excavations were very extensive,

and the Roman temple was almost totally removed. The temple is now almost invisible in aerial photos due to this.

Brunaux and Lambot excavated at the site in the early 1990's (1991). Unfortunately, a great deal of illegal metal-detecting has taken place at Saint-Maur. The IA ditches and pits were preserved to some extent. Initially a small quadrangular enclosure was built, although this had little material associated with it. Then the site was surrounded by a large oval enclosure ditch, as at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, with a palisade, which had two phases. The centre of the site had a series of ditches, followed by a Roman temple, but this area has been badly eroded by the Roman activity, and the stratigraphy was badly damaged by illegal excavation and Liebbe in the 19th century.

Saint Maur is one of the very old sites, morphologically part of a small complex of Picardy sanctuaries (see Figure 4:10). However, it is virtually unpublished, with only 4 pages published on the entire site. The chronology is therefore difficult to assess. IA and Roman pottery is found all over the site, and weaponry fragments are also widely spread. Some of the weaponry fragments seem to have been out in the open air for a long period of time, suggesting a similar kind of rite to those going on at Gournay and Ribemont. Much of the weaponry comes from the area near the outer ditch.

The coins are published in Delestrée 1996 (65). 587 coins have been found on the site, 5 gold, 59 silver (58 of these are thin silver), 336 struck bronze (197 of these are Scheers 120 types) and 187 potin coins (49 of these are Scheers 191 types). However, they seem to include a lot of metal-detected coins, with little archaeological content in the report. Iron Age coins are found in the pits at the entrance to the large outer and the two ditches positioned in front of the large central pit. Very dense deposition of coins. Mostly local issues, as well as a few which were unique to the site at the time of discovery. No quantification of the Roman coins has been published.

Brunaux and Lambot (1991:178) stated that the stratigraphy of the early layers was confused, and that it was very hard to identify the chronology of deposition.

fanum was constructed in the reign of Nero, or perhaps the beginning of the reign of Vespasian according to the excavators (actually, I'd put it earlier, in the Augustan period). The fanum construction does seem to be pushed back by the late dating of the IA layers, although there are some stratified Nero/Vespasian coins.

There is clearly a great deal of coinage from the site, but there is much confusion in the various publications, a full discussion of which is considered below. The coins were published by Delestrée in 1985, and also included in his 1996 volume. In the 1996 volume he only gives 157 identifiable IA coins (163 IA and 38 Roman), rather than the 403 'temple' coins and 369 genera site coins from various sources which are given in his original article, and in Piton. The relatively high quantity of potins in the 1996 report (36%) would indicate an early start to deposition, and the presence of 78 IA brooches also suggests this. However, Delestrée is non-committal on the possibility of an early start.

Most of the coinage on the site is from the temple deposit. However, these figures exist for coins found outside of the temple area (Delestree, 1985, p.59). They are from general collections by locals, as well as Dufour's 19th century theatre excavations, and the 'extensive' excavations by Piton. However, it is worth comparing these figures and coin types with the 256 coins which Scheers lists for the site, as they do seem to bear absolutely no resemblance to each other.

Non-temple coins.

Total = 369 coins (99.98%)

Gold	10: 2.71%
Silver	55: 14.9%
Bronze	217: 58.8%
Potin	87: 23.57%

Temple coins are given as

Total = 403 (48) (100%)

Gold	8: 1.98%
Silver	102: 25.31%
Bronze	289: 71.71%
Potin	4: 1%

Coin contexts.

Although Delestrée believes that most of the Iron Age coinage comes from Julio-Claudian contexts (1996:46), it is not so clear when the other archaeological finds are taken into consideration. No other details give, but the presence of a large and homogenous group of 78 Alésia/ Aucissa brooches presumably leads the dating to the second half of the first century BC. Colin (1998:42) dates the Alésia type mostly to the second half of the first century BC, with a few starting to appear in the middle decades of the 1st C. BC. The Aucissa brooches are an evolved form of the former, and later evolved types form the majority of the brooches found at Haltern and Oberaden (10BC to start of Claudius's reign). In central France these are well dated to the last decades of the first century BC to the Augustan period.

The relation of the brooch deposit at Vendeuil-Caply to other parts of the sites are less clear. Vendeuil-Caply was probably quite an important site, and the presence of Alésia and Aucissa brooches suggests it could well have been part of a southern network of exchange. The Noye is not a vast distance from the Oise/ Aisne confluence, so portage of goods would be relatively easy. It is also a tributary of the Somme.

2 main stratigraphic phases which include coins were identified by Delestrée (1996:47).

- Iron Age coins, in pits, and perhaps in layer 4. 69 IA coins, 62 in ditches and 7 in layer 4, 4 Roman coins, including a half as. No useful details on which coins are included in these contexts could be obtained from publications, reports or archive reports. Apparently the assemblage is characteristic of the late IA coin types, covering the end of the second third and the final third of the 1st C BC. It could well be mostly potin, as Delestrée still thinks that they are late in 1996. If this is the case, then the dating can be pushed back further.

- 2- Layers 5 to 10, contemporary with Nero, including IA and Roman coins. Piton and Dilly stated that 86 IA coins from identifiable contexts, 62 from pits, and 24 from identifiable layers. Most of the pits have been affected by ancient excavations, including the central pit, pit F3. Some of the stratigraphic relationships are also unclear.

Layer 4 has IA coins. These are 7 inscribed coins but with potins (no quantity given): "*malgré la présence de potins résiduels, dans la circulation tardive*" (1996:47). A Roman quinarius was also found in this feature (although it may be from a different layer), of M. Cato (RRC 462/2), struck in Africa between 47 and 46BC and very worn. Delestrée dates this level to 40-30 BC, but this is largely due to the late potins, which we now know to be earlier. Looking at Piton and Dilly's 1985 section drawings layer 4 does seem to date around the construction of the ring of pits. Assuming they are all contemporary, which seems a reasonable assumption due to their distinct and related morphology, layer 4 is cut by pit F4, but overlies F5. These are related pits in one of the rows, and some confusion is suggested, or perhaps they are not contemporary?

Piton and Dilly suggest two phases of pits, separated by layer 4, which seals the earlier layer of pits. Worryingly, according to the excavators, layer 4 produced fragments of Roman votive altars, but they believe it is contemporary to the second generation of pits on the site. No material comes from any of the earlier layers though. Layer 4 has produced a quarter stater from pit 10, a LT 7892 (Sch 8), which is one of the very early types. A LT II brooch (fig 23, no.24) was found in pit 10a. There is a LT I brooch from the central pit (F3) (very early type, fig 21).

Early potin coin types, such as LT 8124, LT 7405 and LT 7417 come from the site, suggesting early activity, but none are stratified to very early levels. It seems likely that although the early levels of the site are probably much earlier than Piton and Dilly give credit for, they are not datable by stratified coin. No other stratigraphic contexts could be gleaned from the rapport de fouilles, which are even sparser than the inadequate excavation report.

The second list is significantly different from the first one. Culled from Delestrée (1996:46 and 1985), this list is supposedly from the temple itself, but very different from Piton and Dilly's figures. Delestrée says that these are the only stratified coins, but never really places them in an appropriate context. However, it is interesting to note the exotic origins of much of the silver coins, which suggests that they may be later in date.

Compared to some of the more internal sites (such as Gournay) Vendeuil-Caply is relatively peripheral to this group, and the coin assemblage does seem to reflect this. Colbert de Beaulieu also thought that this site showed evidence of inter-regional circulation, but Delestrée disagrees, pointing out that 85% of the coins are Belgic, although some of the oddities are very odd indeed. Scheers has a couple of pages on Vendeuil-Caply (1977: 132-4) in her catalogue, pointing out that the site has many unique coins, which are simply not found elsewhere, and many coins which are only found in the immediate environs. The site is clearly a centre of coin minting, especially lots of small bronze issues, and is a major candidate for a minting sanctuary complex.

Coin list (from Delestrée 1996, 1985 – see above).

Gold

- 1-LT 8704, Sch 24, class V, uniface stater
- 2-LT 8722, Sch 13, class V, ¼ stater <<au bateau>>
- 3-LT 7892, Sch 8, ¼ stater, biface
- 4-Sch 11 (var), ¼ stater

Silver

- 5 and 6-LT 689
- 7-LT 5405- 5411, d/ Q.DOCI , r/ SAMF
- 8-LT 5550, d/ [TO] GIRIX
- 9-LT 5550, uninscribed
- 10-LT 5550, d/ [TOGIR]IX
- 11-LT 5815, d/ BRI(?), r/ COMA, vallée du Rhône
- 12-LT 6342, d/ ANDEC[OMBO..], r/ legend off flan
- 13-LT 9025, d/ SO [LIMA], r/ legend off flan

Struck Bronze

- 14-LT 4072, attributed to the Bituriges Cubi
- 15 and16-LT 6077, Carnutes
- 17-LT 6088, Carnutes
- 18-LT 6117, <<à l'aigle>>, Carnutes
- 19-LT 7029, Aulerci Eburovices
- 20-LT 7248, Sch 25, class I, <<à l'astre>>, bronze issue

<<au personnage courant>>

- 21-30 (10 coins) Sch 163, classe I, la série à <<l'androcéphale>>
- 31-33 (3 coins) Sch 163, classe III, var a, BN 7307-8, la série au <<personnage accroupi>>
- 34-37 (4 coins) Sch 163, classe III, var c, d/ person squatting, r/ wild boar, l.

- 38-52 (15 coins) Sch 163, classe I, var a, la série au <<cheval>>
- 53-LT 7333, Sch 165, classe I, BN 7332-7339
- 54-LT 7333, Sch 165
- 55-LT 7485, Sch 176, classe II, r/ ECC[AIOS], d/ legend off flan
- 56-LT 7583, Sch 214, classe II, série <<Gallo-Romaines>>
- 57-LT 7739, Sch 151, legend off flan, CAAOV
- 58-LT 7951, Sch 27, r/ CRICIRONIS
- 59-LT 7951, Sch 27, r/ CRICIRV
- 60-LT 8040, Sch 146, leg REM[O]
- 61-LT 8054, Sch 147, d/ [ATISIOS], r/ [REMO]
- 62-LT 8016, BN 8111, Sch 154, <<à la tête janiforme>>
- 63-LT 8399-97, Sch 105, BN 8395-8399
- 64-LT 8406, Sch 163, var m <<au personnage courant>>
- 65-LT 8440, Sch 63
- 66-LT 8441, Sch 64 série <<au cavalier>>
- 67-LT 8456, Sch 80c, class III
- 68-LT 8449, Sch 80d, class IV
- 69-LT 8442, Sch 80e, class V, d/ VACIICO
- 70-LT 8494, Sch 80b, class II, d/ VOCIIC
- 71-LT 8482, Sch 80g
- 72-LT 8471, Sch 133
- 73-LT 8487, Sch 80f

<<types des dépôts d'Amiens>>

- 74-LT 8507, Sch 104, r/ IMONIO
- 75-LT 8518, Sch 87, class I

<<les bronzes à la légende VIRICIVS>>

- 76-Sch 109, class I, VIIRICIVS
- 77-Sch 109, class I, VIIRICIVS
- 78-Sch 109, class II, VIIRICIVS, signe en forme d'ancre (anchor)
- 79-Sch 109, class II, VIIRICIVS
- 80-82 (3 coins) Sch 109, class III, VIRICI
- 83-84 Sch 109, class IV, VIRICIV <<série au coq à la tête incluse>>
- 85-LT 8577, 8585, Sch 129, class I <<les bronzes avec coq et tête humaine>>
- 86-91 (6 coins) LT 8584, Sch 121, BN 8581-8584 <<série des quarts de bateau>>
- 92-LT 8722-32, Sch 13, class V (bronze)<<Gallo-Romaines>>
- 93-101 (9 coins) LT 9248, Sch 216, GERMANVS INDVTILLI L.<<le bronze au masque perlé>>
- 102-105 (4 coins) LT-, BN 5714, Sch 181
- 106, Scyphate issue of the Boii

Potin coins

- 107-109 (3 coins) LT 5368, charging bull, att to Sequani
- 110-LT 5527 (var), Sequani
- 111-BN 6160-68, Sch 212, Class I, <<à l'aigle>>
- 112-BN 6160-68, Sch 212, Class I
- 113-LT 7405, Senones
- 114-LT 7417, Senones
- 115-120 (6 coins) LT 7417
- 121-LT 7745, wild boar facing left
- 122-LT 7458, Sch 185, class III
- 123-LT 7905, Sch 198
- 124-LT 7924, Sch 210 <<running man with lance and torc>>
- 125-142 (18 coins) LT 8124, Sch 191
- 143-LT 8319, Sch -, like Janiform head series from E. Gaul
- 144-LT 8329, origin uncertain
- 145-BN 6294, centre of Gaul
- 146-155 (10 coins) BN 8654-8660, Sch 205
- 156-BN 8661-68, Sch 206
- 157-BN 8661-68, Sch 206
- 158-LT 9078, Sch 186, boar/ head potin
- 159- potin <<à la tête diabolique>>
- 160- potin <<à la tête diabolique>>
- 161- potin <<dérivé de Marseilles>>
- 162-LT 9155, Sch 187, Leuci?
- 163-LT 9180, Sch 203, <<série au sanglier>>

+ 6 unidentified coins (1 poss personnage courant, 1 poss ATISIOS, 1 poss IMONIO)

Champagne-Ardenne

Bâalons-Bouvellemont (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Squevin 1988, 1994

Not terribly well published, but fairly comprehensive archive reports, so the bulk of the information comes from unpublished sources. Excavations in 1938 found 2 bronze statuettes (of Mars and Jupiter), 'many' IA and Roman coins and 4 bronze bracelets. No plans or reports survived to 1988. Other excavations had taken place – Scheers (1977:755) records the discovery of a Scheers 191 potin in the foundation trench of a building excavated by Liénard in 1877. 2 more were found during excavations the following year, while a Scheers 146, a 216 and 2 186 bronzes were also found. No record could be found of the excavations.

It is a large cult centre, containing at least 3 fana and numerous ritual deposits. Short period of occupation, late IA to mid 1st C AD. The nearby village has produced many Roman foundations, so it is likely that the ritual focus is a peri-urban site, as we find in many of the larger Roman sites in Gaul (Vieil-Evreux, Autun etc). Baâlons-Bouvellemont stands out for its ceramic deposits, which are something we rarely find on the chalk of the Somme. Ceramic deposits seem to be an important part of deposition in the Ardennes, and it could well indicate a different kind of ritual deposit, linking in better with the well-known pot deposits from major sanctuaries (e.g. Alesia) known from the south. 3 major deposits of pottery were found on the site, which also include coins and weaponry. The site also contains miniature weaponry, in large numbers, which again seems to be a relatively restricted practice (the Picardy sanctuaries do appear to replace weaponry with coinage fairly quickly, and actually, probably before the Conquest).

765 coins from the site. 193 Roman, 477 IA and 95 illegible.
Interestingly by 1992, Squevin says in his article (1994, Les Sanctuaires de tradition indigene en Gaule Romaine) that 480 coins were discovered in the excavations and more than 600 on the surface (although as usual in these articles, there is no further information).

There are also well-stratified coins, found in well dated contexts. The site as a whole does seem to have been deposited in a very short period of time, and it is illustrative that the pottery comes from a fairly tight chronological band, while the coinage comes from a wide period. Presumably residual.

- 16 quarter staters
- 70 Sch 195 potins
- 32 Sch 194 potins
- 11 Sch 191 potins
- 3 potins, illegible
- 182 AE Remi, Sch 146
- 45 AE Remi, Sch 147
- 53 AE Sch 151
- 3 AE Suessiones
- 2 AE Nervii, Sch 145
- 9 Germ Ind, Sch 216
- 51 types "like" Sch 216
- 67 half asses of Vienne and Nîmes.
- 9 denarii
- 66 Altar/ Lyon
- 51 assorted Roman
- 95 various illegible.

10 real weapons, 109 miniature spearheads (not clear how these ate distinguished from arrowheads), one mini shield and two swords (joined by a ring, see Squevin 1988), one bronze miniature spear, 40 indeterminate miniature weaponry fragments, 50 various metal objects (nails, small bronze plaques (including eye ex-votos), hooks etc). More than 600 fragments of bone, and a large quantity of pottery. Are also fragments of mail shirts (51 bits). Sigillata includes a Drag 27 bowl from deposit C, these being found in large numbers in the Rhine camps. Local wares form Vesle, and the ubiquitous local LT III type shallow bowls which form 90% of the site assemblage. One amphora, stamped. 12 brooches, one was oxidised to a coin (see below).

Coin contexts.

Four main deposits.

Deposit A – 76 coins, badly preserved, and no finds from inside pots.

Deposit B – 56 coins, 14 from inside pots (in 8 groups) (17.39%), 2 are Germ Ind, 4 Lyon/ Altar, 8 Roman.

Stratified coins.

Dep	Potins				S.146				Altar/ Lyon			
	A	B	A+ B	%	A	B	A+ B	%	A	B	A +B	%
Layer 1	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	14.81	2	1	3	11.54
Layer 2	5	0	5	45	12	4	16	59.26	9	10	19	73.08
Layer 3	4	2	6	55	6	1	7	25.93	3	1	4	15.38
Total	9	2	11	100	21	6	27	100	14	12	26	100

Interestingly enough, some coins are found on their sides and at an oblique angle, which has interesting implications for the placing of coins in the deposits. Some of the pots are deliberately placed on their sides and upside down. Upside down and flat could be interpreted as just flung in, but on the side must indicate deliberate placement. One coin, a Scheers 216, is oxidised to a brooch. The brooch is a bronze type, with traces of silver on the back. Seems to date to the start of the first century AD, judging by the dating of the deposit. It is found in Deposit A.

Bouvellemont has unusually early construction of stone buildings, and the early 'temples' are the earliest stone buildings in the region. If they are evidence of 'romanisation', as Squevin suggests, they are very early. He suggests that activity on the site starts in c. 50 BC, but actually, the weaponry and potin coinage does suggest a fairly early start, even if they are not stratified. Deposit D seems to be the oldest, A contains the oldest pottery and is probably next, while B and C seem to be contemporary. The site does give clear evidence that IA coinage was circulating in large quantities in the early Roman period, as the site definitely goes on until this period. There are also interestingly large numbers of Republican coins circulating, as we can see in the deposit, some of them very early.

The large numbers of very early Roman coins are actually unusual in the area, with less than 1% dating after Tiberius. Especially important in the Ardennes, and the site is seen by Squevin as being a circulation of exactly what was in circulation in the immediate post-Conquest period. The site is very close to the confluence of the Seine and the Meuse, which might indicate why it is the focus of such early Roman ritual activity. Possible link to Mouzon-Flavier, which also has a large number of miniature weapons, suggesting a local custom, and a small stone and wood building which also predates that Gallic Wars underlying the first to second century AD temple. Few other examples which can be compared, as little excavation has been done. Estrées-Saint-Denis and Mirebeau are the most likely parallels on the pottery front.

Chateau-Porcien "Nandin" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Neiss 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1975

Chateau-Porcien is a large vicus, of which the temple enclosure is only a small part. Fichtl says that only three IA coins and some IA pottery were found at Chateau-Porcien, and says that little is known about the site. The site is not adequately published, but archive reports do exist for the excavations led by Neiss from 1968 on. There was little comprehension of stratigraphy in the 60's and 70's excavations. However, interestingly, there are also archaic pottery forms from the 1968 season in trench B, square BB – of Iron Age type, but dating to the first century AD. Parallel with Baâlons-Bouvellemont is suggested. This may be a local tradition in the area.

Coin list.

Actually, the archive reports are very confused and vague, but it is clear that more than 3 IA coins come from the site. 10 Iron Age coins came from Neiss's excavations, 3 struck bronze, 3 potin and 4 others simply listed as 'Iron Age'. The reports are in the form of annual excavation assessments, and the coin finds are listed here in yearly order in association with their associated finds.

<u>1968</u>.

- Trench A, in confused stratigraphy a burnt IA coin was found 71 cm down. Sigilata stopped at 30cm, but the pottery from the lower layers consists mainly of 'gallo-belge' and craquelée-bleutée and archaic LT III forms. These all date to the early Roman period. Craquelée-bleutée was produced at Villeneuve-au-Châtelot and probably Reims, so we are talking local usage here. Other finds include fragments of a bronze brooch from 10cm lower, a fragmentary bronze plaque, from 18 cm lower, and a fragment of terra nigra from 8cm below the coin. Clearly Roman context. No other details on the coin. Probably from the destruction layers of the temple, burnt earth, chalk, tesserae, bones and tiles were found between 25 and 35 cm down.
- Trench C, a struck bronze IA coin, no other details, fuzzy photo. 4 other coins found in trench c, 2 asses of Nero, and 2 other bronzes.

1969

- No IA coins, but a LT III brooch in a pit (BA) which also included many complete vessels and much metalwork. Two distinct phases of occupation.

1970

- Sector C. Lower layer of refill produced a coin of the Remi from the inside wall of the temple. No other details.

1971

- 2 IA coins (+ one below) this year, a Germ Ind and a potin of the Catalauni. Both were found in area C13, which seems to have been the focus of ritual deposition of metalwork (seen by Neiss as being a possible foundry). Pottery dates the level tot he 1st century AD. Many pins and brooches, and also a chalk block engraved with wheels.
- C 22, slope to the south of the temple(?). Building material identified, with fragments of bronze, sherds of terra nigra and a potin coin of the Catalauni. Pottery dated to the second century AD.
- It seems clear that what we are dealing with is an area of ritual deposition in pits, which is interesting, but not fully discussed in the reports.

1972

- Discovery of pits predating the fanum this year, one of which contains a deposit of cow horns (there are lots of these from the site). Less than 100

apparently (just less?). No Roman finds from this pit, or from 4 of the others, suggesting the pits may be Iron Age.

- 4 coins, 1 Roman (unidentified) and 3 IA. One is unidentified, one is probably Catalauni and one is a bronze of Atisios (Remi).
- 2 of the IA coins were found in the gallery of the cella (diagram in my rapport notes). One was found to the north of the cella. No identification of which coins were which.

1973

No coins.

1975

- This year the whole area was surface stripped, in a dramatic change of policy from the small-scale box-trench excavations of the previous years. Gallia 1977. 5 coins. One IA, the rest are Hadrian and later.
- The IA coin is another Catalauni potin, found in one of the pits found in the west part of building S. No other details.

Coins in Scheers (1977). Scheers has vague records.

- The Scheers 147 she lists (ATISIOS REMOS) is listed as being discovered at Nandin in Colbert de Beaulieu (1960), so cannot be the one from the 70's excavations.
- One Scheers 151 (AE) was found in 19th century excavations at Chateau-Porcien, but there is no guarantee that this coin came from the temple area.
- Scheers 146 struck bronzes (REMO/REMO) have been found in some quantity. Scheers lists 'numerous examples' from the excavations of the Gallo-Roman villa at Nandin in the 19th century. Information Dr. J. Lallemand (in 1971). This is likely to be the temple.
- Scheers 191 (potin), again, numerous examples were found in the 19th century excavations of the Gallo-Roman villa at Nandin. (Info as above).

It seems likely that the Scheers 146 and 191's come from the temple area, and it is interesting that the potins, a relatively early type, were found at Chateau-Porcien. However, none of the coins from the excavations in the 70's are in

Scheers. It does seem likely that at least some of the 'Catalauni potins' are Scheers 191's.

The coins from the site are problematic, as they have not been properly recorded, and it is hard to make any sense of the chaotic excavation report. It seems likely that they are all from Roman layers, with a question mark over the potins found in the 'metalworking' area, and perhaps the ones from the central area, which may have been connected to deposits under the cella. The site has not been fully published, and it is highly unlikely to be, so this may be all that can be said.

Ecly (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Delestree 1996

Mentioned in Delestrée (1996:138) as being a small sanctuary which produced 70 Iron Age coins. The site is described as being close to an Iron Age settlement, although no excavation seems to have taken place here, and beyond the pie-chart, with no numbers on it, which shows over three-quarters of the coins as being late struck bronzes, mostly Scheers 151, 146, and Scheers 147 types.

Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Congar 1966, 1967, Roussel 1971, 1972, 1973, Tisserand 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980a & b, 1981, Poplineau and Deveraux 1981, Poplineau 1983, 1984

The site of Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" is also in the Ardennes. It was a Roman temple complex, overlying an earlier votive focus, which produced coins and weaponry. It was the focus of a long-term excavation programme over 20 years, by various excavators, primarily M. Congar, M Roussel, M. Pierre, G. Tisserand and G. Poplineau from 1966 to 1986. Initially very dubious stratigraphy and later box trenches confused the picture, but the later 1970's excavations were better, although the site is never exactly clear. Wall chasing until 1972, and some of the reports are very bad (such as 1971).

Very traditional type of Picardy excavation, and therefore it has a relatively comprehensive coin list. However, it tied the coins in to the rest of the finds, and the coins can be placed with other finds from their levels and squares, if not necessarily to specific features. There is an article by Congar which only mentions 3 coins though (One or several Scheers 30a, a silver of ARDA, 2 Scheers 162, AE A. Hirtius, and a Scheers 195, a potin).

The site is very close to the departmental boundary with the Meuse, and is on the far west of the Ardennes. Having said that, the miniature weapons do suggest that it fit in better with the eastern sites. There is also much ceramic evidence (a characteristic of the Ardennes votive sites). The site does have important miniature weapons, which have been fully published, unlike most of the rest of the site, which relies on the one article listed above.

<u>Coin list. (IA only) and contexts which they are stratified with.</u>

This is deduced from the rapport de fouilles, which are at best confused. 35 Iron Age coins can be identified.

1. Cast bronze copy of the Caesar elephant denarius. IA? Prob a Sch 162 (see Congars report, 1971). If it is a potin could it be the Sch 195?
2. Germ Ind coin (Sch 216)
3. ARDA AE (LT 8842, this could well be the Sch 30a mentioned above)
4. Remo/Remo AE (Sch 146)
5. 1 probably IA struck bronze but unidentifiable.
6. 2 IA coins found in 1971 with a Roman mid to late Emp square brooch (possibly).
7. Report for these 2 coins is very confused and no other details.
8. Potin "a sanglier" found at the base of the foundations for 2 walls. Just above the natural. Found with 1 sherd of sigilata (with decorated rim), 6 nails (2 of which were stuck to what sounds like an iron brooch fragment), a bit of glass, and some early Roman pottery. Sounds like the foundation of the site was probably in the Augustan/ Tiberian period.
9. Square B4c, IA coin found in Level 3, the mid first century layer. Sch 191/ LT 8124.

10. C4, IA coin found in the lowest layer (Layer 5). Found with fragments of oyster, bones, eggshell and a sherd of transitional LT/ earliest GR pottery. Treveri coin, Eye silver coin of POTTINA.
11. Also C4, Level 4. Potin coin of the type Forrer 349. Found with an Augustan coin
12. C4, Level 3. Potin coin, trace du pédoncule/ droit lisse/ au revers figure inidentifiable.
13. Also C4, Level 4, very close to coin 12. Potin coin, droit illisible/ au revers animal gallopant.
14. Sch 216, C4, Level 4, lower than the two potins.

70 coins in total were found in 1975, of which some are Treveran and Remi IA cons, and one of the Roman coins was a denarius of Caesar. 2 of the brooches are also LT II/III types. Level 4 is definitely dated to the early first century BC by this stage of the excavations. The 1975 coins are catalogued below, but identification is problematic.

15- A5d, level 2. Potin (actually a struck bronze, which does not fill me with confidence for the ascription of potin identifications earlier in the proceedings). A. Hirtius issue. Found with the Caesar denarius (Asia and 2 serpents one). Pottery dates this level to the Claudian/ Neronian period (Drag 24-25 and grey ware).
16. A5d, level 3. Bronze potin (?) 'avers tête a dr./ revers animal à dr. [taureau]. Sch 191?
17. C5a, level 3. Treveri bronze, avers tête a gauche/ revers taureau a droit. Found with coin 18. Also miniature weaponry: 3 shields, 5 swords, 2 horse-bits, 3 spears and local grey and black ware.
18. C5a, level 3. Arda bronze.
19. C5b, level 3. AE Remo/Remo, Sch 146. Found with a Claudian coin and a Neronian coin and 2 unidentifiable bronzes. Large layer, 20, 21 and 22come from below. 4 spears, 1 normal sized and 3 miniature. Pottery fragment of craquelée bleutée and various local grey and orange wares.
20. C5b, level 3. AE Arda.
21. C5b, level 3. Potin, stylised head/ boar (Treveri apparently). Found with fragments of a silver wheel.

22. C5b, level 3. AE Hirtius copy. Found with coin 23 and an iron brooch dating to LTII/III (possibly a Nauheim brooch). Also a Lyon/altar Augustan as.
23. C5b, level 3. Germ Ind AE (Sch 216).
24. C5b, level 3. Very stylised Treveran coin. No other details, same context as 22 and 23.
25. C5b, level 4. Germ Ind (Sch 216) found with one unidentifiable coin, and one 'gallic copy' of the sesterces of Augustus and Tiberius. Lyon altar coin? Also a javelin point and an amphora fragment, dating to the first century BC.
26. C5c, Level 2. Remo/Remo AE (Sch 146). Found with 2 Lyon altar asses and an unidentifiable bronze. Miniature weaponry: 1 lance, 1 javelin, 1 barbed arrowhead and also black wares.
27. C5c, level 3. Remo/ Remo AE (Sch 146). Found in the layer below coin 26. With coin 28 and a bronze brooch datable to the end of the 1st C AD. Miniature weaponry: 2 shields, 2 javelins.
28. C5c, level 3. AE coin, avers illisible/ revers cheval gallopant à dr. Wheel under the horse, only this side illustrated. Could be a British issue?
29. C5c, level 4. Potin, reverse and obverse illegible.
30. B3a, level 3. [1976 excavations]. Silver IA coin. Avers: tête stylisée à g./ revers: cheval gallopant à g. Type Forrer 350. Found with 4 sestertii and one dupondius of Nero, coin 31 and 32, a halved sestertius, a miniature shield, a bit of an iron bowl. Pottery dates this layer to the end of the 2nd C AD/ start of 3rd C AD (bit of Gose 370).
31. B3a, level 3. BN 8445-48. Potin coin. Sch 199.
32. B3a, level 3. Potin coin, sounds like a Sch 191. Avers: femme courant a dr. avec lance et torques/ tresse de chevaux/ revers: elephant à dr./éléments indéterminés dessus.
33. B3a, level 4. Hirtius IA copy (elephant). Found with a sestertius of Nero, a half sestertius of Octavius (37BC), an unidentified bronze, a spear point and a bronze wheel with 6 rays.
34. B3b, level 3. Potin of the Senones. Avers et revers: sangliers tête béche de part. Et d'autre d'un point central. LT 7458, Sch 158? Also 3 sestertii of Nero, a bronze of Claudius, another half sestertius (unidentified) and a sestertius of Caligula(?), and a possible dupondius. Serious amount of

pottery in this layer, beige vase, and some datable stuff: Gose 363-4 (Claud-Vesp), Gose 369 (mid 2nd C AD), Gose 318-9 (Claudian to pre-Flavian), Gose 318 (Claudian), Gose 328 (Claud – pre-Flavian), Gose 414 (Claudian). Deposit seems to be Claudian/ Neronian on balance.

35. [1977 excavation] Vague catalogue from this year. Lots of bronze Imperials, and a few other coins. D7a, level 3, Germ Ind (Sch 216). A circular enamelled brooch also comes from this level, which could well be second century AD. Also from this layer are a billon radiate (Pietas Aug) and a bronze of Nero.

No other coherent stratigraphy from the site. It is clear that many of the IA coins come from Roman deposits, but some do not. Due to the nature of box trenches it is hard to identify site stratigraphy, but it is likely that there is pre-Roman stratigraphy from the site.

Nanteuil-sur-Aisne "Le Grand Nepellier" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes,
Lambot & Meniel 2000, Lambot 1989, 1991, 1996

Nanteuil-sur-Aisne was a vast complex, even at an early stage. The central sanctuary had a very large enclosure ditch of c. 165m², with many pits. The site does seem to be a vicus, as there are traces of many cellars in the cropmarks, and there is evidence for a large Roman urban settlement, as well as earlier Iron Age activity. Lambot (1989) discussed the ancient excavations, which were numerous. These produced much votive material, bent weaponry, hundreds of coins, thousands of wheels, human and animal bones, late Iron Age pottery and Roman objects. Surface finds from Nanteuil-sur-Aisne include half-made brooches, indicating some kind of workshop on the site, wheels "en chapelets" (on beads) and rings with jewels set into them, although the latter two are Roman in date.

The site was sampled in 1991 and 1996 by Bernard Lambot, who also tried to sort out the history of excavation at the site. There were major excavations there from 1959 to 1961, although the archive reports from these excavations (by F. Guerin) are not terribly illuminating.

Antiquarian excavations: Many coins and rouelles on the surface. Coin list is from the regional archives.

1. AE, Suessiones (new type?)
2. AE, Suessiones (corroded)
3. As coin no 2.
4. As coin no 2. All with a horse and a head. Excavator thinks that Blanchet has them either under Suessiones or Remi.
5. Catalauni, man with torc (running man potin, Sch 191??)
6. AE, REMI, three heads, Sch 146
7. AE, REMI, three heads, Sch 146
8. Senones, deux boucs s'affrontant (another potin??, one of the local AE issues?)
9. AE, REMO, Sch 146
10. Catalauni, man with torc (Sch 191?)
11. As coin 10
12. AE, REMO, Sch 146
13. As coin 10
14. As coin 10
15. Suessiones, burnt and badly struck, horse and stylised head.
16. As coin 10
17. As coin 10
18. As coin 12?
19. Burnt and corroded, Suessiones
20. As coin 10
21. As coin 10
22. As coin 10
23. As coin 10
24. Bellovaci, AE (tres jolie....)
25. Silver quarter stater of the Remi
26. As coin 10
27. As coin 10
28. As coin 10
29. As coin 10
30. As coin 10
31. As coin 10
32. As coin 10
33. As coin 10
34. As coin 10
35. Catalauni – sitting god, facing horses, r/ boar
36. Corroded AE
37. Corroded AE
38. Remi, base gold quarter stater
39. Remi, base gold quarter stater
40. As coin 10
41. Suessiones, burnt and corroded
42. As coin 10, definitely Sch 191: Homme et torque, R/ ours
43. Suessiones, corroded, but characteristic horse
44. As coin 43
45. Remi, REMO, Sch 146
46. Small coin, attributed to the Suessiones
47. Remi, base gold quarter stater, found with a dozen rouelles
48. As coin 10
49. Remi coin, ATISIOS, large coin
50. As coin 10, found with a shield boss, wheels and bone
51. Unidentified eastern IA coin, bucranium between 2 S's (potin??)
52. Suessiones coin
53. Suessiones coin, both this and 52 were probably found with a Tiberian Lyon/ Altar issue.
54. As coin 10
55. Remi, REMO, Sch 146
56. Small IA coin, corrodes, Suessiones
57. As coin 10
58. Catalauni, seated god facing horses. Both this and 57 seem to have been found with a bronze filiform bracelet, and a large chunk of sword. There were also many boar and pig bones, and small bits of iron.
59. REMO, Sch 146
60. As coin 10
61. Catalauni, seated god/ boar
62. As coin 10
63. Catalauni, seated god/ boar

64. REMO, Sch 146
65. REMO Sch 146
66. As coin 10
67. As coin 10
68. Base gold, quarter stater, 3 Remi's (no idea what this means)
69. Remo, head of Janus coin (given to landowner)
70. As coin 10
71. As coin 10
72. As coin 10
73. As coin 10
74. REMO, Sch 146
75. REMO, Sch 146
76. REMO, Sch 146
77. Possible IA coin, corroded
78. Remi, man and whip [cassée]
79. As coin 10
80. Suessiones, very corroded
81. Remo, Sch 146
82. Catalauni, seated god
83. As coin 10
84. Catalauni, seated god
85. Uncertain eastern coin, bucranium between 2 S's. (potin?)
86. As coin 10 – seems to have been found with a coin of Trajan and one of Nero, as well as a bone ring, although I'd not say definitely…
87. As coin 85
88. Suessiones, coin. Seems to have been found with weaponry, and perhaps a Roman brooch, as well as a bronze wheel and coin 89
89. As coin 10
90. Atrebates coin – good condition, with a bronze bracelet and a bronze wheel
91. Burnt IA coin
92. Half a burnt IA coin
93. REMO, Sch 146
94. Small ATISIOS unit
95. A small IA…(?)
96. As coin 10
97. Remi, coin (AE)
98. Catalauni, in the excavation, on a heap after rain.
99. REMO, Sch 146 (surface find in the middle of the field above the excavation)
100. As coin 10
101. As coin 10, found with coin 100, and with a LT III brooch which had been ritually destroyed, without the pin.
102. Possible corroded Suessiones coin
103. As coin 10
104. Suessiones, small coin
105. Catalauni, seated god (surface find)
106. As coin 10
107. Suessiones coin
108. Catalauni, seated god (from the fill)
109. Small Suessiones coin

In conclusion:

Gold: 4 Remi base gold ¼ staters

Silver: 1 silver ¼ stater of the Remi

Potin (?): 57 potin coins - 43 Scheers 191, 3 bucranium potins, 8 seated god potins, 1 Senones, 2 bouc s'affrontant

AE (?): 43 struck bronze coins - 16 Scheers 146 REMO/REMO, 2 ATISIOS AE, one large, one small, 1 Remi head of Janus, 1 Remi man and whip cassée, 1 Remi? AE, 1 Atrebates, 1 ?Catalauni, 1 Bellovaci AE, 4 small Senones, 15 Senones

6 unknown IA.

(109 coins)

Very sketchy details from the early excavations, and they are really just a finds diary with a few vague sketches. It seems to have been one individual with his parents helping, and he seems to have trashed the stratigraphy of the central temple. He did find a great deal of weaponry and rouelles, and the vast majority of his coins are IA, which suggests that the foundation of the site is very early, and he certainly appears to have hit the pre-Roman layers by the quantity of potin coinage.

The recent excavations at Nanteuil are more lucid. 2 areas were excavated, a broad trench across the secondary small temple and the boundary enclosure, and a section across the large outer ditch which was discovered in 1996. A third section was taken across the large silos to the west of the complex. The section across the main temple was mostly covering already stripped ground, and had few finds. A half sword was found at the base of the ploughsoil, unstratified. A shield handle was found in the base of the IA ditch. Plenty of rouelles were found in the ploughsoil.

The large ditch to the north was sampled, and this seems to be reasonably intact. General fill is of brown earth with ashy deposits, while the bottom layer is of very charcoal rich black earth with numerous animal bones (largely cow), and one AE IA coin, a Scheers 146 (REMO/ REMO) one. The pottery for this area is not well known for the end of the IA or early G/R period, and although Lambot suggests that the ditch fill dates to the second half of the 1st C AD, it is not definite. The date is reached by association with the Romanisation of the rest of the site, but I think it may be earlier.

The 1996 season continued in the same area. Weaponry (swords and shield bosses) was found in the gallery of the smaller temple, lying flat on the preserved ground surface. Fragments of bone were also present. The weapons were dated to LT C2. Lots of coins and wheels were found in the machine removed topsoil, not noted in the rapport. Metal detector use allowed the

recovery of miniature lead wheels (5mm in diameter). A ditch to the north of the temple building was also investigated. No finds in the top, but 10cm down a Roman coin was found with an IA potin (no typological details). Bone and pottery was also present.

In square C99, a fragment of spear was found in the fill, and C100 much Roman tile and fragments of worked stone were found. These were supposedly aligned with the weaponry found earlier, although the plan does not look like it to me, and I think that they are probably not related (quite apart from the massive chronological difference).

In sector 3, the ditch immediately to the north of the temple was smaller, and little survived at this point. Upper levels essentially G/R and complex, very compacted. Possible that the ditch remained open in the G/R period. In the fill was a wheel and a potin coin (no other details), but they were in the fill of the 1959-61 'excavations' (referred to as the pillage by Lambot). Nothing else in the ditch is IA. Either an IA ditch which was comprehensively re-cut in the Roman period, or perhaps a series of parallel re-cuts as was found at St-Maur-en-Chaussée.

Site 2, the grand outer ditch of the complex. Double ditch with different fills, and a couple of major pits. Interestingly, some of the ditches are outside of the enclosure. This has interesting implications for the delimitation of 'sacred space'. The ditches have a long stratigraphy, which implies that they were deliberately kept open for a long period, and several re-cuts are identifiable. Most of the datable finds come from the top of the ditch and are Late Empire, there are lots of coins of Valentinian I, Valens and Gratien. Layer C3 had less abundant finds from the second half of the 2nd C AD. One sherd of early first century AD pottery was present. Ditch was not bottomed though, only dug to the bottom of layer C3, the 2nd century one.

Chronology:

1. Small ditch cut in the LIA or very earliest Roman period.

2. Re-cut of a large ditch (1st C AD?) filled rapidly by material sliding from edges into ditch, closing access route.
3. Re-cutting of the chalky fill and the rejected material of the 2nd ½ of the 2nd C AD put in the fill
4. New re-cutting of the ditch for all of its length, reconstructing the original ditch and entranceway at the end of the 4th century AD.

Small ditch has identical fill, and seems to be contemporary. A palisade of planks seems to have reinforced the posts aligned along the interior, with the double ditch on the outside. A possible entrance bridge is suggested in report (with questionable archaeological support). Small group of lead wheels was found, and a small fragment of sigillata. Pottery and bones present in large quantities but very abraded and unidentifiable. The datable pits are Roman, and one had Roman coin validation dies in it.

Area 3, outside the large enclosure. Large silos show on aerial photos. Very similar to silos at Acy-Romance, so they were investigated by Lambot. St 3 most spectacular – Horse skeleton, feet pointing east, with 2 decapitated men on top. Middle LT pottery from the deposit, can't be more precise than 'LT ancienne'. Possible focus for the placing of the site here

Chronology: Weaponry deposition starts at the beginning of LTD1 (many types are LT C2). First fill of the big outer ditch is at the end of the 1st C BC/ start of 1st C AD. Surface finds indicate continuity between LT C2 and the start of the first century AD, although there are no features which can give a clear indication of structural continuity over this period. The trashing of the central sanctuary is a problem, as judging by the volume of finds and the depth of delving in the 1959-61 digs, some stratification is likely to have survived till then.

<u>Coins from the modern excavations</u>:

NEP 1 (area round temple) stripping finds

2 Sch 191 (LT 8124)

1 Sch 194 (LT 8145)

1 Sch 151

2 Sch 152 (LT 8030)

1 unidentified IA

15 assorted Roman, mostly later Emp bar a copy of Nero (see rapport reports for details)

NEP 1, after cleaning

1 Sch 152 (LT 8030)

7 Roman coins, all later Empire.

Chossenot (1997:238) says that around 115 IA coins come from Nanteuil-sur-Aisne. 117 Iron Age coins are listed here.

Roizy "Le Cinq Horles" (Ardennes), Champagne-Ardennes, Lambot 1991

The site of Roizy was sampled by Lambot in 1991, at the same time that he first investigated Nanteuil-sur-Aisne. No other excavation is recorded in recent years. However, the site had been illegally metal-detected for many years, and the majority of metalwork appears to have been stripped off the site. Lambot had no access to any collections of coins from the site. Roizy is 2.5 km north-east of the confluence of the Wassigneau and Retourne rivers, and is on the west flank of a chalky outcrop. Seems to be a fairly major complex – surface survey indicated c. 7.5 hectares, although aerial photography is not too successful. By the reports of the two sondages, the site does not seem to preserve pottery very well either, although red marble fragments and worked stone are plentiful on the surface.

Difficult to say much about Roizy really. The sample of the quadrangular enclosure to the south of the Roman temple produced 2 small protohistoric pot sherds from a major ditch, at the top of the ditch silting. This suggests some Iron Age activity, and the square enclosures to the south are considered to be Iron Age by Lambot (and certainly bear much resemblance to those at Acy-Romance and Nanteuil-sur-Aisne). It seems likely that there is Iron Age activity here

before the construction of Roman buildings, but it is impossible to ascribe a ritual significance to it, apart from the presence of pits. Nothing else diagnostic can be said to come from the site, apart from the metal-detecting suggesting that there was originally much metal on the site, which would support the ritual theory. No information on any antiquarian finds of coins in Scheers. Much paperwork in the regional archive about metal-detecting, and it is clearly a major problem on the site.

La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot "Les Greves" (Aube), Champagne-Ardennes,

Piette & Frichet 1975, Piette 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1987

One of the most important votive sites in the region, with massive amounts of mobilier. Chossenot (1997:238) has it down as having 3000 IA coins and many wheels (70,000 in lead, 2 gold, 35 silver and 500 bronze), much pottery, destroyed weaponry, brooches, beads, horse harness and tools. However, on page 151 he says 1594 coins came from the sanctuary. Problematic.

I have the rapports from the 1970's and 1980's excavations on the site, but they are confused, and never give a very clear view of the stratigraphy. However, they do state the quantities of coin found in the excavations:
1850 IA coins, 367 Roman Republican, 1479 Aug and Tiberian, 97 Caligula – Nerva, 76 Trajan – Commodus, 165 3rd C to Postumus, 520 4th C. (total no of Roman: 2704).
4554 coins in total. Of course, the 3000 coins listed by Chossenot may be the total number of coins, including those from non-excavation finds. However, despite searching in the regional archives, no other information could be found.

Initially the site was dug in box trenches, but eventually opened up. Not too bad an excavation, but the small area excavation does make stratigraphic analysis difficult. The ground surface is preserved here too. The site is not well published; I can only find one article from the 1979 season, by Piette. Only one vague mention in Derks, about the presence of an IA temple under the supposed Roman one (1998:176). Delestrée and Fichtl (although it is a bit far east for the latter) don't even mention it either, which is odd, but Chossenot (1997) does

dwell on it, and sees it as an important site. Ignored due to a lack of information? No coins are listed in Scheers, 1977 from the site.

Very mixed stratigraphy, and it seems that in the early years of the excavation, only the depths and coin types are recorded, and even these are slightly eccentrically catalogued (Blanchet etc). It is clear that there are a lot of potins coming up from the lower layers of some squares, and some deposits do seem to be exclusively of IA material (e.g. the ditch in square A3), but it is all a bit unclear.

18737 wheels came from around the entrance area, which implies major cult deposition in antiquity. Some are found in groups of six (in B4), which perhaps indicates some kind of rite. Interestingly, the ditch does seem to be associated with Iron Age coins, not Roman ones, especially in the more secure lower layers. By 1978 935 IA coins had been found in stratified contexts. A small inner ditch spotted in square C2 had only IA material, including IA pot and an iron sword at its lowest level underlay the two large main ditches, indicating an earlier phase of activity on the site. Some parts of the inside have lots of amphora (no other details given) which implies close links with the Burgundy sanctuaries, which have large quantities from ritual feasting.

In conclusion, the weaponry deposition at the site starts in the LT C1. The excavators think that the weaponry is spread out on the ground surface, in its original position (although there is no evidence that anyone actually planned it out), or possibly the remains of a trophy which was destroyed later. No very early coins were found on the site, and it seems unlikely that there is any deposit of Ribemont date from the site.

The outer ditch was dated to the late IA by the excavators, but seem to have slowly silted up (or were deliberately kept open), and the upper layers were still open into the Augustan period, as the upper levels of fill contain Roman material. It is impossible to date the fills as no plans survive, but from the depths of the coinages, there must have been several. This ditch may date earlier in places, as some of the lowest deposits of IA coins are all potins, and the box

trench system may be obscuring several phases of deposition in different areas. A lot of potins come from this layer (32% of the coins from this ditch are LT 7417 and 7445 potins – again suggesting links with the south), and perhaps there is an early phase of deposition, and the Piette date of the late IA is too conservative. I would think that some of the early deposits have the potential from modern coin dating to be as early as the late third century BC, especially the weaponry. We are looking at a site deliberately kept open for a long period of time.

702 IA coins and 234 bronze wheels were found around the entrance to the enclosure, (A4 south, A5 north side). A4 has produced the bulk of the wheels and a lot of coinage, while A5 has produced over 200 IA coins.

The quantity of wheels in the inner ditch (50,000) suggests a later date, and the excavators think this ditch dates to the Augustan period. A hoard was found in the north-west corner of the enclosure, between the ditches. It contained coins (IA and Roman and Roman Republican) and wheels. Very odd hoard, and possibly two unrelated deposits.

Vase 1: small vase. 240 Republican quinarii and denarii, 41 IA coins of <<cavalier du Rhône>> type, 32 wheels and 3 silver rings.
Vase 2: large vase, c.400 bronze dupondii of Nîmes and asses of Lyon (RIC 360, Augustan).
This was deposited no earlier than the Augustan period, which does imply that the site still had some significance then. It also shows that the ditches were either still open at this period or were visible/ marked in some way.

The centre of the site is very disparate, with lots of little fragments of features, suggesting it was either regularly cleaned out or flattened. No comprehensible stratigraphy was deduced. It seems likely that the destruction of the site was in the third century AD, as there are many third century coins in the rubble and destruction levels.

There is a square building to the south of the temple which may be a small shrine, but all of the coins date to the 3rd to 5th centuries AD. There are some odd and not very well discussed features to the south of the main site, including a mini tumulus with a great number of lead wheels in the base at the centre. There are also traces of stone built buildings, such as the line of foundation blocks between B0 and B20 (north-south).

Finds from this feature include miniature weapons, a gold wheel, fragments of a silver wheel, IA and R coins, animal bones and lead wheels. This suggests the presence of an Augustan shrine on the site. It seems likely that the mess in the centre was originally some kind of focal point in the Roman period. The presence of fragmentary walls and a large stone well over the central basin indicates that there could have been some kind of structure there in the late IA and early R period (to judge by the pottery found in the central area). It seems likely that the stone was robbed out in antiquity, and the basin is all that remains. Gold coins are present from the central area (2 golds of the Senones, a gold coin of ROVECA), as well as odd Roman ones.

Coin list (culled from annual rapport de fouilles, so a bit confused.) By square or feature where possible.

(1850 IA coins)

- Square A2.

18 IA coins

LT 7419 (Potin?) (Potin A)– 6
LT 7493 (YLLVCCI) (Potin B)– 4
Blanchet 403 (Leuci) (Potin C)– 2
LT 7445 – 1
LT 8440, Sch 63 – 1
LT 8040, Sch 146 (remo/remo) – 2
Germ Ind – 1
IA, unknown - 1
These coins are concentrated on the edge of the ditch, in the south angle (outer edge).

- Square A3

63 IA coins

LT 7419 – 12
LT 7493 – 22
LT 7445 (au sanglier) – 1
Blanchet 403 – 5
Sch 146 (remo/remo) – 2
LT 9190 – 1
Germ Ind – 3
LT 7873 – 1
LT 8124 (Sch 191) – 1
LT 7988/7981, VADNENOS – 2
Blanchet 376 (Senones, Head of Janus) – 2
LT 7550 – 1
AE, insc. SV – 1 [SVTICOS?]
LT 7606, Meldes – 1
Bituriges Cubi – 1
LT 4520 (silver, SΛ[NTONVS]) – 1
IA Unknown – 6

The finds from A3 which are stratified date exclusively to the Iron Age (according to the excavators), although non-coin finds from the square include a Nauheim brooch, the head of a goddess in white pottery, 3 spearheads and a sword blade.

Square A4

272 IA coins, 40 Roman

LT 7419 – 42
LT 7493 – 106
Sch 146 (remo/remo) – 7
Blanchet 403 – 7
Blanchet 274 (PIXTILOS) (LT 7070, 7058?)– 1
Blanchet 243 (2 eagles) – 1 (both this and the preceding coin are down as Carnutes)
LT 7646-7643 (ROVECA, AE) – 3
Blanchet 404 – 1
LT 8054 (ATISIOS REMOS, AE) – 2
BN 6259-6261-6258-6260 (potin) – 1
LT 7617 (EPENOS) –1
LT 7739 –1
LT 6088 or 6108 (unclear) – 1
Eduens –1
Germ Ind – 1
Blanchet 384 (AE) – 1
LT 7527 (AE) – 2
LT 7570, AE GIAMILOS – 1
LT 9025 (silver) SOLIMA – 2
Blanchet 385 (Remi) - 1
IA Unknown – 17 (one definitely potin)

208 Senones, 14 Remi, 6 Leuci, 5 Meldi, 5 Carnutes, 4 Germ Ind
Only 200 coins are listed above, presumably these were the ones found in some kind of contexts or stratified. Problematic. Also 3 Germ Ind coins have got lost somewhere between the specifics and the total.

Rest of the site is much less specific.

- Square A5

281 IA coins, 212 Senones, 1 Germ Ind, 11 Roman

- Square B2

2 IA coins from the bottom of the ditch, with IA pottery, but one Roman coin (no details)
In the SE corner 30 coins were found – 23 IA (16 Senones, 4 Remi, 1 Leuci, 2 Germ Ind) and 7 Roman coins

- B3

33 IA coins (20 Senones, 29 identified in total)
47 Roman coins (early and late Emp, few in the middle)
Pre-Roman pot, black and dark brown. Lots of odd metalwork, rings, bracelets etc. Little bit of samian (Aug/Tib date) and 1st to 2nd C terra nigra very abundant.
Internal ditch excavated following year (1979) and abundant terra nigra and IA pot in the ditch. Also fragment of glass goblet, zoomorphic fibula (dog?) and a bronze wheel. 6 Roman coins and 13 IA from the internal ditch.
IA: 7 Senones (1 bronze), 1 imitation of Massalia (potin?), 2 Germ Ind, 1 Leuci, 2 silver (one Senodones-CALEDV (Sch 43) and an ATLEVA VLATOS, Sch 41)

- Square B4

100 coins, 34 IA and 66 Roman. General surface finds mostly bar:
In ditch 15 Roman (Octavian, Caligula, Agrippa and v. late)
16 IA (4 Senones, 3 Remi, 2 Leuci, 1 Germ Ind and 6 unidentified)
Oval pit contained 2 Senones, 1 LT 7570 (GIAMILOS) and a ½ denarius of the Republic (4 coin in total) from the lower layers. Roman coins were found from the upper layers.

- Square B5

64 coins, 22 IA and 42 Roman. 6900 small and 508 large lead wheels
In ditch proper 19 Roman and 18 IA coins, Roman mostly 1st C AD.
IA- 13 Senones, 3 Remi, 1 Germ Ind (and presumably one other?).

- B6

Roman coins all in the south-west of the square, associated with rubble not the ditch. 6 Rep denarii and 8 of Augustus. Rest very late, 51 in total.
IA coins constantly associated with the ditch, especially the bottom layer of the fill. In the north-west angle of the exterior ditch it was enlarged in a semi-circular pocket, and abundant coins were found there: 25 coins
8 LT 8054 (Remi)
11 LT 8082 (Remi)
2 Meldi
1 Leuci (silver)
3 Senones (class I)
1979 excavation: 3 IA from the top of the ditch fill – (Remi, Leuci, Senones) with one third century coin. LT and early Roman pot. Also a bronze wheel found with an Augustan coin. Fill of ditch IA pot essentially, iron lance and a horn.

- Berm A4/A5 (by the entrance)

130 IA coins, 59 bronze wheels in the ditch.

- A6

11 IA and 3 Roman coins, 5 bronze wheels and fragments of big wheels.

- B3/B4

Ditch , G/R pottery, 15 IA coins and 14 Roman.
IA cons: 3 AE Senones, 2 Senones potin, 4 Remi, 1 Meldi, 5 diverse.

- B4/ B5 berm.

32 Late Emp coins
16 IA coins (7 Senones and 6 Remi, latest a Scheers 146)

- C2

Small ditch. Deepest level IA stuff only, but no coinage. Outer ditch some iron utensils, pottery, 3 bronze wheels and a bone (first on site). 9 IA coins, 10 R coins, very diverse assemblage, and presumably a mixed context, or complex stratigraphy.
IA coins 6 Senones, 3 various.

- C3

2 statues of Mars in bronze, much pottery. 18 Roman and 6 IA coins. Those coins round the statuettes are 3rd and 4th century, although the stratigraphy is very dubious round that area.
3 Senones, 1 Petrocorii, 1 Remi LT 8040 found in ditches to the west of square C3.

- C3/C4 berm, D3/D4 berm

12 IA coins in big ditch, 34 Roman coins (including 2 Rep and 10 Augustan)
IA coins 7 Senones, 3 LT 8040, 4 various. Rest of stuff in the ditch (especially the pottery) suggests an Augustan date. Also bronze wheels.

- C4

25 IA coins
18 Roman, mostly late Empire.
Lots of little pits. Contained glazed green ware and decorated pale/dark brown glazed wares, probably medieval. Also in D4.

- C5

Main ditch 3rd and 4th century pottery. Interior ditch IA pot, sword blade, miniature vase (complete), fragments of glass goblet, bronze bracelet, bit of decorated silver, fragment of human cranium, flint debitage, a few wheels.
Coins 8 Senones, 5 LT 8040, 3 diverse, 1 Republican, 79 other Roman.
Another 13 IA coins found in 1981 and another 40 Roman.

- C6

11 IA + 13 Roman

1980: 3 more IA, 1 more Roman, in same area as above. Various IA bones and pot associated with weaponry. No exact dating details for pottery available.

- D2

Pottery in ditches exclusively IA, bit of early G-R and lots of amphorae generally in the square. 13 IA coin, 19 or 20 Roman (typing unclear).

- D3

Mostly the big enclosure ditch. Few finds apart from coinage: 2 bronze wheels, 1 G/R brooch money from both periods, no numbers specified.

- D4

8 IA and 28 G/R coins

- D5

Little rubble (unusual for site). Pottery mostly 1st and 2nd C AD local wares.
16 IA coins and 106 Roman, mostly late. Well into the centre of the enclosure.
6 Senones, 3 Remi, 7 various.

- E1/E2

Discrete deposits of coins in interior ditch. Near to some tile 3 IA coins, 2 Aug, 1 Dom and 2 bronze wheels (large ones), a bone ring, iron socket. Exterior ditch: 13 Aug coins and 1 Senones probably mark a second discrete deposit. Little IA pot in the upper layers, more in lower ones.

- E5

Southern part of the north-east angle of the enclosure. Material dominated by IA stuff, weaponry and G/R material in rubble fill. Various metalwork objects, 8 IA and 16 Roman coins. The IA coins include a gold coin of ROVECA.

- F4

Important offering zone. Original IA and Roman hoard found in this square. Mainly IA pottery, small finds include bronze and Roman decorative metalwork, rings, buttons, belt fittings, c.30 silver wheels were discovered in the 1973 hoard. IA coins from excavation: 2 Senones gold coins, 1 Senones bronze, 2 Remi, 7 other IA
3 Republican, 18 Aug, and 12 later Roman.

- F5

G/R pot on surface, IA in lower levels. Many animal bones (especially pig jawbones). Iron ring, fragment of sword, 8 IA coins 34 Roman. 4 bronze wheels. Frustratingly with the finds it does not differentiate between fills.

- G4

Mostly IA and early Roman coins: 5 IA, 16 early Roman, two 3rd or 4th century.

- G5/H5

Exterior of the enclosure. Iron Age occupation layer according to excavators. Animal bones, iron objects, bronze hook, lots of iron wheels, 5 bronze wheels, rare IA pottery, much IA coinage. Roman coins are abundant in the top 30 cm (doesn't say whether he means the ploughsoil or the top 30cm of archaeological deposits).
IA coins: 16 Senones, 2 bronze Senones, 4 Remi, 4 Germ Ind, 8 other IA (34 coins)
Roman: 3 Republican, 83 Augustan, 4 other Roman.

- Other areas.

Many rare IA coins were found in the central basin (D3 and D4 mark the centre of it). Central structures seem to have been constructed in the reign of Nero. Site sees less activity from the Antonine period to the end of the 3rd century, much less material culture dates to this mid-Empire period. The central basin was wet, it needed constant pumping out during digging, and a clay layer was put down in antiquity, suggesting the emergence of a spring in the centre of the enclosure in antiquity, and perhaps explaining the lack of a formal stone Roman building on the site. The material culture of the central area is complex. Pottery was mostly IA and very early Roman in date. 3 Senones coins (2 gold and 1 AE), 4 other IA, 1 Augustan, 1 Nero also support the pottery dating.

- Total number of coins specifically mentioned in the excavation report:

1150 IA (out of 1850 coins)

889 Roman (out of 2704 coins)

Bibliography

Aarts, J.

2000 *Coins or Money? Exploring the monetization and functions of Roman coinage in Belgic Gaul and Lower Germany. 50BC - AD 450.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Vrije Universiteit, Nijmegen.

Agache, R.

1964 *Archéologie aérienne de la Somme, recherches nouvelles.* Bulletin de la société de préhistoire du nord, Numero spécial 6, Amiens.

— 1970 *Detection Aérienne de vestiges protohistoriques Gallo-Romains et Medievaux dans le bassin de la Somme et ses abords.* No. spécial du Bulletin de la Societe de Prehistoire du Nord 7. Musée d'Amiens, Amiens.

— 1975 La campagne à l'époque romaine dans les grandes plaines du Nord de la France d'après les photographies aériennes. *ANRW* II (4): 658-713.

— 1978 *La Somme pre-romaine et romaine*, Amiens.

Ajot, R.

1994 Nemetodorum-Neptodoro-Nantura. *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Nanterre* 14:8-13.

Alcock, L.

1972 *'By South Cadbury is that Camelot...' The Excavation of Cadbury Castle, 1966-1970.* Thames & Hudson, London.

Alcock, S.

1994 Minding the Gap in Hellenistic and Roman Greece. In Alcock, S. & Osborne, R. (eds) *Placing the Gods, Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, Clarendon Press, Oxford. 247-261.

Alfaro, C. & Burnett, A.

2003 A survey of Numismatic Research 1996-2001. *International Association of Professional Numismatists, Special Publication 14*, Madrid.

Alföldi, M.R.

1979 *Die Fundmünzen der römische Zeit in Deutschland.* Abt IV Rheinland-Pfalz, Band 3.1, Stadt Trier. Berlin.

Allain, J., Fleuriot, L. & Chaix, L.

1981 Le vergobret des Bituriges á Argentomagus; essai d'interpretation d'une fosse cultuelle. *RAE 32*:11-32.

Allen, D. F.

1944 The Belgic dynasties of Britain and their coins. *Archaeologia 90*:1-46.

— 1960 The origins of coinage in Britain: a reappraisal. In Frere, S.S. (ed), *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, University of London Occasional Papers. Vol.11, London. 97-308

— 1963 *The coins of the Coritani.* Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 3, London.

— 1965 Les pièces d'argent minces du comté de Hampshire: nouveau lien entre la Gaule celtique et la Grande-Bretagne. *RN Series 6/ 7* (1965). 79-93.

— 1970 The coins of the Iceni. *Britannia 1*.1-33.

— 1971 British Potin Coins: A Review. In Jesson, M. & Hill, D. (eds), *The Iron*

Age and its Hillforts, Southampton. 127-154
— 1973 Temples or shrines on Gaulish coins. *Antiquaries Journal LIII*. 71-74.

Allen, D. F. & Haselgrove, C.C.
1979 The gold coinage of Verica. *Britannia 10*.1-18.

Allen, D. F. & Nash, D.
1980 *The Coins of the Ancient Celts*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Almagro-Gorbea, M. & Gran-Aymerich, J.
1991 *El Estanque Monumental de Bibracte (Mont Beuvray, Borgoña)*. Editorial Complutense, Madrid.

Amalon, T.
1987 *La Fin de L'Age du Bronze et L'Âge du Fer dans le Bassin Inferieure de L'Oise. Inventaire et chronologie des sites*. Unpublished Diplome de l'E.H.E.S.S., Toulouse.

Amandry, M. & Bourgeois, L.
1987 Les Monnaies gauloises du sanctuaire celto-Romain de Bennecourt (Yvelines). In *Mélanges offerts au Docteur J-B Colbert de Beaulieu*, Le Léopard D'Or, Paris. 5-16

Amandry, M. & Remy, B.
1996 Les monnaies de Viuz-Faverges (Haute-Savoie). Les Amis de Viuz-Faverges, *Bulletin d'Histoire et d'Archéologie 36*, Annecy.

Apel, M.
1907 Découvertes de sépultures romaines et franques à Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon et Petitville. *BSNEP 15*. 97-98.

Arbousse Bastide, T.
2000 *Les structures de l'habitat rural protohistorique dans le sud-ouest de l'Angleterre et le nord-ouest de la France*. BAR S847, Oxford.

Arcelin, P., Congès, G. & Willaume, M.
1990 Entremont. In *Voyage en Massalie. 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*. Musée de Marseille/ Édisud. 100-111.

Arcelin, P., Dedet, B. & Schwaller, M.
1992 Espaces publics, espaces religieux protohistoriques en Gaule meridionale. *Documents d'archéologie meridonale 15*:181-242.

Archéologie
1991 *Archéologie d'une vallée. La vallée de l'Aisne des derniers chausseurs-cueilleurs au premier royaume de France*. Papers presented at the Catalogue de l'exposition. "Trente ans d'archéologie dans la vallée de l'Aisne", Soissons.

Arnold, B. & Gibson, B. (eds)
1995 *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State. The evolution of complex social systems in prehistoric Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Aubé, R.
1902 Fouilles et découvertes archéologiques. *BAMR 1902*. 131-134.

Aubin, G.
1984 L'or Romain dans l'ouest de la Gaule: Circulation et Stagnation. *RAO 1*: 89-119.

Aubin, G. & Meissonnier, J.
1992 L'usage de la monnaie sur les sites de sanctuaires de l'Ouest de la Gaule et de la Bourgogne. In (eds) Goudineau, Fauduet & Coulon, 143-153.

Audouze, F. & Büchsenschutz, O.
1989 *Villes, villages et campagnes de l'Europe celtique*. Hachette, Paris

Auxiette, G.
1998 *Braine "La Grange des Moines" (Aisne) Document final de synthèse (opération 1997)*. SRA Picardie, AFAN Nord-Picardie, Generale Routière Morin. Rapport de fouilles.
— 2000 Les rejets non domestiques des établissements ruraux du Hallstatt final à La Tène finale dans la vallée de l'Aisne et de la Vesle. In (eds) Marion & Blancquaert. 169-180

Babelon, E.
1916 *Le trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville près Bernay (Eure)*, Paris

Barbieux, J. (ed)
1992 L'habitat ouvert d'Hornaing (Nord), Protohistorique, La Tène I, La Tène III, Gallo-Romain, Mérovingien. *Archaeologia duacensis 5*, Société Archéologique de Douai.

Barrett, J.
1989 The living, the dead and the ancestors: Neolithic and Early Bronze Age mortuary practices. In Barrett, J. & Kinnes, I. (eds) *The Archaeology of Context in the Neolithic and Bronze Age: Recent Trends*. Sheffield University Press. 30-41.
— 1991 Towards an archaeology of ritual. In (eds) Garwood, Jennings, Skeates & Toms. 1-9.
— 1994 *Fragments from Antiquity. An archaeology of social life in Britain, 2900-1200 BC*. Routledge, London.

Barrett, J., Freeman, P. & Woodward, A.
2000 *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: the later prehistoric and early historic archaeology*. English Heritage Archaeological Reports 20, London.

Baudot, M.
1936 Premier rapport sur les fouilles du temple de Cracouville. *BSNEP 30* (1934/35): 68-95.

Bayard, D.
1996b La romanisation des campagnes en Picardie à la lumière des fouilles récentes: problèmes d'échelles et de critères. In Bayard & Collart (eds), 157-184.

Bayard, D. & Collart, J.-L. (eds)
1996 *De la ferme indigène à la villa romaine*. Actes du deuxième colloque de l'association AGER tenu à Amiens (Somme) du 23 au 25 Septembre 1993. RAP numero spécial 11, Amiens.

Bean. S. C.
2000 *The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni*. OUCA Monographs 50, Studies in Celtic Coinage, 4. Oxbow, Oxford.

Bedwin. O.
1981 Excavations at Lancing Down, West Sussex, 1980. *Sussex Archaeological Collections 119*:37-55.

Beeching, A. et al.
1976 Le site gallo-romain et merovingien de Conde-sur-Aisne, La Maisonette. *FPVA 4*:93-117.

Bell. C.
1992 *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Bellinger, A.R.
1956 Greek mints under the Roman Empire. In (eds) Carson R.A.G. & Sutherland, C.H.V. *Essays in Roman coinage presented to Harold Mattingley*, Oxford. 137-148.

Bénard, J.
1989 *Les niveaux précoces du centre public d'Alésia*. Unpublished Thèsè du IIIième cycle, Université de Dijon.

Benoit, F.
1968 Résultats historiques des fouilles d'Entremont. *Gallia 26*: 1-31.

Ben Redjeb, T.
1987 Une agglomération secondaire des Rèmes; Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne). *RAP 1(2)*: 33-60.

Berdeaux-Le Brazidec, M.-L.
2000a Études des monnaies romaines issues des fouilles du sanctuaire gallo-romain de la Forêt d'Halatte (Oise), 1996-2000, In (ed) Durand, 211-232.
— 2000b Catalogue sommaire des monnaies romaines du sanctuaire de la Forêt d'Halatte (Oise) par secteurs, In (ed) Durand, 233-256.

Berdeaux-Le Brazidec, M.-L. & Durand, P.
2000 Synthèse et interprétation des études numismatiques du sanctuaire de la Forêt d'Halatte, In (ed) Durand, 257-266.

Berger, F.
1996 *Kalkreise I. Die römischen Fundmünzen*, Römische-Germanische Forschungen 55. Mainz.

Bertaudière, S. & Guyard, L.
2000 *Le Vieil-Evreux (Eure) "Les Terres Noires". Thermes Gallo-Romains*. Document Final de Synthèse de fouilles programmée 1996-1998. Tome I, Document final et analyse archéologique. SRA de Haute-Normandie.

Berton, I.
1879 *Le Mont-César de Bailleul-sur-Thérain (Oise). Oppidum Gaulois et Camp-Romain*. Bar-le-Duc, Paris/ Beauvais.

Beucher, D. & Guidicelli, M.
2002 *Sur les traces de César, enquête archéologique sur les sites de la guerre des Gaules*, Bibracte, Glux-en-Glenne.

Beurion, C.
— 1997 Bracquemont "Camp du César". In *Bilan scientifique de la région Haute- Normandie 1996*, Ministère de la culture, Rouen. 57-60.
— 2001 Quièvrecourt. In Sennequier (ed) *Au Temps de Gaulois*, Musée Départmental des Antiquités, Rouen: 16-17.

Bevan, B. (ed)
1999 *Northern Exposure - interpretative devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain*. Leicester Archaeological Monograph 4. Leicester University Press.

Bintliff, J.
1993 Why Indiana Jones is Smarter Than the Post-Processualists. Norwegian *Archaeological Review 26*(2): 91-100.

Bittel, K.
1930 Finsterlohr. *Germania XIV*, 4: 206-214.
1950 Das keltische opppidum bei Finsterlohr. *Jarb Hist Ver Wurttembergisch Franken 24/25*: 79-86.

Black, E.W.
1986 Romano-British Burial Customs and Religious Beliefs in South East England, *Archaeological Journal 14*: 209-239.

Blagg, T. & Millett, M. (eds)
1990 *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Blaizot, F. & Thériot, F.
2000 Un rituel original de l'Âge du Bronze: les inhumations en fosse des sites des Estournelles et de la Plaine à Simandres (Rhône). *Gallia Préhistoire 42*:195-256.

Blanchegorge, E. (ed)
2001 *Napoléon III et L'Archéologie. Fouilles en forêt de Compèigne sous le Second Empire*. Musée Antoine Vivenal, Compèigne.

Blanchet, A.
1905 *Traité des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

Blanchet, J.-C.
1983 Inventaire des sites du second age du fer dans l'Oise. *RAP 1(2)*: 254-263.

Blanchet, A. & Dieudonné, A.
1912 Manuel de Numismatique français, Paris.

Blancquaert, G.
1998 Cottévrard "La Plaine de la Bucaille" (Seine-Maritime), présentation préliminaire de la nécropole laténienne, *RAP 1(2)*: 171-183.
2001 Cottévrard "La Plaine de la Bucaille". In Sennequier (ed), 52-55.

Blázquez, J. M.

1989 ¿Romanizacion o asimilacion?. In Blázquez, J.M. (ed) *Nuevos Estudios sombre la Romanzacion,* Madrid. 99-145

Blin. O.

2000 Un sanctuaire de vicus: Jouars-Pontchartrain (Yvelines). In Van Andringa (ed), 91-117.

Bloemers, J. H. F.

1990 Lower Germany: plura consilio quam vi. Proto-urban settlement developments and the integration of native society, in Blagg & Millett (eds), pp. 72-86.

Bocquet, A., Auxiette, G. Hachem, L. & Robert, B. (eds)

1997 *Espaces Physiques, Espaces Sociaux dans l'analyse interne des sites du Néolithique à l'âge du Fer*. Éditions du CTHS, Paris.

Bogaert, R.

1966 *Les origines antique de la banque de dépôt; Une mise au point accompagnée d'une esquisse des opérations de banque en Mésopotamie*, Leiden University Press, Leiden.

Bohannan, P.

1955 Some principles of exchange and investment among the Tiv, *American Anthropologist 57*: 60-69.

— 1959 The impact of mancy on an African subsistence economy, *Journal of Economic History 19(4)*: 491-503.

Bohannan, P. & Bohannan, L.

1968 *Tiv Economy*, Longmans, London.

Bonnamour L.

— 1976 Siedlungen der Spätbronzezeit (Bronze Final III) im Saône-Tal südlich von Chalon-sur-Saône. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 6*: 123-130.

— 1985 Les sites de la Saône aux ages du fer: problématique. In L. Bonnamour, A. Duval & J.-P. Guillaumet (eds) *Les Ages du Fer dans la valleé de la Saône*, CNRS, Paris: 25-31.

Bonnin, N., Roudier, N. & Adrian Y.-M.

2000 *Authevernes "Les Mureaux", décapage Laurent Ciezar-Epailly, rapport de sauvetage*, SRA Haute-Normandie.

Bonnin, T.

1845 *Antiquities Gallo-Romains du Vieil-Evreux - publiées sur les auspices du Conseil Générale de l'Eure*. Atlas Evreux (folio edition), Evreux.

Boudet, R.

1990 *Numismatique et organisation du territoire du Sud-Ouest de la Gaule a la fin de l'âge du Fer: une premiere esquisse*. RAO Supplément no. 3:169-190.

— 1996 *Rituels celtes d'Aquitaine*. Archéologie Aujourd-Hui, Éditions Errance, Paris.

Bourgeois, L. (ed)

1999 *Le Sanctuaire rural de Bennecourt (Yvelines). Du temple celtique au temple gallo-romain*. DAF 77, Paris.

Bradley, R.
1981 From ritual to romance: ceremonial enclosures and hillforts. In Guilbert G. (ed) *Hill Fort Studies*, Leicester University Press. 20-27.
— 1984 *The Social Foundations of Prehistoric Britain*. Longman, Harlow.
— 1990 *The Passage of Arms. An archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoard and votive deposits*. 1st edition, Oxbow, Oxford.
— 1993 *Altering the earth. The origins of monuments in Britain and continental Europe*. Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, Monograph series 8, Edinburgh.
— 1998 *The Passage of Arms. An archaeological analysis of prehistoric hoard and votive deposits. 2nd edition*, Oxbow, Oxford.

Brandt, R. & Slofstra, J. (eds)
1983 *Roman and Native in the Low Countries: spheres of interaction*. BAR S184, Oxford.

Briggs, D., Haselgrove, C. & King, C.
1992 Iron Age and Roman coins from Hayling Island Temple. *British Numismatic Journal 62*:1-62.

Brisson, A. & Hatt, J.-J.
1955 Cimetières gaulois et Gallo-romains à enclos en Champagne I, Le cimetière de l'Homme Mort à Ecury-le-Repos (Marne). *RAE 6:* 313-333.
— 1969 Puits-silos contenant des squelettes humains dans la Marne. *RAE 14*: 298-301.

Brisson, A., Fromols, J., Hatt, J.-J. & Loppin, A.
1959 Le sanctuaire celtique de Normée. *Revue Archéologique 11*: 41-64.

Bruce-Hitchner, R.
2000 Gauls into Romans? The making of Gaul under the Roman Empire. *JRA 13*:611-614.

Bruck, J.
1999 Ritual and Rationality: Some problems of interpretation in European Archaeology. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2(3): 313-344.

Brun, P.
1995 Oppida and social complexification in France. In Cumberpatch, C.G. & Hill, J.D. (eds) *Different Iron Ages*. BAR S602, Oxford. 121-128.

Brun, P., Gransar, F., Pion, P. & Pommepuy, C.
1990 *Bucy-le-Long, Le Fond du Petit Marais, 1990*. Rapport, SRA Picardie.

Brun, P. & Debord, J.
1991 Monnaies trouvées en fouille sur l'oppidum de Pommiers (Aisne). *RN 33* (6e sér):43-59.

Brun, P., van der Leeuw, S. & Whittaker, C.R. (eds)
1993 *Frontières d'Empire. Nature et signification des frontières romaines*. Mémoires du Musée de Préhistoire d'Île-de-France no. 5, Nemours.

Brun, P., Chartier, M. & Pion, P.
2000 Le processus d'urbanisation dans la vallee de l'Aisne. In Guichard, Sievers & Urban (eds). 83-96.

Brunaux, J.-L.
1985 Le sanctuaire celtique de Mirebeau (Côte d'Or). In *Les Âges du Fer dans la vallée de la Saône (VIIe-Ier siècle avant notre ère). Palaéométallurgie du bronze à l'Âge du Fer.* RAECE Supplément 6, Dijon: 79-111.
1986 *Les Gaulois: sanctuaires et rites.* Éditions Errance, Paris
— 1987 Les monnaies gauloises dans les sanctuaires. In *Mélanges Offerts au Docteur J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu.* 157-162.
— 1990 La chronologie des armes laténiennes. Systèmes chronologiques utilisés pour les armes de La Tène. In *Gaule Interne et Gaule Méditerranéenne aux IIe et Ier siècles avant J.-C.*, eds Duval, Morel & Roman, pp. 167-192. Revue Arch de Narbonnaise. vol. 21. CNRS, Paris.
— (ed) 1991 *Les Sanctuaires Celtiques et le monde méditerranéen.* Archéologie Aujourd-Hui, Dossiers de Protohistoire 3. Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1993 Les sanctuaires gaulois. In *La Recherche 256.* 820-828.
— 1995 Die Keltische Heiligtümer Nordfrankreichs. In Haffner, A. (ed) *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*, Archäologie in Deutschland Sonderheft, Stuttgart. 55-74.
— 1996 Chronologie et histoire. Les lieux de culte dans la genèse du *Belgium. RAP* 3(4). 209-221.
— (ed) 1999 Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme). Bilan préliminaire et nouvelles hypothéses. *Gallia* 56:177-283.
— 2000 La mort du guerrier celte. Essai d'histoire des mentalités. In Verger (ed). 231-251.
— 2003 Un état des questions sur les sanctuaries et la pratiques cultuelles de la Gaule celtique. In P. Arcelin & J.-L. Brunaux (eds) *Cultes et sanctuaries en France á l'âge du Fer, Gallia 60*:5-8.

Brunaux, J.-L. & Delestrée, L.-P.
1995 Un hemistatere trouve en situ dans le sanctuaire de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme). *Cah Num.* 32: 9-12.

Brunaux, J.-L., Fichtl, S. & Marchand, C.
1990 Das "Camp César" bei La Chaussée-Tirancourt (Somme), *Saalburg-Jahrbuch* 45: 5-45.

Brunaux, J.-L. & Gruel, K. (eds)
1987 Monnaies Gaulois découvertes en fouilles. *Dossiers de Protohistoire 1*, Éditions Errance, Paris.

Brunaux, J.-L. & Lambot, B.
1987 *Guerre et armement chez les Gaulois (450-52 av. J.-C.).* Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1991 Le sanctuaire celtique et Gallo-Romain de Saint-Maur. In Brunaux (ed). 178-181.

Brunaux, J.-L. & Méniel, P.
1997 *La résidence aristocratique de Montmartin (Oise) du IIIe au IIe av. J.-C.* DAF 64, Paris.

Brunaux, J.-L., Méniel, P. & Poplin, F.
1985 *Gournay I, Les fouilles sur le sanctuaire et l'oppidum (1975-1984)* RAP Numéro spécial, Amiens.

Brunaux, J.-L., Méniel, P. & Rapin, A.

1980 Un sanctuaire gaulois à Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise). *Gallia* 38, 1980. 1-25

Brunaux, J.-L. & Rapin, A.
1988 *Gournay II, Boucliers, Lances, dépôts et trophées*. RAP/ Éditions Errance, Amiens/ Paris.

Büchsenschutz, O.
1981 Les structures d'habitat à l'Âge du Fer en Europe tempérée. In *L'évolution de l'habitat en Berry. Actes du colloque de Levroux, Levroux, 27-29 octobre 1978.*
— 1991 Viereckschanzen et sanctuaires de l'Europe Celtique. In Brunaux (ed), 106-112.
— 1995 The significance of major settlements in European Iron Age society. In Arnold & Gibson (eds), 53-63.
— 1996 Les campagnes celtiques à la vielle de la conquête romaine: état de la question. In Bayard & Collart (eds), 9-12.

Büchsenschutz, O. & Méniel, P. (eds)
1994 *Les Installations agricoles de l'Âge du Fer en Île-de-France*. Études d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, Presses de l'école Normale Supérieure, CNRS, Paris.

Büchsenschutz, O. & Ralston, I.B.M.
1986 En relisant la Guerre des Gaules. In *Actes du 8ième colloque AFEAF Angoulême, Mai 1984.* Aquitania Supp I, Bordeaux. 383-387.
— 1987 Reflections sur léconomie de la Gaule d'après César et les données archéologiques. *In Mélanges offert au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*: 163-174.

Buillot, J.-G.
1899 *Fouilles du Mont-Beuvray (ancienne Bibracte) de 1867 à 1895*. Dejussieu, Autun.

Burnett, A. M.
1987 *Coinage in the Roman World*, Seaby, London.
— 1990 Celtic Coinage in Britain III: the Waltham St. Lawrence Treasure Trove. *BNJ* 60:13-28.
— 1992 A new Iron Age issue from near Chichester. *Num Circ* 100:340-2.

Burnett, A. M. & Cowell, M.R.
1988 Celtic coinage in Britain II. *BNJ* 58:6-10.

Burnham, B.C. & Johnson, H.B.
— 1979 *Invasion and response, the case of Roman Britain*. BAR 73, Oxford.

Burnham, B., Collis, J., Dobinson, C., Haselgrove, C. & Jones, M.
2001 Themes for urban research, c. 100 BC to AD 200. In James, S. & Millett, M. (eds) *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda.* CBA Res Rep 125, London. 67-76.

Cabuy, Y.
1991 *Les temples Gallo-Romains des Cites des Tongres et des Trevires*. XII. Publications Amphora, Bruxelles.

Cadoux, J.-L.

1971 Le sanctuaire gallo-romaine de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme): premières questions. *Gallia* 42:1. 53-78.

— 1978 Une sanctuaire gallo-romaine isolé: Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme). *Latomus* 37. 325-60.

— 1984 Le sanctuaire gallo-romain de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme): état des recherches en 1983. *Revue du Nord* 66:125-146.

— 1986 Les armes du sanctuaire gaulois de Ribemont-dur-Ancre (Somme) et leur contexte. *Revue Aquitania Supplement* 1: 203-209.

Cadoux, J.-L. & Lancelin, P.

1989 Les découvertes de Ribemont-sur-Ancre. In *Les nouvelles de l'Archéologie* 35. Paris. 10-16

Cadoux, J.-L. & Massy, J.-L.

1970 Ribemont-sur-Ancre: études. *Revue du Nord* 52:469-511.

Cadoux, J.-L. & Woimant, G.-P.

1977 Une stratigraphie du Tempe de Champlieu, *CAP* 4. 111-123.

Cahingt, P.-H.

1977 Pour le dossier de la Cité de Limes une fouille originale et inédite faite en 1864. *Bulletin des Amys du Vieux-Dieppe*, LXXXIV. 5-10.

Carver, E.

2001 *The Visibility of Imported Wine and its Associated Accoutrements in Later Iron Age Britain.* BAR 325, Oxford.

Casey, P.J.

1984 *Roman Coinage in Britain*, Shire Books.

Casey, P.J. & Hoffmann, B.

1999 Excavations at the Roman temple at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire in 1980 and 1981. *Antiquaries Journal* 79: 81-144.

Casques, M.

1901 D'époque gaulois dans le sud-ouest de la Celtique. *Bulletin de la Société Normande d'Etudes préhistoriques,* Tome IV: 98-99.

Cauchemé, V.

1900 *Description des fouilles archéologiques executes dans la Forêt de Compiegne I,* Compiegne.

Cayot, A.

1984 Le Céramique campanienne de Saint-Blaise (Saint-Mitre-les-Remparts, Bouches-du-Rhône). *Documents Archéologique Meridionale* 7: 53-78.

Cazanove, O. de.

2000 Les lieux de cilte italiques. Approches romains, désignations indigènes. In Vauchez (ed), 31-41.

Chabouillet, A.

1858 *Catalogue génerale. Cabinet des Médailles et antiquites*, Paris. Paris

Challet, V.

2000 Lieux de culte et sanctuaires dans la religion celtique. Bibliographie

raisonnée. In Vauchez (ed), 9-30.

Champion, T.C. & Megaw, J.V.S.
1985 *Settlement and Society: aspects of West European prehistory in the first millennium BC*. Leicester University Press, Leicester.

Chaume, B., Olivier, L. & Reinhard, W.
1995 Das keltische Heiligtum von Vix. In Haffner, A. (ed), *Heiligtumer und Opferkulte der Kelten*, Theiss, Stuttgart. 43-50.

Cheeseman, C.
1994 The coins, in The Roman Temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985-1986. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 82: 31-92.

Chevallier, R. (ed)
1976 Le vicus gallo-romain. *Caesarodunum* 6, Paris.

Chossenot, M.
1986 L'Age du Fer en Champagne-Ardennes. Bilan des fouilles et des publications de 1965 a 1984. *BSAC* 79 (4): 5-12.
— 1987 Contribution à l'étude des monnaies gauloises: les fouilles de la Cheppe, camp de Mourmelon (Marne). In Brunaux & Gruel (eds). 55-63.
— 1997 *Recherches sur La Tène Moyenne et Finale en Champagne. Étude des processus de changement.* Mémoire de la Société Archéologique Champenoise no. 12, Supplément au bulletin no. 1. Soc. Arch. Champenoise, Reims.

Clement, M., Gruel, K., Delestrée, L.-P. & Galliou, P.
1987 Monnaies Celtiques découvertes lors de fouilles du temple Gallo-Romain de Trogouzel a Douarnenez (Finistere). In Brunaux & Gruel (eds), 33-53.

Clogg, P. & Haselgrove, C.C.
1995 The composition of Iron Age struck "bronze" coinage in Eastern England. *OJA* 14: 41-92.

Coarelli, F.
1992 Colonizzazione e municipalizzazione: tempi e modi. *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 10 (1-2): 21-30.

Cochet, Abbé
1866 *La Seine Inferieur. Historique et archéologique, époques Gauloises, Gallo-Romaines et Franque*. Derache, Paris.
— 1874 *Répetoire Archéologique du Départment de la Seine Inferieur*. reedition, 1975 (ed. G. Montford), Brionne.

Colbert de Beaulieu, J.-B.
1954a La datation des monnaies gauloises de potin. *Ogam* 6: 92-94.
— 1954b Les petites pièces d'argent du nord-ouest de la Gaule. *Ogam* 6: 119-126.
— 1955 Monnaies Celtiques d'Alésia. *RBN* 101: 260-70.
— 1960 Trouvailles dans les Ardennes. *BSFN* 15-11: 479-480.
— 1962 Les monnaies gauloises au nom des chefs mentionnés dans les commentaires de César. *Latomus* 58: 419-446.
— 1973 *Traité de numismatique celtique I. Méthodologie des ensembles*. Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 5, série numismatique. Annales littéraires de

l'Université de Besançon, Paris.
— 1973b Chronologie des bronzes Gaulois et British potin coins. *RBN* 119:5-41.

Colbert de Beaulieu, J.-B. & Fischer, B.
1998 *Les légendes monétaires gauloises, Recuil des Inscriptions Gauloises IV*. Paris.

Colin, A.
1998 *Chronologie des oppida de la Gaule non-méditerranéenne*. DAF 71, Paris.
— 2000 Les habitats ruraux de l'âge du Fer en Picardie nord-occidentale, d'après les fouilles de l'autoroute A16. In Marion & Blancquaert (eds), 445-462.

Collart, J.-L.
1979 Chilly, "Les Terres Noires", rapport de fouilles, Unpublished excavation report, SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1987 Le contexte stratigraphique des monnaies gauloises découvertes à Chilly. In Brunaux & Gruel (eds), 64-89.
— 1996 La naissance de la *villa* en Picardie: la ferme gallo romaine précoce. In Bayard & Collart (eds): 121-156.

Collis, J.
1971 Functional and theoretical interpretations of British coinage. *World Archaeology* 3:71-84.
— 1975 Defended sites of the late La Tène in Central and Western Europe, BAR S2, Oxford.
— 1984 *Oppida: Earliest towns north of the Alps*. Sheffield University Press, Sheffield.
— 1990 L'Impact Des Processus d'Urbanisation Sur Les Sites Ruraux: Le cas d' Owslebury, Hants, Angleterre. In Duval, Le Bihan & Menez (eds), *Les Gaulois d'Armorique*, RAO Supplément 3: 209-222.
— 1995 States withough centres? The middle La Tène period in temperate Europe. In Arnold & Gibson (eds), 75-80.
—(ed) 2001 *Society and Settlement in Iron Age Europe, L'habitation et l'occupation du sol en Europe*. Actes du XVIIIe Colloque de l'AFEAF, Winchester, April 1994, Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 11, AFEAF, Sheffield

Comment, V.
1915-16. Habitats et sépultures gaulois et puits funéraires gallo-romains. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* XXVII, 112-187.

Congar, P.
1966 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1966*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1967 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1967*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1970 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1970*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1971 Le fouilles gallo-romaines de Falvier-à-Mouzon, campagne de 1970. *Revue historique ardennaise* 5, 1-12.

Constantin, C., Coudart, A., Demoule, J.-P. & Ilett, M.
1977a Le site de La Tène finale à Pommiers (Robinette Roland). *FPVA* 5:91-95.

— 1977b Le site de La Tene III de Condé-sur-Suippe/ La Sucrerie: rapport de fouilles de la campagne 1977. *FPVA* 5: 97-100.

Constantin, C., Coudart, A. & Demoule, J.-P.
1982 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, les Grandes Grèves. Les bâtiments de La Tene III. In *Vallée de l'Aisne: cinq annees de fouilles protohistoriques*, No. spécial de la RAP, Amiens. 195-205.

Constantin, C. & Ilett-Fleury, B.
1982 Les installations de La Tène III de Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt ("Le Vieux Reims"): deux campagnes de fouilles (1976-1977). In *Vallée de l'Aisne: cinq annees de fouilles protohistoriques*, 265-276.

Copret, D. & Vanquelin, E.
1996 *Un Sanctuaire Gallo-Romain aux environs de Langres*. Extension de la zone industrielle des Franchises Langres, Rapport Intermediaire de Fouilles Archéologique, Operation de Fouille Programmée, SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Coudart, A., Doubouloz, J. & De Balloch, M.
1981 Un habitat de la Tène Ancienne dans la vallée de l'Aisne à Menneville (Aisne), In Kruta (ed), *L'Age du Fer en France Sepetentrionale*, Mém de la Soc Arch Champenoise 2, 121-130.

Courbot, C.
2000 Évolution des établissements ruraux à la période de transition (Ier s. av. - Ier s. apr.) dans le quart nord-ouest de la France. In Marion & Blancquaert (eds), 463-473.

Cousin, L.
1857 Le tresor de Ledringhem. *Mémoires de la Société Dunkerquoise* IV: 352-362.

Coutil, L.
1908 Inventaire des monnaies gauloises de la Seine-Inférieure. *Annuaire des cinq départments de la Normandie* 75, 1908, 141-235.

Cowell, M. R.
1992 An analytical survey of the British Celtic gold coinage. In Mays (ed), 207-234.

Cowell, M. R., Oddy, W.A. & Burnett, A.M.
1987 Celtic Coinage in Britain: new hoards and recent analyses. *BNJ* 57: 1-23.

Coxall, D., Charamond, Ch. & Sethian, E.
1994 *Chelles, site de l'ancienne abbaye royale. Fouilles 1991-1992* (avec la collaboration de F. Ravoire, D. Johnson, S. Marion, M. Dhénin et M. Amandry), Chelles.

Crawford, M. H.
1969 *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*. RNS Special Publications 4, London.
— 1974 *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge.
— 1981 Italy and Rome. *JRS* 71: 153-160.

Creighton, J. D.
1992 *The circulation of Money in Roman Britain from the First to the Third century.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham.
— 2000 *Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Creighton, J. D. & Wilson, R.J.A. (eds)
1999 *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction.* JRA 32, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

Cunliffe, B. (ed)
1981a *Coinage and society in Britain and Gaul: some current problems.* CBA Res Rep 38, London.
Cunliffe, B.
1981b Money and society in pre-Roman Britain. In Cunliffe (ed), 29-39.
— 1983 *Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age hillfort.* Batsford, London
— 1984 *Danebury: an Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire*, London
— 1991 *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (3rd Edition), Routledge, London
— 1992 Pits, preconceptions and propitiation in the British Iron Age. *OJA* 11. 69-84.
— 1995 *Danebury: an Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire. Vol 6. A Hillfort Community in Perspective.* CBA Res Rep 102, York.

Cunliffe, B. & de Jersey, P.
1997 *Armorica and Britain, Cross-channel relationships in the late first millennium BC.* Studies in Celtic Coinage 3, OUCA Monograph 45, Oxford.

Cunliffe, B. W. & Miles, D. (eds)
1984 *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain.* OUCA Monograph 2, Oxford.

Cunliffe, B.W. & Poole, C.
1991 *Danebury: an Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire. Vol 4. The Excavations 1969-78: the site.* CBA Res Rep 73, London

Curteis, M. E.
2001 *The Iron Age coinages of the south Midlands, with particular reference to distribution and deposition.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham.

De Boe, G. & Hubert, F.
1977 Une Installation Portuaire d'Epoque Romaine à Pommerœul. *Archaeologia Belgica 192*, Brussels.

De Coninck, H.
1997 *Les sanctuaires et les lieux de culte celtiques et Gallo-Romains en Alsace et en Lorraine.* Unpublished Memoire de Maitrice, Université de Strasbourg.

De Lilliers, M.
1869 Note, In Cochet (ed), *Rèpetoire, CDASI* I, 1867-1869. 136.

De Navarro, J. M.
1972 *The Finds from the Site of La Tene, vol 1. Scabbards and the Swords Found in Them.* British Academy, London.

Deberge, Y. & Guichard, V.
2000 Nouvelles recherches sur les travaux césariens devant Gergovie. *RAC* 39: 83-111.

Debord, J.
1982 Premier bilan de huit années de fouilles à Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). In *Vallée de l'Aisne: cinq années de fouilles protohistoriques*, 213-263.
— 1984 Les origines Gauloises de Soissons. Oscillation d'un site urbain. *RAP* 3(4): 27-40.
— 1987a Les Monnaies gauloises issues des fossés de partition de l'oppidum de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. In Brunaux & Gruel (eds), 90-123.
— 1987b Une production tardive en argent de l'atelier monétaire gaulois de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne), In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 235-252.
— 1989 Les rouelles de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Champenoise* 82(4): 25-31.
— 1993 Les artisans gaulois de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). Structures, production, occupation du sol. *RAP* 3(4): 71-110.
— 1995 Á propos de la chronologie des sites de Pommiers et de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). *RAP* 1(2): 205-208.
— 1995b Les faciès monétaire de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain et ses éléments de datation. *Gallia* 52: 61-78.
— 1996 Les fibules de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). *RAP* 1(2): 99-151.
— 2002 Novodunum Suessionum: Pommiers ou Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. *Mémoires du Soissonnais* Tome 2 (5e série): 7-30.

Debord, J. & Scheers, S.
1984 Les monnaies gauloises tardives en argent attributables aux Suessiones trouvées à Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. In Cahen-Delhaye, Duval, Leman-Delcrive & Leman (eds), *Les Celtes en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France*, Numero spécial. Revue du Nord. 69-74.

Debord, J., Giroussens, Ch., Gruel, K., Romero, Ph. & Tarrats-Saugnac, A.
1985 Étude metallographique et analyse de materiel monetaire de l'atelier de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). In Bonnamour, Duval & Guillaumet (eds), Les Âges du Fer dans la Vallée de la Saône (VIIe-Ier siecles avant notre éré). Palaeometallurgie du Bronze a l'Age du Fer, Actes du Septiémé Colloque de l'A.F.E.A.F. tenu à Rully (12-15 mai 1983). Editions du CNRS/ Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est, 6émé supplément, Paris. 271-278.

Debord, J., Lambot, B. & Büchsenschutz, O.
1998 Les fossés couvertes du site gaulois tardif de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). Audouze & Buchsenschutz (eds), *Architecture des Ages de Metaux. Fouilles Recentes*, Éditions Errance, Paris. 121-135.

Dechelette, J.
1904 *Les Fouilles du Mont-Beuvray de 1867 à 1901: compte rendu suivi de l'inventaire générale des monnaies recueilles au Beuvray et du Hradischt de Stradonic en Bohème*, Picard/ Dejussieu, Paris/ Autun.
— 1914 *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine; II, Archeologie celtique et gallo-romaine; Troisième partie: second Âge du Fer ou époque de La Tène*. Picard, Paris.

Dechezleprêtre, T.
1992 *Le Rempart de Vernonnet (Eure) 'Camp de Mortagne'*. SRA Haute-Normandie. Rapport de fouilles.
— 1993 *Vernonette 'le Camo de Mortagne' Rouen. Document final de Synthèse de Fouilles Programmée*. SRA Haute-Normandie.
— 1994a *Camp de Mortagne, Vernon (Eure). Document final de Synthèse de Fouilles Programmée*, SRA Haute-Normandie.
— 1994b *Le Site Fortifie de Hauteur de Vernonnet 'Le Camp de Mortagne' Vernon, Eure*. DFS de Fouilles Programmée. SRA Haute-Normandie.
— 2000 La porte nord (A) de l'oppidum de Vernon (Eure). In Guichard, Sievers & Urban (eds). 211-215.
— 2002 L'organisation du territoire autour de la basse valleé de la Seine au second âge du Fer: première esquisse. In Garcia & Verdin (eds). 244-255.

Dechezleprêtre, T., Augier, L., Cachal, S. & Pimpaud, N.
1996 *Une porte monumentale d'Epoque Gaulois, Vernon (Eure) 'Camp de Mortagne'*. SRA Haute-Normandie.

Dechezleprêtre, T., Augier, L., Cachal, S. & Viand, A.
1998 *La Porte Nord de l'oppidum de Vernon (Eure) 'Le Camp de Mortagne' 1997*, Document Final de Synthèse de Fouilles Programmée, SRA Haute-Normandie.

Delamare, Abbé E.
1865 *Histoire de la paroisse et commune de Roncherolles-en-Bray*. Rouen.

Delatigny, L.
1922 *Notes sur le temple gallo-romain de Saint-Ouen-de-Thouberville et sur un ex-voto en ronze du musée de Rouen*. Rouen
— 1927 Temple Gallo-Romain d'Orival, Enciente d'Orival (Seine-Inférieure). In *Documents et notes archéologiques 1927*, fasc 2. 13-20.
— 1933 *Inventaire archéologique de la Seine-Inférieure, period gallo-romain*. Hérissey, Evreux.

Delattre, V., Le Cieux, L. & Magnan, D.
1998 *Profane et Sacre en Pays meldois, protohistoire-gallo-romain*. AMA-Musee Bossuet, Meaux.

Delestrée, L.-P.
1984 *Les Monnaies Gauloises de Bois-L'Abbé (Eu, Seine-Maritime)*. Etudes de Numismatique Celtique 3.
— 1985 Les Monnaies Gauloises du temple des Châtelets, à Vendeuil-Caply (Oise). *RAP* 1(2): 51-64.
— 1987 Les Monnaies Gauloises du Camp Rouge (Hallencourt, Fontaine-sur-Somme, dépt Somme). *RAP* 3(4): 51-60.
— 1991 Monnaies Celtiques, Sanctuaires et Territoire dans l'ouest de la Gaule Belgique. In Brunaux (ed), 221-229.
— 1993 Les Monnaies Gauloises d'Estrées-Saint-Denis (Oise). *RAP* 1(2): 35-54.
— 1994 La Numismatique Gauloise en Gaule Belgique. Problematique et axes de recherche. *RAP* 3(4): 19-37.
— 1996a *Monnayages et Peuples Gaulois du Nord-Ouest*. Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1996b L'ensemble des quarts de statères dits "au bateau" en Gaule Belgique. *RN* 1996. 29-50.

— 1996c Numismatique gaulois et chronologie: exemples des potins et de l'or en Gaule Belgique. *RAP* 3(4): 105-112.
— 1997 Les monnayages en or de la Gaule Belgique, derives du statere "à flan large". *RN* 152. 98-102.
— 1997b Le numeraire gaulois, temoin d'une presence militaire sur le site fortifiée la Chaussée-Tirancourt. *Cah Num.* 134:5-13.
— 1998 Un série originale de quarts de statères du type cheval/ cheval dans l'Ouest de la Gaule belqique. *Cah Num.* 137: 7-8.
— 1999a La Romanisation et la fin du monnayage celtique dans le nord de la Gaule. *RN* 154. 15-40.
— 1999b Les bronzes coulés imités de Marseille dans la région parisienne. *Cah Num* 141. 7-26.
— 2001 L'or du trophée Laténien de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme), Témoin d'une bataille oubliée. *RN* 156. 175-213.
— forthcoming Les offrandes monétaires gauloises sur les sanctuaires du Belgium. In Haselgrove & Wigg-Wolf (eds) forthcoming.

Delestrée, L.-P. & Duval, A.
1977 Un coin monétaire inédit du Mont Beuvray. *Antiquités Nationales* 9:45-47.

Delestrée, L.-P. & Delplace, C.
1986 Les Monnaies Gauloises de Digeon (Somme). Les Ramassages de surface: premiére approche statistique. *RAP* 1(2): 13-22.
— 1987 La série trimetallique à l'astre, témoin du monnayage bellovaque. In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu.* 253-274.

Delestrée, L.-P. & Mantel, É.
2000 Un nouvel éclairage de la série gauloise en or dite <<au sanglier-aurige>>. *Cah Num.* 145: 9-16.

Delestrée, L.-P., Mantel, É. & Moesgaard, Y.-C.
1997 Les monnaies gauloises en contexte du sanctuaire de Fesques, In Mantel (ed), 295-322.

Delestrée, L.-P. & Tache, M.
2002 *Nouvel Atlas des Monnaies Gauloises I: De la Seine au Rhin.* Éditions Commios, Paris.

Delmaire, R.
1996 De la monnaie gauloise à la monnaie romaine: l'exemple de la région du Nord-Pas-de-Calais. *Revue du Nord* LXXVIII, no 318:9-14.

Delmaire, R. & Notte, L.
1996 *Trouvailles archéologique dans la région de Baupaume. Prospections et fouilles d'Edmond Fontaine (1926-1987).* Mémoires de la commission départmental d'histoire et d'archéologie du Pas-de-Calais 32.

Delor, J.-P. & Rowley, C. (eds)
L'Yonne et son passé, 30 ans d'archéologie. Arnay-le-Duc.

Delplace, C.
— 1987 Monnaies du sanctuaire de Digeon, Morvillers-Saint-Saturnin. In Brunaux and Gruel (eds) 1987: 125-137.
— 1991 La zone cultuelle de Morvilliers-Saint-Saturnin. In Brunaux (ed), 196-

198.

Delplace, C., Jobic, F.; Meniel, P. & Rapin, A.
1986 Le sanctuaire de Digeon, Commune de Morvilliers-Saint-Saturnin (Somme). Relation préliminaire aux fouilles de 1983 à 1985. *RAP* 3(4):83-116.

Demoule, J.-P.
1999 *Chronologie et société dans les nécropoles celtiques, de la culture Aisne-Marne, du VIe au IIIe siècle avant notre ère*. RAP numéro spécial 15, Amiens

Demoule, J.-P. & Ilett, M.
1985 First millennium settlement and society in northern France. A case study from the Aisne Valley. In (eds) Champion, T.C. & Megaw, V.S. *Settlement and society. Aspects of western European prehistory in the first millennium BC*. Leicester University Press. 193-221.

Derbois-Delattre, M. & Vangèle, F.
1998 *Estrées-Saint-Denis "Le Moulin des Hayes", Rapport de Sondages*. SRA de Picardie.

Derks, T.
1991 The perception of the Roman pantheon by a native elite: the example of votive inscriptions from Lower Germany. In Roymans & Theuws (eds), 235-265.
— 1997 The Transformation of landscape and religious representation in Roman Gaul, *Archaeological Dialogues* 4: 126-163
— 1998 *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices. The Transformation of Religious ideas and values in Roman Gaul*. AAS 2, Amsterdam University Press.
— 2002 Roman imperialism and the sanctuaries of Roman Gaul. *JRA* 15: 541-5

Deroc, A.
1983 *Les monnaies gauloises d'argent de la vallée du Rhône*. Études de Numismatique 2, Paris.

Desfossés, Y.
1996 *L'evolution de la ferme indigène en Pays de Caux. L'apport des fouilles de l'autoroute A29, premiers résultats*. RAP numero spécial 11. 203-208
— 2000 *Archéologie préventive en Vallée de Canche. Les sites protohistoriques fouillés dans le cadre de la réalisation de l'autoroute A16*. Nord-Ouest Archéologie No. 11, Lille.

Desfossés, Y. & Blancquaert, G.
1992 L'Âge du fer dans le Nord–Pas-de-Calais. L'apport des Fouilles du T.G.V.-Nord. L'exemple des sites de Zuytpeene, Fresnes-lès-Montauban, Broxeele, Oxelaëre et Flêtre. *Histoire et Archéologie du Pas-de-Calais* XIII 2: 221-75.

Detys, S.
1983 *Les Bois sculptés des sources de la Seine*. CNRS, Paris.
— 1994 *Un peuple de Pélerins, offrandes de pierre et de bronze des sources de la Seine, Dijon*. RAE, 13e supplément.

Dhenin, M.

1998 Deux monnayages des Meldi: les series ROVECA et EPENOS. In Delattre, Le Cieux & Magnan (eds), *Profane et Sacre en Pays meldois*, AMA-Musée Bossuet, Meaux. 23-28.

Dhenin, M. & Amandry, M.
1988 Les monnaies de La Bauve (Meaux), In Magnan (ed), 101-106.

Diepeveen-Jansen, M.
2001 *People, Ideas and Goods. New perspectives on 'Celtic Barbarians' in Western and Central Europe (500-250 BC).* AAS 7, Amsterdam University Press.

Dietler, M.
1994 "Our Ancestors the Gauls": Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe. *American Anthropologist* 96 (3): 584-605.

Downes, J.
1997 The shrine at Cadbury Castle: belief enshrined? In Gwilt & Haselgrove (eds), 145-152.

Downey, R., King, A. & Soffe, G.
1980 The Hayling Island temple and religious connections across the Channel. In Rodwell (ed) *Temples, Churches and Religion; Recent Research in Roman Britain*, BAR 77, Oxford. 289-304.

Doyen, J.-M.
1987 Les subdivisions <<aux segments de cercles>> du type BN 8030: etat de la question. In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 315-330.

Drda, P., Waldhauser, S. & Cizmar, M.
1971 Oppida und Viereckschanzen. *Archéologické Rozhledy* XXIII-3.

Drouhot, C.
1998 Les trouvailles de monnaies gaulois en Pays Meldois. In Delattre, Le Cieux & Magnan (eds), *Profane et Sacre en Pays meldois, protohistoire-gallo-romain*, AMA- Musee Bossuet (catalogue d'exposition), Meaux. 19-22.

Dubourdieu, A. & Scheid, J.
2000 Lieux de culte, Lieux sacrés: Les usages de la langue. L'Italie Romaine. In Vauchez (ed), 59-80.

Duncan-Jones, R.
1990 *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
— 1994 *Money and government in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Durand, P.
2000a (ed) *Le Temple Gallo-Romain de la Forêt d'Halatte (Oise)*, RAP No. Special 18, Amiens.
— 2000b Les monnaies celtiques du sanctuaire Gallo-Romain de la Forêt d'Halatte. In Durand (ed), 201-210.

Duval, A.

1987 Hypothèses a propos de grandes séries de "potins". In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 345-348.

Duval, A., Morel, J.-P. & Roman, Y. (eds)
1990 *Gaule Interne et Gaule Méditerranéenne aux IIe et Ier siècles avant J.-C. Confrontations chronologique*. RAN supplément 21. CNRS Éditions.

Duval, P.-M.
1987 La synthèse graphique des monnaies gauloises à propos d'un statère inédit des *Parisii*. In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 349-356.

Dyson, S. L.
1970 Caepio, Tacitus, and Lucan's sacred grove. *Classical Philology* 65:36-38.

Ehrend, H. & Horn, T.
1996 *Ein Keltenschatz im Stoppelacker*. Speyerer Numismatische Beiträge Speyer.

Ésperandieu, E.
1913 *Les fouilles des Vieil-Evreux, Première rapport*. Bull soc des fouilles archéologiques. Paris
— 1921 *Les fouilles des Vieil-Evreux, Deuxième rapport*. Bull soc des fouilles archéologiques. Paris

Ettlinger, E.
1973 *Die Römischen Fibeln in der Schweiz*. Berne.

Evans, J.
1864 *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, London.
— 1890 *The Coins of the Ancient Britons: supplement*, London.

Fagot, P. & Chevallier, R.
1958 Vestiges de La Tène II découvertes par prospection aérienne à Celles-les-Condé (Aisne). *BSPF* 55:661-671.

Fajon, P. & Michel, A.
1999 *Saint-Saëns, Rapport d'évaluation*. SRA Haute-Normandie.

Fauduet, I.
1993a *Atlas de Sanctuaires Romano-Celtiques de Gaule, Les Fanums*. Archéologie
Aujourd-Hui. Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1993b *Les Temples de Tradition Celtique en Gaule Romaine*. Éditions Errance, Paris.

Favret, P.M.
1947 Vert-la-Gravelle "Mont-Augé". *Gallia* 1947: 446-447.

Fedi, L.
1987 Nizy-le-Comte (Aisne); étude numismatique. *RAP* 1(2): 61-64.

Femolant, J.-M.
1989 L'établissment gaulois de La Tène finale de Criel (Oise). *RAP* 3(4): 43-

66.
— 1991 L'etablissement rural gaulois de "la Plaine de Saint-Germain" à Verberie (Oise). In *Archéologie de la Vallée de l'Oise, Compiègne et sa région depuis les origines*, CRAVO, Compiègne. 126-127.
— 1992 Deux sites de La Tène III à Chambly (Oise). Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Historique et Geographique du Criel et de sa Région. *Documents et recherches* 156: 7-12.

Femolant, J.-M. & Malrain, F.
1996 Les établissements ruraux du deuxieme âge du fer et leur romanisation dans le department de l'Oise. In Bayard & Collart (eds), 39-53.

Fercoq du Leslay, G.
1996 Chronologie et analyse spatiale à Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme). *RAP* 3(4): 189-208.
— 2000 L'apport des fossés de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme) à la chronologie et à l'interprétation du site. *RAP* 1(2): 113-146.

Ferdière, A.
1988 *Les campagnes en Gaule romaine*, Paris.

Féret, M.
— 1975 Bracquemont. In *Age du Fer en Normandie – Sites du Hallstatt et de La Tène* Annales de Normandie 1975, numéro 4: 236.

Ferris, I. M., Bevan, L. & Cutler, R.
2000 *The Excavation of a Romano-British Shrine at Orton's Pasture, Rocester, Staffordshire*. BAR 314, Oxford.

Feugère, M.
1985 Les Fibules en Gaule méridionale, de la Conquête à la fin du Ve s. ap. J.-C. RAN suppl. no 12, Paris.

Fichtl, S.
1991 Relation entre sanctuaires et sites fortifiés en Picardie. In Brunaux (ed), 22-27.
— 1994 *Les Gaulois du Nord de la Gaule (150-20 av.J-C)*. Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1996 Les Fortifications de Gaule Belgique à La Tène Finale: une approche des entités régionales. *Paper presented at the Actes de la table ronde tenue à Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme), 21 au 21 oct. 1994*, Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme).
— 2000 *La ville celtique. Les Oppida de 150 av. J.-C. à 15 ap. J.-C.* Éditions Errance, Paris.

Fichtl, S., Metzler, J. & Sievers, S.
2000 Le rôle des sanctuaires dans le processus d'urbanisation. In Guichard, Sievers & Urban (eds), 179-186.

Firmin, G.
1983 Sauvetage sur le site de Concevreux "Devant Chaudardes", *FPVA* 11, 231-234.

Fischer, B.
1992 *Atlas de monnaies gaulois d'H. de la Tour, mise à jour*. Éditions C.

Burgan/ Maison Florange, Paris.

— 1994 Les monnaies gauloises d'Alésia: enseignments et questions. In Reddé & von Schnurbein, S. *Fouilles du siège d'Alésia: rapport triennial 1992-1994*. Dijon. 82-94.

— 1995 Les potins d'Alésia. In Gruel (ed): 37-42.

— 2001 Les monnaies gauloises: enseignments et questions. In Reddé & Von Schnurbein (eds) Vol 2, Le matériel, 11-20.

Fischer, B. & Gruel, K.

2001 Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises. In Reddé & Von Schnurbein (eds) Vol 2, Le matériel, 21-68.

Fitzpatrick, A.P.

1984 The deposition of La Tène Iron Age metalwork in watery contexts in southern England. In Cunliffe & Miles (eds), 178-190.

— 1985 The Distribution of Dressel 1 Amphorae in North-West Europe. *OJA* 4(3): 305-340.

— 1985b The Celtic Coins. In Clark & Jones (eds), *The Romano-British temple at Harlow, Essex*, West Essex Archaeology Group. 49-70.

— 1989 *Cross-Channel relations in the British Iron Age, with particular reference to the British archaeological evidence*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham.

— 1992 The roles of celtic coinage in south east England. In Mays (ed), 1-32.

— 1997 *Archaeological Excavations on the Route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex: Volume 2: the cemeteries*. Wessex Archaeology Report 12. Wessex Archaeology, Salisbury.

Flouest, J.-L. & Stead, I.M.

1979 *Iron Age Cemeteries in Champagne, third interim report*. Occasional Papers 6. British Museum, London.

Fokkens, H.

1998 The Ussen Project: the first decade of excavations at Oss. *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* 30, Leiden.

Fontaine, E., Dhénin, M. & Dhénin, R.

1973 Monnaies et pierres gravées trouvées à Vaulx-Vraucourt, *Bulletin Pas-de-Calais* IX, 3: 221-236.

Forcey, C.

1997 Whatever Happened to the Heroes? Ancestral cults and the enigma of Romano-Celtic temples. In Forcey, C., Hawthorne, J. & Witcher, R. (eds), *TRAC 97, Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Nottingham*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 87-98.

Forrer, R.

1908 *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein und Donaulande*, Strasbourg.

— 1969 *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein und Donaulande. Reedition - Bibliographische machträge und Erganzungen, Ouvrage collectif de mise à jour*, Graz.

Foucart, J., Stakoviak, A. & Lepolard, J.-P.

1979 Notes et découvertes fortuites: supplement à l'inventaire des monnaies gauloises trouvées sur l'*oppidum* de Pommiers. *CAP* 6: 229-230

Fournier, C., Fournier, J. & Fournier, J.
1989 Le Poinçon monétaire Gaulois d'Halloy-Les-Pernois (Somme). RAP 1(2): 119-122.

France, N. E. & Gobel, B.M.
1985 *The Romano-British Temple at Harlow*. West Essex Archaeological Group.

Frederiksen, M.W.
1976 Changes in the Patterns of Settlement. In Zanker, P. (ed) *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, Göttingen. 34-55.

Freeman, P.W.M.
1993 'Romanisation' and Roman material culture. Review of M. Millett, The Romanisation of Britain. *JRA* 6: 438-445.

Frezouls, E.
1975 Semide (Ardennes). *Gallia Informations* 1975, 391.

Furger-Gunti, A.
— 1979 *Die Ausgrabungen im Basler Münster I. Die spätkeltische und die augusteische Zeit (1 Jahrhundert v. Chr)*. Basler Beitr. Ur- und Frügesch 6 (Derendingen-Solothum 1979), Basel.
— 1982 Der "Goldfund von Saint-Louis" bei Basel und ähnliche keltische Schatzfunde. *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 39: 1- 47.

Furger-Gunti, A. & Von Kaenel, H.M.
1976 Die keltischen Fündmunzen aus Basel. *Schweizerische Numismatische Runschau* 55: 35-76.

Gaillard, D. & Jacques, A.
1998 *Duisans "Le Bois d'Hattencourt" Pas-de-Calais. Demande d'Évaluation Complémentaire*, Avec le concours de la Direction Départmentale de l'Équipment. SRA Nord-Pas-de-Calais/ Arras Service Archéologie Municipal.

Garwood, P., Jennings, D., Skeates, R.& Toms, J.
1991 *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion, Oxford, 1989*. OUCA Monograph 32, Oxford.

Gayraud, M.
1981 *Narbonne Antique, des origines à la fin du IIIième siècle*, Paris.

Gebhard, R.
1991 *Die Fibeln aus dem Oppidum von Manching*, Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 14, RGK Stuttgart.

Gerritsen, F.
2001 *Local Identities. Landscape and Community in the Late Prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region*. Unpublished PhD, Free University, Amsterdam.
— 2003 *Local Identities. Landscape and Community in the Late Prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region*, AAS 9, Free University Amsterdam.

Giard, J.-B.

1968 Le pèlerinage gallo-romain de Condé-sur-Aisne et ses monnaies. I: Jusqu'a Domitien. *RN* 6e sér 10: 76-130.
— 1969 Le pèlerinage gallo-romain de Condé-sur-Aisne et ses monnaies. II. *RN* 6e sér 11: 62-97.

Giddens, A.
1984 *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration.* Polity Press, Oxford.

Ginoux, N. & Poux, M.
2002 Les Parisii, Entre Gaule Belgique et Gaule Celtique: peuplement et territoire. In Garcia & Verdin (eds), 226-243.

Goldsworthy, A.K.
1996 *The Roman army at war, 100 BC-AD 200*, OUP, Oxford.

Gose, E.
1955 *Der Tempelbezirk des Lenus Mars in Trier*. Berlin.
— 1972 *Der gallo-römische Tempelbezirk in Altabchtal zu Trier I-II*. Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen 7, Mainz-am-Rhein.

Gose, E., Hussong, Jovy, Loeschcke
1938 *Der Tempelbezirk im Altabchtale zu Trier. Heft 1: Ritonatempel und Umgebung*, Berlin.
— 1942 *Der Tempelbezirk im Altbachtale zu Trier. Heft 2: Die bahndurchschnitten Tempel und Umgebung*, Berlin.

Goudineau, C., Fauduet, I. & Coulon, G. (eds)
1994 *Les Sanctuaires de Tradition Indigène en Gaule Romaine*. Éditions Errance, Paris.

Goudineau, C. & Peyre, C.
1993 *Bibracte et les Éduens*, Éditions Errance, Paris.

Gouge, P. & Séguier, J.-M.
1994 L'habitat rural de l'Âge du Fer en Bassée et à la confluence Seine-Yonne (Seine-et-Marne): un état des recherches. In Büchsenschutz, O. & Méniel, P. (eds), *Les installations agricoles de l'âge du fer en Île-de-France. Actes du Colloque de Paris (19-20 juin) 1993.* Études d'histoire et d'archéologie 4, Paris, 45-69.

Gran-Aymerich, E.
1998 *Naissance de l'archéologie moderne, 1798-1945*, Paris.

Graves, C. P.
1989 Social space in the English medieval parish church. *Economy and Society* 18(3):297-322.

Green, M.J.
1986 *The Gods of the Celts*. Alan Sutton, Gloucester.
— 1989 *Symbol and image in Celtic religious art*. Routledge, London.
— 1991 *The sun gods of ancient Europe*, Batsford, London.
— 1995 *The Celtic World*, Routledge, London.
— 1999 *Pilgrims in stone: Stone images from the Gallo-Roman sanctuary of Fontes Sequanae*. BAR S754, Oxford.
— 2002 *Dying for the Gods. Human sacrifice in the Iron Age and Roman*

Europe. Tempus. London

Grenier. A.
1931-60. *Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romain* (4 vols), Paris.

Gros. P.
1996 *L'Architecture Romain, du début du IIIe siècle av.J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire 1 - Les monuments publics*. Les Manuels d'Art et d'Archéologie Antiques. CNRS. Paris.

Gruel. K.
1989 *La monnaie chez le Gaulois*. Éditions Errance, Paris
— 1991 L'apparition des monnaies dans les sanctuaires de l'Armorique. In Brunaux (ed). 230-237.
— 1995 (ed) Les Potins gaulois: typologie, diffusion, chronologie. Etat de la question à partir de plusieurs contributions. *Gallia* 52: 1-144.
— 1995b Les potins gaulois, que cachent-ils?. In Gruel (ed), 137-141.
— 2002 Monnaies et Territoires. In Garcia & Verdin (eds), 205-213.

Gruel. K. & Barrandon. J.N.
2000 Les deniers gaulois du Centre-Est. In Kluge & Weisser (eds), *XII Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress, 1997*, Berlin, 402-408.

Gruel. K. & Brouquier-Reddé. V.
1999 *Sanctuaires Gallo-Romains de la Tour-aux-Fees, La Forêterie, Allones (Sarthe)*. SRA Pays-de-la-Loire, CRNS/ ENS.
— 2000 *Sanctuaire Gallo-Romain de Mars Mullo, La Forêteriem Allones (Sarthe). Rapport intermédiaire*. CNRS/ ENS.

Gruel. K. & Clement. M.
1987 Les monnaies gauloises du fanum de Trogouzel, essai d'interpretation. In *Mélanges*, 451-464.

Gruel. K. & Taccoën. A.
1992 Petit numéraire de billon émis durant et après la conquête romaine dans l'Ouest de la Gaule. In Mays (ed), 165-188.

Guerin. F.
1961 *Fouilles archéologiques de Nanteuil, lieudit 'Nepellier'*. Rapport de Fouilles. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Guichard. V., Pion. P., Malacher. F. & Collis. J.
1993 A propos de la circulation monétaire en Gaule chevelue aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C. *RAC* 32: 25-56.

Guichard. V., Sievers. S. & Urban. O.H. (eds)
2000 *Les processus d'urbanisation a l'age du Fer. Eisenzeitliche Urbanisationsprozesse*. Collections Bibracte 4, Glux-en-Glenne.

Guillaumet. J.-P.
1996 *Bibracte: Bibliographie et plans anciens*, DAF 57. Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. Paris.

Guillaumet. J.-P. & Nillesse. O.
2000 Les petits objets de quelques fermes gauloises: approche

méthodologique. In Marion & Blancquaert (eds), 251-276.

Gwilt, A.
1997 Popular practices from material culture: a case study of the Iron Age settlement at Wakerley, Northamptonshire. In Gwilt & Haselgrove (eds), 153-166.

Gwilt, A. & Haselgrove, C.C. (eds)
1997 *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*. Oxbow Monograph 71, Oxford.

Haffner, A.
1969 Review: G. Mahr, Die jüngere Latènekultur des Trierer Landes. *Germania* 47:233-43.
— 1979 Zur Absoluten Chronologie der Mittellatènezeit. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 9:405-409.
— 1984 Der Mart- und Hüttenberg bei Pommern/Karden, ein Oppidum in östlichen Treverergebiet. In *Trier - Augustusstadt der Treverer. Ausstellungskat Trier*, Mainz. 106-111.

Haffner, A. & Krausse, D.
1995 Der Kasselt bei Wallenborf. Großbefestigung der Treverer und römische Siedlung an der mitteleren Sauer. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bitburger Landes* 18, 33-46.

Hart, K.
1986 Heads or tails? Two sides of the coin, *Man* 21(4): 637-56.

Haselgrove, C. C.
1979 The Significance of Coinage in Pre-Conquest Britain. In Burnham & Johnson (eds), 197-207.
— 1984 Romanization before the conquest: Gaulish precedents and British consequences. In Blagg & King (eds), *Military and civilian in Roman Britain: Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province*, BAR 136, Oxford. 5-63.
— 1987 *Iron Age Coinage in South-East England, the Archaeological Context*. BAR 174, Oxford.
— 1988 The archaeology of British potin coinage. *Arch Journal* 145: 99-122.
— 1989 Iron Age coin deposition at Harlow Temple, Essex. *OJA* 8 (1): 73-88.
— 1990 Later Iron Age settlement in the Aisne Valley. Some current problems and hypotheses. In *Actes du 12e colloque de l'AFEAF, Quimper Mai 1988*. Rennes, RAO suppl. 3: 249-259.
— 1990b The Romanisation of Belgic Gaul: some archaeological perspectives. In Blagg & Millett (eds), 47-62.
— 1993 The Development of British Iron-Age Coinage. *NC* 153: 31-64.
— 1995 Late Iron Age society in Britain and north-east Europe: structural transformation or superficial change?, In Arnold & Gibson (eds), 81-87.
— 1996a Potin Coinage in Iron Age Britain, Archaeology and Chronology. *Gallia* 52:117-127.
— 1996b Roman impact on rural settlement and society in southern Picardy. In Roymans (ed), 127-188.
— 1996c La romanisation de l'habitat rural dans la vallée de l'Aisne d'après les prospections de surface et les fouilles récentes. In Bayard & Collart (eds), 109-120.
— 1999a The Development of Iron Age Coinage in Belgic Gaul. *NC* 159: 111-168.
— 1999b Mediterranean influence on southern Belgic Gaul between the fifth and

the first centuries BC. In Chaume, B., Mohen, J.-P. & Périn, P. (eds) *Archéologie des Celtes. Mélanges à la mémoire de Rene Joffroy.* Protohistoire Européenne 3. Éditions Monique Mergoil.

Haselgrove, C., Armit, I., Champion, T., Creighton, J., Gwilt, A., Hill, J.D., Hunter, F.& Woodward, A.
2001 *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action*, Wessex Archaeology/ Cromwell Press, Trowbridge.

Haselgrove, C. C. & Millett, M.
1997 Verlamion reconsidered. In Gwilt & Haselgrove (eds), 282-297.

Haselgrove, C.C. & Wigg-Wolf, D.G. (eds)
forthcoming. *Iron Age coinage and ritual practices*, Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 20. Gebrüder Mann Verlag, Mainz.

Hawkes, C. F. C. & Hull, M.R.
1947 *Camulodunum*, OUP, Oxford.

Head, B. V.
1908 'The Coins'. In Hogarth (ed), *Excavations at Ephesus. The archaic Artemisia*, London, 74-93.

Henig, M.
1984 *Religion in Roman Britain*. B T Batsford Ltd., London.

Henig, M. & King, A. (eds)
1986 *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*. OUCA Monograph 8, Oxford.

Henry, Y. & Jacques, A.
1996 *Gazoduc Gournay-Arleux. Gavrelle (Pas de Calais)* DFS, D'Evaluation et de Surveillance de travaux, AFAN, SAM d'Arras, SRA Nord-Pas-de-Calais

Hessing, W. A. M.
1993 Ondeugende Bataven en verdwaalde Friezinnen?: enkele gedachten over de onverbrande menselijke resten uit de IJzertijd en Romeinse tijd in West- en Noord-Nederland. In Drenth, Hessing, & Knol (eds), *Het tweede leven na de dood*, NAR 15, Amsterdam, 17-40.
— 2001 Foreign oppressor versus civiliser: the Batavian myth as the source for contrasting associations of Rome in Dutch historiography and archaeology. In Hingley, R. (ed). *Images of Rome. Perceptions of ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the modern Age*, JRA Supplementary series 44, Portsmouth, RI, 126-144.

Hettner, F.
1901 Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande. In *Feschrift des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Gessellschaft für nützliche Forschungen im Trier*, Trier. 1-36

Hettner, F. & Jacobs, J.
1910 Nachtrag zu dem Werke: 'Drei Tempelbezirke im Trevererlande', *Trierer Jahresbericht*, N.F. 3. 49-67.

Hiddink, H. A.

1991 Rural centres in the Roman settlement system of Northern Gallia Belgica and Germania inferior. In Roymans & Theuws (eds), pp. 201-234.

Hietala, H.
1984 *Intrasite spatial analysis in archaeology*. CUP, Cambridge.

Hill, J. D.
1995 *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*. BAR 242, Oxford.
— 1997 The end of one kind of body and the beginning of another kind of body? Toilet instruments and 'Romanization' in southern England during the first century A.D., In Gwilt & Haselgrove (eds), 96-107.

Hingley, R.
1985 Location, Function and Status: A Romano-British 'Religious Complex' at the Noah's Ark Inn, Frilford (Oxfordshire). *OJA* 4(2): 201-214.
— 1990 Boundaries surrounding Iron Age and Romano-British settlements. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 7. 96-103.
— 1993 Iron Age 'Currency Bars'. The Archaeological and Social Context. *Arch Journal* 147: 91-117.

Hobbs, R.
1996 *British Iron Age Coinage in the British Museum*. British Museum Press. London.

Hodder, I.
1979 Pre-Roman and Romano-British Tribal Economies. In Burnham & Johnson (eds), 189-196.
— 1991 *Reading the Past. Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology (2nd edition)*. CUP, Cambridge.

Hopkins, K.
1980 Taxes and trades in the Roman Empire (200 BC - AD 400). *JRS* 70: 101-125.

Horne, P. D. & King, A.C.
1980 Romano-Celtic temples in continental Europe. A gazetteer of those with known plans. In Rodwell (ed), *Temples, churches and religion in Roman Britain*, BAR 77, Oxford, 369-555.

Howgego, C.
1995 *Ancient history from coins*. Routledge, London.

Hubert, F.
1982 Site Portuaire de Pommeroeul I. Catalogue de materiel pré- et protohistorique. *Archaeologia Belgica 248*, Brussels.

Huysecom, E.
1980 Contributions à l'etude des monnaies celtiques, à propos des découvertes monetaires de Champlieu (Oise). *RBN* 126: 45-68.

Huysecom, E. & Woimant, G.-P.
1983 L'apport des Monnaies découvertes à Champlieu (Oise) lors des campagnes de 1978 à 1981. *RAP* 1(2): 232-4.

Ilett, M., Demoule, J.-P., Coudart, A. & Constantin, C.

1981 Structures d'habitat et urbanisme a Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne). In Büchsenschutz (ed), *Les structures d'habitat à l'Âge du Fer en Europe tempérée*, Actes du colloque de Levroux, M.S.H. Paris. 201-206.

Ilisch, P.
1992 Die Münzen aus den Ausgrabungen im Römerlager Oberaden. In *Das Römerlager in Oberaden III*, Münster. 175-201.
— 1999 Die Münzen aus den römischen Militäranlagen in Westfalen. In Schlüter & Wiegels (eds), *Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkreise*, Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 1. Universitätverlag rasch Osnabrück, Osnabrück, 279-291.

Jahier, I., Besnard-Vauterin, C., Lepaumier, H., Paris, P., Renault, V., San-Juan, G., Dron, J.-L., Hincker, V. & Forfait, N.
2000 Les bâtiments des habitats de l'âge du Fer en Basse-Normandie: panorama des découvertes. In Marion & Blancquaert (eds), 339-357.

James, S. T.
1998 'Celts, politics and motivation in archaeology'. *Antiquity* LXXII: 200-209.
— 1999 *The Atlantic Celts, Ancient People or Modern Invention?*, British Museum, London.

Jersey, P. de
1994 *Coinage in Iron Age Armorica. Studies in Celtic Coinage 2*, OUCA Monograph 39, Oxford.
— 1997 Cast away riches: Estimating the volume of Celtic coinage found in Britain. *The Yorkshire Numismatist, Proceedings of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society* 3: 1-15.
— 1999 Exotic Celtic Coinage in Britain. *OJA* 18(2): 189-216.
— 2001 Where and when? *Chris Rudd coin catalogue* 56:2-7.

Joffroy, R.
1954 *Le tresor de Vix (Cote d'Or)*, Paris.
— 1974 Oiry "Le Pré Moutilleux". *Gallia Préhistoire* 1974: 527-30.

Joly, M. & Mouton, S.
1998 *Langres, Usine Freudenberg (Zone Industrielle des Franchises), Rapport de Fouilles Archéologique*, SRA Champagne-Ardennes/ Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres.

Joly, M., Mouton, S. & Bataille, G.
1999 *Langres, Usine Freudenberg (Zone Industrielle des Franchises)*, Rapport Intermediaire de Fouilles Archéologique, SRA Champagne-Ardennes

Jouve, M.
1971 Coupe de la chaussée Brunehaut au Mont-Berny à Pierrefonds (Oise), *Rev Arch Oise* 1: 30-32.
— 1973 La cabane gaulois du Barillet a Bethisy-Saint-Martin (Oise). *Rev Arch Oise* 3: 27-37.
— 1981 Nouvelles decouvertes de monnaies aux environs de Compeigne. *Rev Arch Oise* 22: 2-5.

Jullian, C.
1909 *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris.

Kaenel, G. & Curdy, P.
1985 Yverdon-les-Bains, VD, de La Tène à l'époque augustéenne. *Archéologie Suisse* 8: 245-250.

Keay, S. & Terrenato, N. (eds)
2001 *Italy and the West. Comparative issues in Romanization.* Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Kellner, A.
1990 *Die Münzfunde von Manching und die keltischen Fündmunzen aus Südbayern.* Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 12, Stuttgart.

Kiernan, P.
2002 The ritual mutilation of coins on Romano-British sites. *BNJ* 71: 18-33.

Kimming, W.
1975 *L'Oppidum de Vix. In Ausgrabungen in Deutschland 1950-1975.* RGZM, Mainz.

King, A.
1990 The Emergence of Romano-Celtic Religion. In Blagg & Millett (eds), 220-241.

King, A. & Soffe, G.
1998 Internal organisation and deposition at the Iron Age Temple on Hayling Island. *Proceedings of the Hants Field Club and Arch Society* 53: 35-47.
— 2001 Internal organisation and deposition at the Iron Age temple on Hayling Island, Hampshire. In Collis (ed), 111-124.

King, C. & Wigg, D. (eds)
1996 Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World. *Studien zu Fündmunzen der Antike* 10, Berlin.

Klein, J.
1897 Der Marberg bei Pommern an der Mosel und seine Kultstätte. *Bonner Jahrbuche* 101: 62-116.

Knapp, R.C.
1987 Spain. In Burnett, A. & Crawford, M.H. (eds) *The Coinage of the Roman World in the late Republic*, BAR, S326, Oxford. 19-42.

Krausse, D.
1996 Der Kasselt bei Wallendorf (Kreis Bitburg-Prüm). Befestigung, Siedelung und Heiligtum keltisch-römischer Zeit, *TZ* 59: 17-78.
— 1999 Romanization in the middle Rhine and Moselle region: new evidence from recent excavations in Luxembourg, Rhineland-Pfalz and Saarland. In Creighton & Wilson (eds), 54-70.

Kyll, N.
1966 Heidnische Weihe-und Votivgaben aus der Römerzeit des Trierer Landes. *TZ* 29: 5-113.

Lact, S. J. de

1966 *Van grafmonument tot heiligdom. Beschouwingen over de oorsprong van het Kelto-Romeins fanum met vierkantige cella* (avec un résumé Français). Palais der Academiën, Brussel.

Lafon, X.
1989 A propos de Saint Ulrich: Villas et lieux de culte dans la Gaule du nord-est. In *Aspects de la Religion Celtique et Gallo-Romaine dans le Nord-Est de la Gaule*, Soc. Phil. Vosgienne. 59-72.

Lagadec, J.-P. & Liéger, A.
1998 La circulation monétaire celtique en Lorraine. *Archaeologia Mosellana* 3:9-60.

Lambert, M.
1864 *Essai sur la numismatique gaulois du Nord-Ouest de la France.* Bayeux 1, Paris.

Lambot, B.
1978 Une fibule de La Tène I découverte à Nanteuil-sur-Aisne (Ardennes), *BSAC* 4: 93-94.
— 1982 Découvertes inédites faites dans la région de Rethel (Ardennes). *Préhistoire et protohistoire en Champagne-Ardenne* 6: 73-9.
— 1988 Les bâtiments cultuels du Bronze final d'Acy-Romance (Ardennes). In Audouze & Büchsenschutz (eds), *Architecture des Ages des Metaux. Fouilles Recentes*, Archéologie Aujourd'hui. Dossier de protohistoire 2. Éditions Errance, Paris. 39-46
— 1989 Le sanctuaire gaulois et gallo-romain de Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, lieu-dit "Nepellier" (Ardennes). *BSAC* 82(4): 33-44.
— 1991a *Nanteuil-sur-Aisne/ Roizy, Ardennes. Sondages sur deux sanctuaires, 1991.* Rapport de fouilles, SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1991b Quelques aspects funeraires et cultuels chez les Rèmes. In Brunaux (ed), 66-78.
— 1991c *Roizy "Les Cinq Horles", Ardennes, Sondage 1991.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1996a *Nanteuil-sur-Aisne "Le Grand Népellier" (Ardennes). Evaluation 1996.* Rapport de fouilles. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1996b Cartes postales aériennes de Champagne-Ardenne. 3000 ans d'Histoire vus du ciel. *MSAC* 11, supplement au bulletin 3.
— 1999 De nouvelles momies d'inhumes a Acy-Romance (Ardennes). *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*. 1: 129-135.
— 2000 Acy-Romance (Ardennes). Nouveaux éléments cultuels dans le village Gaulois. *Bulletin AFEAF* 18: 32-33.
— 2002 L'argent perdu des Remi d'Acy-Romance. *MSAC* 16(1):125-142.

Lambot, B. & Delestrée, L.-P.
1991 Des séries de potin du Belgium antérieurs au début du 1er siècle avant J.-C., *BSAC* 84(2): 67-79.

Lambot, B. & Friboulet, M.
1996 Essai de chronologie du site de La Tène finale d'Acy-Romance (Ardennes). *RAP* 3(4): 123-152.

Lambot, B., Friboulet, M. & Méniel, P.
1994 *Le site d'Acy-Romance 2. Les nécropoles dans leur contexte régional.* Dossiers de protohistoire 5. Mémoires de la Soc. Archéologique Champenoise,

Supplément au bulletin 2. Reims.

Lambot, B. & Méniel, P.
1992 *Le site protohistorique d'Acy-Romance (Ardennes). I. L'habitat gaulois 1988-1990.* Mémoire de la société archéologique champenoise 7. Soc. Arch Champenoise, Reims.
— 2000 Le centre communautaire et cultuel du village Gaulois d'Acy-Romance dans son contexte régional. In Verger (ed), 7-139.

Langouet, L. & Goulpeau, L.
1984 La datation Archéomagnétique du temple du Haut-Bécherel a Corseul. *RAO* 1:85-88.

Langouet, L. & Jumel, G.
1986 Le milieu rural de la Civitas de Coriosolites a l'epoque Gallo-Romaine. *RAO* 3:91-106.

Lardy, J.-M., Meyer, H., Rebour, V. & Vanpeene, N.
1987 Monnaies celtiques en situation de fouille sur le site d'Epiais-Rhus (Val d'Oise). In Brunaux & Gruel (eds), 152-210.

Le Breton, G.
1893 Saint-Saëns. *Bulletin de la Comité des Antiquaries de Seine-Inférieur*, Tome 9, 1891-1893. 267-277.
Le Clert, L.
1897 *Musée de Troyes, Numismatique: Monnaies gauloises*, Troyes.

Leclercq, P.
1978 Le Tresor Gaulois de Ledringhem. Essai d'interprétation. Revue du Nord numero spécial (Tresors, Monnaies et Archéologie du Nord de la France): 753-759.

Le Gall, L.
1990 *Alésia: Archéologie et histoire*, Éditions Errance, Paris (re-edition of 1963 publication)

Legin, L.
1989 Le Temple de Nazium, situe sur le plateau de Mazeroie, 20 annees de recherches. In *Aspects de la religion Celtique et Gallo-Romaine dans le Nord-Est de la Gaule à la lumière des découvertes récentes*, Société Philomatique Vosgienne, Saint-Dié-des-Vosges, 121-128.

Lejars, T.
1994 *Gournay III, Les Fourreaux d'Épée, Le sanctuaire de Gournay-sur-Aronde et l'armement des Celtes de La Tène moyenne*. Archéologie Aujourd-Hui. Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1996a L'armament des Celtes en Gaule du Nord á la fin de l'époque gauloise. Actes de table ronde tenue à Ribemont-sur-Ancre, *RAP* 1996, 3(4): 79-104.
— 1996b *Les fourreaux d'épée. Le sanctuaire d'Gournay-sur-Aronde et l'armament des Celtes de La Tène moyenne*. Paris.
— 1996c Les armes en fer: une source d'information privilégiée pour l'étude du functionnement des sanctuaires celtiques. *MEFRA* 108. 607-630.
— 1988 Des armes celtiques dans un contexte cultuel particulier: le <<charnier>> de Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme). *RAP* 1(2): 233-244.

Le Maho, J.
1986 Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon, Campagne de fouilles 1985, *Groupe de recherche archéologique du pays de Caux, Bulletin* 1: 21-47.

Lemaire, P. & Malrain, F.
2000 *Juin 1999, Vermand "Champ des Lavoirs", Aisne, Un établissement enclos de la Tène moyenne*, DFS de fouille préventive. SRA de Picardie/ AFAN.

Leman-Delerive, G.
1998 *Les Celtes: rites funéraires en Gaule du Nord entre le VIe et le Ier siècle avant J.-C.* Études et documents. Série Fouilles 4, Division du Patrimoine et Maison de la Culture de Tournai, Namur.

Lepage, L.
1984 *Les Âges du Fer dans les Bassins Superieurs de la Marne, de la Meuse et de l'Aube et le tumulus de la Mottote à Nijon (Haute-Marne).* Memoires de la Société Archéologique Champenoise, Supplément au Bulletin 3. Société Archéologique Champenoise, Reims.

Levy, J.
1982 *Social and Religious Organisation in Bronze Age Denmark: An Analysis of Ritual Hoard Finds*. BAR S124, Oxford.

Lewis, M.J.T.
1966 *Temples in Roman Britain*. CUP, Cambridge.

Liebbe, M.
1898 Rapport sur les fouilles pratiquées dans l'Oise à Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée. *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*. (1898): 92-96.

Lleras-Pérez, R.
1999 *Prehispanic Metallurgy and Votive Offerings in the Eastern Cordillera Columbia*. BAR S778, Oxford.

Lockyear, K.
2000 Experiments with Detrended Correspondence Analysis. In Lockyear, Sly & Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (eds), *CAA 96: Computer Applications and Quantitive Methods in Archaeology*, BAR S845, Oxford, 9-17.

Loeschcke, S.
1928 *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirks im Altbachtale zu Trier*. Berlin.

Loirot, X. & Delaporte, J.
1978 Les trésors de monnaies romaines découvertes dans le départment de la Seine Inférieure. *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie* 12, 37.

Loscheider, R.
1998 Untersuchungen zum Spätlatènezeitlichen Münzwesen des Treverlandes. *Archaeologia Mosellana* 3: 61-226.

Loughton, M.E.
2003 The Distribution of Republican Amphorae in France. *OJA* 22(2): 177-207.

Mack, R. P.
1953, 1964, 1975 *The coinage of Ancient Britain*. Spink & Sons, London.

MacMullen, R.
2000 *Romanisation in the time of Augustus*, Yale University Press.

Macready, S. & Thompson, F.H. (eds)
1984 *Cross-Channel Trade between Gaul and Britain in the Pre-Roman Iron Age*. Society of Antiquaries Monograph 4, London.

Magnan, D.
1988 *Meaux Gallo Romain et la Bauve*, Association Meldoise d'Archéologie, Meaux.
— 2000 Un sanctuaire périurbain: La Bauve à Meaux (Seine-et-Marne). In Van Andringa (ed), 73-89.

Magnan, D., Gonzalez, V. & Marion, S.
1988 Le site de La Bauve. In Magnan (ed), 59-76.

Mahin, A.
1991 Le site religieux de Foy (Noville). In Remy (ed) *Archeologie en Ardenne. De la prehistoire au XVIIIe siecle*, 127-129.

Malacher, F.
1987 Découverte d'un coin monétaire à Corent (Puy-de-Dôme). *BSFN*, 42e année, no. 9 (mai 1987): 275-276.

Malrain, F.
1991 Les fermes indigènes de Chevrières "La Plaine du Marais". In *Catalogue de l'exposition archéologique de la vallée de l'Oise*, Compiègne, 121-125.
— 2000 Contributions à l'etude des fermes. In Marion & Blancquaert (eds), 15-36.

Malrain, F., Matterne, V. & Méniel, P.
2002 *Les Paysans Gaulois (IIIe siècle - 52 av. J.-C.)*. Éditions Errance - Inrap, Paris.

Malrain, F., Locht, J.-L. & Pinard, E.
2001 *Bailleul-sur-Thérain "Le Mont César"*, Rapport d'Evaluation, AFAN/ SRA de Picardie.

Mangard, M.
1969 État des recherches sur la Cité de Limes. Neuville-les Dieppe – Bracquemont (Seine-Maritime), *Ogam* 21: 31-56.
— 1980 Découvertes récentes sur le chantier d'Eu-Bois-l'Abbé (76). In Le Maho (ed), *Tresors archéologiques de la Haute-Normandie. Cinq années de fouilles et le découvertes 1974-1979*, Rouen, 121-130.
— 1982 L'inscription dédicatoire du théâtre de Bois-l'Abbé à Eu - 76. *Gallia* 40: 35-51.

Mantel, É.
1997 *Le Sanctuaire de Fesques. "Le Mont du Val aux Moines" Seine*

Maritime. Nord-Ouest Archéologie 8, Rouen.

Mantel, É., Mocsgaard, J.-C. & Delestrée, L.-P.
1997 Les monnaies gauloises de surface du sanctuaire du Fesques, In Mantel (ed), 295-322.

Marchand, C.
1991 Sanctuaires picards et territoire. In Brunaux (ed), 14-18.

Marion, S.
— 1998 Établissments ruraux et sanctuaires: le probleme de la reconnaissance du sacre dans les societes protohistoriques. In Delattre, Le Cieux & Magnan (eds), *Profane et Sacre en Pays meldois*, AMA- Musée Bossuet, Meaux, 29-32.
— 2004 *Recherches sur l'âge du Fer en Ile-de-France. Entre Hallstatt final et La Tène finale. Analyse des sites fouillés. Chronologie et société*. BAR S1231, Oxford.

Marion, S. & Blancquaert, G. (eds)
2000 *Les Installations Agricoles de l'Âge du Fer en France Septentrionale*. Études d'Histoire et d'Archéologie 6. Éditions Rue d'Ulm, Paris.

Mattingly, D.J. (ed)
1997 *Dialogues in Roman imperialism: Power, discourse and discrepant experience in the Roman empire*. JRA Supplementary series 23, Portsmouth, RI.

Mauné, S. (ed)
1998 *Recherches récentes sur les établissments rureaux protohistoriques en Gaule méridionale (IXe-IIIe s. av. J.-C.)*. Actes de la table ronde de Lattes (mai 1997). Protohistoire européenne 2. Éditions Monique Mergoil.

May, J.
1992 Iron Age coins in Yorkshire. In Mays (ed), 93-112.

Mays, M (ed)
1992 *Celtic Coinage: Britain and Beyond*, BAR 222, Oxford

Megaw, J. V. S. & Megaw, M.R.
1996 'Ancient Celts and modern ethnicity'. *Antiquity* LXX: 175-81.
— 1998 'The mechanism of (Celtic) dreams?: a partial response to our critics'. *Antiquity* LXXII: 432-5.

Mélanges
1987 *Mélanges Offerts au Docteur J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*. Le Léopard d'Or, Paris.

Méniel, P.
1992 *Les Sacrifices d'Animaux chez les Gaulois*. Éditions Errance, Paris.
— 1998 *Le site protohistorique d'Acy-Romance (Ardennes) III. Les animaux et l'histoire d'un village gaulois*. Fouilles 1989-1997. MSAC 14, Reims.

Mériel, E.
1999 *La circulation monetaire celtique en Alsace*. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Strasbourg.

Merleau, M.-L.
2001 Le Monde des Mortes. In Sennequier (ed), 32-51.

Metzler, J.
1991 Sanctuaires gaulois en territoire trevire. In Brunaux (ed), 27-41.
— 1995 *Das Treverische Oppidum auf dem Titelberg. Dossiers d'archéologie du musée national d'histoire et d'art*. III, Luxembourg.

Metzler, J., Millett, M., Roymans, N. & Slofstra, J. (eds)
1995 *Integration in the early Roman West: The role of culture and ideology*. Luxembourg.

Metzler, J. & Wigg, D. (eds)
forthcoming *Die Kelten und Rom: neue numismatische Forschungen*, Berlin.

Millett, M.
1990 *The Romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation*. CUP, Cambridge.
— 1995 Rethinking Religion in Romanization. In Metzler, Millett, Roymans, & Slofstra (eds), 93-100.

Millotte, J. et al (eds)
2003 *Fastes des Celtes entre Champagne et Bourgogne aux VIIe-IIIe siecles avant notre ère*. MSAC no.15, Supplément au Bulletin no.4 (1999), Troyes.

Miron, A.
1986 Das Graberfeld von Horath: Untersuchungen zur Mittel- und Spatlatenezeit im Saar-Mosel-Raum. *TZ* 49:7-198.
— 1994 *Das gallorömische Quellheiligtum von Ihn (Kreis Saarlouis)*, BSDS Beiheft 2, Saarbrücken.

Mitard, P.-H.
1993 *Le Sanctuaire Gallo-Romain de Genainville (Val-d'Oise)*, Gulry-en-Vexin.
— 1999 Les Monnaies gauloises du Vexin Français (Le point à l'aube d'un nouveau siécle). *BAVF* 32: 7-21.

Morrison, C. & Kluge B.
1997 *A Survey of Numismatic Research 1990-1995*. Berlin.

Muret, E. & Chabouillet, A.
1889 *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

Napoleon III
1866 *Histoire de Jules César*. Imprimerie nationale, Paris.

Nash, D.
1975 The chronology of Celtic coinage in Gaul: the Arvernian "hegemony" reconsidered. *NC* 15 (new ser): 204-218.
— 1976 Reconstructing Poseidonius' Celtic ethnography
— 1978 *Settlement and coinage in central Gaul, c. 200-50 B.C.*, BAR S39, Oxford.
— 1981 Coinage and state development in central Gaul. In Cunliffe (ed), 10-17.
— 1987 *Coinage in the Celtic World*, London.

Neiss, R.
1968 *Rapport de Fouilles de Chateau-Porcien "Nandin". Campagne 1968.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1969 *Rapport de Fouilles de Chateau-Porcien "Nandin". Campagne 1969.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1971 *Rapport de Fouilles de Chateau-Porcien "Nandin". Campagne 1971.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1972 *Rapport de Fouilles de Chateau-Porcien "Nandin". Campagne 1972.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1973 *Rapport de Fouilles de Chateau-Porcien "Nandin". Campagne 1973.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1975 *Rapport de Fouilles de Chateau-Porcien "Nandin". Campagne 1975.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Niblett, R.
1999 *The Excavation of a Ceremonial Site at Folly Lane, Verulamium.* Britannia Monographs 14, London.

Northover, P.
1992 Materials issues in the Celtic Coinage. In Mays (ed), 235-300.

O'Connell, M. G. & Bird, J.
1994 The Roman Temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985-1986. *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 82: 1-169.

Overbeck, B. & Wells, P.S.
1991 Vier neue keltische Münzen vom Kelheimer Mitterfeld. *Bäyerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 56: 163-8.

Painter, K.
1999 Natives, Romans and Christians at Uley? Questions of continuity of use of sacred sites. *JRA* 12: 694-702.

Paris, R.
1960 Un temple celtique et gallo-romain en le Fôret de Châtillon-sur-Seine (Cote-d'Or). *RAE* 2: 164-175.

Parker, J.
2000 *Structuration*. Open University Press, Buckingham, Phiadelphia.

Parker-Pearson, M.
1996 Food, fertility and front doors in the first millennium BC. In Champion & Collis (eds), 117-132.

Parry, J.
1989 On the moral perils of exchange. In Parry & Bloch (eds), 64-93.

Parry, J. & Bloch, M. (eds)
1989 *Money and the Morality of Exchange*, CUP, Cambridge

Pasquier, I.
1997 La céramique peinte d'un habitat de la Tène finale: les "Guignons" à Nanterre (Hauts-de-Seine). *RAC* 36: 23-37.

Penela, S.
1996 *Les Monnaies Gauloises en Territoire Senon*. Unpublished Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Bourgogne, U.F.R.

Perrin, F.
1990 *Un Dépôt d'Objets Gaulois à Larina, Hières-sur-Amby- Isère*. Documents d'Archéologie en Rhône-Alpes 4. Circonscription des Antiquités Historiques, Lyon.

Petit, B.
1994 Nouvelles Monnaies Gauloises en Foret de Compeigne (Oise). *RAP* 1994, 3(4): 31-37.

Petit, J.-P.
1988 *Puits et fosses rituels en Gaule d'après l'exemple de Bliesbruck (Moselle)*. Concours de Départment de la Moselle.

Petit, J.-P., Mangin, M. & Brunella, P. (eds)
1994a *Les agglomérations sécondaires. La Gaule Belgique, les Germanies et l'Occident romain*, Paris.
— 1994b *Atlas des agglomérations sécondaires de la Gaule Belgique et des Germanies*, Paris.

Peyre, C.
2000 Documents sur l'organisation publique de l'espace dans la cité gauloise. Le site de Villeneuve-Saint-Germain et la bilingue de Verceil. In Verger (ed), 155-206.

Pichot, V.
1996 *Le Sanctuaire d'Epomanduodorum (Mathay-Mandeure, Doubs) et ses antécedents Celtiques*. Unpublished Mémoire de Maîtrise, Université de Franche-Comté, Besançon.

Piette, J.
1979 *'Les Gréves', La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, rapport de fouilles 1979*, Unpublished report, SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1981 Le fanum de la Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Aube). État des recherches en 1979. In *L'age du Fer en France Septentrionale*, Société Archéologique Champenoise vol. 1, pp. 367-375.
— 1987 *'Les Gréves', La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot, rapport de fouilles 1987*, Unpublished report, SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Piette, J. & Frichet, R.
1975 *Rapport de sondage. La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot "Les Gréves"*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Piggott, S.
1966 *The World of the Druids*. London.

Pion, P.
1987 L'oppidum celtique du "Vieux-Reims" de Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt. *FPVA* 15: 257-333.
— 1996a *Les habitats lateniens tardif de la Vallee de l'Aisne: Contribution a la Periodisation de la Fin du Second Age du Fer en Gaule Nord-Orientale. La*

Tène C2- Periode augusteenne precoce. IIe-Ier siecles av. J.-C. Thèse de doctorat nouveau régime, l'Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne).

— 1996b Les établissments ruraux dans la vallée de l'Aisne, de la Fin du second Âge du Fer au début du Haut-Empire romain (IIe siècle av.J.-C./Ier siècle ap.J.-C.): bilan provisoire des données et esquisse de synthèse. In Fémolant & Malrain (eds). 55-108.

— forthcoming *Les caractères généraux et l'évolution de la circulation monétaire en Gaule nord-orientale aux IIe et Ier siècles avant J.-C.*, Paper presented at the Actes de la table ronde "Die Kelten und Rom: Neue Numismatische Forschungen", Luxembourg.

Pion, P., Plateau, M. & Haselgrove, C.C.
1986 Missy-sur-Aisne, Le Culot. *FPVA* 14: 103-145.

Pion, P., Gransar, F. & Auxiette, G.
1996 Les établissements ruraux dans la vallée de l'Aisne, de la fin du second âge du Fer au debut du Haut-Empire Romain (IIe siècle av. J.-C./ Ier siècle ap. J.-C.): bilan provisoire des donnees et esquisse de synthese. In Bayard & Collart (eds). 55-107.

Pion, P., Pommepuy, C., Auxiette, G., Hénon, B. & Gransar, F.
1997 L'oppidum de Condé-sur-Suippe/ Variscourt (Aisne) (Fin IIe-début Ier siècle av. J.-C.): Approche préliminaire de l'organisation fonctionnelle d'un quartier artisanal. In Bocquet, Auxiette, Hachem, & Robert (eds), *Espaces physiques, espaces sociaux*, Éditions du CTHS, Paris, 275-309.

Piton, D.
1991 *Dompierre-sur-Authie, "La Plaine au-dessus du Bois"*. Rapport de fouille programmée. SRA de Picardie.

Piton, D. (ed)
1993 *Vendeuil-Caply*. Nord-Ouest Archéologie no. 5.

Piton, D. & Dilly, G.
1985 Le Fanum des "Châtelets" de Vendeuil-Caply (Oise). *RAP* 1(2): 25-47.
— 1987 *"Les Châtelets", Le Val-Saint-Denis, Campagne 1987*. SRA de Picardie.
— 1987b *Dompierre-sur-Authie, "La Plaine au-dessus du Bois" 1987*. SRA de Picardie.

Pitte, D.
1988 *Rapport sur les sondages realises au no.33 Rue Saint Denis, á Brionne (Eure). Aôut 1988*, SRA Haute-Normandie.

Planck, D.
1982 Eine Neuendeckte keltische Viereckschanze in Fellbach-Schmiede, Rems-Murr-Kreis. Vorbericht der Grabungen 1977-1980, *Germania* 60(1): 105-172.

Planck, D., Filtzinger, P. & Cämmerer, B. (eds)
1986 *Die Römer in Baden-Wüttemburg*. Theiss, Stuttgart.

Polanyi, K., Arensberg, C.M. & Pearson H.W.
1957 *Trade and market in the early empires*. Free Press, New York.

Polenz, H.
1971 *Mittel- und Spätlatènezeitliche Brandgräber aus Dietzenbach.* Landkreis Offenbach am Main. Stadt und Kreis Offenbach am Main, Studien und Forschungen 4, Frankfurt am Main.
— 1982 Münzen in Latènezeitlichen Gräbern Mitteleuropas aus der Zeit zwischen 300 und 50 v. Chr. Geburt. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 47: 27-222.

Poplineau, G.
1983 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1983.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1984 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1984.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Poplineau, G. & Devaux, T.
1981 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1981.* SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Poux, M.
2000 Espaces Votifs- Espaces Festifs. Banquets et rites de libation en contexte de sanctuaires et d'enclos. *RAP* 1(2): 217-231.
— 2001 *Corent. Festins et practiques religieuses. Fouilles programmée du sanctuaire du Puy de Corent (Veyre-Monton, Puy-de-Dome). Rapport de la campagne 2001,* ARAFA/ DRAC Auvergne.

Poux, M., Cornec, T., Nillesse, O. & Pétorin, N.
2000 Du sanctuaire à l'enclos rural: pratiques cultuelles et importations vinaires en territoire Picton. *Bulletin AFEAF* 18: 34-37.

Poux, M., Deberge, Y., Foucras, S., Gasc, J. & Pasquier, D.
2002 L'enclos cultuel de Corent (Puy de Dome): festins et rites collectifs, *RAC* 41: 57-110.

Poyeton, A. & Seguier, J.-M.
1999 L'enclos rituel de la fin de l'Age du Fer "Bois de Roselle" à Balloy, (Seine et Marne). In *Actes des journees archeologiques d'Ile-de-France 1999,* (Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris): 54-64.

Price, M. J.
1983 "Thoughts on the beginnings of coinage". In Brooke et al (eds), *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to P. Grierson,* 1-10.

Prilaux, G.
2000 Note préliminaire sur les établissements protohistoriques spécialisés dans la production de sel sur l'autoroute A16. In Marion & Blancquaert (eds). 209-236.

Prodeo, F., Dupotry, D. & Varin, W.
1998 *A29 Amiens-St Quentin Evaluation A6.4. Bayonvillers "Chemin d'Harbonnières", Somme.* Rapport d'Evaluation. AFAN, SRA de Picardie.

Quenouville, L.
1897 Saint-Saëns. *Bulletin de la Société Normand d'Études Préhistoriques,* Tome 5. 98.

Quérel, P.
1996 *Estrées-Saint-Denis "Le Moulin des Hayes"*, Rapport de sondages, SRA de Picardie.
— 2001 *Estrées-Saint-Denis "Les Sablons", Le Moulin des Hayes*, Rapport de sondages, SRA de Picardie.

Quesne, M.
1988 Études et documents. Le tresor et les vestiges Gallo-Romains de Berthouville (Le Villaret). *BSELSM* 1988: 1-35

Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-T.
1996 Aspects de l'onomastique en Gaule Belgique, *Cahiers du Centre Glotz* 6: 163-181.

Rahtz, P. & Watts, L.
1989 Pagans Hill Revisited. *Arch Journal* 146: 330-71.

Randborg, K.
2000 National History, Non-national archaeology: The Case of Denmark. *OJA* 19(2): 211-222.

Randsborg, K.
1995 *Hjortspring. Warfare and Sacrifice in Early Europe*, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.

Rapin, A.
1983 Les umbos de bouclier de Gournay-sur-Aronde. Les Celtes dans le nord du Bassin parisien (Vie-Ier siècle avant J.-C.). *RAP* 1(2): 174-180.

Reddé, M. & Von Schnurbein, S.
2001 *Alésia: fouilles et recherches franco-allemandes sur les travaux militaires romains autour du Mont-Auxois (1991-1997)*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.

Reding, L.
1972 *Les Monnaies Gauloises du Titelberg*. Publications nationales du Ministère des arts et des sciences, Luxembourg.
— 1984 Die Treverermunzen im Raum Luxemburg-Trier (Versuch einer chronologischen Eingliederung). In Grasmann, Jannsen & Brandt (eds), *Keltische Numismatik und Archaelogie. Veroffentlichungen und Referate des Kolloquims Keltische Numismatik vom 4. bis 8. Februar 1981 in Wurzburg*, BAR S200, Oxford, 314-335.

Reece, R.
1980 Religion, Coins and Temples. In Rodwell (ed), 115-128.
— 1987 *Coinage in Roman Britain*, Seaby, London.

Reijnen, R.
1994 Romeinse munten en het offer als gebaar. In Roymans & Derks (eds), 124-131.

Reinecke, P.
1902 Zur Kenntnis der Latènenkmäler zer Zone nord warts der Alpes. In *Festschrigt zur Feier des 50 jährigen Bestehers des Römisch-Germanischen Central-Museums*, Mainz: 53-109.

Reinert, F.
1995a Bastendorf. Ein keltischer und gallorömischer Kultplatz der Pforte zu den Ardennen. *Voilà Luxembourg* 7: 58-63.
— 1995b Bastendorf et les traditions de culte indigènes. In *Luxembourg de la Préhistoire au Moyen Age*, Dossiers d'Archéologie, hors-serie 5, Luxembourg, 63-64.

Remy-Watté, M.
1990 Le Camp de Canada de Fécamp. In *Catalogue d'exposition.* Musées Municipaux de Fécamp, Fécamp.
— 1993 L'éperon barré du Bout-de-Ville, Saint-Nocholas-de-la-Taille (Seine-Maritime). *Haute-Normandie Archéologique* 11: 29-31.
— 1994 Les sites fortifiés de hauteur de la fin de l'Age du Fer dans la basse vallée de la Seine. *Haute-Normandie Archéologique* 12: 25-34.
— 2001 Saint-Nicholas-de-la-Taille: <<Camp du Boudeville>> ou <<Câtelier>>. In Sennequier (ed), 20-21.

Renfrew, C.A.
1985 *The Archaeology of Cult: the Sanctuary at Phylakopi*. British School of Archaeology at Athens, London.

Revell, L.
1999 The creation of multiple identities in Roman Italica. In Fincham, G., Harrison, G., Holland R. & Revell, L. (eds) *TRAC 99, Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1999*, Oxbow Books, Oxford. 1-7
— 2001 *Exploring Roman identities: case studies from Spain and Britain in the second century AD*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Southampton.

Rey-Vodoz, V.
1991 Les offrandes dans les sanctuaires gallo-romains. In Brunaux (ed), 215-220.

Riand, E.
1996 *Roncherolles-en-Bray/ Liffremont. (76). Ministere de la Culture, DRAC de Haute-Normandie*, Bilan documentaire, SRA Haute-Normandie.

Richard, C.
1989 Gué de Sciaux, Antigny/ Vienne. "Une Ville Gallo-Romaine, Fouilles d'un sanctuaire". In Mémoire IV. *Société de Recherches archéologiques de Chauvigny*, 54-59.

Richards, C. & Thomas, J.
1984 Ritual activity and structured deposition in Later Neolithic Wessex. In Bradley, R. & Gardiner, J. (eds), *Neolithic Studies, a Review of Some Recent Work*, BAR 133, Oxford. 189-218.

Robert, B. & Debord, J.
1986 Aperçus sur l'occupation du sol à Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne) à La Tène tardive. *Bullétin AFEAF No. spécial hors-série*(4): 15-20.

Rochette, R.
1830 Notice sur une collection d'objets antiques récemment trouvée près de Bernay. *Journal des Savants*, juillet/août 1830: 417-430.

Rodwell, W.
1976 Coinage, oppida and the rise of Belgic power in south-eastern Britain. In Cunliffe & Rowley (eds), *Oppida: the beginnings of urbanization in barbarian Europe*, BAR S11, Oxford, 181-367.
— (ed) 1980 *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain*. BAR 77, Oxford.
— 1981 Lost and found: the archaeology of findspots of Celtic coins. In Cunliffe (ed), 43-52.

Romeuf, A.-M.
1986 Les ex-votos en bois de Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme) et les sources de la Seine (Côte-d'Or). *Gallia* 44: 65-89.

Romeuf, A.-M. & Dumontet, M.
2000 Les ex-voto de Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme). *DAF* 82, CNRS, Paris.

Rondié, N.
1999 *Authevernes "Les Mureaux". Document Finale de Synthèse des operations de fouilles de 1997, 1998*. Société Breton-Jeannot et Cie Rouen, SRA Haute-Normandie.

Rorison, M.
2001 *Vici in Roman Gaul*. BAR S933, Oxford.

Roussel, P.
1971 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1971*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1972 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1972*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.
— 1973 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1973*. SRA Champagne-Ardennes.

Roux, G.
1984 *Temples et sanctuaires*. Paris.

Rowlett, R., Thomas, H. & Rowlett, E.-J.
1982 Stratified Iron Age house floors on the Titelberg, Luxembourg. *JFA* 9: 301-312.

Roymans, N.
1988 Religion and society in Late Iron Age Northern Gaul, In Jones, Bloemers, Dyson & Biddle (eds), *First Millennium Papers*, BAR S401, Oxford, 55-71.
— 1990 *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul, an anthropological perspective*. University of Amsterdam Cingula 12, Amsterdam.
— 1993 Romanisation and the transformation of a martial elite-ideology in a frontier province. In Brun, van der Leeuw & Whittaker (eds), *Frontières d'Empire*, Namours, 33-50.
— 1994a Keltische munten en de vroegste geschiedenis van het heiligdom. In Roymans & Derks (eds), 112-123.
— 1995 Romanization, Cultural Identity and the Ethnic discussion. The Integration of Lower Rhine populations in the Roman Empire. In Metzler, Millett, Roymans & Slofstra (eds), 47-64.
—(ed) 1996 *From the Sword to the Plough*. AAS 1, Amsterdam University Press.
— 1996b The sword or the plough. Regional dynamics in the romanisation of

Belgic Gaul and the Rhineland area. In Roymans (ed), 9-126.

— 2001 "The Lower Rhine Triquetum Coinages and the Ethnogenesis of the Batavi". In Grünewald (ed), *Germania inferior. Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt*, Berlin/ New York.

Roymans, N. & Aarts, J.

forthcoming Coins, soldiers and the Batavian Hercules cult. Coin deposition in the sanctuary of Empel in the Lower Rhine region, In Haselgrove & Wigg-Wolf (eds).

Roymans, N. & Derks, T.

1994a *De Tempel van Empel. Een Hercules-heiligdom in het woongebied van de Bataven.* Stichting Brabantse Regionale Geschiedbeoefening. Stichting Archeologie en Bouwhistorie's-Hertogenbosch en Omgeving.

— 1994b Het heiligdom te Empel. Algemene beschouwingen. In Roymans & Derks (eds), 10-39.

Roymans, N. & Gerritsen, F.

2002 Landscape, Ecology and Mentalitas: a Long-term Perspective on Developments in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region. *PPS* 68: 257-288.

Roymans, N. & Theuws, F.

1991 *Images of the Past, Studies on ancient societies in northwestern Europe*. Studies in Prae- en Protohistoire 7, Amsterdam.

Roymans, N. & van der Sanden, W.

1980 Celtic Coins from the Netherlands and their Archaeological Context. *BROB* 30: 173-254.

Rozoy, J. G.

1987 Les Celtes en Champagne. Les Ardennes au Second Age du Fer: Le Mont Troté, Les Rouilers. *MSAC* 4, vol 1.

Salomon, A.

1913 Le charnier gaulois de Mœuvres (Nord). *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française* 1913: 319-322.

San Juan, G., Méniel, P; Alduc-Lebagousse, A; Pilet-Lemiere, J, avec Jahier, I.

1994 Un établissement rural du 1er siècle avant J.-C. à Fleury-sur-Orne (Calvdos). *RAO* 11: 131-164.

Sarthre, C., Guerra, M.F., Barrandon, J.-N. & Hiernard, J.

1996 Les Monnaies d'Argent du Centre-Ouest de la Gaule. Premiers Résultats d'Analyses. *RN*: 7-27.

Sauer, E.

1999 The Augustan army spa at Bourbonne-les-Bains. In Goldsworthy (ed), *The Roman Army as a Community*, JRA Supplementary Series 34, London, 52-80.

Saulcy, F.

1836 Solima/ Solimarica et Soulosse-Sous-Saint-Elophe, *RN* 1836: 162-174.

Schaub, J., Petit, J.-P., Hillier, F. & Geyer, B.

1984 Les fosses et les puits à offrandes du vicus de Bliesbruck. *RAE* 35 (3-

4): 227-259.

Scheers, S.
1969 *Les monnaies de la Gaule inspirées de celles de la République romaine*. Louvain.
— 1976 Les imitations en Gaule du statèrè de Philippe II de Macedone. *Proceedings of the International Numismatic Symposium*, Budapest: 41-53.
— 1977 *Traité de Numismatique Celtique II, La Gaule Belgique*. Traité de Numismatique Celtique 2. Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
— 1978 *Monnaies gauloises de Seine-Maritime*, Rouen.
— 1979 Un monnayage post-Césarien des années 40-30 av. J.-C.: les monnaies à la legende Pixtilos, *RN* 21: 57-83.
— 1980 *Les monnaies d'or des Aulerci Eburovices*, Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia 19, Leuven.
— 1981 The origins and evolution of coinage in Belgic Gaul. In Cunliffe (ed), 18-23.
— 1982 Les Monnaies Trouvées au Fanum de Chilly (Somme) de 1978 à 1980, *RAP* 3(4): 92-118.
— 1987 La Numismatique celtique d'Alésia. Quelques précisions. In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 743-752.
— 1992 *Un complément à l'Atlas de monnaies gauloises de Henri de la Tour*. Maison Platt, Paris/ Van der Dussen, Maastricht.
— 1996 Frappe et circulation monétaire sur le territoire de la future *civitas Tungrorum*. *RBN* 142: 5-51.

Scheers, S., Sallandre, S. et Severin, P.
1980 Les Monnaies Gauloises Trouvées à Vermand. *CAP* 7: 105-114.

Scheid, J.
1991 Sanctuaires et Territoire dans la Colonia Augusta Treverorum. In Brunaux (ed), 42-57.
— 2000 Réflexions sur la notion de lieu de culte dans les Gaules romaines. In Van Andringa (ed), 19-26.

Schindler, R.
1975 Die Altburg von Bundenbach und andere spätlatènezeit Befestigungen im Trevererland. In *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 1, Mainz. 273-286.
— 1977 *Die Altburg bei Bundenbach, Eine befistige Höhensiedlung des 2./1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. im Hunsrück*. Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen 10, Mainz.

Schlüter, W. & Wiegels, R. (eds)
1999 *Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese*. Universitätverlag rasch Osnabrück, Osnabrück.

Schonberger, H.
1985 Die Römischen Truppenlager der frühen und mittleren Kaizerzeit zwischen Nordsee und Inn. *Bericht der Römische-germanschen Kommission* 66. 322-497.

Schubert, F.
1983 Neue Ergebisse zum Bebauungsplan des Oppidums von Manching. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 64, Mainz-am-Rhein, 5-19.

Schwab, H.

1972 Entdeckung einer keltischen Brücke an der Zihl und ihre Bedeutung für la Tène. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*. 2: 289-94.
— 1974 Neue Ergebnisse zur Topographie von La Tène. *Germania* 52: 348-367.

Schwarz, K.
1960 Spätkeltische Viereckschanzen. Ergebnisse der topographischen Vermessung und der Ausgrabungen 1957-1959, In *Jahresbericht der bayerischen Bodendenkmalpfledge* 1, 7-41.
— 1962 Zum Stand der Ausgrabungen in der spätkeltischen Viereckschanzen van Holzhausen. *Jahresbericht der bayerischen Bodendenkmalpfledge* 3, 22-77.
— 1975 Die Geschichte eines keltischen Temenos im nördlichen Alpenvorland. In *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland I*, Mainz, 324-358.

Seijnen, M.
1994 Dierebotten en rituele maaltijden. In Roymans & Derks (eds), 162-173.

Sellwood, L.C.
1984 Tribal boundaries viewed from the perspective of numismatic evidence. In Cunliffe & Miles (eds), 191-204.

Sennequier, G. (ed)
2001 *Au Temps des Gaulois (Vème - 1er siècle av. J.-C.).* Découvertes récentes en Haute-Normandie. Musée départmental des Antiquitiés, Rouen.

Sharples, N.
1991 *Maiden Castle: Excavations and Field Survey, 1985-6.* English Heritage Archaeological Reports 19, London.

Sievers, S.
1991 Armes et sanctuaires à Manching. In Brunaux (ed), 146-155.
— 1994 Les Armes d'Alésia. In Vercingétorix, 270-287.

Sills, J.
2003 *Gaulish and Early British Gold Coinage*, Spinks & sons, London.

Slofstra, J. & Van der Sanden, W.
1987 Rurale cultusplaaten uit de Romeinse tijd in het Maas-Demer-Scheldegebied. *Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia* 20: 125-168.

Smith, A.
2001 *The Differential Use of Constructed Sacred Space in Southern Britain, from the Late Iron Age to the 4th Century AD.* BAR 318, Oxford.

Squévin, B.
1988 *Baâlons-Bouvellemont. Sanctuaires gaulois en Ardenne. Tome 1: les dépôts céramiques.* Unpublished manuscript, SRA Champagne-Ardennes/ Charleville-Mézières.
— 1994 Les armes miniatures des centres cultuelles de Baâlons-Bouvellemont. In Goudineau, Fauduet & Coulon (eds), 138-142.

Stead, I. M.
1967 A La Tène III burial at Welwyn Garden City. *Archaeologia* 101:1-62.
— 1991 The Snettisham Treasure: Excavations in 1990, *Antiquity* 65: 447-65.

Stead, I. M. & Rigby, V.
1989 *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane site*. English Heritage Archaeological Reports 12, London.

Striewe, K.
1996 Studien zur Nauheimer Fibel und ähnlichen Formen der Spätlatènezeit, *Internationale Archäologie* 29, Eskelkamp.

Taylor, R. J.
1993 *Hoards of the Bronze Age in southern Britain: analysis and interpretation*, BAR 228, Oxford.

Teirninck, A.
1882 La Mer de Flines. *Annuaire de la Société Français de Numismatique* 6: 156-162.

Thévenard, J.
1996 *Langres, Usine Freudenberg, Document final de synthèse de sondages*, SRA Champagne-Ardennes

Thomas, H. L., Rowlett, R.M. & Rowlett, E.S.J.
1976 Excavations on the Titelberg, Luxembourg. *JFA* 3: 241-256.

Thouvenot, S.
1990 *L'habitat laténien et gallo-romain de Mont-Notre-Dame "Vaudigny": Rapport d'évaluation du site*, SRA de Picardie.
— 1992 *Mont-Notre-Dame "Vaudigny"*, Bilan Scientifique 1991, SRA de Picardie, 36.
— 1993 *Mont-Notre-Dame "Vaudigny"*, Bilan Scientifique 1992, SRA de Picardie, 38-39.

Tischler, O.
1885 Über Gliederung der Latène-Periode und über Dekorierung des Eisenwaffen in dieser Zeit. *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie-Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 16*: 157-161.

Tisserand, G.
1974 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1974*. SRA Champagne-Ardenne.
— 1975 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1975*. SRA Champagne-Ardenne.
— 1976 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1976*. SRA Champagne-Ardenne.
— 1977 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1977*. SRA Champagne-Ardenne.
— 1978 *Mouzon "Bois du Flavier" Rapport de Fouilles 1978*. SRA Champagne-Ardenne.
— 1981 *Le Sanctuaire de Flavier (Ardennes) à l'époque de La Tène*. Paper presented at the L'Age du Fer en France Septentrionale.

Todd, M.
1996 Pretia Victoriae? Roman Lead and Silver Mining on the Mendip Hills, Somerset, England. *MBAH* 15(1):1-18.
— 1999 The Latest inscriptions of Roman Britain. *Durham Archaeological*

Journal 14-15: 53-58.
— 2002 Mining, Bullion and the Balance of Payments in the Roman West. *Laverna* 2002: 81-90.

Tongard, Abbé
1879 Géographie de la Seine Inférieur, 1875-1879, Rouen.
— 1888 Roncherolles-en-Bray: Decouvertes Archéologiques. *Annuaire des Cinq Départments de la Normandie*, 53éme année. 41.

Tour, H. de la
1892 *Atlas de Monnaies Gauloises*. Second Edition ed. (reissue) Spinks & Sons, London, Paris.

Tournaire, J., Buchsenschutz, O., Henderson, J. & Collis, J.R.
1982 Iron Age coin moulds from France. PPS 48: 417-435.

Van Andringa, W. (ed)
2000 *Archéologie des sanctuaires en Gaule Romaine*. Université de Saint-Étienne, Saint-Étienne.

Van Arsdell, R. D.
1983 A note on the earliest types of British potin coins. *Num Circ* 92: 44-45.
— 1989 *Celtic Coinage of Britain*. Spink & Sons, London.
— 1992 Money supply and credit in Iron Age Britain. In Mays (ed), 139-150.

Van Arsdell, R. D. & de Jersey, P.
1994 *The coinage of the Dobunni. Money supply and coin circulation in Dobunnic territory*. Studies in Celtic Coinage 1, OUCA Monographs 38, Oxford.

Van Es, W. A.
1981 *De Romeinen in Nederland*, Bussum.

Van Heesch, J.
1998 *De Muntcirculatie tijdens de Romeinse tijd in het Noordwesten van Gallia Belgica. De civitates van de Nerviërs en de Menapiërs, Ca. 50 v.c.-450 n.c.* Monografie van nationale archeologie 11. Koninklijke Musea voor kunst en geschiedenis, Brussels.
— 1999 Augustan bronze coins in the north-west of Gaul, In Schlüter & Wiegels (eds), *Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkreise*, 347-61.
— forthcoming Celtic coins and religious deposits in Belgium. In Haselgrove & Wigg-Wolf, forthcoming.

Vanderhoeven, A.
1996 The earliest urbanisation in Northern Gaul. Some implications of recent research in Tongres. In Roymans (ed), 189-260.

Vasselle, F.
1974 Chilly 'Les Terres Noires', rapport de prospections, Unpublished survey report, SRA Picardy.

Vatin, C.
1972 Wood sculptures from Gallo-Roman Auvergne. *Antiquity* 46: 39-42.

Vauchez, A.

2000 Lieux sacrés, Lieux de Culte, Sanctuaires. Ecole Français de Rome, Rome.

Vauvillé, O.

1890 Notes sur les fouilles et les objets trouvés dans l'enciente dite du Camp du Pommiers, près Soissons (Aisne). *Bulletin de la Société Archéologie et Historique, Scientifique de Soissons*, 2e sér, 20: 26-56.

— 1904 L'enceinte de Pommiers (Aisne) (*Noviodunum* des *Suessiones*). *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Soissons* 12 (3e série): 321-361.

Venclová, N.

1993 Celtic Shrines in Central Europe: A sceptical approach, *OJA* 12(1): 55-66.

Verger, S.

2000 *Rites et espaces en pays celte et méditerranéen. Étude comparée à partir du sanctuaire d'Acy-Romance*. École Français de Rome 276, Rome.

Vesly, L. de

1903 Decouverte d'un monnaie du Oissel. *BSNEP* 1903: 21.

— 1909 *Les fana ou petits temples gallo-romains de la région normande*, Rouen.

Veyne, P.

1976 *Le Pain et le Cirque: sociologie historique d'un pluralism politique*, Paris.

Villes et agglomérations...

1992 *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de la Gaule*, Deuxième Colloque Aquitania: Bordeaux 13-15 septembre 1990, Aquitania Supplément 6, Bordeaux.

Villette, G.

1987 Monnaies d'Alise-Saint-Reine. In *Mélanges offerts au Dr. J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 781-788.

Von Schnurbein, S.

1981 Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Militärlager am der Lippe. *Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission* 62. 5-101.

Von Schnurbein, S., Wigg, A. & Wigg, D.G.

1995 Ein spat-augusteisches Militarlager in Lahnau-Waldgirmes (Hessen). *Germania* 73-2: 337-367.

Von Vacano, O.W.

1980 *Telamon nach dem Brand des Tempels*. Mitteilungen DAI Rom 87.

Vouga, P.

1923 *La Tène: Monographie de la Station*. K. Hiersman, Leipzig.

Walker, D. R.

1976 *The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage*. BAR S5, Oxford.

Walker, W. H. & Lucero, L.J.

2000 The depositional history of ritual and power. In Dobres & Robb (eds),

Agency in Archaeology, Routledge, London, 130-147.

Watts, L. & Leach, P.
1996 *Henley Wood, Temples and Cemetery Excavations 1962-69, by the late Ernest Greenfield and others*. CBA Research Reports 99, London.

Webster, G.
1986a *The British Celts and their gods under Rome*. Batsford, London.
— 1986b What the Britons required from the gods as seen through the pairing of Roman and Celtic deities and the character of votive offerings. In Henig & King (eds), *Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, OUCA Monograph Series 8, Oxford. 57-64.

Webster, J.
1992 *The identification of ritual in the later Iron Age, with specific references to selected themes in protohistoric Gaul and Britain*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Webster, J. & Cooper, N. (eds)
1996 *Roman Imperialism; Post-colonial perspectives*. Leicester Archaeological Monograph 3, Leicester University Press.

Wegner, H.-H.
1997 *Der Martberg bei Pommern an der Mosel*, Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel 12, Koblenz.

Weiller, R.
1977 *Die Munzfunde aus der Grabung vom Titelberg*. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Duche de Luxembourg 91, Luxembourg.

Weller, O. & Robert, B.
1995 Le commerce du sel à La Tène finale: une problématique enfin relancée. *RAP* 1(2): 87-96.

Wellington, I. J.
2001 Iron Age coinage on the Isle of Wight. *OJA* 20(1): 39-57.
— 2002 Considering continuity of deposition on votive sites in northeastern France from 200BC to AD 100. In Carruthers, M., Van Driel-Murray, C., Gardner, A., Lucas, J., Revell, L. & Swift, E. (eds) *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Glasgow 2001*, Oxbow Books, Oxford. 1-12.
— 2003 Cross Channel relations and the lightweight silver coinage of central southern Britain. In Humphries, J. (ed), *Re-searching the Iron Age*, Leicester University Press, Leicester. 35-43.
— forthcoming Placing ritual sites within their archaeological contexts: the example of northern France. In Haselgrove & Wigg-Wolf (eds), forthcoming.

Wells, P.
1995 Settlement and social systems at the end of the Iron Age. In Arnold & Gibson (eds), 88-95.
— 2001 *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*. Duckworth Debates in Archaeology. Duckworth, London.

Wheeler, R. E. M. & Wheeler, T.V.
1936 *Verulamium: a Belgic and Two Roman Cities*, London.

Wheeler, R. E. M. & Richardson, K.M.
1957 *Hill-forts of Northern France*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London XIX. Society of Antiquaries, London.

Wieland, G. (editor)
1999 *Keltische Viereckschanzen: Einem Rätsel auf der Spur*. Thiess, Stuttgart.

Wigg, D. G.
1995 An Inventory of Finds of Potin Coins from West and Southwest Germany. In Gruel (ed), 101-116.
— 1996 The function of the last Celtic coinages in northern Gaul. In King & Wigg (eds), *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World*, Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 10, Berlin. 415-24.
— 1997 The Martberg on the Lower Mosel and the development of the coin-using economy in North Gaul in the late Latène and early Roman period. In *Proceedings of the XII Numismatic Congress*, Berlin.
— 1997b Coin supply and the Roman army. In Groenman-van Waateringe, W., van Beek, B.L., Willems, W.J.H. & Wynia, S.L. (eds), *Roman Frontier Studies 1995*, Oxbow Monograph 91, Oxford, 281-288
— 1999 The development of the monetary economy in Northern Gaul in the late La Tène and Early Roman periods. In Creighton & Wilson (eds), *Roman Germany, Studies in Cultural Interaction*, JRA Supplementary Series vol 32, Portsmouth, R.I., 99-124.
— forthcoming Der Beitrag des Martbergs zur eisenzeitlichen Numismatik, pp. 487-498.

Wigg, D. G. & Riederer, J.
1998 Die Chronologie der Keltischen Munzpragung am Mittelrhein. In *Stephanos nomismatikos. Edith Schonert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 661-74.

Wightman, E. M.
1970 *Roman Trier and the Treveri*, London.
— 1985 *Gallia Belgica*. Batsford, London.

Willems, W.J.H.
1983 Romans and Batavians. A regional study in the Dutch Eastern River Area, I. *BROB* 31: 7-217.
— 1984 Romans and Batavians. A regional study in the Dutch Eastern River Area, II. *BROB* 32: 39-331.
— 1990 *Romeins Nijmegen. Vier eeuwen stad en centrum aan de Waal*. Utrecht.

Williams, D.
1999 A newly-discovered Roman temple and its environs: excavations at Wanborough in 1999. *Bulletin of the Surrey Archaeological Society* 336: 2-6.

Williams, J. H. C.
1998 Delete-Undelete: Mack 280 and Early British Silver. *Num Chron* 158: 53-61.
— 2002 Pottery stamps, coin designs and writing in Late Iron Age Britain. In Cooley, A.E. (ed) *Becoming Roman, writing Latin? Literacy and epigraphy in the Roman West*. JRA Supplement 48. 135-150.

Woimant, G.-P.
1985 Le sanctuaire antique d'Estrées-Saint-Denis (Oise), *RAP* 3-4:139-142.
— 1990 Beauvais, Les Aulnes du Canada: Viereckschanze ou enciente quadrangulaire? *RAP* 3(4): 27-95.
— 1991 Organisation spatiale et chronologie du sanctuaire d'Estrées-Saint-Denis. In Brunaux (ed), 164-168.
— 1993a Inventaire des Monnaies Gauloises du Sanctuaire d'Estrées-Saint-Denis (Oise). *RAP* 1(2): 55-61.
— 1993b Le Sanctuaire Antique de Champlieu. *RAP* 1(2): 63-179.

Wolfram, S.
1987 *Inlaws and outlaws; kinship and marriage in England*; Croom Helm, Bechenham.

Woodward, A.
1992 *Shrines and Sacrifice*. Batsford/ English Heritage, London.

Woodward, A. & Leach, P.
1993 *The Uley Shrines, Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977-9*. English Heritage Archaeological Reports 17. English Heritage/ British Museum Press, London.

Woolf, G.
1993a European social development and Roman imperialism. In Brun, van der Leeuw & Whittaker (eds), *Frontières d'Empire*, Memoires des Musée de Préhistoire d'Ile-de'France vol 5, Paris, 13-20.
— 1993b Rethinking the Oppida. *OJA* 12(2): 223-234.
— 1993c The Social Significance of Trade in Late Iron Age Europe. In Scarre, C. & Healey, F. (eds) *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 211-218.
— 1998 *Becoming Roman. The origins of Provincial Civilisation in Gaul*. CUP, Cambridge.
— 2000 The religious history of the northwest provinces. *JRA* 13: 615-630.
— 2001 The Roman Cultural Revolution in Gaul. In Keay & Terrenato (eds), 173-186.
— 2002 Generations of aristocracy, Continuities and discontinuities in the societies of Interior Gaul, *Archaeological Dialogues* 9.1: 2-15.

Wyss, R.
1974 Grabriten, Opferplätze und uitere Belege zur geistigen Kultur der Latènezeit. In *Ur- und frühgeschichtliche. Die Eisenzeit*, Archäologie der Schweiz vol. 4, Basel. 167-196.
— 1975 Sépultures, sanctuaires, sacrifices et leur relation avec l'habitat en Suisse à l'époque celtique. In Duval & Kruta (eds), *L'Habitat et la nécropole à l'âge du fer en Europe occidentale et centrale*, Libraire Honore Champion, Paris, 75-86.

Zanker, P.
1988 *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, California UP, Berkley.

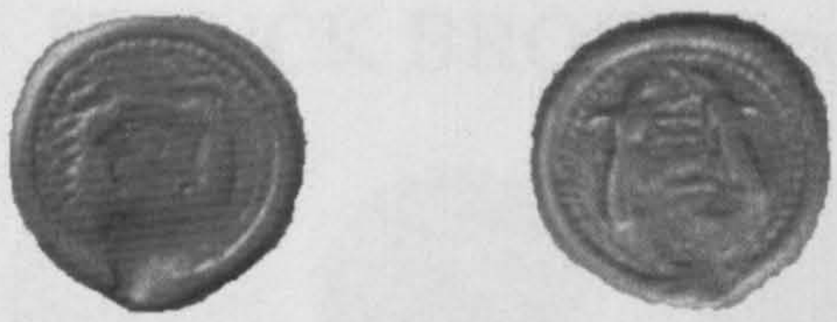
Zeepvat, R. J.
2000 *Three Iron Age and Romano-British Rural Settlements on English Gravels*. BAR 312, Oxford.

Ziegaus, B.
1993 Das keltische Münzwesen. In Dannheimer & Gebhard (eds), *Das Keltische Jahrtausend*, Mainz, 220-227.
— 2002 Ein neuer keltischer Munztempelfund aus dem Nordlinger Ries (Schwaben). *International Numismatic Newsletter* 39: 3-5.

Zoll, A.
1995 A view through inscriptions: The epigraphic evidence for religion on Hadrian's Wall. In Metzler, Millett, Roymans & Slofstra (eds), 129-150.

Plate 2

GOLD cont.



Scheers 185



Scheers 186



Scheers 188

SILVER





Delestree 1996a:67
New thin silver type, Saint Maur



Scheers 51







Scheers 52

STRUCK BRONZE





Scheers 163



Scheers 121



Scheers 109

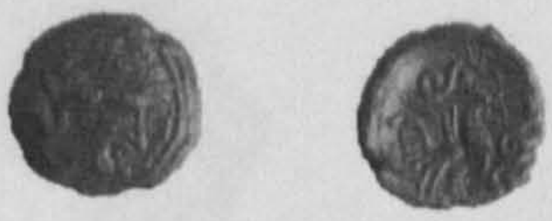




Scheers 80



Scheers 151



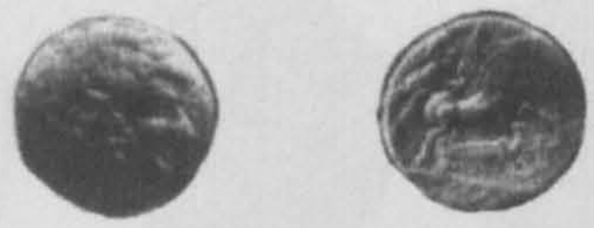
DT 56 II
Type de Bracquemont

Plate 1

GOLD



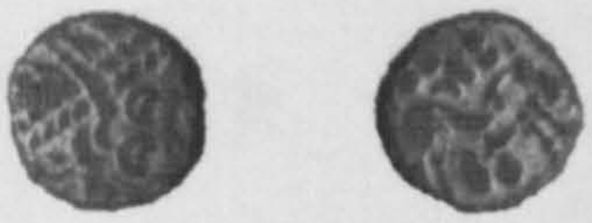
Ribemont-sur-Ancre
Normandy ½ stater



Scheers 1



Scheers 8
Gallo-Belgic A



Scheers 9

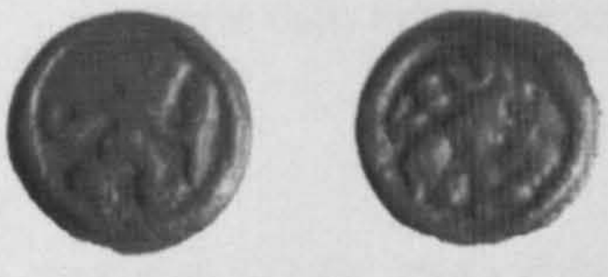


Scheers 13 ¼ stater

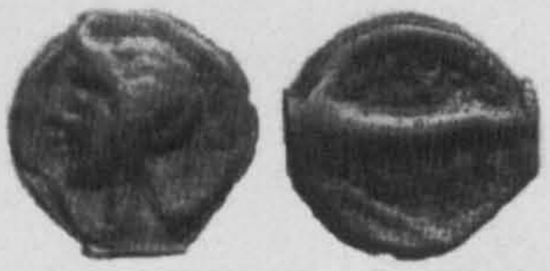


Scheers 24
Uniface stater

POTIN



Scheers 191



BN 5284



Scheers 195



Scheers 196



Scheers 197



Scheers 201



LT 7417



Scheers 203





Scheers 206



Plate 2

GOLD cont.



Scheers 185



Scheers 186



Scheers 188



SILVER



Delestree 1996a:67
New thin silver type, Saint Maur





Scheers 51





Scheers 52



STRUCK BRONZE





Scheers 163



Scheers 121



Scheers 109

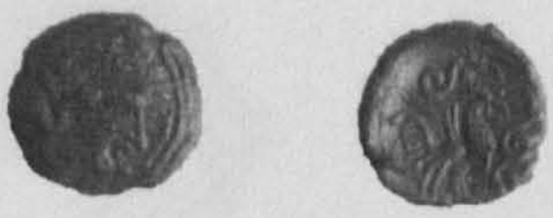




Scheers 80



Scheers 151



DT 56 II
Type de Bracquemont

Plate 3

STRUCK BRONZE cont.



Scheers 152



Scheers 146



Scheers 216



Scheers 27 (AE)



Scheers 120



Scheers 122



Scheers 30, class IV

COIN PRODUCTION OFFCASTS FROM
THE VILLENEUVE-SAINT-GERMAIN COIN WORKSHOP

