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CROSS-CHANNEL RELATIONS IN THE BRITISH LATER IRON AGE:

with particular reference to the British
archaeological evidence

3 Volumes

Volume 2

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CHAPTER X

ROMAN PERSONAL AND DOMESTIC ITEMS (PRINCIPALLY OF METAL)

Introduction

This chapter considers a small and rather miscellaneous collection or certain and possible imports. The items are all of metal with the sole exception of a marble bust and are considered in four sections: (1) Armour and Horse Trappings; (2) Domestic Furnishings; (3) Cutlery and (4) Toilet and Medical Articles. Following the assessment of Roman mirrors in Iron Age Britain there is an excursus on the possible influence of Roman art styles on British Iron Age art. Most of the certain and possible imports considered in this chapter are unique in Iron Age Britain and most come from Colchester, and from the Lexden Tumulus in particular. The significance of this concentration is considered in Chapter 21.

10.1 ARMOUR AND HORSE TRAPPINGS

10.1.1 ARMOUR

The remains of what was presumably one suit of iron chain-mail were discovered in the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1927, 247-8, Pl LIII;



Fig 3, LIV; Fig 2, LV; Foster 1986, 82-8, Fig 30, 31, 64). The mail had simple ovate hinges on it, although it should be noted that the pieces which Laver cites and illustrates as two hinges (*op cit*, Pl LIV; Fig 1), followed by Foster (1986, 86) are the front and back of one piece. Two silver studs were preserved attached to the mail and another three were also found (Foster 1986, 86-8, Fig 31, 60-4). The fragments of leather ?clothing, one of which had a buckle attached (*ibid*, 280, Pl LXI; Fig 3; Foster 1986, 139-42, Fig 40, Pl 22) may, have been an undergarment for the mail.

The evidence for British Iron Age mail is difficult to interpret and has been commented on with caution by both Piggott (1952, 11, 38-40, 50) and MacGregor (1962, 28) and, with slightly more enthusiasm, by Spratling (1981, 14-5 and n 21) and Stead (1985a, 50). Most of the evidence is of later Iron Age date.

The pieces from Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, 284) cannot be shown to antedate the Roman conquest or the possible garrisoning of the site (Todd 1984) and the Carlingwark hoard is of Roman date. If, as MacGregor (1976, 89-90, no 189) and Spratling (1981, 15, n 23) have suggested, the Meyrick Helmet is to be associated with the Stanwick hoard, then the Roman unit inscription incised on the rear of the helmet would point almost certainly to a Roman date for the hoard and the mail in it. The pieces of mail from Caerleon, Chester, Colchester and Manchester cited by MacGregor (1962, 28, n 2) are all from the sites of Roman forts and are almost certainly Roman. Spratling (1981, 14-15, n 21) has drawn attention to the double bronze hooks attached to the breast or a mail suit for securing the shoulder straps from the Polden Hill hoard, Camerton and Southwark. Although they may be in 'British Style', once again none of them can be shown to antedate the Roman

conquest and they are a well known Roman type. The composition of the Polden Hill hoard, for which Brailsford (1975, 234) suggests a date 'about the middle of the first century AD' is very similar to those of the Santon, Seven Sister and Tal-y-lyn hoards all of which were deposited in the Roman period. Santon (Spratling 1975a) and Seven Sisters (Davies and Spratling 1976) both contained pieces of Roman military equipment and may be comparable to the Fremington Hagg (Webster 1971) and Doorwerth (Holland) (Holwerda 1931; Brouwer 1982) and Xanten (Jenkins 1985) finds of Roman military equipment. Although Allen (1958, 46) suggests that some British coins show mail, this interpretation is doubtful. The only finds from Britain not to have certain or probable Roman military associations are from the Middle Iron Age burial at Garton Station (I.M. Stead pers comm) and the later Iron Age ones at Baldock (*Current Archaeol* 86, 1983, 72), the Lexden Tumulus and possibly, the sanctuary at Hayling Island (Downey, King and Soffe 1979, 7). Of these finds Garton Station, followed by the Lexden Tumulus appear to be the earliest.

Chain-mail is also comparatively rare in Europe. Writing in the first century BC Varro (*De Lingua Latina* V, 24, 16) called it a Celtic invention and although numerous earlier Scythian finds of armour are often cited as earlier than the first Celtic finds, they are universally (over 300 finds) of scale armour and not of mail. The earliest finds seem to be from Ciumeşti (Romania) and Hjorný Jatov (Czechoslovakia) and are probably of third century BC date. The Hjortspring find is often cited as third century but the dating evidence is slight (Waurick 1982, 112-16). The earliest western find could be the Garton Station one, perhaps followed by the Aubagnan (Landes) find from south-western France (Waurick 1979, 326), but the associated silver-gilt beaker

inscribed in Celto-Iberian script (Raddatz 1969) suggests that a date in the first century BC is possible. The Bern-Tiefenau find may be earlier first century BC (Müller 1986). The spectacular, but poorly published, burial from Boë also in south-western France was associated with Campanian and Arretine fine wares suggesting that the burial was made between c 30-20 BC. The bulk of pre-Imperial finds of mail suit come from eastern Europe and six of the twenty known finds come from Romania (Waurick 1979; 1982). The latest eastern find is of first century BC date, from the Zemplín burial in Czechoslovakia (Budinský-Krička 1958, 63, 68).

This evidence has been interpreted as pointing to the general adoption of chain-mail in the West as being later than that in eastern Europe, possibly inspired by Roman armour (cf Piggott 1952-53, 11). For example, Schaff (1974, 173) is cautious about accepting the mail on the Pergamon reliefs as necessarily Celtic rather than classical and there is plentiful figural evidence for the use of mail by Roman soldiers in the second and first centuries BC which has been assembled conveniently by Robinson (1975). Polybius writing in the second century BC records chain mail as being worn by wealthy Romans (VI, 23, 15) while numerous pieces of mail were excavated by Schulten at Numantia. However, there is no reason to doubt the ability of British smiths to produce chain-mail and the recent discovery of the Garton Station find suggests that production started in western Europe at about the same time as in eastern Europe. The gap between the Garton Station burial and the later, southern, ones may be due to the pattern of formal deposition. However, as Laver pointed out, the parallels for the chain with hinges from Lexden are to be found on Roman military sites (1927, 248, n 2), while if the

leather is to be associated with the mail, the buckle is of a type often found on Roman military equipment (cf MacGregor 1962, 27, no 115) although a similar style of buckle was found in the Snailwell burial which did not contain any chain mail (Lethbridge 1953). The silver gilt studs attached to the Lexden mail are not paralleled by the other British finds and this suggests that it is possible that the Lexden mail may be a Roman *lorica hamata* rather than an indigenous product. The only comparable piece of what may be *lorica hamata* beyond the Roman frontiers is the suit from the second century BC Numidian 'Royal Tomb' of Es Soumâa in Algeria (Waurick 1979). Finds of chain-mail, possibly of Roman origin, from Free Germany may be of rather later date (Frey 1986, 77-8, Anm 131).

10.1.2 HORSE HARNESS / TRAPPINGS

There are six bronze studs from the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1928, 250, Fig 4, Pl LXI, Fig 1; Foster 1986, 65-7, Fig 23, 9-14) whose function is unknown. Laver originally suggested that they were phalerae and this is possible although they are not directly comparable to Roman examples from, for example Doorwerth (Holwerda 1931; Brouwer 1982), Fremington Hagg (Webster 1971) or Xanten (Jenkins 1985). They are unlikely to be terminals for furniture legs as Foster suggests, as the rounded knobs on the underside would be very poor attachments for wood.

However, analysis of the bronze suggests that they may be of British rather than Roman manufacture but the possibility that they are imports remains open.

10.1.3 LEXDEN MEDALLION

In publishing the medallion Laver suggested that the bust was cut from a denarius of Augustus and then mounted in a circular silver surround (Laver 1927, 251, Pl LXII, Fig 2). However, Foster has shown that the moulding continues beyond the edges, so the bust was cast as a medallion and not cut from a coin (Foster 1986, 90-2, Pl 19-20). The bust is very similar to Augustan coins but rather than there being just one possible date of c 17 BC, as Sealey (1985, 119-20) notes, the bust resembles coins issued in Italy c 32-29 BC and in Emerita c 25-23 BC as well as the 'uncertain Spanish mints 1-2' now dated c 20-17/16 BC (Sutherland 1984, 5-6, 25-6, 30-1, Pl 1, 2a, 6, 8; 2, 37a, 75a; 3, 128; 5, 250a, especially nos 2a, 128 and 250a).

The medallion has no more than a passing similarity to later Roman medallions (Toynbee 1944) so it is not entirely clear if the piece actually is one. The medallion is most unlikely to be a phalera (cf Harden 1972) displayed in a fashion analogous to *donna militaria* (Maxfield 1980) nor is it likely to be a pendant such as the rather similar bust of Augustus from Mainz (Ulbert 1971; Vierneisel and Zanker 1979) as no method of attachment is visible. Perhaps the best parallels are the decorative mounts on Roman sword scabbards, best illustrated by the so-called 'sword of Tiberius' from Mainz, a parallel drawn by Laver (1927, 251). A number of similar mounts portraying Tiberius have been found at *Vindonissa* (von Gonzenbach 1966; Vierneisel and Zanker 1979, 22-3). They are moulded in a tin rich-lead alloy and are very similar to the Lexden piece. However, the Lexden piece does not have any sign of being mounted and so it is probably best regarded as just a medallion and part of the widespread iconography of

Augustus (Walker and Burnett 1981; Vierneisel and Zanker 1979) but the possibility that it decorated something else, possibly military, should not be forgotten. It may well have been a diplomatic gift (Nash 1987a, 129).

10.2 DOMESTIC FURNISHINGS

10.2.1 FURNITURE

The Lexden Tumulus contained three pieces which may have belonged to items of classical furniture.

(i) The first piece is the sandalled foot (Laver 1927, 248-9, Pl LXII, Fig 3; Pitts 1979, 16, no 254; Foster 1986, 61, Fig 21, 4, Pl 11). It is possible that the foot might have been associated with the pedestal base in the grave (Ch 10.2.2, iv below). However, striking parallels are found in the feet of Roman camp stools, in particular a Claudian example from a burial at Nijmegen, St Canisiuscollege which has four similar sandalled feet (Hubrechts and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1983, 21, Afb 81; Jitta, Peters and Witteveen 1973). It is unfortunate that, at the time of writing, the ironwork from the Lexden burial has still not been conserved so that it is not possible to ascertain if the curved iron strips (Laver 1927, 246, Pl LIII, Fig 3; Foster 1986, 109-10, Fig 36, 131-8) could have formed a folding stool or *sella curulis* (Richter 1966, 44, 103-4; Wanscher 1980, 121; Foster 1986, 188).

(ii) Similarly, other pieces of iron some of which have ornamented bronze decoration and wooden backing which is also covered by decorated bronze and others have a decorative edging, could perhaps have belonged to a Roman couch or *lectus* (Richter

1966, 105-10, Pls 530-49; Liversidge 1955 *passim*). Laver's interpretation of them as part of a chariot is improbable (1927, 246) but the current state of the iron does not allow any confidence on this. However, the pieces interpreted as ferrules (Foster 1986, 105-6, Fig 35, 111-16) could be from the legs of such a piece of furniture. The griffin protome from the burial has usually been taken to be from a vessel (Laver 1927, 249; Webster 1978, 50; Foster 1986, 61-3, Fig 22, Pl 12). Foster suggests that an iron stain on the head may be from an iron rimmed vessel, although it is notable that there was wood attached to the head at the time of discovery and this was apparently moulded (*ibid*). Foster suggests that this wood was from a casket (*ibid*, 80). Griffins were used commonly as protomes on seventh-fifth century BC Greek vessels (Jantzen 1955) but apparently were not used subsequently, although there is a find from Pompeii. It is possible that the Lexden find is old, as is the middle Bronze Age palstave from the burial, but it may be more profitable to look more closely at the contemporary range of Roman metalwork than look to ancient hieroglyphs, none of which closely resemble the Lexden find (Jantzen 1955 *passim*). Although none of the pieces known to me are close parallels it is possible that the griffin, and possibly also the bull figurine which is flat at the back for mounting (Foster 1986, 58-61, Fig 21, 3, Pl 10), is part of a decorative *fulcrum* (cf Boube-Picot 1964; Richter 1966, Pl 531, 533-6; Griefenhausen 1930). The motifs used for *fulcra* are very varied, often zoomorphic and usually made of bronze. The moulded wood found in association with the griffin could be from a *lectus*. The golden woven textiles discussed below (Ch 14.2.1) may well be from a piece of furniture. Webster's suggestion that there was a table with mosaic inlay in

the Lexden Tumulus (1980, 7) seems to be based on the existence of a group of tesserae marked Lexden Tumulus in Colchester Museum. As there is no mention of tesserae in H.E. Laver's notes or P.G. Laver's excavation report (Foster 1986; Sealey 1981) they cannot be regarded as having been found in the excavations.

10.2.2 CASKETS?

(i) Laver (in his site notes), followed by Foster suggested that a wooden casket with metal fittings was present in the Lexden Tumulus. As reconstructed by Foster (1986, 81-2, Fig 29), the vessel had a bronze handle attached by two silver 'loops' pinned in place with a silver pin and may have had silver bindings. The presence of four silver pins suggests that there were originally two handles.

'Casket' handles occur in the Welwyn Garden City (Stead 1967a, 30, Fig 18, E) and Hertford Heath burials (Hüssen 1983, 16, Fig 14, 115-20) and the Great Chesterford bucket burial (Cambridge Mus, unpub). In the Welwyn Garden City burial it seems probable that the handle was attached to a wooden vessel while there are two similar, but not identical, handles in the Great Chesterford burial. These differ from the Lexden handle in not having an elaborate central moulding and this and the silver bars which have been suggested to be bindings and which are unparalleled in Britain hint that the casket (or vessel) may be an import.

(ii) A tinned cruciform hinged mount was found in an Iron Age context at Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 106, Fig 55, 2). As discussed below (Ch 11.4.1), the tinning may indicate that the piece is imported. Partridge suggested that the piece might be

from a seal box but it is rather large for this. I am unaware of any precise parallels but the mount could perhaps be from a decorated casket or a mirror case.

10.2.3 LAMPS

A small bronze table was found in the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1927, 248, Pl LVI; Foster 1986, 67-9, Fig 24). The table stands on four ball-footed legs which are flanked by pelta-shaped scrolls. There are also similar scrolls in the middle of each side. A tenon exists near the edge in the centre of one side.

The table could belong to a variety of objects, the most complete ones usually having been found in the Vesuvian cities. One possibility is a water heater but the Lexden base is not very similar to any of the extant examples. The bases of elaborate bronze craters up to 70cm high are rather close (eg one from Pompeii (Pompeii-Hügel 1973, 104, no 93, Taf 93) and fragments of what appear to have been one have been found at Bendstrup in Denmark (Hedeager and Kristiansen 1983, 152-3, Fig 21-9). But it is difficult to see the need for the tenon if the base supported a crater. The table is much too small to be a functional table (eg Richter 1966, Pl 565; Maiuri 1933, 430-1, Fig 162). The most likely interpretation and the one preferred by Laver and also Foster, is that it is the base for a lampstand. The column which will have been mated with the tenon may have been either plain or elaborately decorated with foliate or arboraceous mounts springing from the top (eg Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1979, 166, no 132). From these mounts one or more metal lamps will have been suspended (eg Poulsen 1979, Pl 137, Fig 1, illustrating a lamp from Rome now in Copenhagen). The top of the column may have had a statuette

adorning it (*ibid*), while one example from Pompeii has a mounted figure and a miniature temple on the base (Mau 1908, 395, Taf 219), another has a small tree (*ibid*, Taf 220) while a further find has a boar being pursued by two hounds (Pompeii-Hügel 1973, 132, no 165). This raises the possibility that some of the Lexden figurines could have adorned the lamp stand. This is strongly supported by the presence of patches of solder on the stand (Foster 1986, 69).

Simple candelabra are relatively frequent finds in first century BC burials in north Italy (Tizzoni 1981) and southern France (eg Dedet *et al* 1978). They were also imported into Dacia (Glodariu 1976, 194-202) but the Lexden find is the only pre-Roman candelabrum in north-west Europe.

10.2.4 FIGURINES AND STATUETTES

(i) The miniature boar from the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1927, 249, Pl LVIII, Fig 4) has been considered by Toynbee (1964, 39), Foster (1977, 8-10, Fig 3-4, Pl II; 1986, 55-8, Fig 20, 2; Pl 9) and Pitts (1979, 16-18, no 166) to be an import, possibly from Gaul. As Toynbee shows, the best parallels for the Lexden boar are finds from Cahors and the Titelberg to which we may add a find from Chalon (Boucher 1983, 138, no 129, Fig 129 on p 139) and the contrast between the classical style of the Lexden boar and those boars made in Iron Age and Roman Britain (Foster 1977 *passim*) strongly suggest that the Lexden piece was imported. Analyses of the metal produced ambiguous results (Foster 1977, 10; 1986, 55).

(ii-iii) I have been unable to find satisfactory parallels for the cupid holding the bird (Laver 1927, 249, Pl LVII, Fig 4; Pitts

1979, 16, no 50; Foster 1986, 52, Fig 20, 1, Pl 8) or the bull (Laver 1927, 249, Pl LVIII, Fig 3; Pitts 1979, 18, no 170; Foster 1986, 58-60, Fig 21, 3; Pl 10) from the Lexden Tumulus. The cupid is undoubtedly a classical product but the bull has sometimes been considered possibly to be a local product (Pitts 1979, 18) or a fusion between classical and Celtic styles (Laver 1927, 249). The only reason for considering the bull as possibly being of local manufacture is the bulbous terminal on the surviving horn of the bull which has been considered as Celtic but as the piece is clearly in classical style and as there are no comparable indigenous figurines the bull is best seen as an import.

(iv) The sandalled left foot from the Lexden Tumulus may possibly be from a figurine or statuette, but it is too fragmentary for definite identification (*ibid* 248-9, Pl LVII, Fig 3; Pitts 1979, 16, no 254; Foster 1986, 61, Fig 21, 4; Pl 11). It is just possible that the foot was mounted on the small bronze pedestal from the burial (Laver 1927, 248, Pl LVII, Fig 1; Foster 1986, 67, Fig 23, 15; Pl 14) but as discussed above (Ch 10.2.1 (i)), it is perhaps more likely to belong to a folding chair. The pedestal is nonetheless probably the base for a statuette which was not recovered in the excavations.

Lastly, Fox (1958, 79, Pl 42a, b) has considered some of the Milber Down, Devon figurines, particularly the bird and stag, as possibly being imports. Some figures are classical in style but it is clear from the excavation report that there is no reason for them to be regarded as being of Iron Age rather than early Roman date (Fox *et al* 1952, 40-4, Pl XII-XIV).

10.2.5 STATUARY

(i-ii) The small bust of Gaius on a globe resting on a bell-shaped stand from Colchester found north of Colchester in 1845 could possibly be considered as an Iron Age import (Newton 1846, 445-6, Pl XV; Strong 1916; Toynbee 1964, 40-1, Pl III, b; Pitts 1979, 17, 101). The piece is Julio-Claudian in style but it is possible to exclude Claudius, and Gaius is the likeliest candidate. If the bust does represent Gaius then as Toynbee points out the bust is unlikely to have been introduced after the Claudian invasion because of his *damnatio memoriae*. (ii) The Silenus mask (Pitts 1979, 17; Toynbee 1964, 41; Newton 1846, 443-4, Pl XIII-XIV) was apparently found with the bust in a railway cutting.

(iii) The Colchester Jupiter figurine wearing a cloak and carrying a *fulmen* and probably a sceptre is also likely to be of Julio-Claudian date although it is difficult to be certain of this (Toynbee 1964, 41; Pitts 1979, 17, 49, Pl 5, 3; Newton 1846, 447, Pl XVI) but the find does not appear to have any reliable records documenting its discovery other than being found near to Vint's home in Colchester in 1844. Pitts does not regard these figures as necessarily pre-conquest (1979, 17). As P.R. Sealey points out to me it is unusual that all of these figurines should come from the collection of Henry Vint and that they should have been found between 1844-5, precisely the time that Vint was compiling his collection. The story of the bust of Gaius and the Silenus figure being found in a railway cutting recounted by Newton (1846) notwithstanding, the finds must surely be rejected as modern introductions with falsified provenances (*cf* Sealey 1981).

(iv) The Broadbridge Head from Bosham, Sussex is of Julio-Claudian style and may represent either Germanicus or Gaius (Toynbee 1964, 46; Connor 1974; Cunliffe and Fulford 1982, 23, Pl 23, 89; Poulsen 1958). The antiquity of this marble bust found in rather uncertain circumstances in the nineteenth century has been doubted (Painter 1965; 1972, 36-7, Pl X-XII) but it does seem to be an ancient find (Connor 1974, 381). Whether it was an ancient introduction to Britain is much less certain and as Connor suggests (*ibid*) has suggested the piece is probably best regarded as a recent import, perhaps being brought in after a grand tour.

10. 3 CUTLERY

A fragmentary bronze spoon was found at Skeleton Green in a context dated by Partridge to AD 15-25 (1981, 107, Fig 55, 23). Bronze spoons show little typological change over many centuries (cf Riha and Stern 1982). This and the bone spoon from the same site (Ch 12.1) are the only examples in Iron Age contexts which I am aware of.

10. 4 TOILET AND MEDICINAL ARTICLES

10. 4. 1 SPATULAE

A spatula probe (*spathomela*) was found in an Iron Age context at Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 77, Fig 36, 4). Probes of this type are the single most widespread type in the Roman world and were used as a probe in medical examination and for the

application of cosmetics (Künzl 1982, 28). Similar probes are known from Cologne (two; one undated, the other second half of first century AD (Künzl 1982, 90, Abb 68, 6) and from Wederath-Belginum (*ibid*, 72, Abb 46, 3) dated to the turn of the first and second centuries AD)) but the only close parallel comes from Colchester-Sheepen (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 333, Pl C, 23) which could be of Iron Age date and is very probably pre-Flavian. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine if the Skeleton Green probe was used cosmetically or pharmaceutically.

Medical instruments are found, albeit rarely, in Celtic contexts. There are a small number from Manching (Jacobi 1974a, 99-100, Taf 29) including two spatula probes (*ibid*, Taf 29, 524, 532) which Jacobi considers as imports and other medical pieces are known from Basel-Gasfabrik, Plenkovice, Staré Hradisko, Stradonice, Velem St Vid (*ibid*) and also Jüchsen (Thuringia) (Künzl 1982, 126, Anm 126). There are also three middle La Tène burials from central and eastern Europe which contained medical instruments (de Navarro 1955; Künzl 1982, 126-7). The Galații Bistriței grave contained only a trephining saw while the Kis Köszeg and Munich-Obermenzig burials included larger sets. De Navarro argued that these burials reflected Celtic contact with the Greek world although some apparently Celtic instruments were included. The later Iron Age finds probably indicate both the continuing use of this information and also the arrival of new information and ideas from the Roman world. Whether the Skeleton Green find indicates that this tradition existed in Britain or only the application of the cosmetics hinted at by the bone *pyxis* from the same site (Ch 12) is difficult to say.

10.4.2 UNCERTAIN ?TOILET INSTRUMENT

A bronze object with a thin handle and fragmentary plate head which has a hole (apparently original) in it was included in the Lexden mirror Burial. In publishing the piece Hull suggested that it was part of a pin but was unable to find any parallels (Fox and Hull 1948, 136, Fig 8, 2). Today the difficulty still remains. The flat face of the head appears to exclude its identification as a spoon. One side of it appears to have been tinned, the reverse of the face published by Fox and Hull. Tinning is rare on objects of Iron Age date in Britain (known only on the winged belt hook from Owslebury (Collis 1973, 127; Ch 11.4.1) and as a vertical band on a sword scabbard from a burial near Kelvedon (unpub) and on the unidentified object (?container) also from Skeleton Green discussed above (Ch 10.2.2), and this could suggest that the object is an import although the shape of the object is not obviously Roman and tinning may prove to be a later Iron Age adoption (Ch 11.4.1). The object has superficial similarities to Roman medical instruments but cannot be paralleled amongst them (cp Künzl 1982; Cuppers 1981 *passim*) and at present it is possible to suggest only that the object may be a fragment of a toilet article, possibly a razor.

10.4.3 ROMAN MIRRORS

To date only two Roman mirrors have been found in securely stratified and dated pre-conquest contexts in Britain, at Hayling Island (Downey, King and Soffe 1979, 6, 17; Lloyd-Morgan 1980, 98, 104) and King Harry Lane. The first mirror belongs to Lloyd-Morgan's Group A of rectangular mirrors and is likely to be

of Augustan or later date. It is possible that other, less well stratified mirror fragments from the same site may also be pre-conquest imports (Lloyd-Morgan 1980, 98). One, possibly two, of the six mirrors from the King Harry Lane cemetery (Stead 1969, 49) are Iron Age imports (I.M. Stead pers comm).

One particularly interesting find, however, comes from Hengistbury Head. It is a small handle (Bushe-Fox 1916, 61-2, Pl XXIX, 10; Cunliffe 1987a, 153, Ill 111, 48) and while not closely dated at Hengistbury it is closely paralleled by a handle from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1982, 250, Fig 40, 74). If these are mirror handles, and I am unaware of any other parallels, then the Hengistbury find is almost certainly an import. The importance of these handles is that they may provide a plausible inspiration for the simple bronze handled mirrors (Fox (1958) Type III A) which could be the earliest of the southern British mirrors (Fox 1958, 98-105), although Spratling has doubted this (1970, 11-13).

10.4.4 ROMAN MIRRORS AND ROMAN INFLUENCE ON BRITISH ART

Roman mirrors have often been suspected as the inspiration of the southern British series of decorated Iron Age mirrors (Lloyd-Morgan 1978; forthcoming). The major difficulty in accepting this argument is the rarity of classical mirrors (Stead 1965, 56) or of Roman mirrors beyond the Roman frontiers which could have provided the prototypes for the British mirrors. In attempting to solve this problem Spratling has suggested that the mirrors developed in the post-Caesarian period and that the elaborate openwork handles of the British series may have derived from the openwork handles of Roman paterae, although these paterae are of later date (Spratling 1970, 11). This argument has been

doubted by Stead (1979, 82) who prefers to see the southern mirrors as descending from the Arras 'culture' finds, which he would see as inspired by the few mirrors found in early La Tène contexts in north-west Europe. Conversely as with chain-mail (Ch 10.1.1), this argument leaves a large period between the possible fourth or earlier third century BC date of the Arras 'culture' finds and the southern British series. The Arras 'culture' finds were very poorly dated but the discovery of a mirror in one of the 1984 Wetwang Slack chariot burials (Dent 1985, 90, Fig 3), very probably of La Tène I date, points strongly to some, if not all, of the Arras 'culture' mirrors being early. It is possible that the absence of finds in southern England may be more apparent than real due to the rite of inhumation burial with grave goods in Yorkshire producing an apparent concentration of finds there (cf Stead 1979, 89-90, Fig 35). However, given the accepted dating of the southern British series this still leaves a possible gap between the southern and Arras 'culture' finds both in space and time. It may be wondered then if the dating for the southern series is correct?

There are few mirrors from reliably dated contexts (Spratling 1970, 13-14), most are of first century AD date. Spratling accepted Fox and Hull's (1947, 136) c AD 10-43 date for the Colchester mirror but the absence of Gallo-Belgic wares and Terra sigillata from the burial if it is of chronological significance suggests a date before c 20-15 BC. This is supported by the parallel for the Central Gaulish(?) flagons in the burial from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1984, 31, Fig 10, 395-01), a site which certainly antedates c 20-15 BC (cf Ch 3.2). Similarly, the Dorton burial (Farley 1983) is likely to be of first century BC date as Thompson's AD dating for the coarse ware (*ibid*) is

unacceptable (cf Ch 4.2). As Farley notes, the Dorton, Aston, Colchester and Great Chesterford mirrors are all quite similar and on typological grounds are likely to be broadly contemporary. Some mirror handles are apparently typologically earlier than these finds and this might suggest that they are chronologically earlier (Farley 1983, 296) although as Spratling has observed many differences may be cultural rather than chronological (1970, 13). Nonetheless on the evidence presently available it is not possible to advance a date before the first century BC for any of the southern series.

On this dating Roman mirrors could have supplied the stimulus for the southern British series, if only in part. As we have seen it has not been thought possible for Roman mirrors to have influenced the British finds partly on chronological grounds and partly on typological ones. To take the latter point first, it is fair to say that the complexity of common mirrors in the later Republic has generally been underestimated and that elaborate loop-handled mirrors do exist (Lloyd-Morgan 1978; 1981; forthcoming) and these could plausibly be seen as the prototypes for some of the south-eastern English finds. Unfortunately very few finds are well dated and these tend to be Augustan which does not clearly resolve the difficulty. Mirrors in late Iron Age contexts have been taken to be quite rare but Roman mirrors are found quite frequently beyond the frontiers, particularly in Augustan contexts (Fitzpatrick *in preparation*) while pre-Augustan mirrors likely to be Roman are known from Stradonice, Třísov (Břeň 1966, 154-5, Vienne (Chapotat 1970, 67, Pl XI, 12), Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Hengistbury Head (above) but probably not Schwarzerden (*Trierer Zeitschr* 1935, 156, Abb 23; Haffner 1982, 38-9, Abb 4-5). Particularly important is the La Tène C mirror from Dühren

associated with other Roman imports (Schuhmacher 1911, 77, Taf 15, 280-1; Bittel, Kimmig and Schiek 1981, 471-2, Abb 385). Hundt (1935) has argued that a burial containing a mirror from Neu-Plötzin is first century BC but the Eggers 19 bucket also included could be Augustan (cf App 30.3), while the object from Bad Nauheim taken by Stead in 1965 (56, n 4) to be a mirror (but not mentioned in the 1979 edition) is not a mirror but a horse trapping (Werner 1953, 61, Abb 4, 6-7). These finds begin to suggest that a Roman inspiration for the British series is rather more plausible than has been accepted previously but although there are now Roman mirrors from British Iron Age contexts this derivation is still far from proven.

The influence of Roman art has been discerned on British mirror art (eg Fox 1958, 94; Megaw and Megaw 1986, 28) particularly because of the symmetry and the use of compasses in the layout and similarly the Battersea shield often is taken to be a piece made under heavy Roman influence (eg Megaw 1970, 151; 1979, 423; Megaw and Megaw 1986, 18). This case has never been argued satisfactorily, merely asserted and virtually the only Roman piece cited for comparison has been the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (cf Stead 1985b). The influence of 'Augustan' Roman silver plate (cf Ch 8) suspected by Fox (1958, 94) is now unlikely because of the likelihood that at least some British mirrors antedate it (above). It has been noted elsewhere that there has been a tendency to date most pieces of decorative metalwork very late in the Iron Age (Fitzpatrick 1984b, 182-3). This is particularly marked in the works of Jope and Megaw who have suggested that the pieces of decoration which are stylistically the earliest, the Torrs-Witham style, date no earlier than the later second or first centuries BC (eg Jope 1983; Megaw 1983; Megaw and Megaw 1986, 13, 19-20; Frey

with Megaw 1976). Megaw's recent suggestions that the dendrochronological dates from La Tène provide fixed dates for the Swiss Sword style (1983, 139; Megaw and Megaw 1986, 13) misrepresents the nature of that site (cf Fitzpatrick 1984b, 188, n 6) which cannot provide any fixed dates for art styles. Because of this Megaw's arguments that British art derives from the Sword styles and so must date to after c 230 BC is unacceptable (Megaw 1979, 422; Megaw and Megaw 1986, 13). In a series of careful analyses Stead has shown that the earliest British decorative La Tène metalwork is broadly contemporary with the related continental European material (1982; 1984b; 1985a). The decorated La Tène I scabbard from Wetwang Slack (Dent 1985, Fig 2; James 1986, 14, Fig on p 14) appears to provide decisive proof for a 'long' chronology. It is also clear that compass based decoration is a characteristically British feature throughout the Iron Age (Lenerez de Wilde 1977, 85-6) and symmetry is equally typical. Accordingly there is no need to look to Roman influence for these aspects of the art. In fact at a time when La Tène art wanes in continental Europe and all but disappears from metalwork the continuity of the British styles in the later Iron Age is striking but usually obscured by its alleged debt to Roman art. The British style V and the objects decorated by it (Stead 1985a, 22-3) are likely to have been current for much of the first century BC as is indicated by the growing number of securely stratified objects found in excavations of settlements. There is neither need nor proof to look to Rome for a significant contribution to it.

CHAPTER XI

CELTIC METALWORK

Introduction

A number of pieces of later Iron Age metalwork in Britain have been considered to be imported. Most of these pieces are of high quality and the arguments for their being imported have been based on stylistic criteria. It will be argued below that there are not satisfactory grounds to ascribe a continental European origin to these pieces but that there may be for some less striking pieces.

11.1 TORQUES

The large tubular buffer-terminalled gold torque from Snettisham hoard A (Clarke 1954, 42-3) belongs to a widely distributed class of later Iron Age metalwork (Fischer 1978; (cf also Fischer 1983a); Furger-Gunti 1982a, 21-8; Cahen-Delhaye 1983).

The Snettisham torque does have close parallels not only in general form but also in details to some continental European torques such as the large Frasnèz-les-Buissenal torque (Clarke 1954, 37-9, 43-5; Raftery 1984, 186). Megaw has repeatedly asserted that both the Snettisham and the Broughter torques are of a north-eastern French-southern Belgian later first century BC

type which reached the British Isles as a result of far-flung gift exchange (1970, 114, 167, (mistranslating Strabo IV, 53); 1979, 424, 432, n 52; 1983, 145; Megaw and Megaw 1986, 48).

The Broughter torque is important in this context. Following Evans (1897, 400) and Jacobstahl (1944, 211), Jope has suggested that the terminals of the torque are continental European imports, belonging to an older torque which were added to the body of the torque which was made in Ireland (Jope 1960, 80; *in* Farrell and Penny 1975, 24). Leaving aside the inherent improbability of this, the continental European parallels for the terminals are not convincing and the suggestion has been rebutted by Warner (1982, 30), while Raftery (1984, 185-90) is also unconvinced by Jope's suggestion. There seem to be no reasons to regard the Broughter find as anything other than Irish, providing important evidence that tubular buffer-terminalled torques were made in the British Isles. So while the Snettisham torque has close parallels in the continental European torques both in general form and in details, it is possible that it and also the other, smaller, tubular torques usually overlooked in discussion (Clarke 1954, 41-6, Pl I), were made in Britain. The tubular torques being a common continental form current amongst the other undoubtedly indigenous forms found in the East Anglian hoards. Sealey (1979, 170) favours seeing the Snettisham torque as East Anglian, and specifically Icenian. At present, however, we cannot be sure if the torques are British, or if they arrived in Norfolk together with the Gallo-Belgic gold coins and came ultimately from Gaul, or if the torque is an actually genuine import. Consequently we cannot follow Megaw in asserting the continental European origin of the Snettisham find but as he (1979, 432, n 52) and Haselgrove (1984a, 50, n 6; 1987a, 194) suggests the torque may have reached

Britain through international gift-exchange. Unfortunately given the uncertainties of gold analyses for this period (Briggs, Brennan and Freeburn 1973; Harbison 1971; Hartmann 1980), metallurgical work may have difficulties in resolving this uncertainty. Even then the source of the gold may not indicate where the objects were made - the source of the metal could be recycled coins.

11.2 BUCKETS

Since it was first published the Aylesford bucket has sometimes been considered to be an import from France principally because of the apparent similarity of the 'horses' on it to those on Gallo-Belgic coins (Evans 1890, 360-75). This interpretation has been argued consistently by a number of authors for both the Aylesford and Marlborough buckets (Nylén 1958), for example Jope (1960, 82) and Megaw (1968; 1970, 31, 120; cf also Megaw and Megaw 1986, 38) and Hawkes (*in litt*; cf Hull and Hawkes 1987, 202) also regards the Aylesford bucket as an import.

The parallels advanced by Evans are unconvincing and Megaw's 1970 arguments also lack substance;

'On balance it seems most reasonable to link Aylesford with the still all-too-little understood native elements in the art of Gaul at the beginning of the rule of Rome, although it still remains open to consider the bucket's maker as trained on the continent but resident in Britain.'

(Megaw 1970, 120).

Similarly Megaw's suggestion that sheet-bronze buckets are 'some of the best evidence ... for a close-cross-Channel relationship with Gallia Belgica' (Megaw 1979, 423-4) is difficult to understand as these buckets have a very wide distribution throughout France, in Germany and also Poland (Birchall 1965, 271; Vidal 1976, Fig 6; Polenz 1977; Syzdlowski 1977). Stead (1971, 274; 1984a, 61) is surely correct to suggest that the British buckets were made locally. Similarly Megaw's comment that the 'buckets from burials from Luxembourg, France and Germany are all more or less contemporary with the Roman conquest of Britain' (Megaw 1979, 424) misconstrues the dating of these finds as with the possible exception of bucket mounts from Liberchies in Belgium (Doyen and Warmenbol 1986) and Cologne (Meier-Arendt 1971) all the finds are certainly of first century BC date. However, as Haselgrove has commented the British buckets 'must in essence be of continental origin' (Haselgrove 1984a, 50, n 6) but as with tankards and hearth furniture this may represent no more than the participation by British smiths in European metalworking traditions. The recent decorated find from Tartigny (Oise) (Massy *et al* 1986) does, however, provide an important chronological and geographical point of reference for the origin of the British series.

Vidal has attempted a listing of buckets from late Iron Age contexts (1976, 177-86) but this is far from complete and there are finds from burials in Germany at Geisenheim and Sponheim (Polenz 1977, 32), Frankfurt-Praunheim, Gross-Krotzenburg, Hofheim, Bad Nauheim and Offenbach-Bürgel (Schönberger 1952, 3, 40, 45, 82, 93, 118-19, 126) Mühlheim (Jacob-Friesen 1972-73, 53) and Andernach (Koenen 1888, 150). There are also zoo- and

anthropomorphic handle mounts from Heidetränk (Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 1977, 49-52, Abb 1, 3; 4, 12-16, Taf 8, 1a-e) and Hänichen (Jacob-Friesen 1972-73, 52). In France buckets have also been found in burials at Armentières, St Audebert, Hallais, Hauviné-la-Poterie, Varimpre, Presles and Tartigny (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 212, 214; Massy *et al* 1986, 41-2; Birchall 1965, 263, 265; but not *contra* Birchall from Hannogne *cf* Flouest and Stead 1977, 65-6). In Britain there are also finds from burials at Swarling (an unassociated escutcheon (*cf* Thompson 1982, 842)) and a recent find from Baldock (*Current Archaeol* 8, 1983, 72). The Great Chesterford bucket (Stead 1971, 278-9, Pl XCI) in fact incorporates part of two buckets, while the Thealby find cited by Vidal is part of a late Roman hoard. There is a possible bucket burial from Hod Hill (Richmond 1968, 27, 41, Pl 9a, b; 10a). Further buckets are documented by Spratling (1972). Decorated bucket mounts are known from Breisach-Hochstetten (Stork 1975, 8) and Pavillon-Sainte-Julie (Aube) (Vidal 1978) but it has been argued that mounts from Levroux thought to be from a bucket (Megaw 1968) are from the cheekpiece of a helmet (Duval 1980-81). Stead (1971, 276-8; 1985a; 40) has noted the association of buckets with imported bronze vessels, and sometimes amphorae, in Britain and suggested that the buckets should be associated with serving wine and Vidal (1976, 196-7) has supported this suggestion. On chronological grounds most of the finds from Germany would be compatible with the drinking of wine before its apparent exclusion with the Germanic settlement. However, in only four burials are buckets and amphorae associated and the vast majority of burials with buckets contain no imports at all, so if the buckets were associated with drinking, and it is an attractive suggestion, then

it is probably better to look to beer or other indigenous drinks for their contents and not wine.

11.3 TANKARDS

It has been suggested by Corcoran (1952, 90) that the well known class of British tankards may derive from bronze bound wooden tankards of the type found at Ornavasso, San Bernardo grave 1 (Graue 1974, 31, Taf 1, 2; cf Spratling 1970, 11-13; 1972). This is possible as Graue places the burial in his Phase 1 and it appears to be earlier than any of the dated British finds. Willers (1907, 19, Anm 1) has suggested that the vessels are Celtic in origin but the possibility that these vessels were inspired by Idria type bronze beakers (Ch 9.2.5) should also be considered. Both suggestions imply the import of continental European vessels or the idea of them into Britain.

A major objection to the derivation of the British series from either Idria beakers or Celtic tankards is their rarity in continental Europe. Idria beakers are not particularly common finds in Celtic Europe outside the Alpine area (cf Ulbert 1960), but this may be due to misidentification (Ch 9.2.5). However, it is possible to draw attention to a number of finds, probably of tankards, mainly in France. There is an openwork handle from Mt Beuvray (Thiollier and Thiollier 1899, Pl XLIX, 20; LI, 10; Henry 1933, 81, Fig 8, 5; Périchon 1966, 218, Fig 6, 11) and another from a burial at Saint-Remy-de-Provence (Bouche de Rhône) (Tendille 1981, 88, Fig 21, 1). There is a fragment of what seems to be a tankard handle from Basel-Münsterhügel (Furger-Gunti 1979a, Taf 34, 623). Vidal (1976, 197) suggests that there are

finds from Fléré-la-Rivière and the burial at Châtillon-sur-Indre (both Indre). But the former may be a bucket (*Celtes* 1982, 39, Fig 64) and the interpretations of the latter find as a tankard are doubtful (Clarke and Hawkes 1955, 223, Pl XXVI; *Celtes* 1982, 40, Fig 71). These finds suggest that the British tankards could have derived from continental forms and that they could be part of a widespread Celtic vessel, perhaps all of later Iron Age date, but the evidence is still very slight. The derivation from Italian or Roman forms is uncertain.

The British finds have been summarised by MacGregor (1976, 147-9, 166-7, Map 19) and there are additional finds from Hayling Island (two) (Downey, King and Soffe 1979, 7), near Kelvedon (unpub), Brithdir (White 1978, 47, Fig 11, 2) and possible ones from Shoebury (Laver 1897) and Stone (Cotton and Richardson 1941, 141).

11.4 BELT HOOKS

11.4.1 WINGED BELT HOOKS

Winged belt hooks have been discussed by Werner (1961, 149-51, Abb 5, Fundliste A) and Collis has updated Werner's schedules (1973, 132-3, Fig 5).

Two examples are known from Britain: one is from the warrior burial at Owslebury and as it was unique in Britain and also tinned Collis suggested that it was an imported piece (1973, 126-7, Fig 4, 5). Subsequently a further piece has been discovered at Hayling Island and this too has been taken to be an import (Downey, King and Soffe 1979, 7; 1980, 293). In continental Europe the finds date from the first century BC to the

7

end of the Augustan period when it was seemingly replaced by belt buckles but the Oswlebury burial could be La Tène II. As the type is widely distributed in Europe (Graue 1974, 58-9) and as finds are also now known from the Netherlands (N. Roymans pers comm) further discoveries in Britain might suggest that it was also manufactured here. More tinned objects are now known (Ch 10.4.2) and it is possible that a number of British gold torques are gilded, so the adoption of tinning may be a related later Iron Age metalworking innovation.

11.4.2 PLAIN BELT HOOKS

Plain belt hooks are also widely distributed in continental Europe but rare in Britain (Werner 1961, 149-51). Because of this finds from Hengistbury Head (Bushe-Fox 1915, Pl XXIX, 7-8; Cunliffe 1978a, 61, Fig 30, 8-9; 1987a, 153, Ill 111, 41-2), Whitcombe (Aitken 1967, 127; I.M. Stead pers comm) and Hod Hill (Brailsford 1962, 17, Pl XI, I 97) (all Dorset) are noteworthy for their restricted distribution. *Contra Collis* (1973, 126-7) there is not a similar belt hook from North Grimston (Mortimer 1905, Fig 1019; Stead 1979, 62, 102).

The Hengistbury belt hooks are not like those from central and eastern Europe, which are usually winged or knobbed but are comparable to finds from, for example Digeon (Rapin 1986, 116, Fig B), Vienne (Chapotat 1970, 52, Pl II, 1-2) or even Heidetränk (Müller-Karpe and Müller-Karpe 1977, 41, Abb 1, 18-19, Taf 9, 7). Even so, the parallels are not particularly close and given the winged belt hooks from nearby Hayling Island and Oswlebury it is possible that the use of these hooks may represent a regional style, inspired by continental European ones, rather than imported

belts with hooks.

The Whitcombe burial probably dates to the first half of the first century AD (*contra* Aitken 1967; I.M. Stead *pers comm*), while the Hod Hill find is undated. Neither of these two finds is as close to continental European examples as the Hengistbury finds and it is possible that they may be later.

The elaborate fitting from Hengistbury published by Bushe-Fox (1915, Pl XXX, 14) and Cunliffe (1978a, 61, Fig 30, 10; 1987a, 153, Ill 111, 43) as a harness fitting and which Cunliffe compares to a piece from Stradonice (Píč 1906, Pl XXVI, 2) could be an import but as parallels are so few a Romano-British date should not be excluded.

11.5 BRACELETS

Gaskell-Brown and Hugo suggest that a knobbed bracelet from Mount Batten is of northern French origin and of Iron Age date (1983, 71, Fig 2, 2). In support of this they cite Clarke's discussion of earlier finds of knobbed bracelets from Mount Batten (1971, 147). In fact Clarke does not describe the bracelets as imported and in view of the widespread distribution of the type in Britain (eg Stead 1979, 73-7, Fig 27, 6-8; 28, 1-2) there is little reason to regard them as imported. *Contra* Clarke they are as likely, if not more so, to be of later Bronze Age as Iron Age date.

11.6 SWORDS AND SCABBARDS

A number of mid La Tène swords have been suggested tentatively by Hawkes (1980a, 57; 1982, 8) followed by Haselgrove (1984a, 14, 50 n 6) although Stead (1984a, 50) is more conservative. As Piggott noted, most of his Group II Hunsbury swords are clearly different from continental European types (1950, 6) and the same appears to be the case for the later Iron Age Group V Battersea types (*ibid*, 21-2). However, the unpublished sword in a bronze scabbard from the Thames at Abingdon Lock (Reading Mus) and the bronze scabbard from Orton Meadows (British Mus; cf Stead 1984c for the site) are quite closely related to Schaff's 'Ormes' and 'Ludwigshafen' scabbard types (1984, Abb 11) and could be imports. Schaff provisionally dates both types to La Tène D1 (*ibid*, 623) and, pending Stead's full publication of the British finds, the two swords and scabbards could be imports of later second-earlier first century BC date (2).

Commentary

While the pieces of personal clothing: the belt hooks and armament may be imports; the other types cannot be shown to be imports *per se* rather than part of widespread metalworking traditions. This is seen not only in gold and bronze but also in the participation of British smiths in the ironworking styles of the later Iron Age

(2) I am grateful to M.G. Spratling for pointing out this possibility to me.

furniture of the period. British firedogs (Piggott 1971, Saunders 1977) and their continental counterparts (Piggott *op cit*, Gallay and Spindler 1972; Feugère 1982) are well known as are iron frames (Piggott *op cit*) and tripods with cauldrons for example at Stanfordbury A (although it was deposited in the Romano-British period; App 13.2; Manning 1983; Cunliffe 1981b, 251-2, Pl XXXVI) which are paralleled by German finds (Schumacher 1911, 79, Taf 15, 284; Köethe and Kimmig 1937, Abb 10, 59-60). At present the low circular tripod frames known at Stradonice (Spratling 1975b) and Hannogne (Flouest and Stead 1977, 65-6, Fig 5, 14) are not known in Britain.

CHAPTER XII

OBJECTS OF BONE

Introduction

Greep has suggested that a number of bone objects mostly from Iron Age contexts in as yet unpublished excavations in the Braughing complex and St Albans may have been imported from the Roman world (Greep 1983).

1. A bone spoon or *cochlear* from Braughing (*ibid*, Fig 6.3). Greep was able to cite only one parallel from Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1971-72, Abb 12, 8; see now *idem* 1986, 131, Abb 363, 30; Taf 8, 363, 30), probably lost between 15 and 10 BC. However, similar finds with incised 'V' decoration from Lyon (Beal 1983, 253, Pl XLVI, 796) and *Vindonissa* (Riha and Stern 1982, 13, Abb 14, 1) have been published recently, but finds with this style of decoration are rare. The bone spoons probably imitate later Republican silver ones (Strong 1966, 117-129, 155-6) and the Braughing find is almost certainly an import.

2. A small *pyxis*, missing its lid, from the King Harry Lane cemetery (Greep 1983, Fig 6, 4). The burial was dated to c AD 25-40 so the *pyxis* is not certainly an Iron Age introduction. Although properly referring to medical use, *pyxis* is used generally to describe small boxes, particularly those considered to be toilet-boxes. It has been suggested that some bone ones

were inkwells but bone makes a poor receptacle as it is porous and inkwells were normally of bronze and sometimes of clay (Hilgers 1969, 265-7). *Pyxide* have been discussed at length by Beal and Feugère (1983) who offer a definition and typology of them. The example from King Harry Lane is of their type 1a which they suggest was not produced after the first century BC and was manufactured in southern France as well as in Italy (*ibid*, 116-19). Traces of what has been identified as rouge have been found in examples at Kertch, Lyon, Nimes and in Israel and one find (Kertch) contained toilet items (*ibid*, 116), suggesting that if the King Harry Lane find was an Iron Age import it may be inferential evidence for the importation of some form of cosmetics.

3-5. Spindles or stilettoes. One spindle has been published from an Iron Age context at Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 61, Fig 26, 2) and Greep published two others from the Braughing complex both apparently from Augustan-Tiberian contexts (1983, Fig 6, 1-2). Although normally identified as *stili* Greep correctly challenges this interpretation pointing out that while these objects have a pointed tip, they do not have a flat, blunt end which would serve as an eraser (1983, 261). Beal (1983, 151-62) also advances similar arguments against their interpretation as *stili* but some are certainly *stili* (Jacobi 1974b, Abb 2, 7, 11). Greep suggests that in the absence of further evidence the objects, which are clearly too large to be pins, should be regarded as spindles. However, on the basis of ethnographic parallels Beal suggests that objects of this particular form should not be interpreted as spindles but as awls or needleworker's stilettoes, and certainly connected in some way with weaving or finishing fabrics but not

with their spinning (cf Forbes 1956, 149-71). Greep (1983) cites large numbers of finds from Rhineland military sites and as it seems unlikely that weaving was carried out at these sites this lends support to Beal's interpretation.

Greep suggests that all these pieces of bone should be regarded as imports because he is not able to adduce evidence for the lathe working of either bone or antler in the Iron Age. As the spoon appears to be unique in Iron Age contexts in Europe it may be accepted as an import, and, if the *pyxis* is a pre-conquest piece then it is also unique in Iron Age contexts it may also be regarded as an import but some doubt must be attached to accepting the stilettoes or spindles as imported pieces. Greep suggests that they are 'not at home' in Iron Age contexts but all the pieces cited by Jacobi (1974b) as *stili* come from oppida sites; Basel, Bern, Staré Hradisko and Manching, a class of site with which Braughing has many similarities. However, as one of the characteristics of these sites is manufacturing including bone work, possibly using a lathe (Collis 1980, 45, Fig 2; 1984a, 94, Fig 7-6) and as there is no doubt from metal, wooden (Coles, Heal and Orme 1978, 16) and shale (Kennett 1977) vessels that lathe turning was widely employed in southern Britain in the later Iron Age, it could be argued that the spindles or stilettoes are not imported pieces but products of the increasing technological diversity and competence demonstrated by later Iron Age communities throughout temperate Europe. Greep admits the possibility that they are indigenous products but maintains that the idea at least derives from the classical world. He does not, however, demonstrate that any examples are older than the Manching piece (Jacobi 1974b, 171-2, Abb 1, 2) and at present both the

questions of importation and adoption, adaption or innovation should be regarded as open questions. Because of this the origin of worked bone objects from, for example Manching (Maier 1985, Abb 8), is also uncertain.

6. Greep also suggests (1983, 261) that the bone hinges from the Stanfordbury A burial are wholly Roman in form and are to be regarded as Iron Age imports.

Although single bone hinges have long been a frequent find on Roman sites, they were not interpreted correctly until 1940 when Fremersdorf demonstrated that they were actually parts of complex hinge sets often used in furniture (Fremersdorf 1940; cf also Schmid 1968, 188-92). In suggesting that the Stanfordbury hinges are Roman, Greep overlooks Iron Age finds from Basel-Gasfabrik (Furger-Gunti and Berger 1980, 81, Taf 13, 285), Manching and Velem St Vid (Jacobi 1974b, 241-3, Abb 56, Taf 82). Both the Basel and Manching finds have been restored as casket hinges and the decoration on the hinges is typical of that on contemporary Celtic worked bone, suggesting that they are of indigenous manufacture. Jacobi suggests that some finds from Glastonbury may be bone hinges (Bulleid and Gray 1917, 463-4, Pl LXVI) but they are more plausibly interpreted as bone 'toggles' or fasteners as wear analysis of the Danebury finds suggests (Cunliffe 1984d, 378-80). Be that as it may, the Stanfordbury A burial is actually of Romano-British date.

CHAPTER XIII

BROOCHES

There has been little consideration of brooches as evidence for cross-Channel contact during the later Iron Age and apart from some comments by Stead (1984a, 54-60), there has been little recent discussion. For present purposes brooches may be divided into Iron Age and Roman types.

13.1 BROOCHES OF LATER IRON AGE TYPE

Imports of these are quite rare in Britain and indeed the repertoire of later Iron Age brooches in Britain is relatively poorly known. There are five types of brooch which could be considered as imports.

13.1.1 NAUHEIM BROOCHES

This is perhaps the commonest and simplest type of later Iron Age brooch in western Europe with a four-coil spring with internal chord and an open catch-plate. It is now held to generally date to La Tène D1 after having been considered originally to belong to the second half of the century (eg Werner 1955). Finds from Bern, Basel-Gasfabrik, Châteaumeillant, the Telamon sanctuary (pre-82 BC, although this may be a separate type (Ulbert 1985)) and the

presumption that it was a piece of female dress, thus explaining its absence from the *Alesia* deposits, all support this earlier dating (cf Collis 1975a, 57-9; Rieckhoff 1975, 30). Because the type is so widespread it is quite possible that it was made in Britain as well as in continental Europe. Stead (1984a, 57-9) notes seven certain and five possible examples from Britain (cf Feugère 1985, 203-29; Fig 16 who cites a total of 20 findspots) and suggests that one, from Hockwold, Norfolk, could perhaps be an imported piece (Stead 1984a, Fig 20, 4), but on the evidence available it could equally well be an indigenous product. In the absence of scientific analyses it is not possible to decide which (cf Hattatt 1985, 20-5). It should be noted that Fleury's account of the Nauheim (1986, 37-40) is confused and her statement that the Nauheim is more frequent at Basel-Münsterhügel than the Gasfabrik (*ibid*, 37-8) is incorrect and also contradicted by the data she presents.

13.1.2 CENISOLA BROOCHES

This is a variant of the Nauheim which has a circular setting on the bow which may be residual from brooches of middle La Tène schema (Graue 1974, 51). The type has a very restricted distribution mainly south in the Alpine area with only a few in the northern part at Altenburg, Besançon and Karlstein (Werner 1955, 186, Fundliste B, Karte 1; Stead 1984a, 59). Because of this the find apparently from Blandford, Dorset, published by Stead (*ibid*, 54-9, Fig 20, 5) must be viewed with suspicion, particularly as there are no details of its discovery.

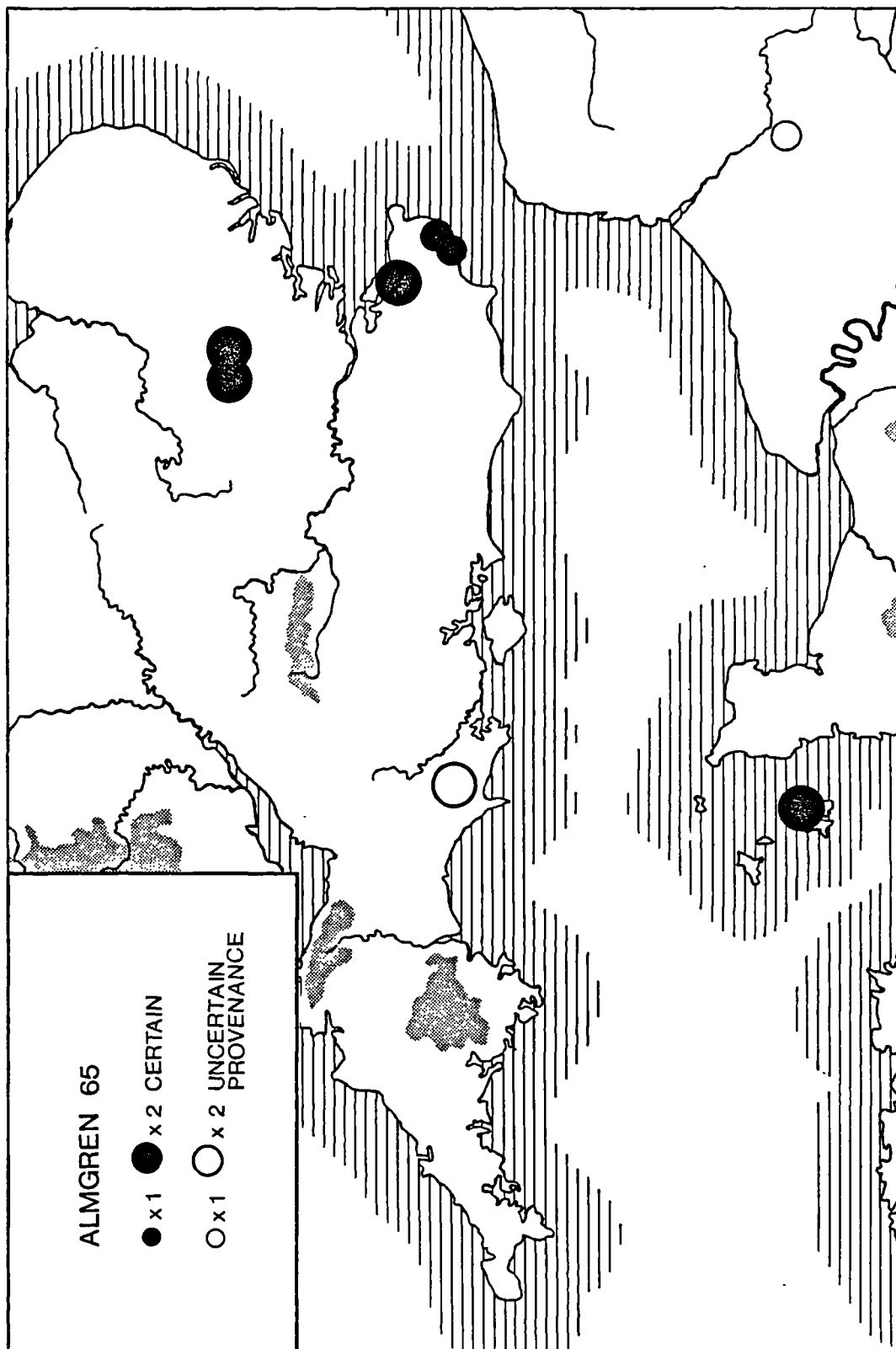


FIG 33: DISTRIBUTION OF 'ALMGREN 65' SILVER BROOCHES IN
BRITAIN AND NORTH-EAST FRANCE

13.1.3 'ALMGREN 65' SPECIES BROOCHES

There are ten silver brooches from mainland Britain which have been considered as imports (Fig 33). All are variants of the well known but poorly defined, Almgren type 65 (Almgren 1923, 35, Taf IV, 65), sometimes known as *knotenfibeln* or *fibulae ad arpa* (Bianchetti 1895, 31-2; Feugère 1985, 237-8).

Two pairs of brooches are known from Great Chesterford (Stead 1976a, 406, Fig 3, 3; Krämer 1971, 124-7, Taf 24-6), a related but incomplete brooch from Folkestone (Stead 1976a, 406, Fig 2, 6) a pair from Faversham (*ibid*, Fig 3, 1) and another brooch from Folkestone (*ibid*, 410, Fig 2, 5) and a related, but uncertainly provenanced, pair from Dorset (Hattatt 1987, 27, Fig 11, 748). There is also a pair of brooches very similar to the Great Chesterford pairs from Le Câtillon, Jersey (Krämer 1971, 127-8, Abb 4, 41; Stead 1984a, 59, Pl III, c; Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987, 438). As Stead points out if these brooches are imports (*cf* Haselgrove 1987a, 320), then they are the largest group of metalwork imports of first century BC date. Birchall (1965, 290) followed by Krämer 1971, 127-8) suggested that the type is Augustan although its occurrence in the Le Câtillon find was initially taken to indicate a Caesarian date but Ettlenger has questioned this, doubting that the Le Câtillon brooches which are so close typologically to the earliest Roman Imperial types should have been manufactured in the first half of the first century BC (Ettlenger 1973, 15-19, 48-54, 154-5). As Ettlenger emphasises, the Almgren 65 is characteristic of the latest La Tène and provides the origin of many early Imperial brooch types. Ettlenger also makes it clear that the type was in existence before the Augustan period. The date may also be challenged on

numismatic grounds (Haselgrove 1987a, 81-3, 317-21). Surveying earlier literature, Fischer (1966b) has proposed that the absence of the type from the Augustan military sites north of the Alps provides a broad *terminus ante quem* for the type. Birchall based her dating on Bertolone's unpublished work on the Ornavasso cemeteries. Since then three seminal studies on these sites have appeared (Agostinetti 1972; Stöckli 1975 and especially, Graue 1974).

Graue's coin datings based on Sydenham need to be raised in the light of Crawford's work (1974) and some of his other dates are perhaps too early, but Graue places the Almgren 65 in his Phase II, which he dates c 90-50 BC. This has been criticised by Collis (1975a, 45-7, 63-5) and especially by Peschel (1978, esp 564) who suggests, largely on the basis of the 'Campanian' bronze vessels, that Phase II may start in the second half of the century but there is no independent evidence to support this (Ch 9.2.2). Nonetheless Graue's puzzlement (1974, 55) at Birchall's statement (1965, 290) is understandable and her dating is generally too late. Crawford has suggested recently that

'If the pattern of the Ornavasso finds reflects reality, it becomes very hard to regard Stage II as a whole as falling after 90. Rather it should be regarded as belonging principally to say 110-90, with a certain after life in the 80s and 70s. Stage III, on the other hand, should be regarded as beginning in the 80s and 70s and going down to 20-10.'

(Crawford 1985, 295).

It is impossible to accept this suggestion as it fails to consider the dating evidence of other categories of finds and horizontal stratigraphy. As Moberg has suggested, the coins were surely old when they were buried. The Almgren 65 is absent from the Basel-Gasfabrik suggesting that it did not appear before c 70-60 BC (Furger-Gunti 1979a, 55-6). Hawkes arrives at a similar conclusion by a more contentious route (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 200-3). However, Fleury's suggestion that the type is known from at least the first half of the first century BC is unsubstantiated (1986, 40).

Boon and Savory (1975, 45, 47, 58-9) favour an Augustan dating for the Almgren 65 citing Agostinetti (1972, 27-8) as their authority but they mistranslate her for she refers there not to San Bernardo but to Persona and her comments on a late dating have no reference to the Almgren 65 (cf Ch 9.2.2). The chronology and typology of the Almgren 65 is considered further below.

However, the question of whether the brooches from Great Chesterford, Faversham, Folkestone (and Le Câtillon) and also Dorset are imports must also be considered (cf Fitpatrick and Megaw 1987, 437-8).

Krämer (1971) first suggested that the Le Câtillon and Great Chesterford brooches are imports from the Alpine area, a proposal followed by Ettliger (1973, 36, 54), Hull and Hawkes (1987, 201-203), and in a slightly different context, by Werner (1977, 373-6) who regards most of the late Iron Age site brooches found north of the Alps as being north Italian. In considering these brooches Stead (1984a, 60) is cautious but appears to favour their being imports. As support for this Stead cites Krämer's comment that brooches of precious metal north of the Alps are outnumbered

by examples from Italy and that the northern examples are likely to be exports from Italy;. This view may be doubted. Krämer's suggestion that pairs of silver brooches in northern Europe are Italian rests on five propositions, which may be examined in turn.

In considering the Lauterach brooches (Rieckhoff-Pauli 1981; Polenz 1982, 152-4), Menghin (1937, 67) suggested that, as the chain which linked the two brooches was of a type found widely in the Graeco-Roman world, both the chain and the brooches might be imports from there and accordingly the hoard should be dated to the Roman occupation of the *Voralpenland*. Krämer supported the now more widely accepted dating of the deposition of the hoard at a time broadly contemporary with the late second century BC denarii in the hoard (Crawford 1969, 84; Rieckhoff-Pauli 1981, 13), but maintained the suggestion that as the chain which linked the brooches might be Roman, the brooches themselves should be regarded as imports from Italy (Krämer 1971, 114-15, 128-9).

The second point advanced by Krämer was that as brooches of precious metals are relatively rare in temperate Europe, their distribution might be explained by their being exports from the Mediterranean world (*ibid*, 129).

Thirdly, in the absence of satisfactory British antecedents for the four Great Chesterford brooches, Krämer suggested that they may be regarded as imports.

Fourthly, as a variety of imports of Italian origin are known in temperate Europe and Pliny (*NH* XII, XLII, 88) mentions the exchange of Roman brooches in the context of trade with Arabia in the early Principate, it is possible that the silver brooches north of the Alps reached the Celts in trade or as gifts (Krämer 1971, 129-30). Krämer cites the Horgen and Dühren middle La Tène

graves as examples of silver brooches associated with imports from the Mediterranean world.

Finally, in advancing the suggestion that the brooches were imports from Italy, Krämer was aware of the problem that, *pace* Stead (1984a, 60), there are no satisfactory antecedents or large numbers of precious metal brooches of later Iron Age known in Italy (Krämer 1971, 128-9). Krämer suggested that this apparent absence might be explicable through lack of research.

Each of these propositions may be questioned. In the first instance with the exception of coins, objects of silver are rare in later Iron Age Europe. This may be explained most simply by the suggestion that such objects were not selected for deliberate deposition in burials, hoards or sanctuaries or that the brooches were only made when silver from Roman coins became more widely available late in the Iron Age. Given this rarity it is curious that most of the British finds come from south-eastern England and the Channel Isles and that the only directly comparable continental European find is an unprovenanced brooch in Amiens museum which was probably found in that area (Dilly 1978b, 157, Pl 1). These finds appear to form a coherent regional group and indeed Collis (1975a, 61, 65, Fig 23, 1; 1984a, 53, Fig 5-4a) suggests that these brooches may be distinguished as an individual type, the 'Le Câtillon' type.

There is now a substantial body of evidence available for the later Iron Age in northern Italy (eg Agostinetti 1972; Graue 1974; Crivelli 1971; 1977; de Marinis 1977; Tizzoni 1981; 1985; Vannacci-Lunzi 1984; 1985, etc). While silver brooches occur occasionally in the Ornavasso cemeteries, they are virtually absent elsewhere. The Almgren 65 itself is absent from the series

of late Republican camps at Numantia and at Cáceres el Viejo (Ulbert 1985) and while the Almgren 65 has long been held to have an Italian origin, its recorded distribution is apparently concentrated primarily in central and eastern Europe and the Alpine region, and there appears to be a half-finished example from Stradonice (Břeň 1964, 253-4; Pič 1906, Pl IV, 20; Lunz 1981, 270-1, Taf 122-3), and not in northern Italy. On the subject of chains, as Menghin (1937) admitted, the manufacture of them is quite simple, which helps to explain why they are so widely distributed in the Graeco-Roman world. In view of the ability of Celtic craftspersons (eg Fischer 1983b), it may be doubted if the adoption of wearing pairs of brooches linked by chains necessarily implies the adoption of Mediterranean imports or necessarily even dress style(s) (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 203-4).

The suggestion that the British silver brooches, or any others in temperate Europe, are necessarily imports from Italy may be challenged. The British and single French find appear to constitute a coherent 'Gallo-Belgic' group of the Almgren 65. As we have suggested the description Almgren 65 is not particularly helpful. Almgren (1923, Taf IV, 65) illustrated only one example and the same form with an elaborate bridge was typed as 66. There are many varieties, Ettlinger distinguished three amongst the Swiss finds (1973, 48-54). In considering the Basel finds, which include an unfinished piece, Furger-Gunti has further identified them as a regional sub-grouping (1979a, 55-6 128-9; 1979b), the '*Variante Basel*' and Břeň (1975, 13) distinguishes a similar local group in the Czechoslovakian finds. It seems possible that the 'Gallo-Belgic' group is comparable to these regional groupings.

The difficulty in using the description Almgren 65 is illustrated clearly by comparing the brooches from Aylesford burials discussed by Stead (1976a). Stead took all the brooches with knobs on the bow as one type but it is possible to distinguish three sub-groups solely on the basis of the spring and the shape of the head and further sub-divisions could probably be made using the bow and feet if these were better preserved (*ibid*, 409-10). As Stead points out, although this has been almost universally misunderstood subsequently, only one sub-group in the British finds (the third) answers properly to the Almgren 65, the others are typologically if not chronologically, earlier. Because of the elaborate mouldings on their bows it may be suggested that the Le Câtillon, Faversham and Folkestone 1 and 'Dorset' silver brooches date to the second half of the first century BC. The Great Chesterford and Folkestone 2 brooches are less complicated and perhaps typologically and also chronologically earlier (*cp* Mackreth 1987, 146-7; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 203).

13.1.4 SILVER BROOCH OF LATER LA TÈNE TYPE

There is a very fine late La Tène brooch with an elaborate open work foot, now in the British Museum, which is almost certainly of continental European manufacture, possibly Italian (Ettlinger 1973, 51, Taf 24, 2; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 200-1). However, as Stead (1984a, 59) has pointed out the provenance 'possibly from the Thames' is likely to be no more than a guess and he is probably correct to follow Ettlinger in rejecting it as a British find.

13.1.5 BROOCHES WITH COLLARS ON THE BOW

There are two principal variants which concern us here, the *Kragenfibel* (collared brooch) and the 'Disc Brooch'.

(1) *Kragenfibeln*

These brooches are characterised by a lozenge-shaped plate on the bow above the collar. The collar takes the form of a semi-circular to circular disc of varying size.

The type is apparently present at *Alesia* (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 314) and certainly in contexts antedating 30 BC at the Titelberg (Thomas *et al* 1976, 253-4, Fig 6, t; Rowlett *et al* 1982, 304) Feugère (1985, 246, n 105) cites an example from Thillay, la Vielle Baune (Val d'Oise) as dating to between c 70-40 BC but the brooch is not from a stratified Iron Age context and the dating is that of the excavators for his '*La Tène finale*' (Guadagnin 1974-75, 45, Ph 7).

The internal sequence of the type has never been studied fully but it seems that earlier examples are smaller than the ones found in later Augustan contexts. Many of these latter finds are quite large (eg Furger-Gunti 1979a, 56; Gechter 1979, 84, Abb 34, 2). Finds from Augustan military sites are quite rare (Gechter 1979, Tab 11) but a number of settlement finds could be of this date (Ettlinger 1973, 29; Feugère 1985, 246-7). However, finds from Tiberian contexts are infrequent and it seems likely that the type has largely passed out of fashion by the 30s AD. Only one example is known from Britain, from Colchester in the Joslin Collection (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 313-14, no 67, Pl XCIII, 67 (Type IX)). Citing a number of pieces from Claudian contexts in the Rhineland

Hawkes and Hull suggested that the Colchester piece could be a Claudian introduction but these remain isolated later finds and the Colchester piece is regarded here as probably being a pre-conquest introduction.

The type is particularly common in burials in the Hünserück-Eifel and the Pfalz (Koethe and Kimmig 1937, Abb 11) but also occurs in north-east France although it is less frequent in burials, and in the adjoining regions (Feugère 1977, Fig 5; 1985, 245). In only one case is a *Kragenfibel* stamped (Behrens 1950, 5, Abb 5).

(ii) Disc Brooches

This type is often not distinguished from either *Kragenfibeln* or full 'Rosette' types (Feugère 1985, 270) (eg Fleury 1986, 36-7), however, they do need to be considered separately (eg Hawkes and Hull 1947, Type VIII, 313, Pl XCII, 65-6; Feugère 1985, Type 15 'fibules à disque médian', 267-70).

The brooch has a small separate disc threaded on the bow and the footplate may be open or perforated. The earliest brooches from excavated contexts appear to be two from Tournus, Les Sept-Fontaines dated to between 45-30 BC (Feugère 1985, 269, n 174, correcting the identification in Feugère 1978, 32) but most of the finds from excavations in continental Europe appear to date to the penultimate decade BC or marginally later (Dangstetten 1970-71, 217, Abb 9, 2; 1986, 190, Abb 520, 4; Goeblingen-Nospelt A, Thill 1967b, 94, Taf II, 2; the Titelberg, Thill 1969b, 144, nos 51-6, Abb 5, 51-6; Metzler 1977, 58-63; Mt Beuvray, Feugère 1985, 268). However, as the typologically later 'early Rosette' forms are found in later Augustan sites (Ch 13.2.2), it seems

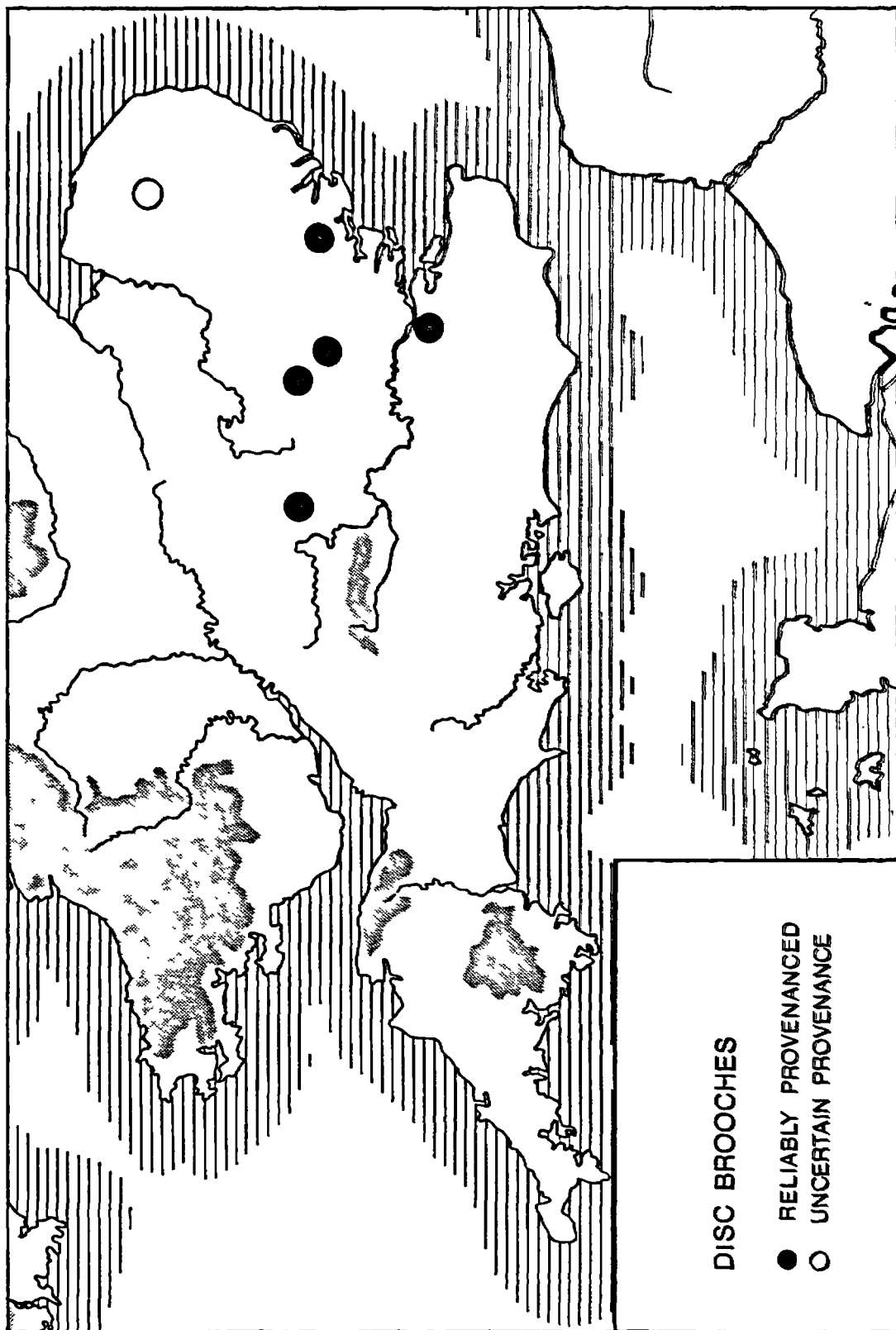


FIG 34: DISTRIBUTION OF DISC BROOCHES IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

likely that the finds of disc brooches cited above may be amongst the latest of the type and that there is a rarity of stratified finds from contexts dating between c 50-20 BC.

The type is particularly frequent in the Centre but rare in Germany and Switzerland (Feugère 1985, 268-9) and this may be due to the largely contemporary *Kragenfibeln* in these areas.

It seems probable that the British finds (Fig 34, App 32) date to the later part of the type's life.

13.1.6 'CRICVRV' BROOCHES

In a paper published in 1972 Allen discussed the representation of brooches on Gallo-Belgic gold coins inscribed CRICVRV (Allen 1972; Scheers 1977a, Series 27, pp 374-85, Pl VII, 184-90; Vauville 1912, 306, Fig 3, 13; 4).

Allen pointed out that the brooches represented on coins appeared to be *Kragenfibeln* and argued their occurrence on coins probably dating to the Caesarian period was two or three decades earlier than the dating usually ascribed to excavated examples. In fact the brooches represented on the coins could be either *Kragenfibeln* or Disc brooches and in view of the rather unsatisfactory evidence for their distribution, it is more likely to be a Disc brooch which is represented (cf Collis 1975a, 61, no 16 who incorrectly calls the brooch a *Kragenfibel* as Fleury appears to also (1986, 36-7). Equally, in view of the dating outlined for the two types of brooches above the apparent difficulty raised by Allen is less marked, the 'problem' essentially being one of an inadequately defined archaeological typology. Even so it is perhaps worth noting what is perhaps the most elegant solution to the 'problem' of the apparent discrepancy in dates, which was essayed by

Rieckhoff (1972, 78-9). Rieckhoff drew attention to both the similarity of the Disc brooch (her '*frühe Distelfibel*') to a gold brooch possibly from Ravenna and an unprovenanced silver one (Krämer 1971, 131, Taf 8-9) and Krämer's comments that brooches of precious metal were worn by Caesarian military tribunes. Rieckhoff suggested that such brooches might be appropriate gifts from Roman authorities to friendly nobles (1972, 79). Such a direct introduction might, perhaps, explain the difficulty in finding typological antecedents for the Disc brooch and *Kragenfibeln* in Gaul and perhaps also why which one of the brooches was selected to be illustrated on the coins, not only as Allen (1972, 130) suggested, as 'high fashion' but also as a symbol of authority and Nash's observation that the inscription CRICVRV recalls the name of Q. Cicero quatered in Belgic Gaul in 54-3 BC (1987a, 116) may well be directly relevant here.

There is a fragmentary brooch from the Aylesford Y burial (Tankard burial) (Stead 1976a, 402, 410, Fig 4, 1). On the basis of the internal chord and four coil spring Stead suggests that the brooch is typologically earlier than the Disc brooch. However, the brooch seems to be more closely related to the *Geschweiftfibel* or 'arched brooch', particularly in its thin bow. Collis (1975a, 59) suggests that the *Geschweiftfibel* is typologically earlier than the Disc brooch, but the type is often dated to the second half of the first century BC (Rieckhoff-Pauli 1983, 100-2, Anm 125, 134). As Collis suggests the *Geschweiftfibel* is principally a northern type, but it does occur in Switzerland (Furger-Gunti 1979a, Abb 36, 12-13). In this case it seems possible that typologically early features are not necessarily chronologically early. A related type was manufactured at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord

1982, 224, Ph 29; *ibid* 1984, 30, Fig 5) although this has a six-coil spring with external chord and the collar on the bow is surrounded by mouldings. It may be to these types, the *fibule à collarete* or *Geschweifftfibel*, that the Aylesford find is related rather than to the Disc fibulae and this would be commensurate with its association with two Almgren 65 brooches (Stead 1976a, 402). The brooch from Braughing-Skeleton Green classified by Mackreth as a rosette type (1981, 133, no 12, Fig 70, 38) may also belong to this family.

Commentary

Stead (1976a, 411) has drawn attention to the similarities of some south-eastern British brooches to northern French finds but this is no more than general similarity. However, regional variety with for example 'filiform' brooches instead of Nauheims in northern France may be likely. Certainly such differences are not necessarily chronological in origin (*pace* Fleury 1986, 37-40) and the differences between Britain and France may well represent related but distinct variations on a theme. It is also difficult to identify many imported brooches of later Iron Age type. The movement of some is probably implied by the Nauheim and Almgren 65 species finds, whether they are imports of British versions of widely distributed types. The majority of imported brooches in later Iron Age Britain are, however, of Roman type.

13.2 BROOCHES OF ROMAN TYPE

13.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Some eight or nine types of Roman brooches have been found in Iron Age contexts and are regarded by Mackreth (1981; 1982, 312-13) as imports although he does not consider the possibility that Roman types could have been made in Iron Age Britain and there is no *a priori* reason why this should not have been the case. Metallurgical analyses are of little help as these indicate that brooches of the first half of the first century AD are made of brass while later ones are made of leaded bronze but this distinction carries across brooches of British types such as the Colchester and Roman types as well and seems to be of chronological rather than geographical significance (Bayley and Butcher 1981). It should be noted that Northover has suggested that there is no reason why brass should not have been made in Iron Age Britain (1984, 134-5, 143).

If, as is perhaps most likely, the brooches are imports, it is very difficult to decide from where. The organisation of brooch manufacture remains enigmatic (Mackreth 1973, 14-16) but on the limited evidence of unfinished brooches it is likely to have been widely distributed rather than centralised. While some regional variants can be distinguished, brooch types are generally uniform and widespread and there are no obvious clues as to where most brooches come from. The Roman brooches found in Iron Age Britain mainly belong to well known types and there is little immediate prospect of identifying from where they came. This is exacerbated by the uneven state of research on Roman brooches which again follows the pattern observed earlier (Ch 1.3; 6.3-4). Outside of

Nijmegen (van Buchem 1941) and a few Rhineland sites early Roman brooches are rare and they are equally uncommon in most of Belgium apart from some early burials in the south-east (Roosens 1954; Nöel, 1968) which belong to the Moselle group. Late Iron Age and early Roman burials (with brooches) from this region are very well documented (eg Hawkes and Hull 1947, 308-28; Koethe and Kimmig 1937, Abb 8-9; Haffner 1971; 1974a; 1974b; 1978; Thill 1969a, 1970) as are finds from the Titelberg and Dalheim but finds from settlements in northern France are rare. There are finds from burials (Flouest and Stead 1979, 47, Fig 29; Bry 1937, 9, Pl II-III; Bry and Fromols 1938, Pl III; *Bull Mus Rethel Porcien* 6, 1936, 33-5; Roualet 1978, 30-2, Fig 1) but most new finds come instead from temple sites which are not yet published. Publications of collections are still comparatively rare (eg Dilly 1978b; Dollfuss 1975). The situation in central and southern France is now very good with studies by Feugère (eg 1978) and the recent publication of a revised version of his doctoral thesis (1985). By contrast finds from military sites are generally well published (Furger-Gunti 1979a, 57-62; Fingerlin 1970-71, 217, Abb 8-9; 1986; Schönberger and Simon 1976, 53-4; Rieckhoff 1972; Gechter 1979) and there is an important study of brooches from the Claudian foundation of Hüfingen in Baden-Württemberg (Rieckhoff 1975). Switzerland and the Alpine area is particularly well served by a number of monographs (Lerat 1956; 1957; Ettliger 1973; Riha 1979) and because of this there is a disproportionate chance of finding parallels in this region. Consequently while the date of the British brooches is reasonably well defined, principally mid-Augustan-Tiberian, precisely where they come from is uncertain as nearly all of them belong to types which are widely distributed in western Europe.

The imports compliment a small range of British later Iron Age types most notably the Colchester (itself of continental derivation: Hawkes and Hull 1947, 308-9; Mackreth 1981, 132), the so-called 'Nauheim Derivative' (Raftery 1984, Map 13; Simpson 1979, 332-5), some penannular brooches (Fowler 1960), strip brooches and a variety of iron ones.

In isolated burials in south-east England, Colchester or iron types are the brooches selected most frequently for inclusion in burials but this is in contrast to the rather limited evidence from large-scale cemetery excavations. Mackreth (1982, 312) suggests that both 'Langton Down and Rosette forms ... were imported in quantity' before the conquest and that at the St Albans - King Harry Lane cemetery about two thirds of the brooches are imported (1981, 131). There are 222 brooches from the cemetery with Colchester, Langton Down and Rosette types being the dominant forms, accordingly c 150 examples are held to be imports. This large number must raise the question as to whether the brooches were made in continental Europe or Britain? There are few later Iron Age settlement sites in Britain with large numbers of brooches. At Braughing - Skeleton Green nine of the 22 brooches stratified in Iron Age contexts were probably imports (c 41%) and at Colchester - Sheepen six of the thirteen (and possibly seven of fourteen) brooches found in Iron Age contexts were imports (c 46% (50%)), suggesting virtually a 1:1 ratio of indigenous to imported brooches in south-east England. Probable imports also occur at the nucleated sites of Canterbury, Chichester and Silchester and similar situations may pertain in full publication of recent excavations (cf Fulford 1985a, 18-21).

The significance of the Roman type brooches is uncertain. Brooches may be worn in a variety of positions in clothing and on the body (Alexander 1973) but only one possible import has been found with an inhumation burial (Litton Cheney; Langton Down; App 34.3, 1). However, there is no reason to associate the adoption of Roman brooches with Roman dress as the only brooch required in most Roman clothing was to fasten the cloak worn by the army. Roman brooches generally seem to have been employed in the same way as brooches of later Iron Age type (Wild 1985 and pers comm) so their importation and presumably wearing reflects taste or style and possibly status although the brooches do not occur in particularly well furnished burials.

13.2.2 'ROSETTE' BROOCHES

The Rosette may be divided into numerous sub-types (eg Dollfuss 1973, Classes A-G; Feugère 1985, Types 16-20). Here a distinction will only be made between an 'early Rosette' and a 'Developed Rosette', this corresponds to Feugère's types 16 and 19.

(1) Early Rosette

These develop from the Disc Brooch and are of similar size, however, the Disc is much larger, the bow is broader and the spring is protected by a headpiece. Feugère divides the type into two categories: 16a has a circular plate, 16b has a rhomboidal plate. Feugère further subdivides 16a; 16a1 has the disc threaded onto the bow but 16a2 is cast in one piece (1985, 270).

The early Rosette appears by the last decade BC and there are finds from Basel-Münsterhügel (Furger-Gunti 1979a, 62, Abb 37,

10), Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1970-71, 217, Abb 9, 2) and Haltern (Loeschke 1909, 337, no 6, Taf XXIV, 3) and Feugère (1985, 273) firmly dates both categories to the later Augustan period and suggests that 16a might be marginally earlier. As the Rosette develops from the disc brooch this is probably the case unless there is a relationship between 16b and the *Kragenfibel*. They occur in relatively large numbers at Augst (Riha 1979, 101-5, Taf 20-1) whereas Disc brooches do not, which also suggests an Augustan date. Both 16a1 and 16a2 are widely distributed in Gaul and the type appears to be purely Gaulish (Feugère 1985, 270-3, Figs 27-8). They are not uncommon in Britain (Fig 35; App 33.1) but some could well be either post-conquest introductions, or less probably of post-conquest manufacture.

(ii) Developed Rosette

The Developed Rosette is noticeably larger than the Early Rosette. Instead of the simple mouldings of earlier version there is an elaborate rosette cut in openwork and then pressed into relief. The Rosette may be circular or rhomboidal and there are finds decorated with animals, probably Lions, in relief.

The earliest finds are late Augustan (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 315) but most are Tiberian or later, continuing to the Flavian period. Feugère states that the type is present at Mt Beuvray and Haltern (1985, 291) citing Hawkes and Hull (1947, 314) but their comments refer to their Type X, Class A which corresponds to Feugère's Type 16, not his Type 19. There are Tiberian finds from the Rhineland (*ibid* 315; Ettliger 1973, 82, Type 24). Feugère suggests that the type is essentially Claudio-Neronian (1985, 291) but this creates an unusual gap between the dating of it and its

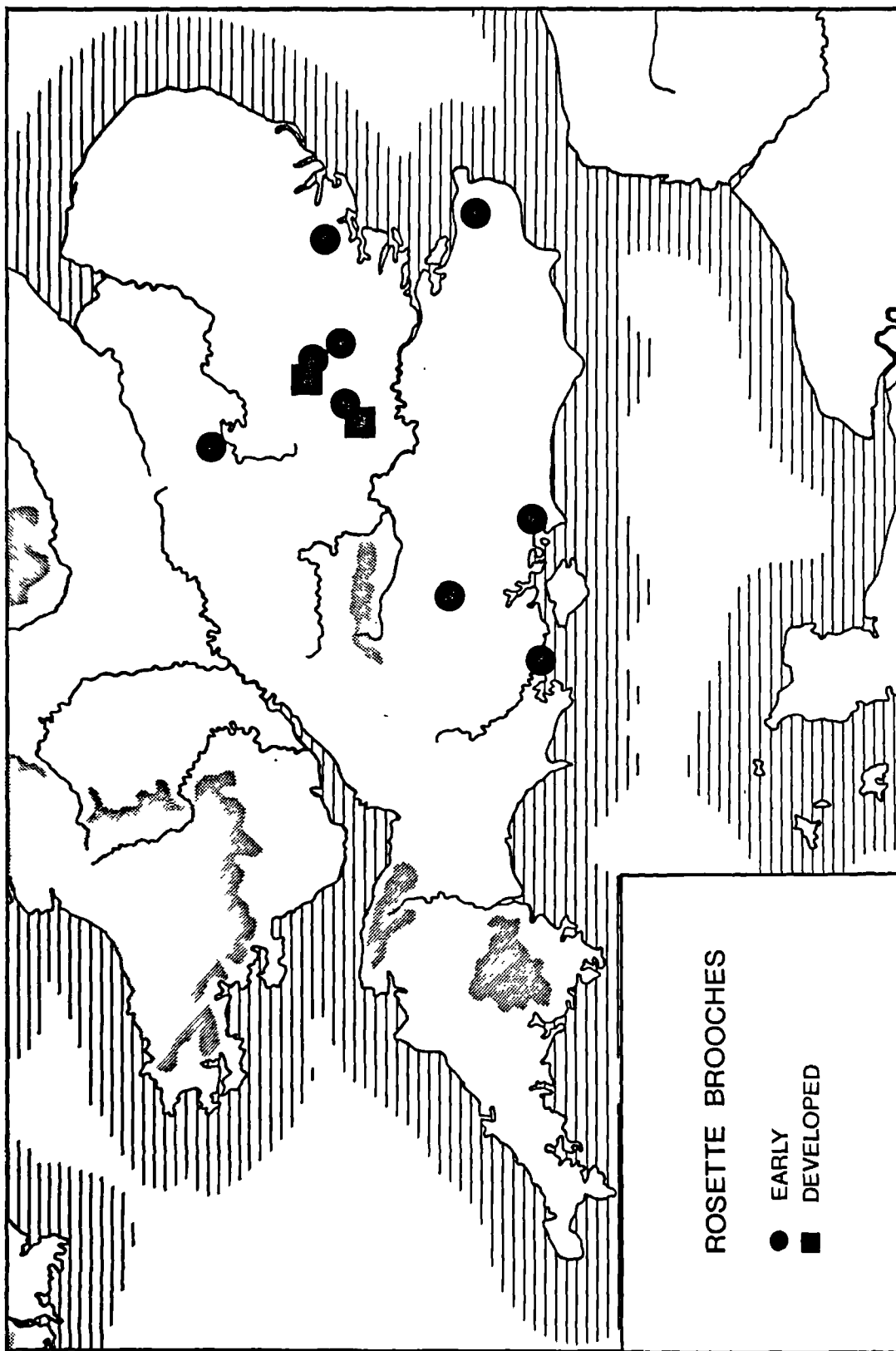


FIG 35: DISTRIBUTION OF ROSETTE BROOCHES IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

predecessor the Early Rosette and Feugère's dating is probably due to the rarity of clear, excavated, Tiberian contexts.

The type is widely distributed throughout Gaul and was certainly manufactured at Mt Beuvray at least (Feugère 1985, 289). In Normandy it is found frequently in female graves (Dollfuss 1973, 96-7) but there is no evidence to suggest that it was generally a piece of female dress. In considering British finds Mackreth has been very cautious, declining to make any division within the class (from Disc brooch to Developed Rosette) and only commenting that the elaborate later types, ie Developed Rosettes, occur before the Claudian conquest (Mackreth 1981, 133; *idem* 1982, 312-13). With the possible exception of four from a possibly pre-Conquest burial in Colchester (Hull 1942), at present Developed rosettes are known only from Iron Age contexts in the St Albans - King Harry Lane Cemetery (Stead 1969, Fig 4, 4; Mackreth 1982, 312-13). At least seven different makers' stamps are known (Behrens 1950, 5-6, Abb 6-10) but none occur on the few British finds (Fig 35, App 33.2).

13.2.3 LANGTON DOWN BROOCHES

Wheeler suggested that the type developed in *Gallia Comata* in the second half of the first century BC (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, 71-4, Fig 10) but the earliest examples at Dangstetten, Zürich-Lindenhof, Haltern and Mt Beuvray (Graue 1974, 56; Hawkes and Hull 1947, 317; Fingerlin 1986, 199, Abb 544-11, ?360, 2; Taf 13, 544-11) date to the last two decades BC causing Ettliger (1973, 78-9) to doubt if the type is as early as Wheeler suggested (cf Riha 1979, 98). Feugère (1985, 267) also dates its appearance to c 20-10 BC.

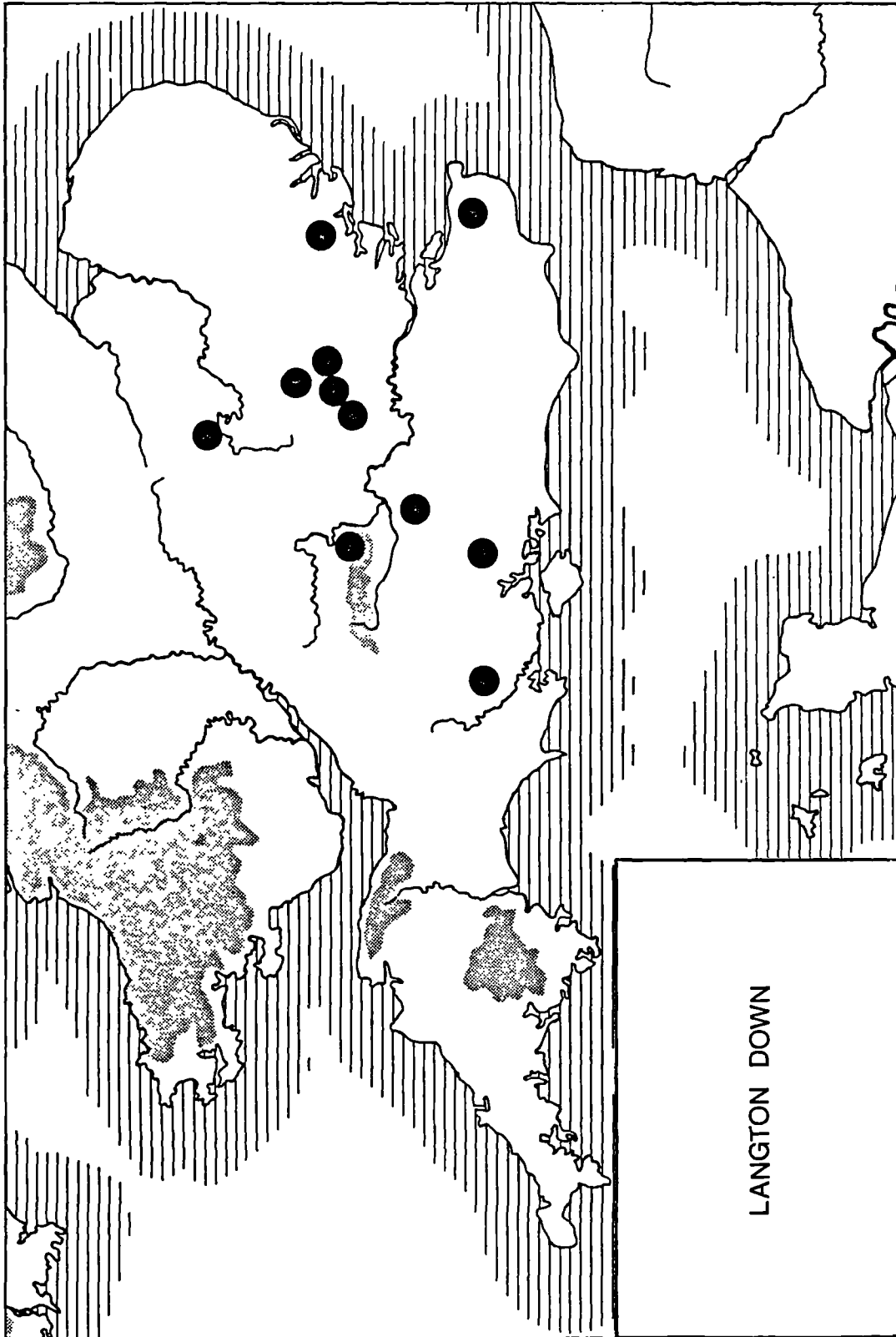


FIG 36: DISTRIBUTION OF LANGTON DOWN BROOCHES IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

The type is widely distributed and a number of variants have been distinguished but as the type continues into the Flavian period, it is not clear if these variants are of geographical or chronological significance (Mackreth 1981, 134; 1987, 150). Because of this uncertainty, some of the finds included in Appendix 34 (Fig 36) could be of early Roman date.

13.2.4 AUCISSA AND HOD HILL BROOCHES

The Aucissa is named after a stamp on the head of the bow, usually taken to be a maker's stamp. At least nineteen other names occur but these are less frequent (Behrens 1950, 6-8, Abb 11-12; Marović 1961; Lambot 1983a; Feugère 1985, 321) and occasionally there are also small leaf stamps (eg App 35, 3 from Canterbury; Fig 37).

The Aucissa has long been considered to have an Italian origin (Feugère 1985, 321, Fig 46) but there is little doubt that the type developed fully in Gaul (Ettlinger 1973, 93-4) perhaps through the 'Alésia type' (Duval 1974). Again the earliest finds are from Mt Beauvray, Dangstetten, Oberaden, Rödgen and Haltern (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 321-2; Mackreth 1973, 24-6; 1981, 135; Schönberger and Simon 1976, 53-4, 124, Taf 6, 48-52). At Dangstetten the type comprises 60% of the brooches published to date (Fingerlin 1986), but the type continues into the Neronian period (Feugère 1985, Type 22, 312-31).

The Hod Hill develops from the Aucissa during the first half of the first century AD, possibly towards the middle of the century (Simpson 1979, 323) and only one or two may be imports into Iron Age Britain, the floruit being in the Claudian-Neronian period (Rieckhoff 1975, 51-7).

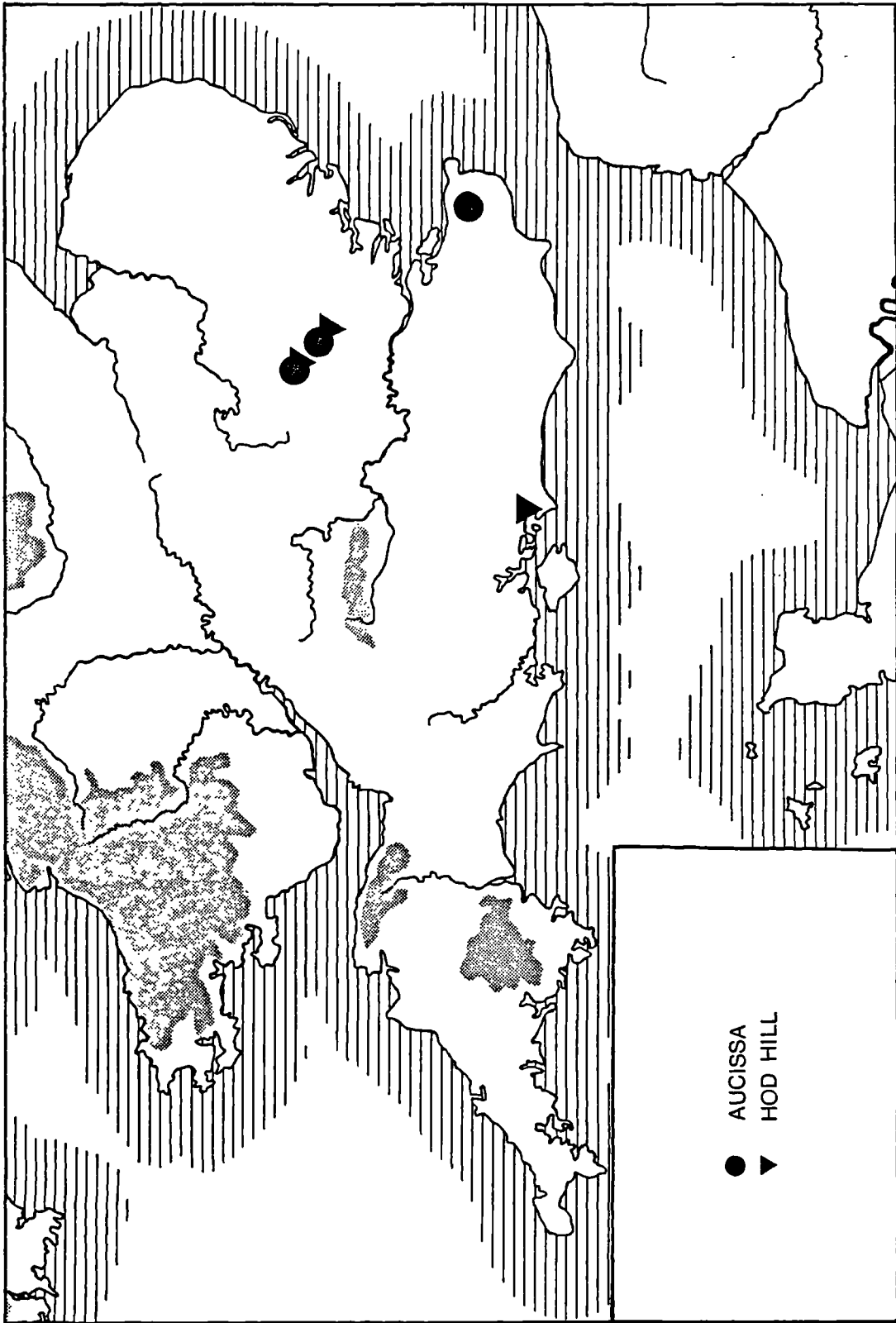


FIG 37: DISTRIBUTION OF AUCISSA AND HOD HILL BROOCHES IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Mackreth's opinion has varied (eg 1974, 143; 1981, 135; 1987, 150) but a small number of both types appear to have been found in Iron Age Britain (Fig 37, App 36).

13.2.5 DECORATED PLATE BROOCHES

An elaborately decorated brooch with repousse plate figures of a warrior and opposed birds was found at St Albans - King Harry Lane (Stead 1967b, 290, Fig 1; 1969, 49, n. 6, Pl VII, b; Collis 1984a, 147, Fig 9-7, c), apparently in an Iron Age context. There is a very similar, brooch from the Magdalensberg (Egger 1952, 154, Abb 41) where the decoration is reversed which will not be later than early Claudian. The decoration on the bow of the two brooches appears to be identical although that on the head plate of the Magdalensberg find has not survived. There is a related brooch from Braughing-Skeleton Green which is from a late Tiberian, possibly early Claudian, group (Partridge 1981, 134, no 14, Fig 71, 48).

These brooches are related to Feugère's Type 20c, a variant of the rosette, which has a variety of scenes which usually involve gladiators and sometimes have name stamps such as ANGVIL or DARIB (1985, 295-7, Fig 37). Brooches of related type come from a number of early Roman sites in Britain, including Bagendon, (Partridge 1981, 134; Frere 1982, 177, no 5, Fig 26, 5, Pl XIII A) and it is possible the latter was an Iron Age import.

13.2.6 PLATE BROOCHES

Only one plate brooch certainly comes from an Iron Age context. It is a 'bow-tie' shaped example with a chequer-board-like ?green

enamel inlay from Braughing-Skeleton Green (Mackreth 1981, 135, no 17, Fig 72, 59).

Mackreth was able to cite only two parallels for the form, from Augst and *Vindonissa* and another two plate brooches for the style of inlay, from Baden and *Vindonissa* (Ettliger 1973, Type 43; Riha 1979, 198-9, Type 7.22). As these finds are from central northern Switzerland and Mackreth suggests that they may be products of the same workshop and Partridge (1981, Fig 137) hints that the Skeleton Green find was imported from Switzerland. This is possible but it should be remembered that the surrounding areas are less well served by modern publication (Ch 13.2.1). In fact there are other parallels for the form in central and northern Gaul and the Rhineland. There are finds from *Alesia*, Vienne, the Titelberg and *Asciburgium* (all cited by Riha 1979, 199) and also from Metz (Watson 1986, 93, Fig 16) and the Ardennes (Lambot 1983b, nos 49-50). The Metz find is from a context dated to the second half of the first century AD while the other finds are not from dated context although *Alesia*, Vienne, Titelberg and *Asciburgium* were all occupied in the later Augustan-Tiberian period, the probable date of the Skeleton Green find.

Simpson has suggested that a circular plate brooch with four arms and six projections from Lockleys Villa is an Iron Age import (Simpson 1979, 331, Pl LVIII, 30). Simpson, following Hull, discusses a number of other plate brooches taken to be from the same factory. A number of these are from Britain and all are from post-conquest contexts. Feugère also dates the type (his type 24c) in southern France in the Claudio-Neronian period (1985, 335-50, Fig 50) but accepts the Lockleys find as being pre-AD 43 (*ibid*, 347). However, it is quite clear from the excavation report that the brooch is from a Roman context (Ward-Perkins 1938,

334, 352-3, 367, Fig 2,2) and it is not clear why Hull and Simpson suggest that it is pre-conquest although Ward-Perkins does describe the context as 'Belgic' (*ibid*, 352-3). In view of the evidence from Britain and France there seems to be no reason to accept the Lockleys find as pre-conquest.

13.2.7 COLCHESTER TYPE BROOCHES

The Colchester is the commonest brooch in later Iron Age Britain. The general type is widespread in western Europe and seems to be Gaulish in origin (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 309-10, Type.III). Some imported brooches must have arrived in Britain to inspire the insular series. A few examples have features which suggest continental origin or influence (eg Braughing - Skeleton Green, Mackreth 1981, 132, no 2, Fig 68, 13) but almost all are undoubtedly British.

There are three possible imports. One is from Colchester - Sheepen which Hawkes and Hull originally classified as a variant of the Dolphin brooch to distinguish it from the Colchester (1947, 312, no 52, Pl XCII, 52, Type VIA). The brooch has a hinged pin and the parallels cited by Hawkes and Hull are both from the Rhineland. Of the other brooches one is from Braughing-Gatesbury Track (Mackreth 1979a, 102, Fig 30, 1). Mackreth compares the brooch to examples from the Titelberg (from later Augustan-Tiberian burials) but the parallels are not particularly close. The other comparanda cited by Mackreth come from Augst (Riha 1979, 65) and belong to Ettlenger's *einfach gallische Fibel* (1973, 55-8, Type 9 = *Camulodunum* Type III) for which Furger-Gunti (1979a, 61-2) prefers the more neutral appellation of Almgren 241. The other find is from Ower (Woodward 1986, 95, Fig 52, 209).

The Sheepen find is best regarded as a variant of the Almgren 241, distinguished by its hinge and the rounded rather than angular perforations in the catchplate. The Almgren 241 is widely distributed (Ettlinger 1973, Karte 6; Feugère 1985, 267) and occurs in a number of Augustan military sites (Gechter 1979, 78; Fingerlin 1986, eg 153, Abb 425-1, Taf 14, 425-1). Rieckhoff suggests that the type is pre-Caesarian in origin (1975, 40) and some occur in the *Alesia* deposits but it should be noted that the types occurrence at Pommiers does not date it *a priori* to the first half of the first century BC. However, the majority of continental European finds are of Augustan date and Ettlinger prefers this later dating which is broadly supported by the British Iron Age finds although manufacture continued into the early Romano-British period. Fleury suggests that the Almgren 241 is post-Augustan on the basis of a find from Basel-Münsterhügel (1986, 41-2) but it is impossible to accept this and it is contradicted by evidence she presents herself.

CHAPTER XIV

MISCELLANEOUS IMPORTS

This chapter considers those certain or possible imports which cannot be considered conveniently elsewhere in this thesis. Five areas are discussed (1) Raw materials, (2) Clothing ./ Textiles, (3) Querns, (4) Papyri and Metrology and (5) Plants.

14.1 RAW MATERIALS

A variety of raw materials could possibly have been imported into Iron Age Britain. As well as glass, iron and bronze, and possibly copper, may have been imported in ingot form. Amber and coral could have been imported in either unworked or worked forms, but there is no conclusive evidence for the import of either in the later Iron Age. It is suggested in Chapters 13.1.3 and 15 that gold and silver may have been imported in the form of gold and silver coin.

14.1.1 IRON INGOTS

Two rhomboidal, or double pyramid, iron bars were found, apparently together, on the Isle of Portland. There are no details of the discovery of the bars.

These bars or *Spitzbarren* (Grinsell 1958, 137, Fig 16; Tylecote 1962, 210, Fig 48a; Allen 1967, 314-18) are unique in Britain and assuming that they are not modern introductions then they are certainly ancient imports. Jacobi (1974a, 250, Anm 1121) suggests that an object from the Lesser Garth hoard may also be part of a *Spitzbarren* (Savory 1966, 36-8, Fig 3, 4) but the piece has only a tenuous similarity.

Spitzbarren are a well known and widely distributed type of ingot, over 700 being known. *Spitzbarren* first appear in Hallstatt D contexts in Central Europe (Bukowski 1983, 44) but the bulk of dated finds are later Iron Age (Jacobi 1974a, 248-50). Their production may have continued in the early Roman period. Because of this the Portland finds are likely to be of later Iron Age date and broadly contemporary with the British series of currency bars and plough-shares (Allen 1967).

There is a concentration of finds in the Pfalz, Baden-Württemberg and northern Switzerland (Jacobi 1974a, Abb 57; Bukowski 1983, Abb 10). There are a number of other types of ingot in continental Europe (Jacobi 1974a, Abb 57; Wilhelmi 1977, Abb 1-2; Schaaf 1983) which complement the distribution of *Spitzbarren* but they are relatively unimportant in comparison. There are a number of finds in north-west France and in the area of the Lausitz Culture, apparently of Hallstatt D date and finds (apparently undated) from Denmark. Bukowski (1983) suggests that the Lausitz finds are imports from southern Germany and Jacobi (1974a, 250) suggests that the north-western France products are German. Giot (1964) and Galliou (1983b, 78, Fig 3-4) consider the north-western French finds to be local products.

It is difficult to assess how meaningful the recorded distribution of *Spitzbarren* is as the majority of finds come from contexts in

which they were deposited deliberately and the general absence of *Spitzbarren* from France may be explicable by *Spitzbarren* not being selected for deliberate deposition there. Given the widespread and easy availability of iron ores in Europe, a widespread inter-regional trade in iron ingots seems unlikely and it is more probable that the north-western French finds are of local manufacture. Although analysis of ingots is limited (France-Lanord 1963; Haldane 1970; Hedges and Salter 1979; Mutz 1981; Ehrenreich 1985; 1986), it does not suggest long distance trade. The Portland finds are, then, most likely to have been made in north-west France. This is supported by Ehrenreich's metallurgical analysis of the ingots, the low trace element concentrations in which suggest that they are not of British origin (1985, 13, 97, 113, 195, 215; Salter and Ehrenreich 1984, 152) although Cleere and Crossley do not exclude a British source (1985, 97). One of the French finds, from Saint-Connan, is associated with early La Tène II pottery and a ¹⁴C date 2350 bc ±120 (Gif 167) (Galliou 1983b, 78) but the others are thought to be later (Giot 1964). The Portland finds may well be of later Iron Age date but an earlier date cannot be excluded. As Salter and Ehrenreich suggest the finds may indicate only the occasional exchange of iron across the Channel (1984, 152). The suggestion by Cleere and Crossley that certain furnace types (Cleere's A1 type) may have been introduced into south-west England during the later Iron Age from France is difficult to assess in the absence of comparable evidence from there (1985, 52-6).

14.1.2 BRONZE

In the later Bronze Age large quantities of bronze were imported, either in or as complete objects, notably Armorican axes and probably as scrap also (Northover 1982; 1984) and comprised a substantial proportion of the metal used.

The use of bronze in the Iron Age is poorly investigated but it appears that its use declined dramatically, although it is difficult to assess this because of the change in depositional practices (Fitzpatrick 1984b, Bradley 1985). Whether bronze in the Iron Age was obtained from British or continental European sources or by continued recycling of later Bronze Age material is unknown, but in view of the apparent dependency on imported metal in the later Bronze Age it seems likely that at least some bronze perhaps as scrap, and also copper, was imported to Britain in the later Iron Age. This supported by Northover's (1987) and Salter's work (1987) and Caesar's comments about bronze being imported (*BG* V, 12; cf Stead 1984a, 63). It should be noted that Northover (1984, 134-5, 143) suggests that there is no reason why brass should not have been made in Iron Age Britain and its use appears to increase sharply in the later Iron Age according to analyses of brooches (Bayley and Butcher 1981; Stead and Rigby 1968, 381-2).

14.1.3 AMBER

Although amber is a relatively frequent find in earlier Bronze Age contexts in Britain (Shennan 1982; Sheppard 1985) it is much rarer in later Bronze Age and Iron Age contexts both in Britain and continental Europe (Röttlander 1978-79).

Amber is rare in Arras 'culture' contexts and there are only two

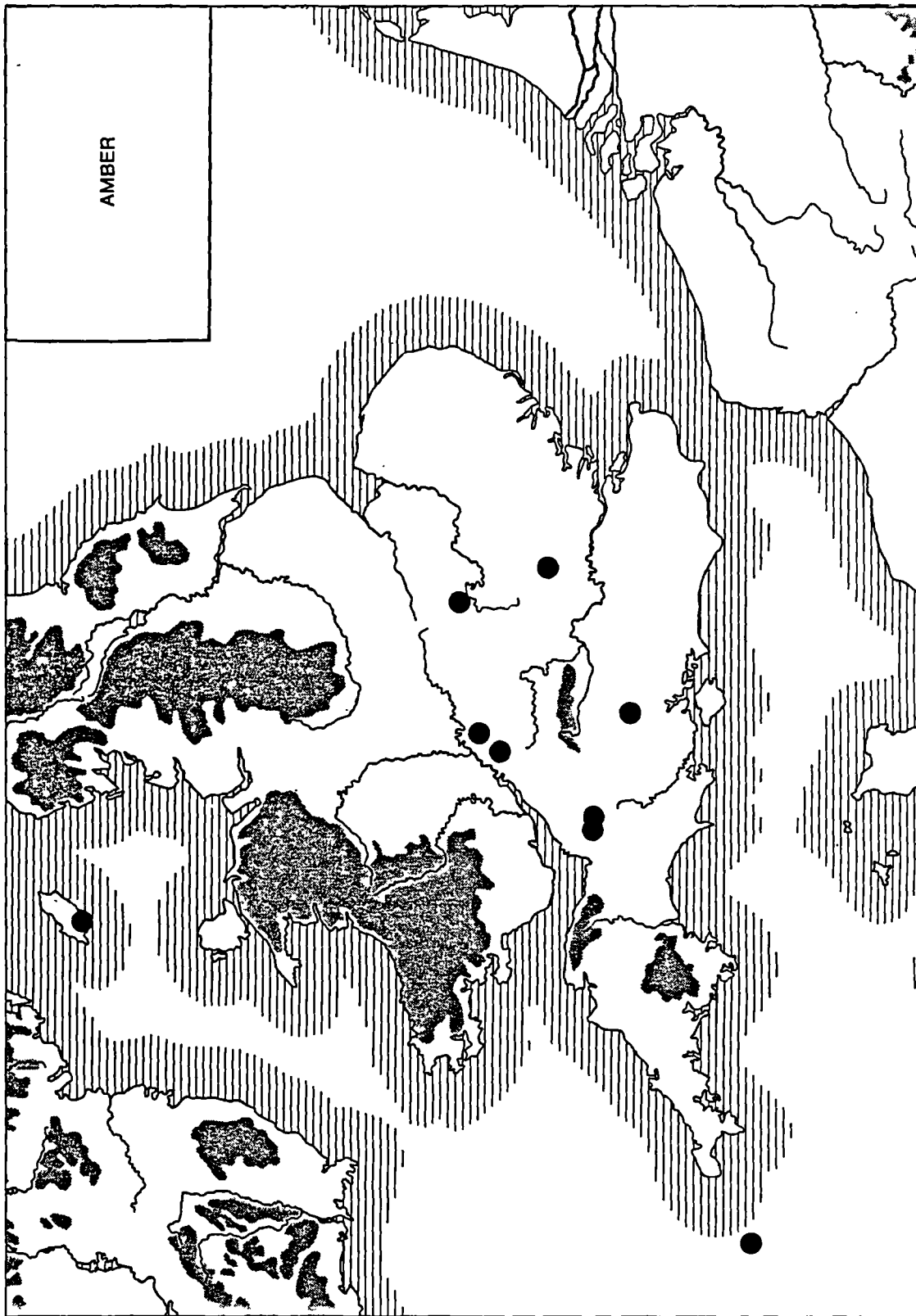


FIG 38: DISTRIBUTION OF AMBER IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN AND IRELAND

finds which could possibly be from later Iron Age contexts, from Arras and Wetwang Slack. There are finds certainly of later Iron Age date from the burials at Birdlip and Welwyn Garden City and possible finds from a number of settlements (App 37, Fig 38).

The principal amber source is the Baltic but it also occurs in western Denmark and eastern England and in isolated pockets elsewhere (Brongers and Woltering 1973, 29-34, Fig 4; Kars and Wevers 1983). The Baltic seems to have been the major source of amber in the earlier Bronze Age (Harding 1984) but the western distribution seems to have been dislocated in the mid-second millennium BC (de Navarro 1925). Amber does, however, continue to be exchanged in the later Iron Age as is evidenced by the large quantity from Staré Hradisko (Beck *et al* 1978) and it also occurs in an unworked state at Manching (Maier 1985). Amber beads are not infrequent finds on mid-late La Tène sites in continental Europe (eg Aulnat, Collis 1980, 44; Berching-Pollanten, Fischer *et al* 1984, 354) and it seems probably that the availability and use of amber during this period has been underestimated. The few British finds may have been made from amber found in Britain or from material imported from continental Europe or they may have been imported in a finished state.

Against this suggestion must be set the identification of the central bead of the Birdlip necklace as pyrophyllite, probably of Baltic origin (Gloucester Mus). If this bead is Baltic rather than British then the amber may be also.

14.1.4 CORAL (*Corallium rubrum* L.)

S.T. Champion (1976; 1985) has shown that the widespread importation of coral into temperate continental Europe declined at

the end of the early La Tène. While Stead (1979, 86-8; 1981, 37-8) had drawn attention to some finds from Yorkshire which appear to be of La Tène II date, these may be contemporary with the small number of continental European La Tène II finds and need not imply that the date of importation into Britain differs significantly from the continental European range.

Finds which may be of later date (eg Aulnat: Collis 1980, 42, Fig 1, 1-2; 1984a, 143-5; Zvoleněvsi, Okr Kladno (Czechoslovakia): Moucha 1980) are very rare and may be residual and it appears that despite the increased contact between the Mediterranean and Celtic worlds in the later Iron Age, coral did not form a part of it. For this reason the unidentified bronze object from Hengistbury Head decorated with coral from a late Iron Age/early Roman context (Cunliffe 1987a, 152, Ill 111, 39; cp Bulleid and Gray 1917, 223, Pl XLII, E1) could be residual from a Middle-Iron Age context. As Champion (1976, 36) has suggested, Pliny's comments that Mediterranean coral was being directed to India, in his time, may help to explain its apparent absence from temperate Europe in the later Iron Age. It may be relevant to note that, on the basis of as yet unpublished analyses, Krůta (1981, 37, n 107) has observed that *Cypraecassis rufa* which occurs only in the Indian Ocean, was being used as well as *Corallium rubrum* L. to decorate objects during the earlier Iron Age in temperate Europe (cf Moucha 1969, 612).

14.2 CLOTHING / TEXTILES

Only two possible types of import are considered here; clothes and/or furniture covers from the Lexden Tumulus and Bear skins

from the well-furnished Baldock and Welwyn Garden City burials. The possibility that some of the brooches imported into Iron Age Britain (Ch 13) adorned clothing cannot be proven but the possibility should be borne in mind.

14.2.1 TEXTILES

(1) Fragments of spun gold ribbon which were spun spirally round a textile core were found in the Lexden Tumulus (Foster 1986, 92-5, Pl 21; Wild 1970, 39-40, Tab H). As only the gold survives and there are apparently no traces of the textile, it is impossible to decide if the ribbon adorned wool, silk, linen, hemp or cotton.

As Wild observes, gold brocade is a relatively frequent find in Hallstatt contexts in temperate Europe, where it may have been an import, but apart from the Lexden finds it is apparently absent from Iron Age contexts of later date.

It seems probably that the gold ribbon from Lexden and probably the textile which it adorned, originated in the mediterranean world (*ibid*). In view of the range of other Roman objects included in the burial, it is possible that the ribbon belonged to a piece of Mediterranean textile or garment(s) which arrived at the same time as these other goods. The best parallel to the Lexden gold fabric is from the Great Tumulus at Vergina, possibly the burial of Philip of Macedon. Here two trapezoidal 'covers' of gold thread and purple thread combined in a tapestry weave and were discovered in a small gold *larnax* (Andronikos 1977, 66, Col Pl 1; 1984, 191-2, Pl 156-7). These 'covers' were richly decorated with floral and figural motifs worked in purple on a gold background. On discovery most of the purple thread had

decayed leaving the 'covers' represented substantially only by the gold thread. This may have been what happened at Lexden. The Vergina fabrics may be from an item of soft furnishing and this may also be the case at Lexden (J.P. Wild pers comm) possibly deriving from a Graeco-Roman couch or perhaps a folding stool (Ch 10.2.1).

(ii) The sixty-one or more small silver trefoil objects also from the Lexden Tumulus are three dimensional (Laver 1927, 251, Pl LXII, Fig 3; Foster 1986, 88-90, Fig 31, 66, Pl 18) and so were presumably meant to be seen. They are likely to have been associated with the 216 short silver bars (Foster 1986, 90, Fig 31, 67). As Laver, followed by Foster, suggests they may have adorned a piece of textile, possibly clothing. The silver grain stems (curiously not mentioned by Laver; Foster 1986, 88, Fig 31, 65; Pl 17) are also in the round and may have been associated with the other silver objects. I am unaware of any parallels but take all of these pieces to be of classical rather than Celtic origin and while they may have decorated clothing the possibility that they adorned a headdress should not be discounted (cp Quinto 1979, 118-19, a gold diadem from Benacci burial 953, fourth-third century BC).

14.2.2 BEARSKINS

A bearskin was included in both the Welwyn Garden City and Baldock 1 burials and were identified from their phalanges (Stead 1967a, 42; Stead and Rigby 1986, 53) and are presumed to be from the Brown Bear. These are the only instances of a bearskin being deposited in burials in the British later Iron Age. Bear bones

generally disappear from lowland faunal assemblages in the sub-Atlantic period and it seems likely that Brown Bears were restricted to highland areas by the later Iron Age (Matheson 1942).

Bearskins are found regularly in later iron Age and later burials in Scandinavia and the recorded distribution is biased towards that area because of this (Møhl 1977; Kühl 1984). Bearskins were, however, included in later Iron Age burials as far apart as Trišice in central Bohemia (Raddatz 1967), the Neuwied basin (Schmid 1973) and northern Germany (*idem* 1941; 1981). The skins in these burials might be either outliers of a trade in Bearskins in the later Iron Age (*cf* also Petré 1980; Ström 1980) or they could be examples killed relatively nearby.

Because of this while the Welwyn Garden City and Baldock finds were probably imported to Hertfordshire from a highland area, which one is difficult to decide. The finds are, however, notable for being the only British examples of a widespread later Iron Age burial rite. The bear mandible from Colchester-Sheepen apparently from a Roman context (Luff 1982, 65) is an equally rare find in lowland Roman Britain.

14.3 QUERNS

A fragments of 'Mayen' lava or tephrite (*cf* Kars 1980), probably from a quern, was found at the late Iron Age rural settlement at Copse Farm, Oving, Sussex (Trench B, posthole 62).

The quern was the only artefact in the posthole but all the dateable contexts in Trench B were of later Iron Age date, probably first century BC and, while not proven decisively, it

seems likely that the quern was imported during the Iron Age (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232-3, M1: 38).

Not enough of the quern survives to determine its original shape but in view of its presumptive date it will probably have been a rotary quern rather than the triangular 'Napoleon's Hat' characteristic of the earlier and middle Iron Age (Brongers and Woltering 1978, 47; Crawford and Röder 1955, 68-70, Fig 1; van Heeringen 1985; Joachim 1985) although 'Napoleon's Hat' querns do occur occasionally in later Iron Age contexts (van Heeringen 1985, 378).

The tephrite flows at Mayen near Andernach were exploited from the Neolithic but they are most famous for the trade in querns and roughouts made from them during the Roman period (Horter *et al* 1950-51; Peacock 1980, 49-50). Querns presumed, but rarely demonstrated, to be from Mayen are frequent finds in Romano-British contexts (Buckley and Major 1983, 73; McIlwain 1980; Moore 1983, 294-5). For our present purpose it is unfortunate that the lack of associated finds means that it is not possible to decide if the Oving quern was manufactured before the Roman exploitation of the Mayen tephrite. Roman use of the flows was certainly rapid and querns from this source are frequent finds in Augustan forts in northern Germany (eg Haltern, von Schnurbein 1979, Bld 38-9).

If the Oving find is identified correctly and is not from the macroscopically similar source of Volvic in the Auvergne (Röder 1953; Peacock 1980, 49), then apart from finds of tephrite from late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age contexts in Wessex (Stone 1958, 88) it is the only find of this stone from prehistoric Britain.

In the recent excavations at Belle Tout, Sussex, six fragments of Mayen tephrite, possibly all from the same quern, were found in

Trench F (Drewett 1982, 83-4). Drewett's excavations showed that the date of the earthwork is uncertain and may well not be of Iron Age date as supposed originally. While flints possibly of later Neolithic date were found in the same context as the tephrite, medieval finds were discovered elsewhere in the excavations. As tephrite querns were exported during this period too, the date of the Belle Tout find is uncertain. The fragment of lava quern from Oldbury was found in a context which Ward-Perkins thought dated to the eve of the Claudian context (1944, 166). It seems more likely, however, that the refortification is of later Roman date (Thompson 1986).

Querns made from tephrite from Mayen were distributed widely in lower Germany and the Netherlands during the Iron Age (van Heeringen 1985; Joachim 1985) but in the absence of adequate study in France and Belgium it is uncertain if they are to be found in these areas (Joachim 1985, 362, 364). It is, however, unlikely that the later Iron Age querns in Switzerland claimed to originate in Mayen (eg Crawford and Röder 1955, 76) are from there rather than from Schweigmatt in the Black Forest (Joos 1975).

In the current, uneven state of research it is uncertain whether the Oving find is part of a wide later Iron Age trade in Mayen tephrite querns beyond the Rhine valley or if it merely reached Britain as, for example, ballast (cf Cunliffe 1971, 2-3). It should be noted that there are indications for the widespread distribution of querns in Britain during the Iron Age (Buckley 1979; Brown 1984, 407, Tab 40; Hayes, Hemingway and Spratt 1980; Fasham 1985, 134; Curwen 1941; Peacock 1987, and analogous distributions are evident in the east Midlands). The distribution of Black Forest querns (Joos 1975) and querns from a number of sources in Bohemia (Waldhauser 1981) is directly comparable. The

insular British distribution is more significant for the trade in querns in Britain in the Iron Age than the single tephrite quern from Oving which comprised only 0.77% of the total stone assemblage from the site.

14.4 POPYRI AND METROLOGY

This section considers the suggestions that papyrus and also Roman metrological systems were introduced into Iron Age Britain. In neither case, however, can the suggestion be supported.

14.4.1 POPYRUS

On the basis of some striations on potin coins Wild (1966a) argued that papyrus was used in their manufacture. The similarity of the impressions to papyrus was disputed by Hodges (1966) but was reasserted by Wild (1966b). Allen upheld Wild's opinion after some casting experiments using papyrus (Allen 1971a, 129-30, Pl I-III). However, the similarity of the impressions to papyrus has always been a matter of opinion and it is difficult to see why such an elaborate method should be used involving what was presumably an exotic material. Allen (1971a, 129) describes the method as 'improbable' but does not comment on why the coins are anepigraphic if papyrus was being used. In a recent and detailed consideration of the marks on the coins van Ardsell has shown conclusively that there are four kinds of striations not just one but none of them can be shown to derive from papyrus rather than from other and more plausible methods of mould preparation (van Ardsell 1986, 217). While papyrus may have been present in later

Iron Age Britain, the striations on potin coins cannot be used to support this.

14.4.2 METROLOGY

Allen (1968a, 4-5) has drawn attention to the possible use of bronze coins of both Cunobelin and Rues in multiples of ten on the basis of a hoard of ten coins of Cunobelin at Colchester-Sheepen, the ten coins of Rues included in a burial at St Albans and the 'coin-mould' from St Albans which has fifty holes.

These multiples and also the weights of the coin seem likely to be related to a Celtic system of weighting (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 31-3; Spratling 1980b) although as bronze coins are fiduciary the weights are not necessarily relevant. Although Allen suggested that there is a relationship to Roman metrology in the British series and that the early coins of Tasciovanus were related to the weight of Roman as (Allen 1968a, 5; 1975, 6; 1976a, 274; Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 33), this requires a series of unreasonable metrological assumptions. The 'fit' is not particularly convincing (Haselgrove 1984a, 41, 57, n 47; 1987a, 124, 201) and is not on a decimal system.

Given the good evidence for weighing in the British Iron Age, for example stone weights (Champion and Champion 1981, 44), the weighing pans from Snettisham (Clarke 1954, 57, Fig 8, Pl XIII lower, A) and the standardised units represented by currency bars, it seems likelier that the weights of the British coins were related either to them or to Gallo-Belgic bronzes (Haselgrove 1987a, 197-8).

14.5 PLANTS

Nye and Jones suggest that the appearance at Hengistbury Head, albeit in an unphased context, of corn chamomile (*Anthemis arvensis*) may indicate its introduction through cross-Channel contact (1987, 324, 327), while Cunliffe (1987a, 339) suggests that this may have occurred in the first half of the first century BC. This is possible but a Romano-British or later date should not be excluded.

CHAPTER XV

COINAGE

15.1 INTRODUCTION

'Foreign' Celtic coins comprise the single largest category of evidence for cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age. These coins have been divided into three main categories here, Armorican, Gallo-Belgic and other 'Celtic' Issues, of which the first two are by far the most important although Central Gaulish issues are significant.

The chronology of the major series is discussed below but a fuller discussion of the function of the coinage is reserved for Part 5. At present it is sufficient to say that Gold coinage, which is the earliest of Celtic coinages, was not introduced nor intended primarily to facilitate trade. The extent to which silver, potin and bronze coinages facilitated trade or betoken a market economy is less certain (Allen 1976b; Haselgrove 1979; Nash 1981).

As noted in the Introduction, gazetteers of the imported coins are not scheduled in this thesis as they have been fully documented by Haselgrove (1978; 1983; 1987a).

'Exotic' and Roman coins are considered after the Celtic coins. Evidence for their introduction into later Iron Age Britain is, however, slight.

15.2 THE CHRONOLOGY OF CELTIC COINAGE

Celtic coinage ultimately derives from Greek issues and in suggesting when it was first issued there are two main schools of thought. The first suggests that the Celtic coins should be of similar date, certainly not much later, to the coins which inspired them. The second school argues that the Celtic coins are up to 150 years later than the originals and that nearly all Celtic coins, particularly Gaulish ones date from c 150 BC.

The logic of the first school is self-evident and there are a number of ways in which the Greek coins could be obtained (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a, 198-200) but Nash has argued strongly for mercenary service as the most important one (1984; 1985; 1987a), although in some ways this interpretation is as restricted as the invasion hypothesis it supersedes (*contra* Kent 1978a, 319; *cf* Haselgrove 1987a, 23-4).

The two most notable contributors to the second school have been Colbert de Beaulieu and Castelin. Colbert de Beaulieu's chronology for Gaulish coins is based on Jullian's interpretation of literary sources for Celtic Gaul as revealing an empire or hegemony in Central Gaul which was headed by the Arverni. Colbert de Beaulieu regarded this as a hegemony based on a monetary monopoly and while ceding that Belgic Gaul issued some coins at the time of the proposed Arvernian hegemony, he argues that most Gaulish communities only acquired the right to issue coins after the Roman defeat of the Arverni and Ruteni in 121 BC. Thereafter a devolution of issuing ensued, firstly with regional mints and then local mints. Colbert de Beaulieu regards precious metal coinages ceasing with the Caesarian conquest of Gaul, therefore

most Gaulish coinage is dated according to him between 121 and 52 BC.

In a very important review article Nash has challenged Colbert de Beaulieu's thesis on both numismatic evidence and theoretical considerations (Nash 1975).

Nash has demonstrated that there is no cogent evidence for a substantial, unified 'Arvernian' coinage in the third and second centuries BC. To the contrary, coinage of this date is rare in the territory thought to have been occupied by the Arverni, while Colbert de Beaulieu conflates a series of distinct coinages in presenting his 'Arvernian' coinage (the evidence is set out in Nash 1978a). Nash's criticism of the assumptions underlying the hegemony are more damaging. As she points out Colbert de Beaulieu assumes that the 'monetary monopoly' was

'created for and maintained by trade; that trade needs coin and that coin presupposes trade; and that the coinages of Central Gaul were from the start issued by politically centralised authorities under strict control.'

(Nash 1975, 205-6).

As she argues, the first two points are unwarranted on any grounds and rather than being a measure of fragmentation, the widespread issuing of coinage is more probably an index of increasing complexity. Nash concludes that the role of the 'Arvernian' hegemony in the development of Celtic coinage in Gaul is illusory (1975, 215-16).

Basing his arguments primarily on metrology, Castelin has upheld the short chronology propounded by Colbert de Beaulieu (Castelin 1978). Castelin considered three points. First, the argument put forward by Brooke (1933, 90-8) that the Philippus first reached Gaul via Rome in the second century BC. Second, the mention of a gold coinage being distributed as largesse by Luernios in the mid-second century BC (*Athenaeus* IV, 49, 246c) which offers a historical reference to Celtic (presumptively) coinage. Third, the decline in weight of Celtic coinage. The first two points do not allow a precise dating so Castelin examined the possibilities offered by metrology in greater detail. Castelin worked from the latest coins backwards. Implicitly accepting the existence of an 'Arvernian' hegemony, Castelin also argues that most coins in Gaul were issued after c 100 BC, after the collapse of the hegemony and the migrations of the Cimbri and Teutones. Although Castelin cites Nash's work, he does not comment on it. Using this framework Castelin was able to recognise the fall in weight over what he regarded as a tolerably well dated period. From this Castelin extrapolated a regular fall in weight of c 0.2g over twenty years and by making up the weight of the earliest, heaviest coins from the latest and lighter ones, arrived at a date of c 150 BC for the earliest Philippus imitations.

As Scheers has noted Castelin fails to discuss the fact that the coins imitated are approximately 150 years earlier than this (Scheers 1981, 19). Scheers restated her suggestion that the early coins of the Ambiani dated to the last half of the third and first half of the second century BC (*ibid*) and this appears to be endorsed by Nash (1984, 104). Scheers rejects the notion of the Arvernian hegemony (1981, 20) but restated that the date of the earliest coinage in Gaul is still a subjective one. Curiously

Scheers did not discuss archaeological evidence and a similar view was expressed by Castelin when he wrote '*Die grossere Schwester der Numismatik, die Archäologie, lässt uns hier leider ganz im Stich*' (Castelin 1978, 10). This is not true, nor indeed has it ever been, for archaeological evidence provides vital information about the adoption of Celtic coinage. The evidence does not come from Gaul but from central Europe but its ramifications are directly relevant to Gaulish coinage.

The fundamental work is that of Polenz who discusses Celtic coins from burials in central Europe between 300 and 50 BC (Polenz 1982). On the basis of the associated archaeological material Polenz demonstrates conclusively that Philippus imitations started as early as the second half of the third century BC and possibly even earlier in eastern Europe (1982, 128-46). Although Polenz places excessive trust in the absolute chronology of the La Tène period and the rates at which the styles of artefacts changed (*ibid*, 101-28), even so, the evidence he presents is, cumulatively, conclusive (*cf* also Furger-Gunti 1982b; Krüta 1982). Polenz is cautious as to the extent to which his finds have an inter-regional validity. However, Polenz plots the distribution of the *Doppelkopf* 1/24 stater with the early imitations of the Philippus studied by Allen (1974; Polenz 1982, 141-3, Abb 2). The *Doppelkopf* coins imitate Roman coins issued in southern Italy c 222-205 BC and one central European burial, Giengen a.d. Brenz, contains an example. The burial was probably made in the last quarter of the third century BC and indicates that the *Doppelkopf* coins were issued shortly after the coins they imitate. When plotted together the *Doppelkopf* and Philippus imitations have to all intents, mutually exclusive distributions. As central European finds of Nike and Philippus staters probably date to the

second half of the third century BC (Polenz 1982), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Swiss - eastern French finds plotted by Polenz date shortly afterwards and are contemporary with the *Doppelkopf* coins, thus vindicating Allen's arguments for an early date for them (1974, 57).

The consequences for Britain are that the 'first generation' Philippus imitations found here (Allen 1960, 99, n 6) probably date to the later third or early second century BC and Scheers' similar dates for these coins, which are also found in Britain, appear to be supported. Scheers Series 2-3 *tête barbue* and *tête imberbe* have essentially the same distribution as the later 'Ambianic' series (Fig 39) and there are two Series 4 coins in the Waltham St Lawrence hoard (Haselgrove 1987a, 269-70; J.P.C. Kent pers comm) suggesting the same pattern. Although the number of provenanced finds from Britain is small and some scepticism about their provenances is no doubt justified, the coins may well indicate the arrival of foreign gold coinages from the later [or early] [second] third century BC (cf Nash 1984, 104; 1987a, 109, 118; Haselgrove 1987a, 77). Scheers (1968, 66-72) sought to associate the early coinage of Belgic Gaul with contact with Tarentum probably to be associated with a Greek trade in British tin. As we shall see later (Ch 18), any connection with a trade in British tin seems improbable while her suggestion of coastal contact, still maintained by her (1981) seems to be substantially weakened by the evidence presented by Polenz and a trans-Alpine or Danubian route is, despite its Childean overtones, of relevance for the earliest coins found in Britain. In discussing 'the origins of coinage in Britain' Kent (1981) omits mention of these early coins: they should not be overlooked.

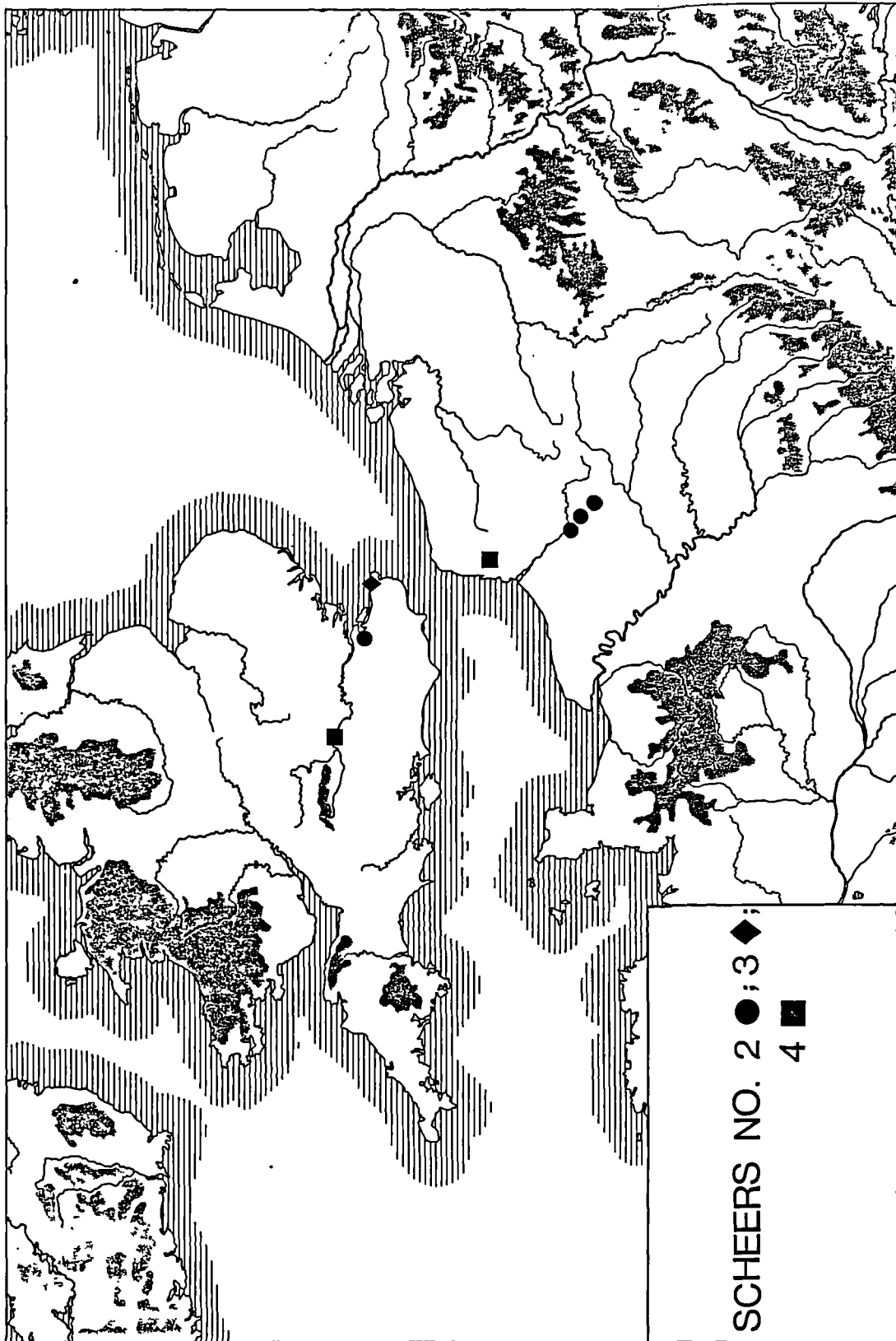


FIG 39: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC COINS SCHEERS SERIES 2-4

That said, the connections if any, between them and the bulk of the Celtic coinages found in Britain is not yet clear. It appears that the Gallo-Belgic A and B coinages are rather earlier than the Armorican gold coins found in Britain, although evidence is slight and the dating of the Armorican coins is dominated by Colbert de Beaulieu's work on them in which he consistently argues for a late date.

15.3 GALLO-BELGIC COINAGE

Gallo-Belgic A were struck on flans of a large size unheralded in the coinage of northern France and while the reverse has affinities with those of the preceding issues, the obverse is very different. Gallo-Belgic B is, with the exception of the 'defaced die', typologically close to the earlier northern French issues. Scheers has dated both types to the last half of the second century BC (1977a, 44, 52). The two types share a common weight range but Gallo-Belgic A has a number of lighter issues. As these are typologically later in Scheers' arrangement it would seem reasonable to suggest that they are later than Gallo-Belgic B and that Gallo-Belgic A was struck over a greater period. If these two types are accepted as broadly contemporary, a large gap opens between them and the possible early date for the Philippus imitations and early Gallo-Belgic issues. Clearly the issuing of the coins need not have been continuous and the developed typology of Gallo-Belgic A might be commensurate with this, but it is more difficult to reconcile this with the style of Gallo-Belgic B. As there are no independently dated finds (the Tayac hoard, often alleged to be a reflection of the Cimbri and Teutones is not

certainly associated with them (Kellner 1970)), the absolute chronology is uncertain. However, as there are no compelling grounds to follow Scheers in her general acceptance of Colbert de Beaulieu's post-121 BC chronology we are not obliged to accept her mid-second century BC date. Metrology is not a certain guide (Roymans and van der Sanden 1980, 177-8), even less so when comparing different regions but coins of comparable weight to Gallo-Belgic A and B are dated, by Polenz from the late third century BC to the mid-second century BC (1982, 137-40, Tab 3). On this evidence there do not seem to be good grounds to exclude an early second century BC date for the issue of the Gallo-Belgic A and B coins. Gallo-Belgic C occupies an intermediate position between the early 'Ambianic' coinage, Gallo-Belgic A, and the later Gallo-Belgic E, many of which are dateable to the 50s BC. Gallo-Belgic C clearly evolves from Gallo-Belgic A. They are not die linked but the styles are very similar (Scheers 1977a, 46) while Gallo-Belgic C and E are die-linked in two cases (*ibid*, 342). If continuous or episodic striking of Gallo-Belgic A, C and E took place then the coins could cover 150 years. As Scheers distinguishes 8, 5 and 7 classes within these Series respectively, this is not inconceivable, although Scheers inclines towards an early first century BC date for Gallo-Belgic C with several classes occupying one or two decades. Throughout the coins show a constant fall in weight (Castelin 1985, Tab 17) and typological development (Haselgrove 1987a, 81). The much smaller number of Armorican gold issues are broadly contemporary with these Gallo-Belgic coinages.

The most striking feature of the distribution of the Gallo-Belgic A, B, C issues (as well as D and E) is the large numbers found in Britain as well as northern France (Cunliffe 1981d, Fig 39-44; Fig

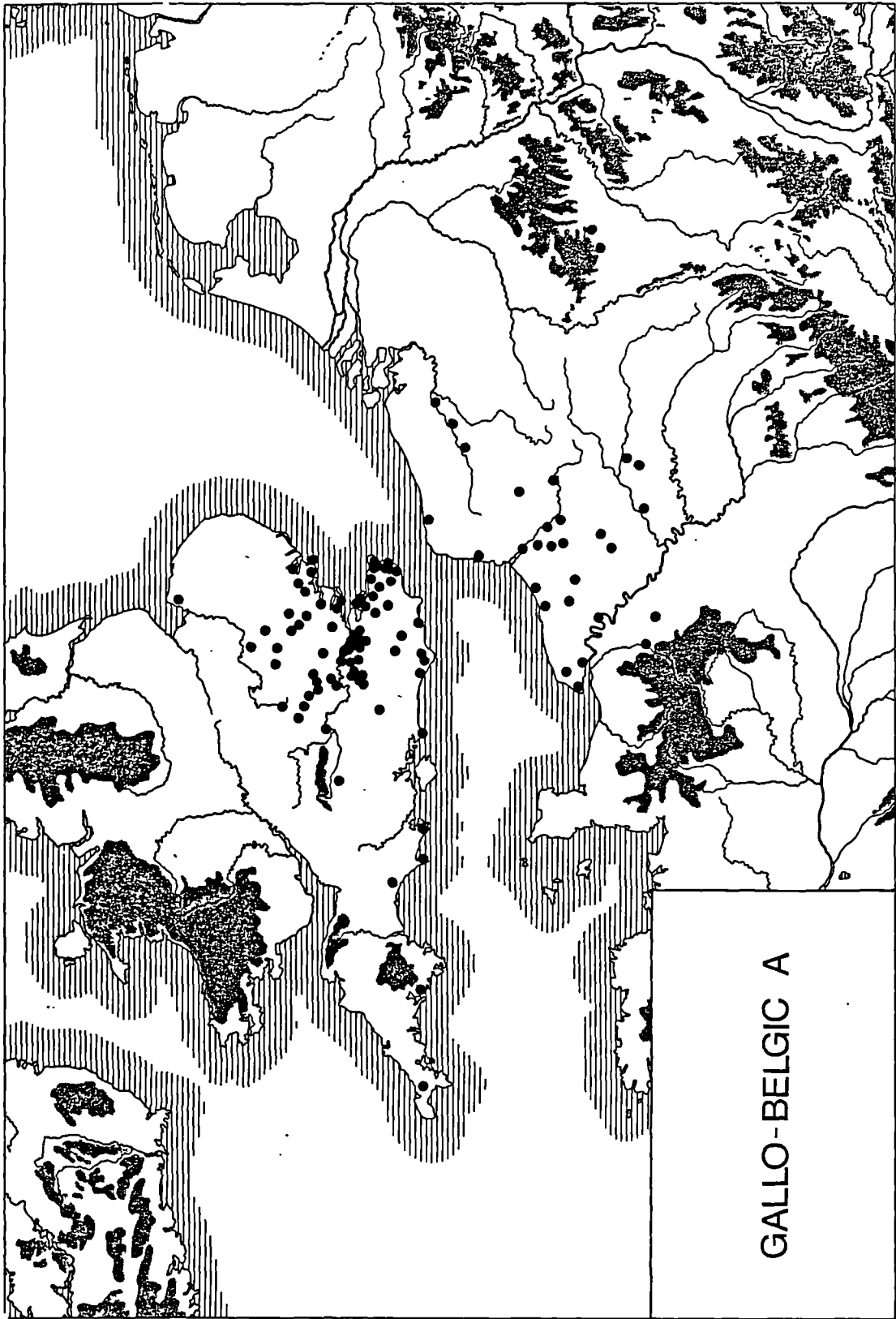


FIG 40: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC A GOLD COINS



FIG 41: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC B GOLD COINS

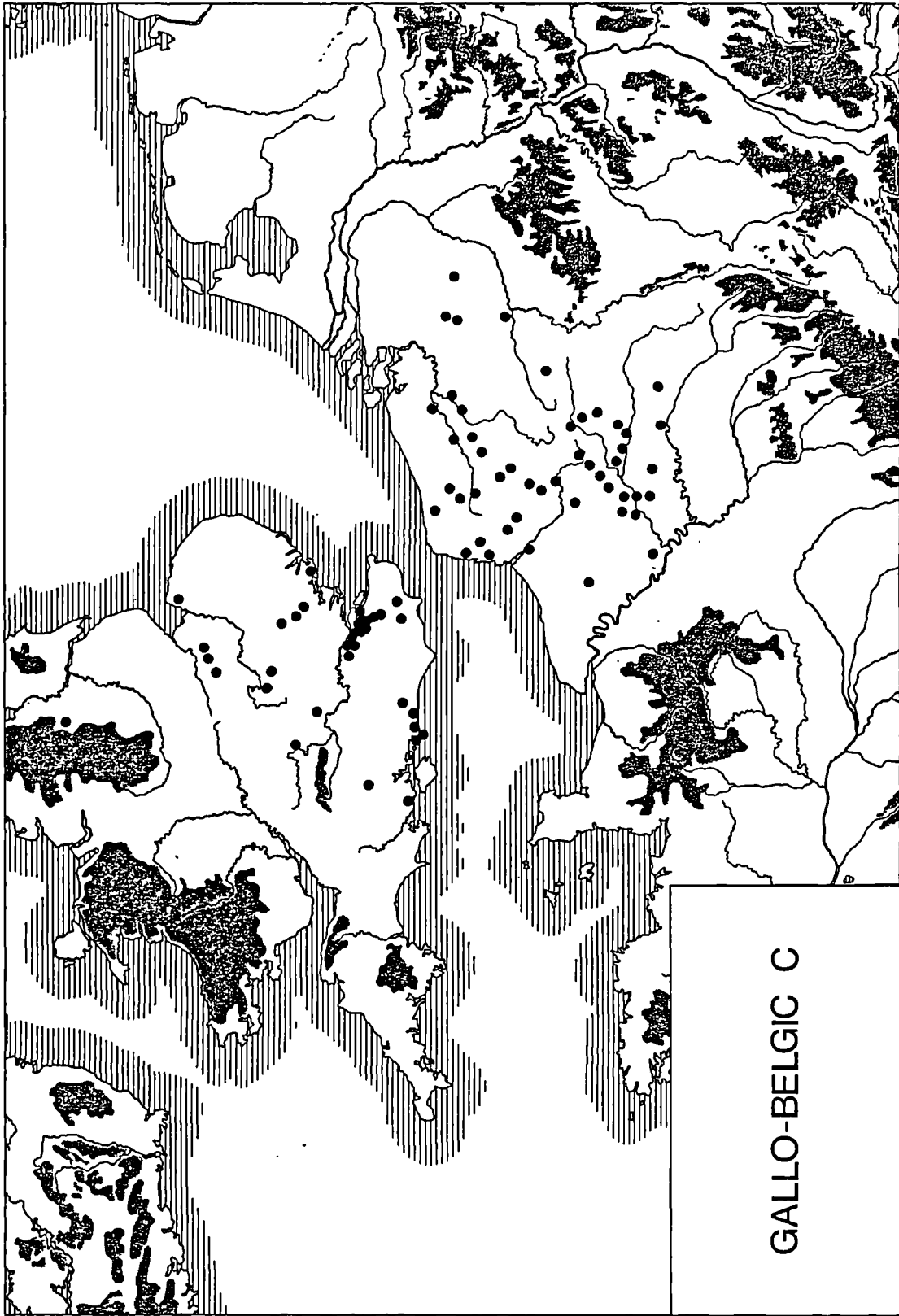


FIG 42: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC C GOLD COINS

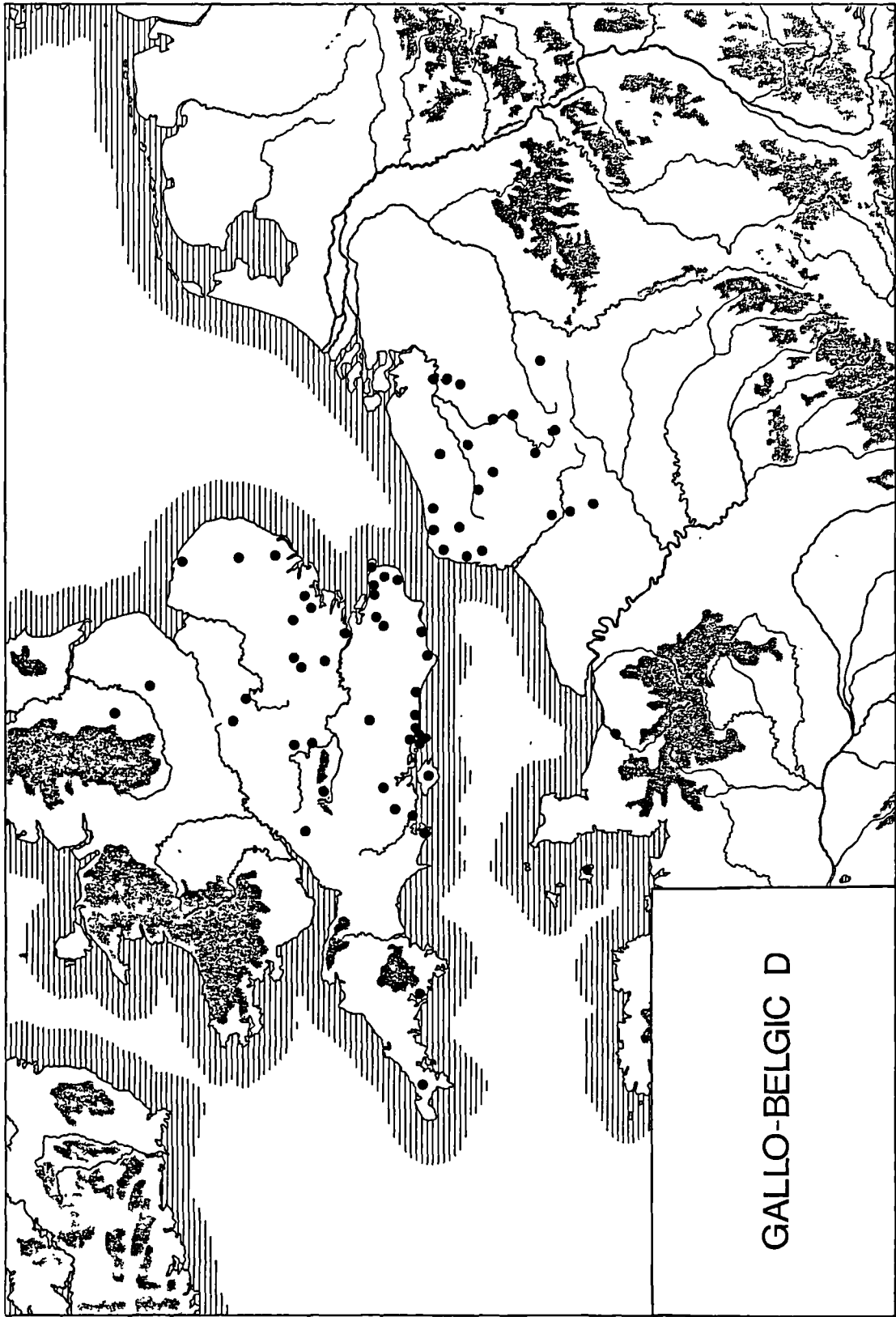


FIG 43: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC D GOLD COINS

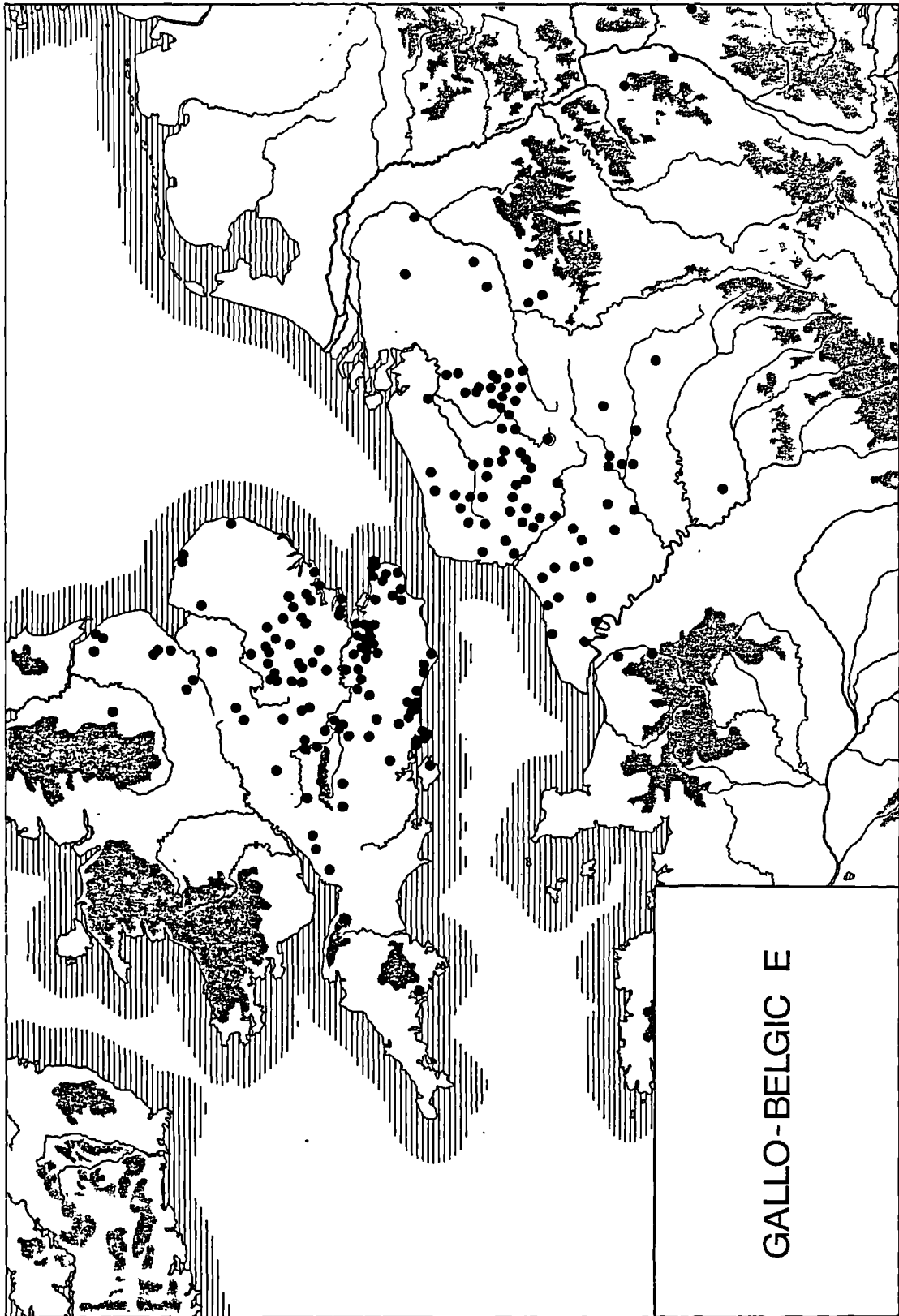


FIG 44: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC E GOLD COINS

40-4). Brooke (1933), Allen (1960) and Scheers (1977a) have interpreted the coins as representing invasions and Rodwell (1976a) and Hawkes (1977a, 142-3) have elaborated on this. Rodwell (1976a, 187-9) following Hawkes (1968) argues that Gallo-Belgic C was (Fig 42) the coinage of Diviciacus but the coinage is not apparently one of the Suessiones and Hawkes has retracted his suggestion (1977a, 143, n 1), although Scheers still entertains it (1977a, 48). The interpretation of the coins as representing invasions is bound up with the reference to invaders from *Belgium* by Julius Caesar and both topics are discussed together in Appendix 1. Here we need do no more than note that the coins could represent invasions if it is accepted that they are the only evidence for them. However, this is not particularly satisfactory on methodological grounds (cf Clark 1966) and all other considerations attempting to justify the interpretation of the coins as representing invasions have been, despite Hawkes' protestations (1980a; 1982), flawed by the circularity of the arguments. Until now we have been considering the date of issue of the coins. Recently Kent has suggested that disregarding when they were issued, Gallo-Belgic A, C and E all arrived in Britain in comparatively short succession (1978a; 1978b; 1981). Kent bases his suggestion on the grounds that Gallo-Belgic A and C are associated in the Snettisham and Westerham hoards and A, C and E were found in the Clacton hoard, and as British finds of A are considerably worn, C somewhat worn and E virtually unworn, it is possible that the wear took place on the continent. Kent contrasts this wear with the observation that Celtic gold coins struck in Britain rarely seem to have become worn in currency. The central point in Kent's suggestion is Scheers' argument that Gallo-Belgic E was the coinage of the Belgic Confederacy and that

most coins of the type are Caesarian in date. It is beyond reasonable doubt that Gallo-Belgic E was the coinage of the Belgic Confederacy and this will be discussed further below. Accepting this, it might be expected that if Kent is correct the composition of 'Caesarian' hoards in Britain and Belgic Gaul would be very similar if not identical. But this is not so. In Belgic Gaul the coins are almost never associated and only the Longueuil-Sainte-Marie (Oise) hoard which contained A and C coins is of mixed composition (Scheers 1977a, 67, 889-90). This is in contrast to Britain where the composition of the hoards is much more mixed (Haselgrove 1984b, App 2-3) and this suggests that the circulation of the types differed in the two regions (cf Haselgrove 1984a, 12, 50, n 5; 1987a, 79; Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987, 440). It is possible that in Gaul the issues were re-coined, A as C and C as E. In Britain the coins may not have been re-coined but may have remained in circulation gradually becoming more worn (Haselgrove 1987a, 78-90). Also some 40% of Gallo-Belgic A in Britain are of types already in existence by the time the Tayac hoard was deposited (Haselgrove 1987a, 79) and two coins from Essex are actually die-linked with coins in the hoard (Boudet 1987, 153-9, 191, 211, Fig 47, Pl 200-3) offering strong support to the argument for their transfer to Britain shortly after their issue. It is possible that the two Essex finds are from a dispersed hoard. Both Nash (1987a, 110-11) and Haselgrove (1987a, 80) suggest that some Gallo-Belgic A and B may have been struck in Britain and the high proportion found in Britain (Fig 45) may support this.

Turning to Gallo-Belgic E Scheers has argued that the large number of hoards, the low weight of the coins and the extremely low

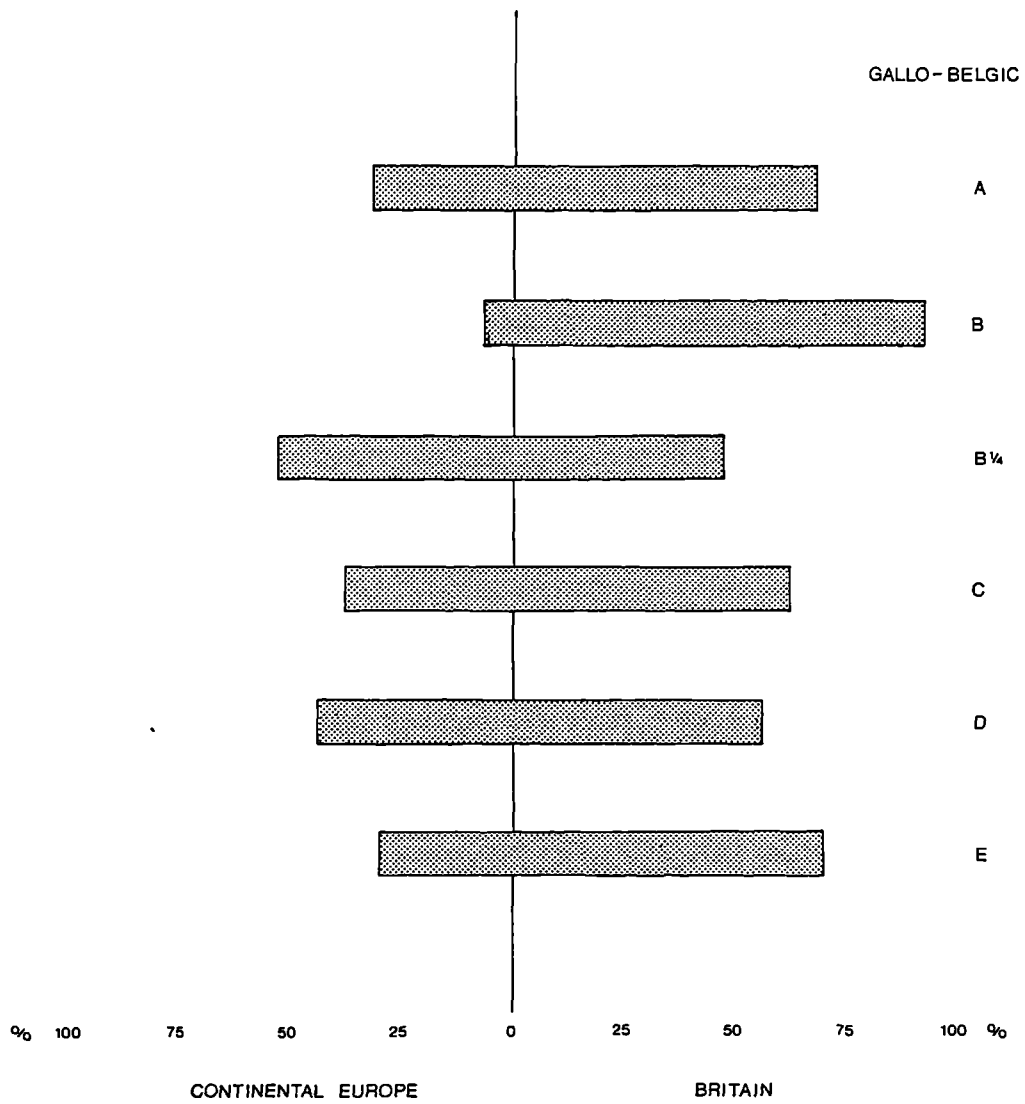


FIG 45: PROPORTIONS OF GALLO-BELGIC GOLD COINAGE
IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AND BRITAIN

fineness of the gold suggests that the coins were issued during Caesar's Gallic Wars. A number of other issues also appear to be of similar date (Scheers 1972). Scheers' work has been given greater clarity and range by Haselgrove's study of the weight of gold employed in the various issues based on the striking ratio derived using Lyon's formula (Haselgrove 1984b, 87-94, Fig 3, App 1). From Haselgrove's work the prodigious scale of Gallo-Belgic E is evident and its association with the Caesarian Wars is beyond reasonable doubt. With hindsight it is surprising that this association was not suggested by Allen or Rodwell (1976a, 194-8). It is possible that the small number of other Gallo-Belgic types found in Britain; Gallo-Belgic X_B, F, X_E and the sole POTTINA coin (from Fordham, Haselgrove 1978, 124) may have arrived at the same time as Gallo-Belgic E (Cunliffe 1981d, Fig 44; Fig 44).

The interpretation of the quarter staters Gallo-Belgic D is less certain. Scheers, reversing Allen's 1960 sequence, places them before the Caesarian campaigns but as we have seen it is likely that they are partly contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E and that they were issued on both sides of the Channel although precisely which coins still remains uncertain (cf Scheers 1977a, 54-5; Cunliffe 1981d, Fig 43; Nash 1987a, 112).

The significance of Gallo-Belgic F is also uncertain. The type is apparently very rare in Britain but coins inspired by it, British Q, are very common. In fact British Q_A is apparently the only coin to be found regularly in continental Europe (Debord 1981; 1985) which strongly suggests that these coins are not British but Gaulish and many of the British coins may be, as with other Gallo-Belgic coins, classes apparently specifically struck for export. The heavier British and Gaulish coins are very similar, possibly of the same variety (Haselgrove 1984a, 51, n 9).

TABLE 12

WEIGHTS OF 'BRITISH' Q_A COINS IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

	FIND	WEIGHT (Grammes)	REFERENCE
1	Amboise	6.17	Scheers 1977a, 371
2*	Châteaudun (Eure-et-Loire)	6.16	"
3	Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Aisne)	6.04	Debord 1981, 71-2; 1985
4	'France'	6.03	Debord 1981, 72
5	Eu, Bois-l'Abbé (Seine-Maritime) no 331	5.62	Mangard 1978, 88
6	" no 337	5.56	"

* Haselgrove lists two examples (1978, 44), one identified by Allen, as M 58 the other Scheers as M 60 (1970, 149, 155). Subsequently Scheers has listed only one coin (1977a, 371) and it seems likely that these were two different identifications of the same piece.

The Gaulish finds are heavier (Tab 12) than the British ones and do not occur in the copper rich gold characteristic of much of the

British gold coinage (Kent 1978a, 318). This raises the possibility that many of the 'British' Q coins are Gaulish issues which arrived at the same time as Gallo-Belgic E (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 87, 240). It is clear that the bulk of Gallo-Belgic coinage arrived in Britain at the time of the Caesarian Wars and it is suggested below that many of the Armorican coins, notably Coriosolitan issues, may also have reached Britain in similar circumstances.

Gallo-Belgic silver coinage remains quite rare in Britain (Scheers 1977a, Series 41, 51, 53, 94, 55) but a number of poorly known Gaulish and British series show close links indicating contact thought by Allen, Scheers and Nash to date to the 40s and 30s BC (Allen 1965; Scheers 1977a, 110-19; Nash 1987a, 114) but an earlier date should not be excluded (Haselgrove 1987a, 100-1, 241-2). The coins are found in Hampshire and Picardie with some finds in Kent although Allen placed the origins of the series around the Loire estuary.

Gallo-Belgic bronze coins are not infrequent finds in Britain. Scheers has assembled the evidence for these coins in their homelands. Many small issues are known and the cumulative evidence is impressive (eg Fig 46) even though very little is known about most of them (Scheers 1977a, 119-63). A number of the coins are certainly dated after the Caesarian conquest, either imitating Roman coins of this date (Scheers 1977a, 188, Fig 17) or inscriptions refer to historically known persons. These coins are often heavily romanised (cf Scheers 1969; 1977b; Wightman 1977a; 1977b).

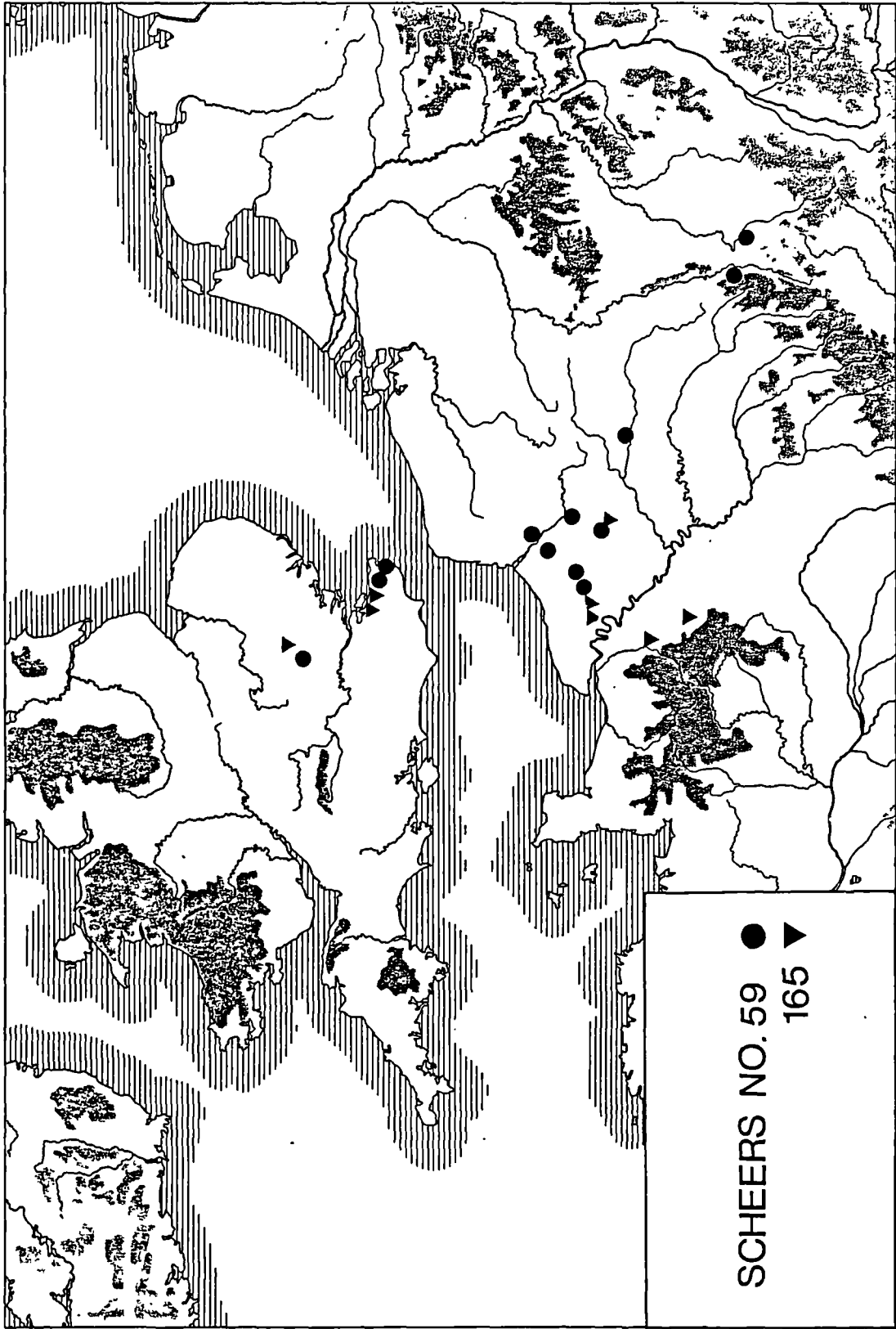


FIG 46: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC COINS
 SCHEERS SERIES 59 AND 165

Scheers is confident that bronze coins were first issued in the Caesarian Wars and takes the presence of some types in the *Alesia* deposits as proof of this (1977a, 119), seeing the wars as the stimulus for the adoption of bronze coinage. In this she follows another important point in Colbert de Beaulieu's interpretation of Celtic coinage in Gaul in which the Gallic Wars occupy a role as important as the collapse of the putative Arvernian hegemony in 121 BC. Colbert de Beaulieu regards this as the fulcrum around which the second major development of Celtic coinage developed, both necessitating token coinages and also the environment in which these coinages could be widely dispersed across Gaul in contrast to their hitherto restricted distributions. As with Colbert de Beaulieu's argument for the Arvernian hegemony there is very little evidence to support a change in the course of the wars. The principal sites cited by Colbert de Beaulieu in support were the *Alesia* deposit (1955a) and Pommiers (1955b) but there is a strong element of circularity in his arguments, using sites as *termini post quos* rather than *ante quos* and employing them in a self-valedicting debate (eg Colbert de Beaulieu 1973b). In the same paper Colbert de Beaulieu also argued for a late date for potin coinage, criticising Allen's suggested 'long chronology' for the British series. His primary objections are consistently to doubt the reliability of associations (eg the Lattes and Housen hoards, cf Allen 1969; 1976c; Ripollés and Villaronga 1984) and cartographic and historical evidence.

A longer chronology for potin coinage was argued for by Furger-Gunti and von Kaenal (1976). Considering the finds from Basel and Bern, Furger-Gunti and von Kaenal were able to show that as both places have settlements which were abandoned in the mid-first century BC, the coins from Basel-Gasfabrik and

Bern-Engehalbinsel were pre-Caesarian. The contrast between the finds from Basel-Gasfabrik and Basel-Münsterhügel clearly demonstrates the development of coinage in the first century BC. Castelin has doubted if the material can be dated precisely enough to justify this argument (1977) but this is just as damaging to his own arguments in which he proposes a later date and the longer chronology, although still rejected by Colbert de Beaulieu (1984), is supported by the evidence from other sites which have comparable shifts in settlement. The finds from Levroux-Les Arènes and Levroux-Colline (Colin 1984; Bouyer and Buchsenschutz 1983, 5) and Breisach-Hochstetten and Breisach-Münsterberg (Stork 1984) support Furger-Gunti and von Kaenal's arguments and some site finds, such as those from Roanne and Étival-Clairefontaine (Colin 1984, 159) add further weight to this conclusion. Polenz's dating of the finds from burials reaches the same conclusion (1982), suggesting that potin coins appeared in the mid-second century BC which is a slightly earlier date than is proposed in the discussions of settlement finds (cf Furger-Gunti 1982b). That as may be, it seems certain that Colbert de Beaulieu's post-Caesarian chronology for potin coinage must be rejected. It seems likely that this may be the case for most bronze coinage but with the exception of Levroux (Fischer 1981; Bouyer and Buchsenschutz 1983) the evidence of site finds is slight.

It must be concluded that the chronology put forward by Colbert de Beaulieu, Castelin and Scheers for potin and bronze coinages is incorrect and that potin certainly and bronze possibly, were issued in the first half of the first century BC. There are quite a number of potin coins from Britain, both 'Belgic' and Central Gaulish series notably *tête diabolique* coins, ascribed to the Turones by Colbert de Beaulieu (1970a; Haslegrove 1987a, 99). At

least some of these coins may have arrived in Britain shortly after they were issued (cf Ch 24.2).

15.4 ARMORICAN COINAGE

Early Armorican gold coinage is amongst the most splendid of Celtic coinages (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 19-20, 75-6, 183-4). Many of the Armorican series have been studied by Colbert de Beaulieu in a number of papers published in the 1950s.

The earliest Armorican series is probably Venetic, previously ascribed to the Aulerces Cenomani. Characteristic of these and most other Armorican issues is a 'severed head' held in a frame on the obverse and a human headed horse on the reverse. Colbert de Beaulieu dates these coins, which are called Phase I here, to the early first century or just before (1954b). However, in the first major reassessment of any of the Phase I series Scheers has argued that *les séries à la lyre* and *série au foudre*, possibly coins of the Redones, date to the last quarter of the second century BC (Scheers 1984, 386-7). Scheers' study is based on detailed typological and metrological analyses and it seems likely that other Armorican series are of this date, if not earlier (Nash 1987a, 103-6) and the earliest issues must be placed before this in contrast to Colbert de Beaulieu's late dating.

The Phase II coinage of Armorica is base silver or billon. Its later phases are known through a large number of hoards which have usually been taken to be Caesarian in date and proposed dates for this phase have centred around the wars. The severed head and human headed horse motifs continue as the dominant motifs.

The principal series is Coriosolitan. The first typology of these coins was proposed by Rybot who distinguished six classes on the basis of the treatment of the nose on the obverse (Rybot 1952). This typology was adopted by Colbert de Beaulieu (eg 1957, 51-2, n 2) who ordered the classes I-VI and took this to be of chronological significance with the coins starting around the second quarter of the first century BC (eg 1973a, 101-3). In a detailed work on the Trébry (Côtes-du-Nord) hoard using Neutron Activation Analysis and statistical analyses of the dies Gruel (1981; 1986) has demonstrated that there was a 25% decline in the silver content which was associated with a change in the dies used between classes IV and I. Although no formal analysis of striking ratios has been published it appears that there is an increase in the number of dies in the later classes which Gruel orders VI, V, IV, I, III and II. To Gruel the large number of Coriosolitan hoards '*nous incitent à associer ces enfouissements à quelque évènement guerrier d'importance*' (Gruel 1981, 8), either the incursion of the Cimbri and Teutones or the Caesarian Campaigns. Following Colbert de Beaulieu Gruel opts for the Caesarian Wars. One of the major points in her argument is the archaeological evidence suggested to reflect the Caesarian campaigns. Gruel accepts Wheeler's suggestion that Le Petit Celland and the 'hoard' found there are both Caesarian in date, thus providing a fixed point in the chronology of the coins (Gruel 1981, 8-10). As we have seen (Ch 4.1) Wheeler's interpretation of Le Petit Celland is debatable and can hardly be taken as a fixed historical point. Gruel dates the Coriosolitan hoards to 56 BC or the years following as a number of the Jersey hoards are certainly post-Caesarian. The Rozel and Jersey 7 hoards have post-Caesarian Roman coins in them, while the Le Câtillon hoard is likely to be

of similar date (Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987; Haselgrove 1987a, 317-21). Gruel interprets the Jersey hoards as indicating the route of fleeing refugees.

It is noteworthy that the western Armorican hoards (Gruel 1981, Fig 2, a) have few Class II coins although they are the dominant issue in the other hoards. Gruel takes this to be of chronological significance with the eastern hoards reflecting the battle between the Armorican Confederacy and Roman army in the territory of the Unelli in 56 BC, with the other hoards antedating this, possibly by only a year. It may be wondered, however, if the rarity of Class II issues in western Armorican hoards may be of geographical rather than chronological significance? It should also be noted that the apparently homogeneous nature of pre-Caesarian hoards is only supported by accepting Colbert de Beaulieu's suggestion that the Jersey 6 (Rozel) hoard is not from a single closed deposit. This may be correct but it should be recognised that Colbert de Beaulieu's arguments for this suggestion are circular (1953b).

Aarmorican gold coins are rare in Britain (Cunliffe 1981a, Fig 68). With the exception of the Ellingham, Hampshire hoard which contained 43 coins, only 14 coins from eight series from ten findspots are known, most of which have coastal provenances. The number of coins attributed, with much uncertainty, to the Namnetes of the lower Loire (five), although still small is noteworthy. Most of the billon issues are also rare most being represented by only a few coins (Tab 13).

TABLE 13

PROPORTIONS OF ARMORICAN BILLON COINS FOUND IN BRITAIN*

'Tribe'	Balocasses	Coriosolites	Osismi	Redones	Abrincatui	Total
Number	6	57	1	1	3	68
%	9	82	2	2	5	100%

* The 'Osismi' coin is a petit billon tentatively attributed to the Venetii by Colbert de Beaulieu (1953c; followed by Gruel 1987), but reattributed to the Osismi by Allen (cf Haselgrove 1978, 123).

The coins of the Abrincatui are the 'X.N.' series cautiously attributed to them by Colbert de Beaulieu (1952).

The number of Coriosolitan issues is in stark contrast to this. Of the security provenanced and identified finds of Armorican silver coins they comprise 82% (57 of 68). The proportions of classes represented by staters are set out in Table 14.

TABLE 14

PROPORTIONS OF CORIOSOLITAN BILLON STATERS FOUND IN BRITAIN*

		Number	%
Class	VI	2	7
	V	1	4
	IV	2	7
	I	3	10
	III	8	27
	II	13	45
TOTALS		29	100%

* Only securely provenanced and identified coins are included. They are arranged chronologically after Gruel (1981), Class VI is the earliest. The coin from Meare Village East attributed to Class V (Haselgrove 1978, 128) is more probably a Dobunnic 'N' and is excluded here.

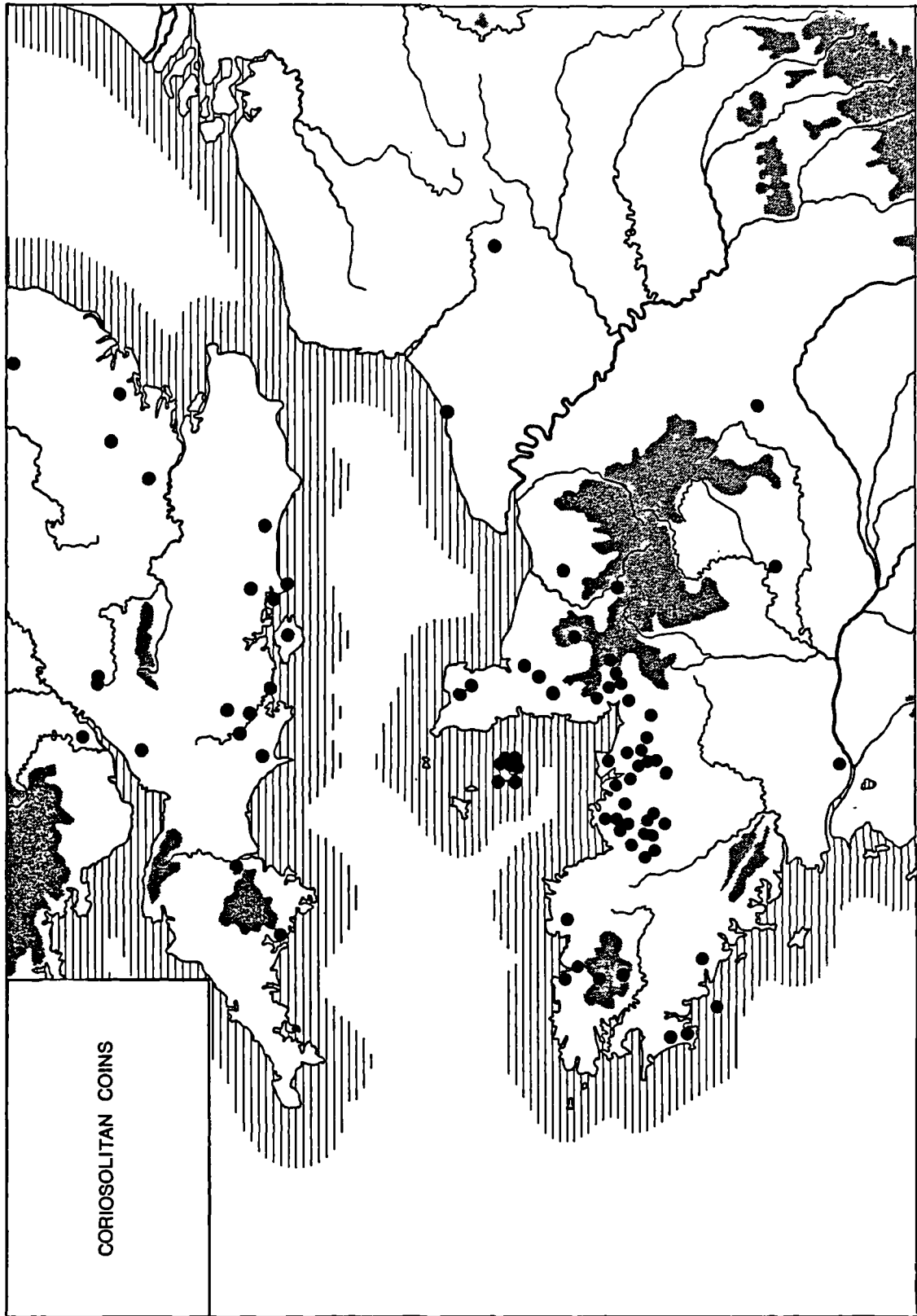


FIG 47: DISTRIBUTION OF CORIOSOLITAN COINS

It is notable that Classes III and II which are taken by Gruel (1981) to be the latest issues comprise 72% of the these coins, Class II alone forming 45% of the total. Once again the majority of the finds have coastal provenances (Cunliffe 1981d, Fig 68; Fig 47) and Mount Batten, Hengistbury Head and Hayling Island have the largest number of site finds while there are hoards from Mount Batten (Sellwood 1983) and 'near Portsmouth' (Robinson 1980).

Although not strictly comparable in terms of deposition and loss, the British finds are broadly similar to Armorican hoards and the few published site lists in their composition (Tab 15). This does not allow the inference that all the British finds arrived at the same time, indeed some finds such as those from Hexham and Lesmahago may be Roman period introductions, though Lesmahago may be comparable to the Netherurd hoard. However, in common with the continental European finds, more later issues appear to have been available in Britain.

If Gruel is correct in suggesting that the later issues are Caesarian in date it is possible that many of the British coins arrived at this time, not necessarily with the refugees suggested by Wheeler, but to assist with the aid given by the British to the Armorican Confederacy which was mentioned by Caesar (*BG* III, 9). If this is correct then the Coriosolites would emerge as one of, if not the, principal moneyer(s) of the Armorican federacy.

British site finds are usually not well dated but some of the Hengistbury finds may date to before the Caesarian Wars. The Meare Village East find is more likely a Dobunnic coin (*cf* Coles 1987, 168-9, Z 66.9).

TABLE 15

PROPORTIONS OF CORIOSOLITAN STATERS IN BRITAIN AND NORTH-WEST
FRANCE

FINDSPOT	TOTAL CLASS OF STATER						
		VI	V	IV	I	III	II
JERSEY HOARDS							
Le Câtillon	2228	0.1	2.7	2.4	10.1	20.9	63.6
Rozel	125	0.8	9.6	8.0	15.2	13.6	52.8
Jersey 9	9254	0.2	3.3	5.3	14.4	22.5	54.4
Jersey 5	740	0.2	9.2	5.5	15.1	14.5	55.3
Jersey 2	26	7.4	14.8	3.7	3.7	25.9	44.4
MAINLAND FRANCE HOARDS							
Merdrignac (Côtes-du-Nord)	502	0.1	40.63	40.63	9.1	0.0	8.3
Penguilly (Côtes-du-Nord)	86	1.1	27.8	19.7	23.2	16.2	11.6
Trerby (Côtes-du-Nord)	1756	0.3	23.1	34.3	24.9	17.0	0.4
Plonéour-Lanvern (Finistère)	45	0.0	20.0	6.6	40.0	13.3	20.0
Roz-Landrieux (Ille-et-Vilaine)	89	16.3	63.8	5.1	14.1	4.5	1.9
Mauron (Morbihan)	16	0.0	6.0	1.0	7.0	18.0	6.0

SITE FINDS

Alet (pre-Roman) (Ille-et-Vilaine)	21	0.0	15.0	0.0	10.0	30.0	45.0
Le Petit Celland-2	20	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	20.0	65.0
BRITAIN (Composite)	29	7.0	4.0	7.0	10.0	27.0	45.0

Source: After Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987, Tab 3, with additions

The post-Caesarian date of some of the Jersey hoards should not be taken, as Sellwood appears to suggest (1983, 206-7), to indicate that all the Jersey hoards are of this date. The hoards may have been deposited at various times within a phase of coin circulation and the Jersey hoards certainly should not be taken to indicate that the Coriosolitan coins and also the Armorican issues arrived in Britain in the 30s or even 20s BC.

15.5 CELTIC COINS OTHER THAN GALLO-BELGIC AND ARMORICAN

It is notable that there are comparatively few coins from other Gaulish regions but of these Central Gaul is the dominant region (Cunliffe 1981d, Fig 69) providing 49% of the total. There is only one plausibly provenanced gold coin which is of late date and may possibly have circulated with Gallo-Belgic coinage. There are, however, a relatively large number of silver singletons from Gaul (25), most of which are evenly distributed between southern,

eastern and central Gaul (9, 5 and 8, counting the ?Wiltshire hoard of Elvsates coins as one find; Haselgrove 1978, 128). Most of these coins are of first century BC date. Although Colbert de Beaulieu regards most of them as post-Caesarian, for the same reasons that we have already discussed, it is possible that they are rather earlier.

The number of potin and bronze coins is similar (25 and 20). Again there are many single finds but the majority of bronze finds are of the Carnutes (65%; 13 of 20). There are only a few finds from Southern Gaul (3), while as with silver coins, more far flung coins have dubious records and are also rarely found in France suggesting that they may not be ancient introductions. The most important potin (64%; 16 of 25) is the *tête diabolique* discussed by Colbert de Beaulieu (1970a; 1973b) which Allen argues, probably correctly, to have been the prototype for British potin coins (Allen 1971a) rather than the eastern Gaulish prototype suggested by Colbert de Beaulieu (1973b). Pending a full study of the British examples it is not entirely clear if they are all imported coins or if some are not typologically early British potins (cf Ch 24.2).

The bronze coins from Central Gaul are of first century BC date, some can be dated quite precisely. It is possible that the central and northern Gaulish coins circulated with Gallo-Belgic issues as they are found together in hoards in northern France (Scheers 1977a, 872-903) but they are apparently rare in Armorican hoards.

Finally, two reservations must be made concerning hoards of comparatively exotic Celtic coins from Britain. The Paul hoard of north Italian coins (Allen 1961) and the Portland hoard of Danubian Tetradrachms (Allen 1968b) are both marked outliers from

the normal distribution of these coins, found in poorly documented circumstances and their authenticity must be questionable even though Nash accepts them (1987a, 70-1, 118).

Commentary

The numismatic evidence shows that the coins of two regions were the principal source of foreign coinage. Of these Gallo-Belgic gold coins provide the most significant evidence for cross-Channel contact (Fig 39-44). The Armorican coins are less frequent finds (Fig 47). While it is possible that the appreciable number of Central Gaulish coins circulated alongside some of the Gallo-Belgic gold, potin and bronze coins, it is noteworthy that major gold coinages from the left bank of the mouth of the Seine ascribed to the Parisii (Colbert de Beaulieu 1970b) and the Aulerici Ebuovices (Scheers 1980) are not found in Britain. This serves to emphasise the particular nature of the numismatic links with Belgic Gaul. -

15.6 'EXOTIC' COINS

The evidence for Greek coins reaching Britain during the Iron Age is slight and has been reviewed by Laing (1968, 16-19). While large numbers of Greek and Carthaginian coins have reputedly been found in Britain (Milne 1948; Laing 1968, Fig 4; Cunliffe 1982a, Fig 5), not one has been found in a securely stratified context of Iron Age date. The few stratified finds are Romano-British in date and this seems to be the most likely period for the arrival of those coins which reached Britain in antiquity (Laing 1968,

19). Only a few coins are candidates for introduction during the later Iron Age.

Fox (1950) accepted as genuine two Greek silver coins found by the same individual within a few years of each other at Holne, Devon. One of these coins is a tetradrachm of Macedonia possibly issued at Thessalonica while Aesiles was Qæster in 93-92 BC, the other a tetradrachm of Alexander III. However, in view of the rarity of authentic finds of Greek coins it is most unlikely that the same person should find two Greek coins within a short distance of each other within a few years (Fox 1950, 152). Although Hawkes has accepted the finds (eg 1984, 218) and used them as evidence for a tin trade, they are discounted here.

Laing states that a Carthaginian bronze coin came 'from the ramparts of the Caburn, Sussex, during the excavations there' (Laing 1968, 16) but in reporting the find Spokes (1927) was explicit that the coin was found in a mole hill some seventy yards outside of the rampart. Other Carthaginian coins, apparently genuine finds are also poorly provenanced (eg Savory 1949).

Laing also states that a coin from Cara Brea is of Micipisa of Numidia (c 145-115 BC) but the identification is not certain (cf Hencken 1932, 115) and the coin was only allegedly found within the remains of the site not during excavation. The third century BC coin of Tauromenium from near Hamworthy is perhaps more plausible given the evidence for cross-Channel contact from the site but there are also a number of other 'exotic' coins reputedly from the area (Cunliffe 1982a, Fig 3). It is curious that no finds of such coins have been made at Hengistbury Head, possibly the only site where these coins might be expected to be found and this suggests that the Hamworthy coins may be Roman or recent introductions.

Lastly, a number of Ptolemaic coins are known from Britain (eg Fox 1923, 88) but only one, a coin of Ptolemy V Epiphanes c 205-180 BC, **may** be from a reliable context. This coin was found at Winchester and was accepted as an ancient import (Cunliffe 1964, 15) and evidence for long distance trade (*idem* 1974, 43, 147; 1978b, 47, n. 1, 156). Laing argues that this coin proved that some exotic coins did arrive in Britain and were genuine losses. The reliability of the find has been doubted by Collis (1975b) who points out that its recorded context was in the top of the natural soil and that another coin, this time of Roman date, was found in the spoil from the excavations. Collis suggested that both coins were likely to be modern introductions. Biddle countered this by drawing attention to the eight or more other Ptolemaic coins from Winchester, some five or so of which he would regard as provenanced reliably (1975a). Biddle also drew attention to the Dr 1B amphora from Winchester (App 2.1, 33) as evidence for long distance trade. All the dateable Ptolemaic coins from Winchester date from the mid-late third century to the earlier second century BC, one hundred and fifty years earlier than the Dr 1B. Collis suggests that there was a break in occupation at Winchester between the third and mid-first centuries BC and so the coins cannot be contemporary introductions (1978, 4-6) but Champion and Champion are less certain about a gap in settlement (1981, 43). In view of the evidence which suggests that most of the overseas goods reaching Britain in the later Iron Age arrived via Gaul it is in any case difficult to see what relevance Ptolemaic or any other coins of central or eastern Mediterranean origin have to them.

So there is no unambiguous evidence for the arrival of 'exotic' coins in later Iron Age Britain. Similar coins are equally poorly

recorded in France and the handful of excavated finds appear to have circulated after the Caesarian campaigns as part of the diaspora of Celtic coins at this time (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973a, 333; Fischer 1978). As Collis has pointed out (1984a, 145), only the discovery of further finds in controlled conditions will allow the proper appreciation of the extent to which 'exotic' coins reached Iron Age Europe. For Britain, it is possible that some **may** have arrived at this time, for there are large numbers, but there is no evidence to suggest which and it is difficult, for the present at least, to follow Nash in seeing some of them as being introduced by mercenaries (1987a, 15, 118).

15.7 ROMAN COINAGE

Although a number of British coins imitate Republican denarii (Scheers 1982a) only one denarius, of 130-128 BC, has been found in a probable Iron Age context at Dollands's Moor, Folkestone (C.C. Haselgrove pers comm) (Fig 48). Some British coins follow Republican issues issued between c 90 and 70 BC (eg M 96, 159-60, 263) and other coins issued after c 50 BC (eg M 129, 251, 259). The majority of coins imitated are issues of Augustus and coins of Verica, Tasciovanus, Rues, Cunobelin, Dubnovellaunus and possibly Tincommius derive from Augustan coins (Haselgrove 1987a, 92, Fig 5:5). As Haselgrove notes, Tiberian coins seem to have been imitated only rarely (1984a, 53-4, n 22) (eg M 127, ?M 248) so the use of Augustan prototypes is noteworthy. This may be because of the rather limited repertoire of designs on Tiberian coins as much as any rarity, however, the British coins could be drawn from a

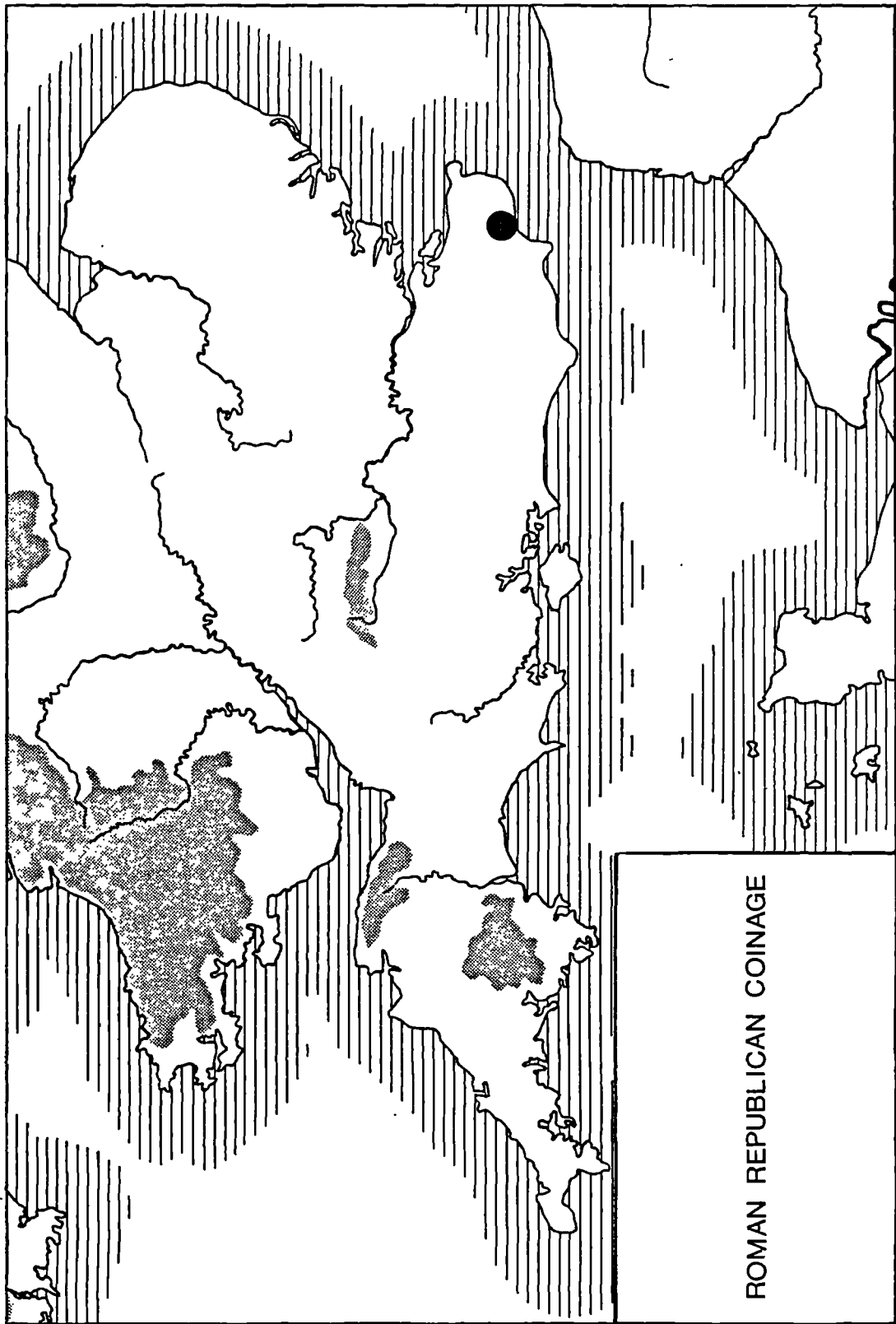


FIG 48: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINAGE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

'copy book' of clay impressions as with intaglios (Ch 7.4.1) and so are not necessarily evidence for the presence of actual coins (*contra* Reece 1981, 26) although it is possible that they may have arrived as bullion (*idem* 1979). Hawkes and Hull suggested that there was an Iron Age mint in Region 6 of their *Camulodunum* excavations and the site could suggest their pre-conquest import as bullion although the 'mint' is of Romano-British date (Haselgrove 1987a, 167; 1987b, 491).

'Stray finds' are recorded from time to time (eg *Antiq J* 1, 1921, 237) but there is no consolidated updating of Haverfield's 1895 listing of Republican denarii from Britain, nearly all of which come from Roman sites (*cf* Laing 1966). Recently excavated examples such as those from the spring at Bath were probably deposited in the Roman period and although the presence of British coins (Sellwood 1980) could indicate Iron Age deposits they are rather more likely to be of Roman date. The same may be true of recently excavated examples from Hayling Island although Nash hints that Augustan coins there may have been contemporary imports (1987a, 136).

As with Republican coinage, no early Imperial coins have yet been found in an Iron Age context in Britain (*cf* Kraay 1955, 86-7). This is particularly noteworthy when contrasted with the number of Celtic coins which may have arrived during this period. However, the discovery of at least some Roman coins in Iron Age contexts may be anticipated and it is possible that as with brooches (Ch 13.1.3) the source of the metal for many of the British central southern silver coinages was recycled denarii.

CHAPTER XVI

BRITISH 'EXPORTS'

16.1 HORSE AND VEHICLE FITTINGS

16.1.1 HARNESS FITTINGS

An enamelled quadrilobate or butterfly shaped bronze strap union was found, without recorded context or associations, at Paillart, (Oise) in north-east France. The find is now in the Musée Archéologique, Breteuil, Oise (Leman-Delerive 1986 gives the correct spelling as Paillart and not Paillard as used by Krúta in the preliminary publications of the find).

The piece is decorated with curvilinear fields which are infilled and also partially outlined with punched decoration. These are reserved against curvilinear decoration based on the pelta motif in red enamel and dots in yellow enamel (Krúta and Lavagne 1984; Krúta and Forman 1985, 98, Pl on 98; Leman-Delerive 1986). Enamelled metalwork of later La Tène date is very rare in France and the Nanterre finds are virtually the only other pieces of enamelled harness or vehicle fittings known from northern France (Henry 1933; Duval 1975). In fact the find falls firmly within a clearly defined class of British harness fittings, the enamel decorated strap unions. The closest parallels for the Paillart find are in Spratling's concealed-loop group of enamelled strap

unions, sub-group A (Quadrilobate) (Spratling 1972). Finds of this sub-group are known from Hambledon, Bucks (two); London; Norton, Suffolk; Polden Hill, Somerset; Santon, Norfolk (two) and Westhall, Suffolk (cf App 38, Fig 49). The London and the Norton finds are particularly close to the Paillart find. Because of this there is little doubt that the Paillart find originated in England.

The dating of this sub-group of strap unions is very late in the Iron Age. The London and Norton finds have no recorded contexts while the Polden Hill, Santon and Westhall finds all come from hoards. On the evidence of a fragment of a *lorica segmentata*, the Santon hoard was certainly deposited after the Roman conquest of south-east England (Spratling 1975a; cf Ch 10.1.1). The Polden Hill hoard also dates to after the Claudian conquest on the basis of a piece of *lorica hamata* in the hoard which was not recognised as probably being from a piece of Roman mail armour (Robertson 1975, cf also Spratling 1981; Brailsford 1975, 230). Despite the attempts of Clarke (1939, 68-9) and Megaw (1970, 163) to disassociate the samian and Roman coin found with the Westhall hoard, the bronze lamp, and also the bronze vessel, suggest that this hoard was also probably deposited after the Roman conquest.

In itself this horizon of hoards does not demonstrate that the Paillart find is of post-conquest date as it seems possible that these hoards are an 'emergency horizon' deposited because of the Roman campaigns. These hoards provide a well-dated horizon centred around the conquest years but as these objects of metalwork were not selected for deposition in association with other artefacts prior to this exceptional period (cf Fitzpatrick 1984b), these hoards provide only a *terminus ante quem* for the strap unions. It is possible that this type of strap union had

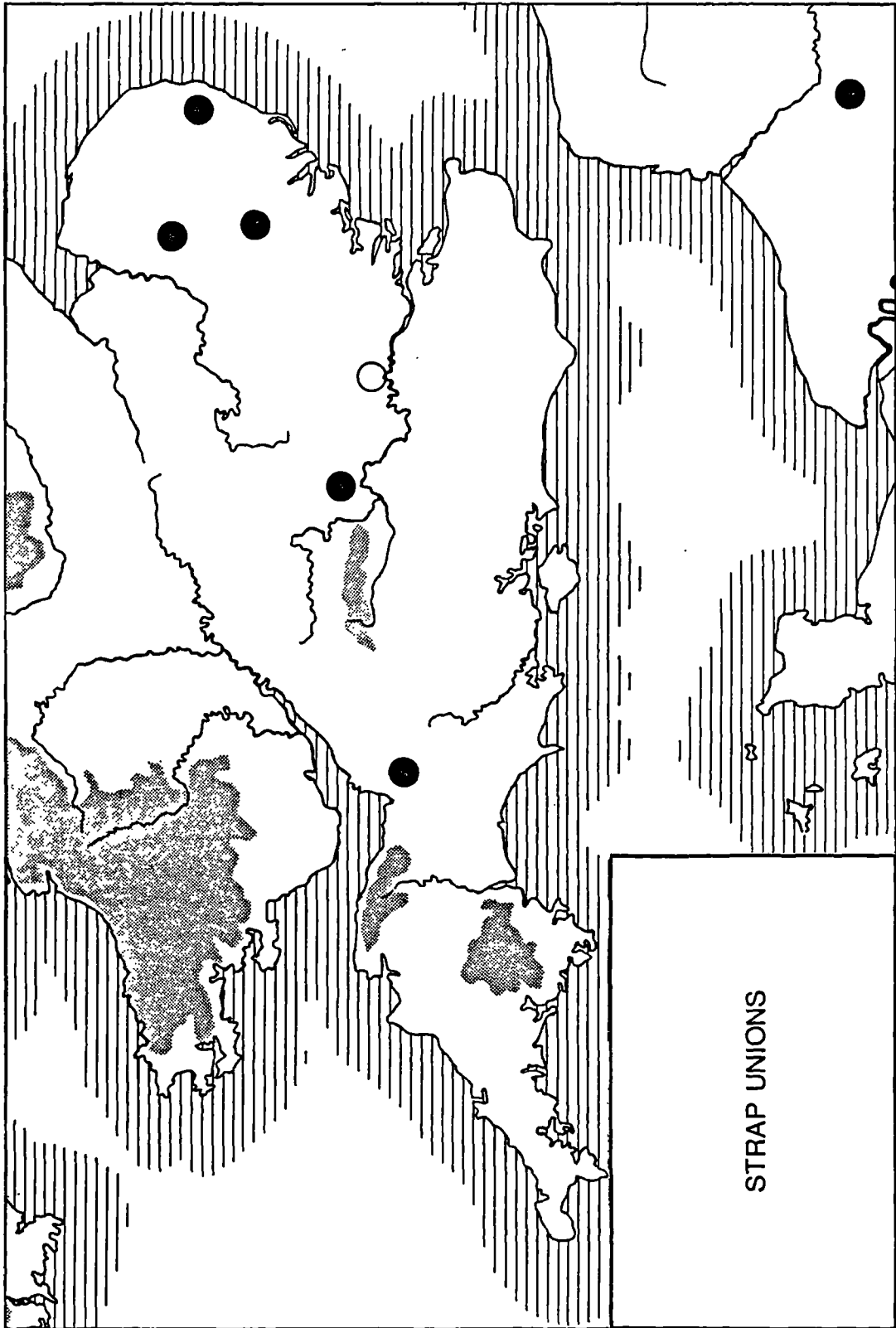


FIG 49: DISTRIBUTION OF CONCEALED-LOOP STRAP UNIONS
(SUB-GROUP A, QUADRILOBATE)

been current for a number of decades prior to the Roman conquest. Equally, however, as most of the pieces of British Iron Age style metalwork in continental Europe appear to have been deposited after the Claudian conquest there must be a strong possibility that the Paillart find forms part of this post-conquest diaspora. The absence of associated finds bedevils further discussion.

16.1.2 TERRETS

A number of terrets found outside Britain have been considered by Spratling (1972), followed by Bateson (1981, 8), as possibly of British Iron Age date.

A find from Hofheim of Spratling's Group VIII Flat Ringed Terrets, Sub-Group A (cited by Spratling 1972, no 67 as Ritterling 1912, Taf XVII, 15 but more probably Taf XVI, 43) bears only a superficial resemblance to the British finds and need not be interpreted so. Even so the site may date to after the Claudian occupation of Britain although the chronology is confused (Schucany 1983).

Another terret with enamelled inlay from Játiba, Valencia in Spain (Spratling 1972, no 90) is a stray find and belongs to Spratling's Group IX Knobbed Terrets, Sub-Group B (Santa-Olalla 1933-35). Again, there is no reason to regard it as having been 'exported' during the British Iron Age.

The well known enamelled terret from Fayum has long been regarded as having been taken to Egypt by Roman troops (Smith 1925, 91, Fig 65) but analysis of the enamel by Hughes has suggested that the high percentage of cuprous oxide indicates that the piece may not be of British manufacture (Hughes 1972, 100, Tab 1; cf Spratling 1980a). On stylistic grounds also the piece is unlikely to be of

British Iron Age date as may be the case with all these and other pieces (*ibid*, 116; Bateson 1981, 8).

16.1.3 UNCERTAIN VEHICLE FITTINGS

Zimmerman (1969) has suggested that an unstratified bronze mount from Dörverden (Aller) in north Germany is a British Iron Age piece but as Megaw has pointed out (1970, 162) the piece has no adequate parallels in Britain and is more akin to southern German pieces while the zoomorphic decoration seems to be based, in part at least, on dolphins, also suggesting a Roman rather than British later Iron Age date.

16.2 METAL VESSELS

A bronze bowl with a zoomorphic spout decorated with red enamel was found in burial 1 of the cemetery at Łęg Piekarski, Turek, Poland. The associated material is of Eggers Phase B2, broadly dating to the second half of the first century AD (*Inventaria Archaeol: Pologne V*, 1961; Megaw 1963; 1966; Jażdżewski 1979, 10-12, Rys 4).

The bowl is unparalleled amongst contemporary continental European vessels and falls within the British Rose Ash form represented by bowls such as the Birdlip, Higher Youlton and Rose Ash finds (Fox 1961). Spouted strainers also seem to be a characteristically British find of later Iron Age and early Roman date and finds are known from Brentford (Megaw 1978), Felmersham, Great Thurlow (Essex, unpub), Kirmington and Santon (Spratling 1972; May 1971; Megaw 1971; Kennett 1976). Of these finds only the Welwyn Garden

City find is securely dated to the Iron Age although the Kirmington find is probably also of this date. Because of this it is not possible to be certain that the Łęg Piekarski bowl is actually of Iron Age date and it seems probable that it too left Britain during the Romano-British period.

16.3 MIRRORS

The well known British mirror from Nijmegen was found in grave 29 of the Hees cemetery (cemetery L). The cemetery was used between c AD 70-260/70 (Stuart 1979 *passim*).

The associated grave goods indicate that the burial is most unlikely to be pre-Flavian (Dunning 1928) while Lloyd-Morgan has described the mirror in great detail (Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 111-16 with literature). Hassall has suggested that the mirror was brought to Nijmegen by Batavian auxiliaries (Hassall 1970) and as there is still no satisfactory evidence for an Iron Age predecessor for the Roman military bases, while import to the Netherlands during the British Iron Age is not impossible, the mirror was probably brought to Nijmegen during the Romano-British period. There are two early Romano-British Glass bracelets from the Netherlands (van Lith 1977a; 1978-79, 120).

16.4 HERBAL MEDICINES

In the course of the early excavations at Haltern a lead lid, 10.5cm in diameter, was found near to the *principia* of the Augustan legionary base. The lid was unstratified and is

inscribed *EX RADICE BRITANICA* [sic] which identifies it as coming from a medicine box. As this find has not been considered in treatments of the British later Iron Age it is examined in detail here.

Since the first publication of this lid in 1928 the contents of the vessel to which it belonged have been identified with the *herba Britannica* which Pliny the Elder described in his *Natural History* in the following situation.

'Nor is it beasts alone that are guilty of causing injury; at times waters and regions do the same. When Germanicus Caesar had moved forward his camp across the Rhine, in a maritime district of Germany there was only one source of fresh water. To drink it caused within two years the teeth to fall out and the use of the knee-joints to fail. Physicians used to call these maladies *stomaca* and *scelotyrbē*. A remedy was found in the plant called *britannica*, which is good not only for the sinews and for diseases of the mouth, but also for the relief of quinsy and snake-bite. It has dark, rather long leaves, and a dark root. Its juice is extracted even from the root. The blossom is called *vibones*; gathered before thunder is heard, and swallowed, it keeps away the fear of quinsy for a whole year. It was pointed out to our men by the Frisians, at that time a loyal tribe, in whose

territory our camp lay. Why the plant was so called I greatly wonder, unless perhaps, living on the shore of the British ocean, they have so named the britannica because it is, as it were, a near neighbour of Britain. It is certain that the plant was not named because it grew abundantly in that island: Britain was at that time an independent state.

(NH XXV, VI, 20-1, Trans W H S Jones, Loeb edition).

There can be little doubt that *sucus eius exprimitur et e radice* refers to the preparation of what is documented in Haltern as *ex radice britanica*.

In 1928 Jassoy argued that the *herba Britannica* should be identified with a variety of the Dock or Sorrel (*Rumex sp*) and probably with the Broad-leaved Dock (*Rumex obtusifolius L.*). This was accepted by Drexel (Jassoy 1928; Drexel 1928; also Oxé 1943; von Schnurbein 1974; André 1956, *sv Britannica*). This identification with the Dock is consistent with the widespread use of docks as an antiscorbutic and as a source of vitamin C (Drexel 1928). While recording the cure correctly, Pliny recorded the diagnosis wrongly. Scurvy is caused by a vitamin C deficiency and not by the water supply but it is not a disease that occurs only at sea. W. Groenman-van Waateringe points out to me that the Dutch whalers at Spitsbergen contracted it having been there for months without enough vitamin C in their diet which consisted of only dried and salted food. Despite this, since Jassoy accepted the diagnosis, it has been repeated frequently. We may also note that Pliny's description is compatible with the rare complaint of

fluorosis which is caused by an excess of fluoride but this seems unlikely to have been the case here.

The Broad-leaved Dock is characteristic of a wide range of environments and the plant could be identified with a number of species: the Curled dock (*Rumex crispus* L.), the Great water Dock (*Rumex hydrolopathum* Huds) or the Golden Dock (*Rumex maritimus* L.). all of these species possess antiscorbutic properties and are attested in pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age contexts along the Dutch coastline (van Zeist 1974; 1984; Groenman-van Waateringe 1983). Of these, the Curled Dock has especially long leaves but it would be imprudent to suggest an identification with any of these species or even with the Broad-leaved Dock.

Attention has usually been directed towards the chronological implications of the discovery of the medicine box lid in Haltern. Germanicus campaigned along the North Sea coast c AD 14-16, possibly before. If Pliny's account and the identification of the Haltern find with it are both correct then the inscription provides strong evidence to support the thesis that Haltern was given up in AD 16, not in AD 9 (Stieren 1928; Drexel 1928). Kraft argued that the inscription does not prove that Haltern was occupied until AD 16 on the following grounds; firstly, that the lid may have been dropped by troops visiting the abandoned site in AD 16. Secondly, that if the antiscorbutic use of the *herba Britannica* was not pointed out to Roman troops until Germanicus' amphibious campaigns along the Dutch and north German coasts, which Kraft dated to AD 15, there may not have been enough time for doses to be prepared and sent to Haltern before the following summer. Thirdly, both the name of the plant and Pliny's other reference to it (*NH* XXVI, I, 2) suggest that it was already known to the Romans perhaps from Britain, possibly with the Druids as

intermediaries (Kraft 1955-56). Pliny himself made much of the links between the Druids of Britain and Gaul (*NH* XXX, IV, 13).

Kraft's suggestion that the lid was dropped some six years after the abandonment of the site is unconvincing. As to the second point, Wells (1972) has pointed out that Germanicus had established a fort amongst the Chauci, between the Ems and Elbe, by AD 14. It is possible that he may have established a fort amongst the Frisii in AD 14, if not before (cf Brandt 1977, Ulbert 1977; van Es 1980 for Augustan military sites in the Netherlands and northern Germany). It is unnecessary to assume that the preparation of the roots had to take place amongst the Frisii and given the well-organised Roman military medical service it seems more likely that the treatment would have rapidly entered their pharmacopeia (Davies 1970; for medicinal plants from the *valetudinarium* at Neuss, Knörzer 1963; 1965; 1970; also Watermann 1974). It seems unlikely therefore, that lack of time would have prevented the availability of the *herba Britannica* to the garrison of Haltern. Of the objections raised by Kraft, the third is the most cogent and most relevant here. Pliny was evidently disconcerted by the incongruity of a plant named *Britannica* being discovered amongst the Frisii. Although his meaning is slightly unclear, he seems to mean that the plant was 'not so named because anyone knew it grew abundantly there [ie Britain] for how could anyone know that, when Britain was unconquered(?) in the time of Germanicus.' He went to some length to attempt to explain this difficulty, but subsequently and inconsistently he was content to ascribe the plant to *Britannica* (*NH* XXVII, I, 2).

Pliny appears to assume that the plant was discovered amongst the Frisii but the Dock was known and used for other purposes in the

ancient pharmacopeia. What Pliny records is the demonstration of its value as an antiscorbutic.

Pliny documents the only known case of a disease like scurvy or rickets in the Roman army, possibly caused by an inability to obtain adequate supplies of fresh vegetables (Davies 1970; 1971; cf Boon 1983, 11). That the Frisii should possess a remedy is not surprising. It has been proposed that the Dock may have been gathered by them to provide a source of vitamin C (Groenman-van Waateringe and Pals 1983; Brandt *et al* 1984). It is possible that Docks were exchanged with, demanded as tax or requisitioned by the Roman army as a part of their supplies. Velsen I, a marine base in the territory of the Frisii or on the boundary between them and the Batavians and contemporary with Pliny's comments (if not the actual subject of them) provides clear evidence for the likely nature of these exchanges. Indigenous pottery constitutes a large part of the assemblage and it is possible that they contained perishable commodities, such as honey or dairy products which were exchanged with the military (Morel and de Weerd 1980; Vordijn-Vons 1977; Brandt and Sloftsa 1983). There is some evidence for the gathering of Docks and their storage in pots from recent work in the Assendelver Polders Project and it is possible that they were exchanged in (sealed?) pots along with other perishables (Groenman-van Waateringe and Pals 1983; Brandt *et al* 1984). If this were to have been the case and *herbae Britannicae* were transported to Haltern from the North Sea coast, rather than interpreting the presence of 'Frisian' pottery at Haltern as indicating Frisian or Chaucian auxiliaries as Bloemers has suggested, it is possible that the pottery indicates the movement of commodities from the North Sea coast to the garrisons of the Lippe (Bloemers 1973). This might have been associated with the

transport of salt from these areas where salt production may have been under Roman control at this time (van Beek 1983). It is unlikely that salt was transported in the pots found in Roman forts (Haltern, Velsen and Vechten) as a distinctive briquetage vessel has been recognised at a number of civilian sites in western Holland although these are later in date (eg Bloemers 1978). But we should remember that there is no evidence to suggest that the *herba Britannica* was restricted to a marine or brackish environment.

The possibility that knowledge of the plant was gained in Gaul or Britain perhaps through Druidic intermediaries, remains to be considered. One possibility is that the species first became known to the Romans from Britain itself through cross-Channel contact prior to the amphibious campaigns of Germanicus through trade, diplomacy or even the shipwreck of Roman troops (Tac *Ann* XVI, 3). Although Pliny comments that the plant was not known to the Romans as growing abundantly in Britain before the conquest, as we have seen this may have been due to the difficulty of believing an account of the flora of an island then beyond the Empire. Seeds of *Rumex sp* are recorded from many Iron Age sites in Britain and archaeological evidence has, for example, demonstrated that Pliny's statement that the cherry was introduced to Britain by the Romans was incorrect (Godwin 1975; cf Monk and Fasham 1980). Another possibility - the one suggested by Pliny - is that the name derives from the Frisian name for the plant. If this was a folk name then its origin is lost with that oral tradition.

The circumstances in which Pliny describes the Roman discovery of the antiscorbutic-like properties of the *herba Britannica* exclude

the possibility that if it was ever exported from Britain, it was first done so at that time. The possibility that it was exported in the later Iron Age is slight, but cannot be excluded totally.

Because of this, Roman knowledge of the *herba Britannica* does not provide decisive evidence for the abandonment of Haltern in AD 16. Always assuming that the *herba Britannica* and the contents of the medicine box from Haltern were the same, then as Wells (1972, 189-91) has argued, perhaps the simplest solution is to suggest that Pliny's dating of the event is wrong. Pliny's accounts are inconsistent and we have seen that in at least one case his botanical information about Iron Age Britain was incorrect. Wells suggests that Pliny confused Germanicus with Drusus, son with father. Drusus campaigned amongst the Frisii from c 8 BC and Wells suggests that he established at least one base - Vechten - at this time - although at present there is no evidence to support this suggestion, attractive though it is.

16.5 SHALE

Cunliffe (1982a, 48-50) has suggested that some lignite/shale bracelets and vessels found in eastern England and possibly also in France were made in central southern England. However, at least some of the eastern English finds are likely to have been made in that area (Kennett 1977). There is evidence for the manufacture of bracelets at Nacqueville-Bas (Manche) near Cherbourg but, while noting the outcrop of shale near Dieppe, Giot, Daire and Querré suggest that the material worked there, as well as the piece from Moulin de la Rive, was imported from Dorset

(1986, 151, Fig on 152) while Cunliffe (1987a, 340-1) suggests that the Alet finds are also British. However, as Cunliffe has observed earlier (1982a, 48) scientific analyses (and also typological ones) are necessary before accepting this and the widespread distribution of these armlets in north-west Europe (eg van Heeringen 1986, Afb 2) hints that the French finds may prove to be part of a widespread manufacturing tradition particularly as they are not uncommon in Armorica (Clement and Galliou 1985, 68).

16.6 BRITISH CELTIC COINS IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Forty-one British Iron Age coins have been found in continental Europe (Haselgrove 1987a, 198-9, Fig 9:1; Fig 50, App 39). Most of the coins are bronze issues of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin and are concentrated in north-eastern France but a number of reservations must be advanced. Not all of the identifications are indisputable, particularly so for those coins which are outliers from the main group such as those from Saintes and Vertault, and it is possible that the distribution could have been more restricted. Even so, the Aquitanian and Central Gaulish pottery in Britain suggests that the identifications are not impossible. However, while the identifications of the two coins from Denmark (Thomsen 1952; Galster 1964) may be correct, the circumstances of discovery of the Munke-Bjergby, Zealand find, and perhaps the Vildbjerg find also, seem suspicious.

Some of the coins are likely to have arrived in continental Europe with the Roman army. The Rheingönheim find comes from a military site while the Katwijk coin comes from the beach by a lost fort

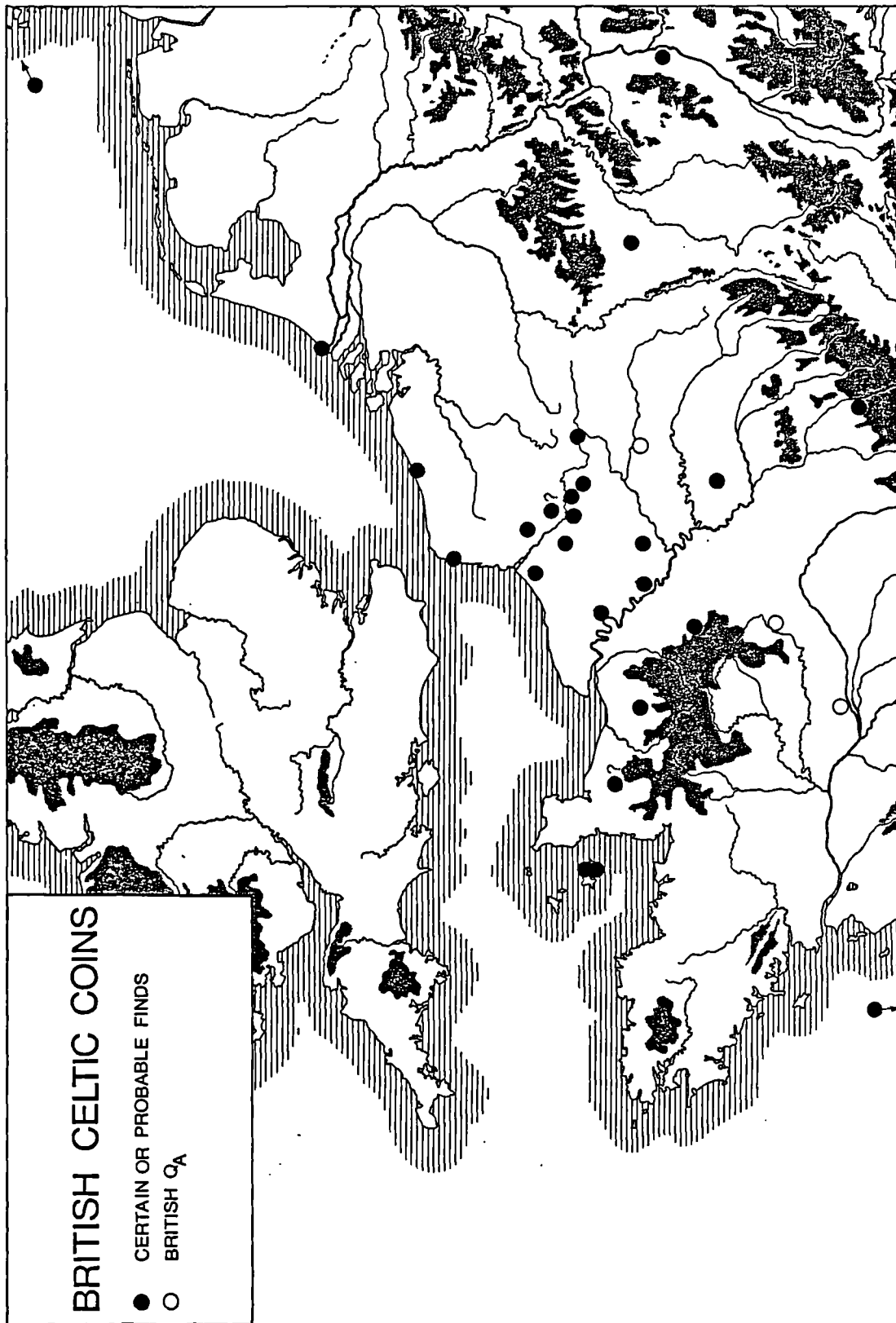


FIG 50: DISTRIBUTION OF BRITISH CELTIC COINS
IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

(cf de Weerd 1986). These coins should be viewed alongside finds such as the Nijmegen mirror (Ch 16.3) and other coins may also be early Romano-British introductions.

Excluded from Fig 50 is one type usually taken to be British. The M 291 which Delestrée (1977) has argued to be not an issue of the Cantii but one of the EPA - DVMNACA / DVMNACOS. In view of the close relationship between some coins found in Kent and Belgic Gaul it is possible that some of those coins thought to be Kentish and found in continental Europe (eg M 296) may also prove to be continental European issues.

Another type plotted tentatively is the British Q₆, considered in Chapter 15.3 to be Gallo-Belgic. However, the coins range in date from potins to issues of Cunobelin and their concentration in north-eastern France is particularly valuable in suggesting where the main axis of exchange with south-east England was and that it was long lasting (Ch 26.4). It is likely that as with Gaulish coins in Britain the British coins circulated alongside Gaulish coins in their homelands.

PART III

LITERARY AND EPIGRAPHIC REFERENCES
TO
IRON AGE BRITAIN

CHAPTER XVII

THE SOURCES

17.1 INTRODUCTION

There are a large number of direct references to Britain in Greek and Latin writers (Stevens 1927, 189) and several authors make reference to Britain before the Claudian conquest.

These sources provide a valuable and, perhaps, surprisingly large body of information concerning Iron Age Britain and also its cross-Channel relations. In general attention has been directed to only a very few authors and usually only parts of the texts have been considered, frequently taken out of context. A good example of this is the varying interpretations built upon an interpolated passage in Caesar's *Bello Gallico* (cf Ch 1.1; App 1). However, it is beyond the scope of this work to present full textual criticisms of the sources and their individual manuscripts' studies which are central to the interpretation of the texts and their dates. This will only be done here when the interpretation is both doubtful and thought to be important. In this work standard commentaries and Loeb editions have generally been consulted. Quotations are from Loeb editions unless otherwise stated. One source, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, is epigraphic - preserved in versions of Ankara, Apollonia and Antioch in Galatia, but for the sake of convenience it is

discussed with the other texts.

These sources are undeniably of great value but it must be recognised that they are documents written by Greeks and Romans not by Celts, and this conditions what they recorded and how (Momigliano 1975). Britain is mentioned only fleetingly in the ethnographies of the Celts (cf Tierney 1960; 1964). Caesar's 'Battle for Gaul' is by any standards a remarkable work and its interpretation is often difficult, but it is a first hand source. Strabo records what may have been first hand information for Britain but elsewhere is often heavily dependent on earlier writers. The *Res Gestae* is also a first hand source but the bulk of the Augustan references are fragments in the works of court poets and their significance has to be extricated from the eulogy. The references to Britain are then, not only written by another culture, but they occur in several different literary genres and must be considered accordingly. For example the Augustan references only consider the achievements of Augustus and we do not have an alternate point of view. While Caesar's works are remarkable so too is the vigour with which sceptical criticism has been applied to his works. It is beyond doubt that he would have presented his case in the best possible light but it has often been assumed that behind Caesar's comments there lies another different and in some way more 'real' story. This has been expounded most notably by Rambaud (1966) and Stevens (1952). It is a slippery slope on which to tread and while some commentators have shown great ingenuity in criticism they have not always shown comparable restraint in interpretation, putting forward interpretations of the very kind of which they would accuse Caesar. By and large in the following discussions ancient sources are taken to mean what they appear to say rather than what they

might have said if they had not been lying to conceal the 'truth' or if they were just simply wrong (cf Finley 1985a, 7-26). Although early Irish texts have frequently been used in discussions of Celtic society (eg Wightman 1975) they have not been considered here partly for reasons of space, partly because of the difficulties in demonstrating their relevance to Iron Age Britain and continental Europe but above all because of the uncertain usefulness of trying to create a model of a Celtic society which does not change through time or in place (cf Ch 25.1). As will become apparent from the literary sources for Britain a number of changes can be clearly recognised.

17.2.1 PRE-CAESARIAN REFERENCES

The earliest writer definitely to mention Britain is Timaeus in his account of Pytheas' remarkable voyage of c 325 BC during which he circumnavigated Britain (Hawkes 1977b, 22-45). It has been claimed that Herodotus' mention of the Cassiterides (III, 115) refers to Britain and also that the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus, parts of which may be even earlier and of sixth century BC date, also refers to Britain (eg Cunliffe 1978a, 73) but these descriptions have convincingly been shown to refer to Spain and perhaps Brittany, not Britain (Hawkes 1977b, 19-22). Hawkes suggests that Ephorus is the source for the names Albion and Hierni in Avienus.

Timaeus briefly mentions British tin but it is not until nearly two centuries later that Britain is mentioned in a surviving text. Polybius (XXIV, 10, 6; cited by Strabo IV, 2.1) recounts how, probably c 134 BC, Scipio inquired in Marseilles about Britain but no one from Marseilles, Narbo or Corbilo could tell him anything,

but Pytheas' name was mentioned. It is possible but unlikely that this incident refers to the other Scipio c 210-206 BC.

From this Hawkes has inferred that Pytheas was known as having promoted a trade in British tin and that Scipio was also interested in tin (1984, 215, 231) but these do not seem to be necessary conclusions.

The next mention of Britain may be in the 90s BC. In his account of Spain Strabo describes an expedition by a P. Crassus to the Cassiterides and in it Britain is mentioned in passing (III, 176). Mitchell (1983) has argued that the expedition dates to c 57/56 BC and was made by P. Crassus but it is argued below (Ch 18) that the more widely accepted interpretation of the expedition being made by Publius Licinius Crassus probably in the 90s is more satisfactory.

Following this Diodorus' writing between 60-30 BC provides two accounts of a trade in British tin (V, 21, 2; V, 22, 1-4; V, 38, 5). There is no reason to assume that Diodorus' source was Timaeus and this possibility has been excluded by Mette (1952) and Dion (1977) has pointed out how difficult it is to reconcile the accounts given by Timaeus and Diodorus if they were to be describing the same scene. Posidonius is the likeliest source for Diodorus although other voyagers mentioned by Strabo (I, 63; II, 115) are candidates. It is perhaps to this context that Strabo's description of the *emporion* in Britain (IV, 1) may belong. It is doubtful, however, if Posidonius was the source of Caesar's British ethnography (App 1).

The next account of Britain is by Julius Caesar as he describes his incursions to Britain. There is a prodigious literature on this but the two principal contributors have been Stevens (1947; 1951; 1952; 1959) and Hawkes (1977a; 1980a; 1982). Full

references are contained in Hawkes' Mortimer Wheeler Archaeological lecture (Hawkes 1977a).

Although one writer, Plutarch (XXIII, 2) denied the existence of Britain (Stevens 1953, 21, n 1) and Eutropius (*Brev VI*, 17) says that Britons were ignorant of even the name of Rome until Julius Caesar's incursions, these statements must be rejected (cf Hawkes 1977a, 148, n 3).

17.2.2 JULIUS CAESAR'S INVASIONS OF BRITAIN

Caesar's invasions of Britain and other references in the *Bello Gallico* provide valuable evidence for a variety of cross-Channel contacts. Refugees from the Bellovaci (*BG II*, 14), links between the Druids of Britain and Gaul (*VI*, 13), the influence of Commius, appointed king of the Gaulish Atrebates by Caesar (*IV*, 21) and the authority of Diviacus a king of the Suessiones who had exercised control over parts of Britain within living memory (*II*, 4) are all mentioned. Caesar describes the Venetii as sailing regularly to Britain (*III*, 8) and tin as being imported (*V*, 12). Military aid given to the Gauls is mentioned twice (*III*, 9; *IV*, 20). Caesar also records that in their own tradition the people of the maritime regions of Britain regarded themselves as being descended from invaders from *Belgium* (*V*, 12).

These scattered references suggest that cross-Channel contact was frequent and took a variety of forms. Caesar also provides exceptionally important evidence about the nature of southern English society in the mid-first century BC and there is no reason to ascribe to Posidonius (*contra* Hawkes, eg 1982, 8).

Perhaps the most important inference to be drawn from Caesar is that British and Gaulish society were similar (*BG V*, 14). In the

absence of specific comments to the contrary it seems probable that Caesar intended it to be understood that British society was essentially the same as that in Gaul. From his references only to kings it appears that the archaic state had not developed in Britain (cf Nash 1976a; 1978b; Roymans 1983). The four kings from Kent - Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segovax - in the area later occupied by the civitas of the Cantii (cf Cunliffe 1982b) suggest that some territories were relatively small, and if Cassivellaunus' actions are any guide, internecine warfare may have been as common in Britain as it was in Gaul. In Britain as in Gaul Caesar is silent on the ownership of land. From his silence it is usually assumed that land was held privately as it was in the Roman world. The adjudication of the Druids in boundary disputes (BG VI, 13) and the confiscation of the property of Cingetorix (V, 56) also suggest that land was held privately while the contrast with Germans who are specifically described as holding land communally adds weight to this (Wightman 1975, 592). Even so, the possibility of use rights should not be overlooked (Crumley 1974, 21). In view of Caesar's disparaging comments about what the British thought of as oppida (BG V, 21) and also Dio's later use of τὸ βασιλείου for *Camulodunum* under Cunobelin it seems very likely that there were not capitals in Britain in 55-54 BC (Hawkes 1980b).

Caesar's description of gold and bronze coins and iron in standard units is probably to be equated with gold and potin coins and currency bars and although it is not entirely clear if the coinage should be taken as British, *a priori* his comments should indicate this (cf Haslegrove 1987a, 195).

The authority of Diviacus and the influence of Commius (although not necessarily in Kent where he was imprisoned), need not

necessarily be taken as testimony to invasions or divided kingdoms but should be viewed in the broader context of alliances between individuals. Caesar describes the alliances between Orgetorix of the Helvetii, Dumnorix of the Adeui and Casticus of the Sequani (*BG* (I, 3). Orgetorix and Dumnorix were related through marriage while Dumnorix had also married his mother to a noble of the Bituriges and married his half-sister and female relations into neighbouring states (I, 18). The distance that these alliances could cover is shown clearly by the marriage of Ariovistus to the sister of Voccio, king of *Noricum* (I, 53) (cf Champion and Champion 1986, 67-8). It is perhaps most likely that much of the authority and influence of Gaulish nobles in Britain was either created or consolidated through such a network of marriages and alliances.

These alliances and the practice of patronage in Gaulish and probably also British society (Fitzpatrick 1984b, 185-6; Crumley 1974, 19-20) are particularly important in view of the subsequent implications that British kings entered into client relations with Rome. Rather than creating a new form of power it is likely that under Augustus and Tiberius Rome merely exploited traditional, and therefore appropriate, channels of power. It is clear that during his Battle for Gaul Caesar made extensive use of this practice (Ch 25.3).

However, there is no generally agreed explanation as to why Caesar invaded Britain and he is far from clear about the reason.

Stevens followed by Balsdon (Stevens 1947) and supported by Hawkes (1977a) has suggested that the initial motive may have been to maintain the state of war in Gaul. Caesar's mandate was to pacify Gaul and there seem to have been plans by L. Domitius to terminate

his command once this was done. It may have been in Caesar's interest to prolong the state of war. This need would have been obviated for the immediate future by the extension of his command for a further five years at the conference of Luca early in 56 BC. Stevens has argued that Caesar's brief may or may not have included Britain and that Caesar exploited this ambiguity (Stevens 1947, 6). Caesar himself merely states that he 'thought it would be very useful merely to have visited the Island' (BG IV, 20). He implies that very little is known about Britain and rather plays down the contact between Britain and Gaul. This may be merely a dramatic device for his own comments about Commius (IV, 21), Diviacus (II, 4), the Druids (VI, 13), the Veneti (III, 8) and the aid given from Britain to Gaul during his campaigns (III, 9; IV, 20) do not square with this suggestion that 'in the ordinary way no one goes to Britain except traders' (BG IV, 20).

It has been suggested that he was interested in British tin (Mitchell 1983) or loot (Stevens 1947, 5) but it is difficult to find these proposals convincing. If Caesar had felt obliged to provide full justification for his invasion then he would surely have stressed the aid given to the Gauls as a proper motive, but he does not do this, instead he states that he thought that it might be useful. It is probable that Caesar had a very clear idea of how far away Britain was and how difficult it would be to land and it is surely likely that he understood the impact of going beyond the bounds of the known world would have on public opinion at Rome. Stevens has noted the likelihood that Caesar's despatches (which do not survive) made great play of the crossing of the ocean (1947, 5). Keppie has set the scene well:

'The [expedition] was quite unnecessary, but had a huge impact on public opinion at Rome. Britain was an island, of mystery and monsters, on the edge of the known world.'

(Keppie 1984, 96).

And indeed it did have a huge impact on public opinion despite the fact that in military terms the expedition achieved very little that was immediately obvious. But the possibility should not be ignored that in crossing, Caesar was intending to strengthen alliances with some tribes and weaken others in the same way that he had done after invading Germany (with possibly even less justification). This could have been part of a deliberate strategy to create alliances around the nascent province of Gaul. While there is no doubt that Cicero was disappointed with the amount of silver to be looted in 54 BC (*Ad Att* IV, 16, 7), this passing reference in a letter is hardly sufficient evidence to suggest that the invasion was prompted by the quest for wealth. It should not be forgotten that booty was expected as the spoils of victory in the Roman world (Garlan 1975; Harris 1979; Ch 25.2).

Caesar's second excursion is more enigmatic. The huge size of fleet - 800 ships - and army - five legions and 2,000 cavalry - suggest that this is an army of invasion and perhaps occupation. It is possible, although not certain, that Caesar hints that he may have intended to winter in Britain (*BG* V, 22; Stevens 1947, 6). Nowhere does Caesar explain why he visited Britain again. Hawkes' argument that it was to support Mandubracius and attack Cassivellaunus is, as is argued in Appendix 1, untenable. As Stevens has suggested it is possible that Caesar waited till late

in the summer before crossing because he was waiting for approval (Stevens 1947, 6). Whatever Caesar's reasons his complete silence on the subject, not even an *apologia*, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the contemporary audience understood the situation quite clearly and did not need to have it explained. If conquest was intended, it was evidently an optional conquest for Caesar was aware that Gaul was barely pacified (*BG V*, 5). There seems to have been no question that designs on Britain would have to be sacrificed if Gaul was threatened and this is what happened. It might also be thought that Caesar did not want to be stranded in Britain, probably unable to intervene in Roman politics, through the winter.

Stevens has argued that in 54 BC Caesar may have started the process of making Britain a 'provisional Province' (1947, 7-8; 1951, 332-3). This suggestion is based on the uses of *deditio* and *vectigal* in Caesar's settlement. Following Mommsen, Stevens suggests that unconditional surrender to Rome would be described as a *deditio* and that in consequence the defeated peoples became *dediticii*, their land part of the *dominium* of Rome and thus liable to tax, *vectigal*. This may be reading too much into the use of these technical words. Precise usage is to be expected from Caesar but *vectigal* does not necessarily mean tax rather than a finite indemnity (Braund 1984, 63-4). If we discount the necessity of tax, then Stevens' case, built essentially on the twin use of *deditio* and *vectigal*, is seriously weakened. Consequently *deditio* may imply no more than a treaty, probably including indemnity and secured by hostages (*BG V*, 22). This may have been a satisfactory arrangement for Rome and it is not necessary to suggest that a third visit to Britain was necessary and that the subsequent silence on the topic indicates the failure

of the putative plans to make Britain a province and its exclusion from the province of Gaul declared in 51 BC (*contra* Stevens 1947, 8). It has been frequently proposed that Augustus' consideration of invading Britain was prompted by the failure to pay this suggested tax or that the tolls on cross-Channel trade mentioned by Strabo was a substitute for it (eg Haselgrove 1984a, 20). But the evidence does not require this. Caesar's settlement may have been finite and this may be why the breach of treaties is never mentioned as justification for interest in Britain. Strabo states that (in the late first century BC) the British did not pay tribute - the evidence is compatible with the suggestion that after honouring the indemnity agreed with Caesar they never paid tribute. As with Julius Caesar and Claudius, Augustus' designs on Britain may have been prompted by political expediency.

Although Caesar invaded in 55 and 54 BC it has been suggested that he intended to invade in 56 BC. This was argued by Stevens (1947, 4; 1952, 8-16) and he has been followed by Wheeler and Richardson (1957, 17-18), Rambaud (1965, 144-74; 1966, 421-2), Hawkes (eg 1977a, 139, 146-9) and Mitchell (1983). This is a contentious conclusion and it is considered further in App 40. A number of other sources add detail to Caesar's accounts. As we have seen Strabo (IV, 190) provides the information that the revolt of the Venetii was inspired by their desire to protect their trade and also that Caesar was interested in the booty accruing from the expeditions (IV, 200). Suetonius (*Div Julius* 47) suggests that Caesar invaded Britain for the wealth of pearls and Caesar is known to have dedicated a breastplate decorated with British pearls in the temple of Venus Genetrix (Pliny *NH* IX, 52; Solinus 53, 28; Deutsch 1924). The veracity of this passage has been strongly doubted by Clausen (1947) who argues that the quality of

pearls from Britain is, and was, poor and that the *thorax* dedicated by Caesar may not have been of British pearls. The possibility that Caesar was interested in pearls should not be denied but that he invaded Britain for their wealth may be rejected.

Other incidental details include the possibility that Caesar brought an elephant with him in 55 BC has been argued by Stevens (1959). The source is Polyaeus (*Strat VIII*, 23, 5) who wrote in the later second century AD and possibly used Livy. Scullard has dismissed the likelihood of elephants in Britain (1974, 194, n 136) but Hawkes (1977a, 161, n 2) has correctly restated the possibility. Cicero (*Ad Att IV*, 15, 10; *IV*, 16, 7; *IV*, 18, 5) adds some details about the disappointment in some aspects of the booty from Britain. Lastly, Frontinus describes the escape of Commius (*Strat II*, 13, 11) and provides incidental detail about the type of shipping in use at the time and further details are also given by Caesar himself in another work (*BC [sic]*, I, 54).

17.2.3 REFERENCES BETWEEN CAESAR AND CLAUDIUS

Tacitus (*Agric XIII*, 2) and Suetonius (*Div Claud XIII*, 2) imply that there was peace with Britain between Caesar and Claudius and Eutropius (*VII*, 13, 2) suggests that no Roman set foot on the Islands between the two. This image of tranquillity is contradicted by a series of references to Britain in the works of Augustan court poets.

Writing in c 41-40 BC Virgil (*Ecl I*, 63-5) compares Britain to Sahara, Scythia and Central Asia in a way which may imply that it was regarded as being outside the Roman Empire (Stevens 1951, 333). Conversely Stevens takes Horace (*Epod VII*, 7-8), which he

suggests could be as early as 41-40 BC, as meaning that Britain was conquered. But the work was only certainly written before the Battle of Actium so it could be rather later in date and it makes rather more sense if it is contemporary with the bulk of Horace's references to Britain. The interpretation of this reference is not certain - Stevens (1951, 333, n 10) argues that it should indicate that Britain was conquered otherwise it would be insulting Augustus' patron Julius Caesar. However, in the context of the references to Augustus' designs on Britain later on where it is implied that Britain is unconquered it would surely be regarded as greater insult to Augustus to imply that he had 'lost' Britain.

Hereafter a series of references indicate designs on Britain. Broadly following Momigliano (1950, 39) these references are set out in Table 16.

TABLE 16

REFERENCES TO BRITAIN IN LATER FIRST CENTURY BC POETIC WORKS

Dio	49, 38, 2	38 BC
	53, 22, 5	27 BC
	53, 25, 2	27 or 26 BC (Momigliano 1950, 39; Stevens 1951, 336

Vergil	<i>Georg</i>	I, 29	37-30 BC
		III, 25	37-29 BC (Stevens <i>op cit</i> suggests 29 BC)
<i>Panegyricvs</i>	<i>Messallae</i>	I, 149	31 BC or 28 BC (Momigliano 1950, 40-1; Stevens 1951, 335)
Horace	<i>Epod</i>	VII, 7-8	pre 31-30 BC
	<i>Carm</i>	III, 4, 3; 5, 2-4	c 27 BC
	<i>Carm</i>	I, 21, 13	before 23 BC
	<i>Carm</i>	I, 35, 29	before 23 BC, probably c 26 BC
Propertius		II, 27, 5	c 28-15 BC
		IV, 3, 7	21-16 BC?

As Stevens points out (1951, 337, n 40) Virgil's *Aeneid* VI, 791-800 read to Augustus in 23 or 22 BC makes no mention of any British plans so this omission presumably reflects official policy. The contrast with Horace *Epodes* I-III published as a whole in c 23 BC is marked and because of this it seems likely that some form of arrangement was made c 23-22 BC. Stevens has argued that the likeliest date for Augustan interest is 27 BC when he was in Gaul (Stevens 1951, 336). This dating rests on the assumption that the date of the *Panegyricvs Messallae* and its

hopes for the future success of C. Valerius Messalla Corvinus dates to 31 rather than 28 BC and that the third reference in Dio (53, 25, 2) should refer to 27 to coincide with Augustus' visit to Gaul rather than 26 BC. On the basis of this Stevens suggests that Horace (*Epod* I, 35, 29) also dates to 27 BC. As Momigliano clearly shows this dating presents more difficulties than it solves (Momigliano 1950, 40-1). Horace records that there was an interest down to 23 BC and it does not seem particularly helpful to suggest that all these references refer to 27 BC as apart from Augustus being in Gaul in that year there is nothing else to indicate that these references should all be to one year.

The next clear reference is in Horace *Carminum* I V, 14, 47 which dates to 15-14 BC and was published in 13 BC. Horace recognises those who 'admire' and those who 'hear' Augustus. Stevens (1951, 338) sees in this a contrast between two classes of dependants although he is not sure to which category the British who are mentioned belong, but Brunt (1963, 173) is probably correct in suggesting that a difference is not necessarily implied particularly in view of the variety in appellations known to have existed (Braund 1984, 23).

As Brunt concludes there is no reason to assume that embassies from Britain had not been received (1963, 173-4). Nonetheless it is clear that there is a significant contrast between the earlier statements down to 23 BC and those of 15-13 BC. A settlement in or around 16-13 BC when Augustus was in Gaul would be plausible.

Between these two statements there is the statement of Propertius IV, 3, 7 dated between c 22-16 BC?, which as Momigliano shows is likely to refer to an embassy to Britain (Momigliano 1950, 39). On present evidence Propertius could be referring to a settlement

either c 23-22 or c 16 BC. Book II of his works which was published between 24 and 23 BC (Butler 1912) refers to the carved yokes on British chariots (II, 1, 76; cf Piggott 1983, 232), while this knowledge of the cosmetics (woad?) used by the Britons (II, 18, 23-32) is also noteworthy. Although this information could possibly be derived from Caesar (*BG* V, 14), Caesar describes the dyeing of all the body with woad rather than the application of cosmetics. The possibility should be entertained that Propertius' knowledge was derived from embassies and it may be such embassies that are implied by Horace (*Epod* IV, 14, 47).

It has been generally assumed that the interest in Britain was prompted by failure to pay the tribute arranged by Caesar (*BG* V, 22) (eg Sealey 1979, 172; Haselgrove 1984a, 20; Brunt 1978, 182) and the fact that Strabo (IV, 5, 3) does not mention tribute has been held to support this. It has been argued above that this need not be the case. It has also been suggested that the tolls which Strabo (IV, 5, 3) describes as exacted on cross-Channel trade were implemented to make good a lapse in tribute payments (Haselgrove 1984a, 20). However, it seems unlikely that the state would become involved to protect or foster a trade as such, rather than protecting traders and as Meyer (1961) and Brunt (1963, 173) have suggested, it is likely that Strabo is preserving the official justification for Augustus' renunciation of an armed invasion. The central point in that is not the tolls but the fact that some kings had succeeded in gaining the friendship of Augustus by sending embassies and paying deference, and had dedicated offerings on the Capitol. The use of 'friendship' is very important and it is likely from Braund's discussion (1984, 6-7, 24-5) that Strabo is describing the ceremony giving official

recognition to client-kings. That is why tribute as such was not exacted. As Brand demonstrates (*ibid*, 63-6) there is no conclusive proof that any client-kings paid tribute to Rome. The tolls described by Strabo could be part of the patron-client agreement but equally they need be no more than examples of the widespread *portorium* (De Laet 1949) which also existed in Celtic Gaul (*BG I*, 18, 3; Ch 25.4).

The question of which kings Strabo referred to has been considered by Stevens (1951, 338-41) who argues them to have been Eppillus and Verica but assumes that Strabo is describing events relating to either AD 6 in the Pannonian revolt or AD 9 and the Varan disaster. But Strabo probably wrote before 7 BC. Brunt has queried Stevens' interpretation primarily on the grounds that *Rex* on British coins need not refer to client-kings, only a growing degree of romanisation (1963, 173) but a consideration of the level of literary and the other evidence for client-kings does suggest that this is the most plausible interpretation (Ch 21). Brunt suggests that Strabo could refer to the probable settlement(s) between 23-22 and c 15 BC but could equally be earlier (*ibid*, 173-4). It is probably wisest to refrain from attempting to identify the kings from the limited number of candidates proposed. For example Tasciovanus has never been considered seriously but is a quite plausible candidate on archaeological and numismatic grounds (*cp* Nash 1987a, 131), but as with all the others proposed it is speculation.

A clear indication of the relations now existing is preserved in *Res Gestae* 32 where Augustus describes how amongst others, Dubnovellaunus and Tincommius had fled to him. This information was probably compiled before 6 BC and by AD 7 by the latest (Brunt and Moore 1973, 70, 82) but it cannot be taken as definitive

evidence that they were client-kings, although numismatic evidence rather supports this suggestion. Strabo's reference to having seen Britons in Rome (IV, 5, 2) is usually taken to refer to slaves and indicate an early start for a slave trade but in the light of the evidence discussed above this need not be the case.

It has been argued by Reed (1973) that there was settlement in c 14 BC. Reed takes as his starting point the discussion by Stevens of the possibility that Strabo describes a settlement in AD 9. In essence Reed argues that the romanising influence obvious on some coins of Tincommius, the Lexden medallion and Horace *Epodes* IV, 14, 47 are all contemporary and in fact all document a second settlement. On any grounds Stevens' discussion (1951, 337-9) nor the archaeological and numismatic evidence cannot sustain such a fine dating as 14 BC and Brunt (1963, 173) shows clearly that there is no need to conflate them. In order to maintain his argument Reed has to progressively assume that all the other sources which might have supported his argument, but do not, are mistaken. Thus otherwise reliable sources such as Dio has to make an error and Horace has to be conveniently silent. Reed regards this second triumph as momentous and he explains the silence of the *Res Gestae* on this event as being explicable due to its failure which he would see as being represented by the flight of Dubnovellaunus and Tincommius. As the *Res Gestae* mentions the German campaigns (26, 2) which by all accounts ended catastrophically it is difficult to follow to Reed in this argument. The cumulative effect of Reed's arguments being sustained only on the basis of assumed errors in the sources and with no reasonable proof is disbelief. As we have seen, a series of diplomatic treaties are likely to have been made throughout

Augustus' reign, there is no reason, nor convincing evidence, to suggest that it all relates to two settlements one c 27 BC (or 23-22 BC as argued above) and the other in 14 BC.

Reed's subsequent paper arguing that the *Classis Britannica* was established at Boulogne in order to protect the trade fostered by this supposed settlement of 14 BC (Reed 1975, 318-19) is based on even slighter evidence. The possibility raised by Reed that a fleet base either for the *Classis Gallica* or *Classis Germanica* was established at Boulogne c 12 BC is, however, worth further consideration. In his first paper Reed also brings out the likelihood that new information on the geography of northern Britain was available to Livy although this information is only preserved by Tacitus (*Agric* 10, 3), Pliny (*NH* IV, 102-4) and Jordanes (*Getica* 10). Reed plausibly suggests that Livy's source was Agrippa and that this information is likely to have been collected shortly after 5 BC (Reed 1973, 772). Reed suggests that this new information was an indirect result of the supposed settlement of 14 BC and possibly derived from traders.

While traders are one possible source of information (Reed 1973, 771, n 28) another is that the information may have been accrued in the course of exploratory voyages undertaken by Augustus (Pliny *NH* II, 167) and it is likely that in his north German amphibious campaigns of c AD 15 Germanicus had clear knowledge of the North Sea (Sherk 1974, 538). It is possible, though, that much of this knowledge was acquired in the course of Drusus' earlier campaigns amongst the Frisii from c 8 BC (Ch 16.4). Sherk (1974, 540, n 17) suggests that real exploration of Britain began with the conquest under Claudius but it is possible that some surveying may have been undertaken earlier, perhaps in conjunction with military campaigns as the two went hand in hand (*op cit, passim*; Millar

1982, 15-19). Some of Germanicus' fleet was swept over to Britain (and returned) in AD 16 (Tacitus *Ann* 2, 24) and information may well have been recorded in the course of this.

There is an incidental mention of British hunting dogs by Grattius (*Cyneg* 174-8) who wrote before AD 8 (Duff and Duff 1935, 143-205). After Augustus references to Britain are few.

Amminius fled to Gaius (Suetonius *Gaius* 44, 2) perhaps in AD 40 and it is suggested in chapter 21 that he fled as a prince or king and not as an embassy for Verica (*contra* Henig and Nash 1982). The flight of Verica from Caratacus to Claudius provided Claudius with the opportunity he needed to provide him with military success (Dio LX, 19, 1; Suetonius *Div Claud* 17, 1) and previously there had been a dispute over refugees (Suetonius *op cit*).

Beyond this Roman sources are virtually silent. Davies (1966) has argued cogently that Gaius never seriously intended to invade Britain. He may possibly have intended a show of strength to Britain as a continuation of his German manoeuvres, but a serious invasion could not possibly have been undertaken (*contra* Xiphilunus 166, 30, citing Dio; Suetonius *Gaius* 46; Tacitus *Agric* 13, 4). The story of the soldiers collecting shells may well be a myth, a misunderstanding of *musculi* which to the troops will have meant 'equipment', but to the layperson 'shells' (Balsdon 1934, 92).

Gaius may have contemplated invasion although Davies (1966, 125) doubts the reliability of Tacitus at the relevant juncture (*Agric* 13, 4). The silence of the sources is in part due to the fact that many fewer informed sources such as Horace and Virgil provide for Augustus' document the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius. Equally though, the silence may point to the continuing operation of the diplomatic arrangements negotiated under Augustus. The coins of

Cunobelin, Verica and Eppillus proclaim themselves as *Rex* which suggest that they were client-kings. The situation outlined by Strabo as acceptable to Augustus was in probability also acceptable to Tiberius and indeed this premise seems to have formed the basis for Tiberius' cautious foreign policy (Tac *Ann* I, 3; II, 26; VI, 32; *Agric* 13; Ch 25.2).

It is possible that one further source mentions pre-Roman Britain. Pomponius Mela wrote either just before or just after the Claudian conquest. There is a reference to a triumph *ex Britannia* by an unnamed emperor (III, 6, 49) shortly before a reference to the export of precious stones from Britain (III, 6, 51). These stones may be pearls, which have been discussed in the contexts of the *thorax* dedicated by Julius Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix (Pliny *NH* IX, 52; Solinus 53, 28; Ch 17.2.2), but although the triumph could possibly be thought to refer to Gaius it is simplest to take it as a reference to Claudius. It is doubtful if this should be taken as a reference to the pre-Roman export of British pearls.

CHAPTER XVIII

BRITISH TIN

While south-western tin is likely to have been available in prehistory (Shell 1980), extraction and processing sites are likely to have been obliterated by medieval and later workings (Greeves 1981) and sites of Iron Age date are virtually unknown (Penhallurick 1986).

Evidence from site finds is rare but pebbles suggested to be of cassiterite from Mount Batten which are probably from Devon or Cornwall (Gaskell-Brown and Hugo 1983) and the large quantity of small pieces of argentiferous copper found at Hengistbury Head which may be from the Callington region 20km north-west of Mount Batten (Cunliffe 1978a, 40-1; 1987a, 341; Northover 1987, 196) are probably of Iron Age date.

A number of 'Ox-hide' or H-shaped ingots which have not been found in closed contexts, have sometimes been considered to be Iron Age (eg Ellmers 1969, 115). In general discussion of them has been uninformative (cf Piggott 1977, 142; Laing 1968, 21), the date of the pieces could be medieval (Beagrie 1983; 1985; Penhallurick 1986) and analysis has been indecisive (Tylecote 1966). However, an unpublished ingot from Castle Dore may be of Iron Age date (Quinnell 1986, 121; Beagrie 1983, 107).

The suggestion that the ingots, particularly that from Saint Mawes, are of Iron Age date has depended on their suggested

correlation with Strabo's description of British tin being worked into *astragaloi* like pieces. *Astragaloi* can be translated in many ways (Maxwell 1972, 300), while *ρῦμοῦς* may describe their shape not their size (Beagrie 1983, 108; Hawkes 1984, 220 *contra* Cunliffe 1983a, 123). The important question is whether the 'Ox-hide' ingots can be correlated with *astragaloi*. Hawkes has taken *astragaloi* to refer to knuckle-bones used as dice, and in accepting the known ingots as Iron Age, he is forced to suggest that the ingots described by Strabo were a different shape to those exported, which he takes to be the form represented by known ingots (Hawkes 1984, 219-20). This seems overly complicated bearing in mind that the ingots are actually undated. If the ingots are *astragaloi*-shaped rather than sized, it seems unusual that they would have been compared to a very small object such as a human knuckle bone. As Piggott (1977, 142) suggests the metaphor may have been used loosely and by adopting a more flexible interpretation of both the greek and the shape of the ingots it is possible to reconcile the two. However accommodating this may be, it seems of doubtful use to have to change both descriptions. In any case the ingots would still remain only poorly dated and add little to our understanding of the Iron Age tin trade. At present it seems wise to reserve judgement on the date of the ingots and as Penhallurick notes, as with lead pigs, *astragaloi* may not describe the shape of the ingot at all (1986, 142). It is apparent that archaeological evidence for an Iron Age tin trade is conspicuous by its absence. The bulk of the evidence and the dominant factor in interpreting the slight archaeological evidence, comes from literary sources. It may be appropriate to review these sources here.

The starting point for any discussion of the literary sources is

the recent paper on the British tin trade by Hawkes (1984). Following Dion (1968; 1977) and Mette (1952) this paper disentangles consistent errors in the interpretation of the sources. The sources are few, with only two principal ones; Pliny (NH IV, 30, 16) gives an account which he states derives from Timaeus while Diodorus gives a short account which contradicts that of Pliny (V, 22, 1-4; V, 38, 5).

Pliny states explicitly that he is following Timaeus. Timaeus wrote shortly after Pytheas' famous voyage which was probably made in the 320s BC (Hawkes 1977b). Hawkes has argued that by the (convenient) mischance of a transcription error the British name for the Isle of Wight 'Ouechta', *Vectis* in Latin, became *Οὐέκτις* which is translated to Latin as *Mictis* (Hawkes 1977a, 131, n 1; 1977b, 29-30, n 68; 1984, 213-14). In this interpretation Timaeus describes the trading of tin from the Isle of Wight but the tin itself comes from the south-west. *Ictis* is not mentioned. In contrast the island in Diodorus' description is called '*IKTIV*' and the description of the trade is both different - for example boats are not mentioned - and fuller. Only the assumptions that the two names *Ictis* and *Mictis* refer to the same place and that Diodorus is following Timaeus lead to the interpretation that both Diodorus and Pliny are describing the same trade at the same time and place. Some writers have been certain that this is the case (eg Laing 1968, 19) others less so (eg Cunliffe 1978a, 74; Piggott 1977, 143) but the equation has generally been accepted even if only by tacitly ignoring the difficulties in making the assumption (eg Cunliffe 1983a, 123).

In view of the extent of Diodorus' debt to Posidonius (Nash 1976a), it is puzzling why it has been assumed that he too was following Timaeus. There is internal evidence which casts doubt

on this. In his second account of British tin Diodorus (V, 38, 5) refers to Narbon and as Diodorus states Narbon to be the Roman colony and not the hillfort of Montlaurès which preceded it, the account does not seem likely to refer to the later fourth century BC. Diodorus' account is preserved in Strabo and it is usually assumed that one or the other was responsible for the garbling of Timaeus. Hawkes, following Mette (1952), is probably correct to argue that Diodorus' account derives from a single source and this is most likely to be Posidonius. Hawkes adduces supporting detail in the description of the British tides as it was not until Posidonius wrote that the existence of tides became widely known in the Mediterranean world (Hawkes 1984, 221). Posidonius was in Gaul and Spain in the 90s BC and it is likely that his Celtic ethnography was prepared then (Nash 1976a) and writing about Spain, Strabo (III, 147) quotes Posidonius saying that British tin was carried to Marseilles. Because of this the accounts of both Strabo and Diodorus are consistent with an origin in Posidonius. Hawkes has sought to support this by contrasting earlier ignorance of British tin with Posidonius' suggested knowledge. Polybius (*Hist* XXIV, 10, 6) cited by Strabo (IV, 2.1) records that Scipio was unable to find out anything about Britain from the Massaliotes or the people of Narbo or Corbilo. It should be remembered that in the relevant passage Polybius was pouring scorn on Pytheas for fabricating tales about Britain. Hawkes (1984, 215) assumes, not entirely convincingly, that Scipio was looking for tin for his armourers for the Spanish wars and that he was trying to find out about British tin. He also assumes, probably correctly, that it is the Roman consul being described and that the account does not refer to c 210 BC. Despite these reservations Hawkes is probably correct to contrast this apparent ignorance of the British tin

trade in the 130s BC with the knowledge apparent in Posidonius(?). Even if an earlier dating for the passage is accepted, the contrast stands unaltered although it raises the interesting possibility that the trade was truncated in the second Punic War.

However, there is another passage in Polybius (III, 57, 3) which Hawkes does not mention, in which Polybius says that some readers will wonder why (amongst other things) he has not discussed Britain and the method of obtaining tin. This might suggest that he knew more but he implies that the authenticity of the knowledge is debatable and in the later passage (cited by Hawkes) it is apparent that he does not believe the account of Timaeus and it may be to this lost account that he is alluding in III, 57, 3.

Hawkes has argued that it is into the context of the early history of *Provincia* and the Spanish wars that the voyage of P. Crassus best fits (*cf* Ch 17.2.1). Crassus sailed to the Cassiterides and in recounting this Strabo (III, 176) specifically contrasts the distance between the Cassiterides and Spain and the crossing of the English Channel. Hawkes argues that the voyage was made by P. Licinius Crassus, governor of Spain in 96-93 BC (1984, 216) and that Posidonius was ideally placed to record this.

This identification has been doubted by Stevens (1947; 1952) who argues that it refers to P. Crassus, the grandson of P. Licinius Crassus, who was Caesar's *praefectus equitum* in Gaul in 58 BC and a *legatus* in 57-56 BC. Mitchell has recently taken up Stevens' arguments (1983). Mitchell dismisses the Cassiterides as a myth because it is not possible to identify them with any islands in the English Channel and argues that the voyage of Crassus would make much more sense if it was conducted by P. Crassus while on service in Gaul in 57-56 BC. The voyage he argues was a prelude

to Caesar's planned invasion of Britain in 56 BC which was prompted by the prospect of the riches of Cornish tin.

It is difficult to follow Mitchell. As Hawkes points out the contrast is between the voyage to Britain and the Cassiterides, Strabo does not place them in the Channel. Mitchell omits discussion of Strabo's description of exchange between traders and the inhabitants of the Cassiterides (III, 5, 11) which is difficult to reconcile with their being mythical. Mitchell's arguments that the Cassiterides are a myth which has deceived both ancient and modern writers are unfounded (1983, 85). However, in support of this Mitchell adduces the confusion in ancient sources over British tin, but Britain and the Cassiterides must be kept distinct while the confusion over Britain is the product of modern interpretation rather than inherent contradiction in the ancient sources. Mitchell's arguments for identifying Crassus as the grandson are equally unconvincing. He dismisses Hawkes' argument that as the voyage of Crassus is recounted in Strabo's book III which is concerned with Spain then the voyage should refer to islands off north-west Spain as groundless, pointing out that there are other certain mentions of Britain in book II (1983, 82, n 9). But in other mentions of Britain in book III (2, 9) Britain is firmly linked to Spain and the Cassiterides, so Hawkes' argument is not so easily dismissed. As Mitchell himself recognises the rest of his arguments are circular (1983, 83 n 12) and if his assertions that the sources are confused, the Cassiterides mythical and Hawkes' arguments are groundless are rejected then his own argument has no substance. His further arguments that the voyage of Crassus was a preliminary to Caesar's intended invasion of Britain in 56 BC are discussed in detail in Appendix 40 where it is argued that the absolute silence of the

sources on this idea suggest that it is a modern not an ancient idea.

If Hawkes' arguments are accepted then the chronology of the historical references runs as follows. The earliest reference mentioning Britain is Timaeus who is following Pytheas. The primary source will probably date to the late fourth century BC, after c 320 BC but the description of Britain survives only in Pliny in the later first century AD. Timaeus describes an island called Mictis six days inwards from where the tin is found. The island is reached by boats of osier.

The *Massiliote Periplus* which records a voyage perhaps of sixth century BC date, only survives in Avienus' *Ora Maritima* of fourth century AD date, and need not specifically mention Britain (Hawkes 1977b, 17-23; Rivet and Smith 1979, 39-40). The next reference is by Polybius who mentions Scipio inquiring about Britain but finding little success (XXIV, 10, 6; cf Nash 1987b, 101). As Pytheas was mentioned in Scipio's enquiry Hawkes infers that Pytheas was known as having fostered a trade in British tin although this is not a necessary conclusion. Polybius is recorded by Strabo, probably of late first century BC date. Polybius III, 57, 3 also mentions Britain. Scipio could have made his enquiries in c 210 BC but if the association with P. Licinius Crassus is accepted then the likeliest date is in the 130s BC. As Corbilo is mentioned in XXIV, 10, 6, Hawkes (1984, 215) suggests that the reference implies a western British port being involved in the trade, but this is not a necessary conclusion.

The next mention is likely to have been in the 90s BC, perhaps in 94 BC, and occurs during the description by Strabo (III, 176). The reference to Britain appears to describe a Channel crossing

rather than an Atlantic approach and this is based on the interpretation of *διδρυγούσης* as sundering (Hawkes 1984, 216). It seems likely that Strabo's source was Posidonius writing at about the same time of the voyage rather than some unknown source discussing Caesar's Battle for Gaul. Hawkes suggests that this refers to a crossing between Hengistbury and Alet (*op cit*, 226). Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* was probably published by 30 BC and compiled between c 60-30 BC. Diodorus mentions British tin at V, 21, 2 but gives two accounts of British tin. The first, V, 22, 1-4, gives a very full description of how the inhabitants of *Belerium*, who are hospitable to strangers and civilised because of their contact with merchants, worked and processed tin. This tin was taken to an island called Ictis which was accessible by wagon at low tide. It was brought by merchants who took it straight across to Gaul and then overland through Gaul until they reached the mouth of the Rhône. The second account is V, 38, 4-5 where it is stated that tin is brought from the island Britain (or from the British island) to Gaul opposite and then taken on horseback through Gaul to Marseilles and the Roman colony at *Narbon*.

It is worth emphasising that Diodorus' descriptions, particularly the first, are much fuller than seems to be generally recognised and his description of tin production is accurate (Penhallurick 1986, 142) and some published summaries (eg Cunliffe 1983a, 123) should not be taken as indicating the full scope of the sources. However, Diodorus regarded Britain as part of northern Europe (V, 21, 1) and this should warn against placing too much confidence in his geography.

Although it has been thought that Diodorus followed Timaeus (eg Laing 1968, 19; Cunliffe 1978a, 74; Penhallurick 1986, 142) and that the Mictis in Timaeus and the Ictis in Diodorus are the same

(eg Cunliffe 1983a, 123), it seems likely that his source was Posidonius and with the recognition of a separate source there is no need to assume that the two places are the same. Certainly Diodorus records a great deal more information than other sources. Hawkes suggests that the cross-Channel voyage describes a crossing between Hengistbury head and Alet but as the description is of a journey 'to the straight-opposite-lying Gaul' rather than 'to Gaul, lying opposite as it does' (Hawkes 1984, 226) this is not certain. Similarly Hawkes argues that the route across France omitting Corbilo will date after its supposed destruction by the Cimbri and Teutones in 104 BC (cf Hawkes 1977a, 134), while a pack horse route across Gaul could only have been possible after the collapse of the so-called Arvernian Empire in 121 BC (Hawkes 1984, 221, 228; cf Ch 15.2). The silence about Corbilo does not necessarily give a *terminus post quem* while there is no reason to exclude a trans-Gaul route before 121 BC, even if it would have been subject to tolls. A further source probably drawing on Posidonius is Strabo (III, 2, 9) who mentions British tin being brought to Marseilles and explicitly derives at least part of his passage from Posidonius.

Given the silence of Strabo on tin as a British export and also Caesar's short comments on the subject (BG V, 12.4), it is possible that the reference to the British *emporion* in Strabo (IV, 4.1) may derive from Posidonius and therefore be a reference to Ictis rather than any other site. As both Cunliffe (1983a) and Hawkes (1984) argue, Mount Batten is a plausible candidate for identification with Ictis although Penhallurick is unconvinced (1986, 143-5). As Mays (1981) has argued Hengistbury Head is also a plausible candidate, while St George's Isle should not be overlooked (Todd 1987, 87).

Posidonius then emerges as the likeliest source for the later details of the British tin trade but sources after that date are sparse. It is possible that as Roman knowledge of the Atlantic seaboard increased, the romantic interest attached to the tin trade was superseded by more mundane knowledge and with this references to British tin lapse. This might be supported by the rarity of Dr 1 amphorae in the south-west suggesting either little direct Roman contact or that the trade, if it continued, was conducted via Hengistbury Head but this may be due only to differential research. One difficulty remains and that is the similarity between Mictis and Ictis. Advised by Jackson, Hawkes argues that the names can never have been the same but they are strikingly similar if even only superficially so. It is worth considering that the names do refer to the same place but that either the name had changed or that it was mispronounced or misrecorded. Access to the island by osier boats or by wagons at low-tide are not mutually exclusive and it is worth considering that two separate accounts of the same place over two hundred years apart are recorded in the original texts of Pytheas and Posidonius. The differences may be genuine ones in descriptions of the same place, which had changed in antiquity, not incompetent copying by later authors. But by the later Iron Age it is to Spain that the Mediterranean world looked for tin (cf Long 1985, 97; 1987), and not, *contra* Nash (1987b, 101), north-west Europe.

CHAPTER XIX

CROSS CHANNEL EXCHANGES IN STRABO

Strabo refers to a number of goods imported to and exported from Britain. It is important to recognise that he does not provide a list or an account of 'the balance of trade' but that the references are made *en passant* in two consecutive chapters.

Strabo describes the exports as follows:

'It [ie Britain] bears grain, cattle, gold, silver and iron. These things, accordingly, are exported from the island, as also hides, and slaves, and dogs that are by nature suited to the purposes of the chase.'

(Strabo IV, 5. 2).

Strabo uses *στρον* for grain, which could mean barley and wheat, *δέρματα* for skins which could include hides and fleeces, and *βοσκήματα* which means fattened beasts in general and so could mean both cattle and sheep. None of the things mentioned by Strabo need leave diagnostic traces in the archaeological record. Equally notable is the silence of Strabo as to which areas of Britain he is discussing. It is generally assumed that he referred to south-east Britain (eg Bradley 1984, 154-6). While material such as gold and silver would have to be introduced to



eastern Britain there is no reason why these could not have been exported from central southern England, not necessarily from Hengistbury Head but perhaps from a nearby site or possibly even from western Britain. Fowler (1983, 214) has suggested that the beasts mentioned by Strabo came from western Britain but there is no reason to assume this. Tin is notable by its absence. The imports listed by Strabo are by his own testimony only some of the goods entering Britain;

'The imports from there [ie Gaul] (which include ivory bracelets and necklaces, amber, glassware and similar petty trifles).'

(Strabo IV, 3).

As we have seen (Ch 14.1.3) there is evidence from Britain for amber which was clearly being widely traded throughout Europe in the later Iron Age and for glassware (Ch 7). To date nothing of ivory has yet been found and objects of bone are also rare (Ch 12). It is important to remember that Strabo mentions these objects, all of which are clearly meant to be considered as 'petty trifles', in the context of the amount of duty paid by the British on imports. The main thrust of his statement is to demonstrate how much duty is received on worthless items, so more valuable imports need not be expected to figure in his list. For the same reason the actual British exports may be expected to be rather fuller than those listed.

Most of the items mentioned as exports would have been widely available in Gaul so it is difficult to see them as being exported in significant quantities. The mention of dogs is supported by Gratius' knowledge of British dogs, although it should not be

assumed that he is describing animals that he had seen (Ch 17.2.3). Gold, silver and slaves seem likely to have been the only commodities of great value for overseas export but it is likely that there would have been a significant interest for these within Britain as well. It has been suggested that other commodities - grain, skins and iron - may have been exported to the Roman armies on the Rhine (eg Salway 1984, 57-9) but it is difficult to see these armies relying on such a long supply route from outside of the Empire even for their prodigious demands (Davies 1971) and the thrust of evidence from the Netherlands is very clearly towards intensified production in the early Roman period (Bloemers 1983b; Willems 1984). It should also be remembered that Strabo's comments may date to before c 7 BC, a time when the German campaigns were in full flight and provisioning from Britain would be even less likely in this situation. In any case Strabo (IV, 3) implies that the exports were to Gaul:

In order to gain a better understanding of Strabo's comments it may help to examine other occasions when he describes foreign exchange in Europe. At the *emporion* of Genua he describes timber for shipbuilding, flocks, hides and honey being traded for olive oil and Italian wine (IV, 6.12) while at Aquilea, also an *emporion*, slaves, cattle and hides were exchanged for sea-products, wine and olive oil (V, 1.8). Describing trade between Celtic tribes in the Alpine area he records that the Celts from the mountains exchanged resin, pitch, torch-pine, honey, wax and cheese in return for food, presumably grain, from the Celts inhabiting the valleys (IV, 6.9). Discussing the Cassiterides he describes tin, lead, cattle and hides being exchanged with sea traders for pottery, salt and copper utensils (III, 5.11).

Descriptions of other exchanges beyond Europe occur at Tanaï's on the Black Sea, for example (XI, 2, 3). It is interesting to note that at the two *emporìa* the Roman goods exchanged could have been contained in amphorae, while one of the major products likely to have been exchanged at Aquilea, Norican iron, is not mentioned. While the British exports mentioned by Strabo are varied, the overall nature of the 'list' is directly comparable to the goods mentioned in other exchanges. Similarly it is clear that British exports are not a 'stock' description and presumably have some basis in truth. The absence of tin from the British items might be suggestive of its authenticity but the absence of iron from the list of items exchanged at Aquilea casts doubt on this. There is clear evidence that merchants from Aquilea were trading at the Magdalensberg and iron was certainly exchanged (Egger 1961) so the absence of iron from Strabo's list is curious and warns against placing too much emphasis on the absence of tin from the British exports.

It is possible that Strabo's description of duties being paid on both imports and exports might suggest that the trade he describes took place in Gaul but the duties could merely have been imposed there and incorporated into transactions made in Britain as well. However, if other passages refer to Hengistbury, it is possible that the items he mentions do also (*cp* Cunliffe 1987b).

CHAPTER XX

GRAFFITI AND CONDITIONAL LITERACY

Ten certain and ten probable graffiti on pots as well as the graffiti on the bases of the Welwyn silver cups are known from Iron Age Britain (Ch 8.2.1, App 41). All the graffiti on pots come from sites at Braughing or Colchester-Sheepen. The graffiti clearly have considerable bearing on the state of literacy in Iron Age Britain, the major evidence for which comes from inscribed coinage. The importance of literacy, whether only for keeping records or controlling or even defining knowledge - both past and present - has been stressed by Goody (1977; 1987). Piggott in particular has drawn attention to the great importance of the adoption of literacy by the Celts, even if this adoption may have been restricted, by accident or design, to a small number of people and may have been incomplete. This partial understanding may be termed conditional literacy (Piggott 1965; 1975, 46-8). The British graffiti and inscriptions are in Latin and it seems likely that this knowledge derives from the Roman world. Even if the evidence for it is slight, the adoption of literacy would be a development of major significance in the British Iron Age.

It is difficult to assess the evidence of the graffiti. As Jackson has pointed out 'Celtic was not a written language ... the only language of writing was Latin; it would not occur to anyone

to write in British, nor would they know how to do so' (Jackson 1953, 99-100). Piggott further points out that the Druids - the learned class - specifically avoided writing (1975, 17). The result of this is that we have no yardstick by which to measure the significance of the graffiti.

Graffiti are very rare in Iron Age Europe outside of mediterranean France (Krämer 1982) although they do have a long history (Moosleitner and Zeller 1982, 30 but see Krämer 1984; Lejèune 1983b). As we have seen there is no evidence for papyrus in Iron Age Britain (Ch 14.4.1) and the evidence for *stili* in Iron Age Europe is limited (Jacobi 1974a), and to date none have been found in Britain (*cf* Ch 12).

The overwhelming quantity of evidence of writing comes from inscribed coins. The major problem in interpreting them is whether they were inscribed by literate Roman die cutters and perhaps given as diplomatic gifts, or by British workers. It is possible that *filii* on the coins of those claiming to be the sons of Commius and Tasciovanus and *rex* on the coins of Eppillus, Verica and Cunobelin indicate indicate Roman approval and Roman status and may not necessarily indicate even conditional literacy or even knowledge of the Latin language. Conversely the aspirated spelling of Celtic names represented by such orthographic innovations as the barred D (Ð or ÐÐ or Ø) on the British coins of Addedomaros (Atthedomarus) and barred D on Antedrigos and the regional use of the termination -US in Kent (Dubnovellaunus, Eppillus and Ammi(n)us but also the rare spelling of Cunobelinus rather than -OS suggests some familiarity with both Latin and British in order to represent British correctly (*cf* Nash 1987a, 132). But as Piggott has pointed out, the orthographic innovations may represent what the romans knew as the *tau gallicum*

(Piggott 1975, 47) and so it may be a purely Roman device. The use of the latinised ablative or locative form for mint names - Calleva, Verlamio, Camuloduno - may only indicate that this form of reference was not otherwise used in British. This could indicate bi-lingual, classically trained, die cutters (cf Henig 1972) or that some Britons had learnt Latin. Latin could have been learnt in Britain or possibly through being educated overseas, although not necessarily in Rome, either as children through fosterage or as hostages or in adulthood as clients (cp Bonner 1977; Braund 1984, 9-21). However, if there was a concern to express both British and Latin correctly, the prodigious variation in the spelling on coins of names such as Dubnovellaunus or Tasciovanus (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 122-3) leave the degree to which the concern was fulfilled questionable. As most of the names on the coins are nominative and the genitive is usually used when there are two names on the coins, possibly indicating a filial relationship, it may be that the variation in British words reflects the situation outlined by Jackson.

In contrast the graffiti from Britain use the genitive but it is doubtful if this is of any significance in attempting to assess the *origo* of the inscribers (cf Galsterer 1983, 11-15). Although the Skeleton Green graffiti use the 'classic' Roman E in four out of five instances, this is not necessarily of significance as both the 'classic' E and the two parallel strokes are found in approximately equal proportions at Haltern (*ibid*, 8-9) so this does not provide any indication of the ethnicity of the inscriber and British Celtic coinage also uses both forms without any obvious distinction.

Although there are many uncertainties the sheer number of

inscribed British coins points very strongly to at least some members of British society being able to read Latin. It seems likely that Latin was widely understood in Gaul by the time of, or as a consequence of, Caesar's campaigns (BG V, 48 compare I, 29 and VI, 14) and Latin inscriptions on coins are widespread. It seems plausible that Latin was equally widely known in Britain after the Caesarian campaigns. Knowledge would certainly have been frequent, if not necessarily common, amongst the aristocracy and it seems likely that traders, who may have been aristocratic anyway, would also have had at least some knowledge of Latin even if this was essentially restricted only to numeracy (BG I, 29; VI 14). It should be remembered that on the basis of the inscribed coins Evans (1890, 385) suggested that Latin was the official language of the British courts.

However, some of the graffiti from Braughing-Skeleton Green and Colchester, Graecus and Sevii (Severii), very probably indicate that they were inscribed by Romans and unless they were second hand pots, which is unlikely, they seem likely to have belonged to Roman traders. But it should be noted that both Stöckli (1979a, 48-9, 250, Taf 68, 894-5; 98, 2-3) and Krämer (1982, 498, Abb 5, 2-3) regard some of the graffiti from Manching, on the 'Sanzenocups' from the south Alpine area, as having been incised in their homeland. It is difficult to interpret the less complete or abbreviated graffiti as in contrast to the graffiti from the Magdalensberg they are not written in a distinctive local script (Egger 1968). The discovery of the graffiti at sites with extensive evidence for external contact may indicate that most, if not all, of the graffiti were made by foreign traders (cf Partridge 1982).

In contrast, however, the graffiti on the base of the Welwyn silver cups (Ch 8.2.1) are likely to have been inscribed in the Roman world. If, as seems likely, the graffiti do not represent weights but a name (or names), it is possible that these were the names of a previous owner. These may indicate that the cups are second hand or possibly that they are diplomatic gifts.

It may be suggested then that this rather limited evidence points to the existence of conditional literacy in late Iron Age Britain. In the light of this the evidence provided by British Iron Age coins for diplomatic relations may now be considered.

CHAPTER XXI

BRITISH NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR CLIENT KINGS

Eppillus, Verica and Cunobelin all describe themselves on coins as REX. This appellation otherwise known only on coins of Adietunnus of the Sotiates or Sontiates in south-west France who issued a coin inscribed REX ADIETUANUS Ff / SOTIOTA (BN 3605; Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 125; Nash 1987a, 80). Ff may represent *flavit ferit* ('cast and struck'). It is noteworthy that Caesar recounts the anti rather than pro-Roman activities of Adietunnus during his Gallic Wars (BG III, 22, 1). A similar status may though be indicated by the way that Kaiantolos, Amytos, Bitoukos, Bitovis and Rigantikos, all from Narbonensis, describe themselves in Greek as Basileus (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 112). Allen has suggested that 'Ricon' or 'Rigoni' after Tasciovanus may be the British equivalent of Rex and Kent, following Allen, has suggested that it may be translated as 'Great King' (Allen 1944, 17; Kent 1978b, 56, n. 13), although the possibility that it is another of the names associated with Tasciovanus on his coins should not be overlooked, particularly as it lacks a singular termination.

The British inscriptions have usually been taken as indicating that the issuers were client kings (eg Frere 1978, 55-74 *passim*; Haselgrove 1987a, 196) but their interpretation is not quite so straightforward (Braund 1984, 124-5, 159-60, n 51). Client kings

were properly and fully described by Rome as a *rex sociusque et amicus* but such kings were variously referred to as a *rex*, a *socius*, an *amicus* or any combination of the three (Sands 1908, 10-48; Matthaei 1907; Braund 1984, 23). Badian has suggested that it was better to be a friend and ally of Rome rather than just a recognised king (1958, 106) but Braund has pointed out that the evidence is too slight to bear any interpretation (1984, 24). Interpretation of the coins is also complicated by the possibility that the concept of expressing kingship on coins may be Roman rather than British and the issuers themselves might not have recognised the implication that they were clients (cf Brunt 1963, 173). Alternatively the kings could be expressing not their client status but emphasising their knowledge of foreign societies and incorporating that knowledge into the definition of their own social, political and possibly religious roles.

That these inscriptions probably do indicate that they were client kings is suggested by a passage in Strabo (IV, 5, 3). Although the passage was considered by Stevens (1951, 341-2), insufficient stress has been placed upon the way in which he describes British kings gaining the friendship of Augustus by sending embassies and paying deference and the way that they (the kings) have dedicated offerings on the Capitol. The use of 'friendship' is very important (cf Braund 1984, 6-7) while it is quite clear from Braund's discussion of the ceremony of recognition of a client king that making offerings on the Capitol was an integral part of the process (Braund 1984, 24-5; cp Nash 1987a, 128-9).

Two passages in Cicero (*In Verr* II, 4, 67-8) amplify this point. Strabo will almost certainly have been reflecting official wisdom in his statement that British kings had become clients of Rome,

for there can be little doubt that this is what his Strabo's statement means (*cf* Ch 17.2.3).

The interpretation of the use of *filii* on the coins of Tincommius, Eppillus, Verica and Cunobelin may be viewed in a different light because of this. It has been doubted whether these inscriptions necessarily imply a filial relationship (Haselgrove 1984a, 54, n 25) and it has been wondered whether these statements are claims to legitimacy in inheritance based on adoption or patrilineal descent (Fitzpatrick 1985b, 62) or as Haselgrove suggests (*op cit*) intermarriage. The parallel to the emphasis on the dynasty on the later coins of Augustus and Tiberius is also noteworthy but once again it should be stressed that the approval of accession by Rome was very important to some client kings (Braund 1984, 129-64) and it may be that it is the obtaining of this approval for patrilineal accession that is recorded on the British coins. Although a number of Gaulish kings are known to have been clients of Rome, only the well known coins of Q. Doci Sam F. (BN 5405), Orgetirix Alpili F. (BN 4805) and T. Pom. Sex. F. (BN 4353-62), (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 124-5) provide parallels for the British coins. Historical sources do not tell us if any of these people were clients of Rome. The relationship of this style of definition to the series of other names on the coins of Tasciovanus (Fitzpatrick 1985b, 59) is uncertain and they could represent joint-rulers, sons, magistrates or moneyers. Braund has noted that the coinage of client kings under the Principate often bore the Imperial head as well as the *ornamenta* given upon the kings recognition at Rome (Braund 1984, 27-9, 115). While the British coins are unique in Europe in representing portraits of the individual rulers (Toynbee 1978, 99-101), it is possible that the busts on some coins, for example the

finely executed M 242, which wear wreaths, may be demonstrating a Roman rather than British symbol of authority of genuine significance rather than merely imitating Roman coins.

It should be noted that no British coins proclaim their issuers to have been Roman citizens although this was a standing conferred widely among client kings (Braund 1984, 39-53). Indeed Braund specifically argues that none of Verica's family (accepting that Cogidubnus was part of it) were citizens (*ibid* 39, 40; *cf* also Henig and Nash 1982, 244-5 on a related point) and it seems that British kings may not have had citizenship extended to them.

A number of British kings are known to have fled to Rome. The earliest recorded example and probably actually the earliest is Mandubracius who fled to Julius Caesar in Gaul, probably in 54 BC (*BG* V, 20-2). Dubnovellaunus and Tincommius fled to Augustus (*Res Gestae* 32) probably before 6 BC (Brunt and Moore 1973, 70, 82) and Amminus fled to Gaius on manoeuvres in Gaul (*cf* Davies 1966), perhaps in AD 40 (Suetonius *Gaius* 44.2). Henig and Nash (1982, 244; *cf* Nash 1982, 112) suggest that Amminus crossed to Gaius as an envoy from Verica but do not explain why. It is possible that Verica was anticipating the situation which subsequently led to him fleeing to Claudius (Dio LX, 19, 1; Suetonius, *Div Claud* 17, 1) but if this were so, it is difficult to understand Gaius' reaction to a mere envoy when it would have been more appropriate to a prince or king, no matter how exaggerated his actions may have been. As Stevens hints (1951, 341, n 77) the use of *dedito* or surrender for the action of Amminus is slightly unusual. It is possible that this would have been the correct description if Amminus was in conflict with an ally of Rome, perhaps either Cunobelin or Verica (*cf* Henig and Nash 1982, 244) and Amminus had

preferred to flee to Rome rather than to his British adversary. These flights to Rome are only a few of a large number (Braund 1984, 165-6) and while they do not provide clear proof that these individuals were necessarily clients of Rome before their flight, they show that diplomatic relations were well developed. Only in the case of Verica does the subsequent action of Claudius clearly suggest that he was a client. The others may have been but it is possible that arrangements were made which did not require Roman invasion, if indeed Verica's flight ever did require that.

It is clear then that the numismatic and historical evidence points very clearly to many of the rulers of southern England being client kings of Rome. At least one other settlement is indicated by an analysis of the court poets (Ch 17.3) and the individual or individuals buried in the Lexden Tumulus may have been buried with a set of diplomatic gifts, possibly those presented to them upon their approval by Rome (cf Braund 1984, 24-5).

SUMMARY

Considered in total the literary and epigraphic evidence emerges as being in broad agreement with the archaeological evidence. The earliest archaeological evidence for Roman contact along the Atlantic seaboard may be related to tin and this seems to be indicated by the literary evidences to British tin.

Caesar's ethnographic excursus is in general agreement with the archaeological evidence although some alliances such as the power held by Diviacus are difficult to identify archaeologically. Certain aspects of the numismatic evidence, particularly the Gallo-Belgic E issues, appear to offer clear support for Caesar.

The evidence for diplomatic relations during the reign of Augustus seems to be borne out by the British numismatic evidence and possibly by the Lexden Tumulus burial. If it is correct to infer that Tiberius did follow Augustus' decrees (Ch 25.2), then the numismatic evidence during the reign of Tiberius also seems to be in agreement with this interpretation. Even if it is not possible to provide archaeological corroboration for all of the imports or exports mentioned by Strabo, the range of archaeological evidence for imported goods is of the same nature as those in Strabo.

In contrast to this general harmony, discordances invariably occur when detailed reconstructions of 'historical' events are attempted. The greatest value of the literary references to pre-Roman Britain are at a general level, in synthesis rather than in detail. This is not to exclude their detailed use in other studies or possibly even for Britain at a later date, but to try to do so at present may not be the most helpful approach.

PART IV

CROSS-CHANNEL SHIPPING AND NAVIGATION

CHAPTER XXII

CROSS-CHANNEL ROUTES AND TRANSPORT COSTS

22.1 CROSS-CHANNEL ROUTES

There are three sources potentially available for considering the routes used in cross-Channel contact; historical, archaeological, and comparative studies.

Nearly all the literary information comes from Strabo although it is possible that his source was Posidonius as his reference to the Channel may imply (III, 176). Diodorus describes the British tin trade in book V, (22, 1-4) although the reference to the crossing is in book V, 38, 5. Hawkes interprets this latter reference as (to) 'the straight-opposite lying Gaul' rather than as a general reference to 'Gaul, lying opposite as it does' (Ch 18). Hawkes suggests that this crossing was from Hengistbury Head to the mouth of the Rance at Alet, although there is an element of circularity in his argument as it is influenced by archaeological data. Hawkes (1984, 216, 226) suggests that the two reference, refer to the same crossing which is possible but far from certain and in an earlier work he had taken them to refer to different routes (1977a, 145).

Strabo's most famous description is in book IV (5, 2) where he describes, or rather lists, the routes to Britain as being from

the mouths of the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine and the Rhine (cf Cunliffe 1984b, 6, Fig 2). However, there and in book IV (1, 14) Strabo indicates that shipping travelling down the Seine and possibly - but not certainly - down the Rhine also (*contra* Cunliffe *op cit*; McGrail 1983a, 329; Haselgrove 1984a, 27) then moved along the continental coast to Wissant or Bruges before crossing.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of these routes is that the western Atlantic routes were little used, as indeed may have been the case for the easternmost also.

Archaeological evidence can be held to support these routes as is thought appropriate, so for the present, at least, discussion of this is reserved until later (Ch 26). However, a major study of cross-Channel seamanship and navigation in the late first millennium BC by McGrail (1983a) bears out most of Strabo's comments. McGrail analysed the major routes mentioned by Strabo as well as others not documented and by considering the length of crossing, the likely visibility, likely displacement and the probability of foul winds and difficult legs, he compiled on the basis of comparative statistics (1983a, Tab 3) a relative order of merit for regular, safe, cross-Channel passage in the later first millennium BC which gave the following results (*cp* McGrail 1987, 259-74) (Tab 17).

While McGrail does not consider some routes, notably that used by William I in his crossing to Pevensey, the routes outlined by McGrail may be divided into two principal zones, one leading to central southern Britain, (routes 1-7) the other to eastern Britain (8-9), although it should be noted that according to

TABLE 17

RELATIVE ORDER OF MERIT FOR REGULAR, SAFE PASSAGE OF THE CHANNEL

1 *Cross-Channel*

Route		Relative Reliability Factor	Reliability Groups	
8B	Wissant	Walmer	100	
8A	Wissant	Dover	98.4	
8D	Boulogne	Walmer	98	1.1 Strait of Dover
8C	Boulogne	Dover	97	
9B	Bruges	Walmer	73	
9A	Bruges	Dover	72.6	1.21 Rhine/Thames
7	R Seine	Spithead	71	1.22 Seine/Spithead
5B	R Rance	Poole	63.5	
5A	R Rance	Christchurch	63	1.3 Mid Channel
3B	Ushant	Plymouth	47	
3A	Ushant	Mounts Bay	43	1.4 W Channel

2 *Coastal*

Route		Relative Reliability Factor	Reliability Groups	
6C	Poole	Plymouth	100	
6A	Christchurch	Plymouth	99	2.1 Wessex/Devon
6D	Poole	Mounts Bay	81	

6B	Christchurch	Mounts Bay	80.5	2.2	Wessex/Cornwall
4	Ushant	R Rance	62		
2	R Loire	Ushant	53	2.31	N Brittany
1	R Gironde	Ushant	36	2.32	N Biscay

Source: McGrail 1983a, Tab 4.

Strabo his route 7 could equally go to eastern Britain as to central southern Britain and that McGrail's route 9 could as easily go the Blackwater/Colne estuary in Essex as to the Stour/Thames which is indicated in his Figure 4 (cf McGrail 1983a, 332) and as McGrail has subsequently intimated (1985, Tab 1). An important point to emerge from McGrail's analysis is that, as may have been implied by Strabo, it may be impossible to distinguish on distributional grounds goods which reached Britain via the Rhine and Seine.

All these routes are likely to have been seasonal in their use, being confined to the season between mid-March and mid-November (*idem* 1983a, 307). Navigation will have been aided by knowledge of the moons (BG VI, 14) as well as tides and currents and sailing would be by estimated position (McGrail 1983a, 315-18). Strabo hints that some crossings could be by night (IV, 3, 4) and Ellmers has shown that navigation by the stars would be possible (1981, 165-6, Abb 6) although this is not without difficulties in leaving and making landfall (McGrail 1987, 281-2). Given the substantial evidence for cross-Channel contact from the Neolithic onwards there can be little doubt that the sailors of the Channel in the British later Iron Age were navigating familiar waters.

22.2 TRANSPORT COSTS

On the basis of the evidence in Diocletian's Edict, Duncan-Jones has compiled a relative index of transport costs (1982). He calculates that inland waterways were 4.9 times more expensive than sea transport and land transport could cost between 28 and 56 times more than sea transport. Working from this information Peacock has compiled a series of theoretical transport costs from southern France to Roman Britain (Tab 18).

TABLE 18

COMPARISON OF THEORETICAL TRANSPORT COSTS TO ROMAN BRITAIN

Route	Theoretical Cost Index
Sea from Narbonne via Gibraltar	4, 440
Narbonne - Bordeaux via Aude and Garonne	5, 779
Rhône - Loire via Lyon and Roanne	8, 354
Rhône - Seine via Plateau de Langres	9, 321
Rhône - Rhine via Saône and Doubs	11, 038
Rhône - Rhine via Saône and Moselle	12, 082

Source: Peacock 1978, Tab III.

Working on a similar basis, but also using information from Cato, Kunow has calculated a sea: river: land cost ratio 1: 5,9: 62, 5, and prepared a table of comparative Roman transport costs (Tab 19) (Kunow 1980; 1983, 53-5).

TABLE 19

COMPARATIVE THEORETICAL ROMAN TRANSPORT COSTS

	Laden Capacity (metric hundred-weight)	Daily Performance (Km)	Transport Costs (Multiples of Sea Transport)
Land Transport	5 - 6	18 - 20	62.5
River Transport	60 - 140	30 - 40	5.9
Sea Transport	600 - 2000	45 - 65	1.0

Source: Kunow 1983, 53-5.

Unfortunately it is difficult to employ this data outside of the Roman Empire as it is probable that uniform transport costs did not pertain. As Kunow comments this point is damaging to Hedeager's interpretation of the significance of Roman imports in Free Germany where she assumed for the purpose of argument equal transport costs. For Britain, at least, the rarity of finds of Dr 1 in north-west Iberia (Beltrán-Lloris 1970; Hidalgo-Cuñarro

1985a, 379, ; Naveiro-López 1985, 43) suggests that the Atlantic route was not used in the Republic, irrespective of its potential navigability and a similar situation may have existed during the Imperial period. Similarly, the absence of Dr 1 from the Rhineland before the arrival of the Augustan armies (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 311-13; Ch 1.2-3) also suggests that this route was not used before then even allowing for the exclusion of wine in the region (*ibid*).

CHAPTER XXIII

SHIPPING

23.1 CELTIC SHIPPING

At present no physical remains of later Iron Age ships are known from British or northern French maritime waters (cf Dean 1984) but literary and numismatic evidence gives a clear impression of the ships used (McGrail 1981, 19-21; 1987, 45-193).

In the course of his account of his Venetic campaign Caesar (*BG* III, 7-16) gives a clear account of the ships of the Veneti and their allies.

Caesar does not specifically call all the ships Venetic, but Gaulish, suggesting that he is describing a common ship-building tradition and that the ships he is describing may include those of the allies of the Veneti in the campaign - the Osismi, Lexovii, Namnetes, Ambiliati, Morini, Diablintes, Menapii and also the British (*BG* III, 9). Caesar also implies that the ships did not employ oars as the sudden calm during the battle with the Roman fleet left them at the mercy of the Roman ships and this was the decisive turning point of the battle. However, he describes oars on ships on the Seine later on (*BG* VII, 60) so it would be unwise to place too much emphasis on this.

The authenticity of this description has been confirmed by the discovery of a bronze coin of Cunobelin at Canterbury with a

representation of a ship on it. The representation shows 'a bluff, high-sided sailing ship, equipped with one mast and a yard, stays and a steering oar' (Muckelroy, Haselgrove and Nash 1978, 440). Although the coin may be up to a century later than Caesar's description as Muckelroy *et al* argue the coin suggests that there was a common, and stable, shipbuilding tradition in northern France and Britain (1978, 443). There is also a further find from Colchester (*cf* McGrail 1987, Fig 12.26). A similar type of ship may be referred to by Frontinus in his description of the escape of Commius from Caesar by setting the sails of the ship even though the vessel was still ashore (*Strat* II, 3, 11).

Although the nature of the context is uncertain, it seems likely that the iron anchor with iron chains from Bulbury, Dorset is of later Iron Age date (Cunliffe 1972, 300-2, 307, Fig 5, Pl LIVa; McGrail 1987, 253-4, Fig 12.38). Caesar's description of the iron anchor chains of the Veneti (*BG* III, 13) does not mention the type of anchor attached to them. Cunliffe suggests that the anchors used by the Roman vessels in the battle against the Veneti were wooden (1972, 302) and that there is an implicit contrast between the anchors used by the two fleets but as iron anchors were commonly used in the later Republic (Perrone Mercati 1979, 26; Kapitän 1984) it is, as Cunliffe recognised, difficult to be certain. However, the iron chains on the Bulbury find may reasonably be suggested to show that the anchor is Celtic rather than Roman.

One find which is sometimes overlooked is the model gold ship from the Broughton hoard. Despite the engagingly bizarre history of the hoard since its discovery (Evans 1897; Praeger 1942), there is no doubt that it is a genuine antiquity (Raftery 1984, 181-5) and despite Hartmann's interpretation of the gold analyses (1970;

1980) probably of Irish origin (Harbison 1971; Briggs, Brennan and Freeburn 1973; Scott 1976), which dates between the later second century BC and the first century AD. The model has a mast and yard, nine sets of oars, nine thwarts and a steering oar, a four-fluked grappling iron and three forked barge pokes. Farrell and Penny have argued convincingly that there is no good reason to assume that the model represents a skin boat rather than a wooden one (1975, 19-23) although McGrail inclines to it representing a hide boat (1987, 186, Fig 10.9). They point out that the model may have had two steering oars or, if there was only one, it could have been used on either side. The oars are perhaps the earliest evidence for the technique in northern Europe (Ellmers 1969, 110; McGrail 1987, 205). As the model is broadly contemporary with the shipbuilding tradition described by Caesar and illustrated by the Canterbury and Colchester coins, it seems likely that rowing was also known in Britain at this time but was not as important as sail at sea. McGrail (1983b, 300) deduces that ships of the Iron Age will have had a few oars or sweeps (cf 1987, 204-57).

The representations of ships on second century BC or later gold coins of the ?Lexovii appear to have decorated prow and stern posts (Allen 1971b, 96, Pl XXXIII, 1-4). The representations are very small but if the decoration is not just a nicety of the die cutters they hint that the ships might have been elaborately carved.

One possible piece of evidence to be considered are the stones allegedly from a wreck or wrecks in the Gulf of Morbihan. These have been considered by both Creston (1961) and Weatherhill (1985) to indicate the location of ships lost in the battle between the Veneti and the Romans. Weatherhill (1985, 169) overlooks the fact that neither the stones nor the wreck(s) are dated and that there

is no reason to suppose them to be of later Iron Age date. Better indications might be found in the Dr 1 amphorae from Armorican coastal water (Galliou 1982, 15-16).

It remains to consider the size of the ships. Estimates have varied. In considering the ships of the Veneti Creston (1961) suggested that they were between 30 and 35m in length. Muckelroy *et al* suggest that the Canterbury coin may have had a keel length of between c 8 and 21m, with the balance of probability inclining to the upper half of that range' (Muckelroy, Haselgrove and Nash 1978, 442). Conversely McGrail suggests that the standard cargo-carrying boat used in cross-Channel operations would have been smaller, between 7 and 12m in length (1983a, 300). McGrail deduces that these boats would reasonably be expected to cope with winds of up to Force six and sail within seven points of the wind. He suggests their average speed to be two and a half knots which allows an average day's sailing of 60nm.

These ships and boats were not the only kind of boats used in cross-Channel shipping and inland distribution (McGrail 1981, 16-25). A number of simple or more complex log boats, some certainly of Iron Age date are known from Britain (McGrail 1979a; 1979b; McGrail and Switsur 1975; Millett and McGrail 1987; McGrail 1987, 56-87), while the Brigg 'raft', which may be a flat-bottomed boat, is also of iron Age date (McGrail 1975). These will have been used for transport in estuaries and inland waterways and perhaps also for coastal traffic. Julius Caesar mentions skin-covered craft in Britain, presumably the south-east, and his description of them having keels identifies them as curragh rather than coracles (BC I, 54). Curragh may have had either paddles or oars and perhaps also a small sail. Pliny (NH IV, 16, 104), citing Timaeus' description of Mictis, mentions boats of osier

covered with stitched hides and these could be either coracles or curragh. These vessels could carry substantial loads; Casson shows that curragh could carry up to five tonnes (1971, 6), so their potential contribution should not be underestimated (McGrail 1987, 173-93).

These boats and ships carried on into the Roman period and Ellmers has dubbed it the Romano-Celtic tradition (Ellmers 1969). Much of southern Britain would have been accessible to these craft (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 55, Fig 4.4).

23.2 ROMAN SHIPPING

Roman shipping in the Mediterranean is now comparatively well documented (Casson 1971). A number of later Republican and early Imperial wrecks have been well excavated and although few are fully published they provide clear evidence for merchant shipping in the period under consideration. The Madrague de Giens is one of the better excavated wrecks and a substantive interim report had been published which provides excellent discussion of the construction of the ship (Tchernia, Pomey and Hesnard 1978). Perhaps the most pertinent information from the wrecks for our present purposes is the tonnage of the ships. This subject has been considered in detail by Pomey and Tchernia (1978) and it is apparent that ships were commonly in the range of 200-350 tonnes burden from at least the late Republic. Indeed the Madrague de Giens at c 350 and the Albegna wreck at c 450 tonnes burden each are amongst the largest merchantmen known from the Roman period. Hopkins (1983b) has effectively pointed out that it is mistaken to look for vessels up to 1,000 tonnes burden and it may be suspected

that most vessels were smaller than 200 tonnes. The tonnage may appear to be rather an abstract concept but its significance is apparent when it is recognised that the Madrague de Giens probably contained between 6,000 and 7,000 Dr 1B amphorae. She was also carrying around 300 Campanian ware vessels, 200 coarse ware pots and a large quantity of pine cones. The scale of the cargo quite dwarfs the finds from north-west Europe presently known. Parker has argued convincingly that such mixed cargoes were probably the rule rather than the exception. The bias towards wrecks apparently containing amphorae is probably due to the easy recognition and association of them with wreck sites, while very few sites have adequate documentation. Where good documentation is available mixed cargoes are common (Parker 1984, 102-4, Fig 7). The extent to which Roman ships were used in cross-Channel trade is uncertain. Caesar clearly used classical warships and transports in his invasions of Britain (*BG* IV, 20-31, 36-7; V, 1-2, 7-11, 13, 23) but he also used what were presumably indigenous ships in his battle against the coastal confederacy in 56 BC. The Porth Felen anchor stock discussed in greater detail in Appendix 42 might provide evidence for Roman shipping off Britain during the Iron Age, but this is not certain (*cf* McGrail 1987, 253), while the origin of the ship carrying the Haltern 70 amphora from the channel (Harmand 1966), if it is from a wreck, and of Iron Age date (App 8.4) is unknown. Peacock has suggested that finds of Graeco-Italic or Dr 1A amphorae from off the Hampshire coast represent a wreck, especially as an anchor had been found, and that because of this 'the case for Roman merchantmen in British waters cannot be dismissed' (Peacock 1984, 38).

In fact the amphorae come from Yarmouth Roads, off Newport, Isle

of Wight and were collected amongst other, later, material firstly by fishermen and latterly and in smaller quantities in systematic underwater survey. The anchor mentioned by Peacock is not certainly Roman nor definitely associated with the amphorae. Instead of representing a wreck, the scatter of material could be anchorage debris perhaps from Celtic or Roman vessels (*Maritime Heritage Project* 1987, 5-7; D.J. Tomalin pers comm). As yet Roman vessels are not certainly known from the waters of Iron Age Britain and the suggested wrecks can be regarded only as possible (Fig 51).

As we have seen, Ellmers has dubbed the provincial Roman shipping of northern Europe as Romano-Celtic because of the fusion it shows between the two traditions (1969). This suggests that later on Mediterranean Roman shipping was not widely used in Europe. While when Strabo (III, 5, 3) describes boats capable of sailing the Atlantic coasts at Cadiz, his main point is that previously this was rare. This raises the possibility that the merchants used ships from the Garrone or further north and these may have been Gaulish. Until wreck sites are discovered it is impossible to be sure whether Roman ships were used in cross-Channel trade, but it is reasonable to exclude the possibility of the kind of large merchantmen represented by the *Madrague de Giens* being used along the Atlantic coasts (Casson 1971; Johnstone 1980 *passim*). Gaulish ships were probably better suited to the Atlantic and Channel seas and on pragmatic grounds it might be thought these would have been used or the earlier stages of the Romano-Celtic tradition.

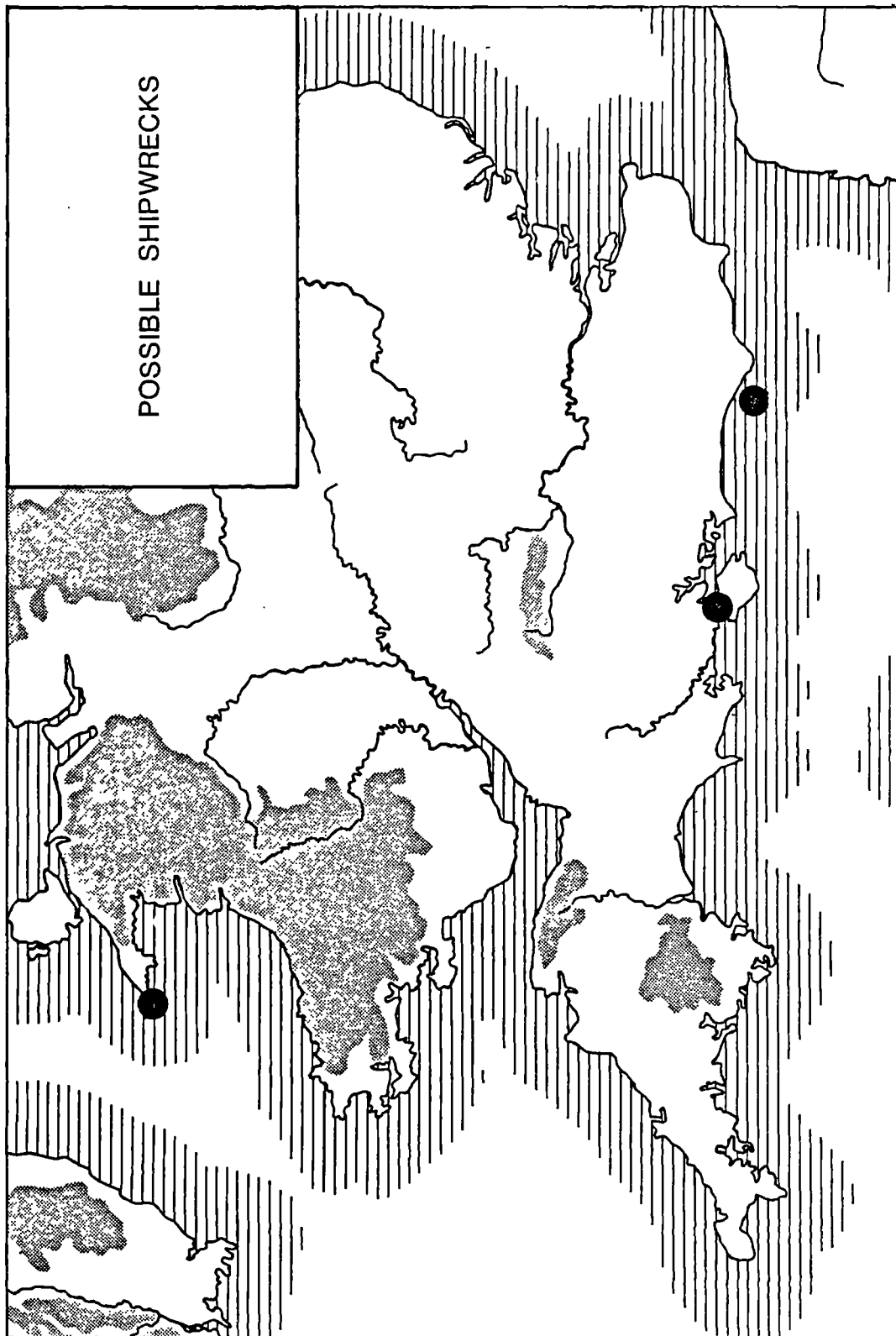


FIG 51: POSSIBLE SHIPWRECKS OF BRITISH LATER IRON AGE DATE

23.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR LANDING PLACES AND HARBOURS

The archaeological evidence for Iron Age landing places is slight but this is to be expected as the testimony of Caesar and the Canterbury and Colchester ship coins strongly suggest that ships were often simply beached and did not require formal harbours (Muckelroy, Haselgrove and Nash 1978, 441). This would also appear to be the case with logboats (Millett and McGrail 1987). As McGrail points out the evidence for a landing place may well be slight or ambiguous, or both - where it has survived at all (1983a, 310-12; 1983b; 1985; 1987, 267-74). At what appear to have been important ports with good natural harbours such as Hengistbury Head, quays or jetties might be expected, particularly to facilitate the safe offloading of heavy goods such as full amphorae and a search for these features (cf McGrail 1982, 9-10) appears to have been rewarded in the 1985 excavations (*Current Archaeol* 100, 1986, 147) but a formal harbour is most unlikely (cf McGrail 1985). However, sites such as Poole Harbour (Cunliffe 1982a, 46-8, Fig 3), Mount Batten (Cunliffe 1983a) or Colchester-Sheepen which the distribution of traded goods also suggests may have been ports, have yielded little evidence for how boats were moored or goods unloaded.

It is important to remember that landing places need not be directly on the coast but may well be some distance inland on estuaries, as a number of interests will decide what is a suitable landing site and/or port (McGrail 1983a, 311-12; 1985, 15-16), while the discovery of a small amount of evidence at a coastal site does not immediately identify that site as a port (*contra* Rodwell 1976a, 318-19). The identification of later Iron Age port sites is, for the present at least, generally dependent on

criteria other than the identification of formal landing facilities.

PART V

INTRODUCTION

This part presents a synthesis of the four foregoing parts. Firstly, cross-Channel Contact in the earlier and middle parts of the Iron Age is reviewed and it is argued that the later Iron Age contact should be viewed within a continuum of contact and not as a sudden reawakening. Before turning to the evidence for the British later Iron Age various possibilities which the contact between Celts and Romans could have taken are assessed in the context of later prehistoric and early Roman Europe. The final chapter presents a chronological survey of the development of cross-Channel contact in the later Iron Age. After the incursions of Julius Caesar the importance of contact with the Roman world grew although it is only with the accession of Augustus that this contact became directly important. However, as much of the dating and interpretation of the continental European evidence revolves around Julius Caesar and Augustus, the British material is also grouped in this way but any *a priori* analytical priority to the Roman contribution to Cross-Channel contact is rejected (Ch 26.3).

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROSS-CHANNEL CONTACT

24.1 THE EARLIER AND MIDDLE IRON AGE

In comparison with the abundant evidence for cross-Channel contact in the later Bronze Age (O'Connor 1980; Meyer 1984-85), the earlier and middle Iron Ages display relatively little evidence for the movement of artefacts. As Champion has shown (1975; 1979, 412-15), there must have been a steady passage of ideas and people, but after the evidence offered by the Hertford Warren and Havelte daggers (Clarke and Hawkes 1955; Petres 1979) and the Thames and Luttre daggers (Macdonald 1978), there is little unambiguous evidence (*contra* Jope 1982).

Some attention has been devoted to the Low Countries where there are some general parallels in settlement (Pryor 1984) and rather more tenuous ones in the pottery (Champion 1975; Drury 1978a; Cunliffe 1982b), but little is known of the other continental coastal areas. The authenticity of many of the so-called 'Mediterranean imports' into Britain is dubious (Harbison and Laing 1975), even though Nash inclines to accept some Greek coins as genuine (1987a, 15, 118).

Bradley has characterised the Middle Iron Age as a period of both apparent isolation from continental Europe and major social change (1984, 138-44) but this may be a false distinction. The

development of British sword styles is broadly in parallel with those of continental Europe (Stead 1984b; Fitzpatrick 1984b, 182-3) as is that of brooches, suggesting that the artefactual evidence may be present, but needs careful assessment, being less obvious than the pan-European styles of later Bronze Age metalwork. Indeed, it is in this period when 'La Tène' regional groupings - often discontinuous geographically - begin to be clearly discernible throughout continental Europe (Champion and Champion 1986) and major migrations are attested (Dehn 1979; Champion 1980). Accordingly, the apparently insular developments in Britain and Ireland may be precisely what should be expected within the European framework. The contrast with the more obvious later cross-Channel contact may have been over-emphasised and perhaps a less dramatic pattern of evidence such as that documented by Champion for an earlier part of the Iron Age (1975) should be envisaged. However, it seems plausible that the nature of the contact may have changed.

It was possibly in the Middle Iron Age that cross-Channel contact in the south-west was the strongest. The literary evidence for the export of tin is problematic, but none is certainly later than Posidonius, possibly written in the 90s BC (Ch 18). The archaeological evidence presently available for contact in the south-west in the later Iron Age is slight and this could suggest a date before the first century BC for the literary evidence.

Avery argues that parallels for the British decorated pottery are principally Middle Iron Age (1973) and there is early-mid La Tène Armorican pottery from Carn Euny, Porthmeor, Trevelgue and Halligye in Cornwall (Todd 1987, 180) and Poundbury (Dorset)

(Green 1987, 117, M3: B13-14, Fig 84, upper). Brooches related to Iberian or Aquitanian types occur at Mount Batten and Harlyn Bay (Clarke 1971, 147, Pl I, 24-5; Whimster 1977, 77-9, Fig 30, 1-2; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 49-52, Pl 20; *cp* Mohen 1980; Boudet 1987, 171-2, Fig 33, 69), but as the springs are false, it may be wondered if they are not a regional British group rather than Iberian as Whimster (*op cit*) suggests? Hawkes comes to the same conclusion (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 50-1).

What is probably the earliest of the Castle Dore glass bracelets (Ch 7.2.3) is likely to be of third-second century BC date. However, the reliability of the Paul hoard (Allen 1961; Ch 15.5) is dubious even though Nash inclines to accept it (1987a, 70-1, 118), while the Porth Felen Stock (App 42) is also very poorly dated. The Italian amphora from Carn Euny is certainly a Dr 1A and this might be the latest evidence for cross-Channel contact in the later Iron Age. However, the Trethurgy vessel could be either later *or* earlier, if indeed it is Iron Age, and it would be rash to assert that Dr 1B will continue to be absent or rare in Cornwall and Devon. Typologically undiagnostic Italian amphorae sherds from Castle Dore could also be of later first century BC date. Nonetheless, the bulk of the available archaeological evidence for cross-Channel contact with south-western Britain in the Iron Age antedates the later Iron Age. This may suggest that the glass bracelets, which have a westerly distribution (Ch 7.2.3, Fig 28), may belong in this period too.

If indeed there was a trade in British tin in the British Iron Age it is perhaps likely to have been during the middle La Tène period before any British and/or Armorican sources were possibly

superseded by the increasingly available Spanish sources. It is perhaps worth noting that Republican amphorae appear to be very rare in Galicia (Ch 22.2) suggesting that there was not a trade along the Atlantic coast of Iberia, but the Bagaud 2 wreck points to exploitation of Iberian sources by the later Iron Age (Long 1985; 1987). The widespread distribution of Dr 1A along the Atlantic coast of France may reflect the route of an earlier tin trade but with other commodities now being used. It is perhaps during the later stages of the Middle Iron Age that the movement of raw materials to Hengistbury Head began and may have been related to a trade in tin although other metals were certainly transported, perhaps from the same area (Northover 1987).

In south-east England the earliest imported coinage, the Gallo-Belgic 'Philippus imitations' are all poorly provenanced (Ch 15.2), but if they are reliable (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 76), then they suggest that one of the most enduring axes of cross-Channel contact was established in the third century BC, if it is not actually of greater antiquity. Nash hints that the Philippus imitations may indicate military services between Kent and what she argues to be the early Belgic core area in Picardie (1984, 104; 1987a, 118) but other forms of contact, such as raiding, should not be discounted. The earliest of the Gallo-Belgic coins to be found frequently in south-east Britain, Gallo-Belgic B and A may date to the mid-second century BC if not earlier. It is these coins which Nash regards as representing Belgic settlement, perhaps originating in raiding. Once again, however, other interpretations are possible (Haselgrove 1984a, 49-50; 1987a, 193-4; Bradley 1984, 145; Collis 1971, 71-3). The significance of these coins will be considered further below but it should be

noted that there is little evidence for metalwork or pottery accompanying these coins (*cf* App 1; *contra* Haselgrove 1984a, 50, n 6; 1987a, 194), although the recently discovered Tartigny bucket strengthens the case for an earlier adoption of bucket-burial than has hitherto seemed likely (Ch 11.2).

To date central southern England has yielded very little evidence for cross-Channel contact before the later Iron Age. The Armorican sherd from Poundsbury, Dorset (Green 1987, 117) might suggest that there was some central southern English involvement in cross-Channel contact at this time but it is possible that this should be associated primarily with the contemporary south-west England - Armorican contact.

In summary, while the individual pieces of evidence are slight, cumulatively they suggest that southern Britain was far from isolated from continental Europe during the Middle Iron Age. Instead, when compared to contemporary continental Europe, the evidence may be of the sort that should be anticipated and clearer definition of the pottery of this period on both sides of the Channel may provide further evidence for contact to be set alongside that demonstrated by metalwork styles. Perhaps most pertinent to the present study are two points. One concerns the various zones involved. From the available evidence perhaps the most important is the probability that the most enduring axis of contact, Belgic Gaul with south-east Britain, was well established by the later Iron Age. In contrast such contact as there was with the south-west may have already diminished by this time. Of direct contact with central southern England there is, as yet, barely a sign. The second point is that along with much other recent work on the European Iron Age (eg Polenz 1982; Collis

1984a), it is clear that many of the aspects held to be of great significance in the later Iron Age have their origins in the Middle Iron Age or at least well before the currently accepted dates for the later Iron Age (Preface) and need have little to do with the impact of Rome. The adoption of coinage in Britain is presently perhaps the best documented example of these developments often ascribed a date well into the first century BC but likely to be significantly earlier.

24.2 THE ADOPTION OF THE ISSUE OF COINAGE IN BRITAIN

The two main earlier Belgic Gaulish issues which arrived in Britain in quantity (Gallo-Belgic B and A) are usually thought not to have inspired any imitations. However, as Gallo-Belgic B staters are apparently rarely found in continental Europe (Kent 1981; Fig 45) it is quite possible that they were actually struck in Britain, perhaps using imported dies (Nash 1987a, 111, 119; Haselgrove 1987a, 80; Tab 22). As we have seen (Ch 15), there is no reason to follow Kent (1978a; 1978b; 1981) in depressing the date of the introduction of Gallo-Belgic A and C into Britain to the Caesarian Wars. It is plausible that some of the British derivatives of Gallo-Belgic C are broadly contemporary with it, perhaps struck, possibly from recoinced Gallo-Belgic C (Nash 1987a, 114, 123; Haselgrove 1987a, 81-92) in the 70s or 60s BC, while others, such as British I or J, may be linked to the Caesarian campaigns (Haselgrove 1987a, 87, 192; Nash 1987a, 114-15, 124). It is possible that some continental European dies were imported (Haselgrove 1987a, 192). But while it is usually assumed that the first British coinage was gold perhaps struck from recycled

Gaulish coins (Nash 1987a, 45-6), it seems likely that potin coins were the first issues to be manufactured on a large scale in Britain and they could also be the earliest British coins.

As discussed in Chapter 15.3, Allen argued that the British potins derived from the *tête diabolique* coins of central Gaul (1971a) and rejected the 'late' chronology proposed for the continental coins by Colbert de Beaulieu (1970a), although Colbert de Beaulieu himself rejected Allen's suggestion (Colbert de Beaulieu 1973b, 13, n 23, 33), doubting the associations and reliability of the Lattes hoard by which Allen set great importance and reiterating his belief in a late date for the *têtes diaboliques*. Colbert de Beaulieu also reasserted that the origin of the British series was in the *gross tête* coins of eastern Gaul (*ibid* 31-2, n 69; Allen 1971a, 131, Pl IV, 29). Nash has also supported this east Gaulish issue (BN 7388) as the prototype for the British coins (1979, 299; 1987a, 122).

There are difficulties in accepting this origin. In fact no BN 7388 have actually been found in Britain, the coins from the Paul, Penzance hoard taken by Colbert de Beaulieu to be of this type (1956, 427; 1973b), are actually *têtes diaboliques* (Allen 1961, 98, Fig 1, 2-4). More importantly the BN 7388 would not provide the origin for the earliest British coins in Allen's typology (Type A) nor for van Arsdell's 'prototype' coin (van Arsdell 1983; 1986), always accepting that the typology reflects the order of issue. As Allen also noted, the bulls on the earliest British coins face right, as do the earlier Massaliote issues, while most of those on the *têtes diaboliques* series face left which suggests a starting date broadly contemporary with the earlier Central Gaulish issues.

As Massaliote issues are so rare in Britain with only two site finds, both probably Romano-British introductions and a hoard possibly of these types from Folkestone (Haselgrove 1987a, 279), it seems unlikely that they provided the prototype for the British coins, if it is correct to look for only a single source (*ibid*, 248). Conversely an increasing number of *têtes diaboliques* or early British copies of them are being discovered (eg Gregory 1980; Kelly 1984, 367; 1985, 272-3; Haselgrove 1987a, 99, 248-9) which suggests a Central Gaulish prototype. Although Nash supports an east Gaulish prototype, some of her Bituriges 'A' potins are close to the early British coins (Nash 1978a, 230; Pl 24, 588-91) and it may be that the 'A' or 'B' series is the prototype for the British coins. As Nash suggests (1979, 299), the type(s) copied may have been chosen because they were the only ones available and arrived at the same time as Gallo-Belgic coinage.

Van Arsdell has suggested that British Class I potins are contemporary with Gallo-Belgic B on the basis of a potin coin which was apparently gilded and which he interprets as an attempt to pass it as a Gallo-Belgic B quarter stater (1984a). However, as van Arsdell admits the similarity between the two coins is not particularly close and if the coin is an ancient 'forgery' (Haselgrove 1987a, 244), it could relate to a later series. A more promising avenue for determining the date of the coins by their relationship to gold coinage is in their weight which may be related to that of quarter staters (Haselgrove 1987a, 191).

Perhaps the best evidence for the date of the British coins comes from the site-finds. On the basis of them Rodwell has argued that

the whole of the British series is of first century BC date rather than continuing to the conquest as Allen suggested (Rodwell 1976a, 206-7). As Rodwell notes the absence of potins from Colchester, Harlow, St Albans and Silchester may be of chronological significance. A number of other finds point to the appearance of the coins in the first half of the first century BC (Haselgrove 1987a, 100).

Three Class I coins were found at Hascombe pressed into the surface of a context dated 100 bc \pm 50 (BM 1485) (F.H. Thompson 1979, 282), although the radiocarbon dates are not entirely satisfactory (*ibid*, 300, 305-9). The excavator suggests that the site was abandoned in Caesar's invasions of Britain and the site does not seem to continue into the second half of the first century BC.

A number of coins have been found at the Caburn. Although there is later occupation (Wilson 1938; Bedwin 1978, 46; Cunliffe 1978b, 45, 52-3), all the coins from Pitt-Rivers' excavations appear to be associated with Saucepan pottery (Pitt-Rivers 1881, 470-1, 483-5, 487, 495) as may be some of those from the Curwens' excavations (Curwen and Curwen 1927, 4, 47, 49, nos 1-3, 5), which suggests that they date to the first half of the first century BC. The absence of later coins from the excavations need not be of chronological significance (Haselgrove 1987a, 150, 461-5).

The coin from Pit 20 at Farningham Hill in Kent, perhaps type L rather than Class II as suggested by the excavator (*ibid*, 473), was associated with pottery which may date to the first half of the first century BC rather than the later date suggested by Philp (1984, 16-17, 35, 57, Fig 15, 35-40; cf Ch 4.2). A similar date is possible for the coins from Ashstead in Surrey although the

associations are less secure (Allen 1938; Lowther 1946) and the Witham, Essex finds (Rodwell 1976b; Thompson 1982, 866; Sealey 1985, 103-4). Lastly, a similar date may be relevant for the Hengistbury Head finds (Cunliffe 1982b, 45-6; 1987a, 136, 139, M4: E1-13), which may represent a hoard (Haselgrove 1987a, 316).

While none of these finds is indisputable, cumulatively they suggest that potin coins appeared in Britain in the first half of the first century BC, if not earlier, and further support comes from the evidence of hoards.

There are a number of hoards of Class I potins which, with the exception of the Snettisham example, have contained only potins. These hoards have been widely taken to be of Caesarian date (eg Allen 1971a, 141; Rodwell 1976a, 200-6; Sealey 1979, 165-8) but there is no independent evidence for this (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 144) and it should not be forgotten that the Snettisham 'site' includes several deposits and could be a religious site rather than an 'emergency' hoard complex (*ibid*, 324-7). The only associated dating evidence is from the jar in which the Sunbury hoard was found although the recently excavated Stansted find of Class II coins was discovered in the excavation of a settlement and may prove to be dateable more closely.

As the great majority of the hoards are located south of, or near to, the Thames and are of Class I types only, it is tempting to see them as forming a single horizon. The Croydon hoard is, however, of Class II coins (Shaw 1979). The hoards could reflect any number of otherwise undocumented events but geographically and possibly chronologically too, they correlate well with what Caesar recorded of his British incursions and with his famous reference to the British using coins of bronze, which, as Allen argued

probably describes potin coinage (Allen 1971a, 141; Ch 17.2.2). Thus while the evidence is not as straight forward to interpret as Rodwell (1976a) would maintain, it is possible that the hoards are of Caesarian date and that they form a further strand of evidence supporting an early date for the adoption of the issue of coinage in Britain.

Colbert de Beaulieu's argument that Caesar's invasions of Britain were too short to produce such a horizon of hoards (1973b, 35), are difficult to accept. One further hoard association comes from the hoard from the shrine at Chilly (Somme), where a British potin was found in a hoard of uninscribed Gallo-Belgic bronze coins (Scheers 1982b) which are likely to be pre-Caesarian (*contra* Scheers *op cit*; Collart 1987).

The evidence of site finds and hoards and to a lesser extent typological and metrological considerations, suggests then, that British coins were first issued, probably in Kent, in the second half of the second century or the first half of the first century BC. Allen (1971a, 143), Rodwell (1976a, 205) and Nash (1987a, 122) have suggested that as the distributions of Gallo-Belgic C and potin coins are broadly coincident, they could be contemporary (*cf* Allen 1938, 354), while Cunliffe has plotted potin and Gallo-Belgic B together (1981c, 34, Fig 12; 1982b, 45, Fig 19), and Nash hints that they may be contemporary, at least in part (1987a, 122). While these associations are not yet demonstrable one, or both, of them seems plausible and it is likely that potin coinage was amongst the earliest (the other possibly being Gallo-Belgic B staters), if not the earliest coins made in Britain, probably to provide a 'silvery'-looking fractional or fiduciary coinage to accompany the earlier Gallo-Belgic or

earliest British gold coinages. The date late in the first century BC which Tatton-Brown has proposed for the first British potin (1982, 162) must be rejected, while Nash's suggestion that it continued down to Claudius (1987a, 38, 122) is debatable. Tatton-Brown's suggestion is, in any case, now refuted by the evidence now available from Canterbury (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 144-5). As Haselgrove (1979, 205) has argued it is possible that potin coins were used in a different, but complimentary, sphere of circulation from the gold coins (cf *idem* 1987a, 159-60, 191).

The adoption of the issuing of coinage is one example of the participation of southern Britain in developments taking place throughout much of central and western Europe. In continental Europe many of these changes took place or have their origins before the later Iron Age as it is usually understood and there is no obvious reason why southern Britain should differ from this. As the definitions of chronology and archaeological groupings which are fundamental to later European prehistory, particularly the idea of a 'classic' La Tène (Champion 1987), are closely related, it should not be assumed that the difficulties raised by this can all be resolved simply by extending the dating of the later Iron Age. However, for present purposes, the two most important conclusions which may be drawn are that the changes of the British later Iron Age are probably part of a continuum of constant change throughout Europe and that many of the important changes were underway well before the direct influence of Rome was felt.

These changes did not occur of their own volition and it is to the societies and individuals involved, and particularly their external relations, that we should now turn.

CHAPTER XXV

EXTERNAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CELTS, AND ROMANS

In considering written sources and the study of the European Iron Age T.C. Champion has argued of the literary sources that 'despite all the problems of access, assessment and interpretation, they represent a worthwhile body of data, the true value of which has not yet been realised.' (T.C. Champion 1985, 17).

Writers such as Posidonius offer valuable insights into the nature of later Iron Age Celtic society at the time that it was coming into contact with the expanding Roman state in the later Republic. However, in order to make the fullest use of these sources it is also necessary to try and understand how Rome approached her barbarian neighbours (eg Dauge 1981), and they her.

Archaeology provides evidence which both complements and expands that offered by the written sources. The scale of archaeological evidence for pre-conquest Roman trade and exchange with the Celtic barbarians is barely hinted at by the literary record. In these sources trade with the classical world is often mentioned as an index of virtue or of 'civilization' (Timpe 1985, 280-4; Bremmer 1980, 32-3). Archaeological evidence also suggests some forms of contact which are not mentioned in the written sources. The approach adopted here is essentially historical but which

archaeologists have sometimes argued to be ideographic (Trigger 1978) or contextual (Hodder 1986).

25.1 CELTIC SOCIETY

Classical sources provide us with a picture of a stratified Celtic society divided into three principal groups. The dominant group is a warrior elite who owned land and livestock, secondly there is a dependant group of free landowners and specialists such as the Druids and lastly there are the unfree *plebs* who do not own enough land to be able to fulfil the property requirements which determined access to the free clients. While there is the theoretical possibility of social mobility, the extent of its reality is uncertain. The system, which worked through dues and obligations, can be characterised as one of patron-client (cf Eisenstadt and Roniger 1984). While this characterisation is severely restricted and the literary sources are biased towards this group, the elite expressed their status in a variety of public displays many of which were connected with warfare. Archaeologically this is seen in the expenditure and/or destruction of wealth in the building of hillforts, votive offerings and weaponry deposited at shrines and in watery places and the maintenance of armed retinues payed in precious metal coin and latterly with fiduciary issues. Less tangible archaeologically are the giving of feasts by the elite, possibly intimately associated with both secular and sacred authority (cf Berger 1963), and the patronage of the Bards by the elite because of their role in singing the praises of the elite and presenting society as being 'natural' and traditional. Status was measured

in part by military prowess and success and in part by wealth and the two were closely linked. By the nature of the society competition and rivalry both within and between groups was intense (Nash 1981, 13-16; 1985, 46-9; 1987a; Fitzpatrick 1984b, 183-7; Haselgrove 1987c, 106-7).

Despite the many problems of interpretation of the classical sources, notably the gross scale of analysis and the validity of their 'alien wisdom' (Momigliano 1975, 50-73; Ch 17.1), the unison with which they describe Celtic society and its emphasis on warfare leaves little doubt as to its essential correctness. But there are also differences between the sources and while these have been used to cast doubt on their integrity either in part or in whole (eg Tierney 1960), it seems more likely that the differences document changes within Celtic society (Nash 1976a). The comparative study of the early Irish sources provides some insights (eg Wightman 1975; 1978), but it is this probability of changes within the later Iron Age societies documented by the classical sources which flaws attempts to fuse the Irish and classical texts in an interpretation of a timeless and unchanging 'traditional' Celtic society. Interpretations of Celtic society as being in some way 'feudal' (eg Luwailon 1975) are difficult to accept for the same reasons.

As Champion and Champion have noted, two major social changes are distinguishable in the literary sources for later Iron Age Celtic societies (1986, 66). The first is that until Posidonius, who probably observed Celtic society in France in the early first century BC, there is no mention of kingship as an institution. In the first century BC, however, there are numerous references to

kings (Collis 1984a, 161-2). The second development was the appearance of elected magistrates in a small area of central and eastern France by the mid-first century BC. One of the principal purposes of this system was the prevention of individuals gaining and retaining power.

Although a great deal of attention has been devoted to the second development as an example of 'secondary state formation' as the apogee of social evolution (Nash 1976b; 1978b; Roymans 1983; cf Cherry 1984), it is the appearance of kingship which is likely to be of greater significance as its distribution was far more widespread than that of 'secondary state formation'. There is considerable evidence for British kings (Part IV *passim*).

RELATIONS BETWEEN CELTIC COMMUNITIES

One aspect likely to be common to both kingdoms and 'archaic states' is the forming of alliances between individuals. The clearest examples are given by Julius Caesar who describes military alliances between the Helvetii, the Aedui and the Sequani, all neighbouring peoples (BG I, 2-4). Marriages were also an important aspect of alliances and the same military alliance was partly bound by marriages while marriage ties with other tribes existed (Ch 17.2.2). Champion and Champion stress the importance of these alliances (1986, 67) and where it has been thought that archaeological evidence for the movement of 'foreign' women has been recorded, as at Manching (Krämer 1961, 315), it is possible that this may illustrate these marriage alliances. For our present purposes, however, it is sufficient to recognise that the intense competition for status in Celtic society made use of

alliances within and without the polity. The authority of Diviachus (*BG* II, V) and, probably, Commius (*Front Strat* II, 13, 11) on both sides of the Channel may be related to such alliances rather than an older, common ancestry as is frequently suggested (eg Haselgrove 1984a; cf Ch 15.2).

It has been argued above (Ch 15.2) that the Celts of Britain and Gaul were likely to have been bound by alliances both in marriage and by military treaty. Nash has suggested that inter-Celtic relations could be based on a variety of forms of contact including (i) diplomatic, (ii) the exchange of goods and services - the latter including military service, either as mercenary or through obligation and (iii) by raiding and/or colonilocation. The first two of these are relevant for cross-Channel relations in the British later Iron Age as may be the third (Nash 1984).

LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

The difficulty with attempting to use this literary evidence is the extent, if any, to which these sources which refer primarily to Central and Southern Gaul are valid for southern Britain. It has been suggested that the general similarity in the archaeological material between the areas and also Caesar's comments (*BG* V, 12-14) on this might encourage this view (Fitzpatrick 1984b, 183; Ch 17.2.2), but it is no more than an assumption. Nonetheless, it seems preferable to put forward this proposal for a model of Celtic society rather than to leave Britain populated with anonymous 'tribes' [*sic*]. One point does seem clear, however, and that is that the possibility of secondary state formation in southern Britain can be excluded as what appear to be the most powerful groups in Britain, those in the south-east

of England, were ruled by kings, some of whom may have become paramount chieftains, but not more (Nash 1982; 1984, 101; Haselgrove 1984a, 25-6).

As Cunliffe has elegantly shown, there are distinctive regional differences in the archaeology of southern Britain between c 400-100 BC (1978b; 1984c). The principal zones which concern us here are the Central Southern zone, which Cunliffe characterises as being dominated by strongly defended hillforts, and the Eastern zone, where hillforts are rare (1984c). Additionally there are regional differences in ceramic styles. One of the questions to be asked of the evidence is if it reflects differences in society? Cunliffe suggests that strong chiefdoms were based among the hillforts but that in the Eastern zone there was a lack of centralisation and suggests that population pressure in central southern England may have been a major factor in forming these differences. Cunliffe has proposed population pressure as a factor in a number of publications (eg 1978c; 1984f, 8) but the key point in his interpretation is that hillforts were central places - the highest ranked settlements in a hierarchy and that Danebury was an example (1983b; 1984a). However, as has frequently been pointed out, a comparative sample of rural settlements is not available so it is difficult to accept this argument. (Champion and Champion 1981, 42; Collis 1985, 349; Bradley 1984, 142-3; Haselgrove 1986a; 1986b; Stopford 1987, 70-3). While greater grain storage capacity seems likely for hillforts (Gent 1983), many of the manufacturing activities known at Danebury occur on rural settlements and it is difficult to demonstrate a high level of differentiation (Bradley 1984, 140; Collis 1985). As Harding has also pointed out, as elite need not have been resident in a hillfort (1980), so it is possible that

the archaeologically distinguished Central Southern and Eastern zones may have been created by an essentially similar society (*pace* Cunliffe 1984c, 174) and the value of attempting to establish a simple rural/urban dichotomy is debatable.

Attempts to distinguish different varieties of Celtic society have met with limited success. Nash's attempt to distinguish purely agrarian and warrior agrarian Celtic societies (1984; 1987a) is difficult to reconcile with the settlement evidence which is at odds with her interpretations which appear to be theoretical divisions of the same society (*cf* Frey 1987, 250). A more soundly based argument proposed by Hingley for different Celtic societies (1984a; 1984b) has been heavily criticised (Haselgrove 1984c) but defended against this convincingly (Hingley 1984c). However, Hingley's arguments are based on exceptionally well researched and interpreted data and because of this and the specific interpretation of his model, it is presently almost impossible to extend the application of it beyond the Upper Thames Valley. Even so it is again possible that both societies suggested by Hingley could be encompassed within the broad outline of Celtic society advanced above and this broad level of analysis is a major drawback in the ancient literary sources, even though they still provide the most detailed information.

Thus while there are undoubtedly regional and zonal differences in the archaeology of the Iron Age of southern Britain, at present it is difficult to be confident of any social significance(s) in them. It is certainly difficult to reconcile Cunliffe's suggestion of a lack of centralisation in authority in eastern England with the overtly elite nature of much of the metalwork

deposited in watery contexts there (Fitzpatrick 1984b). Even the tribe of the Durotriges which appears to have been one with comparatively little vertical hierarchisation at the end of the Iron Age (Cunliffe 1978b, 341; Bradley 1984, 152-3; Ch 26.6) can plausibly be interpreted as a form of this 'typical' Celtic society (Blackmore, Braithwaite and Hodder 1979, 99). It is possible that the argument of 'stress' intensifying the presentation of ethnicity advanced by Blackmore *et al* to account for the apparently clearly defined material culture of the Durotriges may actually only represent the well-defined burial rite which is the prime source for their analysis. A decline in cross-Channel trade is (*contra* Blackmore *et al* 108) unlikely to have the cause as the funerary tradition may be older than any decline (*cf* Aitken 1967, 127 but see Ch 11.4.2) and contrary to Blackmore *et al* there are other clearly defined traits in the British later Iron Age, one of which, burials of Aylesford-type, develops fully at a time of increased external contact and trade.

25.2 ROME OVERSEAS

In contrast to the difficulties of discussing Celtic society, Roman society in the later Republic and early Principate is thoroughly documented and discussed. A detailed discussion of Roman and provincial societies is beyond the scope of this work, instead attention will be directed to a number of recent arguments concerning the expansion of Roman influence outside the Italian peninsular.

Roman society was clearly stratified with access to the senatorial elite being determined by wealth which was substantially founded

on the ownership of land.

Hopkins has argued that the effect of a period of almost uninterrupted warfare was that the influx of booty and captives into Italy resulted in a heightening of social differentiation (Hopkins 1978). In particular, absence on military service of one in three of the free yeoman and peasants in the first century BC led to their being bought-out or replaced by slaves which contributed to the creation of large slave-worked estates. By this time it is thought that between 25-30% of the Roman population were slaves (Badian 1982). Hopkins argues that the substantial depopulation of the landscape and the consequent changes in ownership and labour, which themselves led to a displacement of population and attendant urban growth, all followed from the almost continual overseas warfare.

Until recently a significant school of thought, exemplified by Badian (eg 1968) argued that this warfare was essentially defensive in character. Central to this argument of 'Defensive Imperialism' is the thesis that every war was 'a just war' with Rome declaring war only for fear of her own security, to protect her own boundaries or to defend her allies. Cicero puts it well; 'Our people, by defending its allies, has become master of the whole world' (*De Rep III*, 223, 25). It is difficult to accept this interpretation whereby Rome, while still a Republic and nominally a city state, acquired almost by accident one of the largest empires the world has seen. It is equally hard to believe that the flow of booty, captives, taxes and the attendant kudos were never seriously intended and the possibilities they opened were not recognised by the Roman elite who commanded the Roman armies and who shared the honours, offices and privileges.

The ideological base of this argument has been refuted by Brunt who has demonstrated that the expansion of the later Republic was sanctioned by an ideology which institutionalised the divine right of Rome to military success (Brunt 1978). A related view has also been proposed by Finley in discussing the concept of 'empire' in the Graeco-Roman world (1978). Finley emphasises two assumptions. One is that 'domination was "Natural", whether of men over women, of the free over slaves, or of some communities over others'. The other assumption was

'the universal rule that to the victor belongs the spoils, including territory, property, and people, civilians as well as soldiers, men, women, and children, free or slave. The victor did not always exercise his rights to the full, but that was his unilateral choice.'

(Finley 1978, 5).

For the Republic, the positive willingness of Rome to go to war has been argued most cogently and diligently by Harris (1979; cf Harris 1984a) and his views have been defended against the criticism of Sherwin-White by North in a critique (1981) where he summarised the major tenets of Harris' arguments as follows:

Firstly that

'Both the expectations and the social ethos of Romans of high and low status were geared to regular war-making, they had the attitudes and habits which go with this way of life.'

Secondly

'Many Romans, including all those who had a major influence on policy decisions made, and knew they made, large profits out of warfare and out of the expansion of the Empire.'

Thirdly, that

'Expansion was a publicly stated aim, uninhibited by the supposed ideology of the *ius fetiale*.'

Fourthly,

'Roman wars were often aggressive' in intention, even if no formally so.'

(North 1981, 1).

Even so, North does not accept the emphasis of all of Harris' arguments, differing notably on the effect to which senators discussed the justification for each war, arguing that the military ethos Harris argues for so carefully would free them of this burden of conscience. North also places greater emphasis than Harris on the economic significance of booty as the principal factor in retaining the loyalty of the Italian allies. Consequently North is led to propose an interpretation of the development of Roman imperialism which emphasises the consequences of an ideology which legitimates warfare and the economic significance of this attitude, not only in the execution of campaigns but also in the administration of the Empire. It should be noted, however, that Harris disagrees with some of North's points (1984b, 18-20, 30-1). The contemporary awareness of the economic and social potential of warfare in the later Republic is accepted by many recent commentators (eg Harris 1984a; Beard and

Crawford 1985, 72-84; Nash 1987a). Although some authors remain cautious as to the extent to which the expansion was deliberate (Dyson 1985, 270-9) and Sherwin-White (1984) maintains much of the thesis is correct, 'defensive imperialism' currently finds few adherents. Indeed, in a careful analysis Willems (1984) has characterised the expanding Roman Empire as a hegemonic rather than territorial empire, its frontiers typified as a frontier of inclusion rather than exclusion.

Julius Caesar was perhaps one of the most dramatic personifications of this aggressive imperialism. His campaigns in Gaul eventually brought southern Britain into direct contact and confrontation with Rome (Ch 17.2.2) and his own Commentaries are one of the major sources for the *laus imperii* discussed by Brunt (1978). From the vicissitudes of the Civil Wars - when British obligations may have lapsed - Octavian ultimately emerged as another figure in this tradition. Irrespective of his attitudes to the Republic, Octavian and when he became Augustus, stood in direct descent from this ideology. Wells has shown clearly that his 'foreign policy', particularly in Europe, is intelligible only within the context of this ideology (1972, 3-13). It is within this framework and that of a general policy of inclusion rather than exclusion that the formation of alliances between British kings and Rome in the period c 30-10 BC should be viewed (Ch 17.2.3). Although punctuated by revolts (Wightman 1974; 1985; Willems 1984, 217-31), by employing these methods Augustus was able to bring most of north-west Europe firmly within Roman control in his lifetime.

On his death Augustus is said to have bequeathed eventually a '*consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*' (Tac Ann I, II, 7).

As Wells has also shown, the implementation of this policy was not completely straightforward and it is incorrect to regard the Rhine as the definite frontier of the Empire from AD 16 (Wells 1972, 241-5). However, Tiberius did not attempt to recover Germany and with the exception of revolts in Gaul (Drinkwater 1983; Wightman 1985, 63-6) north-west Europe seems to have remained peaceful. Gaius may or may not have contemplated invasion of Britain (Davies 1966; Ch 17.2.3) but a combination of the need for a triumph and perhaps also, but to a lesser extent, booty prompted Claudius to invade Britain in AD 43 (Frere 1978; Todd 1981; Salway 1984, 70-2).

25.3 THE POSSIBLE NATURE OF FOREIGN CONTACT BETWEEN THE CELTIC AND ROMAN WORLDS

While the summary interpretations of Celtic and Roman societies advanced above could be elaborated, it is noteworthy that both have a common emphasis on the importance of warfare and military alliances, albeit for different reasons and on a vastly different scale, in societies where clientage was an institution. It is important to bear these similarities in mind when turning to consider the possible nature of the contacts between the two cultures. A variety of forms of contact can be distinguished; trade and exchange, diplomacy (including gifts and subsidies), mercenary service, warfare and the exercise of power which Finley points out can include

- '(i) restriction of freedom of action in interstate relations;
- (ii) political, administrative, or juridical interference in

local affairs; (iii) military and naval conscription; (iv) the exaction of 'tribute' in some form, whether in the narrow sense of a regular lump sum or as a land tax or as transport tolls or in other ways; (v) confiscation of land, with or without subsequent emigration of settlers from the imperial state; (vi) other forms of economic subordination or exploitation, ranging from control of the seas, trade embargoes, and 'Navigation Acts' to compulsory delivery of goods below the prevailing market price and the like.'

(Finley 1978, 6).

As Venci has observed, archaeologists are prone to neglect the possibility of warfare and its significance, concentrating instead on trade and exchange (Venci 1984), although this failing is not unique to archaeologists (Finley 1985b, 67-87). Although the historical evidence is far from complete, Celtic raids on, and migrations to, the Mediterranean world seem to have largely ceased by the later second century BC (Dehn 1979; Champion 1980). Warfare between the Celts and Romans thereafter was usually that which facilitated the expansion of Rome. In Gaul this was limited to comparatively small-scale wars preceding the final annexation of the Roman province (Badian 1966; Dyson 1985, 126-73). In Britain Julius Caesar's two incursions in 55 and 54 BC fall within this pattern, Caesar justifying them, in so far as he did (Ch 17.2.2) by reference to the aid given by the British to the Gauls.

As we have seen most recent archaeological studies have, however, concentrated on trade and the most popular interpretation of contact has been the suggested exchange of people and raw material for foreign commodities and finished goods. In particular it has been argued that groups in barbarian societies could increase their status by gaining privileged access to foreign trade: the so-called 'prestige goods model'.

A development of this interpretation has appeared in the employment of comparative studies drawn from the modern world economy, notably Wallerstein's world system model (1974), which consider the effects of an expanding regional economy on a 'developing' economy. This relationship has been dubbed 'core-periphery' and the European Iron Age has been considered to evidence a number of examples, including later Iron Age Gaul (Ekholm and Friedman 1980, 72-3).

As the prestige goods system in this characterisation is based on external contact it is inherently unstable. If those who supply the foreign goods choose to go or are enticed elsewhere then the status of those who have attempted to exercise or enhance their authority by using prestige goods in social transactions will be diminished. As the initial contact is foreign it is unlikely that both the parties involved will be bound by the same conventions so the foreigners may have little compunction in reducing or terminating the supply of their goods. The most likely reaction of the recipients in this situation is to attempt to increase the quantity of goods being exchanged in an attempt to retain the interest of the foreigners. This may involve increasing agricultural or craft production or the supply of slaves. If the latter, then it is likely that additional people will have to be

procured by external warfare. If the attempt fails and if the group(s) exploiting the prestige goods had placed great emphasis on them in maintaining or elevating their social position then it is possible that the consequent loss of status may undermine their position.

Despite the enthusiasm with which the model has been applied (eg Wells 1980; 1984, 143-82), it presents a number of difficulties (cf Rowlands 1987). Considering the interpretation of the earlier European Iron Age proposed by Frankenstein and Rowlands in their influential 1978 paper, Gosden (1985) has criticised it on the grounds that wealth and status in Celtic society were based on the ownership of land and that this self-sufficiency and independence was more important than access to foreign trade. Champion has also drawn attention to the dangers of isolating central Europe from its proper European setting (1987).

On the same grounds Gosden has also challenged the applicability of the particular marriage network suggested by Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978). While there is much in Gosden's arguments (cf also *Man* 21, 1986, 475-8) which could be supported by an analysis of the literary sources for the later Iron Age, it is difficult to accept his interpretation of Celtic society which draws heavily on Irish texts up to a millennium later than the period under discussion. Although Gosden is careful to avoid claiming that the historical Irish societies and those of the early Iron Age in central Europe were organised on exactly the same principles (1985, 479-80), it is arguable that the classical sources barely discussed by him (*ibid*, 482) provide evidence nearer in both space and time to the pre-Roman Iron Age of Europe which are of greater value.

A more persuasive argument for the importance of foreign trade to Celtic societies is that proposed by Nash for the later Iron Age in central Gaul. While her interpretation is based on a similar theoretical position to that expressed by Frankenstein and Rowlands in 1978, it is, naturally, integrated with the more extensive and contemporary historical evidence for later Iron Age societies (Nash 1976b). While other studies have covered this later Republican contact (eg Feuvrier-Prévotat 1978; Daubigny 1983; Tchernia 1983) or stressed the importance of trade as a critical stimulus, Nash's is the only interpretation which satisfactorily considers the social context and has been influential in the interpretation of cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age, notably in the works of Haselgrove (1982; 1984a; 1987c) which have been followed widely (eg Bradley 1984, 154-6; Darvill 1987, 162-71). As such it deserves detailed examination before turning to other forms of contact.

CENTRAL GAUL AND ROME IN THE LATER IRON AGE

Nash argues that Roman expansion in the later Republic had profound effects on Celtic society. Prior to this she suggests that immigration and mercenary service were important ways of reducing population pressure, gaining status and acquiring booty and luxury goods for the Celts of Gaul. An increase in population pressure could be met in part by increased settlement of land previously considered marginal but where there was not enough land to ensure inheritance rights - of crucial importance in Celtic society - this could result in a drop of status unless they migrated. As status achieved as warriors could no longer be won in mercenary service or in raids on the Mediterranean world, Nash

suggests that internal warring increased. This warfare provided the opportunity for militarily successful nobles to increase their status and authority thereby creating a situation in which a small number of families could create an oligarchy.

Nash argues that trade with the Roman world provided a crucial spur to this warfare, particularly because of its role as a source of captives which could be exchanged with the Roman world (eg 1987b, 96-7). She suggests that slaves were the principal commodity sought by the Romans and were used on the *latifundia* of Italy and as Celtic society did not make extensive use of slaves they were procured as captives in warfare. The unlimited supply of foreign goods, particularly wine and other goods used in feasting, which could be used in competitive gift exchange further stimulated this warfare. Nash sees the increased quantities of coinage issued in central Gaul in the second half of the second century BC as reflecting this suggested warfare (cf also Nash 1987a, 78-9, 95). The development of the central Gaulish oppida is also seen by Nash as being related to warfare as a response to the need for a centralised administration for the coercion of the enlarged oligarchic polities in order to exploit their products more efficiently and to control the potentially disruptive foreign trade. In effect this was an internal process of exploitation complementing the external ones of warfare and trade. As Haselgrove (1979) notes, the goods could have circulated in different spheres. Nash considers these developments to reflect the institution of the archaic state which Julius Caesar recognised when he called the central Gaulish polities *civitates* rather than tribes (Nash 1976b; 1978b).

Nash's arguments have been widely accepted (eg Roymans 1983; Haselgrove 1982; 1984a). However, while her analysis of the literary evidence of Celtic society is cogent, the archaeological evidence on which much of her interpretation is based should be reviewed. Nash laid great store on the concentration of Roman imports in what she considered to be the area of 'secondary state formation' (1976b, 114-15, 128-9) but subsequent research has shown this concentration to be a reflection only of differential research and that the overall distribution in Gaul is equally impressive. As a more representative sample of sites has been excavated it has emerged that many of the sites most prolific in imports were virtually unknown until the 1970s (Ch 1.2; cf Mills 1985). There is no doubt that the scale of pre-conquest trade, particularly in wine, was substantial (Tchernia 1983; 1986) and it is possible that Nash's argument could be re-phrased to argue that it was the scale of importation which she regarded as 'effectively unlimited' (1976b, 128) that was important. Unfortunately the lack of quantified data from France precludes serious discussion of this possibility but the slow increase of good publications from other regions of France (eg Boudet 1987, Fig 72) which document large quantities of finds does not encourage the view that central Gaul received a disproportionate quantity of imports. As Fulford has pointed out it is also difficult to recognise archaeologically the sudden increase in imports postulated by Nash nor, from an Italian viewpoint, is it easy to envisage that the availability of imports was either sudden or unlimited (Fulford 1985b, 96-7), unless of course the trade was directly related to military supply. Nonetheless, Gosden's earlier criticisms as to the role of trade remain valid here. Different interpretations may also be made of such information as there is. Goudineau

suggests that the import of Roman amphorae in southern France increased tenfold after the conquest in the 120s BC and the evidence of shipwrecks supports this. However, while Goudineau (1983, 79-81) chooses to emphasise the tenfold increase of amphorae as a proportion of the total ceramic assemblage c 100 BC, the appearance of Italian amphorae as a single category also shows a tenfold increase c 175 BC. A similar 'early' increase for south-west France is identified by Bats (1986). Which is more important? The limited archaeological evidence from temperate Europe suggests that Roman imports became available gradually in the second half of the second century BC (cf Ch 2.2.1). This suggests an even longer chronology for central and southern France which would almost certainly have been receiving Roman imports earlier. The proposal that the annexation of the Province was a decisive event in determining the availability of imports (eg Cunliffe 1984b, 4; Galliou 1986, 77) may be convenient in constructing a chronology but there are grave dangers of circular argument (cf Fitzpatrick 1985a, 307-8, 315-16). It is also difficult to reconcile this chronology with that of the amphorae whose chronology can be established from elsewhere in the Mediterranean world and appears to be longer (cp Will 1982) although it would be rash to assert any single regional chronology as intrinsically better given the various methodological bases; historical, typological and chronometric determinations, from which they derive.

If we turn to another category of evidence, Nash has demonstrated that the chronology of Celtic coinage argued by Colbert de Beaulieu using virtually the same historically based interpretation of the significance of the annexation of the

Province is untenable (Nash 1975; cf Ch 15.2) and this dating has been borne out on other grounds by Polenz's work in central Europe (Polenz 1982). It is as well, therefore, to reserve some caution as to the suggested dramatic increase in Roman imports. Lastly it should be pointed out that there is little firm evidence to support the degree of urbanisation and complex settlement hierarchy in later Iron Age central Gaul claimed by Nash. This is not to deny its existence but rather to point out that the archaeological evidence presently available does not offer decisive evidence one way or the other (Ralston 1984).

In considering foreign trade Nash argued forcibly that its significance was social as well as economic. By contrast her attitude to Roman trade is based upon the supposed presence of entrepreneurial Roman merchants supplying wine, fine pottery, tablewares and metal vessels all probably connected with feasting. It is also implicit in her analysis and virtually all other (eg Tchernia 1983; Fulford 1985b) that as either all or the bulk of the imported goods were Italian in origin, the trade reflected by these goods was a long distance one between Italy and Gaul, between core and periphery. Before attempting to justify these observations, however, it is necessary to turn to the full range of contact with Rome rather than restricting discussion to trade in particular.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Perhaps the earliest evidence for diplomatic as opposed to military relations with the Celts of Gaul outside the area which became the province is the probability that the Aedui entered into

an alliance in Rome in 123-122 BC. It seems likely that alliances were also made with the Arverni and Ruteni in 121 BC (Stevens 1980). As Dyson comments, earlier diplomatic missions may be suspected but not proved (1985, 144-6; cf Ebel 1976; Goudineau 1978, 686; Nash 1987, 91) and we know of a Roman embassy amongst the western Celts in 218 BC (Livy 21.20). Julius Caesar gives a number of examples of client kings of Rome, both in the Gallic wars, such as Ariovistus (BG I, 35), but also before such as the Adeui (I, 53) and Catamantaloedis of the Sequani (I, 3). The status of the kings from southern France who described themselves in greek on coins as Basileus is not clear (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 112; Ch 21). It seems likely that much of Central and Belgic Gaul was organised along these lines in the post-Caesarian period (Haselgrove 1984a, 15-22; Wightman 1985, 39-49) and probably also the lower Rhineland (Willems 1984, 207).

These diplomatic alliances reflect a different aspect of contact from trade and while they are not so readily identifiable in the archaeological record as imports, it would be mistaken to accord them any less significance. Clearly it was neither desirable nor possible for Rome to be at war with many of her neighbours at any one time so some form of treaty or alliance would be entered into and it seems likely that a series of such alliances were made around the frontiers of the newly created province (Dyson 1985, 154-9).

If a client relationship was established the friendly king gained many advantages (Braund 1984). Perhaps the most potent of these was the allegiance to the military power of Rome. Even if intervention could not be guaranteed, the possibility of it and

the status of being allied to the most efficient fighting force in antiquity would have been of great significance in a warrior society. Although Nash maintains that Roman expansion excluded the possibility of the mercenary service which she argues to have been so important to the Celts (Nash 1976a; 1985; 1987b, 92) this was not necessarily so. The internal dissension which split the Roman world continued to provide at least some opportunities and while the conditions of service would have differed from that with the hellenistic armies (Keppie 1984; Griffith 1935), the possibility of acquiring booty and kudos were not completely closed⁽³⁾.

There were other advantages to the client king. Subsidies might be payed and children could be educated either in Rome or within the Roman world and for the Gauls at Marseilles in particular (Goudineau 1983, 83; Bonner 1977, 157-8; Ch 20) where they would become known to and possibly patrons of influential Romans (Badian 1958; cf Saller 1982) and we know that Contoniatius spent time in Rome (*Diod* 34-6). Hostages might also be 'educated' but this seems to have been a more widespread practice amongst the

(3) Aquitanians served in the Sertorian wars in Spain in the 70s BC (*Caes BC* III, 23; cf *Pro Font* 13), the armies of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi included Celts from the west (*App BC* II, 70-1) and forces also served with Juba I (*Caes BC* II, 40), Cleopatra and Herod (*Joseph BJ* I, 20; *Antiq XV*, 7). Caesar raised a number of forces in southern France (*BG* I, 7, 15; III, 20; VII, 65 cf *BC* I, 39; *B Afr* VI, 3) and Suetonius commented on Caesar's extensive use of military alliances (*Div Julius* 28).

hellenistic kingdoms of the east (eg Sullivan 1980). The gifts received in the conferral of friendship could be used in public display.

Friendly kings were nominally, and for most purposes actually, free from Roman intervention yet the status they achieved by becoming clients was probably considerable (cf Nash 1987b, 97). The existing system of clientage in Celtic society was adapted to this relationship and as we have seen, long distance alliances involving marriages are known (cf Millar 1984, 13 also). Although citizenship was conferred widely under the principate it does not seem to have been bestowed to the Celts under the Republic very often, although it did occur (Badian 1958, 158, 257-8, 263-5, 305-7; Ch 21).

In her turn Rome could maintain her military commitments and she received the benefits of an ambiguous and permeable zone which integrated and divided the 'civilised' and 'barbarian' worlds. Probably the most important of these benefits was the flow of information. Rome also increased the pool of allies who could be called upon in times of need and this relationship is a central feature of Caesar's descriptions of the Gallic war. Although it is often overlooked, Rome also accrued kudos from these alliances which further emphasised her might as the listing of the kings whom Augustus supported and the embassies received in the *Res Gestae* (31-3) clearly demonstrated this (cf Yavetz 1984). Founded on the exchange of information (cf van der Leeuw 1981) this is, as Willems (1984) has argued, imperialism based on a patron-client system.

25.4 THE AGENTS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Although it is frequently assumed that trans-frontier exchange was in the hands of Roman merchants (eg Collis 1984a, 137) there is relatively little direct literary evidence for this, although as Collis points out it may be mistaken to look for a Celtic merchant class (1987, 30). In the *Bello Gallico* Caesar mentions traders a number of times. Unfortunately in common with other sources (eg Diod V, 22) it is not always clear if the merchants are Gaulish rather than Roman (eg *BG* I, 1, 39; II, 15; III, 1) although the context does suggest that they probably were Roman. There is an important distinction between these *mercatores* and the *negotiandi causa* mentioned in book VII, 3, 38, 42 and 55. The latter were citizens based in oppida and protected by Gaulish allies or Roman troops but who were among the victims of the revolt of 52 BC nonetheless. In two instances they controlled the supply of grain and it seems that the appellation indicates an administered supply or distribution which Caesar mentions a number of times in his works (Labisch 1975; Buchsenschutz and Ralston 1986, 386; Timpe 1985, 267). It is interesting to note the contrast between the *mercatores* encamped outside the ramparts of Cicero's camp at the time of a German attack (*BG* VI, 37) although they may have been in an official *canabae* (*BG* VI, 32; Timpe 1985, 275). Apparently independent merchants, 'Ἰταλιχοῦ Ἐμποροί', are mentioned by Diodorus (V, 26) and in an enclave at Vienne in 62/1 BC (Cassius Dio X/VI, 50. 4). Although the evidence relating to the Celts of central and western barbarian Europe is slight, it does suggest that at least some Roman merchants operated beyond the frontiers but at the same time it also shows that we are not dealing solely with these individuals but with a more complex system. From

Cicero's works it is clear that *negotiatores* were also involved in a variety of activities in the provinces (Feuvrier-Prévotat 1981). In this respect his comments in *Pro Fonteio* (11-12) are pertinent. Here he describes the province in the 70s BC as full of men of business, colonists, *publicani*, farmers and ranchers. It is tempting to see some connection between the *publicani* mentioned by Cicero who, having obtained a state contract, collected grain and were responsible for its transport to the army or to Rome during the Republic (Badian 1972; Garnsey 1983, 121-6) and the *negotiandi causa* mentioned by Caesar (*cp* Braund 1983).

Grain was doubtless the most important aspect of army supply but wine was also a staple (Middleton 1983, 75-6 refuting Tchernia 1983, 92-3). If we accept the thrust of Middleton's interpretation of the crimes with which Fonteius was charged as complicity while governor in the extortionate exploitation of a wine trade connected with military supply, then it is possible to see high-level, if not necessarily official, Roman interest in the supply of some goods in southern France. In its view of the role of trade in the Ancient Economy this position is similar to Finley's (1985b). The exact relationship between the various parties involved remains uncertain and the whole topic one of great debate (Hopkins 1983a; Crawford 1985; Finley 1985b) but it seems clear that Italian goods did not arrive in southern France and beyond in the later Republic solely in the course of an Italian 'export' trade. Cicero's descriptions in *Pro Fonteio* and *Pro Quinctio* (12) suggest that the wine and other commodities contained in many of the amphorae found in southern France were consumed by Romans. In recognising that the comparatively well documented situation outwith the province of southern France was

more complex than that represented by the image on entrepreneurial merchants, it is as well to remember that contracts with Celts are mentioned by Strabo (IV, 4. 5, possibly following Posidonius; Malitz 1983, 169-98).

Even so, much remains obscure. The situation in the early principate is also far from clear (Kunow 1980; 1983, 42-50) as the bulk of the evidence, particularly epigraphic, is later (Schlippschuh 1974).

Specifically British later Iron Age evidence is ambiguous (BG IV, 20), while Strabo's comments on the taxation of merchants on both sides of the Channel could refer to British or Gaulish merchants (Ch 19). Taxes or tolls in the Celtic world were well known (BG I, 18; I, 45; III, 1; Strabo *Geog* IV, 1, 3, 5; IV, 6), while it is clear from *Pro Fonteio* that merchants who were almost certainly Roman were taxed on their trade as they crossed the frontiers - *ad hostem* - (Middleton 1983) so either party could be represented in the British situation.

Further epigraphic evidence for exchanges outside the Empire in Europe as a whole is presented by the Magdalensberg graffiti which demonstrate the presence of an enclave of Roman merchants and mention several contracts (Egger 1961) and besides the enclave at Vienne already mentioned, there is possible evidence for one at *Lauriacum* in the pre-Claudian period (Kunow 1983, 49).

Some archaeological discoveries in continental Europe may suggest the physical presence of Roman merchants beyond the frontiers. Greek graffiti are quite common on Campanian fine wares in southern Gaul (Bannert 1977; Lejèune 1983b) and Morel speculates

that in central Gaul they could represent the presence of Greek or Massaliote merchants (1985, 185). However, it is difficult to accept that all the *stili* (Jacobi 1974a; cf Ch 12) or the part of the greek alphabet incised on the pot at Manching (Krämer 1982), can be explained by merchants and a wider range of evidence would be required to demonstrate their presence, even though this can be contentious. For example, the discovery of a seal-box and a ceramic lamp at the Altenburg (Fischer 1985, 296-8, Abb 5-6) has been interpreted as indicating the presence of the Roman army (eg Todd 1985, 189-90), but as Fischer points out they could also indicate Roman merchants (1985, 298). Even so this interpretation, based as it is on so few artefacts, could be challenged.

'FOREIGN' TRADERS IN IRON AGE BRITAIN

With these reservations in mind, the possibility that evidence from Iron Age Britain indicates the presence of foreign merchants may be examined. Three sites have yielded evidence which could be interpreted in this way; Hengistbury Head, Braughing-Skeleton Green and Colchester-Sheepen.

The presently recorded distribution of Armorican pottery is largely restricted to the immediate hinterland of Hengistbury Head and the bulk of these imports have been found at that site. The plain belt hooks possibly of continental European origin and the silver Zugmantel strainer are known in Britain only from this site, while, excluding the 'hoards', Gaulish coins comprise c 8% of the total of Iron Age coinage (Cunliffe 1978a, App C: 1987a, 138-41). These artefacts could be interpreted as the detritus of

Gaulish, perhaps Armorican, traders (cf Dannell 1979, 178), and if Mays (1981) is correct to associate Hengistbury with the *emporion* in Strabo IV, IV. 1, then the objects could be those of the ?merchants, mentioned by Strabo. The high proportion of imports in Key Groups 4 and 5 (Cunliffe 1987a, 291-5, Ill 202-5) may reflect this.

Perhaps a more convincing archaeological case can be made for the presence of foreign merchants at Braughing-Skeleton Green where the 'foreign' elements are much more easily distinguished. Here, the range of imported foodstuffs, storage containers, glass and ceramic table wares, food preparation vessels, brooches and graffiti may be compared to the contemporary material culture of continental Europe. The Braughing early *gallo-romaine précoce assemblage* is comparable to that recovered from, for example Amiens (Massy and Molière 1979) and while the intrusion of it is not as marked as that of Roman assemblages in northern Germany (eg Bentumersiel (cp Schmidt 1977; Ulbert 1977)), its Roman character is distinctive enough to allow the suggestion of the presence of foreigners. The presence of Roman food preparation vessels and the names mentioned in the graffiti GRAECVS and MIIVS (Partridge 1982; App 41) are particularly suggestive. Nonetheless, it is possible that fuller excavations of sites such as Braughing-Gatesbury Track might produce a comparable range of imports and this could be argued to represent widespread acculturation within that site at least.

The stratigraphic evidence from Colchester-Sheepen is less precise but the range of Roman artefacts, again including food preparation vessels and graffiti such as SEVI, is similar to that from Braughing-Skeleton Green and could be interpreted similarly.

However, if this evidence is accepted, the ethnicity of the

traders and also their affiliation remains uncertain. The presence of *gallo-romaine* *précoce* material culture need not *a priori* indicate Romans rather than provincials and it is possible that the foreigners perhaps indicated at Hengistbury, Braughing and Colchester were all Gauls, while Comfort (1987, 293) appears to suggest that 'Arretine' could indicate 'Romanised' indigenous businessmen. The decisive evidence favouring Romans rather than Gauls in south-eastern England is that of the graffiti, where the names represented are Latin not Gaulish.

THE AFFILIATION OF ROMAN MERCHANTS

Even if the presence of Roman merchants beyond the frontiers is accepted, their affiliation remains to be considered for it has an important bearing on the interpretation of the exchanges. The Caesarian accounts are potentially misleading in so far as they represent a period of active campaigning rather than the more usual peaceful conditions and it seems likely that many of the merchants mentioned in *De Bello Gallico* were associated with the army even if they were not specifically contracted to it.

This argument has, as we have seen, been championed vigorously by Middleton (1979; 1983) and while Cunliffe's interpretation of the impact of the annexation of the *Provincia* as suddenly creating an environment suitable for Roman entrepreneurs (eg 1984b) is difficult to support (above), even within a more market orientated interpretation of the Ancient Economy (Greene 1986), the archaeological correlates of such a possibility are essentially similar to that of the interpretation proposed by Middleton.

There is no doubt that much military supply was an administered trade although the possibility of a significant 'open market' trade should not be discounted. However, during the course of the British later Iron Age it appears that the methods of army supply, or at the least the agents involved, changed. The evidence for the types of individual involved may be reviewed briefly.

In his various commentaries Caesar gives a clear insight into the supply of his armies (Labisch 1975), however, it is possible that the system of *mercatores* and *negotiandi causa* described by Caesar may have disappeared shortly after he wrote. Certainly, the usage *mercator* is mainly of Republican date and during the Principate it is found only on tombstones within Italy. From the Republican literary sources it would appear that *mercatores* were general merchants, while *negotiatores* were financiers but by the principate *negotiatores* denoted specialist merchants. Unfortunately the reasons for this change are not clear. Rougé suggests, rather unconvincingly, that with time the differences gradually became blurred (1966, 274-83). However, the *negotiatores* and *navicularii* who are documented in the principate (Schlippschuh 1974; Middleton 1979) are quite distinct from the *publicani*, *mercatores* and *negotiandi causa* of the Republic. As Garnsey notes (1983) the *navicularii* were freedmen or their descendants and the *corpora* or *collegia* they formed were quite different from the *societates* of the Republic. Many of the *negotiatores* are known to have specialised in certain products (cf Hassell 1978) but it may be doubted if it was necessarily these sorts of traders who may have visited Iron Age Britain.

The reasons for these changes in military supply are not clear but it may be speculated that the dimly understood military reforms of Augustus (cf Keppie 1984, 132-71) may have played some part, as

may also the increasing distance of the armies from Italy and the *publicani*.

In considering the supply of the Imperial army Breeze has argued that in the early Empire the army supplied its troops with food, clothing and equipment and that while the army of a province sometimes ordered goods on a large scale, the majority of the evidence points to individual units arranging for their own supplies (Breeze 1982; 1984; cf Adams 1976). The resulting pattern was complex and involved purchase, taxation, self-manufacture, gift and requisition. As Breeze notes, Strabo (III, IV. 20) states that it was the duty of the procurators to supply the army in Spain (Breeze 1984, 281) but how this responsibility was delegated is not known.

In a consideration of military supply Middleton (1979) has argued that the distribution of terra sigillata was initially at least dependent on the entrepreneurial use of military supplies. But the widespread distribution of the ware over virtually all sorts of site within the Empire seems to require some modification of this, while his interpretation of the concentrations of epigraphic evidence in Gaul and the Germanies must be qualified by the suspicion that these reflect only those areas with rich epigraphic evidence as a whole. That there is not necessarily a direct correlation between the quantity of epigraphic evidence and the volume of trade is shown unwittingly by Middleton's comments on the rarity of evidence for *negotiatores* in Britain (1979, 95-6). However, whether the analytical priority of military supply is justifiable once significant acculturation had taken place must be debatable (Bloemers 1983b; Willems 1983; 1984; Fulford 1984, but see Birley 1981) but the importance of it during the early years

of occupation should not be doubted. As Breeze has shown (1982; 1984), the impact on Iron Age exchange systems in newly conquered areas must have been vast. It is important to note that military supply would have been tax free.

The details of how the system operated are more elusive and neither an extreme view of the administered trade or of entrepreneurial activity seems supportable. Accordingly, with the reservation that the argument advanced by Middleton may represent the earlier Roman period more properly than its later phases, his thesis may be supported tentatively.

That the supply of non-staple goods to the army in northern Europe did differ from that to the civilians at least within Italy is suggested by Ettlenger's analysis of the distribution of 'Arretine' stamps (1987). For the earlier Italian potters the distribution of stamps to military sites appears to be random, with the exception that the difficult to pack (and probably more expensive) decorated wares favoured by some manufacturers are less frequent in northern Europe than Italy (Ch 6.3). Although the absolute quantities are small, Ettlenger notes that a comparatively smaller number of potters are represented in the military sites than in urban sites in Italy. On average the potters whose wares reached Dangstetten are represented by five stamps, while at Bolsena each potter is represented by only two stamps. At Dangstetten one potter, Sextvs Annivs, is represented by 36 stamps, c 26% of the total. Ettlenger explains this through the vessels reaching Dangstetten crated-up while the Italian public could buy services piecemeal. As so many potters are represented at military sites, 27 at Dangstetten in contrast to 32 at Bolsena, and greater numbers at the later sites (c 50 at

Haltern; cf von Schnurbein 1982), it is possible that the vessels were distributed in the *ad hoc* fashion suggested by Rougé (1966) and endorsed by Schlippschuh (1974). Ettlenger envisages quarter masters travelling to Lyon to collect or order wares but there is no reason why the 'Arretine' should not have been carried to the forts by *negotiatores*, perhaps in conjunction with military supplies as Middleton would suggest. Breeze (1977) has shown that samian could have been expensive and afforded only by officers at the fort of Bearsden on the Antonine Wall, suggesting that it was not part of military supply, and the same may have been true in the early principate. However, in view of the restricted distribution of such wares in the border areas of the Germanic world where they are restricted to military or associated sites (Ch 1.3) there can be no doubt that the supply or trade of them to those areas was solely for the military. Whether the trade to the rest of northern Gaul was similar is another matter but it is possible that the trade was conducted in parallel with official supply and that the privileges offered by these contracts effectively subsidised the other trade which may have been supplementary.

It has been argued that there are a variety of ways in which the trade carried to the boundaries of the Roman and Celtic worlds could be conducted. Merchant enclaves *in barbaricum* are documented as are individuals or groups of traders and the latter are also indicated in Free Germany by Cassio Dio (LIII, 24, 2) and Tacitus (*Ann* II 62; *Germ* 45). Evidence from Free Germany also indicates exchange at the boundary (*idem*, *Germ* 41, *Hist* IV, 65; Pliny *NH* XXXVII, 3) and occasionally Germans trading within the Roman Empire (Tac, *Germ* 41 and possibly *Hist* IV, 65). The latter two locations paid custom duties. However, military buyers may

also be indicated by the tablet from Tolsum in Friesland (*FIRA* III, 137). Of Celtic or Germanic merchants there is very little direct literary evidence, and as Timpe (1985) illustrates, little should be expected.

In view of this evidence it could be argued that the widespread distribution of Roman goods beyond the frontiers was largely due to the entrepreneurial activities of Roman merchants, but this would be to assume uncritically the values of the classical world. Evidence of indigenous exchange networks will be forthcoming primarily from the archaeological and not the literary record and the classical writers may only highlight existing networks.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROSS-CHANNEL CONTACT IN THE BRITISH LATER IRON AGE

26.1 THE EARLIER PART OF THE LATER IRON AGE

In a number of papers Haselgrove has analysed external trade, including that of the British later Iron Age, in terms of pre-colonial contact with pre-contact, indirect contact and direct contact periods (1976; 1984a) and this is essentially followed by Cunliffe (1984b).

This distinction is not followed here as there is a danger of it implicitly over-estimating the Imperial contribution, in this case Roman, to the contact. This is particularly important given the recognition that at least one of the major axes of cross-Channel contact in the later Iron Age antedates Roman involvement (Ch 24), instead it may be valuable to distinguish between the Celtic and Roman contributions to the contemporary contact.

The difficulties in attempting to do this are illustrated well in assessing the contact with a central southern England. This area has been studied thoroughly by Cunliffe in a number of contributions.

THE EARLIEST CONTACT WITH CENTRAL SOUTHERN BRITAIN

Perhaps the earliest evidence for contact with Central Southern England in the later Iron Age comes from the Yarmouth Rhodes site off the coast of Newport, Isle of Wight (Fig 51-2). The nature of this site is not yet known certainly and the amphorae could come from either a wreck or anchorage debris (Ch 23.2; *Maritime Heritage Bull* 1987, 5-7). Amongst the relatively small number of amphorae from the site (*ibid*), some could be Graeco-Italic (Peacock 1984, 38). This could put the first Roman imports into Britain into the middle years of the second century BC or earlier (*cf* Ch 2.2.1). However, the bulk of the contact appears to be in the first century BC. The key site for our present understanding of this contact is Hengistbury Head. Here Cunliffe has found Dr 1A associated with imported Armorican wares (1985; 1987a; 1987b; Ch 4.1) and he has associated this development with the creation of the *Pròvincia* in southern France (eg 1987b). Alongside the amphorae and pottery vessels, other imports such as glass, perhaps in ingot form, are known (Henderson 1987a).

The chronology of this development poses some problems. Cunliffe's and Galliou's (1982; 1984; 1986) association of the trade with the foundation of the *Provincia* runs the danger of circular argument and it is difficult to defend (Ch 25.3) although Galliou tends to a slightly later date than Cunliffe not necessarily correctly (Fitzpatrick 1985a). The dating of the Armorican pottery is debatable (Ch 4.1), but it is difficult to support a date as early as c 100 BC and the coarse pottery may be rather later than Cunliffe allows.

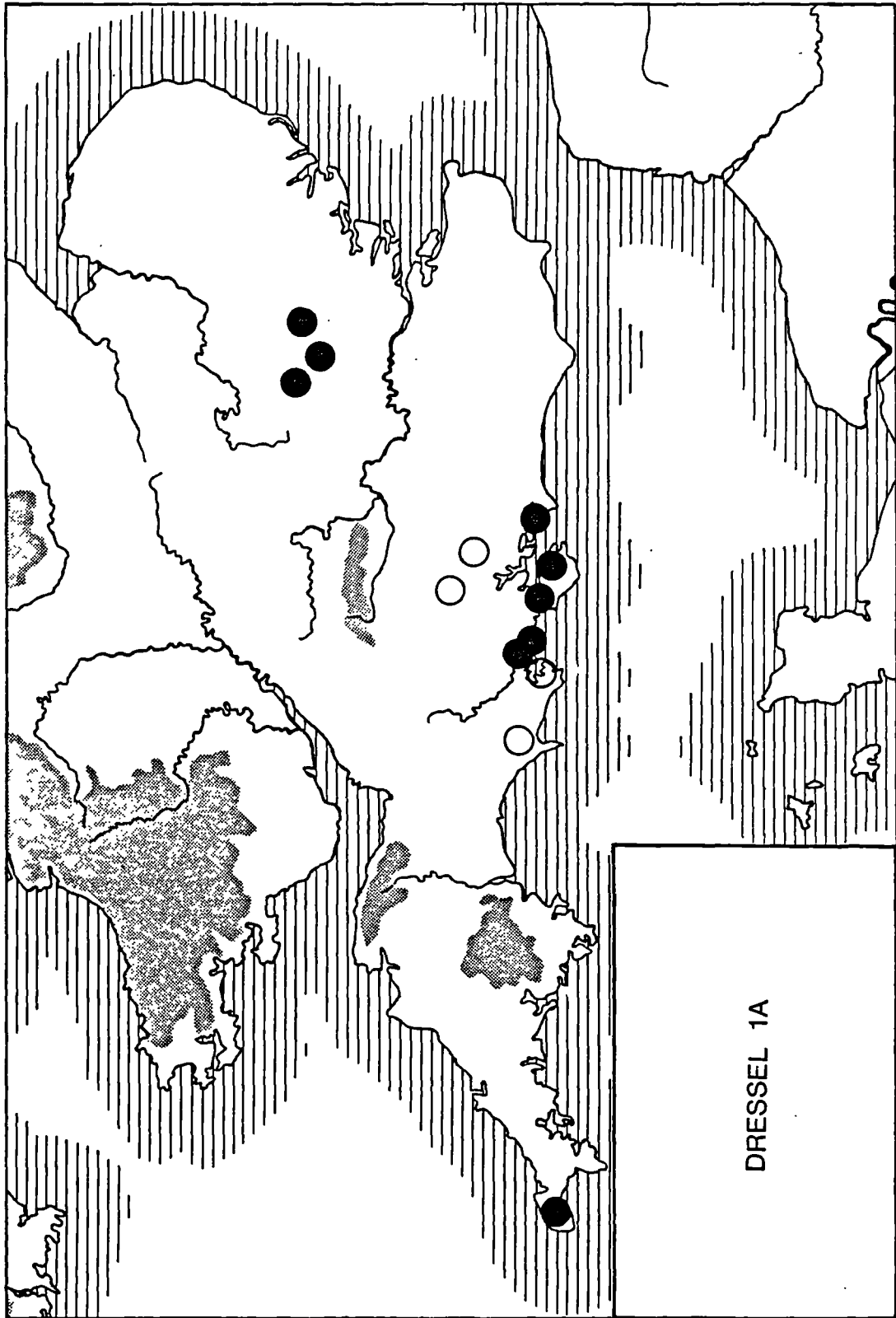


FIG 52: DISTRIBUTION OF DR 1A AMPHORAE IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

In part this early dating rests on Cunliffe's chronological association of the appearance of wheel-made pottery in Britain with the arrival of Dr 1A. However, the Danebury sequence has calibrated radiocarbon dates of only 100-50 BC for the *terminus post quem* for the appearance of wheel-turned pottery (Haselgrove 1986a; 1987a, 62-3) and other artefacts such as the brooches from the site suggest that more of the pottery could be dated to the second half of the first century BC than Cunliffe would allow in the first part of the excavation report (1984d). The association of saucepan pottery with Dr 1B at Winchester and, possibly, Oswlebury (Biddle 1975b; J.R. Collis pers comm; Haselgrove 1987a, 62) might also suggest that the Danebury ceramic phases are dated too early. In fact one of the key points for the Danebury chronology is the proposal that the amphora from the site are Dr 1A. This is based on the belief that the amphora in the so-called 'atypical streaky, laminated fabric' characterised by Peacock and Williams (cf Williams 1984a; Cunliffe 1984d, 247-8) was used to make only Dr 1A. It is now clear that this fabric was also used for Dr 1B as vessels of this form in the fabric have been found at Beauvieux, Les Grèves (Aisne) (unpub) so the occurrence of this fabric cannot be held *a priori* to be of chronological significance and it may be wondered if some are not Lamboglia 2 (cf App 11, 1). It is worth noting that some of the Danebury finds come from the earliest ceramic phase 8 layers (Cunliffe *op cit*, 326) and thus could be 1B in view of the comments above.

It is possible then that a rather later date for much of the cross-Channel trade than Cunliffe envisages should be allowed and so the trade need not, on chronological grounds have been articulated via the *Provincia*. The possibility that the apparent

intensification of exchanges was due to technological innovation in ship building (Ch 23.1) should not be overlooked. In view of the evidence for trans-frontier trade in Roman goods it must be doubted if Cunliffe's interpretation of Roman entrepreneurs originating the trade with Britain can be supported. Equally important is the conclusion that as the Danebury chronology can be doubted, so can Cunliffe's repeated suggestion that the cross-Channel contact which brought the first Dr 1 [/Graeco-Italic] to central southern England brought major changes to the settlement pattern, particularly the abandonment of hillforts (1984a, 36; 1984c, 177; 1984d; 1984f, 10-11). As is evident from Cunliffe's earlier work, the conclusions that there were comparatively few 'developed hillforts' and that the history of Danebury is representative of them is based primarily on the Danebury excavations (cf Ch 25.1) and the wider validity of arguments such as

'The changes reflected in the [Danebury] cp 8 assemblage are part of a massive system of social and economic development consequent upon the development of long-distance trade'

(Cunliffe 1984d, 259)

must be challenged.

While Cunliffe's suggestion that external trade may have increased the pressure on a social 'system' in stress is congruent with his suggestion of population pressure (eg 1984c), it should be noted that on the one hand external contact is used by Cunliffe as a destabilising force in central southern England but as an agent in increased hierarchisation in south eastern England (*ibid*).

Although it is assumed that the wine arriving at Hengistbury came via the Atlantic coasts, it is possible that many of the amphorae

arrived via the Seine and were shipped westwards along the French Channel coast before being taken to Britain. Only the Graphite-Coated wares have a western Armorican distribution and it is possible that they were collected near the Rance and taken as part of a mixed cargo, much of which came from or via eastern Armorica.

The higher percentage of Dr 1A as opposed to 1B from Armorica (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 309) may suggest that the trade there was primarily early but it need not follow that there was necessarily a shift in the main axis of the distribution of Italian wine in France (*contra* Fitzpatrick *op cit*) rather than a change in the distribution within north-west Europe. However, a similar trend, even if unquantified, does appear in Gironde estuary (Boudet 1987, 178, 206-7, Fig 72). And this must make it likely that most of the central southern British amphorae arrived with mixed cargoes including some fine wares via Armorica and the Atlantic coast of France. As Cunliffe has argued, it is likely that much of the British exchanges Hengistbury was involved in were western. Metals from the south-west peninsular and perhaps the Mendips (Cunliffe 1978a, 40-2; 1982a, 48-9; 1987a, 341; Northover 1987; Salter 1987) were worked on the site - but not necessarily exported from Britain. The Glastonbury wares from a similar range of sources (Cunliffe 1978a, 50-3, Fig 24; 1987a, 316) may antedate the arrival of Roman wine and could suggest that internal exchange networks were already well developed (*ibid*, 339) and the glass bracelets found in western Britain may reflect this (Ch 7.2.3; Fig 28). It is possible that the apparent rise to prominence of central southern England was due to a combination of a decline or change in British exchange networks, with Hengistbury developing to redistribute a western coastal trade to Wessex, and the

increased availability of wine. It is debatable if ascribing imperial contact a primary role in the analysis is helpful here.

THE EARLIEST IMPORTATION OF ROMAN WINE TO EASTERN ENGLAND

The number of Dr 1A from south-east England (Baldock (1); Braughing (1); Stansted (3)) while small, indicates that Italian wine started arriving there at least in the earlier first century BC if not earlier (Fig 52). The increased inclusion of amphorae in Aylesford-type burials in the second half of the first century BC (21 of 22 burials with Dr 1 have 1B, only one a Dr 1A), with its demonstrable sample bias *vis-à-vis* central southern England where amphorae were not included in burials (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 316, Fig 6; cf Kristiansen 1985) has lead many commentators to suggest that the bulk of contact with the south-east is post-Caesarian. Even if the suggestion advanced by Peacock (1971) that the Veneti were the principal carriers of cross-Channel trade has been doubted (eg Peacock 1984, 38-9; Cunliffe 1984b, 6-8), the alternative interpretation advanced have been essentially the same historical one: ascribing the apparent shift to south-east England to more nebulous 'Caesarian changes' in Gaul. As will be argued below a more subtle grouping of the finds within central southern England distinguishing between the 'Durotriges' and the 'Southern Kingdom' of the Regni and Atrebates is also preferable (Fig 53; Ch 26.6; Nash 1987a, 118-42).

In contrast the archaeological evidence indicates that Italian wine could have been arriving well before c 80 BC and it is worth reiterating the chronological importance of the Cáceres el Viejo finds in this respect (cf Ch 2.2.2). Other than the diagnostic

DRESSEL 1 FINDSPOT CONTEXTS

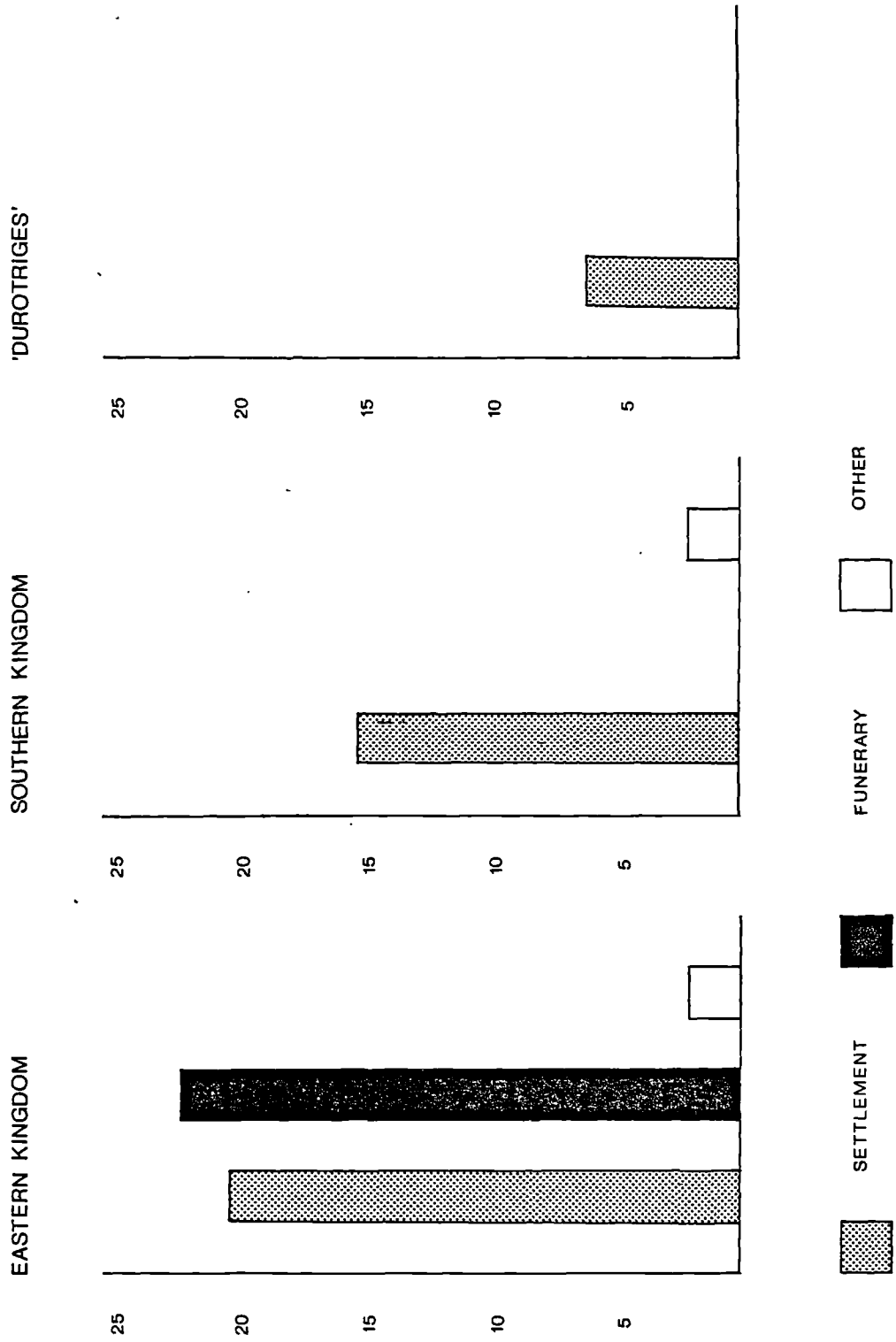


FIG 53: CONTEXTS OF FINDSPOTS OF DR 1 AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

finds from the burial at Baldock and the Braughing and Stansted settlements other undiagnostic finds such as that from Bridge Hill loosely associated with a potin coin and Nauheim related brooch could be Dr 1A. The late dating for the coarse pottery offered by Birchall (1965) and Thompson (1982) (Ch 4.2) may also have contributed to sites with undiagnostic amphorae sherds being ascribed to the post-Caesarian period. The ratio of Dr 1A to 1B from settlement findspots is 1:8.

These earliest amphorae in south-east England could have arrived via the Armorican coasts, but given the numismatic evidence for the arrival of Gallo-Belgic A, C and probably also the imported early potin coins via the Paris basin, and the number of Dr 1A from that region (Fitzpatrick 1985a, Fig 5), it is plausible that the south-eastern English finds arrived from there.

CROSS-CHANNEL CONTACT UNTIL THE CAESARIAN CAMPAIGNS

The 'thin-silver' coins of the eastern part of central-southern England (Allen 1965; Cunliffe 1987a, 141) are related to Gallo-Belgic issues (Scheers Series 51-3), but although Scheers (1977a) suggests that the possible prototypes are post-Caesarian on the basis of their weight, this is conditioned by her generally late datings which can be contested (cf Ch 15.3) and as the series is so distinctive typologically, the possibility that it is earlier rather than later must be borne in mind (Haselgrove 1987a, 100-1, 241-2; *contra* Delestrée 1984, 47-54). Allen suggests that the prototype for the British issues comes from the Rouen area (Allen (ed Nash) 1980, 96). The occurrence of continental European and British issues in the Jersey hoards of Rozel and Le

Câtillon respectively suggest a comparatively early date in the British sequence and this could have been in the 60s BC, although Nash prefers a slightly later date (1987a, 114).

As Bradley (1984, 152) has noted, the continental European Celtic coins from Hayling Island are mainly Central or Belgic Gaulish issues. Of the 44 continental European Celtic coins attributable to series (Tab 20) only 15% come from Armorica but 55% from Belgic Gaul and the other Gaulish issues seem likely to have arrived via the Paris basin too.

TABLE 20

CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN CELTIC COINS FROM HAYLING ISLAND

REGION	NUMBER	%
Armorican	7	15
Northern Gaul	7	15
Belgic Gaul	24	55
Central Gaul	4	9
Eastern Gaul	3	6
TOTAL	45	100%

Data from Haselgrove 1978; 1984c; 1987c, 402-5.

Nash has suggested that this comparative rarity of Armorican coinage at Hayling Island reflects its rapid disappearance after Caesar's Gallic wars (1980) but this is hardly supported by the number of later hoards from Jersey. Also as a number of artefacts from Hayling Island may be of earlier first or even second century BC date (eg the Dr 1A amphorae (App 2.1, 28) and the winged belt hook (Ch 11.4.1)), it seems possible that votive offerings may have started there at around that time. Clearly this need not have included coinage, but a number of the non-Armorican coins could be pre-Caesarian issues and it is possible that Hayling Island was firmly linked to the Paris basin before the Caesarian campaigns rather than after them.

Contrary to Cunliffe's suggestion that Hengistbury Head redistributed goods to a wide Wessex-based primary distribution zone (eg 1982a, 48, Fig 14; 1987a, Ill 236), an independent Solent-Seine axis before the middle of the first century BC seems likely, particularly given the increasing numbers of finds of Dr 1 from west Sussex (App 2,; Fig 3) largely due to an increase in excavation of sites on the coastal plain (cf Rudling 1982, 270). This would be further advanced if, as seems possible, many of the British Q_a coins found into the hinterland of the area prove to be Gaulish issues (Ch 15.3). Later on the apparent shift to Poole harbour as the principal point of entry for much of Wessex was complemented by the increasing importance of a Solent axis.

Therefore rather than Hengistbury Head dominating the distribution of external goods within central southern England it is possible that it was part, and perhaps the dominant one, of one of a number of axes of cross-Channel exchange within Britain during the later second and earlier first centuries BC and only in the earliest stages is Hengistbury likely to have acted as a port of trade in

central southern England. The British regions possibly involved in independent cross-Channel exchanges in the first half of the first century BC are (i) The South-West, (ii) Western Wessex (Hengistbury), (iii) Eastern Wessex (Solent) and (iv) South-East England.

This contact is characterised in the more easterly regions above all by the large scale import of coinage. This could be connected with a series of alliances, (Ch 25.1) perhaps based on marriages and some settlement. As Champion has argued (1979, 415-17) settlement out of Belgic Gaul in central southern Britain at some stage perhaps in the later Iron Age is plausible, but it might have been earlier, and the difficulty in offering archaeological substantiation need not be a problem. Even so the burials with weapons in this area (Collis 1973; Whimster 1981, 134-46) could possibly be intrusive. It is unnecessary to attempt to restrict any settlement to one part of southern Britain (*contra* Cunliffe 1984b, 8-9, 19-20). The links attested by Diviciacus and Commius may plausibly be seen in this context. However, as with Cunliffe's earlier dual interpretation of external trade being destabilising in central southern England but increasing hierarchisation in the south-east, the same ambiguity exists in his suggestion that a migration caused widespread changes. Cunliffe suggests that the adoption of cremation, the abandonment of hillforts and changes in settlement types and the adoption of the potters wheel may be related to an invasion (1984b, 20). Conversely almost exactly the same changes in south-eastern England, often taken in the past to represent an invasion, are now attributed to the effects of external trade (*ibid*, 14-18). Some of these changes are also ascribed by Cunliffe to Roman trade. It

is possible, but not necessary, that the Campanian ware from Ower arrived in the first half of the last century BC, so too the silver Zugmantel type strainer at Hengistbury Head. In general, however, all the imported goods reaching Britain across the Channel: glass bracelets and perhaps some beads of glass and of amber, glass ingots, coinage, pottery, Italian wine and some associated drinking implements are entirely compatible with what is known of contemporary exchange networks in continental Europe (Collis 1984a; Fischer 1985). British smiths were certainly part of widespread traditions and distinctive types such as buckets, perhaps tankards, and torques were also adopted (Ch 11.1-3). Occasionally some raw materials may have been imported such as the Portland Bill *Spitzbarren* (Ch 14.1.1) but this is unlikely to have been on a large scale given the widespread availability of British sources. However, the possibility that the widespread adoption of coinage in Britain as well as continental Europe reinvigorated a trade in scrap metals in the later Iron Age should be borne in mind.

26.2 THE CAESARIAN CAMPAIGNS

Archaeological evidence for the Caesarian campaigns in Britain is tenuous. Undoubtedly the best evidence is purely numismatic and it is clear that the bulk of Gallo-Belgic E and perhaps D and F/British Q_A were issued and probably arrived in Britain at this time and are most easily and probably correctly interpreted as the coinage which financed the Celtic resistance (Haselgrove 1984b; 1987a; Scheers 1972). It is not necessary to follow Kent in his arguments that the earlier Gallo-Belgic issues arrived in Britain

at this time (Ch 15.3; 24.2). The possibility that many of the Armorican coins arrived in Britain at the same time and in similar conditions should be considered seriously as Caesar implies that aid was received by the Armoricans as well as the Belgic confederacy (Ch 15.4; 17.2.2).

Despite the numerous 'Caesar's camps' which grace the English landscape, few sites can be plausibly associated with the two incursions (*contra* Dyer 1976; Hawkes 1977a; 1980b). The most likely candidate is Bigberry (Thompson 1983) but the case is not demonstrable, while, as Thompson admits the case for any of the other Wealden sites studied is also debatable (F.H. Thompson 1979; 1983). Camps occupied by Caesar's forces probably await discovery and may well eventually contribute to a better understanding of the chronology of the later Iron Age in Britain as well as to a better perception of Caesar's texts. However, the possibility that the large number of Gallo-Belgic E coins from around Maidstone reflects battles against Julius Caesar should be entertained.

26.3 THE CAESARIAN AFTERMATH

It is very likely that alliances were made between the tribes of south-eastern England and Rome in 54 BC and perhaps also those in central southern England (Ch 17.2.2).

This likelihood has been invoked frequently to explain the apparently large number of Dr 1B in south-east England, Nash's Eastern Kingdom (1987a, Fig 54) and Peacock has explicitly accounted for this distribution as the result of allegiance to and

trade treaties with Rome (1971, 175-9; 1984, 39) and in this he has been followed widely (eg Rodwell 1976a, 237-43; Sealey 1979, 173; 1981; Partridge 1981, 354). But this conclusion is based on some questionable assumptions. Perhaps the most important criticism is the difficulty in supporting the idea that Rome exercised such a carefully considered, executed and maintained form of economic imperialism as it is almost completely contradictory to what is known of Roman 'foreign policy' (Ch 25.2; Millar 1982). Even if such a policy did exist the possibility of it surviving the Roman Civil Wars is remote (Ch 17.2.2). On methodological grounds the argument is difficult to defend because of the sample bias created by the 'Aylesford' funerary rite, while the argument is weakened further by the recognition that at least some of the amphorae in south-east England are pre-Caesarian. Instead it is perhaps more likely that Italian imports, still primarily wine amphorae, were distributed by the same networks which brought the earlier, and essentially similar, imports. But the possibility that certain groups, eg the Durotriges, rejected Roman goods for a period in the aftermath of the Caesarian campaigns should not be excluded. While considerable attention has been directed to south-eastern England in the post-Caesarian period it should not be forgotten that there was apparently still considerable activity at Hengistbury Head.

Amongst the Dr 1 amphorae from the older excavations Dr 1A outnumber 1B by a ratio of approximately 5:1 (cp Peacock 1971, 181, Fig 37; Williams 1987, 272)⁽⁴⁾.

(4) Cunliffe (1987a, 310) construes the data as representing a 9:1 ratio which is misleading.

While all of the Dr 1B could have arrived in the pre-Caesarian period, the presence of the Pascual 1 amphorae and Aquitanian wares as well as the apparent continuity in the settlement structures (cf eg Cunliffe 1984e; 1985a; 1987a) suggests that occupation continued at least to the end of the century. Some of the Dr 1B may have arrived during this period while the dating of some Pascual 1, Dr 20 and Cam 186 amphorae to the first half of the first century BC (*op cit*, 272-3) must cast doubt on the published phasing.

Many of the amphorae sherds from Wessex previously thought to be Dr 1A because of their 'streaky laminated' fabric could actually be from Dr 1B and could be derived from a similar pattern to that evident in the eastern Solent hinterland. Thus, while allowing for the possibly longer life of Dr 1A (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 316), there is doubtless a decline in the quantity of Italian wine amphorae reaching Hengistbury but supply was not halted entirely.

The diminution is, though, more marked than the 2:1 Dr 1A-1B ratio in Armorica (*ibid*, 309, 332, n 3). The arrival of some of the Coriosolitan and other Armorican billon issues in central southern England during this period may be suggested as may well have been the case for the Armorican pottery particularly the Graphite-Coated wares (Ch 4.1) More pertinantly though, the ratio of Dr 1A to 1B from the area of the Durotriges is also 2:1.

Because of this evidence any notion of the tribes of south-east England enjoying a monopoly over Roman trade with Britain (Rodwell 1976a, 238; Cunliffe 1982a, 52) must be rejected. *Pace* Cunliffe (1984b, 6-7) this conclusion is not dependent on the recognition

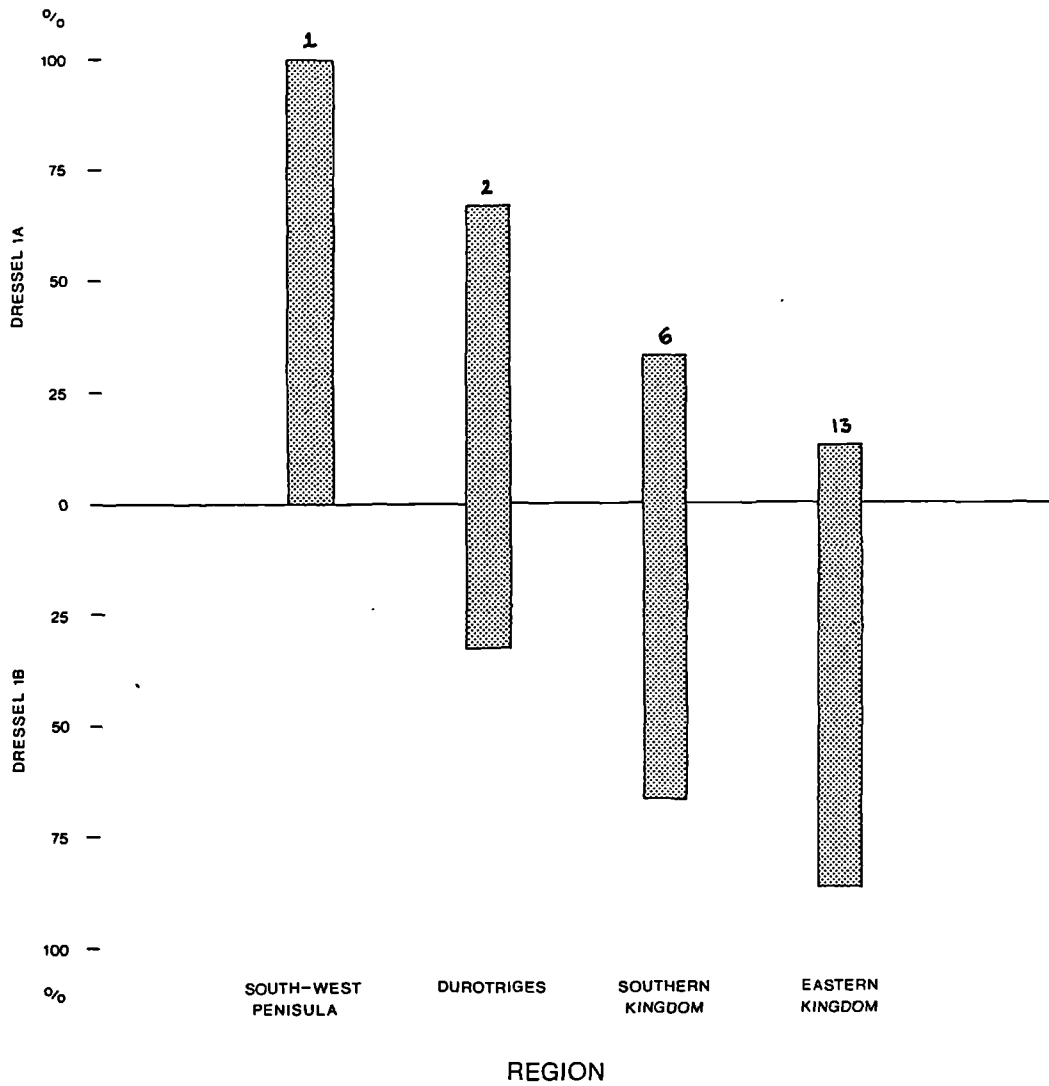


FIG 54: PROPORTIONS OF DIAGNOSTIC SHERDS OF DR 1A AND 1B AMPHORAE BY SETTLEMENT FINDSPOTS IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

of Catalanian and Aquitanian imports at Hengistbury Head and Ower but on methodological considerations.

However, the smooth change towards the east (Fig 54), which appears to occur over much of Gaul as well, remains to be considered and it is probably in Gaul that the explanations should be sought as well as in an internal reorientation of Italian produce to domestic markets (Tchernia 1986). As we have seen, in the post-Caesarian period Belgic Gaul appears to have been administered largely by the indigenous elite (Wightman 1977a; 1977b; 1985) and the same arrangement may be suspected in Armorica. The same arrangements may have existed in central Gaul but, possibly influenced by colonies and military dispositions, it shows evidence for early 'Romanisation' particularly in the east. Whether or not Lyon was a 'natural capital' of Gaul (Drinkwater 1975), it displays some of the earliest Romanisation in the Centre and this development is also seen at Mt Beuvray (*cf* Collis 1975a) and may be suspected at Roanne (Bessou 1976). Even so, it is difficult to suggest that this process started much, if at all, before c 30 BC. Similarly a spin-off trade from army supply is difficult to accept as a satisfactory explanation for the widespread distribution of Dr 1B in central and north-eastern France.

In an important analysis Haselgrove has suggested that the elite of Belgic Gaul whom he would suggest owed their position, and the continuing efficacy of a prestige goods system, to Roman support in the post-Caesarian period, maintained their place by effectively becoming middlemen in an enlarged and intensified exchange network incorporating south-east England, trans-Rhenine Germany and central France (1984a, 21, Fig 4; 1987c, 117-19). This is directly relevant here as increased demand for British

commodities could theoretically explain the increased volume of Dr 1B in south-eastern Britain and north-eastern Gaul.

However, there are a number of objections to this argument. The underlying premise is that increased hierarchisation is directly related to trade and exchange and should be placed above production, even to the extent that it can dislocate it. But it has been argued above that this is questionable (Ch 25.3) as is the recurrent cyclical validity of the model of determinancy which characterises all the Celtic societies involved in central and northern France and southern England as unwitting agents in processual changes and that Celtic society was in some way timeless and universal. Also central to Haselgrove's analysis is the argument that the Caesarian wars profoundly altered the ways in which the elite of Belgic Gaul could present their authority. As Haselgrove has elegantly demonstrated there must have been a massive loss of precious metals (1984b; 1987c, 113) and inter-tribal warfare is very likely to have been forbidden. Following Nash, Haselgrove places great emphasis on warfare as being central to Celtic society and this is a corollary of the emphasis which Nash places on the external accumulation of wealth generally: via trade and/or warfare (Ch 25.3). Analytically, trade is substituted for military service and warfare.

But it must be questioned whether Rome would (or could) have altered one of the principal forms of social obligation in a society unless its objectives were destructive? Given the careful control Nash envisages for Roman clients (1987b, 98-9) such a policy would appear contradictory. The evidence from Gaul and elsewhere in the Roman world (Ch 25.3) is that changes were not made, instead the system of clientage may have been used widely as Haselgrove also suggests (1987c, 114). Indeed, there is very

little evidence for change in the archaeological record in Belgic Gaul between Caesar and Augustus. Bronze and potin coinages were certainly issued and they may have had the same function of, partly, paying for military service as the gold and silver coinages issued before the Gallic Wars which may well have largely instituted their acceptability in this sphere. Military service as allies rather than mercenaries is quite possible (cf Drinkwater 1978) and contrary to Nash (eg 1976b; 1978b; 1987a, 89; 1987b, 92) Rome did make use of Celtic mercenaries (Ch 25.3). As Wightman (1977a) Furger-Gunti (1981) and Chantraine (1984) have all noted, the issue of many post-Caesarian coinages in northern and eastern Gaul may have been essentially for military service.

Contrary to Haselgrove's suggestion that the inclusion of Roman imports in burials which were themselves made in enclosed areas being used to legitimate a new order after the Caesarian Wars (1984a, 22; 1987c, 117), the argument is circular and continuity from rites probably dating to before the wars (eg Hannogne (cp Châtillon-sur-Indre and Armsheim) may indicate continuity in society and its expression of wealth in life and death and the re-affirmation of property rather than legitimating a new order, a topic considered only in passing by Haselgrove (1987c, 122, n 4, 117).

There are other difficulties in accepting the argument that the most powerful Belgic tribes in the Caesarian Wars achieved any privileged access to Roman goods as the distribution in the territories of the Treveri and Remi is biased, as in England by the inclusion of Dr 1 in burials and the intensive research in the Aisne Valley (Ch 1.2; Fitzpatrick 1985a, 317; 1987a) and the appearance of a more even pattern may be anticipated. As has been

pointed out, many of the German 'exports' cited by Haselgrove (1984a, Fig 4; 1987c, 117-19, Fig 10.8) are anachronistic in this context and many certainly relate to later exchanges in southern Germany (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 317, 332, n 9).

In view of the rapid development of Belgic Gaul into one of the wealthiest Roman provinces (Wightman 1985), rather than positing a brief capitalist interlude between Caesar and Augustus, the continuity of society and the essential unity of its expression of wealth, probably deliberately fostered by Rome during a period where it had other, more pressing, concerns appears as a more plausible alternative. It is difficult to see trade with Roman merchants being placed above these considerations by the Romans. As Haselgrove's distribution map of the origins of Gallo-Belgic bronze and potin coins found in Britain shows (1984a, Fig 2; 1987c, Fig 10.9), the majority of these coins come from *Belgium* in the restricted sense, principally issues attributed to the Ambiani, not those of the Remi, Suessiones or Treveri all of which circulated widely in this period (eg Scheers 1977b), and may suggest that the bulk of contact with south-east England was via this region (cf Nash 1987a, 110). This also hinders acceptance of Haselgrove's suggestion that Caesar may have created client relations between Gaul and Britain (1987a, 196-7). It is possible that many of the other contemporary coins from elsewhere in Gaul arrived in Britain alongside the Gallo-Belgic issues at this time (Ch 15.5).

If Roman exchanges were motivated primarily by the desire for raw materials then it is possible that the decline in the amount of wine reaching the Atlantic seaboard was due to the commodities of exchange falling directly within Roman control. If it was the

silver or copper of the south-west (Tchernia 1983, 96-7; 1986, 91-3), it is difficult to understand the decrease in this area as it was under Roman authority from the later second century BC. If the commodity was people then this would suggest a decline in the importance of that source possibly through new restrictions in the methods of procurement or exhaustion of supplies or, possibly, major demographic decline consequent on the Caesarian Wars. If the former, this might suggest that the polities of the Centre were one of the, if not the major suppliers of slaves in the first half of the first century BC and this is the thesis expounded by Nash (1987a, 89-90, 125; 1987b, 97). The possibility that northern tin was a major commodity is difficult to support with either literary or archaeological evidence (*contra* Nash 1987b, 101; Ch 18; 24.1). However, the apparent silence of the literary sources for British (or Armorican) tin from about the 90s BC and the increased availability of Iberian tin which may have resulted from the Sertorian Wars would be compatible with a general decline in the availability of Italian wine along the Atlantic seaboard. The Bagaud 2 wreck dated between c 120-80 BC by Long (1985; 1987) is important in indicating that at least some Iberian tin was traded by way of the Straits of Gibraltar (*cf* Roman 1983, 169-71). While many French authors suggest that there was a trade in British tin (eg Galliou 1982, 21-2; 1983a, 15; Tchernia 1983, 96-7; Boudet 1987, 211), there is no direct archaeological evidence for it, although it does provide an apparently convenient explanation for the western French finds.

It has been argued in Chapters 18 and 24.1 that there is hardly any British artefactual evidence for a later Iron Age tin trade nor is it possible to identify any obvious changes in later Iron Age settlement patterns in Cornwall (Newcomb 1968) and sites such

as Castle Gotha, Chysauter, Carn Euny, Castle Dore or Redmoor do not have any obvious involvement in tin working. Nonetheless it remains possible, but difficult to support, that the amphorae in Armorica reflect a route once used for tin but with different goods being used in the exchanges instead of tin until the gradual demise of the exchange network.

However, rather than seeking for a balance of trade, it is possible that the communities of Armorica rejected Roman imports after the first quarter of the first century BC. The early transition in Armorica from its distinctive gold coinages to billon (cf Nash 1987a, 106) may be relevant in this context and it is worth raising the possibility that there were major internal changes in Armorican society at this time even though, once again, there is no obvious evidence for it (cf Giot 1979).

Certainly the changes along the Atlantic seaboard do not need to be explained in terms of the Caesarian aftermath. It is possible that the trend to the east in the distribution of Dr 1 could have started within the first third of the last century BC and sites such as Amboise, Basel, Chalon-sur-Saône, Levroux and Mt Beuvray could have begun to act as gateway sites (Hirth 1978; Collis 1984a) but perhaps only with the more direct penetration which the Caesarian Wars may have afforded, did this trend become more pronounced. However, the trend remains both to be explained satisfactorily and also to be defined more exactly.

In summary, arguments whether 'political' or 'economic' which place deliberate Roman influence as the factor determining the distribution of Roman goods to Britain in the Caesarian aftermath are difficult to support.

Lastly, it should be noted that while Allen (1970, 14) and Sealey (1979) have proposed related arguments that one effect of the Caesarian settlements in Britain would have been a large decrease in the quantity of precious metals in circulation, Haselgrove may well be correct to argue that there may well have been a net increase in the net availability because of the Wars (Haselgrove 1984a, 21-2; 1984b, 91-4; 1987a, 88, 197). The tribute paid by Britain could have been a finite rather than continuous payment (Ch 17.2.2). Subsequently bullion may have entered Britain as subsidies perhaps in the form of coinage.

The emphasis on Roman influence, whether direct or indirect, has tended to distract attention from the strong 'Celtic' element evident in cross-Channel links between south-east England and north-east France in the second half of the first century BC and the likelihood that these links continue those evident before the Caesarian Wars. These links include funerary rites. The earliest of the well-furnished, but poorly defined, 'Welwyn' type burials (*cp* Gebühr 1974 and below) is that from Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 51-61) where the Dr 1A amphora (*ibid*, 53, Fig 21, 1) is close to Dr 1B rather than Graeco-Italic suggesting a date in the first half of the first century. This suggests that the cremation rite and Aylesford-type burials generally (*cf* the Borough Green burial (Ch 4.2)) were adopted before the Caesarian campaigns. There seems little reason to ascribe the adoption of the rite to Roman influence (*pace* Cunliffe 1984b, 13) but there is no doubt that the floruit of it was essentially post-Caesarian (Birchall 1965; Haselgrove 1984a, 9). Rather than envisaging the well-furnished burials of Collis' North Gallic culture (1977a) as being bound up in a single system (Haselgrove 1984a; 1987c), it

may be that they reflect separate but essentially very similar Celtic societies. The deposition of Bear skins in the Baldock and Welwyn Garden City burials (Ch 14.2.2) may reflect participation in European-wide rites.

Other 'Welwyn' type burials may be 30 years later (cf Hüssen 1983, 22-3). The Campanian related platters from Welwyn Garden City suggest a date before c 15 BC while the flagon may not have been manufactured until after increasing Roman influence in the Centre, from c 30 BC.

The pottery from Welwyn B is generally similar to Welwyn Garden City but the marginally shorter depth of the collars on the Dr 1B (British Mus, unpub) and the parallels to the silver cups in the Tivoli hoard (Ch 8.2.1) could suggest a slightly earlier date c 40-20 ± 10 BC. The Hertford Heath burial is likely to be of similar date (Hüssen 1983). If the graffiti on the silver cups in the Welwyn B burial indicate that they once belonged to a Roman, it may be wondered if, as with the Hoby cups, they were not Roman diplomatic gifts?, (cf Ch 8.2.2) which could suggest a burial made in the 20s BC. Despite repeated assertions, the Kjaerumgaard jugs from well-furnished British burials are not necessarily post-50 BC in date (Ch 9.2.2), although in the three British cases their deposition very probably was. Their presence does not indicate any 'wine-service' but perhaps instead Roman manners, if they were used in the same way as in the Roman world. It is easier to see the silver cups and also the glass bowl from Hertford Heath being used for the purposes they were intended. The rarity of Campanian table wares in Britain (Ch 6.1) may be because these wares were not greatly valued by the Celts of north-west Europe but given the increasing frequency with which they are now being found in the

north-west (Fitzpatrick 1984a, 15) further discoveries in Britain are likely. In this pattern of discovery Britain is very similar to northern continental Europe.

The increasing parallels in the Kent-Boulonnais ceramic tradition (Ch 4.2) and the adoption of Gallo-Belgic, particularly Ambianic, coinage as the prototypes for many south-eastern English coins particularly in Kent (Nash 1984, 104, 107, n 26; 1987a, 110; Haselgrove 1987a, 247-8; but see Delestrée 1977) set alongside the circulation of the originals in Britain (above), indicate that much of this contact was between the Celts. The small number of brooches (Ch 13.1) and the possibility of a Gallo-Belgic group of 'Le Câtillon' brooches suggest a similar conclusion. Similarly much of the complicated dynastic arrangements between kings and would-be paramount chiefs in Hertfordshire, Essex and Kent may date to this period, c 40-10 BC (Allen 1944; Fitzpatrick 1985b, 59-61) which is important in suggesting that the origins of these machinations may lie before any direct Roman influence and the possibility of continuing Celtic alliances should be recognised (*contra* eg Cunliffe 1984b, 13).

Equally important, however, is the likelihood that the early development of sites such as Colchester, Silchester and probably Canterbury took place in this period. The development of Braughing probably dates to not later than the second quarter of the first century BC and Silchester could be as early. If there was a Roman contribution to these developments, it may be the idea of a seat of authority was adopted in this period (*cf* Hawkes 1980b).

26.4 THE IMPACT OF AUGUSTUS

Direct Roman diplomatic influence could have restarted c 22 BC or marginally earlier, in 27 BC and it seems likely that settlements were made either then (c 22 BC) and/or in c 15 BC. Influenced by Stevens, Drinkwater has proposed a date of 27 BC for the preparation of the German campaigns of Augustus (1983, 20-1, 95) but as Willems has pointed out there is little evidence, particularly archaeological, to support this (1984, 226) instead a date c 16-13 BC is likelier (cf Ettlenger 1983, 105-7). In view of the careful preparation for these campaigns and the literary evidence pertaining to Britain, the conclusion or renewal of client relations with British kings c 15 BC must be regarded as highly probable. That this was the case is surely signified by Strabo's account that British kings had dedicated offerings on the Capitol, part of the ceremony of becoming a Roman client king. The range of Roman objects in the Lexden Tumulus, particularly the furniture:- the folding stool, candelabrum and perhaps a couch, the medallion and perhaps a suit of chain-mail are so outwith the usual range of goods in 'Welwyn' burials or 'princely' burials (Piggott 1978) that their representing gifts conferred to a client king in the penultimate decade rather than as Foster suggest someone with strong links with *Gallia Belgica* (1986, 187-98) is likely (Ch 17.2.3; 21).

It is notable that while the well established Romanising horizon in the coinage of Britain draws heavily on the coinage of Augustus issued at Lyon c 15-10 BC as well as on a seemingly eccentric choice of Republican issues (cf Scheers 1982a; Haselgrove 1987a, 92, Fig 5:5). This might suggest that this horizon started after c 15 BC but it is notable that while the stater of Tincommius with

a Roman horseman on the reverse imitates a denarius of P. Crespius (Crawford 1974, no 361/1C) and would normally be dated to the last 15 years BC on the basis of other coins of Tincommius which follow the Lyon coins of Augustus (cf Allen 1944, 6-7), silver coins of ARDA probably issued at the Titelberg use the same denarius for the reverse and were probably issued before 30 BC (Scheers 1977a, Series 30a; 1977b, 41-5; Reding 1972; Weiller 1977). The two 'Celtic' coins are very similar (Nash 1987a, 129). As it is unlikely that ARDA issues reached Britain (cf Scheers 1977b, 42, Fig 17), while it is possible that this represents just the fortuitous choice of the same prototype or that the context of the wood which provided the dendrochronological date of 29 BC was secondary, hoard evidence (Hussigny-Godbrange) also supports this dating so, it is also possible that the Tincommius coin is rather earlier than c 15 BC and might suggest an earlier start to the romanizing horizon and just possibly to the alliances with Rome if the dies were diplomatic gifts (Nash 1987a, 89, 129). Another possibility is that if the *Münzrecht* was renegotiated on the accession of client kings (Braund 1984, 123-8) then as well as being given dies, the king received something like a 'pattern book' not only of gems (Henig 1972), but of older coins not just Republican ones but ones even older still (Ch 7.4.1). The possibility that the coins were struck from recycled denarii (Ch 15.7) possibly paid as subsidies should not be overlooked. The possibility that the Welwyn B burial incorporates diplomatic gifts has been noted above but the strongest evidence for diplomatic alliances with Rome is in the penultimate decade BC.

By this time it seems probable that the major point of departure for goods to Britain, and on the basis of British coins in

continental Europe (Fig 50), the point of entry for the reciprocal exchanges (if any), was the Paris basin. The association of Italian wine amphorae and the earliest Central Gaulish pottery 'exports' in the Welwyn Garden City suggest that the Central Gaulish imports travelled with the wine, perhaps along the existing routes. Within Britain, Dr 1 at Dorton indicate a comparatively widespread distribution, although Gallo-Belgic wares were later exchanged still further. It is notable that there as yet is little evidence to succeed the amphorae from Cirencester and Worcester that Peacock identifies as Dr 1 (1984, 38) and the doubtful finds from Kenchester (Wilmott and Rätz 1985, 110, 113-15) which have been categorised as part of a western contact area (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 317) but the later finds from Bagendon and North Cerney and perhaps Steepholm might suggest that this apparent absence is fortuitous.

THE LOWER RHINELAND: AN AXIS OF TRADE OR SUPPLY?

The German campaigns of Augustus have been ascribed a major role in the import of goods into Iron Age Britain. The suggestion proffered most regularly in recent years is that the apparent dominance of the chiefdom of Cunobelin was due to the creation of a monopoly over trade with the Rhineland (Partridge 1981; Haselgrove 1982, 85; Cunliffe 1982a, 53; 1984a, 33; 1984b, 14-17; 1984c, 176; Bradley 1984) and Roman interest in making good potential 'markets' lost in Germany (Haselgrove 1984a, 23; cf also Swan 1975, 41). Cunliffe's suggestion that many of the Dr 1B in south-east England arrived via the Rhine after the establishment of the Augustan forts (1984b, 15) is incompatible with the

chronology of the amphorae. Some may have reached Britain by this route, but it is most unlikely to have been many.

Although it is assumed that the Rhine was a trade route to Britain it has been argued elsewhere that the vast majority of Roman goods arriving in the lower Rhineland did so in the course of an administered military supply and that they were previously excluded by the indigenous population (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 313; cf Haselgrove 1987c, 123, n 28; Ch 1.2-3). Although Willems inclines to follow Haselgrove's and Cunliffe's suggestion that trade from Gaul to Britain may have been drawn off to the Rhineland (Willems 1984, 230), the rarity of Roman material from indigenous settlements in the Eastern River Area in Holland before the Flavian period (*ibid*, 81-2; 238) suggests that the trade to this area was essentially to the Roman army. Similarly, Roman imports are rare in the Assendelver Polders until Claudius (Brandt 1983, 135; van Beek 1987; cf Cooter 1976). McGrail's study of cross-Channel routes (1983a; Ch 22.1) and Strabo's testimony that crossings to Britain from the Rhine estuary coasted southwards to *Ition* first before crossing (IV, 5, 2; Ch 22.1), as well as rather less tangible and perhaps less relevant information on the navigability of the Rhine/Waal estuary (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 313) all combine to suggest that the Rhine may not have been a valuable route to Britain.

Oxé suggested the contrary, that the Rhineland was supplied with some of its Arretine from the Rhine delta (Oxé and Comfort 1968, XXX), but as a number of the vessels from London and perhaps Leicester too, on which he based this conclusion are probably modern introductions, this must be rejected (Ch 6.3.2; App 25.3).

If certain artefact types were associated primarily with the army

it is possible that their presence in Britain could be held to support arrival via the Rhine. One possibility is the Rhodian wine amphora. Peacock has suggested that the wine was particularly favoured by the Roman army and supplied to them in the Claudian period (1977b) but the validity of this conclusion has been doubted (Ch 2.2.5). Even so, if Rhodian wine was an army supply or at least particularly favoured by the army, then the small number of finds from Iron Age Britain; only two (App 5, Fig 6) could derive from a Rhineland trade.

A more telling case against the Rhine as a major trade route for Iron Age Britain than this rarity comes from the composition of contemporary fine ware assemblages in the Rhineland and Britain.

In the Augustan period the recorded distribution of some Gallo-Belgic fabrics (eg from Reims (Darvill and Timby 1982, Fig 8.6; Timby 1987, Fig 4)) suggests the possibility of two main trade routes for the Gallo-Belgic potteries of the Marne: one to the Rhineland, the other to Britain (Fig 25). While it may be wondered if this pattern is not biased eastwards by the well-studied Rhineland sites and by the inclusion of vessels as grave goods (Ch 1.3; 6.4.3), the overall composition of the finewares assemblages in Britain and the Rhineland differs in two notable respects. The first is in the form of Gallo-Belgic beakers. In the lower-Rhineland and Germany generally, the usual beaker form in the Tiberian Gallo-Belgic repertoire is the globular beaker *Cam* 91 often with rouletted decoration on the belly of the vessel (eg Dalheim; Krier 1980, 180, Abb 20, 30-2; 21). These vessels are rare in Britain with only two examples from Colchester-Sheepen in Iron Age contexts (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 234-5, 278) and only three other possible Iron Age imports at Chichester (Rigby 1978, Fig 10.7, 47), Dorchester-on-Thames and

Ower (Timby 1982; 1986, 75, Fig 41, 27). Related forms which are similar to *Cam* 112 but have clay bosses applied are very common at Nijmegen (Holwerda types 3-14 (Holwerda 1941)) but are all but absent in Britain with only a single example from Dorchester-on-Thames (Frere 1962, Fig 12, 9; Timby 1982; *contra* Rigby 1981, 163). It seems likely that these forms were made at Braives in central Belgium as well (Gustin and Massart 1985).

In contrast the dominant beaker form in Britain is the *Cam* 113 (Stead and Rigby 1986, 226), followed by the *Cam* 112. At Colchester-Sheepen the *Cam* 113 comprises 89% of the Butt Beaker forms (*Cam* 112-13) thought to be from Iron Age contexts. At King Harry Lane *Cam* 113 form c 95% of the beakers and at Skeleton Green 63%. In part this trend is chronological, *Cam* 113 superseding the 112, but it is likely that the *Cam* 112 and also the Girth beakers *Cam* 82 and 84 were made in north-east France (Rigby 1985, 78) and the large percentage of *Cam* 113, also from northern France (Stead and Rigby 1986, 232; Ch 6.4.1) at British sites contrasted with the rarity of *Cam* 91 suggests that the principal axis of trade to Britain was through France.

The second and perhaps more significant difference between the lower Rhineland and Britain is in the composition of Tiberian groups. In the lower Rhineland the dominant Tiberian fineware is South Gaulish sigillata. Even sites with comparatively large quantities of Augustan-Tiberian Gallo-Belgic wares, eg Neuss, are apparently dominated by contemporary sigillata (Mary 1967) although quantified assemblages are lacking. Dutch sites such as Velsen II and Valkenburg founded in the years immediately preceding the Claudian invasion of Britain have virtually no Gallo-Belgic wares (*cf* Glasbergen and Groenman-van Waateringe 1974) and the same situation applies in southern Germany (Schucany

1983), conversely it is still common at Hofheim, if this site is dated correctly (*ibid*). The situation in Britain is different. It is probable that many pre-conquest imports of South Gaulish sigillata have been misidentified or misdated (Dannell 1981a; Ch 6.3.2), but even allowing for this, South Gaulish wares are undoubtedly rare as Gallo-Belgic wares continue to be dominant in well excavated and well studied assemblages such as Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 226). In terms of settlement findspots Gaulish fine wares outnumber terra sigillata by a 1.7:1 ratio. A more detailed consideration emphasises this trend. Although the standard of reporting of the different wares is variable, based on sherd count at certain or possible oppida sites with comparable documentation (Braughing, Colchester-Sheepen, Leicester and St Albans) the ratio is 3.1:1. On rural settlements the ratio is 2.8:1.

This is borne out by the evidence for stamps from settlements. Even allowing for the possible misdating of South Gaulish Samian, stamped vessels of Tiberian date appear to be very rare with only one stamp suggested to be Tiberian. This stamp is of Plevus found at Oare. In publishing the stamp Hartley (*in* Swan 1975, 59) suggests it to be a Romano-British introduction. Multiplying the possible instances of such debatable attributions still does not make good the rarity of post-Augustan terra sigillata.

Nonetheless the total number of terra sigillata stamps (87) is greater than that of the Gaulish fine wares (61). In part this may be explicable by the late dating offered for many Gallo-Belgic wares (Ch 6.4.3) and the possibility that they were not stamped as regularly as terra sigillata. As nearly all the terra sigillata stamps are on 'Arretine' and date to before c AD 20 this serves to emphasise the dominance of Gaulish fine wares in the Tiberian

period. It is difficult to demonstrate this from the British stratigraphic evidence as the two varieties of fine wares are stratified together, for example at Braughing-Skeleton Green. It is possible that this could be interpreted as suggesting that most of the British Gaulish wares are also of Augustan date but inter-site variation in the assemblages (Rigby 1981a) suggests that this was not the case.

Presumably then, Gallo-Belgic were the most readily available ceramic fine table ware in Britain. This could have been a preference for the northern as opposed to southern French products, but it is perhaps more likely that the former products effectively excluded the latter. Despite the primacy which sigillata enjoys in modern categorizations it may have been regarded as only one tableware amongst others in north-east France and Iron Age Britain in the Tiberian period. Perhaps more likely is the possibility argued above that the trade in terra sigillata to the Rhineland was still related to an administered military supply.

Lastly, British Celtic coins are not found in Augustan and Tiberian military sites in the lower Rhineland (Fig 50). Obviously the likelihood of British coins being recovered is diminished by the virtual lack of a Celtic coinage in the lower Rhineland (Roymans and van der Sanden 1980) with which British coins could have circulated. Nonetheless Celtic coins are still found frequently in Roman forts (Gechter 1979, 71, Abb 32; Chantraine 1984; *cp* Furger-Gunti 1981) but British coins are not, with the exception of Rheingönheim, where the piece is almost certainly a post-AD 43 arrival, found in Roman forts. Contrasted with the distribution of south-eastern English coins in north-east France (Haselgrove 1987a, 198-9, Fig 9:1) - not all of which can

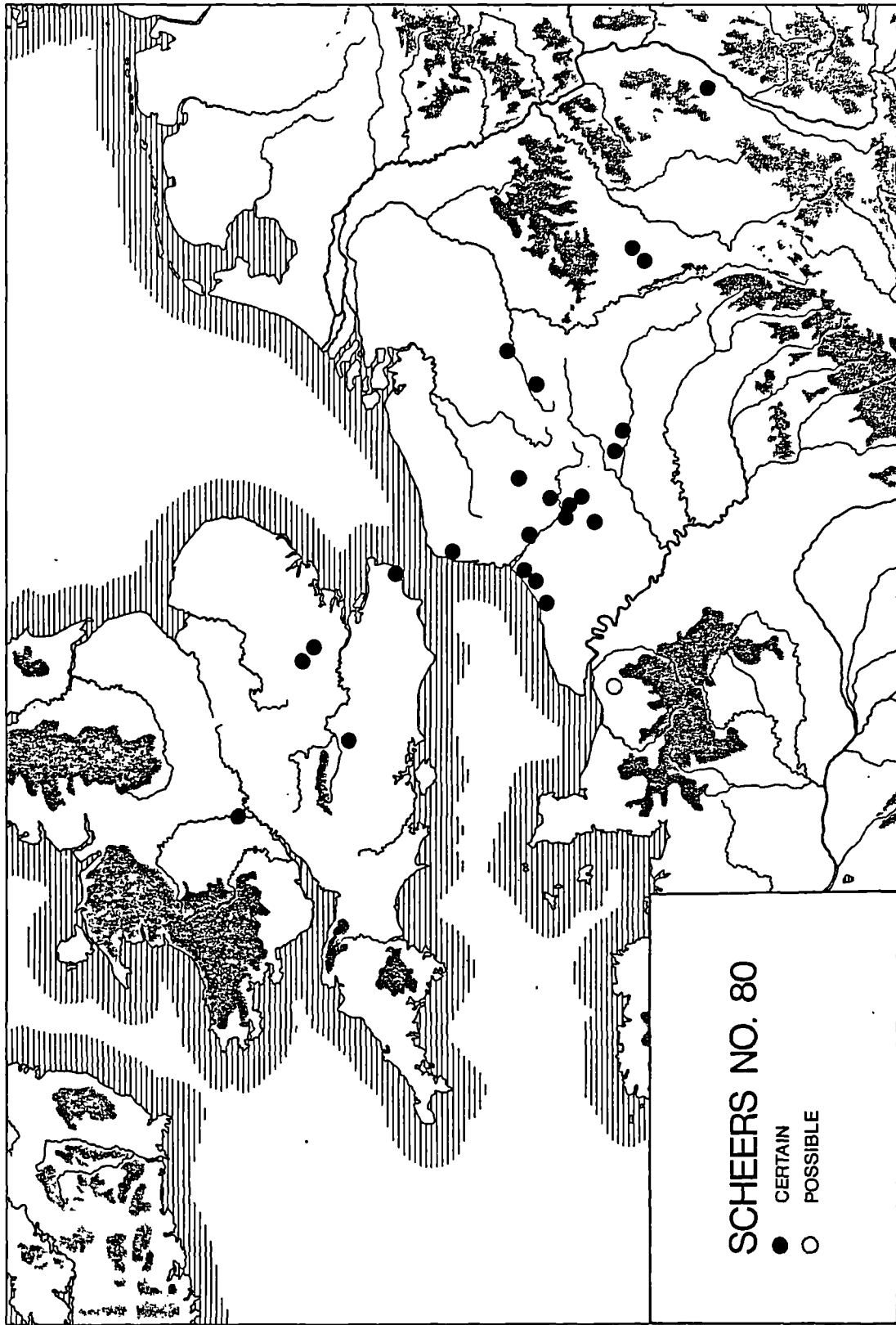


FIG 55: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC COINS SCHEERS SERIES 80

plausibly be explained as Romano-British introductions - the absence in the lower Rhineland adds further support to the case that the Rhine was not an important axis of supply and perhaps trade until the Claudian conquest of Britain. This is supported by the distribution of the Gallo-Belgic bronze coin found most commonly in Britain (Scheers Series 80 (8 examples)), which has an essentially complementary distribution (Fig 55). Only five other Series of Gallo-Belgic coins have three or four finds in Britain (Scheers Series 59, 83, 165 (bronzes), 186 and 190 (potins)). The distributions of Series 59 and 165 which have slightly different homelands in Gaul also have similar distributions in Britain, pointing to the same conclusions (Ch 15.3, Fig 46). This is not to deny that some goods reached Iron Age Britain via the Rhine, for example the quern from Oving, if it is Iron Age, might have (Ch 14.3). But the dominance ascribed to it in many recent discussions cannot be upheld. Instead the wider 'hinterland' of Roman military sites and towns in northern France and Benelux (Ch 1.3) offers a more plausible alternative. Bayard and Massy (1984) have stressed the possible significance of traffic to Britain for the Claudio-Neronian expansion of Amiens. In some respects this may reflect only an intensification of existing exchange networks. Nonetheless the Lezoux ware from Ower, Chichester and Fishbourne and perhaps Selsey suggests that an Atlantic route may still have been important (Dannell 1977, 231). The apparent absence of this ware from Braughing and Colchester suggests that the Bagendon and Silchester finds may also have arrived by this route.

26.5 FROM AUGUSTUS TO CLAUDIUS

From the last two decades BC an increasing variety and, apparently, quantity of Roman goods arrived in Iron Age Britain and this reflects the variety available in Gaul and the gradual Romanisation of Gaul during the *gallo-romaine précoce*.

Such limited quantified evidence for assemblages as is available will be considered later, but it is too fragmentary to provide the base for a systematic analysis. However, it may be asserted that the bulk of imported pottery and glass date from c 15 BC onwards. The amphorae seem to be a representative sample of those generally available in continental Europe and indicate the import of a wide range of commodities; Italian, French, Spanish and Rhodian wines, olive oil, fish-based products and unidentified commodities (Ch 2). On the rather more restricted evidence available for glass, the British imports also seem to be a representative sample, with tablewares, mainly cups and bowls dominating and no storage vessels. As in continental European burials (van Lith and Randsborg 1985, 424, 463), unguentaria may be the vessels selected most regularly for inclusion in British burials, although the sample is tiny (Ch 7.3.2).

As with the preceding phase it is possible to be fairly confident that ceramic and glass table wares were used in the same way in Britain as in the Roman world. But it is as difficult to decide with many of the other imports. However, the association of bronze jugs and pans of Hagenow services in certain or probable funerary contexts (Ch 9.3.2) suggests that they may have been used for washing hands at table. Less certainty attaches to the other bronze vessels not least because the original functions in the classical world are uncertain (Ch 9.3.3-5).

With pottery vessels imported as storage vessels or as containers for perishable commodities (Ch 3), it is also likely that they were used for storage, either initially or re-used. However, the purpose of the flagons is uncertain. While conventionally taken to be storage vessels or possibly serving vessels, it is possible that they were imported for their contents. Even allowing for a shorter period of Iron Age import (less than half), Dr 2-4 amphorae appear to be comparatively rare finds in Iron Age Britain *vis-à-vis* Dr 1 whose findspots from settlements outnumber them by over 5:1 (55:10) and by 10:1 according to the Minimum Number of Vessels (154:16). It is likely that many Italian amphorae sherds from Iron Age contexts identified as Dr 1 are actually 2-4 but even the most critical analysis of the data in Appendix 2 can suggest no more than c 15%.

Considering all findspots of all types of wine amphorae from settlements, some of which - the Dr 2-4, Pascual 1 and Rhodian - overlapped with the Dr 1, the ratio is reduced to 4:1 (154:35 vessels). This can also be expressed in terms of wine. For the purpose of argument Dr 1 can be suggested to have been imported between approximately 125-10 BC. On the Minimum Number of Vessels present the overall British ratio of Dr 1B to 1A is approximately 3:1 and calculating the average capacities of Dr 1A and 1B accordingly (*cf* Ch 2.2), a total of 3,490L of wine is represented. Divided by 115 years, this is 30.3L per annum or just over one vessel. Turning to the other wine amphorae, these can be ascribed a date of import of between 20 BC and AD 43. Those Catalonian vessels not attributed to type can be ascribed the average capacity of the Pascual 1 and Catalonian Dr 2-4 = 24.8L and the overall total volume of wine represented by all non-Dr 1 wine amphorae is 804L. Divided by 63 years, the annual rate is 12.7L.

1

This is perhaps the most meaningful figure as it implies a reduction in the volume of wine imported by over a half.

The evidence from Aylesford-type burials also suggests this. Twenty burials have just Dr 1, two (Dorton and the Lexden Tumulus) have both Dr 1 and Dr 2-4 but only one other burial (from Lexden) with a Dr 2-4 may be even tentatively ascribed to the Iron Age (App 3.1, 4c; cf Ch 26.6). Two other burials have Dr 1 and other amphora - Mount Bures (Dr 9) and Thaxted (Pascual 1) and only six other burials may have other types of amphorae and three of these are poorly recorded finds from the Lexden cemetery (App 7.1, 3a-b; 8.1, 3b). One of the other three amphorae is again from that cemetery (Group 5; App 8.1, 3a).

This change could be due to a change in funerary practice, notably a restriction of the rite to Colchester, but burials with Dr 1 outnumber those with other types of amphorae by 4:1 (24:6), the same ratio as that of the number of vessels from settlements.

The frequency of *Gauloise* amphorae in continental Europe contrasted with their rarity in Britain suggests that they may have been misidentified, perhaps with flagons. It is worth considering the possibility that Gallo-Belgic flagons contained wine which may have been decanted into them. The small 'amphorae' of Burgundy follow the *Gauloise* shape (Laubenheimer 1986) and this might suggest that if there was Gallo-Belgic wine they would have also have been carried in small 'amphorae' rather than flagons, although the distinction is, effectively, semantic. It seems probable that the *Gauloise* amphorae were intended principally for transport on inland waterways in contrast to the larger, and generally earlier, amphorae which were intended primarily for marine transport. This may have lead to them rapidly superseding

them inland. The extent to which wine arrived in barrels is an important topic but, as yet, one for speculation as is the importance of transport in vast shipborne *dolia* (Ch 2.6). However, a reduction in the import of wine by about a half from the Augustan period must be entertained.

However, the average number of amphorae rises slightly from 154 Dr 1 over (approximately) 125 years at 1.2 per annum to 93 non-Dr 1 amphorae over 63 years to 1.5 per annum. This modest increase is contrary to many assumptions (eg Cunliffe 1984a; Haselgrove 1984a, 24), but is consistent with the conclusions of Panella (1981, 64). This need not reflect an overall decline in consumption for the reverse may be suggested, for Italy at least (Purcell 1985; Tchernia 1986) and it may reflect a change in the distribution of wine. Spanish and also increasingly Gaulish wines began to be available and the transition from Republic to Principate may have witnessed a dislocation of the dominance of Italian export, and, perhaps, less likely, wine supply. An assessment of the other amphorae supports this.

Excluding Dr 1, the commodities which the other amphorae from settlements may have contained are set out in Table 21. Because of the rarity of comparable data the significance of this is difficult to assess. However, five Augustan assemblages from continental Europe provide an index of proportions. Three sites, all forts, can be quantified according to diagnostic sherd count: Dangstetten (only half published to date: Fingerlin 1986), Oberaden (Loeschke 1942) and Rödgen (Schönberger and Simon 1976). The other two sites are 'deposits' whose interpretation is uncertain: Lyon-la Favorite (Desbat and Picon 1986) and Ostia-La Longarina (Hesnard 1980). Here quantification is by number of vessels.

TABLE 21

COMMODITIES PROBABLY REPRESENTED BY AMPHORAE FROM BRITISH SETTLEMENTS*

PROVENANCE (Common Name)	CONTENT				
	Wine	Olive Oil	Fish-Based Products	Wine and/ or Fruit	Uncertain
Italy	15	-	-	-	-
Rhodes	2	-	-	-	-
<i>Baetica</i>	-	24	-	-	-
Southern Spanish	-	-	15	5	-
Catalonia	15	-	-	-	-
Southern France	2	-	-	-	-
Northern Italy	-	-	-	-	3
Unprovenanced (Richborough 527)	-	-	-	-	1
Unidentified	-	-	-	-	11
TOTAL (MNV)	34	24	15	5	15
APPROXIMATE VOLUME (L)	804	1591	259	150	-

* Commodities Probably Represented by the Minimum Number of amphorae from British Later Iron Age Settlements (Dr 1 excluded). The volume of Catalonian amphorae not identified to type have been calculated on the mean capacity of Pascual 1 and Dr 2-4.

TABLE 22

PROPORTIONS OF COMMODITIES REPRESENTED BY AMPHORAE IN BRITAIN AND
SELECTED CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN SITES

REGION	Wine	Olive Oil	Fish-Based Products	Wine and/ or Fruit	Uncertain	TOTAL
Britain %	37	26	16	5	16	100
Continental Europe %	35	15	33	10	7	100

Accepting that these figures are broadly comparable in their representation of the original population, mean figures can be calculated. However as the reasons for the formation and disposal of the 'deposits' are not known and a variety of factors such as culture, status, location and chronology may have contributed to their composition, some reservations as to their representativeness are due. Reservations also apply to the military sites, even though all are virtually contemporary legionary fortresses. They are also about 20 years older than the two 'deposits'. While all these sites seem to be Augustan, the British imports may well include Tiberian material and as yet it is uncertain what variation this might introduce. With due caution the composite British figures may be compared with the continental European mean. The Haltern 70 is distinguished as a

non-commodity specific wine and/or fruit container and the contents of the Dr 6 are regarded as uncertain (Tab 22).

In the Ostia report the Dr 6 and Dr 26 are considered to be oil amphorae (Hesnard 1980). If these vessels are transferred from the 'uncertain' category to 'oil' then the figures alter as shown in Table 23.

TABLE 23

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT OF COMMODITIES REPRESENTED BY AMPHORAE IN
BRITAIN AND SELECTED CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN SITES

REGION	Wine	Olive Oil	Fish-Based Products	Wine and/ or Fruit	Uncertain	TOTAL
Britain %	37	29	16	6	12	100
Continental Europe %	35	20	33	10	2	100

For present purposes it is assumed that the higher proportion of unidentified amphorae in Iron Age Britain are distributed randomly in respect to their contents. However, the alteration to the olive oil figures is important in so far that in Britain amphorae

for oil outnumber those for fish-based products by 1:6 or 1.8:1 but in continental Europe the ratio is reversed to 2.2:1 or 1.65:1. If these figures are meaningful, this suggests that contrary to Williams and Peacock (1983; Peacock 1984, 40-1) Iron Age Britain does not follow continental Europe in respect of the relative proportion of oil imported. Instead it may have been somewhat in advance, mainly in preference to fish-based products and, perhaps, to a lesser extent those goods which arrived in the non-commodity specific Haltern 70 amphora.

This suggests that given a choice of amphora-borne commodities, for the first time the British exercised it. In terms of volume, olive-oil rapidly became the most popular commodity but as the commodities will have been used differently this is not a particularly helpful index. Choice is likely to be the reason why instead of selecting more foodstuffs from what may well have been in real terms a greatly increased quantity of foodstuffs, more tablewares were chosen.

Nearly all of these vessels were either superior to British products, more colourful - particularly polychrome glass and sigillata or Terra Rubra vessels - or of forms such as flagons not represented in the indigenous potting repertoire. All would have been novel in Britain but of low value in the Roman world. Jars in the *Besançon tradition* (Ch 3.1) are the only forms easily matched in general in the British tradition and this would support Tyers' suggestion that they were imported for their contents (1981b, 103). If some of the Armorican wares, particularly the Graphite-Coated ones are also of this date a similar interpretation may also apply (Ch 4.1). Despite the wide range of

amphora-borne commodities imported, it may be doubted whether they signify the adoption of a Roman style cuisine. Roman food preparation vessels are rare (Ch 5) and it is possible that the few finds, associated as they are with the rest of a provincial Roman material culture, including bone and bronze spoons at Braughing (Ch 10.3; 11), may indicate the presence of foreigners rather than Britons preparing a Roman cuisine (Ch 25.4). Very few sites provide a range of amphorae, most have only one or two vessels, which might further suggest that there was no acculturation in cuisine (cf Goody 1982).

Rare objects such as the bone *pyxis* (Ch 11) and bronze spatula (Ch 10.4.1) from Braughing may also suggest the presence of foreigners. The unguentaria from the same site (App 28) could also indicate that perfumes and cosmetics were being used or exchanged there.

However, the perhaps surprisingly large number of Roman type brooches have a much wider distribution (Fig 35-37) and may plausibly be taken as representing the adoption of Roman jewellery styles in Britain. The brooches could perhaps hold less material than indigenous brooches but this need not be of significance for the style of clothing worn (Ch 13.2.1), while the few brooches from burials published to date are singletons, which hints that they were not worn in pairs in Britain as in continental Europe (cf Wild 1985), if all the brooches were selected for inclusion in burials and this may not be a justifiable assumption.

Most of these Roman finds are associated with eating and drinking or personal display and it may be that the bulk of them were used in public displays while eating and drinking, or feasting. This might suggest that they were incorporated within a 'traditional' competitive sphere in Celtic society. Many of the table wares are

for individual table settings. These forms are not otherwise represented in the British ceramic repertoire apart from some possible imitations (Ch 6.1). Eating and drinking vessels may have been made of a particular material such as wood but it is also possible that these imports indicate a change from communal to individual dishes. King has suggested that faunal assemblages from what he takes to be higher status later Iron Age sites at Braughing and Colchester have a higher proportion of cattle than the norm which he suggests may represent a Romanisation of the diet (King 1984, 193, Fig 2). This may represent only a continuing trend rather than Romanisation, but changes in food and the etiquette of its public consumption are consistent with Goody's analyses of a hierarchical society (1982). Unlike other commodities, food and drink are almost infinitely divisible and this could support the argument that existing social hierarchies and the forms of their reproduction were both extended and intensified.

This would be compatible with the observation that imported goods were rarely imitated (Ch 3.1; 4.2). This is the case even in areas where it was practicable, for example in bronze vessels. This could be because imports were not ascribed a different value from indigenous goods or conversely that they were but that it was enforced rigorously. However, there is no evidence to suggest that indigenous and imported artefacts were placed separately in burials or disposed of separately in settlements, (excluding the possibility that Hengistbury Head was a traders' enclave or a port-or-trade (Ch 25.4)). It is possible though that the apparent lack of correlation between pottery in 'Welwyn' burials and settlements (Ch 4.2) may be because the grave goods were made for burial only.

These imported goods were widely distributed within eastern and central southern Britain and reached sites such as Bierton in Buckinghamshire and Dragonby, Leicester and Old Sleaford. The latter sites possibly being reached independently of Colchester, previously taken to be involved in the arrival of the imported pottery at Leicester because of the presence of French beakers *Cam* 112-13 hitherto taken to be made at Colchester (Ch 6.4.1) (Clay and Mellor 1985, 23, 30, 49; P Clay pers comm). As yet there is no decisive evidence for the arrival of Roman goods north of the Humber before AD 43 (cf Haselgrove 1984d) although the possibility of an origin earlier than this for Redcliff (Crowther 1987) and perhaps other sites (Heslop 1984, 31, Fig 7, 6-6a) should not be excluded, or indeed should be expected.

While the import of some goods to Gloucestershire at Bagendon has long been recognised, Swan's reservations (1975, 59-61) notwithstanding, and is supported by some of the recent discoveries from Ditches, North Cerney and Steep Holm, it is worth emphasising the number of finds from the south-west and central southern England. Particularly as, as we have seen earlier it is sometimes taken that Colchester dominated cross-Channel contact from Augustus onwards. This is challenged not just by finds from Hengistbury Head and Ower but by others from Gussage All Saints, Hamworthy, Lake, Maiden Castle and South Cadbury, all of which come from sites with Iron Age occupation (cf Rigby 1987, 278). A number of finds are certainly of pre-Claudian manufacture (eg Hengistbury) and the rarity of these wares at certain or probable Roman military sites in the central south (Southampton, Hod Hill, Maiden Castle, South Cadbury (Todd 1984; 1985, 195-71; Rigby 1978)) does suggest that not all these finds are likely to be Romano-British introductions.

It is not yet clear whether sites such as Casterley Camp and Oare received their imports from the south or east coasts. Gallo-Belgic wares stamped with the same die of Attissvs from Oare and Fishbourne might suggest a southern connection and there is a possible stamp from Casterley Camp (Fig 25), but Oare is well situated to have received its imports along the Kennett, perhaps via Silchester. As sites such as Reading-Thames Valley Park and Riseley Park become better known, the possibility of a large number of minor sites with imports in the Silchester environs becomes more likely, but the possibility of a southern coast route hinted at by the Lezoux ware (Ch 26.4) should be borne in mind.

As Rigby has noted the Chichester-Fishbourne Gallo-Belgic wares are from the same sources as Colchester (1978, 201). It is implausible that all were Romano-British introductions to the sites and rather than arguing for a redistributed trade from Colchester as Rigby does, the finds may be interpreted as indicating that, as earlier, the trade from Gaul had at least two major axes; one to the southern coast of England, the other to the south-east (cf Timby 1987, 300-2, Fig 4) reflecting links probably or certainly established in the first half of the first century BC if not earlier. It is the scale of contact which may be different while there may have been a more marked internal frontier between the Durotriges and Atrebates.

Of these sites the presumed oppida (cf Collis 1981) have the greatest range of goods (Fig 56), but in some cases it is possible that these indicate the presence of Roman merchants.

However, the pattern of goods and also an assessment of the variety of the assemblages (below), is consonant with the nucleated settlements having acted as either markets (Collis 1971;

1984a, 149-61) or places from which the goods were redistributed, the patterns being indistinguishable (Renfrew 1975).

There is no doubt from the inscribed coinage that many of these sites were mints at this time, and, if not necessarily capitals, then certainly seats of authority for at least some of the kings in whose name the coins were issued.

As noted above, it has frequently been argued that the elevation of Cunobelin to a paramount chieftain in south-east England was due to control of foreign trade (Haselgrove 1982; 1984a; 1987a, 197; Cunliffe 1984b, 16; Bradley 1984, 154-5; Darvill 1987).

However, the earliest 'Welwyn' type burials, at least one of which dates to the earlier first century BC, occur in Hertfordshire while the coins which precede the inscribed 'dynastic' issues, Allen's LX series, appear to have circulated primarily in these areas. Whatever the precise interpretation of the relationships on the inscribed coins (Allen 1944; Fitzpatrick 1985b, 61-2; Haselgrove 1984a, 24-7; 1987a; Henig and Nash 1982; Nash 1982; 1987a, 130-6), it is clear that they relate to the development of a hegemony over south-eastern England and possibly much further beyond into western England and this is supported by classical authors such as Dio (LX, 60, 1) and Suetonius (*Gaius* XL, 2).

But the significance of the earlier finds in Hertfordshire which may be emphasised here, is that they indicate that the processes of expansion began before the extensive import of Roman goods and possibly also before lasting alliances with Rome were concluded in the 20s BC which Haselgrove (1987a, 203) argues to be so important. Many 'Welwyn' burials may antedate this and indeed, the gold coinage British L may be related to the first stages of the development. Thereafter the alliances and the patronage indicated by the coins seems to suggest that extensive use was

made of clientage by British chiefs and kings. Roman involvement in this network is very likely and is probably reflected by the flight of some individuals to continental Europe which the *Res Gestae* acclaims (Ch 17.2.3; 21).

In view of the objections to the importance of the destabilising influence of a prestige goods system rather than the adoption of foreign goods alongside existing valuables which have been argued above (Ch 25.3) it is possible that the process reflects the endogenous expansion of a warrior kingdom, and this may also be reflected in the large quantities of gold used for coinage by Cunobelin (Allen 1975; cf Nash 1981) which may repeat the pattern of the coins of Tasciovanus. If this was a hegemony based essentially on 'traditional' Celtic values and valuables then this could help to explain Colchester's apparent dominance in external trade if it was not actually controlling a trade for which the Rhine delta was the principal point of departure. Accordingly, if it is not merely sample bias, the dating of the majority of 'Welwyn' burials to the first century BC may suggest that foreign goods were used for conspicuous consumption in elite burial rites (Fig 51) for a short period only before they became widely available. The argument that Colchester controlled foreign trade may then be restated: its control was based not on a monopoly over the distribution of imports but on the military supremacy and alliances of a paramount chieftain which allowed the location of Cunobelin's seat of power in a position otherwise peripheral to the rest of the kingdom. There was not necessarily a condition of competitive equality between lineages before the widespread availability of Roman imports, while the location of the Hertfordshire polity makes it unlikely, but by no means

impossible, that its apparent early dominance was based on privileged control of external trade.

Even so, if Colchester was dominant, many sites were allowed what appears to have been direct contact with the Roman world. Although it is possible that bronze coins of Cunobelin never circulated much beyond west Essex and that coins of Tasciovanus may have remained in circulation in much of Hertfordshire, the distribution of the gold coinage of Cunobelin and the inscriptions on the bronze issues makes it clear that modern Hertfordshire was subordinate to Cunobelin. Yet there appears to have been direct contact with the sources of foreign goods even if in a comparatively attenuated form at Braughing for at least the earlier part of the period, unless of course as Dannell has suggested (1981b, 152), the decline and/or shift in settlement at Braughing-Skeleton Green was related to the dominance of Cunobelin or there was a shift to St Albans, where a true Iron Age focus remains to be discovered (cf Saunders and Havercroft 1980-82; Haselgrove 1987b). However, Silchester, a site which appears to have eventually fallen within the paramount chieftaincy of Cunobelin (Haselgrove 1987a, 146), possibly in part through filial relations with Epaticcus, which may have been related in some way to the earlier links demonstrated by Eppillus (Allen 1944) (and which may be reflected in the possibility that later Aminus issued coins at Silchester as well as in Kent (Henig and Nash 1982; Nash 1987a, 135-6)) was certainly able to import large quantities of Roman goods at the same time as Colchester (Boon 1969). On the basis of the rarity of Roman imports in the 'Belgic' series, the Inner Earthwork could date rather earlier than the conquest period suggested by Boon (cf Fulford 1987, 275).

This is seen clearly in the high proportion of Ateius stamps on 'Arretine' wares at both sites (Tab 1) and this import may have been directly from the Thames, and, possibly, to a lesser extent via the south coast. It is possible, therefore, that while the import of foreign goods within the 'core' of the paramount chiefdom and where alliances were most enduring was carefully controlled, allied kings or groups were not so supervised. The coin finds strongly suggest that Thames as the principal axis of contact (Haselgrove 1987a, 148). Despite the strong links between Cunobelin and Amminus in Kent and, whatever their exact nature, those represented by the coinage of Dubnovellaunus, it is likely that sites such as Canterbury were able to import Roman goods directly (cf Arthur 1986, 256) and the same may be true of sites such as Heybridge just to the south of Colchester (cf Wickenden 1986). Consequently a monopoly of foreign trade is difficult to identify in eastern England in the evidence available and instead it may be better to look to internal developments to explain the import of Roman goods, while recognising Roman diplomatic involvement. However, this is not to suggest a 'timeless traditional' Celtic society and the argument that trade was tightly controlled, particularly in Hertfordshire and Essex (eg Haselgrove 1987c, 107), may be supported. For example, Collis (1984a, 161) suggests that trade can be rejected, controlled by a centralised monopoly, carried out by foreign merchants or conducted at a port of trade. All of these are variations of control by isolation.

26.6 PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

It is the question of to what extent indigenous changes facilitated the import of Roman goods which provides perhaps the greatest challenge to the importance of external trade in the later Iron Age.

As Bradley has argued it is important to realise how far the internal distribution of 'foreign' goods is rooted in earlier developments (1984, 146). In the Middle Iron Age Glastonbury wares from Cornwall reached as far afield as Northamptonshire while Bradley has argued that the distribution of Armorican coins and Dr 1 amphorae in central southern England may have been facilitated by the exchange networks which brought salt (1975; 1984, 146) and Dr 1 and briquetage are found increasingly commonly at the same sites (eg Winnall Down: Fasham 1985, 73, 134; Danebury: Poole 1984). Similar wide ranging exchange patterns are observable in the distribution of salt in the earlier phases of the Iron Age in Wales and the Marches (Morris 1985) and at the Beckford settlement briquetage from Droitwich reached its peak in the later Iron Age (Rees 1986, 52-4). At a slightly later date briquetage is widely distributed in south-eastern England too, being found in West Essex (W.J. Rodwell 1976a, 298-301, Fig 42; 1979) and Hertfordshire (Stead and Rigby 1986, 187) in late first century BC/early first century AD contexts. A similar pattern may be discerned in Kent (Barford 1983). Coarse pottery was certainly also transported comparatively widely, for example 'Wiltshire style' pottery from the Nadder Valley (Cunliffe 1983b, 142, Fig 80) or from vessels from Poole Harbour (1984d, 247, 259, 308) and querns were also distributed widely over 30-50km (eg Brown 1984, 407, Tab 40; Fasham 1985, 134), particularly from Lodsworth in

west Sussex (Peacock 1987, 75, Fig 7). Glass which may well have been made at Meare was distributed widely (Henderson 1982, 181-210; 1987c) as were currency bars made in western England (Ehrenreich 1985; 1986). It has been suggested earlier that Hengistbury's continental trade built on an existing south-west English one (Ch 24.1; 26.1). That most of these examples come from central southern, and western England reflects mainly the location of research using characterisation programmes.

Less tangible exchanges are shown by the varied fish bones from the only context wet-sieved at Braughing-Skeleton Green, a well (Wheeler 1981). The Mackerel bones from the well surely derive, if not from the southern Spanish *Salazones* amphora in the overlying context, then from another one (Ch 2.7; cf Sealey 1985, 83; Bird 1982, 458; Collis 1984b, 169) but other coastal marine fish such as Plaice or estuarine ones such as Flounder may well have been traded in organic containers alongside preserved ones or ones in the fish-based sauces contained in Roman amphorae. Faunal assemblages may also prove to be a valuable source of information on agricultural specialisation and exchange networks, particularly between types of site, where it may be possible to examine the possibility that patterns of butchery, and possibly consumption, were different at oppida and we have seen that King has suggested that what he takes to be higher status sites may have a more Romanised diet before the conquest (Ch 26.5). The faunal sample from Hengistbury Head is too small to support the argument that cattle were exported rather than consumed there (*contra* Cunliffe 1987a).

Given this type of evidence and the widespread distribution of Celtic coins, it is possible that Roman imports in later Iron Age

Britain only highlight pre-existing networks by virtue of their easy identification (*cp* Collis 1984a, 187) and are not what Haselgrove (1987a, 212; 1987c, 112) would construe as late Iron Age developments in contrast to suggested earlier elite exchanges of valuables. Certainly Roman goods did not penetrate any further than the existing indigenous exchange networks. This is not surprising given that the same methods of transport would have been available for inland travel (Ch 22.2) and not surprisingly the distribution of amphorae, for example of Dr 1, the type found most widely in Britain, is closely related to the existence of rivers likely to be navigable (*cp* Hadfield 1966, Fig 2; Haselgrove 1987a, 55, Fig 4 : 3). Dr 1 show a distance decay from navigable waterways. This point is relevant to the interpretation of east Midlands finds of Iron Age imports as with the exception of sites such as Hengistbury which have been suffering from major erosion comparatively recently (Cunliffe 1978a, 11; 1987a, 1-14), the British coastline is thought to have been essentially similar, although as Hengistbury shows, individual sites may have differed significantly. The major exception is probably the Wash where the modern coastline is further away from those east Midland sites which have yielded Iron Age imports (Simmons 1980, 61, 67, esp 69, Fig 32-3), a similar situation may also pertain in the Somerset Levels although Roman imports are presently absent. The later Iron Age sea-level was perhaps marginally lower than today, but likely to have been within the modern tidal range (McGrail 1983a, 303-4).

The changes in the later Iron Age are increasingly evident, there is a diversification and intensification in arable production (Jones 1981 111-21, Fig 6.5; 1984; 1986, 106-21) and settlement

appears to expand onto heavier soils or at least to intensify (T.C. Champion 1976; Knight 1984; Miles 1986) and it may be to these developments that the Wealden hillforts are related rather than as Haselgrove suggests (1984a, 21; 1987c, 112), to raiding. Despite Cunliffe's attempts to ascribe the changes, particularly the decline of hillforts to the influence of external contact, the chronology is uncertain (Ch 26.1; cf Champion and Champion 1981, 43) and there are other changes in the settlement pattern generally. Also the so-called oppida may be developments from large unenclosed settlements in eastern England (cf Bradley 1984, 139, 151; May 1984) as may well be the case in continental Europe where oppida appear to develop before significant Roman contact (Collis 1984a, 187-8). But despite reservations as to the direct role of external trade, particularly with the Roman world, in stimulating the appearance of these sites (cf also Haselgrove 1982, 80), it is possible that their lowland location may have been related to it (Champion 1979, 420-1) and also to increased internal exchange (Collis 1984a, 187-8) which may in part have been consequent on foreign exchange if it did intensify in the later Iron Age, if not before (Haselgrove 1982, 83-5; 1987a, 160).

As Bradley (1978, 126-9; 1984, 151) and Collis (1981, 54) have argued, there is very little evidence that the dyke systems taken to be a characteristic of British oppida (eg Rodwell 1976a, App III) are actually of Iron Age date. Such dating evidence as there is is consistent with the majority of the systems being of latest Iron Age or Romano-British date (eg Bedwin 1982; Bedwin and Orton 1984, 69). As Bradley suggests, the hillforts may have become redundant because of their own limitations (1984, 151-3), for example sites in Gloucestershire or Oxfordshire decline

apparently independently of external contact (cf Saville 1984; Miles 1986, 51).

With the increasing specialism of agriculture there may also have been an increase in craft specialisation. This need not be construed as the appearance of either dependent artisans as Nash (1976b) and Haselgrove (1979; 1987a, 212) envisage nor the independent artisan and 'middle class' which Crumley (1974) sees as having developed to meet the demands for goods to be exchanged with Rome, representing a period of 'primitive industrialisation' (cf Haselgrove 1987c, 108, Fig 10.3). This development, Crumley argued, produced a wider distribution of wealth which cut across the existing value systems and which led to the development of a party rather than a kin-based patronage leading to the creation of the archaic state. In order to maintain this Crumley has to suggest that Caesar deliberately suppressed the true organisation of Celtic society (1974, 75-6). However, archaeological evidence does not support a rapid increase in the trade in Celtic manufactured goods giving rise to or consequent on the appearance of a merchant class. Instead the increase in manufacturing which may have lead ultimately to the appearance of specialist craftspersons (cf Collis 1984a; Pleiner 1979; Fischer 1983b) may stretch back into the Middle Iron Age. The increasing quantities of metalwork which were formally deposited could be an index of increased manufacture and this may be inter-related with increasing and intensifying settlement.

These trends may precede the appearance of oppida and as Bradley points out, little is actually known of what activities took place within British sites (1984, 151) while manufacturing activities such as glass or bronze-working certainly took place on rural settlements and were not restricted to oppida. As Trigger has

argued the ideas of autonomous progress and maximisation may not be relevant (1978, 54-74; 1981, 150). It could be argued, however, that the increasing deposition (cf Wait 1985; Haselgrove 1987a, 134, 138) represents an attempt to remove valuables from circulation but at the same time preserving their value (cf Parker-Pearson 1984). However, many of these changes are of extension or intensification. Domestic architecture and much material culture remain 'traditional'. The development of the British mid-later Iron Age may have its own internal logic.

It is possible, then, that the extent of change in later Iron Age has been over estimated recently and that many of the principal changes of the later Iron Age started in the later third and earlier second centuries BC.

Given that cross-Channel contact was seasonal and that quantities of foreign, continental European, imports are small and also mainly of low-value in the classical world, it should caution against placing too much emphasis. Quantified evidence also supports this.

Very few Iron Age sites in Europe allow the quantification of complete ceramic assemblages but from these it is clear that imports comprise only one or two percent. At the hillfort of Étival-Clairefontaine imports of Dr 1, Campanian ware, and possibly Central Gaulish vessels, comprised only 1% of the assemblage (Σ 605) (Deyber *et al* 1984), at Manching the imported pottery (Italian amphorae, Campanian ware and north Italian 'Sanzeno-cups'), pre-oppidum, Imperial Roman and medieval to modern pottery sherds together comprise less than 1% (Stöckli 1979a, 3, Tab 1), while at Mainz, amphorae formed 10% of the assemblage (Collis 1984a, 162) (method not stated). However,

amphorae can easily assume a disproportionate percentage of the assemblage if assessed by weight rather than Minimum Number of Vessels or Estimated Vessel Equivalents because of their bulk.

A similar pattern is evident from Iron Age Britain in the pre-Augustan period, although there are very few sites which present the data in an accessible form.

At rural settlements with first century BC phases where quantification by sherd count is possible, for example Copse Farm Oving; Carnes Seat, Goodwood; Hook; or Winnall Down, imports probably of Dr 1 comprise less than 1% of the assemblage. At Carn Euny the Iron Age phases yielded a minimum of 1175 vessels of which Dr 1 contributed at most two vessels (cf Christie 1978, 397).

Similarly small proportions are evident at the hillforts of Danebury and Bigberry (although precise quantified data are not given by Thompson 1983). This pattern is likely to have been the case at most sites where imports, usually Dr 1, are represented by singletons. Of the sites presently known, only Hengistbury Head may be expected to yield a significantly higher figure and the recent excavations have yielded a figure of c 5% (cf Cunliffe 1987a, 201-40). However, it is not possible to distinguish the proportion of imported wares in the total assemblage as the published evidence does not include the fabric types or their totals by phase. The fabrics are distinguished in the Key Groups but these do not include the amphorae and in the case of the crucial groups 4 and 5 evidence (Cunliffe 1987a, 8-12, 135-6, 305: the position of Key Group 5 cannot be located from the published evidence), the amphorae are not listed in the microfiche (*ibid*, M8: B8-11) and so the absolute proportion of imports in the groups

cannot be ascertained. Nonetheless the data for sherd counts may be tabulated as follows:

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE OF IMPORTED CERAMICS AT HENGISTBURY HEAD

	PHASE		
	Middle Iron Age/ Late Iron Age 1	Late Iron Age 1	Late Iron Age 2
KEY GROUP	4a - 44.8%	6 - 28.0%	7 - 2.3%
	4b - 28.7%†		8 - 11.7%
	4c - 35.4%		9 - 6.1%
	4d - 52.1%†		10 - 0.0%
			11 - 0.0%
	5 - 29.8%†		12 - 9.0%*
			13 - 0.2%
MEAN	38.16%	28.0%	4.18%

† Amphorae Present but not Published

* Amphorae Present and data incorporated from M8: B8-11

Source: Data and phases from Cunliffe 1987a, 8, 291-303, 305, M8: B8-11, Key Group 14 excluded.

The high proportion of imports from Rushy Piece (Key Groups 4 and 75), if they do not represent the detritus of merchants (Ch 25.4), may represent exchanges taking place on the shoreline or breakages in loading and offloading boats beached on the shore.

As great emphasis was placed on the imports as a chronological guide it is possible that the figures from these Key Groups over-emphasise the proportion of imported wares present.

As with purely first century BC occupations many Augustan or later rural settlements also have only single imports while at other sites with three or four imports, such as Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979) or Crookhams (Rook 1968), although there is a greater variety, mainly in storage or tablewares, they still comprise a tiny proportion of the overall assemblage.

This appears to be the case for 'village' sites such as Kelvedon (Eddy with Turner 1982, 31) as well as rural farming settlements, but it is unfortunate that the major corpus of later Iron Age pottery from south-eastern England (Thompson 1982) includes quantified information only in passing and where it relates to the dominant typological interest of the work.

While nucleated sites certainly have a greater variety of ceramic imports than most contemporary rural settlements, it is difficult to demonstrate that they form a higher percentage of the assemblage as these sites are also poorly studied. As the quality of the available settlement evidence is so fragmentary it is not yet possible to approach the question of intra-site variation in use and disposal of imported goods *vis-à-vis* farmsteads. With the exception of some parts of the pre-war Colchester-Sheepen excavations, area excavations of Iron Age deposits have only been

undertaken at Braughing-Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981) and more recently at Silchester (Fulford 1985a) and Bagendon (Trow 1982b).

The indigenous pottery from the Braughing sites has not been quantified, although the imports are, and similar problems attach to the Chichester finds. Although the pre-war Colchester-Sheepen excavations allow calculation of the number of diagnostic sherds, of which imports comprise c 59%, the dominant coarse pottery forms were not counted and were described as 'innumerable' (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 275-81, esp 275). The 1970 excavations discovered so few Iron Age contexts (four) that quantification is hardly worthwhile (Niblett 1985, 22, 28).

The preliminary comments on the recent Silchester excavations show that in one Iron Age feature, a well F423, amphorae represent 8% and fine wares c 0.3% of the vessels by weight, but that in one context amphorae comprise 96% and this context contributes three quarters of the total weight of the imported pottery (Fulford 1985a, 26, Fig 9).

At only one site, at Leicester-Blackfriars Street, has the Iron Age material from what may well be a nucleated site been published in full (Clay and Mellor 1985). Even here though, the area examined was small and there is possibly some intrusive material (*ibid*, 18, 23), nonetheless on the basis of the maximum [*sic*] number of vessels present in phase 1 (*ibid*, Tab 2) imported wares comprise c 16% of the assemblage. Glass vessels are apparently restricted to these nucleated sites or well furnished burials which may suggest that they were more valuable than pottery

vessels. How representative this is of other British sites remains to be seen

In the absence of quantified assemblages, one alternative is to examine the variety of artefacts in settlement assemblages using the presence or absence expressed in a Number of Artefact Types (NAT) diagram (Hedeager 1978; Haselgrove 1982) of functional types (Fig 56). Here amphorae and other storage vessels are considered as separate types on the presumption that they were imported for their contents and Italian, Rhodian, Spanish and Gaulish wines are counted separately. Similarly, different types of ceramic fine wares - Campanian, terra sigillata, Gaulish, etc - are also considered separately, allowing for individual preferences. Brooches of Iron Age and Roman types are also considered separately on the more debateable grounds that they may reflect different dress styles (Ch 13; 26.5).

Lastly, imported Celtic coins are considered as part of the assemblage (using data from the works of Allen (1960) and Haselgrove (1978; 1983; 1987a)) if they are from excavations of settlements with demonstrable later Iron Age occupation. This results in the exclusion of some sites such as Richborough and Wroxeter where all the coins may be Romano-British introductions and others where the Iron Age import of the continental European coins may be suspected, eg Chichester, Dorchester-on-Thames, Great Chesterford and Winchester, but the distribution of these sites is even and as Haselgrove has shown (1987a, 63-73) the quality of information about provenance is often very poor. Shrines and manufacturing sites are excluded and where imported coins are reliably provenanced but are from, for example, hoards such as

Lancing Down or Selsey (*ibid*, 291-7) they are excluded also. Only one site with an imported coin but no other imports is added to the list - Pilsdon Pen (Gelling 1977, 280, 283-4) making a total of 94 settlements with certain or probable Iron Age imports.

To an extent the analysis is self-fulfilling and is biased towards sites excavated more recently.

The small number of sites from the south-west and Ballinderry Crannog No 2, Ireland are considered together but if there were a greater number those sites in the south-west peninsula and those in the counties bordering the Bristol Channel should be distinguished. These reservations notwithstanding, the analysis demonstrates the pre-eminence of Braughing and Colchester with Silchester not far behind. As Hengistbury was active principally before the Augustan period whereafter the range of goods imported increased dramatically, its true significance may be masked by this analysis. Possible oppida sites of St Albans, Leicester and Canterbury follow. The evidence from St Albans is still unclear (*cf* Haselgrove 1987b) but the high NAT score is suggestive. Claims for Poole Harbour having superseded Hengistbury Head rather than being its subsidiary are supported by its position in the analysis and the present absence of Armorican coins from the Poole Harbour complex is probably chronological in origin.

More problematic is the position of Baldock and Kelvedon (NAT = 8). These sites do not, on present evidence, appear to have been defended or the sites of mints while for much of the later Iron Age Kelvedon is likely to have been subordinate to Colchester. It is possible, therefore, that Kelvedon and possibly Baldock are represented as sites intermediate between oppida and isolated farms, a conclusion which despite their differences of emphasis both Collis (1971; 1981) and Rodwell (1976a; 1981) agree

on. However, the lack of quantified assemblages may obscure the situation, for example the Gaulish fine wares from Canterbury (NAT = 9) appear to outnumber those from Baldock by a ratio of approximately 5:1 and Dr 1 by a ratio of c 6:1, which would be a greater difference than is implied by Figure 56. The position of the material from Bagendon (NAT = 8) remains unclear, but if some is pre-conquest as seems possible, then it would be comparable to Kelvedon and Baldock, or possibly Canterbury. The position of Chichester (NAT = 4) remains enigmatic (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 149) but it may be compared to the state of knowledge of later Iron Age Leicester before the small scale, but significant, excavations in the later 1970s. Selsey (NAT = 1) is unlikely to have been an oppidum (Aldsworth 1987). In contrast to Leicester (NAT = 10), however, some Midlands sites thought to be important, eg Dragonby and Old Sleaford (May 1984; Elsdon and May 1987) or Dorchester (Miles 1986, 51) do not appear strongly. Similarly, if Mount Batten was an important later Iron Age trading site (Cunliffe 1983a), it is not recognisable as such in this analysis.

There is some variety within the isolated farmsteads which form the majority of sites with imports. Some sites have a comparatively large number of imported artefact types, Owslebury (NAT = 6) and Gussage All Saints (NAT = 4), but this may reflect little more than the size of the excavations compared to the small samples available from most broadly similar sites in south-east England. Only Farningham Hill (Philp 1984) and Stansted (Brooks and Wall 1986) (NAT = 1 for both) have been excavated on a comparable scale, but Stansted at least does not appear to continue much, if at all, after the first decade AD, while sites such as Bierton (NAT = 2) (Allen 1986) or Odell (NAT = 3) lie on

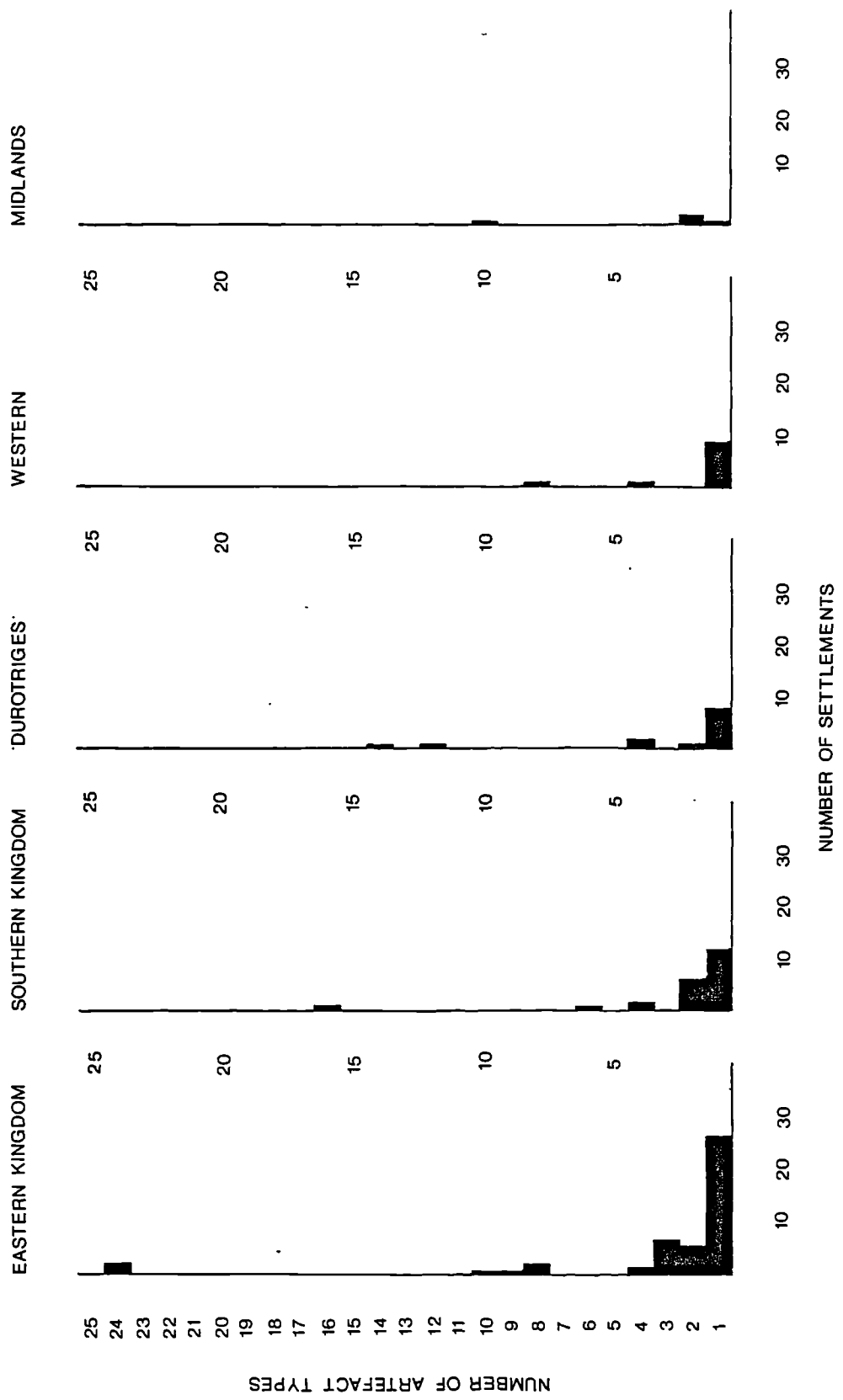


FIG 56: NUMBER OF IMPORTED ARTEFACT TYPES FROM BRITISH LATER IRON AGE SETTLEMENTS

the edge of the area obtaining imported goods. That there was an increase in the availability of imported goods is indicated by taking those sites with Dr 1 amphorae as the only imports as a crude index of sites occupied before c 10 BC. Twenty-three settlement sites have only Dr 1, five other sites have only first century BC imports, making 28 sites in all, while 28 have single finds of other forms of imported goods. In contrast of the fourteen sites with two imported types, only two (15%) sites might be exclusively of first century BC date (Danebury and Rochester), while none of the six sites with three imported artefact types are solely of first century BC date. This trend is borne out by sites which appear to have been occupied through much of the first century BC up to the Claudian conquest and where Augustan or later imports are more frequent than earlier ones; eg Baldock, Braughing, Canterbury, Gussage All Saints, Kelvedon, Owslebury and Silchester.

Hillforts do not figure highly in terms of the number of imported artefact types present. Maiden Castle appears on a par with Gussage All Saints (NAT = 4 for both), while Owslebury (NAT = 6) has appreciably more imports than Danebury (NAT = 2) although this difference is likely to be, at least in part, chronological in origin. Conversely Castle Dore (NAT = 4) has more imports than Carn Euny (NAT = 1) or any of the other Cornish sites known presently. The latter contrast might suggest that hillforts occupied an important place in a settlement hierarchy in Cornwall, but the situation in Dorset and Hampshire must be qualified. While Cunliffe (eg 1978a; 1982a; 1984a; 1984b; 1987a) and Fitzpatrick (1985a) have analysed this data in terms of a Wessex, or Central Southern English 'Contact Zone', this is misleading,

for, as we have seen, (Ch 26.1), the finds east of the Solent need not be included with the finds distributed from Hengistbury Head and a strong internal boundary between the Durotriges and Atrebates elaborated most clearly by Nash (1984; 1987a, 139-40) which is clearly visible in the coins of Commius, Tincommius and Verica (Cunliffe 1981d, Fig 51-2) seems plausible. Thus the great majority of the findspots which would previously have been classified as Central Southern actually come from the area of the Atrebates or 'Southern Kingdom' (Nash 1987a, 136-8), up to 20 of 33 (c 61%; cf Fig 54). Although Cunliffe has inclined to place any boundary near the River Lyminster (eg 1981c Fig 15, 20) the coins, and particularly the Gallo-Belgic fine wares (Timby 1987, Fig 3-4) suggest that the boundary was probably along the Solent (cf Cunliffe 1984a, Fig 2.19) and that the Isle of Wight very probably fell within the ambit of the 'Southern Kingdom', although Sellwood's suggestion of a 'sub-Durotriges' should be noted (1984, 200-1). The 'Southern Kingdom' appears as if it may have had an essentially similar but perhaps less strongly developed hierarchy than that apparent in the south-east, unless the presently enigmatic position of Chichester may prove to be explicable by it occupying a subsidiary position to Silchester. However, while clearly related to south-east England (Fulford 1987) developments in the 'Southern Kingdom' appear distinct. In Dorset the restricted distribution of any significant number of imported artefacts to the coastal area of the area occupied by the Durotriges suggests that external exchanges may have been carefully controlled. The apparent parity in terms of imported artefact types between sites such as Maiden Castle and Gussage All Saints and the absence of imports (other than poorly provenanced coins, excluded from the present analysis) from Hod Hill points

towards a comparatively egalitarian, if not acephalous, society in terms of a vertical hierarchy amongst the Durotriges (cf Ch 25.1). A greater emphasis on the excavation of rural settlements rather than hillforts in this region might, however, produce quite different results, particularly if the hillforts were generally unoccupied at this time.

In contrast to the bias which the inclusion of imports in Aylesford-type burials mainly in south-east England creates particularly for Dr 1 (Ch 26.1; Fig 53), the distribution of settlement sites with all imports is generally more even but the south-east alone still has almost half the findspots. The steadily growing number of finds from Hampshire, west Sussex and Wiltshire is important in further emphasising the sample bias not only in terms of analyses which concentrate on the differences north and south of the Thames, but also in concentrating attention on only part of what is essentially a unified complex embracing Silchester and the 'Southern Kingdom'. Considered together these two regions account for 72% of the findspots.

Turning to the Aylesford-type burials, these provide a control for the settlement evidence for south-east England at least. Following Haselgrove (1982, 82, Fig 10.3) the number of artefact types from these burials may be used to suggest that well-furnished burials include imports and, while there is some circularity in the definition, these burials may plausibly be suggested as being those of high status individuals. The availability of Thompson's work (1982) allows the closer definition of many grave groups than Whimster (1981) was able to pursue. Foster notes recent finds but does not provide further information (1986, 181-4, Fig 44). This and additional

information suggests that a review will be appropriate. The expanded data increases the number of burials with only a single grave good, usually a pot (Whimster 1981, 158). Unurned cremations are incorporated here particularly as in a number of 'Welwyn' type burials the cremation was placed on the grave floor (Stead 1967a, 46; Whimster 1981, 157-8; Foster 1986, 179) and there may be some relation. Unurned burials are likely to be significantly under-represented and are only well represented in modern excavations, eg Owslebury (Collis 1977b) and Houghton Regis (Whimster 1981, 354). Although burials (not cremations) within settlements appear to be concentrated mainly in western England (*op cit* Fig 4; Wilson 1981, Fig 7; Wait 1985, Fig 4.2), human bone is found regularly in recent excavations of settlements in eastern England (eg Braughing-Station Road (Partridge 1979, 68-73), Oving, Copse Farm (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232) and Gravesend (French and Green 1983, 64-5)). Whether these bones represent the formal disposal of the dead or are from unurned cremations is not yet clear.

Sixty-three percent of the Aylesford-type burials have only one type of grave good (Fig 57), while Stead (1969, 49) notes that about half of the cremations in the St Albans-King Harry Lane cemetery were accompanied by a single vessel which suggests a broadly comparable picture on an assessment of the number of artefacts present. Twelve of the thirteen finds of single imports are amphorae. This figure could be increased if Dr 2-4 amphorae in particular (5 findspots; App 3.3), but also other types (*cf* Rodwell 1976a, 233), were included. Nine of the twelve single amphorae are Dr 1 while the others are a Dr 2-4, a Haltern 70 and a Beltrán I, all cautiously attributed to the Iron Age on the

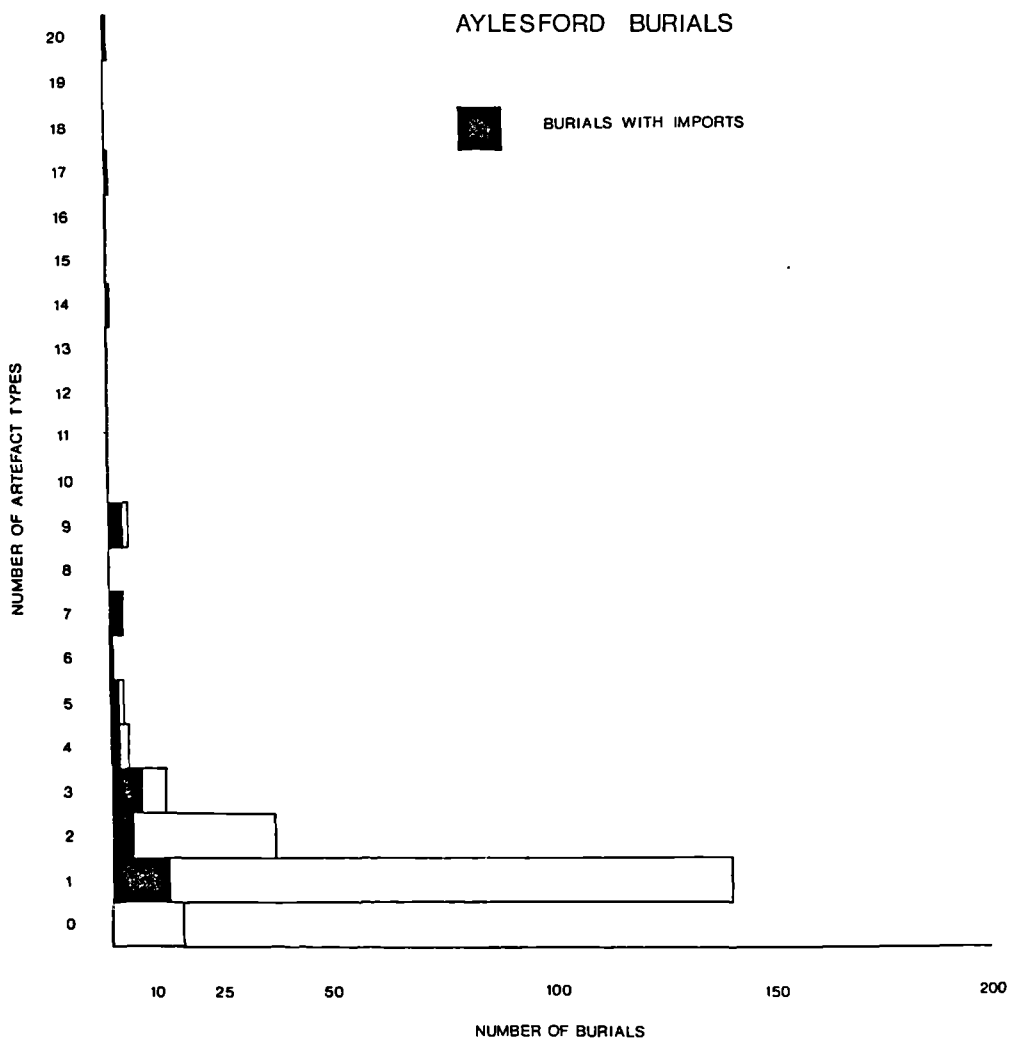


FIG 57: NUMBER OF ARTEFACT TYPES IN AYLESFORD-TYPE BURIALS

basis of their discovery in the largely Iron Age Lexden cemetery (Foster 1986, Fig 2) and the fact that they occur in other Iron Age burials in the cemetery (cf Sealey 1985, 148-9). The place of the Dr 2-4 will be resolved only by the careful excavation of new finds, but as Dr 1 are the most widely distributed and numerous import other than coins, their occurrence as the sole recorded grave good could be compatible with this wide availability and need not be taken as the index of a 'Welwyn' burial. Conversely no singleton has been discovered since 1904. If all the Dr 2-4 were attributed to the Iron Age a correlarly would be the implication of a rapid change in burial rite which is not supported by other categories of evidence. The Stanmore Park find for one is likely to be Romano-British (App 14.5, 2), others may only be suspected to be Iron Age (App 3.3, 2). However the situation is assessed, the apparent decline in the importation of wine from Augustus noted above (Ch 26.5) may be the most important factor here.

As noted by Whimster, the most frequent second artefact type is a brooch (Whimster 1981, 158): some 68% (25 of 37) in the present analysis. There may be regional variations in their inclusion in burials with Kent providing 40% of the finds. After this point there are very few clear distinctions in the data which appears as a continuum. Several subdivisions have been suggested (eg Rodwell 1976a, 241; Whimster 1981, 158-60 (threefold); Haselgrove 1982, 82-4; 1984a, 8 (fourfold with the distinction being within Rodwell's 'poor' grade), but no clear distinction has ever been proposed. Indeed, Stead's original categorisation of a 'Welwyn burial' was

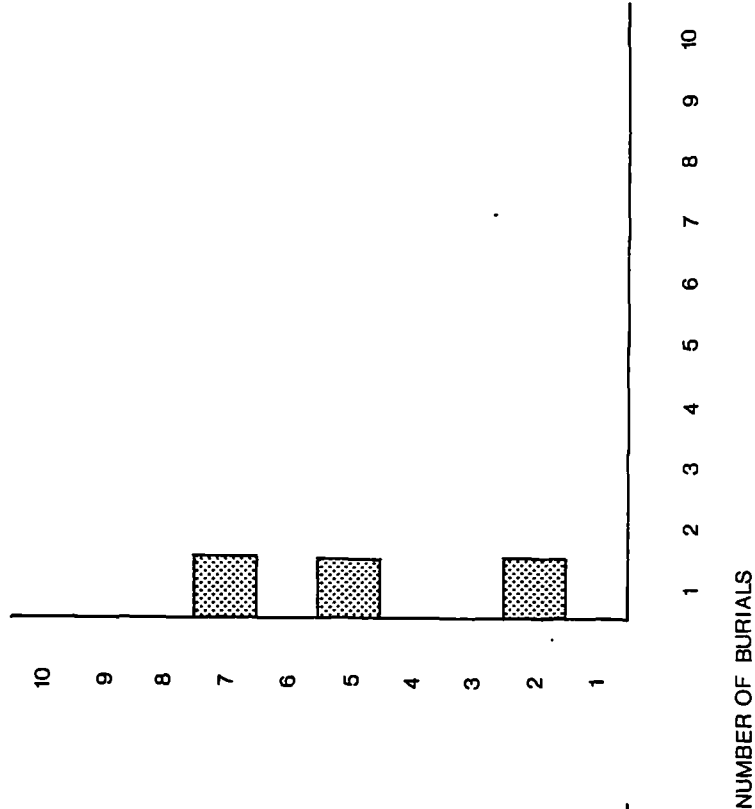
'defined as a cremation in a large rectangular grave without a covering mound. There is always a quantity of pottery, including at least one amphora, and usually some imported metal or glass vessels'

(Stead 1967a, 44).

But on this basis it is difficult to accept the presence or absence of an amphora as the criterion by which a burial is classified as Welwyn (*contra* Hüssen 1983, 28, n 37), while as we have seen, it is not necessary to follow Peacock (1971, 175), as for example Farley does (1983, 296, Fig 13), in taking finds of single amphora as necessarily representing 'Welwyn' burials (*cf* Rodwell 1976a, 241). With Whimster (1981, 154-60), it must be doubted if burials under a barrow should be excluded from the categorisation.

'Bucket burials' have often been suggested on subjective grounds as an intermediate category of burials in terms of 'wealth' (eg Whimster 1981, 159; Foster 1986, 185) and this would appear to be broadly true. As buckets are not certainly represented in the seven burials with a NAT total of eight or over it is possible that this may be a useful categorisation (Fig 58). Most 'Buckets Burials' are of first century BC date but as at least half of the burials which are ranked more highly are also, it seems plausible that this trend is not chronological in origin; similarly what may be bronze decorated iron caskets are found only in burials with a NAT of 9 or over. Mirror burials have sometimes been presumed to be of females. This androcentric assumption may be challenged

MIRROR BURIALS - CREMATIONS



BUCKET BURIALS - CREMATIONS

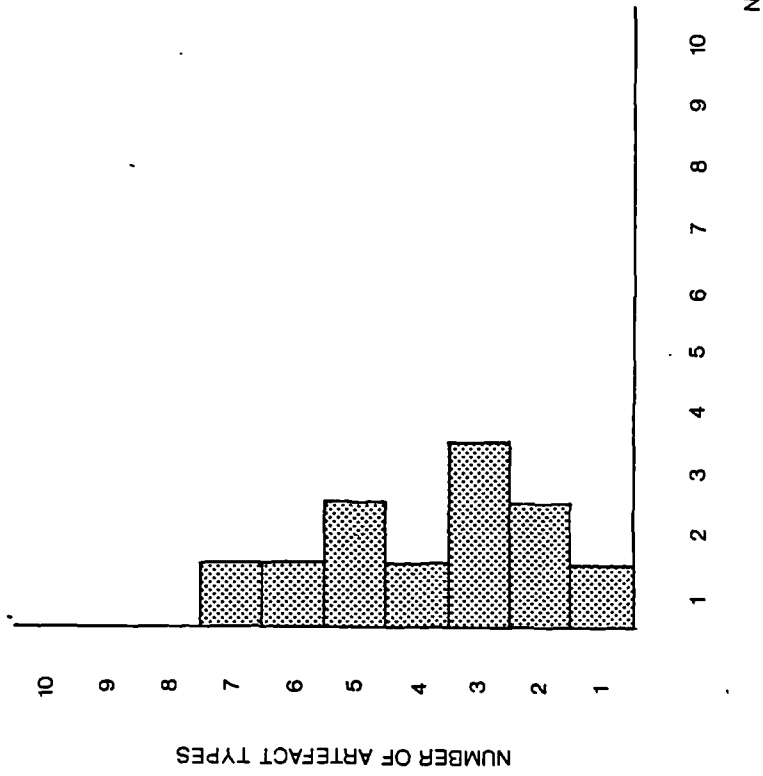
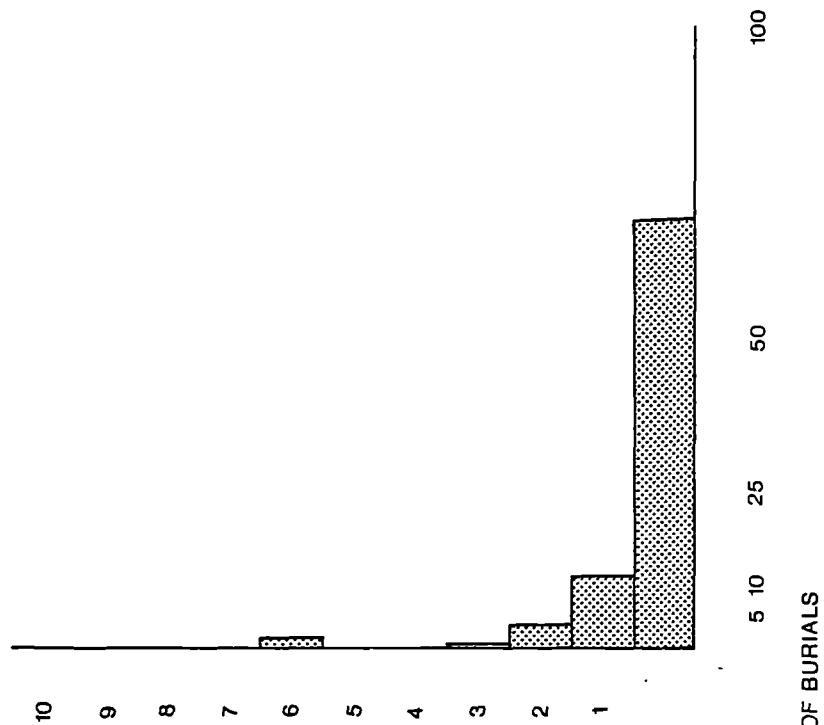


FIG 58: NUMBER OF ARTEFACT TYPES IN AYLESFORD-TYPE 'BUCKET' AND 'MIRROR' BURIALS

(Fitzpatrick 1984b, 186) but the data available is fragmentary. Of the 38 Iron Age mirrors presently known (Farley 1983, 296; Dent 1985, 90) approximately a third certainly or possibly derive from Aylesford-type burials, but useful information is available for only three finds. The Dorton cremation could not be attributed to sex (Farley 1983, 294) but the Aston individual could be female (Rook *et al* 1982, 19). The cremation in the Lexden burial was apparently not kept (Fox and Hull 1948, 135). The artefacts recovered yielded a NAT range comparable to that of bucket burials (Fig 58), which may suggest that it could prove to be comparable. However, the Dorton burial has all the attributes Stead ascribed to a 'Welwyn Burial' (Farley 1983, 296) so any clear-cut distinction may not be possible (*cf* Foster 1986, 185). This is underlined by the fact that one of the higher ranked burials is a 'warrior burial' from near Kelvedon (NAT = 9) which did not contain imports (C.J. Going *pers comm*).

Instead perhaps the more useful aspects of the NAT analyses are in showing a close relationship between settlement and funerary data with a tripartite distinction being distinguishable in both, although the settlement evidence is generally later than that of the predominantly first century BC well-furnished burials. As a thorough assessment of the evidence for later Iron Age settlement in south-eastern Britain is not available, the absence of imports is difficult to assess. However, in death 65% of the population who were cremated and buried did not have imported goods buried with them. The limited evidence for cemeteries (Stead 1969, 49-50; Holmes and Friend 1955-57, 15-17; Whimster 1981 156-7; *Current Archaeol* 8, 1983, 71-2) suggests that this may be reflected in the spatial arrangement of cemeteries with well-

SOUTH-WESTERN INHUMATION BURIALS



DUROTRIGIAN INHUMATION BURIALS

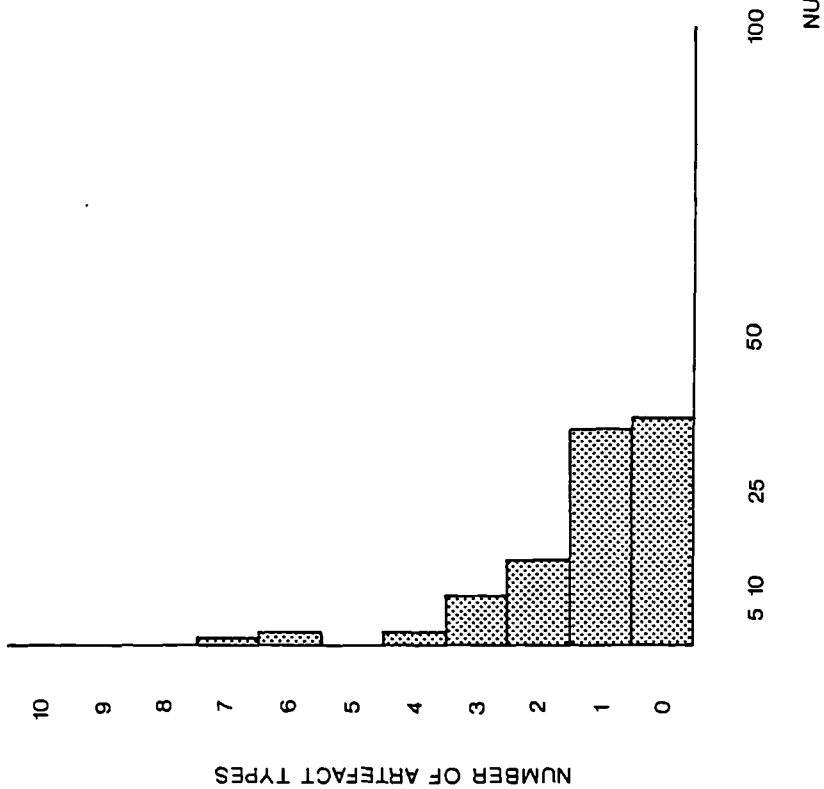


FIG 59: NUMBER OF ARTEFACT TYPES IN 'DUROTRIGIAN' AND SOUTH-WESTERN INHUMATION BURIALS.

furnished burials apparently surrounded by less well equipped 'satellite' burials perhaps within ditched enclosures.

An assessment of the 'Durotrigan' inhumation burials by Chambers has, however, produced similar results in both number of objects and variety of objects (essentially NAT) (1978, Fig 18-19; Fig 59). A unit of wealth analysis is even closer to the NAT of the Aylesford-type burials (Chambers 1978, Fig 16) but an analysis of the Aylesford-type burials using the same criteria would undoubtedly produce a 'richer' distribution. Chambers concludes that there was considerable variation in the artefacts deposited with the dead. In contrast, the objects included in Aylesford-type burials are more tightly restricted which might suggest a greater emphasis on the 'social' rather than the 'individual' persona of the dead. The inclusion of imported goods in Aylesford-type burials but their exclusions in 'Durotrigan' ones might be commensurate with this. The evidence from settlements and coins would also appear to support the suggestion but it is still possible that both types of burial were made by essentially similar societies (cf Ch 25.1). The related pattern which emerges from a NAT analysis of the south-western cist inhumation burials (Whimster 1981, 60-74; Fig 59) emphasises that on its own funerary evidence cannot be regarded as a reliable index. Nonetheless, even if the quality of the information available leaves much to be desired but it does allow the argument for access to foreign goods in south-east England and the 'Southern Kingdom' being, if not restricted, then related to the position of a settlement in any hierarchy to be supported. Perhaps, but not necessarily, related to this, there is a similar pattern in the funerary evidence. Despite reservations, the Durotriges do appear to have maintained a different attitude to foreign goods as is also suggested by the

distribution of Gaulish coins.

From this admittedly limited evidence, it may also be suggested that initially Roman imports may have been no more common or widely distributed than the objects of internal exchanges. Better contextual and quantified settlement evidence is needed to be able to clarify the later changes which appear to be indicated.

The possibility of an increased volume of Roman imports assisting the development of nucleated sites should be considered, but there is an element of circularity in the argument and it is likely that the processes were at work well before the probable increase in importation. However, as Collis has argued, it is possible that these sites had a role as markets where imported goods were exchanged, (eg 1984a, 155-61). This is supported by the Number of Artefact Types but in common with bronze coins (Haselgrove 1987a) the imports are found throughout any settlement hierarchy which could suggest widely dispersed cash exchanges. This challenges the degree of centralisation suggested for oppida. The possibly increased quantities of imports may reflect no more than the increased quantity of Roman wares being used in northern France during the *gallo-romaine précoce* and the exchanges may be essentially similar with Roman wares becoming more common and less valuable. As we have noted, Iron Age 'Welwyn' burials are mainly of first century BC date, although the sample is very small, and this may in part reflect an increased quantity of less valued imports in circulation at the same time as bronze coinage circulated with increasing velocity (cf Haselgrove 1987a), which runs counter to the idea of foreign trade being important to the emergence of the paramount chieftaincy of Cunobelin.

Instead it is possible that in Iron Age Europe the Roman imports circulated alongside other Celtic goods (Collis 1984a, 187; 1987, 33) and for Iron Age Britain pre-existing Celtic links across the Channel were particularly important in determining the principal points of entry in Britain but to describe the south-east England as 'effectively an extension of Belgic Gaul' (Haselgrove 1987a, 199) is to exaggerate the similarities as well as the small proportions of Roman imports.

When the British 'exports' cited by Strabo are considered (Ch 16; 19) the notion of a balance of trade (eg Cunliffe 1984b, 6; 1987a) when applied to a putatively capitalistic, entrepreneurial Roman market economy is difficult to accept. How Rome could 'economically exploit' Iron Age Britain (Haselgrove 1987a, 197) is left unexplained. In any case the assumption builds on others which are as poorly founded and which include the equation of foreign influences with change, the belief that visible Roman imports must be matched by invisible or non-detectable British exports, and that as the imports are of Roman origin then the trade was with Rome. The idea of any significant export of cereals to continental Europe (eg Bradley 1984, 156) is difficult to credit in view of the fecundity of Gaul. Similar difficulties attach to the argument (eg Salway 1984, 58-9; Fulford 1985a, 98-9) that the supply of the Roman armies in Germany [and Gaul] was in part through Iron Age Britain. The complex hinterland of the frontier zone points to the contrary, as does an assessment of military supply (eg Labisch 1975; Ch 19; 25.4). The evidence from Hengistbury Head which Cunliffe (1987a; 1987b) suggests may indicate the export of stock and cereal may in fact represent only the supply of a specialised type of site.

Slaves are often suggested as a major British export, most recently the case argued by Nash (eg 1976b; 1987b, 97) and Tchernia (1983, 97-9) that slaves were exchanged for wine in Gaul has been applied to Britain (eg Haselgrove 1982; 1984a; Cunliffe 1984b; Bradley 1984; Nash 1987a, 125; 1987b, 101). As Daubigny and Tchernia have pointed out, in view of the rarity of references to slaves, the occurrence of three references to Gaulish slaves within 20-40 years of each other in the first century BC is surely significant (Cicero *Pro Quinc* VI, 2; Africanus *Gram Lat* I, 119; Diod V, 26; Tchernia 1983, 97-9; Daubigny 1979; 1983).

However, enslavement within a Roman province was illegal so the bulk of amphorae finds within it in Gaul must, as Crawford has pointed out, be discounted as simply reflecting a slave trade (1985, 170), even if many finds in central France and beyond could be interpreted in this way. It should be remembered, however, that an increase in warfare to procure captives postulated by Nash has not been demonstrated (Ch 25.3). But if the sources of Roman slaves are examined it appears that the principal supply was from the enslavement of those vanquished in warfare. Slave-trading on its own was of lesser significance and apparently primarily with the East (Harris 1980). According to Hopkins' interpretation of the later Republic, *latifundia* were in part a consequence of warfare not of slave trading so we should be cautious in receiving the accepted wisdom concerning Gaulish exports and as Rich has pointed out the need for manpower in Italy may also have been exaggerated (Rich 1983). Given these difficulties it is debatable how important any British contribution to the Roman slave population was and the sheer distance involved further challenges the idea. Particularly as Roman Gaul appears to have made only very limited use of non-compatriot labour and this was surely the

most likely area with which slaves would have been exchanged. Despite Daubigny (1979; 1983), it does not seem plausible that the occurrence of *magu* and *ambactes* in the literary sources indicates the widespread existence of slavery, let alone of a generalised form of *para-esclavigiste* dependency. It is equally difficult to imagine Italy or Gaul requiring the significant import of other British 'raw materials' or agricultural products, let alone an official administrative involvement (*contra* Cunliffe 1984b, 19) in some form of economic imperialism given the geographical difficulties.

Two conclusions follow. One is that cross-Channel exchange may be best viewed in a local, seasonal, context and that Roman goods travelled largely within these small-scale exchange networks and the wide distribution of Roman goods may reflect many transactions, some of which may have been undertaken by Roman merchants. The second conclusion is that while the Roman imports do nonetheless indicate considerable contact, as much of their importance in terms of new influences may have been ideological rather than material even though both could be construed as elite consumption (*cf* Nash 1987b, 101). But the imports are given and gain their meaning(s) within the local culture.

It has been argued that the majority of Roman material culture imported is associated with cuisine but it is debatable if they reflect Roman cooking rather than, perhaps, manners. Diodorus perhaps following Posidonius compares Celtic Society and the presentation of food with Homeric society (V, 28, 4) and Athenaeus who is explicitly following Posidonius describes table manners in a related fashion (IV, 36, 151E-152D). Fischer (1973) and more

particularly Rowlands have developed the potential significance of the Homeric literature to later Bronze Age temperate Europe (1980; cf *idem* 1984). In commenting on this same topic Piggott (1965, 229) argued that Celtic society was incompatible with the mores of the classical world. However, this belief has been challenged above (Ch 25.3) and it has been argued that Celtic society and particularly its external relations were articulated by clientage and was often able to adopt alliances with Rome. While there is no doubt that, despite the Homeric allusions (Winter 1986), the Celtic feasting recounted by Athenaeus was far removed from the sophistication of the broadly contemporary Hellenistic court of Massinissa where banquets were held in a Roman fashion (Braund 1984, 115), both may reflect the particular adaption of Roman goods and ideas. The position of the elite groups may have been maintained and increased by an increased flow of information and ideas which could have constructed new sources of power such as the idea of a seat of government or of new institutions, or created new and restricted forms of knowledge through conditional literacy and increasing numeracy (Goody 1977; 1987).

What the Roman goods may reflect is not their 'economic' use in the emergence of a dominant lineage or tribe, but their adoption in the creation of a new iconography of power, for even if assimilated, the goods still remain 'foreign' to the indigenous context and still have a potentially active and disruptive role. But a new *Machtkunst* does not necessarily reflect a new ideology but perhaps instead what Renfrew (1986, 8) would argue to be 'symbolic entrainment'. It is unlikely to be coincidental that those places in Britain where the presence of Romans may be suspected in the Iron Age may have been seats of authority. Such tenuous evidence as there is for the adoption of new architectural

styles may be related not to the 'Belgae' (Rodwell 1978) but to direct Roman influence.

In view of the evidence for Celtic society in the later Iron Age and ways in which wealth was socially specified within it, it is difficult to envisage the dependence of the elite on prestige goods or foreign trade generally which has been suggested by some writers (cf Bintliff 1984a, 173, 204-5, n 73-4). Equally, over-dependence on direct Roman support for the maintenance of authority was also clearly an inherently unstable strategy (BG V, 25, 29, 54; ?III, 17; Champion and Champion 1986) and the Celts should be credited with the knowledge of this. Brunt's argument that alliances need not spring from friendship but could lead to it (1965) should also be remembered (Humphreys 1983, 2). An image of incorporation and continuity rather than alteration may be appropriate.

Considering the range of possible contacts it is difficult to escape the conclusion that trade has been taken to be the single most important form of contact between the Celtic barbarians and Rome simply because of its archaeological visibility. Instead diplomatic relations and military alliances could have been as important if not more so to both Celtic and Roman elites. Indeed, diplomatic relations may have been central to the accessibility of Roman trade, not in the sense of negotiated contracts but in determining whether foreign contact was to be entertained and the apparent exclusion of imports by the communities of east Sussex (Green 1980a) and Norfolk and Suffolk (with the possible exception of some Terra Nigra from Thetford (App 26.2.5)) may be because of this. It would be wrong, however, to ascribe to Rome an efficient diplomatic service and coherent foreign policy. This is not to

deny as Dyson points out (1985, 160) that Rome was aware of the consequences of her actions, both strategically and administratively, but decisions were often on an *ad hoc* basis based on long and difficult lines of communication (Millar 1982) and the judgement of a general or governor on the spot. In this situation competing interests amongst the Roman elite could lead to contradictory and controversial decisions (Dyson 1985, 153). Nor would it be particularly helpful to consider frontiers when it is clear that the Romans themselves had little or no conception of them at this period (Brunt 1978; Dyson 1985; *cf* Cooter 1977). As Fulford comments, seen in a long-term perspective Celtic societies were changing rapidly but a longer period of Roman contact with Free Germany did not produce similar results (1985b, 104-6; *cf* Hedeager 1987). The answers may not then be in the nature of Roman contact but in those of the indigenous societies.

Instead a less tangible network of alliances bound by gifts, exchanges, ambassadors and governors should be envisaged. Of this trade forms only a small part and the relationships between *publicani*, *negotiatores* and *mercatores* which articulated the external trade may themselves have been rooted in a more lucrative trade stimulated not by a market orientated regional or even 'world economy' (*contra* Ekholm and Friedman 1979, 53; Haselgrove 1987a, 195-203) but in an administered supply stimulated by the large-scale movement of people and animals in warfare (*cf* Humphreys 1978, 159-74). The widespread trade in wine with the Celtic barbarians in the later Republic which precedes so much change may itself only have been facilitated by an increase and diversification in its consumption in Italy (Purcell 1985; Tchernia 1986, 59-65). The common feature of clientage in both

Roman and Celtic societies suggests that discrete but mutual support by the elites in military and diplomatic alliances may have been the most important feature of this contact and it may have been this relationship which formed the basis of the ultimately successful incorporation of some of the Celtic barbarians into the Roman empire.

But we should not think that the *terror gallicus* (Peyre 1970) disappeared or that the Celtic barbarians were regarded by Rome as anything other than that (Saddington 1961; Wiedemann 1986). However, both parties should be credited with an appreciation of the consequences of their own decisions and actions (cf Haselgrove 1987a, 25-6). Following essentially the same argument as Piggott deployed for the Celts, Wheeler wrote of the German barbarians:

'The two societies were basically far too disparate for fruitful interaction, and Roman sherds or coins on the trampled floor of a German hut meant no more than did the Arretine dishes which strewed the squalid wigwams of Cunobelin at Colchester.'

(Wheeler 1954a, 53).

This view must be rejected. Ovid, writing in the Augustan period, makes the point that differences were recognised: '*barburus his ego sum, qui non intellego ulli, et rident stolidi inerba latina Gentae*' (*Tristia* V, 10, 37) but archaeological evidence also suggests that similarities were not only recognised by also exploited. Underlying the most enduring and influential links, however, were older relations between individuals and communities

of the same culture. Bradley has argued that the classical influence was decisive and that the major problem is whether the changes in later Iron Age Britain could have taken place without it? (Bradley 1978, 129). As he says, it is a hypothetical question, but as we look forward to the dramatic changes the Roman conquest ushered in (Fulford 1985b, 99), we should also look to the past.

It is clear that many of the changes ascribed to the later Iron Age have an earlier origin. While some of these have obvious chronological implication (eg Fitzpatrick 1985a, 307), they also have rather more important taxonomic ones. The quality of the data available could also be improved; it is salutary to see that the first later Iron Age rural settlement in Kent to be published acclaimed in a Linnaean fashion, but not necessarily incorrectly, to be the main type-site in the south-east (Philp 1984, 7), while quantified assemblages are needed urgently. But more importantly, our understanding of Iron Age societies in Britain, Gaul and beyond and, in many respects, perceptions of Roman imperialism can still be improved. Especially, many problems central to an understanding of the Iron Age societies of Britain remain to be addressed (eg Fitzpatrick 1984b, 187), and until they are, the restricted elite-based view of British pre- or proto-history which this dissertation continues remains unchallenged. Until a better understanding of British later Iron Age societies is achieved the potential significance which those people may have ascribed to Cross-Channel contact is difficult to fully assess. The prospect is still before us.

