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CROSS-CHANNEL RELATIONS IN THE BRITISH LATER IRON AGE:

with particular reference to the British
archaeological evidence

3 Volumes

Volume 1

ANDREW PETER FITZPATRICK

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University of Durham
Department of Archaeology

1989



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**CROSS-CHANNEL RELATIONS IN THE BRITISH
LATER IRON AGE; WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE
TO THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE**

Summary

This thesis considers cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age with particular reference to the archaeology of Britain. The relevant literary and epigraphic evidence are also considered but are discussed principally in translation and detailed textual analyses are not presented.

The thesis has five parts. The first part considers previous related research and the relationship of the present work to it. Particular emphasis is placed on the restrictions imposed by the sample bias created by the uneven geographical distribution of previous research.

The second and longest part comprises a resumé of the relevant archaeological (and numismatic) evidence with the supporting data being presented as appendices. The third part discusses the relevant literary and epigraphic evidence with a detailed excursus on 'the Belgae' presented as an appendix. Part four considers the vessels crossing the Channel and the routes which may have been used. Finally, the fifth part considers the nature of the cross-Channel contact in this period and the significance of it to the parties involved. It is argued that previous research has overemphasised the importance of both Atlantic and Rhineland routes and that bulk of contact was via northern France. The suggestion that trade with the Roman world caused major changes in later Iron Age society is examined critically and it is argued that its importance has been overemphasised. Instead the

importance of endogenous development and cross-Channel links between Celtic groups is stressed, and the argument that cross-Channel exchange was central to social change - or stasis - is qualified.

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DECLARATION

The research presented in this thesis is my own and has not been submitted in whole, or in part, for any other degree.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.

No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviated titles of periodicals follow the Council for British Archaeology Standard List (Council for British Archaeology 1979: *Signposts for Archaeological Publication*.² London, 25-31.) while foreign periodicals not in that list have been abbreviated following the same standard. In the case of less well known foreign publications their titles are given in full.

The following abbreviations of standard works or definitions are employed.

BN: E. Muret and A. Chabouillet 1889 : *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris.

Cam C.F.C. Hawkes & M.R. Hull 1947: *Camulodunum* (Oxford, Rep Res Comm Soc Antiq London 14).

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 1892-. Berlin.

DLT: H. de la Tour 1892: *Atlas des monnaies gauloises*. Paris (1965 reprint, London).

Drag: H. Dragendorff 1895-96: *Terra Sigillata*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen und römischen Keramik *Bonner Jahrb* 96, 18-155; 97, 54-163.

- Dr: H. Dressel 1899: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XV, 2.
Berlin.
- FIRA: S. Riccobono 1941: *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiani*.
Florence.
- FMRZD: *Die Fundemünzen der römische Zeit in Duetschland, Abt IV,
Rheinland-Pfalz, 2 - Pfalz, 1965.* Berlin (H.
Chantraine).
- Ha: S. Loeschke 1909: *Keramische Funde in Haltern: ein
Beitrag zur Geschichte der augusteische Kultur in
Deutschland. Mitt Altertumskomm Westfalen* 5, 101-322.
- L: S. Loeschke, as above but referring to 'Arretine' only.
- Mack: R. P. Mack 1975: *The Coinage of Ancient Britain.*³ London.
- Mic TN: Micaceous Terra Nigra.
- MNV: Minimum Number of Vessels.
- NAT: Number of Artefact Types.
- Ob: S. Loeschke 1942: *Die römische und die belgische Keramik
aus Oberaden nach den Funden der Ausgrabungen von Alfred
Baum. In C. Albrecht, Das Römerlager in Oberaden, II.*
(Dortmund, Veröff Stadt Mus für Vor- und Frühgesch
Dortmund II, 2), 7-148.

O/C: A. Oxé and H. Comfort 1968: *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata*. (Bonn, *Antiquas Rh 3*, Abhandl zur Vor- und Frühgesch, zur klass u prov-römische Archäol 4).

PC: 'Pipeclay' ('Gallo-Belgic') Vessels.

RCHM(E): Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

Ritt: E. Ritterling 1912: Das früh-römische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus. *Nassauische Ann 40*, 1912 (1913), 1-416.

Scheers: S. Scheers 1977: *Traité de numismatique Celtique II: La Gaule Belgique*. (Paris, *Ann Litt Univ Besançon 195 / Centre Recherche Hist Anc Ser Numis 24*).

TN: *Terra Nigra*.

TR: *Terra Rubra*, which may be divided numerically following Rigby (1973).

VCH: Victoria County History.

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

Unless indicated otherwise the Loeb edition is referred to. The principal exception to this is *De Bello Gallico* where the Wiseman and Wiseman 1980 translation is generally used.

INTRODUCTION

Most studies of cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age have been concerned primarily with one category of evidence. Several of these studies are of great importance (eg Allen 1960; Peacock 1971) but no recent work has attempted to review all the archaeological and literary evidence. In view of the great importance which has been ascribed to cross-Channel contact during the British later Iron Age (eg Cunliffe 1978a) such a survey was thought to be desirable. The two principal aims of this work are firstly to assemble and where possible quantify the relevant material and secondly, to reassess its significance when viewed as a single body of evidence rather than as discrete categories.

Attention is directed principally to Britain but for the sake of completeness the few finds from Ireland are included. However, the Channel Islands are excluded as on archaeological grounds they were closely associated with France at this time (cf Cunliffe 1986, 59-67). Otherwise the area considered is essentially that defined by McGrail (1983a).

A prerequisite for a better understanding of the importance of cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age is a greater awareness of the contemporary later Iron Age and early Roman archaeology of north-west Europe. Throughout this work, 'north-west Europe' is used to refer to non-Mediterranean France, Switzerland, Germany, the Benelux countries and the British Isles. This usage is not strictly accurate (cf Harding 1983) but it is



defensible on archaeological grounds.

Considerations of space preclude a full documentation and discussion of the continental Europe data here. Accordingly the first of the five parts of this thesis reviews previous research into cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age and the most important concepts commonly subscribed to in its interpretation, and how these have conditioned both analyses and the collection of information, particularly in continental Europe. Two complementary case studies in source criticism attempt to illustrate the different forms of sample bias which can arise and which must be taken into account in assessing the British evidence.

Part 2 attempts to present a full assessment of the available British archaeological evidence. Where a reasonable number of finds are known and a useful typology exists they are scheduled in an appendix. Where the finds are singletons they are discussed in the main text.

One major category of evidence, Celtic coins, is not documented here as it has been listed fully, and accessibly, by Allen (1960), Haselgrove (1978; 1983; 1987a) and Scheers (1977a) but in keeping with the aims of this work they are discussed fully in the text.

Part 3 considers the interpretation of the relevant literary sources as they are intergral to a balanced assessment of cross-Channel contact.

Part 4 draws on comparative and ancient evidence to examine what vessels were used in the contact and by which potential and/or

preferred routes.

Finally, in the fifth part an attempt is made to draw together and assess this evidence in relation to contact earlier in the British Iron Age, the actors involved in the later Iron Age contact and the significance of the contact.

The bulk of the research from which this thesis derives was undertaken between 1980-84 in the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham and Universities in Basle, Bonn and Paris. Most of the evidence is drawn from published sources but unpublished material noted in museums is also included. In Britain museum visits were undertaken primarily for familiarisation with the material culture or to resolve specific problems of identification, not to compile exhaustive catalogues which in some cases had already been undertaken (eg Timby 1982). Instead the emphasis of systematic museum visits was to examine continental European material, particularly for northern France and Belgium where, in contrast to, say, Armorica, publications were often obscure or non-existent in the earlier 1980s. These visits were not directed to compiling comprehensive catalogues, but to providing a wider and more appropriate context in which to view the British material. To a large extent such trips provide the only method of establishing the continental European background. The results of some of this background research have already been published (Fitzpatrick 1985a). These visits were made largely between 1981-84, but additional material published up to and including 1987 and available up to mid-1988 have been incorporated here if possible.

Wherever possible the data have been quantified but in most cases this information was not available and/or the number of finds were

too small to make this useful. The quantified information is generally reproduced as it was published, whether as sherd count or weight. The preferred and the most consistently attainable form, however, particularly for amphorae, is for the Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) and where possible data has been converted to this. Amphorae were exchanged for their contents and it is the volume of commodities which can be calculated from the MNV (Sealey 1985, 113) and this is more informative than sherd count and/or weight. Although ideally more than one form of quantification should be presented Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVEs) and Rims, Bases and Handles (RBH) are not felt to be as useful as MNV in this respect.

Unfortunately it is often only the imported, Roman wares which have been quantified in recent reports making assessments of assemblages virtually impossible although this is a crucial avenue for future research. Although this work aims to consider all the relevant information, the amount of attention paid to individual topics varies because of the space available. The most obvious aspect of this is the omission of a detailed assessment of coinage but where other topics have been widely discussed detailed coverage is not attempted unless it is felt to be important.

Thus Guido's attribution of possible imports of glass beads is treated in depth (Ch 7.2.1) as no detailed critique has been published. On the other hand Republican bronze vessels have been widely discussed in other languages, but their importance for both the chronology of the British later Iron Age and for their suggested function is felt to merit wider discussion (Ch 9.1-2). Where the source of imports is well known, for example Dressel 1 amphorae, this evidence is not considered in detail but in order to demonstrate the dispersed nature of production in the early

Principate and the problems this can raise, production sites for Dressel 2-4 amphorae (Tab 3) and 'Arretine' (Ch 6.3) are presented as examples. However, for Roman sigillata and glass for example there are existing and widely used standard works and typologies and these are not considered in detail. In the case of amphorae though, the typology is less well known and a brief guide is presented.

Some topics which have been much discussed but not necessarily profitably are considered in Appendices (eg App 1).

For the continental European material the term 'later Iron Age' will be used as broadly equivalent to the La Tène III and Reinecke La Tène D, or 'late La Tène'. A combination of typological and dendrochronological dates suggest that in Continental Europe this period had started by c 125 BC (de Navarro 1972; Haffner 1979; Collis 1975a; 1984a). Germanic usage distinguishes a La Tène D1 and D2 with this transition taking place around the middle decades of the first century BC. The period begins to come to an end with the gradual appearance of an early Roman provincial material culture, called the *gallo-romaine précoce* in France, from c 20 BC onwards.

In Britain there is less agreement on the nomenclature for this period (Champion 1979, 344-6; Cunliffe 1984a, 12), but the late pre-Roman Iron Age or late Iron Age is used increasingly widely. The beginning of this period has been set, somewhat arbitrarily, around 100 BC.

There is no commonly agreed period subdivision as with La Tène D1 and D2, although sub-divisions have been suggested (Stead 1976a), but much of the material from the later parts of the century is

often called 'Belgic', a phrase which is also used to describe material of first century AD date. 'La Tène III' is also frequently used to describe this later material although this is a misnomer for a great deal of it, which Dechelette actually termed La Tène IV (1914). Much of this material continued to be made, or at least deposited, after the Roman conquest of southern Britain from AD 43 onwards which marks the closing point of this study. This date is not, however, an arbitrary cut-off date as the Claudian invasion ushered in dramatic changes in cross-Channel contact.

When dealing with Roman material normally dated by reference to regnal periods this practice is followed. In the case of Octavian who took the name Augustus in 27 BC there may be some ambiguity particularly as for northern Europe the appellation may have little relevance before c 20 BC.

PART I

PREVIOUS RESEARCH
AND
THE STRUCTURE OF THE EVIDENCE

CHAPTER I

1.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO CROSS-CHANNEL CONTACT

The history of research into cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age has been recently (ie in the 1980s) summarised by a number of writers (Sealey 1981; Tyers 1981; Timby 1982; Thompson 1982, 1-3; Cunliffe 1984a, 32-3; 1984b). As Bradley (1978, 126-7) and Champion (1979, 415-21) have commented previously, discussion of the period has been both dominated and bedevilled by a literary reference to 'the Belgae', which has frequently been regarded as presenting an archaeological problem, sometimes to the exclusion of any other issues. Indeed, in commenting on this, Haselgrove has described research on the later Iron Age as being 'strangled' by 'a non-problem' (1984a, 7, 49, n 2; cf 1987a, 193-4) while Champion has also called the problem of the Belgae a non-problem (1983, 428). However, Cunliffe has recently written that

'The starting point for any discussion of the changes evident in the last century and a half of the pre-Roman Iron Age in southern Britain must be two famous passages in Caesar's commentaries on his Gallic War and the one insight provided by Frontinus.'

(Cunliffe 1984a, 32).

A critique of the varying and sometimes contradictory interpretations of Caesar's comments is presented in Appendix 1 but a detailed consideration of their relevance to the history of the discipline or to the development of Iron Age studies such as that attempted by Mulvaney (1962) falls outside the scope of this thesis. Arguably, to start a thesis with a lengthy consideration of this debate is also to restrict the framework of the work unnecessarily. Thus while acknowledging the topic, it will not be pursued at this juncture. Clearly, it is impossible to shed the legacy of previous research as it plays a crucial role in determining the type(s) and quality of data available as well as in the interpretations proposed. However, an attempt will be made here to consider instead some of the wider aspects of both the data and those features which have structured its recognition and constrain its interpretation.

In a number of publications Champion has drawn attention to some of the most important concepts which have been commonly subscribed to in the interpretation of the British Iron Age material (1975; 1979; 1982).

A number of these are directly relevant to this work. Briefly, they are (i), agreement on the validity and usefulness of the notion of an archaeological culture; (ii), the belief that the British Isles and continental Europe form separate areas which are useful units of discussion (Champion 1975); (iii), the importance of invasions as an interpretation of changes archaeologically recognisable (1982) and (iv) the value of documented history as an interpretative framework, particularly for the later Iron Age (1979, 347). While it is difficult, perhaps invidious, to attempt to disentangle the related consequences of these beliefs it is

perhaps the fourth one, that of the relationship between archaeology and written history, which has determined the directions of research on cross-Channel contact in the later Iron Age. Thus, many important recent contributions and new interpretations have been cast within an historical interpretation (eg Peacock 1971; Scheers 1977a; Cunliffe 1978a; 1982a; Haselgrove 1984a; 1984b; Nash 1984). Attempts to be consciously different are more rare (eg Collis 1971a; Haselgrove 1982; 1987a). Much of what follows here falls within this 'historical' tradition but as has been argued elsewhere (Champion 1979, 347; 1985; Finley 1985a, 7-26), it is not necessary to apologise for this, only to try and avoid being prejudicial.

As Champion has also shown, attention to the Iron Age of continental Europe by British archaeologists has been patchy and interpretations contradictory (1975, 129-35). Only the recent works of Cunliffe (1982a; 1987a), related to his excavations at Hengistbury Head, or Haselgrove's work on coinage (eg 1987a) have attempted to integrate detailed studies of the relevant later Iron Age material on both sides of the Channel, although some works of synthesis have been attempted (eg Collis 1984a). Champion cites the works of Evans (1890) and Hawkes and Dunning (1930) as landmarks (1975, 130) to which may be added, despite criticisms, the work of Birchall (1965). The thrust of Champion's argument has been borne out emphatically and unwittingly by Rodwell who in discussing what he argued to be settlement of south-eastern England from *Belgium* in the later Iron Age (1976a) made virtually no reference to the archaeology of continental Europe including several directly relevant publications on the numismatic evidence by Scheers (eg Scheers 1972). For these reasons it may be more useful to consider some trends in research into the later Iron Age

and early Roman period of continental Europe which suggest that significant developments may be anticipated.

As characterised by foreigners (eg Moberg 1980; cf Daniel 1975; 1981) French archaeology in their 'own' *protohistoire* has not been notable for its concern with detailed analyses of large bodies of archaeological data rather than with the 'culture' of man [*sic*]. A contrast can be drawn with the Germanic tradition in particular, which is popularly, and arguably correctly, seen to be concerned with self-perpetuating analyses of the typology and chronology of ever-increasing corpora (cf Harding 1983). Such characterisations may be facile but this does not preclude all value. At the same time, however, the national concerns of the participants in these traditions bear on the evidence available to a study of Cross-Channel contact. To emphasise the need for source criticism two case studies - Dressel 1 Amphorae and 'Arretine' are presented below.

1.2 DRESSEL 1 AMPHORAE AND PROBLEMS OF SAMPLE BIAS.

Dressel 1 (Dr 1) amphorae form one of the principal categories of evidence for Cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age date and it has long been recognised that they were exported to Celtic Gaul. Indeed, Dechelette used Dr 1 as one of the type fossils of the La Tène III period in north-west Europe. As amphorae are often the only Roman imports in Iron Age assemblages and are recognised easily they are frequently singled out for special comment in excavation reports, giving them a prominent position in the archaeological literature. In 1982 Galliou published a monograph on late Republican amphorae, principally Dr

1, in western France. At the time the large number of previously poorly known or unpublished finds were taken as supporting the case for a flourishing trade in Italian wine along the Atlantic coast (Galliou 1982; 1984; 1986). More contentiously, they were also seen as indicating that this route was the principal one by which Italian wine arrived in Britain (eg Cunliffe 1982a; 1984b).

However, a consideration of the distribution maps of Dr 1 published previously by Will in 1956, Callender in 1965, Peacock in 1971 and Panella in 1981 and also of the data in Uenze in 1958 emphasises Panella's comments that the distribution map 'should be interpreted with caution' (Panella 1981, 58). In considering Galliou's map one point is particularly striking. In 1971 Peacock could cite only three sites with a handful of finds from the area considered subsequently by Galliou, but Galliou documented 77 sites with 273+ amphorae from them (cf Galliou 1982, 78; *contra* Tchernia 1986, 77).

The background research for this thesis suggested that the apparent emphasis on an Atlantic route in 1982 was explicable to sample bias (Fitzpatrick 1985a).

For present purposes, however, it is the structure of this evidence which is more pertinent.

The inability to locate known finds for verification (cp Champion 1977, 5) and the refusal of one national museum to allow me access to their collections (cp Friedin 1980) as well as other factors expounded more fully elsewhere (Fitzpatrick 1987a, 91-2) must cast doubt on the completeness of the data. The conclusions of Sanquer (1982) and Tchernia (1983, 87-90; 1986, 76) that only scholars

resident in a country are likely to compile exhaustive gazetteers bear reiteration but should also be qualified with the observation that time may be the determining factor. It is also instructive to compare the itineraries of Greene (1979) and Hodges (1981) in surveys with comparable aims, albeit concerned with different periods, to see how problematic it is to assess the representativeness and success of such British based projects. The Dr 1 data for Britain, the Aisne Valley and Switzerland are for example, likely to be over-represented (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 309; 1987a, 92-3).

Under-representation is more difficult to assess but it seems plausible that only areas covered by surveys such as those of Galliou (1982) and Vaussanvin (1979), Ralston (1982), Roman (1983) and Boudet (1987) are likely to have a representative sample. Underlying this is more than the maxim that distribution maps reflect, at least in part, the distribution of researchers (Fig 1-2).

Instead major trends in the exploration of the *protohistoire* of France are resulting in a wider and more representative sample of sites, particularly non-hillfort sites, being sampled by excavation (Buchsenschutz 1984a; 1984b, Fig 8-25). Not only is this offsetting an earlier concentration on hillforts (Fitzpatrick 1987a), it is also ameliorating the effect that only some areas in north-eastern France such as the Champagne and Ardennes are currently known to have well recognised mortuary rites (Collis 1977a, Fig 1; Flouest and Stead 1977, Fig 5; Haselgrove 1984a, Fig

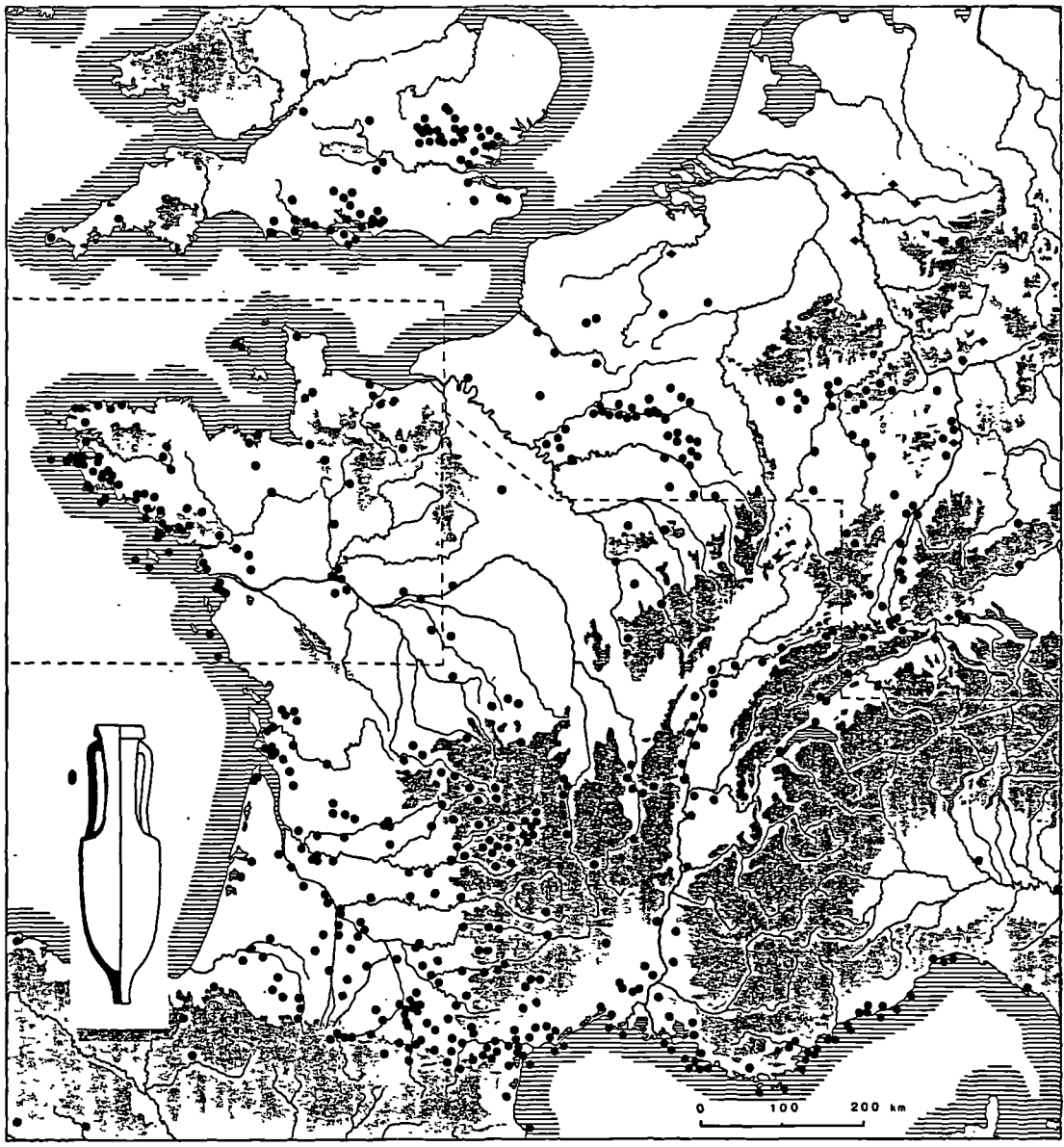


FIG 1: THE PRESENTLY RECORDED DISTRIBUTION OF DR 1 AMPHORAE
IN NORTH-WEST EUROPE

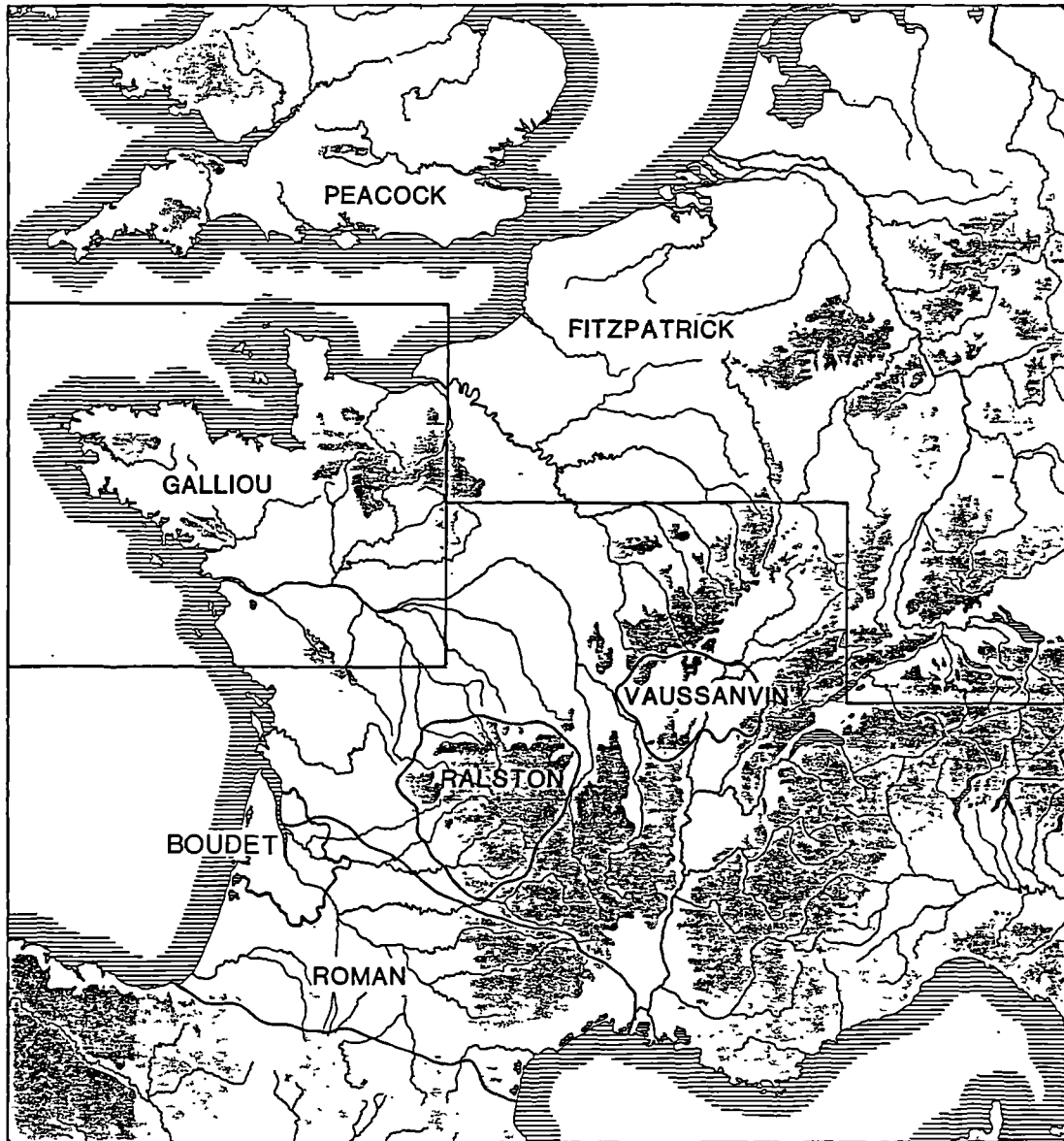


FIG 2: THE MEANINGFUL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN FIG 2

2) have had on distribution maps. Conversely some areas are over-represented (Demoule and Ilett 1985; Fitzpatrick 1987a, 93-9).

In the case of Dr 1 in north-west Europe perhaps the most important result of the background research was the suggestion that their absence from the lower Rhineland was probably genuine and that this was to be ascribed to the exclusion of wine by the indigenous population(s) (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 311-13; 1987a, 90).

By the time of the Roman advances into the lower Rhineland the Dr 1 was being superseded by other types, notably the Dr 2-4, and it is possible to be confident that Dr 1 are rare in these Roman forts. However, it must be considered whether the careful publication of finds from these military sites has not created a bias in distribution maps of goods whose production was contemporary with their occupation, thus over-emphasising the importance of the lower Rhineland in a fashion similar to that created by Galliou's work for Dr 1 amphorae in Armorica? Given the importance frequently ascribed to Rhine as a trade route for later Iron Age Britain this possibility is equally important and should be examined.

1.3 THE LOWER RHINELAND AND PROBLEMS OF SAMPLE BIAS

On the evidence presently available it appears that Roman goods were very rare in civilian settlements in the Low Countries and the lower Rhine until the Flavian period when a provincial Roman material culture began to appear (Willems 1983; 1984; Bloemers 1983a) and an increasing number of 'Romanised' settlements and/or assemblages are recognised in the region (Willems 1984; Gechter

and Kunow 1986). Even allowing for the fact that pre-Flavian military sites have occupied a prominent position in research priorities in these areas, the chronological disposition of later civilian sites suggests that pre-Flavian 'Romanised' civilian sites have not been overlooked in past and present investigations.

In considering this, and related evidence, a number of Dutch scholars have argued that the early Roman period in the lower Rhineland was one in which the military was dependant on long-distance supply (Bloemers 1983a; 1983b; Willems 1983; 1984; Groenman-van Waateringe 1980; 1983), in contrast Cunliffe has repeatedly suggested that it was a commercial zone (eg 1984b, 14-18), viewing the Roman economy as essentially entrepreneurial and capitalist (eg 1982a; 1984a; 1984b; 1984c; 1987b).

Leaving aside the merits of such interpretations (cf Greene 1986), from the viewpoint of trade routes to later Iron Age Britain, the most important feature of this concentration on the Rhineland has been the assumption that the region was the logical supplier of goods to Britain.

However, the Rhineland formed only part of the military dispositions. Until recently northern France and Belgium attracted relatively little attention, but recent work (eg Mertens 1983) has shown that a network of Augustan military sites, cautiously anticipated by Wells (1972), seems to have existed (Wightman 1977a; 1977b; 1985; Willems 1984, Fig 128). Much recent Dutch work uses a core-periphery model to interpret this (eg Bloemers 1983b; cf Hingley 1982). Accordingly a wider framework than that proposed by Cunliffe must be envisaged.

It is unclear to what extent finds from sites in *Gallia Belgica* which are likely to have had a military presence as well as an early Roman urban development are attributable to either facet. In some cases, however, the intrusion of a completely Roman material culture, as represented for example by the earliest finds from Amiens (Massy and Molière 1979), and probably Bavay also (*contra* Boucly 1984), points to a military presence. As Willems has commented (1986, 500), it should not be assumed that the existing indigenous social structure was such as to have strongly influenced the location of forts. Unfortunately contemporary settlement evidence is less common. For historical reasons similar to those which until recently conditioned the excavation of later Iron Age sites, early Roman sites in northern France have not attracted a great deal of attention while research interests in the archaeology of Roman rural settlement in this area have traditionally been directed to the later villas (Wightman 1975; 1979; 1985) rather than the seemingly less 'Romanised' *fermes-indigènes*. Early Roman contexts in modern urban areas also remain relatively poorly explored.

This situation is only gradually beginning to change and it complicates the interpretation of distribution maps of pre-Claudian Roman finds from northern France and southern Belgium as the presently recorded distributions are heavily biased towards areas where the methods of disposing of the dead involved formal burial with grave goods (*cf* Timby 1982, Fig 43; 88), emphasising the pattern already noted for the later Iron Age (Ch 1.2).

A combination of an apparent lack of burials, and settlements as well, can result in some areas being largely unrepresented (*ibid*

Fig 50). By contrast the Rhineland may be proportionately over-represented.

In the same way that Dr 1 illustrated the difficulties of an Atlantic bias the finds of 'Arretine' from Amiens may be used to further illustrate this problem. 'Arretine' wares have been particularly well researched (eg Oxé and Comfort 1968). In compiling this catalogue Oxé relied heavily on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* for which research was distributed fairly evenly. However, the *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum*, was able to incorporate a large number of finds from the early excavations of military sites in the lower Rhine area, notably those at Haltern. The effect of this can be seen by comparing a distribution map of all 'Arretine' included in Oxé and Comfort (Gechter 1979, Abb 12) with one which incorporates quantified information compiled from the same source (*ibid*, Abb 13). Gechter documents eight sources of 'Arretine' in this way and with the exception of material made in the Po Valley which is barely found in north-western Europe, and vessels made in Rome (Abb 13, 3-4), the lower Rhineland is consistently of equal or greater importance than Italy in terms of the number of stamps recorded in the remaining six maps. By contrast much of France is *carte blanche*. Of these stamps those of Ateius and his associates are the most important and until recently a list of major site collections in north-western Europe (Tab 1) was dominated by the military sites of Haltern and *Vindonissa*, in Switzerland. Not surprisingly the results of the recent excavations of *Asciburgium* have resulted in the discovery of a large number of stamps.

TABLE 1

'ARRETINE' STAMPS FROM MAJOR SITE COLLECTIONS IN NORTH-WEST EUROPE

Site	'Arretine' Stamps Total	'Ateius' Stamps Total	% Ateius Stamps
Dangstetten	137	0	0
Rödgen	15	0	0
Oberaden	46	0	0
Lorenzberg-bei-Epfach	18	0	0
Mt Beuvray	28	2	7
Augsburg-Oberhausen	12	2	17
Amiens	231	65	27
Haltern	915	311	34
<i>Asciburgium</i> (Vicus)	158	60	38
Tongeren	67	35	52
<i>Camulodunum</i>	43	28	65
<i>Vindonissa</i>	176	123	70
Silchester	15	11	73

Source: Beckert and Vanderhoeven 1984; Massy 1980; Schönberger and Simon 1976; Boon 1969; Hawkes and Hull 1947 and E. Ettliger pers comm.

Less expected is the result of the thorough publication of the finds from Amiens which total 231 stamps, forming the second largest total after Haltern. Prompted by the discovery of a large, securely stratified group of early Roman material which contained just over thirty stamps (Massy and Molière 1979), Massy

was able almost immediately to publish nearly another two hundred finds. Of these stamps some 65 were of Ateius and his associates, none of which were included in the Square Jules Bocquet find, but Gechter was aware of only five or less finds of Ateius from Amiens (Gechter 1979, Abb 13, 1), an increase not less than ten-fold. A similar situation may pertain at Bavay where there are many stamped vessels (M. Vanderhoeven pers comm) but which are unpublished and, to some students at least, inaccessible (cf Ch 1.2).

The significance of these recent publications from northern France and Belgium is that they allow the questioning of the supposed pre-eminence of the Rhineland as the major destination for Roman goods in north-west Europe in the Augustan period. This is important not only because it raises the possibility of a significant military supply to these areas as well as to the Rhineland but also because the early development of at least some urban settlements (Wightman 1985, 75-80), in contrast to the apparent absence of Roman goods from indigenous sites in what was becoming a frontier zone around the Rhine, suggests that there may also have been the potential for a more widely-based trade. Thus, the belief in much recent British work that the Rhine was the major point of departure for Roman goods reaching eastern Britain in the last fifty - sixty years of the British Iron Age (eg Partridge 1981, 350-6; Cunliffe 1982a; 1984a; 1984b; Haselgrove 1982) may need, to be qualified significantly. It is argued below (Ch 26.4) that the material presented in part 2 supports this conclusion.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to present a detailed consideration of all the continental European material relevant to cross-Channel contact in the British later Iron Age or of the concepts which have formed its interpretation. Instead attention has been directed towards trends which are arguably of greater importance in the ways that the data has become available and how these must be taken into consideration when interpreting both the British and continental European material. Their significance is discussed more fully in part 5 but these limitations must be referred to repeatedly in the consideration of the archaeological evidence for cross-Channel contact and it is to that we may now turn.

PART II

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR
CROSS-CHANNEL CONTACT IN THE BRITISH
LATER IRON AGE

INTRODUCTION

This section attempts to present *resumés* of the different categories of the archaeological and numismatic evidence for Cross-Channel contact in the British Later Iron Age.

The evidence is presented by material; pottery, glass, vessels of silver and bronze, Roman metal artefacts (other than vessels), bone artefacts, brooches and other imports which do not fall within these categories. Within these categories the imports are presented in functional groupings, eg shipping containers or table-wares. This approach results in the separation of, say table-wares of glass, metal and pottery, but it is felt that this is offset by the greater clarity in considering the relevant literature. Where larger quantities of imports occur and there are existing typologies suitable for ordering it, the data are presented in the appendices as gazetteers and distribution maps given but where imports are singletons they are discussed within the body of the main text. One of the main objectives of this part is to present, with the exception of coins, as complete a catalogue of the evidence for cross-Channel contact as is possible, bringing this information together for the first time.

CHAPTER II

AMPHORAE AND BARRELS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Amphorae were heavy duty containers used to transport perishable commodities in the ancient world. They are sometimes described as shipping amphorae, emphasising their transport by boat or ship. Current archaeological usage of the latin *amphora* is more restricted than may have been the case in antiquity where it was applied to a greater variety of vessels and materials (Hilgers 1969, 36, 102), and while some commentators prefer to use the anglicised plural 'amphoras' (Sealey 1985, 1), 'amphorae' is retained here.

The development and fundamentals of the study of amphorae have been reviewed recently by Peacock and Williams (1986) and only the major points concerning these vessels need be made here.

Petrological study of Roman amphorae has been particularly rewarding and a number of important contributions have been made by Peacock which are directly relevant to vessels found in Iron Age Britain. Neutron Activation Analysis has also been very successful in characterising southern French amphorae. The study of kiln sites and their products is, by contrast, poor. Stamps occasionally give the origin of a vessel but this information is

given more frequently in *tituli picti* (painted inscriptions). This epigraphic evidence often gives the contents and in the case of wine the date is sometimes also given (cf Sealey 1985). The contents of vessels have sometimes been indicated by chemical analyses, notably gas chromatography. In one instance at least this has indicated that an amphora, the Lamboglia 2, thought to contain oil contained wine. Occasionally the contents of amphorae have been preserved *in situ* in wreck sites and it is noteworthy that these finds, eg Dr 1, regularly contradict accepted wisdom in indicating contents other than those expected to be found. These finds are, however, usually described as 'amplifying' knowledge of the contents (eg Sealey 1985). Amphorae were sealed with either clay stoppers or cork discs. Where Dr 1 have been found with their 'lids' in place these usually have a layer of pozzalana cement over the cork discs.

There is no single accepted classificatory scheme for Roman amphorae. Vessels were made by hand so a standard, identical, form should not be expected and shipwrecks show that minor typological variations were contemporary. As manufacture was very widespread it is unclear if these variations reflect this geographical range or if they were intended to convey information about the contents. In discussing Dr 1B from the Madrague de Giens wreck Sealey regards the later suggestion 'as the only credible explanation' (1985, 22) but different provenances is also a plausible explanation and is demonstrable in the case of Dr 2-4 (Tchernia 1986, Fig on p 128). Broad classes of amphorae are relatively easily discerned but more precise definitions of types are less accessible. As Peacock and Williams argue, fabric is essential to the adequate definition of an amphora type but this

information has rarely been given and at present it is difficult to proceed much beyond the broad 'classes' distinguished by Peacock and Williams (1986). In the following sections amphorae are called by the name which they are generally recognised rather than adopt one of the consecutive numbering systems employed in a number of reports (eg *Camulodunum*, Rödgen or Ostia) (cf Arthur 1986).

The significance of stamps on amphorae is not entirely clear. The most reasonable explanation has been outlined by Paterson (1982). Paterson suggests that the stamps on amphorae represent the estate or workshop (*figlina*) in which the vessels were made, while where different names occur on the stoppers they may represent the *negotiator*. Peacock and Williams (1986, 9-12) appear to misunderstand this by suggesting that the stamps will represent the producer of the wine, because they assume that all estates whose products were packed in amphorae had their own kilns (*op cit*, 11). However, the essence of Paterson's argument is that the *negotiator* is the central figure in the distribution of amphorae-borne commodities because he was responsible for providing amphorae as not all estates will have had kilns. As Paterson points out, where amphorae were available on the estate then they surely would have been used (Paterson 1982, 155).

The most important aspect of the amphorae found in Iron Age Britain is the range of imported foodstuffs they contained. While the emphasis on form and provenance of most recent studies of amphorae is undoubtedly necessary, the implications for cuisine and social mores have generally been over-looked. Amphorae undoubtedly reflect the importance of trade in agricultural

products but as the absence of amphorae from 'Germanic' areas shows, the adoption of these products was clearly socially specified (cf Purcell 1985).

While amphorae have been the subject of much recent scholarship, barrels have received less attention largely because of their poor survival and detection. However, the transport of Roman commodities in barrels in the pre-Claudian period in north-west Europe can be demonstrated and while it is presently impossible to prove their presence in Iron Age Britain, the possibility must be considered seriously.

2.2 WINE AMPHORAE

2.2.1 GRAECO-ITALIC

Typology and Chronology

The Graeco-Italic form was the dominant form in the Mediterranean from the fourth to the second centuries BC. Typically the vessel has a pear-shaped body with a short spike, a short neck and a triangular rim. As might be expected, the form shows clear variation over the centuries and these have been set out fully by Will who distinguishes five variants, which she calls a - e (Will 1982). Form a dates to the latter fourth and early third centuries BC; Form b to the latter part of the third century BC and Form c to the early second century BC. Form d was current in the first half of the second century BC while Form e was manufactured in the second century BC. Of these Forms, a and d

were the most important. For our present purposes, however, only Will's Forms d and e need to be considered.

Provenance

Will's Form d is the 'standard' Graeco-Italic. On the basis of the fabric of vessels of Form d and epigraphic evidence Will suggests that the form was made in Campania and probably also further north at Cosa and this is supported by scientific analyses. Although the contents of the amphorae are not known, the resinous lining inside some of them suggests that wine was carried (Will 1982, 348-53). Will identifies a find from the Titelberg as her Form d and suggests that a stamped vessel from near Arentsburg in Holland (CIL XIII, 10002, 624) may be of this Form but given the virtual absence of finds in this area this seems very unlikely, particularly so as Arentsburg is a later Roman fort.

Will's Form e is distinct from the other forms in having 'S'-shaped handles, a longer body and lacking a pronounced basal spike. On the basis of the similarity of the fabric to that of Catalonian Dr 2-4 and also its typological similarity to Dr 1C she suggests that it originates in north-east Spain (Will 1982, 355). She suggests that Form e was produced throughout the second century BC. While the Form occurs infrequently in the eastern Mediterranean, it is most common in Spain. Like other Graeco-Italic forms it has a resinous lining suggesting that it was a wine amphora. At least one vessel, although not certainly of Form e, has been found at Ensérune with a stamp in Iberian (*op cit*, 338). Tchernia (1986, 94, n 154) regards many of the vessels

which Will considers as Spanish to be Pompeian. There is no indisputable kiln evidence. It has been suggested by Manacorda (1981) that Graeco-Italic were produced at the Albinia kiln but this is doubted by Will (1982, 353, n 29). Arthur suggests that Graeco-Italic were manufactured at Monte Vico on Ischia (1982a, 31, n 14) and stamps of TR. LOISIO and M. ANTERIVS are recorded from the site but Will (1982, 350) does not regard this as evidence for manufacture. It is also possible that they were made in Sicily (Tchernia 1986, 49-53). In addition to this well established evidence, it seems likely that Graeco-Italics were also manufactured in southern France. On the basis of the fabric of a number of French finds which occur in the same fabric as Massaliote amphorae, both Py (1978a, 19-21) and Bertucchi (1982, 159) suggest that Graeco-Italics were made in southern France while it is possible that the Le Rabet (Aude) kiln produced the type (Sabir *et al* 1982). Production on Ibiza has also been suggested (Will 1982, 344, n 10).

Contents

As we have seen wine was probably the principal commodity carried by all of the Graeco-Italic forms and published capacities suggest a capacity of c 25-26L, with some half-measures being known (Will 1982, 347).

Distribution

Apparently only Form e was distributed in Gaul to any extent. Will identifies one piece from the Titelberg as Graeco-Italic (e) (1982, 352, n 29); Rowlett *et al* 1982, 309, Fig 11, a) and she has

suggested (1987) that many (c 50%) of the Manching finds may be of this type rather than the five identified by Stöckli (1979a). However, these identifications rely almost exclusively on the rim diameter as being diagnostic. As Graeco-Italic and Dr 1A rims can be very similar (Galliou 1982, 12; Peacock 1984, 38; Peacock and Williams 1986, 84), it is difficult to accept the identification of vessels by a monothetic trait while the Manching material is very fragmentary. In northern Europe a number of vessels are known which appear to be transitional between the Graeco-Italic and Dr 1A but with the exception of Manching (Will 1987) there are few unequivocal Graeco-Italics :- Vannes and Plogastel-Saint-Germain in Armorica (Galliou 1982, 76 no 3, Pl XVI, 1; 23, 59-60, Pl X, 4-6; XI). Vaires-sur-Marne (l'Ile Ronde), (Bulard and Drouhot 1981, 357, Fig 14), Levroux (Colin 1984 161, Fig 45), Armsheim (Stumpel 1961, 194-5, Abb 5, 8; incorrectly identified by Fitzpatrick 1985a, 329, no 117) and Basel-Gasfabrik (Furger-Gunti and Berger 1980, Taf 20-30). The Yarmouth Rhodes site also has a number of transitional rim forms (Peacock 1984, 38; *Maritime Heritage Project* 1987).

Commentary

Tchernia has suggested that production of Graeco-Italics finished by c 130 BC (1983, 87; 1986, 42) and this is accepted by Peacock and Williams as the best estimate currently available (1986, 85). This does not, of course, date the first appearance of Dr 1A. Galliou states that they occur at Carthage and cites Peacock as authority for this (Galliou 1984, 35, n 8) but Peacock himself has not stated this in print and Tchernia (1986, 42) declares them to be absent, so some reservations must be maintained. If a period

of overlap between the two forms is accepted, then it seems probable that Dr 1A will have been appearing around the mid-second century BC and on this basis Stöckli has suggested the beginning of the import of amphorae to northern Europe may be set around 150 BC, or if Will's arguments are accepted (1987) close to 200 BC, but given the date of the French finds (Tchernia 1986, 95) Stöckli's chronology is likely to be essentially correct. It is possible, therefore, that wine was reaching Britain at around this period.

2.2.2 DRESSEL 1

Dressel's Form 1 is generally subdivided into three categories labelled by Lamboglia as 1A, 1B and 1C. All could perhaps usefully be regarded as separate types but the overlap between them is so great that it is felt to be more helpful for present purposes to consider them together.

Typology

Dressel 1A have a spindle-shaped body with a short heavy spike. The neck is quite long and has a generally triangular rim. The handles are oval in section and quite heavy.

Dressel 1B has a similar body shape but the spike is usually longer and more massive. The shoulder of the vessel is quite sharp in contrast to the more rounded one of Dr 1A. The rim is generally vertical and more like a collar than that of the 1A but there is considerable variation. The handles are usually thicker than those of Dr 1A.

Dressel 1C have a much more cigar-like body than either 1A or 1B

but the basal spike is similar to that of Dr 1A. The mouth is smaller and the collar-like rim is quite high and has a distinctive flare at its base. The handles are broad and have a pronounced curve in their profile. They are usually grooved.

All three variants were stamped, usually on the rim but stamps on the base and bottom of the handles are also known. Relatively speaking Dr 1B was stamped most frequently, followed by 1A (Amar and Liou 1984, 186-7) but 1C were stamped only rarely.

Provenance

A number of kilns producing Dr 1 are known, showing that Dr 1A and 1B were made in central and perhaps southern Italy and this is supported by a number of scientific analyses (Peacock 1971; 1977a; Courtois and Velde 1978; Velde and Courtois 1983; Stöckli 1979a, 205-13; Will 1979, 345-6; Williams 1985, 154-8; Incitta 1986). As with Graeco-Italics some production of Dr 1 in southern France is likely (Sabir *et al* 1983) and a further kiln producing 'Italic' amphorae is now known at St Just (Ardèche) (F. Laubenheimer *pers comm*; Sealey 1987, 270) and probably also central France (Becker 1986). The provenance of Dr 1C is less certain. It certainly occurs in a characteristic Campanian fabric which has abundant green augite in it which appears as 'black sand', while other fabrics are indistinguishable from, and share stamps with, Dr 1A almost certainly of Etrurian origin (Will 1979, 346-7, Fig 5-6). Vessels identified as Dr 1C have also been found at the southern Spanish kiln site of El Rinconcillo (Beltrán-Lloris 1977) but there has been a general reluctance to accept these vessels as Dr 1C as the rest of the material from the site is much later (Panella 1981, 67; Ulbert 1985, 183, Ann 551).

Colls *et al* (1977, 90) suggest that Dr 1C were manufactured at Belo, also in Spain, but this is based only on the appearance of grapes on coins and the suggestion that Strabo's description of Spanish wine (IV, 2, 6) derives from Posidonius. In the absence of supporting evidence the suggestion is, presently at least, unconvincing. Finds claimed to be of Dr 1C manufactured at Belo have also been dismissed by Charlin, Gassend and Lequément (1979, 24, n 38). Some Catalonian production may be suspected.

Laubenheimer (1980) has attempted to define, albeit on very slight evidence, a 'Ruscino' variant of the Dr 1C, while as Will has argued, there is a strong similarity between her Catalonian Graeco-Italic Form e and Dr 1C (1982, 354-5).

Tituli picti give many references to southern *Latium* and Campania and one (CIL XV, 4590) mentions *Regium* in southern Italy. One Dr 1 fabric apparently of Italian origin cannot yet be assigned precisely (Williams 1984a) but *contra* Peacock and Williams (*op cit*) it cannot be taken to occur only in Dr 1A (*cf* Ch 26.1).

Contents

Numerous *tituli picti* give the contents of Dr 1 as wine and this is supported by analyses of vessels from the Albegna and Madrague de Giens wrecks (Lamboglia 1952a, 154-5; Tchernia, Pomey and Hesnard 1978, 13). Other products were clearly carried as well and are summarised by Sealey (1985, 24-5). A possibly non-alcoholic syrup called *Caroenum* is indicated by one *titulus pictus* from Rome (CIL XV, 4547) and the grapes found in a Dr 1B on the Madrague de Giens may be related to this rather than their not being pressed suggested by Tchernia, Pomey and Hesnard (1978, 13).

As Sealey has argued, this may reflect the practice described by Pliny (NH XIV, 3, 17) (Sealey 1985, 25). Olives were found in one Dr 1A on the La Cavalière wreck (Charlin, Gassend and Lequément 1978, 23). One Dr 1B from the Ile Marie D wreck contained hazel nuts while one from the Archipel de Riou contained oyster valves (Gallia 20, 1962, 164). Lastly a vessel from Agde contained resin which Parker and Squire (1974, 32) regard as indicating secondary use on board.

The contents of Dr 1C are rather less certain. The finds on the La Cavalière wreck contained olives and Charlin, Gassend and Lequément (1978, 23-4) note that this may indicate *defrutum* and Sealey endorses this (1985, 25) without discussing Will's suggestion that the Dr 1C may have contained fish-based products. She suggests that the apparently southern Spanish fabric of some Dr 1C may indicate that they contained fish-based products. As it is virtually certain that Sestius amphorae were made at Cosa and that both Dr 1A and 1C were produced there, Will suggests that the Dr 1C may have contained the products of the very large fish-farm and processing site and salt works discovered next to the harbour (Will 1979, 347, n 26). While the suggestion that southern Spanish vessels necessarily contained fish-based products is unconvincing, the apparent association with the industrial works at Cosa is striking.

Besides Etruria, Dr 1A and Dr 1C were also made in Campania. There is no doubt that these variants were contemporary as they are associated two, possibly three, times in wrecks (Tab 2; Charlin, Gassend and Lequément 1978, 23, n 35). Accepting that there is no necessary or direct correlation between form and content, it is curious that two related but quite distinct

variants should have been produced at the same time, especially as some vessels have resinous lining presently associated with wine amphorae (*op cit*). Unfortunately no *tituli picti* have been identified as being on Dr 1C but it is possible that its contents were not generally the same as Dr 1A. As we have seen above Laubenheimer (1980) has attempted to extricate a 'Ruscino' variant from Dr 1C and while the evidence and results are tenuous, a distinction between western Mediterranean Dr 1C perhaps containing wine, and Italian Dr 1C perhaps not for wine, may prove to be valid.

TABLE 2

ASSOCIATIONS OF LAMBOGLIA 2 AND DRESSEL 1 AMPHORAE IN SHIPWRECKS

Site	Lamb 2	Dr 1A	Dr 1C	Dr 1B
Cap Roux 1	x	x	?	
Cap Roux 2	x	x	x	
La Cavalière	x	x	x	
Chrétienne A	x	x		
Punta de Algas	x	x		
Sa Nau Perduna	x	Dr 1A-B intermediate		
Sète	x			
Albegna	x			x
Dramont A	x			x
Madrague de Giens	x	?		x
Planier III	x			x

Planier I	x	x
Trement Is	x	

Source: Charlin, Gassend and Lequément 1978; Tchernia, 1969; Freschi 1982).

Lamboglia published the capacity of Dr 1A and 1B as c 20L and 26L but Stöckli has pointed out that Lamboglia's illustrations are unreliable, the photographs being poorly cut and the drawings not beyond doubt and he reidentifies both as Dr 1A (Stöckli 1979a, 113, 156). Benoit gives capacities for vessels from the Grand Conglue wreck(s) as Dr 1A, 17-24L and 1B as 26-27L (*ibid*). Dr 1A from La Cavalière contained 17.5L (Charlin, Gassend and Lequément 1978, 24). Sealey (1985, 23) gives the capacities of two Dr 1B from England as 22 and 26L. A Dr 1C from La Cavalière contained 28L (Charlin, Gassend and Lequément 1978, 23). These figures would suggest that there is considerable variety in the capacity of Dr 1 but it must be wondered if this is not because the measurements have been taken to different points in the neck? The bungs of Dr 1B from La Madrague de Giens (Tchernia, Pomey and Hesnard 1978, Pl 16) and from Port-la-Galère (Anstett 1976) are set very low in the neck while, for example, Graeco-Italic amphorae from the La Chretienne 'C' wreck are bunged much higher up (Joncheray 1975, 81, Fig 34). It is important to give the point at which the capacity was measured and as this has often not been given it is uncertain how much emphasis should be put on these variations. It seems clear, however, that while Dr 1B did

contain more than Dr 1A, this was at some expense. Dressel 1B have very thick walls and were extremely heavy, having a container-contents weight of 1:1 or more. One Dr 1B from Colchester-Lexden has a volume-weight ratio of 0.88L/kg.

Chronology

It has been argued that Dr 1A may have begun to appear around 150-130 BC. The type occurs at Frégelles and Entremont and should antedate 125 and 123/2 BC respectively (Peacock 1971, 165; Tchernia 1986, 44). When Dr 1B replace it completely is uncertain. They appear at Ventignilia from c 70 BC, but the reliability of the stratigraphy and dating should be viewed cautiously (*ibid*; Stöckli 1979a, 114). The Titan wreck which dates to after 90-80 BC has no Dr 1B, while the Planier III wreck thought to date to 47 BC or before, contains mostly Dr 1B and may date to 47 BC or earlier (Stöckli 1979a, 177-84, Abb 39). Accordingly, Stöckli dates the change to the predominant type to between 70 and 50 BC. Furger-Gunti has suggested an earlier dating than this, primarily on the comparison between the finds from Level VI A at *Albintimilium* and Level 2 at Basel-Münsterhügel. Furger-Gunti suggests a change over by c 70 BC (1979a, 98-9), but Stöckli's carefully assessed datings using fixed points seems preferable. In an unpublished dissertation, Stork has suggested a change-over in the first quarter of the first century BC (cited by Ulbert 1985, 184) but again there is little further evidence to add to that rehearsed by Stöckli. However, important new evidence has come from Spain with Ulbert's re-publication of Schulten's excavations at Cáceres el Viejo (*op cit*). The amphorae had previously been published in part by

Beltrán-Lloris but Ulbert presents all the finds for the first time. Cáceres is a military site, possibly legionary, occupied between c 83-80 BC but unlike the well known Rerieblas sites there are no difficulties in assigning the finds to a particular site and/or period so Cáceres provides a well-dated assemblage. Ulbert correctly stresses the importance of the assemblage as such rather than concentrating on individual criteria and suggests that all the Dr 1 amphorae are either 1B or 1C. I would not wish to accept all of Ulbert's identifications without some reservations and would argue that the spikes of complete amphorae may be of Dr 1A rather than 1B (Ulbert 1985, Taf 51, 597) and the bodies are also nearer to Dr 1A (*ibid* Taf 51, 597-8). Conversely, rims which would pass without reservation as 1B are also found (*ibid* Taf 53, 616-17). It is probably mistaken to place too much emphasis on the transition from Dr 1A to 1B, as it is clearly a case of evolution rather than the appearance of two distinct types. The reliance placed by some authors on the rim form (eg Furger-Gunti and Berger 1981, Fig 8) is likely to be misplaced unless it is accepted as indicating only a trend rather than distinct types. The significance of the Cáceres finds in this respect is that they indicate that this transitional period had started by c 80 BC. This is further emphasised by evidence from the oppidum of Burriac where a Dr 1B has a *titulus pictus* of 90 BC, while the Dr 1 with an inscription of 97 BC published by Dressel in *CIL* XV, 4537 is now known to be on a Dr 1B (Miró 1986). This Spanish evidence casts the evidence from the Spargi wreck in a new light. Lamboglia identified Dr 1A and 1B and dated the wreck to the late second century BC. Subsequently Stöckli cast doubt on Lamboglia's identifications (1979a, 113, Anm 273, 165) but they have been upheld by Pallarés (1987, 90-3). The amphorae are not indubitably

Dr 1B rather than 1C (*ibid*, Fig 6), especially as they would be extremely early within the life of Dr 1A and a full publication of the finds, especially the Campanian wares, is necessary before the date of the wreck can be established. However, the Spanish finds suggest that greater credence may be attached to the Spargi wreck (*cf* Will 1984).

The last *titulus pictus* on a possible Dr 1A is of 51 BC from Rodez (Roman 1983, 203, Fig 45) although a categorisation as transitional between 1A and 1B might be more appropriate.

The next fixed point is furnished by the Planier III wreck. This wreck contains amphorae stamped M. TVCCI. L.F. TRO/GALEONIS and in his interim report on the site Tchernia argued that this can be equated with the M. Tuccius mentioned by Cicero. This identification is supported by the fact that the wreck contained a series of dies. One of these was *caeruleum* whose manufacture was introduced to Italy by C. Vestorius and as Tchernia suggests it may not be accidental that both these individuals are known to have been involved in litigation against one C. Sempronius Rufus. It cannot be certain that this was in connection with the ship lost at Planier, but the circumstantial evidence is strong (Tchernia 1968-70; D'Arms 1980, 78-81). Tuccius died in 47 BC so, accepting the identification with the person named by Cicero, the wreck must date before then. Nearly all the amphorae on the wreck were 'Brindisi' types (Will's Type 11b) or Dr 1B. The contemporaneity of distinctive minor typological variations of Dr 1B is also indicated by the occurrence of three distinctive variants on the Madrague de Giens wreck (Tchernia, Pomey and Hesnard 1978).

The last dated *titulus pictus* on Dr 1 is of 13 BC but it is clear

that Dr 2-4 were being produced by the 30s BC (Hesnard 1977, 161-4). Dr 1B were clearly superseded by Dr 2-4 by the time forts of the Rödgen-Oberaden-Dangstetten horizon were established as the 2-4 outnumber Dr 1 by a ratio of between 4 and 2:1. Dr 1 is rare at Haltern established c 7-5 BC and absent from the La Longarina deposit which was laid down in the first decade AD. An interesting transitional find is a vessel apparently of Dr 1B but with bifid handles characteristic of Dr 2-4, found at Rome (Sealey 1985, 22). This is difficult to accept and as we have seen Stöckli (whom Sealey cites elsewhere) has demonstrated that Lamboglia's identifications cannot be accepted unreservedly (Stöckli 1979a, 113, Anm 273, 165).

Distribution

The Dr 1 has an exceptionally wide distribution in the Celtic world (Fig 1). It is absent from Germanic areas and very rare in central and eastern Europe. This may be due to wine being decanted to barrels or hides as Strabo documents at Aquilea later on (Geog V, 1.8) or it may simply not have been imported. Lamboglia 2 are perhaps a likelier candidate for the few eastern European finds (Stöckli 1979a, 189-90; Svobodová 1985, 664-5, Obr 2, 10-12; Fitzpatrick 1985a, 330) but such is the rarity of these finds that their authenticity has been doubted (eg the find from Staré Hradisko: Meduna 1982, 154, Anm 15) It is possible that Dr 1C are particularly frequent in Spain (Beltrán-Lloris 1970, Fig 99; Ulbert 1985, 183, 187) but it is possible that the variant has not been identified correctly in France and may be correspondingly under-represented there. While it is possible to recognise a remarkable trade in Italian wine (Tchernia 1983) of

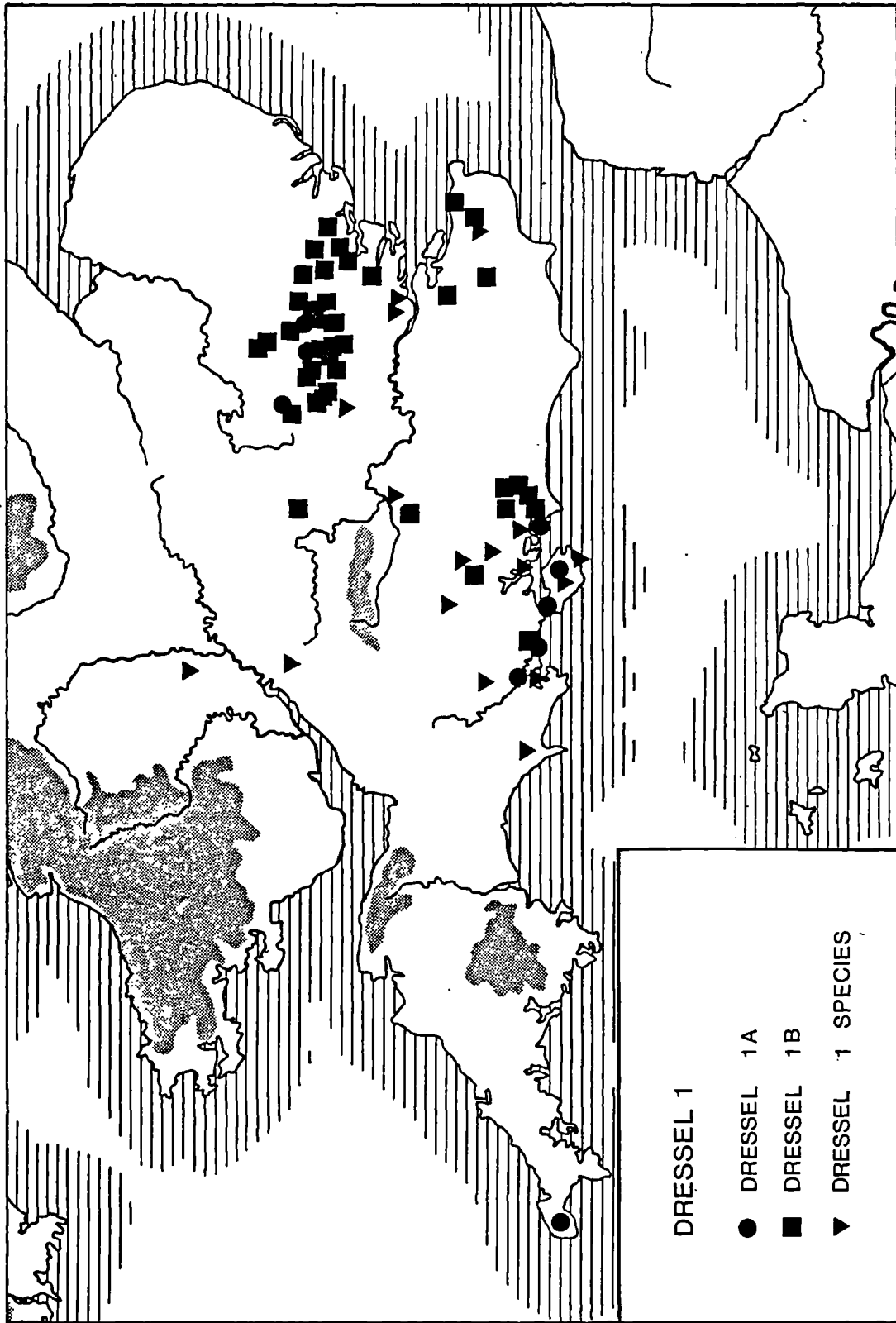


FIG 3: DISTRIBUTION OF DR 1 AMPHORAE IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

massive proportions (*idem* 1986, 85-7) and there is no doubt that Dr 1 are less frequent in temperate France than in Mediterranean France it is, as we have seen in Chapter 1.2, difficult to proceed much beyond this at present. During the currency of Dr 1B Italian wine appears to become increasingly available in inland Gaul and Dr 1A are more common in Armorica than 1B. It is possible that there was a shift in the relatively easy availability of Italian wine from c 80 BC onwards (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 318-19) and the consumption of Italian wine in Iron Age Britain may follow this pattern but there is an element of circularity in the argument and these difficulties are considered further in Chapter 26.3.

Commentary

Dressel 1 is easily the most common type of amphora found in Iron Age Britain (Fig 3, App 2). The import of Italian wine probably dates from the mid-second century BC and the earliest finds appear to be in central-southern and possibly south-western England, thereafter they became increasingly available in southern England. It is often impossible to distinguish between fragments of Dr 1A and 1B and although Dr 1 are more massive in construction than Dr 2-4 (Sealey 1985, 22), it is also very difficult to distinguish between them and it is possible that Dr 2-4 have been mis-identified as Dr 1B.

2.2.3 DRESSEL 2-4

Typology

This type has a sausage-shaped body with either a small knobbed

base or a heavy spike. There is a pronounced shoulder carination, the neck is short and there is a simple bead rim. The handles are characteristically bifid having a figure of eight section, although Spanish vessels often have only a groove down the outside. The handles are often the most diagnostic feature of the vessel for fragmentary finds. Given the widespread distribution of manufacture there is, naturally, considerable variation in the form of the amphorae as is indicated by Dressel assigning it three forms; 2, 3 and 4. Spanish vessels are often stamped on the base. The contrast between the Dr 2-4 and its predecessor, the Dr 1 is quite marked (Paterson 1982, 150).

Provenance

Kiln sites are known or suspected in central, southern and northern Italy, southern and north-eastern Spain, France, Switzerland and possibly Britain. Rhodian production is also attested (Desbat and Picon 1986). Peacock (1971, 166) has distinguished eight fabrics amongst the British Iron Age finds. In order to illustrate the diversity of production the known kilns are set out in Table 3.

TABLE 3

DRESSEL 2-4 AMPHORAE KILNS

ITALY

REFERENCE

Etruria

Albinia

Peacock 1977a, 226-7, Fig 3,
6-9, Pl XXXVII, b

Sutri

Duncan 1964, 50, Fig 6, 22-3

Cosa

Tchernia 1986, 46

Ager Caecubus

Canneto

Hesnard and Lemoine 1981

Torre S. Anastasia

"

Monte San Biago

"

Mondragone 18 *bis*

"

Via Domiziano 1-6

"

" " 7-10

"

Sinuessa Baths, 11 *bis*

"

Sinuessa 12-16

"

Terracine

Hesnard 1977

Ager Falernus

Falciano

Arthur 1982a, 25-6

Masseria Zannini

"

Near Masseria Corb

"

Masseria Pagliare

"

Masseria Starza

"

Masseria Dragone

"

Apulia

Felline Hesnard 1980, 143-4; Panella
1981, 75

Istria

Sala Baganza Marini Calvani 1981
Forlìmpoli Aldini 1978

SPAIN

Catalonia

Can Pederol de Baix	Pascual-Guasch 1977; Keay and Jones 1982
Can Tintorer	" "
Calle Balmes	" "
Can Cararach	" "
St Miquel Martres	" "
Can Vendrell	" "
Can Cabot	" "
<u>Baetulo</u>	" "
Torre Lauder	" "
Sot del Camp	" "
Can Collet	" "
El Morell	" "
El Mujal	" "
El Moré	Keay and Jones 1982, 48
Tivissa	Pascual-Guasch 1977; Keay and Jones 1982
La Boada	" "
Els Antigons	" "
Salou Cabrils	" "
? Oliva - doubtful	" "

Baetica

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Guadarranque, San Roque | Beltrán-Lloris 1977, 112-17,
Fig 26-30; Sealey 1985, 37;
but see Peacock and Williams
1986, 76 |
| Puente de Carranque | Colls <i>et al</i> 1977, 90 |

FRANCE

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Corneilhan | Laubenheimer and Widemann
1977, 60-3, Fig 1-2 |
| Fréjus | F. Laubenheimer pers comm |
| Lyon | Becker 1986 |
| Marseilles, La butte des Carmes | Bertucchi 1982, 157-9; 1983 |
| Mougon, Crouzilles (Indre-et-Loire) | Martin-Kilcher, Magetti and
Galetti 1987, 120-1 |
| Puylobier? | " |
| Saint-Sernin, Azillanet | Sabir <i>et al</i> 1983, 110 |
| Velaux | Tchernia and Villa 1977;
Laubenheimer 1985 |

SWITZERLAND

- | | |
|-------|---|
| Augst | Martin-Kilcher, Magetti and
Galetti 1987 |
|-------|---|

ENGLAND

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| Brockley Hill | Castle 1978 |
|---------------|-------------|

Later varieties were also made in Egypt (Empereur 1986). The occasional *titulus pictus* for example *Laur / Acet / Lag* from Ostia also supports some attributions (ie *Lauronese Acetum* - from Spain (Panella 1970, 111, 131-3, Tav 36, 561). Tchernia and Zevi suggest that Catalonian vessels have five distinguishing features in comparison to Italian vessels. (i) The angle of the shoulder is more rounded, (ii) the neck widens towards the mouth, (iii) the handles are not genuinely bifid, often having only an external groove, (iv) the angle on the handles is sharper and (v) the rim is usually heavier. Catalonian production appears to be quite restricted geographically and it is noteworthy that the authenticity of the only suggested outlier of the northern Spanish kilns at Oliva has been doubted (Keay and Jones 1982, 51-2). As a result some doubt now surrounds either the local geological maps, as the so-called kiln material is incompatible with the geology as currently understood, or the interpretation of the material as deriving from a kiln. The fabrics are distinctive (Ch 2.2.4). Further production in *Baetica* is indicated by slight kiln evidence and by analysis of some early Imperial Dr 2-4 from Colchester-Sheepen (Sealey 1985, 37-8, 46, 139-40) but it is noteworthy that in his identification of the vessels Williams differs with Sealey. Some of the vessels probably are Dr 2-4 but it should be recognised that as Sealey argues that all Haltern 70 contained *defrutum*, he has to look for another container for the Baetican wine from which *defrutum* was, in part, made from. In view of the uncertainty surrounding the interpretation of Haltern 70 (cf Ch 2.5.1.) it may be premature to adopt so firm an interpretation and Williams' identifications seem preferable. Conversely the doubts of Hesnard (1980, 154-5, n 64) over the identification of the Dr 2-4 at the Baetican kilns are correctly refuted by Sealey (1985,

37). Although the kiln evidence from northern Italy is slight, Dr 2-4 and Dr 6 share the same stamps in at least three or four cases (M. Herrenius, Picens, Calvia Crispinilla, T. Palfuri Surae and C. Laecanius Bassus) and this may indicate that they were manufactured more widely in Italy than the distribution of known kiln sites suggests (Hesnard 1980, 144-5; Carre 1985, 226-8). Bezczky rejects the identification of the C. Laecanius Bassus stamp at the Magdalensberg as being on a Dr 2-4 (1987, 21). Of the French sites only La butte des Carmes has been the subject of more than interim notes but it is notable that at all sites Dr 28 and/or *Gauloise* wine amphora were also made (Laubenheimer 1985, 316-18, Fig 174). *Tituli picti* also support this (Callender 1965, 11).

Contents

Callender demonstrated that *tituli picti* showed that the Dr 2-4 was primarily a wine container (1965, 9-12). There are some exceptions to this, however. Some finds on the Dramont D wreck contained dates (Joncheray 1973a, 24; 1974, 33) as did some on the La Tradelière wreck while another vessel in this latter wreck contained sage (Fiori and Joncheray 1975, 62, 67). *Tituli picti* also show that *defrutum* was carried (CIL IV, 10266; XV, 4622) as were fish-based products (CIL IV, 5728). A recent find from London contained fish sauce from Antipolis in Gaul (*Liquam / Antipol / Exc / L Titti Afti / Cani*; Peacock and Williams 1986, 106 and frontispiece). Olive oil was also occasionally carried (CIL XV, 4636) but this notwithstanding, the evidence is overwhelming in its support for wine as the principal content (Callender 1965, 9-12; Sealey 1985, 42-6).

The mean of ten vessel capacities from Pompeii was 27.58L, while four in Colchester Museum have a mean of 26L which Sealey (*op cit*, 39) incorrectly rejects as being too low to be representative. Tarraconensian Dr 2-4 have a capacity of 27.75L (Corsi-Sciallano and Liou 1985, 132). Peacock and Williams calculate the weight-volume ratio of some of the Colchester finds as 1:68L/Kg (1986, 52, Table 1). They also suggest that the change to Dr 2-4, which imitates Koan forms, reflects a change to wines of Koan variety which were made using sea water (*ibid*, 5, 24) although the location of some kiln sites is difficult to reconcile with this suggestion if it is the sole reason. The much lower weight of Dr 2-4 is very probably more relevant (Hesnard 1977) and as Tchernia suggests, the transition may be related to stowage (1986, 135).

Chronology

The earliest certain date for Dr 2-4 is a *titulus pictus* of 35 BC (*CIL* IV, 9313; Hesnard and Lemoine 1981, 259), while Hesnard has demonstrated that none of the vessels claimed by Lamboglia (1955) and Benoit (1957) to be of second century BC date are certainly Dr 2-4 rather than Rhodian or other types (Hesnard 1977, 161, n 24). Vessels with bifid handles and Dr 1B found on the Madrague de Giens wreck were stamped with the same die and as Hesnard argues, this provides the earliest probable date for the type - in the mid-first century BC, perhaps no later than 47 BC (*ibid*). Hesnard (1980, 143-4) has also shown that Dr 2-4 may have been adopted in southern Italy by the third quarter of the first century BC. While, as we have seen, Dr 2-4 outnumber Dr 1 by a ratio of between 4 and 2:1 at forts of the Rödgen-Oberaden-Dangstetten horizon. Thereafter *tituli picti* give clear evidence

for continued production into the Flavian period but there is only one date in the second century AD (Zevi 1966, 215). There are some site finds of second century date but these are rare (Peacock 1971, 167; Panella 1981, 74-5; Sealey 1985, 50). The internal chronology of the type and the variations in it remains obscure at present. Spanish vessels occur at Ostia, La Longarina and Haltern and should date to the first decade of the first century AD and they may also be present at Rödgen (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 110). The Marseille and Lyon kilns probably date to the end of the first century BC but the date at which most of the provincial kilns started production is uncertain.

Distribution

The Dr 2-4 is widely distributed (Panella 1981, Tav XIII-XIV) but, quantitatively, finds appear rarer than those of Dr 1 (Tchernia 1986, 136-7). Panella (1980, 251; 1981, 55) suggests that the type appeared at a time of contraction in the wine market but as Paterson (1982, 151) points out the amphora type itself is not likely to be of direct relevance to this. And as Purcell has argued the comparative rarity of Dr 2-4 *vis-à-vis* Dr 1 in the provinces need have no reflection on the consumption of wine in Italy which according to the literary sources actually increased at this time (Purcell 1985). However, Italian exports do seem to have diminished at about the time that Dr 2-4 appeared. Purcell asserts, but does not justify, that the export of Italian Dr 2-4 in the first century BC was primarily to the Roman armies (*ibid*, 14). Catalonian vessels likely to date to the first quarter of the first century AD are widely distributed (L'Hour 1984, 54; Santamaria 1984, Fig 21) and wreck evidence points to a

substantial export in the first half of the century (Corsi-Sciallano and Liou 1985), while Catalonian Dr 2-4 are dominant amongst the Geneva Dr 2-4 (Paunier 1981, 234) and occur widely in Armorica (Galliou 1984, 32-4). The contribution of Baetican vessels seems to be comparatively small (see above) while in France Dr 28 and the *Gauloise* amphorae seem to have been more popular as transport containers. A similar trend away from large amphorae may have occurred elsewhere as large *dolia*, probably Italian, have been found on a number of first century AD wrecks recently (Corsi-Sciallano and Liou 1985, 169-74) and it is thought that they contained wine (Tchernia 1986, 139; Ch 2.6 below).

It is difficult to make useful comment on the British Iron Age finds (Fig 4, App 3) because of the lack of well-published early Imperial groups from France. Dr 2-4 are certainly ubiquitous in Rhineland military sites but there is inadequate evidence from non-military sites with which to compare them. Galliou (1984, 33), following Williams (1981, 130), has suggested that the distribution of Pascual 1 in central southern England and Italian Dr 2-4 in eastern England are mutually exclusive. But it is argued below (Ch 2.2.4) that the overlap between these two types is much shorter than Galliou would suggest and as Galliou recognised himself, no such distinction is apparent in the Armorican distribution which includes Spanish Pascual 1 and Dr 2-4 and also Italian Dr 2-4. Some Catalonian Dr 2-4 may also occur in Iron Age contexts in south-east England although the evidence is inconclusive (App 4). However, in the interpretation proposed by Williams and Galliou it would appear that there are virtually no Tiberian or later wine amphorae from Iron Age contexts in central southern Britain. Whilst this could be true, it may be wondered

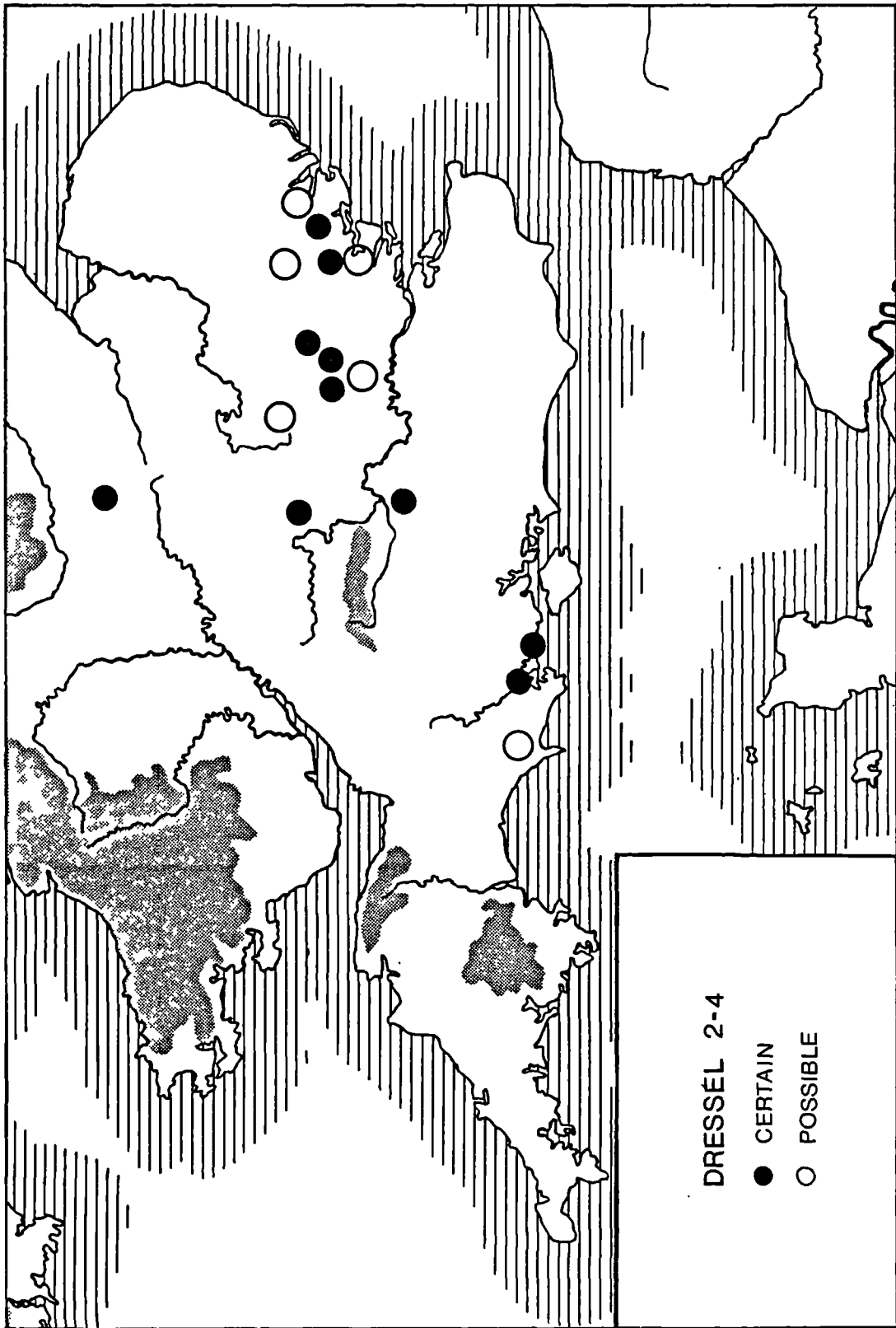


FIG 4: DISTRIBUTION OF DR 2-4 AMPHORAE IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

if some of the finds suggested to possibly be from Pascual 1 are not from Catalonian Dr 2-4?

2.2.4 PASCUAL 1

Typology

The form has an ovoid body with a short basal spike. The cylindrical neck expands only slightly at the mouth. The rim is often quite deep, it is vertical and rather like a collar. The handles, which are quite short, have a groove running down the outside. Stamps are found on the rim or on the base and usually consist of between one and three letters. The type was first defined by Pascual-Guasch (1962) and while it is widely called the Dressel 1 - Pascual 1, for convenience it is called the Pascual 1 here. The Pascual 1 has often been considered to be an imitation of the Dr 1B without substantiation (Beltrán-Lloris 1970; Tchernia 1971; Williams 1981) but it is possible that it represents a development from Spanish(?) Dr 1C or possibly Dr 1 amphorae rather than an imitation of Dr 1B (cf 2.2.2). However, variants of the Pascual 1, typologically and also chronologically earlier, as they are close to Dr 1B, are now known (Colls 1986, 205, Fig 38-40; Comas i Solà 1984) and they have been christened the Laietana 1.

Provenance

At least seventeen certain or possible kiln sites are known, the majority of which are in Catalonia, although some kilns are known in France. The evidence for these sites was set out by Pascual-Guasch in 1977 and has been reviewed critically by Keay

and Jones (1982). A variety of vessels were made at these kilns. Beltrán-Lloris has suggested that Dr 1C 'imitations' stamped S.C.G. were made at the El Rinconcillo kiln at Algeciras (1977, 107-10). However, the first century AD dating of the kiln (Peacock 1974, 241) appears to be too late for Dr 1C and while the vessels could be residual, it is possible that the form may be related to the Pascual 1, possibly hinting that the form may have been made occasionally in Baetica.

The Catalonian vessels have a distinctive fabric which occurs in two varieties which even without the evidence of the kilns is characteristic enough to allow their attribution. The fabrics have been well described by Williams (1981) and while Peacock and Williams suggest that there may be minor typological differences between vessels in the two fabrics (1986, 95, Fig 31), at present the evidence is slight.

The evidence for French production is less satisfactory, with only brief mentions of finds at kilns and no fabric descriptions so far being published. Production is known at Aspiran (Hérault) (Genty and Fiches 1978, 63-6, Fig 2, 1) where vessels were stamped ATEP or LAËTI (Laubenheimer 1985, 422, Fig 195, 1-2). Corneilhan (Hérault) (Laubenheimer and Widemann 1977, Fig 3, 2), Montans (Tarn) (*Gallia* 41 1983, 499, Fig 29), where vessels were stamped TARANI (Laubenheimer 1985, 422, Fig 195, 3) and possibly at Saint-Sernin (Sabir *et al* 1983, 110; Laubenheimer 1985, 312-15, Fig 171).

Contents

The contents of the amphorae has not been demonstrated scientifically or by *tituli picti* although some from the Los

Ullastres wreck appear to have contained a wine like substance (Foerster 1976, 89; Tchernia 1986, 144). As Pliny (*NH*, XIV, 71) and Martial (I, 26, 9-10) testify to the quality of Spanish wine (though not necessarily *high* quality (Purcell 1985, 18)) it is usually held that the contents of the Pascual 1 were this wine. Although vessels are not reported as having resinous linings usually characteristic of wine amphorae, the discovery of Dr 2-4 wine amphorae at many of the Catalonian kilns strongly supports this interpretation. Strabo's description of Baetican wine may support the idea that the El Rinconcillo vessels were predecessors of the later Baetican Dr 2-4. If the Spanish vessels are correctly identified as wine amphorae it may follow that the French finds were also wine amphorae. This would be supported by the manufacture of Dr 28, Dr 2-4 and *Gauloise* amphorae - all wine amphorae - at the kilns in Hérault. Corsi-Sciallano and Liou (1985, 144) give the capacity of the Pascual 1 as 22L.

Chronology

Laietana 1 although typologically earlier than Pascual 1 are not dated earlier than Pascual 1 which occur in late Republican contexts at La Vayède and Vielle-Toulouse (Tchernia 1971, 52-4; 1986, 143-4) and in other later first century BC contexts (Keay and Jones 1982, 47) and with Dr 1B in the Cap Béar III wreck (Colls 1986) and apparently in the Dramont A wreck (Tchernia 1986, 143; Colls 1986, 204). Tchernia suggested that the type went out of use in the Claudio-Neronian period and this has been supported by Galliou (1984, 33, Fig 14) on the basis of site finds from Armorica. It is difficult to reconcile this terminal date with the absence of the type from Claudian foundations in Britain and

Germany. It is possible that the type was less widely available away from the Atlantic seaboard and so their absence need not be of chronological significance. However, the type is found in a number of Augustan contexts in the Benelux countries and the Rhineland which suggests that at some stage vessels were available in these areas (Liberchies, Graff 1978, 41, Pl 9, 1; Goeblingen-Nospelt Burial B; Thill 1967a, Taf III, 11, 56, XII, B11, B56; Livingen, Krier 1979; The Titelberg, Luxemburg Mus, unpub; Nijmegen, J.H. van der Werff pers comm; Xanten, Heimberg 1987, 455, Abb 16, 11, 12?; Gechter 1979, 66, Abb 29, 7; Neuss, *ibid*, 68, Abb 29, 8; Holsterhausen, Stieren 1954, 169, Abb 4; Basel-Münsterhügel, Furger-Gunti 1979a, 94-5; Amiens (Amiens Mus, unpub); Beaurieux-les-Grèves, Fitzpatrick 1984a, 16), Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986, (MNV 10) and Lyon, la Favorite (Becker *et al* 1986, 74).

As the La Longarina, Ostia deposit contains both Pascual 1 and Catalonian Dr 2-4 (Hesnard 1980, 145-6) and Catalonian Dr 2-4 occur at Haltern (Tchernia and Zevi 1972, 52), it is evident that the type which was to supersede Pascual 1 was being exported by the end of the first decade AD if not earlier (Ch 2.2.3). While both types could have been made side-by-side for a short period it is difficult to accept this overlap running for as much as forty years. Reservations about this have been expressed elsewhere (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 319) and these appear to be confirmed the association of Pascual 1 and Catalonian Dr 2-4 in only one of fourteen wrecks containing Catalonian Dr 2-4. Even in this wreck (the Sud Lavezzi 3) there was only ^{one} Pascual 1 in a large cargo comprised almost exclusively of Dr 2-4 (Corsi-Sciallino and Liou 1985, Fig 108, 3078). Although the quality of the evidence from

these wrecks is variable, three or four of them date to before c AD 20 (Dramont B, Planier I, Sud Lavezzi 3, Chrétienne H) and the virtual absence of Pascual 1 from them is probably chronological (cf also Santamaria 1984; L'Hour 1984). Conversely, the early first century deposit at Lyon, la Favorite has Pascual 1 with Greek, Italian and French Dr 2-4 but no Catalonian ones (Becker et al 1986, 74) which may suggest a more precise date, perhaps in the second decade AD.

Distribution

Seven British Iron Age sites have produced finds likely to be Pascual 1 (Fig 5, App 4), but it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the handles of Catalonian Pascual 1 and Dr 2-4, and a similar number of sites have finds which may be of either type (App 3-4). The presently recorded distribution of Pascual 1 may prove to noteworthy only for its incompleteness. Large numbers are known from south-west France (Roman 1983, 176-82, Fig 39; Tchernia 1971, Fig 14; Tchernia 1986, Carte 8) and Galliou has published 162 vessels from 32 Armorican sites (1983a, Fig 48; 1984, 32-4, Fig 13-14; 1987). However, many Pascual 1 have been misidentified as Dr 1 and the relatively recent recognition of it as a distinct type hinders its correct identification. Pascual-Guasch (1984, Fig 1) has used the recorded stamps likely to be on Catalonian wine amphorae (both Pascual 1 and Dr 2-4) to produce a distribution map which contrasts quite markedly with the otherwise limited evidence from Gaul (cp Pascual-Guasch 1984, Fig 1; Fitzpatrick 1985a, Fig 8). Tchernia and Zevi have commented that Pascual 1 are very rare at Rome and Ostia (1972, 52) and although this must be qualified by

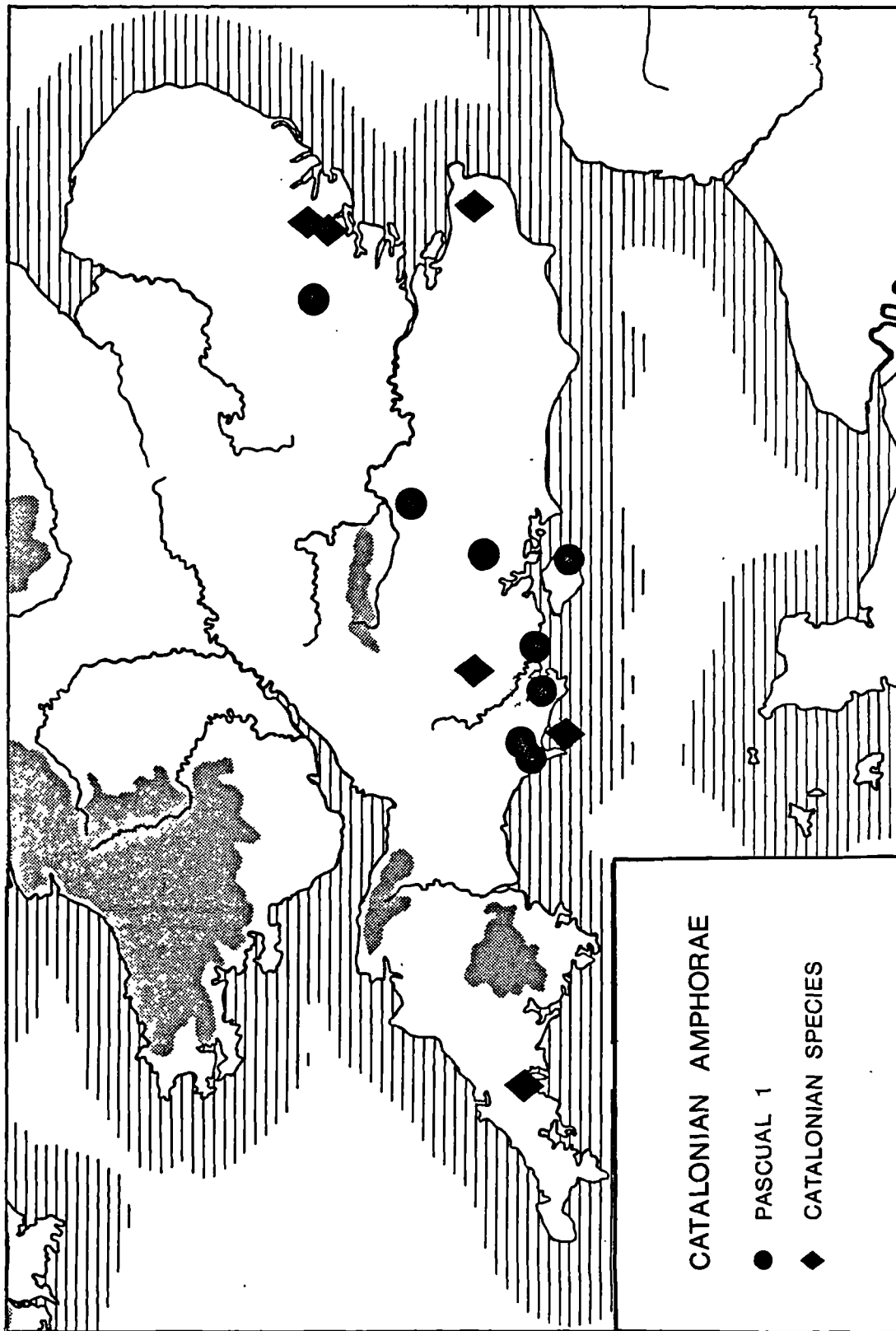


FIG 5: DISTRIBUTION OF CATALONIAN AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

the subsequent discovery of the La Longarina deposit, it appears that the distribution was primarily to Gaul and Germany. In the absence of adequate documentation from Gaul, exactly how the British finds of Pascual 1 reached Britain must be uncertain and they should not be taken too readily as evidence for an exclusively Atlantic trade. *Contra* Cunliffe (1987a, 272) it is unlikely that any reached Britain in the first half of the first century BC.

2.2.5 RHODIAN

Typology

The vessel has a thin, spindle-like body, tapering to a short spike. The shoulder is rounded and the neck wide, rising to a simple bead rim. The handles have a distinctive rod-like shape which rises to a sharp peak. They are surprisingly thin. In some later forms the handles rise above the rim. The type is not represented in Dressel's table but is close to Dr 5 and the smaller Dr 43. It is generally agreed that the form derives from earlier Rhodian amphorae and while there is minor typological variation, this appears to correlate in part with the different fabrics.

Provenance

Peacock has distinguished six fabrics which may all be from the Aegean (1977b, 266-70). The two fabrics found most regularly in Roman Britain are Peacock's Fabrics 1 and 2 both of which probably come from Rhodes. The other four fabrics cannot be located more

precisely than being probably from the Aegean, while Williams (1985, 163) has distinguished a further, seventh fabric, also probably of Aegean origin. No kiln sites are known and the type is not found at western Mediterranean kiln sites but the mixture of Greek and Latin scripts on the amphorae also suggests an eastern origin (Sealey 1985, 57). Although Hesnard has expressed doubts (1986), Peacock's conclusions have been supported by Desbat and Picon (1986).

Contents

Callender assimilated Dr 5, 43 and Pompeii VIII as his Form 7 and, primarily on the basis of the contents of Pompeii VIII, suggested that it contained wine (Callender 1965). It may be prudent to disassociate the Rhodian form from this interpretation and consider its content solely on evidence certainly or probably relating to it. One vessel from Pompeii contained a sweet wine from Rhodes (*passum Rhodium/P(ubli) Coeli Galli*; Maiuri 1933, 485-6, no 33; *CIL* IV, 9327) and there is literary evidence mentioning Rhodian wine. On the basis of this it is usually taken that the form was primarily a wine amphorae (Peacock 1971, 167; Sealey 1985, 56-7).

The Dramont D wreck which is of late Tiberian or early Claudian date contained a number of Rhodian amphorae. Some contained figs (Joncheray 1973a, 26-7), while another appeared to contain resin (*idem* 1974, 24). As there are also a number of references to a trade in Rhodian figs (*cf* Sealey 1985, 47) it is possible that they could have been a regular filling for Rhodian amphorae. The resin filled amphorae may, as Sealey suggests, represent secondary use (*ibid*, 48). Although a series of capacity measurements is

available for Hellenistic vessels to the mid-second century BC, the only Roman period capacity is of 13.6L from Colchester. This is about half the capacity of the earlier vessels.

Chronology

Rhodian amphorae have a long ancestry in Hellenistic forms but the 'Roman' Rhodian form, the *Cam* 184, first appears in late first century BC contexts where it is known at the forts of Basel (Fellman 1952, Taf 7, 22), Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986), Oberaden and Rödgen and the probably military site of Trier-Petrisberg (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 111). The form appears to continue without appreciable typological difference until the early second century AD (Peacock and Williams 1986, 103). It should be noted that vessels which appear to be related to the older type of Rhodian amphorae did occur, if rarely, at Oberaden (Loeschke 1942, Type 76) and the La Tradelière wreck, dated to the penultimate decade BC. These variants appear to be rare in the west and are also likely to be of eastern Mediterranean origin.

Distribution

Peacock (1977b, 270) has suggested that the principal factor in distributing Rhodian amphorae widely to north-west Europe and particularly to Britain was their payment as tribute to Rome between AD 44 and 53. These amphorae, he suggests, were part of military supplies (Peacock and Williams 1986, 62). As Peacock observes some military sites in Britain do have a large proportion of Rhodian amphorae and this may reflect some kind of military supply. Sealey (1985, 135) suggests that the Romano-British finds

at Sheepen may also reflect the close military connections of that site (which he regards as civilian in character) and may also be related to military supply. However, it has also been argued that Sheepen was probably a military site (Fitzpatrick 1986; Todd 1985) and so this would lend further direct support to Peacock's thesis. However, it is difficult to accept the validity of the distribution map on which Peacock bases his arguments for military supply to the Rhineland and Britain (1977b, Fig 4). The complete absence of French finds except for Lyon is surely to be explained by differential research biasing the distribution to well published German sites. There are for example finds from Arras and the Aisne Valley. Similarly if we examine the statistics on which Peacock bases his argument of Rhodian amphorae being favoured on certain British sites, most British sites have only one or two vessels and only Kingsholm has a significant percentage (Hurst 1985, 70-81), c 30%. Otherwise, with the exception of Sheepen 1970, accepting it as military, where Rhodian amphorae comprise 14.52% of the assemblage (by vessels), finds are no more common at British sites than at German ones. Indeed, *Carnuntum* probably has an equally high percentage on the basis of identifiable vessels (quantified data not given in the report) (Grünewald 1983 34-5, Taf 45, 15-16) while at civilian Geneva, Rhodian amphorae comprise a small, but significant, component of the wine amphorae (Paunier 1981, 235, Pl 426-7). Peacock's suggestion that the type was initially distributed in Roman Britain as a result of Claudius' rescission of the liberty of the Rhodians must, therefore, be called into doubt.

While the value of the presently recorded distribution may be doubted, if it were to be accepted, then as presently understood

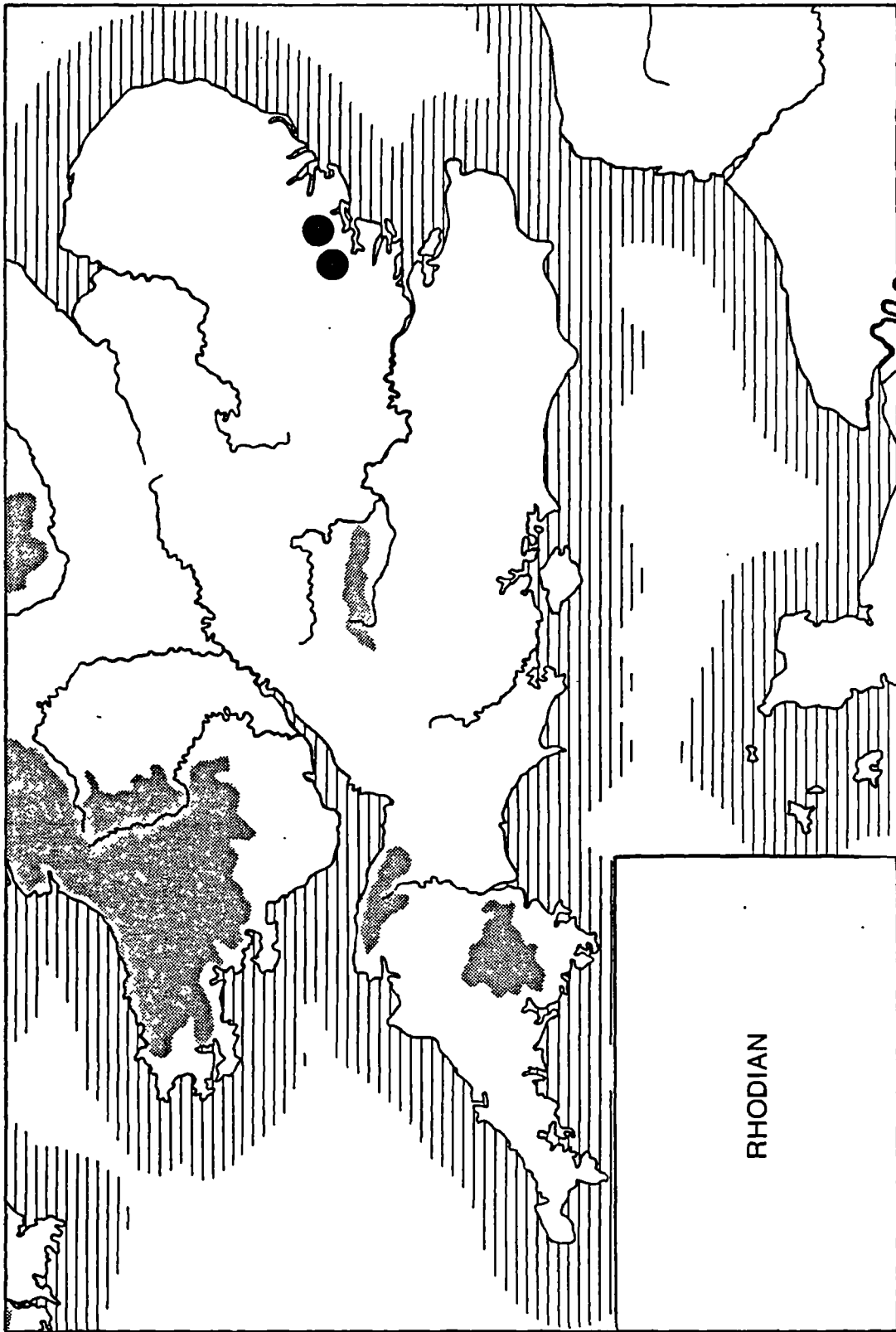


FIG 6: DISTRIBUTION OF RHODIAN AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

the bulk of finds in northern Europe do come from military sites. Many of the British finds plotted by Peacock as civilian (1977b, Fig 4) could in fact derive from a military presence. It has been argued by Grace (eg 1961, 11) that Rhodian wines were supplied or made available to Hellenistic armies. As Sealey (1985, 135) has suggested, Rome may have inherited such a practice and that Rhodes was continuing its role as a supplier of wine to the armies. Even so, it is difficult to see why Italian or western provincial wines were not supplied as table wine to the army as these would be cheaper to transport and it may be that the distribution reflects either a desire for sweet dessert wines or the presence of units of certain ethnic origins. The relevance of this argument to Iron Age Britain is that if the amphorae are army supplies, then those in Britain (Fig 6, App 5) may have arrived by way of the armies on the Rhine (cf Ch 26.4).

2.2.6 GAULOISE 9

Typology

This is a small two handled 'amphora'. It has a pear-shaped body with a flat base and only a slight footring. The handles are strap like and have a median groove. There is a marked collar rim (Laubenheimer 1985, 306-10, Fig 167-8).

Provenance

The type was certainly made at Aspiran alongside Pascual 1 in southern France. It is likely that as with other *Gauloise* amphorae it was manufactured widely in southern France (Widemann

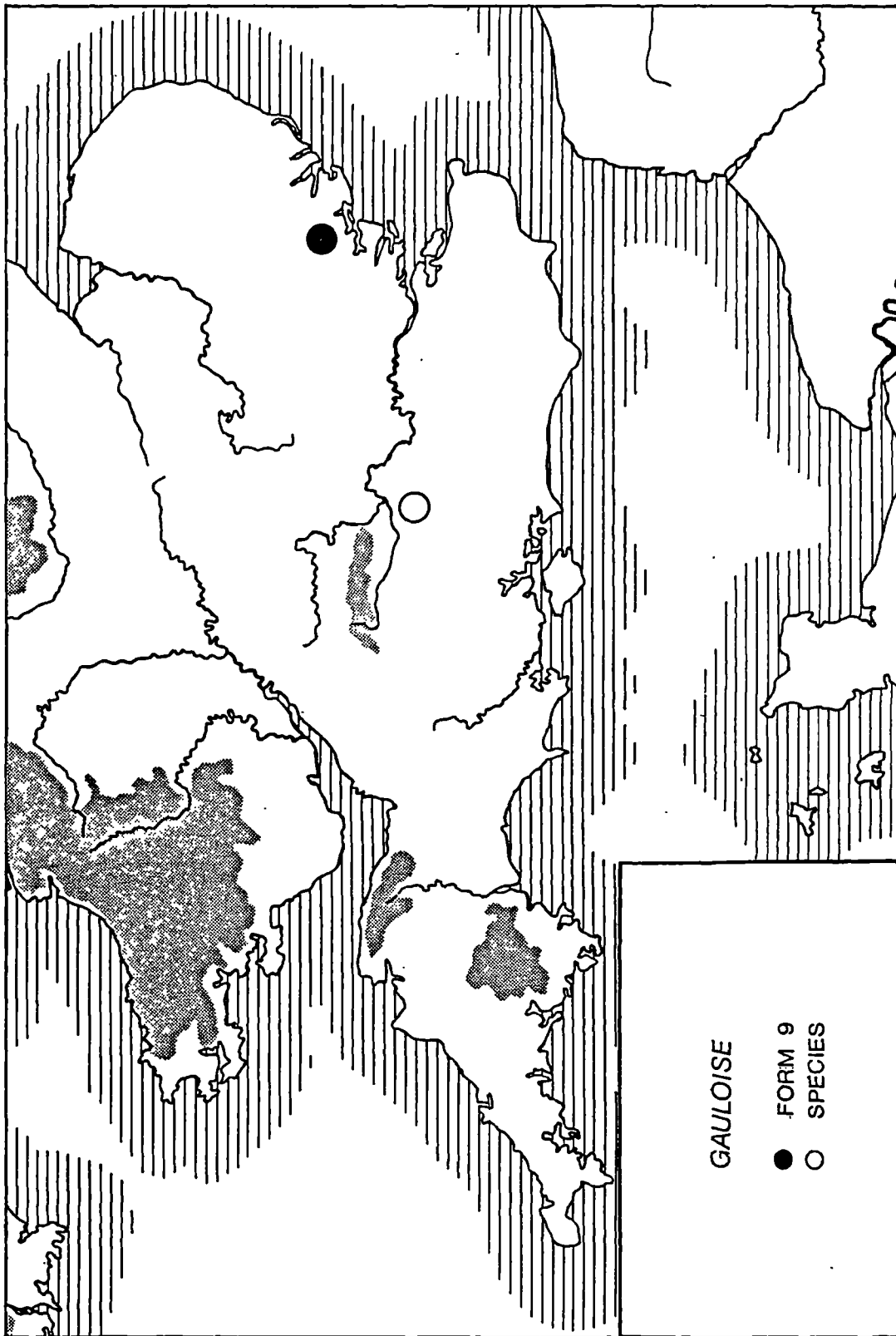


FIG 7: DISTRIBUTION OF GAULOISE AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

et al 1978; Fontes *et al* 1981; Laubenheimer *et al* 1981; Peacock 1978; Paunier 1981, 237).

Contents, Distribution and Commentary

By analogy with other *Gauloise* amphorae and the association of the type in kilns producing wine amphorae, the *Gauloise* 9 was also probably a wine amphora, although this is not proven (*cf* Sealey 1987, 269-70). The type has probably been confused with Gallo-Belgic flagons as it has a roughly similar creamy fabric and because of this and the recent identification of the *Gauloise* series the type is most unlikely to be probably recorded in the available literature. One consequence of this is the difficulty in dating the type precisely. At the Aspiran kiln it was associated with Pascual 1 in Augustan contexts but was not found in the Tiberian kilns. On the basis of this Laubenheimer suggests that the form was not manufactured after Augustus (1985, 386) and it appears to be present at Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986, 158, Abb 442, 9). However, the evidence from Roman Colchester suggests a longer chronology. It also occurs in an Iron Age context at Colchester -Sheepen (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 249, *Cam* 170 who conflate it with flagon types) while unidentified gaulish amphorae also occur in Iron Age contexts at Silchester (J.R. Timby *pers comm*) (Fig 7).

2.2.7 DRESSEL 28

Typology

This is a small amphora, also similar to a flagon. It has an oval

body with a footring and an omphalos base. The handles are small and usually have a medial groove, sometimes two. The rim has a central depression. There appears to be considerable variety in the form and at Marseilles it seems to have been made in two sizes (Bertucchi 1983). As Ettliger (1977, 11) has observed, the later variants of the form have still to be properly characterised.

Provenance

Kilns producing Dr 28 are known from Sot del Camp in Catalonia (and is present amongst the material from Oliva which may not come from a kiln, Keay and Jones 1982; cf Ch 2.2.3) and perhaps Velaux (Bouches-du-Rhône). Tchernia and Villa identified some vessels from Velaux as Dr 28 (1977), but Laubenheimer assigns all the vessels to *Gauloise* 1, 3 and 4 (1985, 127), even though elsewhere she identifies some finds as *Gauloise* 7 (*ibid*, 308). It is possible that the *Gauloise* 7, made at Velaux, Aspiran and Fréjus (*ibid* 302-8, Fig 161-4) and the *Gauloise* 8, made at St Côme (*ibid* 306, Fig 166), as well as *Gauloise* 3 could be equated with the Dr 28 although the latter appears to be typologically later. At Marseilles, la Buttes des Carmes, Bertucchi calls it '*l'amphore à levre en bandeau*' (1982; 1983). The evidence from these production sites now needs chronological clarification from site finds. It is possible that some related vessels were made in the eastern Mediterranean (Becker *et al* 1986, 86, Fig 3, 6).

Tchernia and Villa (1977, 234) have argued convincingly that the distribution of some Dr 28 (stamped SEX DOMITI ; MAESCELS and marked Philodamus) indicate that they were made in Catalonia. In discussing finds from the Port Vendres II, Colls *et al* (1977,

43-7) suggest that they may be from *Baetica* and although Parker was cautious over accepting them as such rather than Catalanian (Parker and Price 1981, 222-3), this seems to be the most plausible interpretation.

Contents

Wine is suggested by a careful study on *tituli picti* on a variety of related Gaulish amphorae some of which may (contra Sealey 1985, 97) be on Dr 28 (Liou and Marichal 1978, 175-7). The resinous lining on the inside of vessels from Port Vendres II strongly suggests that they were wine amphorae (Colls *et al* 1977, 45, 47). That most of the kilns at which it was produced all made other amphorae thought to be for wine adds weight to this interpretation although it is not yet proven. The larger vessels made at Marseilles contained 28L.

Chronology, Distribution and Commentary

The type is first found at Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986) and Oberaden (Loeschke 1942, Type 74) and continues into the Neronian period whereafter it develops a 'pulley-like' rim which is found in second century contexts (Peacock and Williams 1986, 150). Over this time there was undoubted variation in form (cf also Parker and Price 1981, 222) which makes identification rather uncertain. In particular, vessels may be confused with other early *Gauloise* amphorae (*Gauloise* 9) and also with a variety of flagons so it seems probably that the form is under-represented. Because of this it is uncertain how much weight should be attached to its rather scant distribution. The form is not certainly identified

in Iron Age Britain but this may be because it may not always be considered in identifications and it is possible that Hawkes and Hull's *Cam* 185A (var) from an Iron Age context is a Dr 28 (1947, 252, Pl LXVIII, 185A (Var)), while the *Cam* 172-3 could be identified with the Dr 28.

2.3 OLIVE OIL AMPHORAE

OBERADEN 83 and DRESSEL 20

Typology

The Oberaden 83 has a large ovoid body with a short spike. There are short, circular-sectioned handles. The neck has a short, collared rim. Dr 20 of the first half of the first century AD have a distinctly more bulbous body, a slight basal knob and the handles are massive, often rather triangular in profile. The rims are much more pronounced. It is likely that the Dr 26 also relates to the development of the Dr 20 but quite how is not understood. Callender suggested that the variations in the Dr 20 were probably not of chronological significance (1965, 19) but this has been refuted by Tchernia (1967, 224, Fig 1-5) and recently Martin-Kilcher has shown that there is a clear chronological development of the rim through the first to third centuries AD (1983; 1987, 53-8, Beil 1-2) and, to a lesser extent, of the handles and fabrics also. In general there is a tendency for vessels to become larger and more bag-shaped through time. Guénoche and Tchernia (1977) have described an elaborate scheme to assess the typological development of Dr 20 but have not published

the analyses on which their conclusions are based and it is doubtful if it is valid to place as much emphasis as they do on the *Vindonissa Schütthügel* as a stratified deposit on which to base seriation. Although Dr 20 are often stamped this does not appear to have occurred until the Claudian period, Oberaden 83 were apparently never stamped. Although Beltrán-Lloris states that one Oberaden 83 at Haltern was stamped NYMPHI (1970), he cites Callender (1965) who in turn cites Pelichet (1946) who does refer to Loeschke (1909). In fact Loeschke specifically states that none of his form 71 (= Oberaden 83) were stamped (1909, 257). The NYMPHI stamp is on Dr 28. However, a Haltern 71 from Xanten is identified as being stamped (Callender 1965, 198, no 1250). The Dr 20 eventually develops into Dr 23 in the third and fourth centuries AD.

Provenance

Petrological analyses indicate that both Oberaden 83 and Dr 20 were made in southern Spain (Williams and Peacock 1983, 267) and a large number of Dr 20 kilns are known while the stamps on Dr 20 also mention a number of towns in southern Spain. These suggest that the type was made in the Guadalquivir Valley and its tributaries and production may have extended in *Hispania Tarraconensis* rather than being restricted to *Baetica* (Remesal Rodríguez 1982; Ponisch 1982). Only a few kiln sites are well documented, Villaseca, La Catria and El Tejarillo (De La Peña 1967; Remesal Rodríguez 1982) but many more are known but poorly dated (at least 71 sites) and they have been surveyed by Ponisch (1974; 1979).

Contents

The abundant epigraphic evidence on Dr 20 follows a set four or five part pattern (Rodríguez-Almeida 1972; Peacock and Williams 1986, 13-14, Fig 5) which does not actually specifically mention olive oil but it is evident from the figures in these formulae that they were based on the specific gravity of olive oil. These *tituli picti* are Flavian or later in appearance. Gas chromatography has also confirmed that olive oil was carried (Condamin *et al* 1976) and there is abundant literary and epigraphic evidence for the wide export of Baetican olive oil. However, some third century AD Dr 20 contained olives and it seems likely that they may also have been carried occasionally in earlier vessels (Sealey 1985, 74)

The trend was for Dr 20 to have a greater capacity through time and the earliest available capacities are from the early Claudian Port Vendres II wreck. Sealey gives the average capacity as 66.31L (1985, 53) but Colls *et al* actually distinguish two sizes, the larger containing 69.80L, the smaller 45.95L (1977, 85). Their weight-volume ratios are 2.46 and 2.01 L/Kg respectively.

Chronology

Oberaden 83 occur in the Rödgen-Oberaden-Dangstetten horizon of Augustan forts and these are the first well dated finds. The form appears to develop from the earlier first century BC Beltrán form 85 (Ulbert 1985, 186). When the Dr 20 first appears is not entirely clear. It appears to be absent from Haltern, abandoned in AD 9 but to be present in contexts dating to the first quarter of the first century AD at Skeleton Green (Peacock and Williams

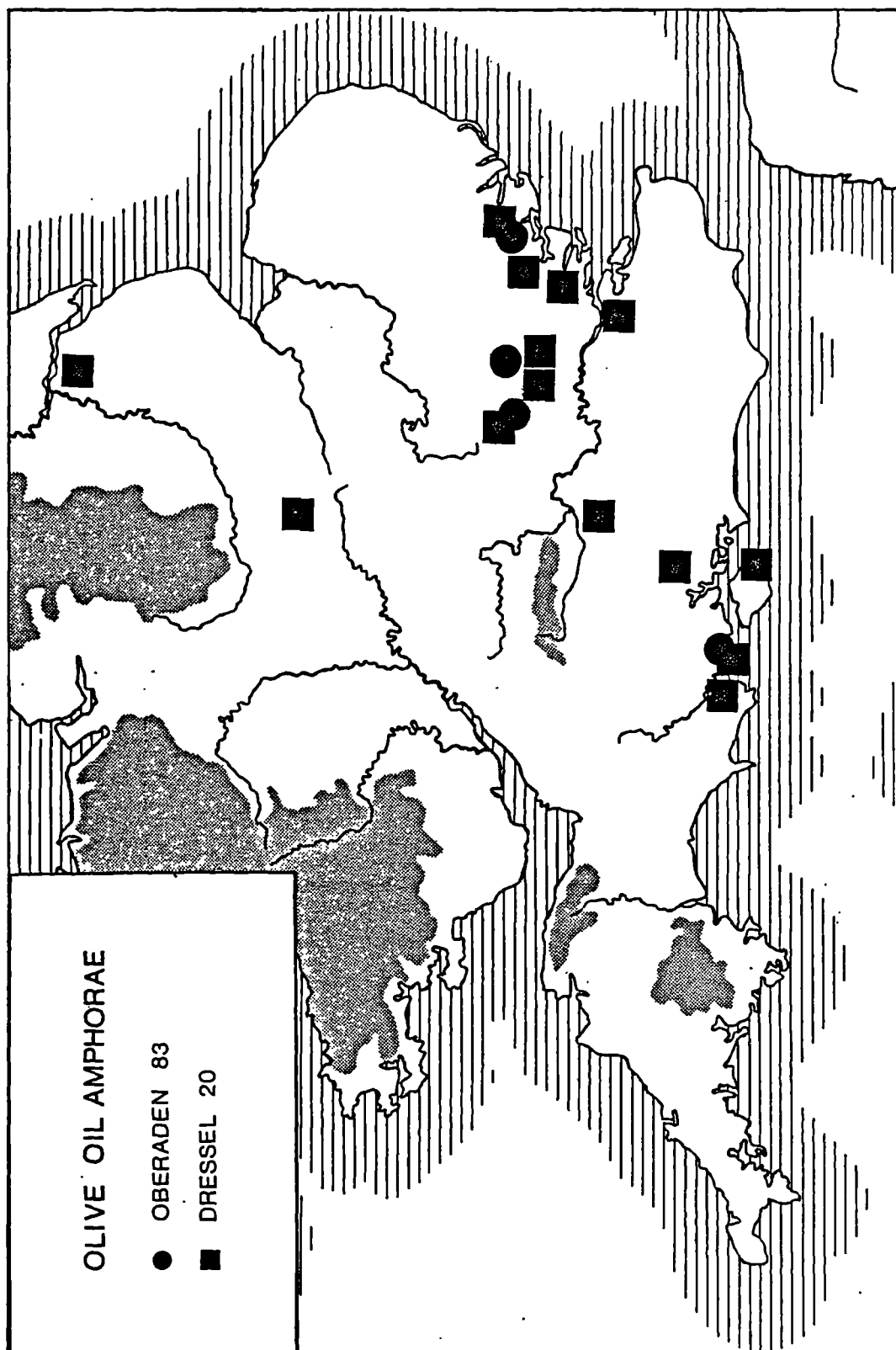


FIG 8: DISTRIBUTION OF OLIVE OIL AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

1986, 135). Because of this, the suggestion that Dr 20 occur in contexts dating to the first half of the first century BC at Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe 1987a, 273) as well as in contexts dating to the second half of the century must be questioned.

Distribution

It is difficult to make useful comment on the earlier phases of the distribution of Dr 20 and the Oberaden 83 as it is only through the study of stamps that some idea of the scale of the trade has been obtained. The scale of this trade by the time of the conquest of Britain is well illustrated by the distribution maps of the stamps on Dr 20 found on the Port Vendres II wreck (Colls *et al* 1977, Fig 53-4). It will be noted that of the two maps the quantitative one (*ibid*, Fig 54) provides a more accurate representation of the trade, clearly demonstrating a fall-off in quantity over distance. Thereafter the abundant epigraphic evidence opens many avenues for analysis (eg Remesal Rodríguez 1983; 1986; Rodríguez-Almeida 1983) but as yet these do not touch upon the British Iron Age (Fig 8, App 6).

2.4 AMPHORAE FOR FISH-BASED PRODUCTS

SALAZONES

This class of amphorae contained a variety of fish-based products such as fish-sauce and were made in southern Iberia. *Salazones* is the Spanish for highly salted foods. No existing classification is entirely satisfactory and while the vessels are grouped here to

emphasise their close association, it will also be argued that the types need to be separated clearly in future research.

Typology

Zevi grouped the Dr 7-11 together as containers for fish-based products (1966) and this was followed by both Peacock (1971, 168-70) and Beltrán (1970, 338), the latter calling them his Form I *Salazones* amphorae. Beltrán's Form II supersedes the Form I in the Flavian period. However, Beltrán's Form III (the Dr 12) is also partly contemporary with the Form I but as it has not yet been found in Iron Age Britain it is not considered at this juncture (*cf* App 11.8). The grouping of the Dr 7-11 is not without its difficulties and confusions and two types must be disassociated at the outset. The first is the Dr 11. The Dr 11 appears to be a Claudian or later type but the other types within Beltrán's Form I all appear in the first century BC so the Dr 11 must be separated on chronological grounds. The second type which needs to be extracted from the Form I is the Haltern 70 which appears not to have contained fish-based products (*cf* Ch 2.5.1) although it is typologically very similar to some Form I vessels, particularly the Dr 10. This leaves four of Dressel's types, the 7, 8, 9, and 10. In current usage the Dr 7 and 8 are usually identified as the *Camulodunum* 186A and this terminology is followed here leaving three types, (i) the *Cam* 186A, (ii) the Dr 9 and (iii) the Dr 10.

(1) *Cam* 186A is broadly equivalent to Dr 7-8 and has an ovoid body with a long hollow spike. The handles are long, sub-triangular in section, and return to the vessel at the top

with a marked curve. There are two varieties of rim, one which is represented by *Cam* 186A has a broad flaring mouth with a thickened rim. The other variety has a vertical rather than a flaring mouth but has a similar rim. Peacock and Williams label these two varieties A and B of their class 17 (1986, 120).

(ii) Dressel 9 has a rather bulbous body with a short, solid spike. The handles are short, oval in section and often have an external median groove. The rim is similar to that of the *Cam* 186A (Var A) but it is not as deep. Peacock and Williams distinguish five varieties of the type, their class 16, some of which were made in France but only their variants A and B concern us here (1986, 118).

(iii) Dressel 10 is very similar to the Haltern 70, the main distinction being in the basal spike which is larger and hollow in the Dr 10 whereas the Haltern 70 appears to have its spike blocked off, but the evidence for this division is slight (Hesnard 1980, 147-8). Compared to the Dr 9, Dr 10 has a slightly more bulbous body and the simple collar rim is nearly vertical in contrast to the flaring rim on Dr 9. It is very difficult to distinguish between fragmentary examples of the Dr 9, 10 and Haltern 70 without adequate fabric descriptions.

Provenance

Peacock has shown on petrological grounds that the *Cam* 186 (Var A) probably came from southern Spain (1971, 168-9) and this is supported by a number of kiln sites (Peacock 1974; Beltrán-Lloris 1970; 1977). *Cam* 186 (Var B) were certainly produced at El

Rinconcillo, Villaneuva, Paso a Nivel and Cerro de los Mártires. Peacock and Williams suggest that as the *Cam* 186A (Var B) is frequently found in Catalonia and apparently restricted to there, it may have been made there (1986, 120). Panella has suggested that Dr 8 may have been made in the Aegean (1976, n 4). Dr 9 have been found in kilns at El Rinconcillo, Cerro de los Martires and Villaneuva in southern Spain and at Tivissa in Catalonia (Keay and Jones 1982, Fig 6.1, 4). Finds of Dr 9 from La Longarina are in typical Catalonian fabrics (Hesnard 1980, 147). Some of the variants C-E distinguished by Peacock and Williams are Gaulish in origin.

Dressel 10 is taken to be Spanish but this is not known certainly (*op cit*, 147). It is possible that Dr 7-11 were made occasionally in southern France (Laubenheimer 1985, 318, Fig 176), while Becker *et al* distinguish a Dressel 9 *similis* apparently made near Lyon (1986, 80, Fig 16, 4-7).

Contents

Numerous *tituli picti* show that most of these amphorae contained fish-based products (Zevi 1966, 242-7; Beltrán-Lloris 1970, 415-17) and the evidence for later types from the same area also points to this (eg Beltrán II).

The best known of these products are fish sauces such as *garum* (= *liquama*), *muria* and *alec* (= *halec/halex*) but variations are also known (Peacock 1974, 233-4; Manacorda 1977). It seems likely that these sauces were very salty, the majority of it being added as a preservative. The evidence of amphorae themselves has occasionally yielded the remains of fish. Two *Cam* 186 (Var A) from the Port Vendres II wreck contained mackerel bones (Colls *et*

al 1977, 40-2, Fig 15). Two Dr 9 from the sea at Saint Gervais contained the remains of fish (*Gallia* 20, 1962, 148, Fig 2) while a further two from the Planier 5 wreck contained clams (*ibid*, 156, Fig 20-1). Benoit followed by Sealey (1985, 83) identifies the vessel as Dr 10 but they appear closer to Dr 9. On the basis of this find Peacock (1974, 234) and Sealey (1985, 83) have suggested that salted fish were carried in amphorae, Sealey arguing that the latin *salsamenta* could indicate either a salty fish-sauce or salted fish. This is possible, but the bones may represent no more than those missed in the filleting or in the preparation of the sauces (on which Peacock and Williams 1986, 35-9).

Sealey has argued that wine may have been carried in the Dr 9. Following Tchernia and Hesnard, Sealey notes that as the Tivissa kiln in Catalonia is presently over 15km from the sea and because of this he suggests that amphorae made there were unlikely to have contained *salazones*. However, it should be noted that the Dr 9 from the site could actually be southern Spanish (Keay and Jones 1982, 55). Equally, as Peacock has shown for kilns in the Bay of Cadiz, the present topography of the site does not necessarily reflect its ancient one(s). Sealey correctly draws attention to an amphora from Rome described by Dressel as *formae* 9 *similis* which has a *tituli picti* suggesting that it carried wine. One vessel of *formae* 10 *similis* is certainly described as carrying wine (Sealey 1985, 83-4). As Sealey argues, the distinct form of Dr 9 may suggest that it carried a specialised content but this apparent specialisation of form is only apparent if all of Beltrán's Form I is accepted as a contemporary group and as will be seen below Dr 9 appears to be the predecessor of the *Cam* 186A (Var A) rather than contemporary with it. It may be wise to follow Hesnard in reserving judgement over the contents of the

Catalonian Dr 9 (Hesnard 1980, 144, n 75) and reject Sealey's presumption that they were wine amphorae although the production of vessels at or near Lyon (Becker *et al* 1986, 80) must lend support to it. There seems no reason to doubt that southern Iberian Dr 9 were *Salazones* amphorae. Sealey gives the capacity of two Beltrán I (probably *Cam* 186A (Var A) as 16.5 and 18L (1985, 81).

Chronology

Dressel 9 occur in a number of Augustan contexts (Joncheray 1973a; Hesnard 1980; Fingerlin 1986; Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 12) and at Mount Bures it appears to have been associated with Dr 1B. *Cam* 186A (Var A) are not often found at sites of first century BC date but are present at La Longarina and Haltern where they appear to be the typological successor of Dr 9 (*cp* Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 12). At Dangstetten the ratio is approximately 10:1 Dr 9 to *Cam* 186 (Var A) (Fingerlin 1986). Later *Cam* 186A (Var A) have a more pronounced flare at the rim and these are typical of sites occupied during the reigns of Tiberius and Nero. Dr 10 are more rare but certainly occur at Dangstetten but it is possible that in the absence of good fabric descriptions it is being conflated with Dr 9 or possibly Haltern 70. For example a find from Skeleton Green could be a Dr 10 (Peacock 1981, Fig 81, 7) but it is impossible to distinguish it from other vessels in Beltrán's Form I. It is improbable that the sherds from contexts dated to the first half of the first century BC at Hengistbury Head have been dated correctly (*contra* Cunliffe 1987a, 273).

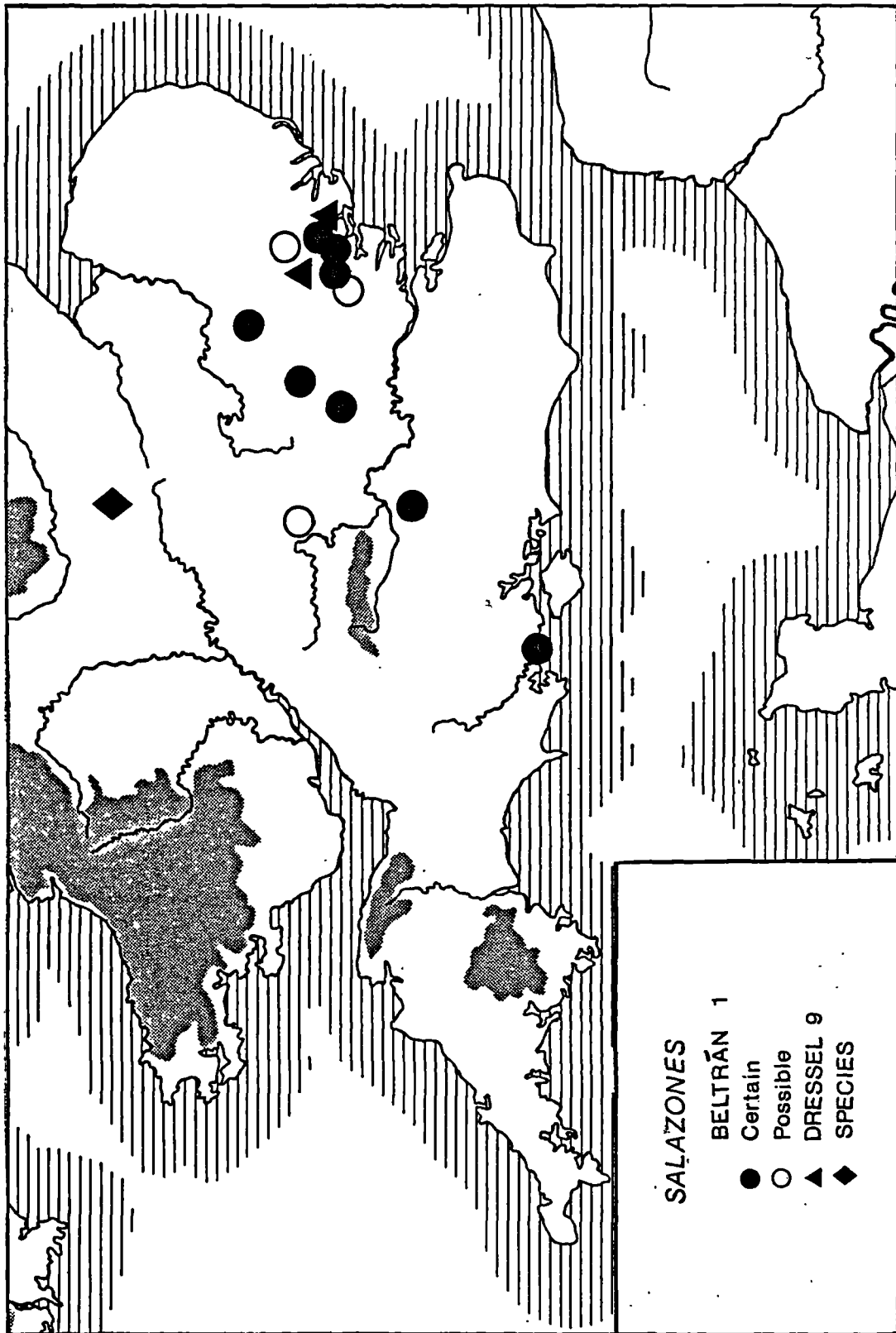


FIG 9: DISTRIBUTION OF *SALAZONES* AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Distribution

It is difficult to make useful comment on the individual varieties within Beltrán I as they are rarely distinguished in publications. As a class they are found extensively in Germany and Switzerland and are known in many northern French museums and are reported from western France (Sanquer 1982; Roman 1983) and it is likely that they were traded widely. They are not uncommon in Iron Age Britain (Fig 9, App 7).

Commentary

Most of the vessels considered above probably contained fish-based products but it is apparent that there is still some uncertainty (Parker 1972, 226; 1973, 336). Beltrán's distinction of his Form I is useful in so far as it emphasises the similarity between the various types but it is important to recognise individual types within it as these are probably of some chronological significance if not necessarily reflecting their contents.

2.5 AMPHORAE WHOSE CONTENTS ARE NOT KNOWN CERTAINLY

2.5.1 HALTERN 70

Typology

The amphora has a cylindrical body with a small spike. The neck is short and flares towards the mouth which has a collared rim. The handles are slightly curved and have a groove externally. The

form was originally included within Beltrán I, but is now regarded as separate type; it is certainly not a *Salazones* amphorae. Hawkes and Hull (1947, 252) distinguished two variants of the type, 185A (= Haltern 70) and 185B but Sealey has shown that no complete examples of the latter are known and so it is not entirely clear if the form actually existed (1985, 61). The type is succeeded directly by the London 555 (*ibid*, 167-8).

Provenance

Peacock showed that the form was probably made in the same area as Baetican Dr 20 (1971, 168). Colls *et al* (1977, 141-3, Fig 55) have noted a Haltern 70 from Acalá del Rio in Spain stamped C.FVF.ÁVITI and a Dr 20 from Geneva stamped C.FVF.A. (C(ai) Fuf(ici) Aviti). This is supported by finds from Pompeii (Manacorda 1977, 129-30, Tav LVII, 19; LVIII, 32) and these stamps confirm the close links suggested by the fabrics.

Two kilns which possibly produced these vessels are known, one at Castor Marim in Portugal (Beltrán-Lloris 1970, 333, n 692, 405; De Almeida, Zbyszewski and De Veiga Ferreira 1971, 159) and the other at Cerro de los Mártires (Beltrán-Lloris 1977, 104-6, Fig 4.4; 7, 44) but the numbers at the sites are small and both are coastal sites whereas petrology usually suggests an origin further inland in the Guadalquivir Valley. Be that as it may, a southern Spanish origin seems assured.

Contents

There are two schools of thought concerning the contents of the vessel. One school, which is French, argues that the amphorae

contained wine, the other, which is English, argues that they contained *defrutum* which was a non-alcoholic syrup. As the debate is somewhat intransigent it is as well to return to the evidence.

In considering the finds from Oberaden Loeschke drew attention to *tituli picti* on the type (1942, 100-1). One from Vindonissa reads *Oliva / nigr(a) / ex defr (uto)* and another from Mainz-Weisenau reads *Oliva(e) nig(rae) ex defr(uto) Penuar(iae) Excell(entis) C. Rvtil(ivs) ... (vcivs)*. (This appears to be on one vessel not two as Colls *et al* 1977 followed by Sealey 1985, 62 suggest). Loeschke also drew attention to a *titulus pictus* from Vechten beginning *ol...* which he suggested might be related but as Callender (1965) points out, *Ol(eum)* or *Ol(ivas) A(lbanum)* or *A(lbas)* are rather more likely. Subsequently a London 555 has been found at Soissons with a *titulus pictus* reading *Oliva(e) nig(rae) / ex def(ruto) / pen(uaria) / M(arci) Crassi Servandionis* (Lequément and Massy 1980). Three of the Port Vendres II vessels were identified as containing *defrutum* (Colls *et al* 1977, 71-4, 78, 87-8). A related inscription on a vessel from Amiens reads *Sapa avcto (L)icinio* (Massy and Vaselle 1976; Lequément and Liou 1978). This evidence all points to *defrutum* and *sapa* containing olives. Cato the elder describes *defrutum* as '*orchites ubi nigrae erunt et siccae ... sine sale in defrutum condito*' (*De Agricult VII, 4*) and Varro as '*orcites nigras aridas ... sine sale in defrutum condi recte*' (*Re Rusti I, 40*). *Sapa* is to be identified with what Columella gives as another form of preservative for olives, *sapa* or *passum* (*Re Rusti XII, 49.3*).

Defrutum was made by reducing must (grape juice) until it was reduced to either a third or a half (Pliny *NH XIV, 10, 80*; André

1958, *sv*; Lequément and Massy 1980; Parker and Price 1981, 223). *Sapa* was reduced to a third, *defrutum* by half. *Siraeum* and *hepsema* also seem to be related substances. The resulting syrup was used variously in the kitchen and as a sweetener for wine, to feed bees, for medicinal purposes and, as the *tituli picti* suggest, to carry olives. Parker suggests that boiling down will have caused the alcohol in the must to evaporate (Parker and Price 1981). However, as van der Werff points out, this need not be the case and that in any case the reduction may well have been achieved by drying in the sun (1984, 379-81, App I).

Because of this evidence Colls *et al* (1977, 86-91) argue that the Haltern 70 were Baetican wine amphorae, and appear to take *defrutum* as a sweet wine [perhaps akin to *passum*?] Parker has suggested that this interpretation is 'a guess, without any evidence at all' (Parker and Price 1981, 224) and that the often repeated statement that Haltern 70 was a wine amphora is incorrect. He suggests that the Dr 2-4 was probably the container for Baetican wine. Liou has responded by stating that he regards this argument as rather unintelligible, while at the same time recording the discovery of olives in a Haltern 70 on the Tiberian Sud Lavezzi B wreck (*Gallia* 40, 1982, 444). Sealey has restated the case put forward by Parker (1985, 62-3).

The debate has become entrenched and it may be useful to try and understand why the French protagonists maintain that the Haltern 70 contained wine? This is surely because the manufacture of *defrutum*, leaving aside whether it was wine or not, implies that there was some Baetican wine and, despite Parker (Parker and Price 1981, 223-4) and Sealey (1985, 37-8, 63), the evidence for

Baetican Dr 2-4 is slight. The logical container for this wine would then be Haltern 70. If this argument is correct, then the French authors would presumably infer that only vessels containing olives were specially distinguished by *tituli picti*. This is not necessarily the most plausible interpretation of the epigraphic evidence, but conversely, in seeking to identify some Baetican vessels at Sheepen as Dr 2-4 Sealey overstretches the limited evidence for them. Both parties appear to be united in the assumption that there was wide-scale amphora-borne export of Baetican wine but it should be noted that there is no independent evidence for such a trade and the impasse may be the result of over statement on both sides prompted by a commonly shared belief, which may itself be wrong. *A priori*, however, as van der Werff (1984) has shown, and as Tchernia presumes (1986, 141) the interpretation of Haltern 70 as a wine amphora sometimes containing olives preserved in the sweet, liqueur-like wine is the most logical (1984) but certainty is not possible without scientific analyses. Using finds from Colchester and Port-Vendres II Sealey gives the average capacity as 30.06L (1985, 62). The weight-volume ratio of the Port-Vendres II finds is 1.70 L/Kg (Peacock and Williams 1986, 52, Tab 1).

Chronology

Vegas has suggested that the type is present on the Albegna wreck (1975, 46) but the vessel she cites (Lamboglia 1952a, 262, Fig 17) is a Lamboglia 2. The earliest find may be from the mid-first century BC wreck Madrague de Giens (Tchernia 1980, 306), but the first certain dating is provided by finds from Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986), Rödgen, Oberaden and Basel (Schönberger and

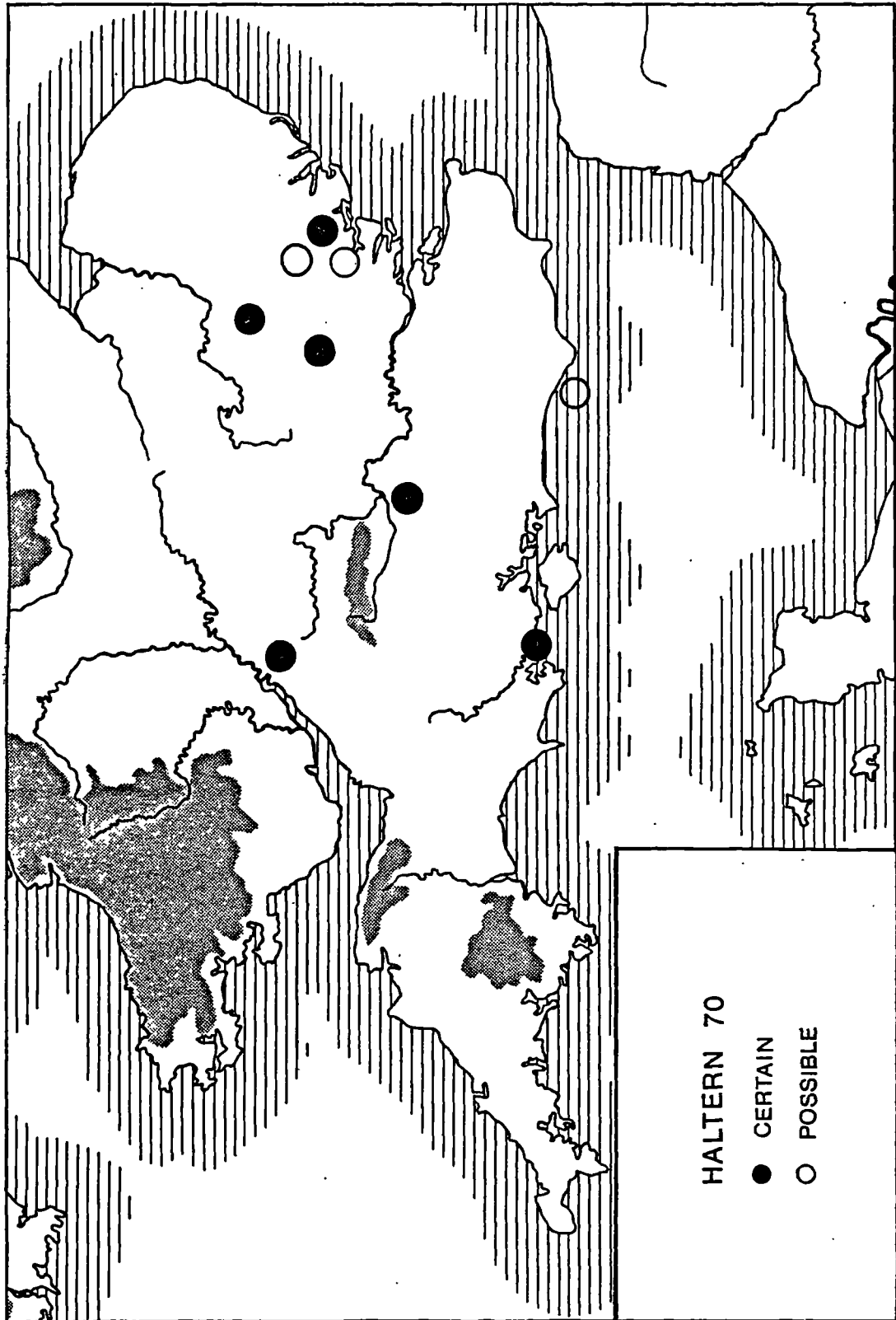


FIG 10: DISTRIBUTION OF HALTERN 70 AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Simon 1976, 113). The type continues into the Neronian period with little typological development, when it appears to have developed into the London 555 which has a more spindle-like body and a groove under the rim.

Distribution

The type is found regularly in Roman forts and frequently in Iron Age Britain (Fig 10, App 8) but the distribution in France is poorly known although there are finds at Fréjus, Agde, Chalon-sur-Saône, Autun, Arras, Amiens and Bavay.

2.5.2 DRESSEL 6

Typology

Following Bucchi (1973; 1974-75) this type is subdivided into Dr 6A and Dr 6B. This division reflects Dressel's original distinction between his Form 6 and *formae 6 similes*. Baldacci has termed the Dr 6A his Type IIa and Dr 6B his Type IIb and IIIa (Baldacci 1972a; 1972b) but this terminology is not employed here as it is confusing and in later publications Baldacci uses Type II (with subdivisions IIA, IIB) to describe amphorae which are not Dr 6 (Carre 1985, 209, n 7; cp Tchernia 1986, 133).

Dressel 6A are characterised by a bulbous pear-shaped body with a long, tapering spike. The shoulder is sometimes very rounded, without a carination, while at others there is a pronounced shoulder. The neck is tall and wide and the rim is usually a simple out-turned collar c 3cm in height. The handles are very

heavy and curve away from the shoulder with a pronounced return to the neck. They are circular or sub-circular in section. The walls of the body are very thick and are resin lined internally. Examples of the Dr 6A from La Longarina, Ostia were in two sizes (Hesnard 1980, 144, Pl I, 3-4). As Carre (1985, 211) points out, the Dr 6A is typologically closely related to the Lamboglia 2.

Dressel 6B have more ovoid bodies and usually a stump base. The neck is shorter and the handles, which are very heavy do not curve outwards but rise vertically and so do not have the marked return angle of those on the Dr 6A. The rim is deep and heavy and is semi-circular or poppy-like in section. The rim is sometimes marked off from the neck. The walls are slightly less thick than those of the Dr 6A and do not have a resin lining.

Provenance

Peacock (1981, 202, 204) characterises the fabric of the Skeleton Green Dr 6A as being compatible with a source in the Adriatic. Analysis of Dr 6B by Neutron Activation Analysis has suggested an origin in the Padua region for at least some Dr 6B (Carre 1985, 223, n 70).

These analyses are supported by archaeological and historical evidence. Kilns producing Dr 6A are known at Sala Baganza near Parme (Marini Calvini 1981; Carre 1985, 215) at Brisighella near Faenza (Carre *op cit*), the latter stamping vessels C. AVR. ARBENN and possibly near Cesena (*ibid*, stamping vessels HOMVNC; Tchernia 1986, 130), all in Emilia. Carre rejects the suggestion that the kilns of M. Herrenius Picens were necessarily situated in *Emilia* (1985, 214, n 30). Two kilns are also known at Torre Palmo in

Picenum, stamping vessels C. IVL. POLY (C.Iul(ius) Poly(?)) and BARB.

A *titulus pictus* on a Dr 6 from the Magdalensberg reads *Praet/* of which has usually been restored as *p(oma) raet(ica)*, but it could also be restored as *praet (utianum vinum)*, the *ager praetutianus* being located south of *Picenum* (Carre 1985, 217; Tchernia 1986, 131). Pliny (*NH* XVIII, 37) mentions L. Tarius Rufus suffect consul in 16BC as investing in *Picenum* and a number of Dr 6A stamped with his name are known (Callender 1965, 167, no 947), further suggesting the manufacture of Dr 6A in that area.

Kilns producing Dr 6B stamped C. Laecanius Bassus along with tiles and lamps are known at Fazana near Pola. Large numbers of vessels stamped Calvia Crispinilla are known at Loron near Parenzo and on the basis of the number of discoveries in the area, Carre suggests (1985, 222) that there may also be an imperial workshop there and this is supported by the work of Bezczy (1987, 15). This evidence suggests that Dr 6B were manufactured in Istria but some vessels are stamped with Cisalpine names P. Q. Scapula and P. Sepullius P.f. and the evidence of Neutron Activation Analysis also suggests that Dr 6B were made in the *Ager gallicus*.

Paterson (1982, 153-4) has drawn attention to the occurrence of names on amphora stamps which can be equated with historically documented persons which may suggest investment in north-eastern Italy in the areas which produced Dr 6 (cf Bezczy 1987). It has been suggested that the Dr 6 was amongst the products of the El Rinconcillo kiln at Algeciras (Beltrán-Lloris 1970, 399; Peacock 1974, 241) but as with other material from this site (above), it is possible that it has been confused, in this case with the Dr 12

which are similar in some respects. Certainly Dr 6 appear to be very rare in Spain (Beltrán-Lloris 1970, 387).

Contents

The contents of the Dr 6 have been the subject of great confusion. The evidence of the stamps which pointed to production in Istria was initially correlated with the reknown of Istrian oil in antiquity and the amphorae were taken to be Istrian oil amphorae. This assumption was further confused by the failure to distinguish between the evidence for the two variants.

The resinous lining of the Dr 6A suggests that it did not contain oil as resin lined amphorae usually contained wine. Carre also points out that the area in which Dr 6A were produced was not suitable for the production of oil in antiquity (Carre 1985, 218). There is some evidence that fish-based products were amongst the contents. Hesnard (1980, 144, n 40) has drawn attention to a Dr 6 stamped T.H.B. (Titus Helvius Basila ?) from a burial in Verona which contained fish bones and assuming that they are not the remains of grave goods, they suggest a fish-based content. Bucchi (1974, 432, n 11) discusses a Dr 6A from Milan with an incomplete *titulus pictus* Ç ... / His· , which could be restored as either *G [ar(um)] His(tricum)* or as *Q [le(um)] His(tricum)*. The majority of the *tituli picti* suggest, however, that the contents were *vet(us)* (wine) and two from the Castro Pretorio deposit in Rome explicitly mention wine (CIL XV, 2, 4653, 4582) (Tchernia 1986, 132). Other possible examples are listed by Beltrán-Lloris (1970, 385) These inscriptions agree with the resinous lining of the amphorae, suggesting that it probably contained wine.

Dressel 6B were manufactured in both Cisalpine Gaul and Istria

which makes it difficult, on climatic grounds, to suggest a common content. Pliny mentions the wine of *Pucinum* several times (NH XIV, 60; XVII, 31; III, 127) and one Dr 6B from Milan has a *titulus pictus* mentioning the estate of the Plinii (Pliny) near Como, hinting that wine could have been one of the contents of the Cisalpine Dr 6B. *Tituli picti* on Dr 6B from the Magdalensberg and *Auguntum* reading *Olei Histr(ici)* and *Oleum his(tricum)* suggest that some contained oil and this may find support in the discovery of oil presses at Istrian villas. Carre (1985, 224) doubts if oil could be produced on a suitable scale in Cisalpine Gaul to be traded widely and would prefer to see Cisalpine Dr 6B as the containers of wine, although it is possible that this wine was carried in barrels. Dressel 6B from Istria probably were the containers for Istrian oil.

Paterson (1982, 153) suggests that both Dr 6A and 6B were wine amphorae citing the two *Castro Pretoria tituli picti* finds as proof, but they are both on Dr 6B and it is clear that some Dr 6B did contain oil and it is *a priori* likely that they came from Istria. Tchernia (1986, 129) merely asserts that the Dr 6 contained wine. Paterson is, however, probably correct to argue that the trade in Cisalpine wine was not necessarily a luxury one (1982; *idem*, 1978). Any temptation to read too much into the typology of the 6A and 6B should be curbed by the occurrence of identical stamps of EBIDIENI and L. SALVI on both Dr 6A and 6B (Carre 1985, 223). Hesnard has suggested that samps of C. Laecanius Bassus and Calvia Crispinilla have been found on Dr 2-4 at the Magdalensberg (1980, 145) but Bezeczky rejects the first one at least (1987, 21; cf Ch 2.2.3).

On the rather confused evidence presently available it would appear that Dr 6A contained wine produced in *Emilia* and *Picenum* although fish-based products could also have been carried. The Dr 6B was made over a wider area. Dr 6B from Cisalpine Gaul, possibly *Pucinum*, may have contained wine while those made in Istria probably carried the famous Istrian oil.

Dating

Dressel 6A appears to be related typologically to the Lamboglia 2, the latest date for which is c 30 BC. The earliest date for the Dr 6A comes from the Carthage amphora wall which is usually assigned a *terminus ante quem* of 15 BC. The stamps of L. Tarius Rufus suffect consul in 16 BC may date to around this period and the appearance of vessels at Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986, eg 123, Abb 344, 45) Rödgen (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 109, Taf 39, 65B, where it is suggested to be Dr 1C), Oberaden (Loeschke 1942), and Zürich-Lindenhof (Vogt 1943, 159, Abb 31, 23) indicates their widespread trade by the last two decades BC. The latest *titulus pictus* is of AD 36 and vessels are rare from Claudian foundations. Dr 6B with the stamps of what may be Appius Claudius Pulcher consul in 38 BC and M. Titius suffect consul in 31 BC could indicate their production by this time. Dr 6B occur in early-middle Augustan contexts at Verona, Campo Fiera (Bucchi 1974-75, 433-4). Bucchi suggests that the type is exclusively Augustan in date (*ibid*, 437) but it appears in Flavian contexts at Ostia (Panella 1972, 675) and Carre suggests that it continued into the earlier second century AD (Carre 1985, 220-1). Dated finds in north-west Europe of Dr 6 are generally of Augustan and Tiberian date, with some Flavian finds, hinting that some of the later

finds elsewhere could be residual or perhaps that the main period of widespread export to this region was pre-Claudian.

Distribution

There is no adequate distribution map available for either Dr 6A or Dr 6B (cf Riley 1979, Fig on 156), although it is possible to prepare useful distribution maps for individual stamps (eg C. Laecanius Bassus, Tassaux 1982, Fig 3; cf Tchernia 1986, 149-51; Bezeczky 1987, Fig 4, 16). Carre notes that Dr 6B have a distribution concentrated in north-eastern Italy and outside that it occurs relatively frequently in *Noricum* and *Pannonia* and less often in *Dalmatia* and *Raetia* (Carre 1985, 221; cf Tchernia 1986, 149-50) and this is supported by the work of Bezeczky (1987, 6-21). Carre suggests that Dr 6A were traded frequently outside north eastern Italy to Rome, Greece and North Africa but that they are rare in the rest of Italy, Spain and Gaul (Carre 1985, 212). While their rarity in Spain is attested by Beltrán-Lloris (1970, 381-7), they occur in at least ten Julio-Claudian military sites in Germany, Switzerland and Holland suggesting strongly that their rarity in Gaul may be more apparent than real, particularly as Dr 6 has been noted from two sites of Iron Age date in Britain (Braughing-Gatesbury and Skeleton Green; Fig 11, App 9), suggesting that the distribution may not necessarily be a case of military supply.

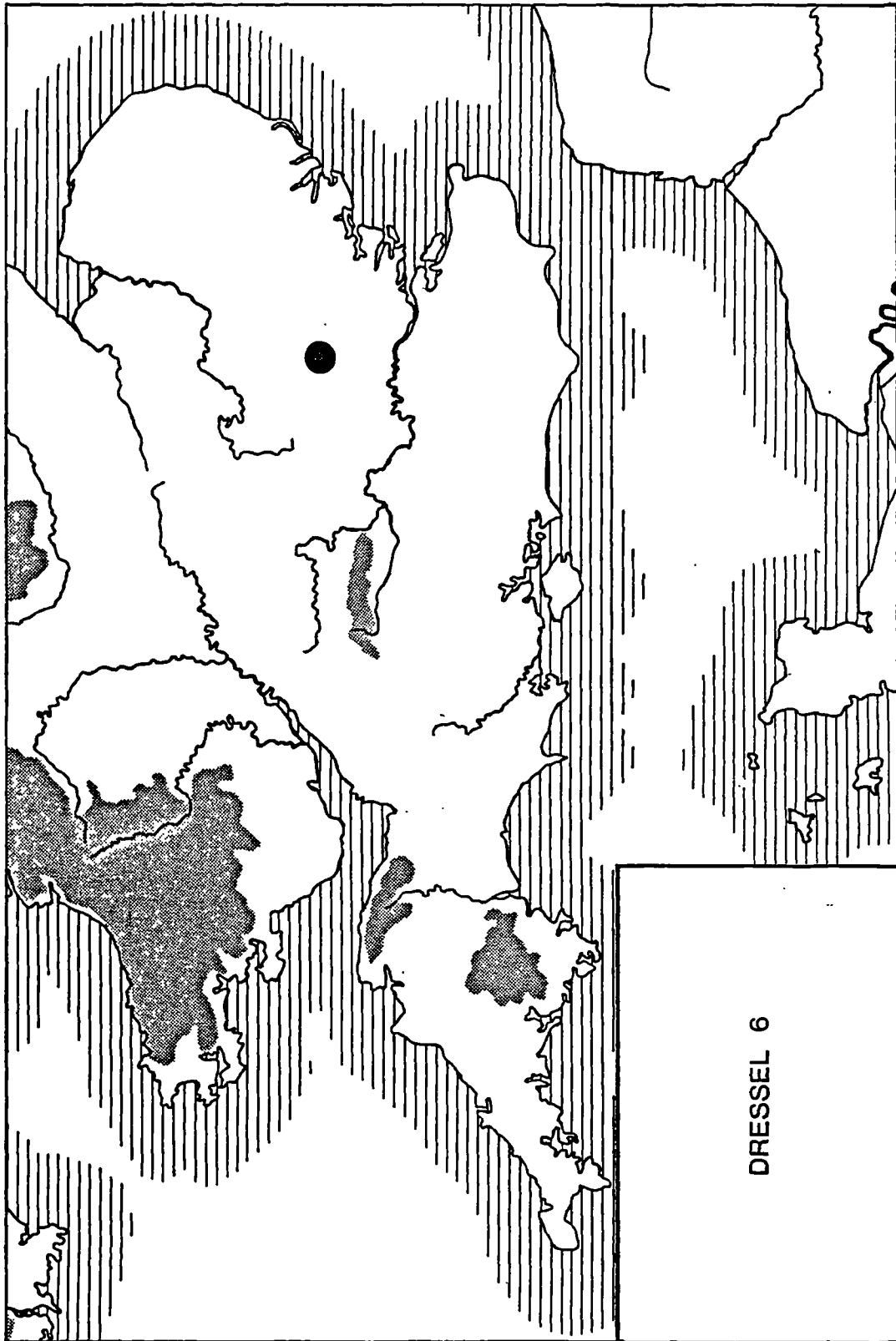


FIG 11: DISTRIBUTION OF DR 6 AMPHORAE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

2.5.3 RICHBOROUGH 527

This type is clearly defined but its provenance and contents are not known.

Typology

The vessel has a long narrow body with nearly vertical sides which flare towards the bottom and then taper to a point. There is no neck as such, the body merging into a simple collared neck. There are small lug handles either side of the mouth. The vessels would probably have been c 1m high. The type is not represented in any of the older typologies and was first characterised by Peacock (1977b, 264-5, Fig 1, 1-4). The surface has a characteristic rilled surface.

Provenance

The vessel always occurs in a characteristic fabric which is from a volcanic region. Peacock originally suggested an origin in the western Mediterranean (1977b, 265) but subsequently he and Williams have suggested an origin in the Puy de Dôme on the basis of French finds and the apparent absence of the type from the Mediterranean (1986, 111). While a western origin is perhaps suggested by a grafitto A (rather than α) on a find from Rennes, the type does appear to be present in the Mediterranean. There is a find from the sea at Cassidaigne (Benoit 1962, 165-8, Fig 42) and the same vessel is described as being in Marseilles museum by Sealey (1985, 92) and Arthur (1986, 251) and there is also one from Ampurias (*ibid*). Further vessels from the Madrague de Giens

have also been cited (*Gallia* 41, 1983, 291) which might suggest a first century BC date. Although this evidence is slight it does suggest that for the moment a Mediterranean provenance should not be excluded. This is supported by the possibility that olive oil may have been carried in the type.

Contents

Sealey has cited unpublished work by Card which indicates that olive oil and wine were contained (1985, 92), but the principal content(s) is not yet established.

Chronology

Nearly all the vessels known are of first century AD date though two vessels are known from mid-second and later contexts (Sealey 1985, 93; Peacock and Williams 1986, 112). The earliest dated finds are presently those from Rennes from an Augustan context (Pape 1977) and the Tiberian example from Skeleton Green (Peacock 1981, 202). The third century AD finds from St Magnus House, London (Miller, Schofield and Rhodes 1986, 101, Illus 1.4-6) are the latest finds published so far.

Distribution

In addition to the seven British sites listed by Peacock (1977b, 264) further British finds are known from Canterbury, Cirencester (Arthur 1986, 250-2), Kingsholm (Hurst 1985, 107), Leicester (R.J. Pollard pers comm) and Winnall Down (Fasham 1985, 73). There are finds in France from Lyon (Desbat and Picon 1986, Fig 2, 10),

Rennes, Vannes, Saint-Marcel and in Switzerland, Solothurn (Peacock and Williams 1986, 111) and probably Geneva (Paunier 1981, 242). This strongly suggests that it was widely distributed within north-western Europe and as the fabric becomes more widely known it will doubtless become recognised more frequently.

2.6 BARRELS

A number of Roman barrels are known from northern Europe, almost all which have survived because of their re-use, particularly as well-linings (Ulbert 1959; Hopf 1967; Viérin and Leva 1961; Renard 1961; Frison 1961; Boon 1975a; von Schnurbein 1975). Most of these barrels are of first and second century AD date but the presence of wine barrels at Oberaden and in an Augustan context at Neuss (Hopf 1967) clearly demonstrates their relevance to Iron Age Britain.

Barrels have a very low volume-weight ratio and some barrels were exceptionally large (Tab 4) and this compares very favourably with the volume-weight ratios of Dr 1B and Dr 2-4 amphorae at 0.88 and 1.68 respectively (Peacock and Williams 1986, 52, Tab 1).

TABLE 4

CAPACITIES OF ROMAN BARRELS

Find	Litres	Weight	Amphora Equivalent (at c 26L)
Silchester	c 818	c 818	c 31
Strasbourg	c 800	c 800	c 30
Budapest	c 678	c 678	c 26
Regensburg	c 650	c 650	c 25

Source: Ulbert 1959, 26.

Peacock (1978, 51) has suggested that barrels are particularly common in the Rhineland and that these vessels were probably made there rather than coming from the Pyrenees as Richmond suggested (1955, 172) and Peacock has also argued that amphorae were unimportant in Gaulish wine production. However, Peacock's conclusion must be questioned. His assessment is based on the publication of the *Segontium* barrel by Boon and of the 28 finds listed by Boon, 23 come from Ulbert's 1959 listing. As the absence of finds from France claimed by Ulbert is based on Grenier's 1934 work, this cannot be held to be the most reliable source on which to base the conclusion that the barrels are not from France, and Renard (1961) has argued that some barrels are

Gaulish. The principle wood used in making barrels was silver fir (Hopf 1967) and today this has a wide distribution making it unlikely that it will be possible to trace the origin of barrels. Larch, Spruce, Pine, Conifer and Oak were also used.

Chemical analysis of a barrel from Oberaden indicated a tartaric substance which was regarded as probably deriving from wine (*op cit*, method of analysis not stated). It is possible that this evidence may be related to Pliny's reference to wine barrels in northern Italy (NH XIV, 132) in some way, but this is no more than speculation. Based on this source and the less reliable story of Helico (Köves-Zulauf 1977), Kaenal has, however, suggested that in the Alpine area in the later Iron Age wine arrived in barrels (1985, 156). Barrels have been found at Manching (Maier 1985, Abb 6) but it is not yet known if they derive from a montane region and even then a trade in timber should not be overlooked (Meiggs 1982, 298-9). However, Strabo's description of how, at Aquilea, wine and oil which arrived in amphorae were decanted into barrels (IV, 1, 8) demonstrates the possibility that barrels may have arrived in Iron Age Britain. This is made more likely by the recognition that a number of Augustan wrecks have vast *dolia* in them which functioned as *in situ* storage tanks (Corsi and Sciallano 1985, 169-71, 173-4; Tchernia 1986, 138-40; Ch 2.2.3 above). As Tchernia points out that many of the *dolia* have a resinous lining, and combined with their frequent association with Dr 2-4, this suggests that they carried wine probably Italian (*ibid*). It is possible that their contents were decanted into smaller amphorae such as the *Gauloise* types but the use of barrels is also likely. Some of the *dolia* held up to 2000L.

It is clear that not all barrels carried liquids but from the

limited analyses available it appears that a large majority did (Ulbert 1959; Hopf 1967) and for them wine is the likeliest content. Whether or not wine reached Iron Age Britain in barrels is not known, but there is a very real possibility that it did.

2.7 COMMENTARY

It is particularly noteworthy that the amphorae found in Iron Age Britain compare closely with contemporary assemblages in western Europe, particularly from Augustus. Dr 1 is the dominant amphora in Iron Age France and other types (eg Lamboglia 2, 'Neo-Punic' types) seem to have been traded less widely, although as is suggested in Appendix 11 it is likely that these vessels may be under-represented. By the Augustan period the production and export of amphorae-borne commodities was much more widespread (Manacorda 1981) and Spanish products in particular are widely distributed in the west. Large groups of amphorae from Iron Age Britain are rare but that from Skeleton Green (Peacock 1981) compares closely to material found in Germany and Switzerland (Gechter 1979, 60-70; Schönberger and Simon 1976; Paunier 1981) and is not very dissimilar from the La Longarina deposit at Ostia (Hesnard 1980) or the recently discovered but slightly later group from la Favorite in Lyon (Desbat and Picon 1986; Becker *et al* 1986). Williams and Peacock note of Oberaden 83 and Dr 20 amphorae in Iron Age Britain, that their importation appears to be similar to their occurrence within the Mediterranean world (1983; Peacock 1984, 40-1) although this may need some qualification (Ch 26.4).

Occasionally some of the contents of the amphorae have been found in Iron Age Britain. The 'Spanish' mackerel (*scomber colias*) bones from Skeleton Green probably derive, not as suggested from trade with fishing communities on the Biscay coast of France, but from the Spanish *Salazones* amphorae found in the same context (Partridge 1981, Table V, pp 200, 242-3; Ch 26.6). Similarly the figs from Hengistbury Head probably arrived in an amphorae but of what type is less certain (Cunliffe 1987a, 339, 341; 1987b, 103, 147), although a Rhodian vessel may be suspected (cf Ch 2.2.5).



CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION

A wide range of imported pottery other than amphorae has been found in Iron Age Britain. The pottery is considered in the following four chapters as follows; Storage Vessels (Ch 3), Gaulish later Iron Age pottery (Ch 4), Roman food preparation vessels (Ch 5) and table wares (Ch 6). The great majority of vessels in Chapter 3, 5 and 6 are Roman; from Italy or Gaul. The Gaulish later Iron Age pottery (Ch 4) is predominantly from Armorica but a discussion of parallels between the pottery of south-east England and north-east France is also included. For clarity of presentation this material is considered in a separate chapter rather than integrating it with the other storage and table wares.

CERAMIC FLAGONS AND JARS

3.1 THE CENTRAL GAULISH 'BESANÇON TRADITION'

A small range of 'coarse' wares from central Gaul have been found in Iron Age Britain. The most common forms are jars but bowls and plates have been recognised. For convenience these forms are considered together; following Ferdière (1972), Tyers has dubbed

these wares 'The Besançon Tradition' (1981a) and this term is used here.

Typology

There are three jar types. The most common is the *Cam 262* which is ovoid in shape and has an everted rim with internal mouldings. The *Cam 102* is smaller and has a marked neck but is otherwise very similar. The third jar is similar to *Cam 102* and has a pronounced everted rim (Partridge 1981, 335, Fig 126, 5). Large vessels or *dolia* also occur but in Britain they are known only from rim sherds from vessels, probably Iron Age imports, which have heavily reeded rims (*ibid*, 337, Fig 127) and which are likely to have been similar to Oberaden Types 113-114 in form (*cf* Thill 1967a, 207, no 21, Taf III, 21; X, B21). However, it is not clear why Rigby and Freestone only consider the *Cam 262* in their discussion of the earliest Central Gaulish imports (1986, 13-14). A number of bowls of different sizes with bead rims have been found in Iron Age contexts at Braughing - Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 57, 100, Fig 22, 64-6), however, as only the rims have been identified and there are no complete profiles, it is possible that they belong instead with the jars. One fragmentary shallow bowl with a flanged rim is also known from the Iron Age occupation of the same site (*ibid*, 100, Fig 51, 23) and Tyers notes two unpublished examples from Mt Beuvray in the Musée Rolin, Autun (1981a). For clarity this type is considered here rather than with those Central Gaulish wares which clearly belong to the fine ware tradition (Ch 6.4)

Provenance

A combination of petrological analyses and distribution maps suggest that all the forms were made in central France (Tyers 1981a; 1981b; Williams *in* Partridge 1981, 101-2; Rigby and Freestone 1986, 6-7, 14, Fig 3). Ferdière (1972) noted that *Cam* 262 occurred in a variety of fabrics, all of which are micaceous, suggesting that manufacture was dispersed. However, *dolia* were also made in northern France and the lower Rhineland (Loeschke 1942, 142) so this form is not exclusively Central Gaulish.

Contents

It is not known if the vessels were exchanged for their contents or themselves, or both. Tyers (1981b, 103) suggests that if the rim grooves were functional they might suggest that the pots were exchanged for their contents. However, the micaceous finish of the vessels raises the possibility that they may have been desirable because of this feature. Loeschke suggests that the *dolia* were, in some instances, used as storage vessels for wine (1942, 142-3).

Chronology

Ferdière characterised the *Cam* 262, his '*urnes à bord moulure*', as a type fossil for the *gallo-romaine précoce*. However, Tyers (1981a, 103) has shown that the origin of the *Besançon Tradition* lies in the indigenous pottery of eastern central France - the lower Saône, Doubs, Fôrez and Burgundy - of the first half of the

first century BC. Here, *dolia* with heavily moulded rims and stabbed decoration on the shoulders occur at a number of sites which probably date to the first half of the first century BC (eg Sept-Fontaine, Perrin 1976; Ferdière 1972, 87-8). Tyers calls these *dolia* the 'Bibracte type'. The distribution of these vessels seems to be quite localised (Tyers 1981a, Fig 15) with the largest number of them being recovered from Mt Beuvray / *Bibracte*, suggesting that they may have been made in the Morvan. Bibracte type *dolia* also occur in some contexts which may date to the second half of the first century BC but by the last decade BC they seem to have been superseded by the forms found in Iron Age Britain. The *Cam* 102 and 262 jars, bowls and plates all occur at Mt Beuvray and appear to be contemporary. A number of variants appear amongst the material from Braughing -Skeleton Green and Partridge suggests that these may be largely pre-Claudian (1981, 100) but it is not clear if these differences are necessarily chronological in origin. There are Claudian or later finds from Colchester (Niblett 1985, 13-14) Silchester (Tyers 1981b, 103) and perhaps Chichester (Down 1978, Fig 10. 5, 7) but the types do not appear in sites founded in the Flavian period, so these finds could be residual.

Distribution

The *Cam* 102 and 262 are the most widely distributed forms in the *Besançon Tradition* and the *Cam* 262 the most common. Ferdière compiled a distribution map (1972) and Clement (1978, Fig 2), Langouët (1978, Pl G) and Tyers (1981a, Fig 22) have all made additions. Tyers draws attention to a number of German finds overlooked by the French authors and a number of additions to his

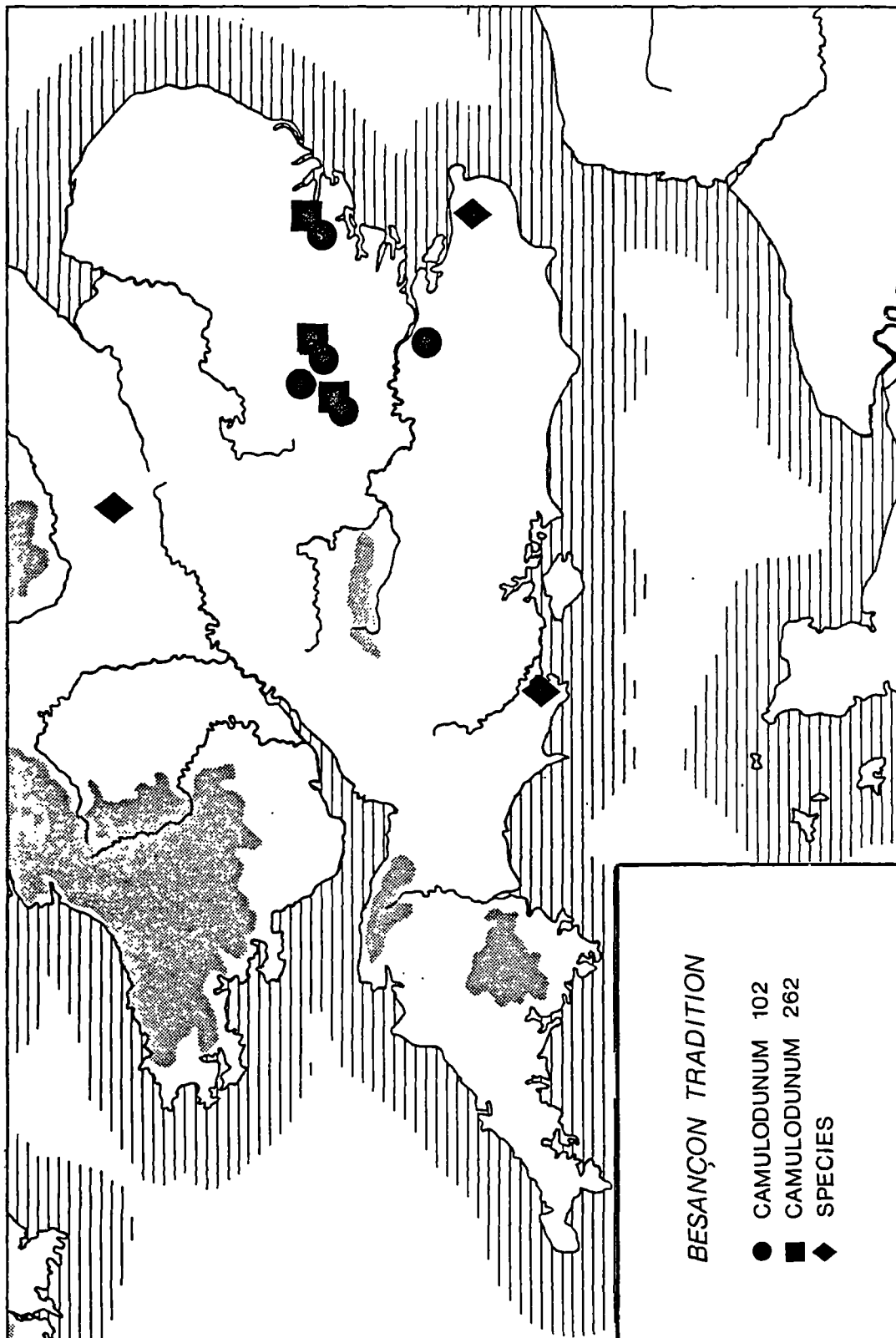


FIG 12: DISTRIBUTION OF *BESANÇON TRADITION* VESSELS
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

list can also be made (eg Nijmegen, Loeschke 1942, 134). From these sources it is clear that the *Cam* 102 and 262 jars, particularly the latter, were distributed widely in eastern central France (including Switzerland; Furger-Gunti 1979a, 76), north-eastern and north-western France (cf esp Clement 1978, Fig 2), Roman military sites in the lower Rhineland, and sites in southern England.

In Britain there are certain or probable Iron Age finds from at least ten sites (Fig 12, App 15) some of which, eg the Lexden Tumulus, date to the first century BC, but most date to the early first century AD. A number of sites also have what appear to be indigenous imitations of the forms (Thompson 1982, 110-13; Partridge 1979, 68).

3.2 CENTRAL GAULISH FLAGONS

Typology

Five types of flagons from central Gaul have been identified in Iron Age Britain, a sixth type, the *Cam* 166, which may be considered as a large flagon or a small amphora is considered separately.

1. The 'Dorton' flagon is the type found most commonly in Britain. It is a large two-handled flagon which is similar to *Cam* 165. The rim is triangular and may be dished internally and/or have external reeding. There is a neck cordon and the shoulders are rounded. The base has a footring and the handles have four or five ribs. Hull thought the *Cam* 165 a 'British rendering of the

type of [*Cam*] 161-3 in red ware with white covering' (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 248) but the different rim and rounded shoulder which he took to distinguish these 'imitations' can now be seen as characteristic of the original Central Gaulish vessels. The Dorton flagons are similar to Oberaden Type 50 and Rödgen 37-8 Type flagons, but not identical. The find from Welwyn Garden City (Stead 1967a, 14, Fig 9, 36, Pl III, d) is smaller and more squat than the other finds and these differences may be chronological. Rigby and Freestone (1986, 9-12) distinguish three flagon types, F 1-3, on the basis of the rims. Their F1 is represented by the Welwyn Garden City find and is unique, as is, they suggest their F2, one of the Dorton flagons (Farley 1983, Fig 12, 1) but it appears to be paralleled at Noyelles-Godault (Bastien and Demolon 1975, 11, Fig 10, 9). Type F3 is represented by the *Cam* 165 (F3b) and the one-handled flagon form (F3a). It is difficult to accept their F3 as a useful type as the two sub-types are so different, sharing only a related rim shape (cp Rigby and Freestone 1986, Fig 1), while the value of separating three two-handled forms from the small number of vessels known is also debatable. For the present, at least, all these two-handled forms are considered as *Cam* 165 'Dorton' flagons here, with the possibility of separate *Cam* 161 Ab or 163.

ii. *Cam* 161 Ab or 163 are discussed more fully below (Ch 3.4) and while no complete profiles of Central Gaulish vessels are known, the nearly vertical rims (eg Partridge 1981, 74, 182, Fig 128, 22-3) are closest to *Cam* 161 Ab.

iii. The *Cam* 131 or 'Lexden' flagons remain unique (Fox and Hull 1948, Fig 9, 7-8). The two vessels from the Mirror burial have a

vase-like body with a distinctive omphalos base with a cordon at the foot. The neck and rounded shoulder have bands of reeding and the rim is everted. The single handle has a central groove. One of the flagons also has a cordon at the top of the base (*ibid*, Fig 9, 7). These vessels are mica-dusted rather than having a cream slip like the other vessels discussed here.

iv. 'Braughing' flagon. Only one, incomplete, example is known, from Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 80, Fig 38, 1). It is the shoulder and neck of a two-handled flagon. The shoulders are rounded and the handles have a central groove. The rim is slightly everted. The vessel finds general parallels amongst the so-called *Honigtöpfe* of Augustan date (eg Rödgen Type 36E; Ch 3.6) but it is larger and may be related to vessels from Goeblingen-Nospelt Burial B (Thill 1967a, 208, Taf III, 8, 32; XI, B8, B32), the latter of which is described as being in a brownish fabric, as are many Central Gaulish flagons in Britain.

v. One-handled flagons. Two one-handled flagons are known from Iron Age contexts, both are singletons. One is from Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 93, Fig 47, 60) and has a wide, drooping, flange-like rim, a short neck and rounded shoulder. The handles have two grooves and there is a slightly cut-away footing. The other, more complete, vessel is from King Harry Lane (Rigby and Freestone 1986, 9, Fig 1). Rigby and Freestone suggest that one Skeleton Green vessel is one-handled (Partridge 1981, 82, Fig 40, 1; Rigby and Freestone 1986, 9) but Partridge regards it as two-handled and the illustration supports this. While individual features can be paralleled in the *Camulodunum* series (eg Forms

136C, 141A and 148), it is at present difficult to find good parallels for the vessels.

Provenance

The fabric of these flagons is similar to that of vessels of the *Besançon Tradition* but has a thick creamy slip with the exception of the Lexden flagons which are mica-dusted. Petrological analyses by Freestone indicate that these vessels also come from central Gaul (Freestone and Rigby 1983, 291; Rigby and Freestone 1986, 6-7, 14, Fig 3).

Contents

The contents, if any, of these flagons are not known and it is possible that they were used for holding liquids decanted from larger containers rather than being exchanged for their contents.

Chronology

The best dating for the Dorton type flagons comes from the Welwyn Garden City and Dorton burials. As has been noted above, the Welwyn Garden City find is slightly different from the other finds and this may indicate that it is an early variant dating to before c 20 BC. The Dorton finds (Farley 1983, Fig 12, 1-2) were associated with a Dr 1B and one or two Dr 2-4 and probably date to the last two decades BC or possibly the first one AD. The Noyelles-Godault find was associated with an Oberaden 90B cup and a Cam 2B platter (Bastien and Demolon 1975, 11, Fig 10, 1, 6) both apparently in Terra Nigra and this would suggest a date in the

last two decades. The Dorton type appears to be absent from Roman forts of the Rödgen-Oberaden-Dangstetten horizon and this may be chronological rather than geographical in origin. The Gatesbury, Gatesbury Track and King Harry Lane finds all appear to be pre-Tiberian so it is possible that the vessels were manufactured over a short period perhaps only in the last decade BC and first decade AD. Such evidence as is available from central France, where there are finds from Mt Beuvray and Roanne (Freestone and Rigby 1983, 293) would support a first century BC date as does the find from Rouen associated with ACO Beakers (*Gallia* 36, 1978, 310-13).

The *Cam* 161 Ab or 163 are likely to be of the same date as the Gallo-Belgic pipeclay varieties, that is probably Tiberian but some vessels occur in Claudian contexts. The slight British dating evidence is compatible with this (Partridge 1981, 79, Fig 34, 9) and the *Cam* 161 Ab / 163 could supersede the Dorton type.

The *Cam* 131 'Lexden' flagons are not well dated. Hull proposed that the absence of Gallo-Belgic and Sigillata wares in the Lexden Mirror burial suggested a date c AD 10-25 (Fox and Hull 1948, 136) but this is difficult to understand as their absence would more probably imply a date before c 15 BC, if this was chronologically significant. That this absence probably is chronological is implied by the context of the only directly comparable vessel. This is the body and base of a flagon from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1984, 31, Fig 11). Although the omphalos base has three ribs, it is clear that it is a vessel of the same type in a mica-dusted fabric. Although the foundation date of Villeneuve is not clear, there can be almost no doubt that the site was abandoned before c 20-15 BC. Flagons from southern France in the

Nîmes region which are of a related type also date before this (cp Dedet *et al* 1978, 97, 99, 106, 113, Fig 59, 6; 61, 1; 64, 6; 69, 8-10 etc).

The 'Braughing' flagon from Skeleton Green is from an Augustan context but the form is not precisely paralleled amongst related vessels from Augustan military sites. Furger-Gunti notes that *Honigtöpfe* in orangey-red or tile-red fabrics and which always have a central groove on the handle were rare in Augustan levels at Basel-Münsterhügel (1979a, 116). If these vessels are in a similar fabric to the British find, it is possible that the vessels were either pre-Augustan or rarely exchanged over long distances; or both. The one-handled flagon from Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 93, no 60) comes from a context dated AD 15-25 and the flagon from King Harry Lane was associated with Gallo-Belgic pottery dated to before AD 10-15 by Rigby (Freestone and Rigby 1983, 292; Rigby and Freestone 1986, 9).

Distribution

Other than the finds from Britain (App 16, Fig 13) the distribution of these wares is poorly known, but they appear to be generally absent from Roman military sites in the lower Rhineland, suggesting that the British vessels arrived directly from France. The Noyelles-Godault find may be relevant here.

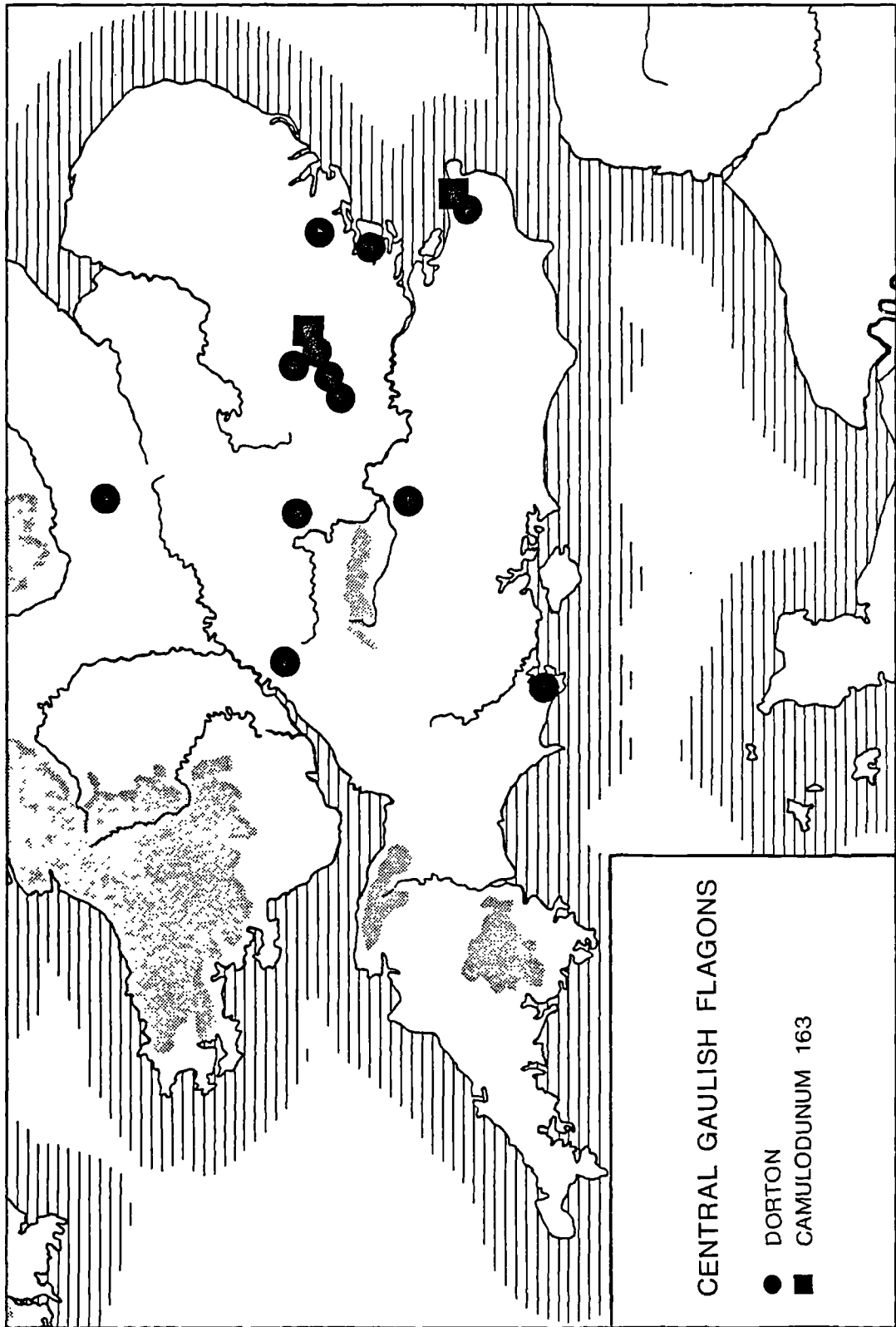


FIG 13: DISTRIBUTION OF CENTRAL GAULISH FLAGONS
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

3.3 CAMULODUNUM 166

Typology

The Camulodunum 166 is a large two-handled flagon or small amphora with a globular body. The neck is quite short and has cordons while the rim is deeply moulded. The characteristic feature of the type is the twisted handles made from oppositely twisted ropes. Hawkes and Hull suggest a number of variants on the basis of the thumb marks at the base of the handle (1947, 249) but this seems unlikely to be of significance.

Provenance

Hawkes and Hull suggested an origin in central Gaul because of the number of finds from there and the micaceous fabric (cf Schönberger and Simon 1976, 136). Peacock (1981, 202) does not exclude this source or a Mediterranean one. However, the number of finds from north-western Europe and their apparent absence in the Mediterranean suggests a Central Gaulish origin.

Contents

The contents of the type are not known, wine is one possibility and this would imply early Roman viticulture in Central France which is supported by Dr 1-4 made near Lyon (Ch 2.2, 2-3) but other commodities are as likely. I am unaware of any published capacities.

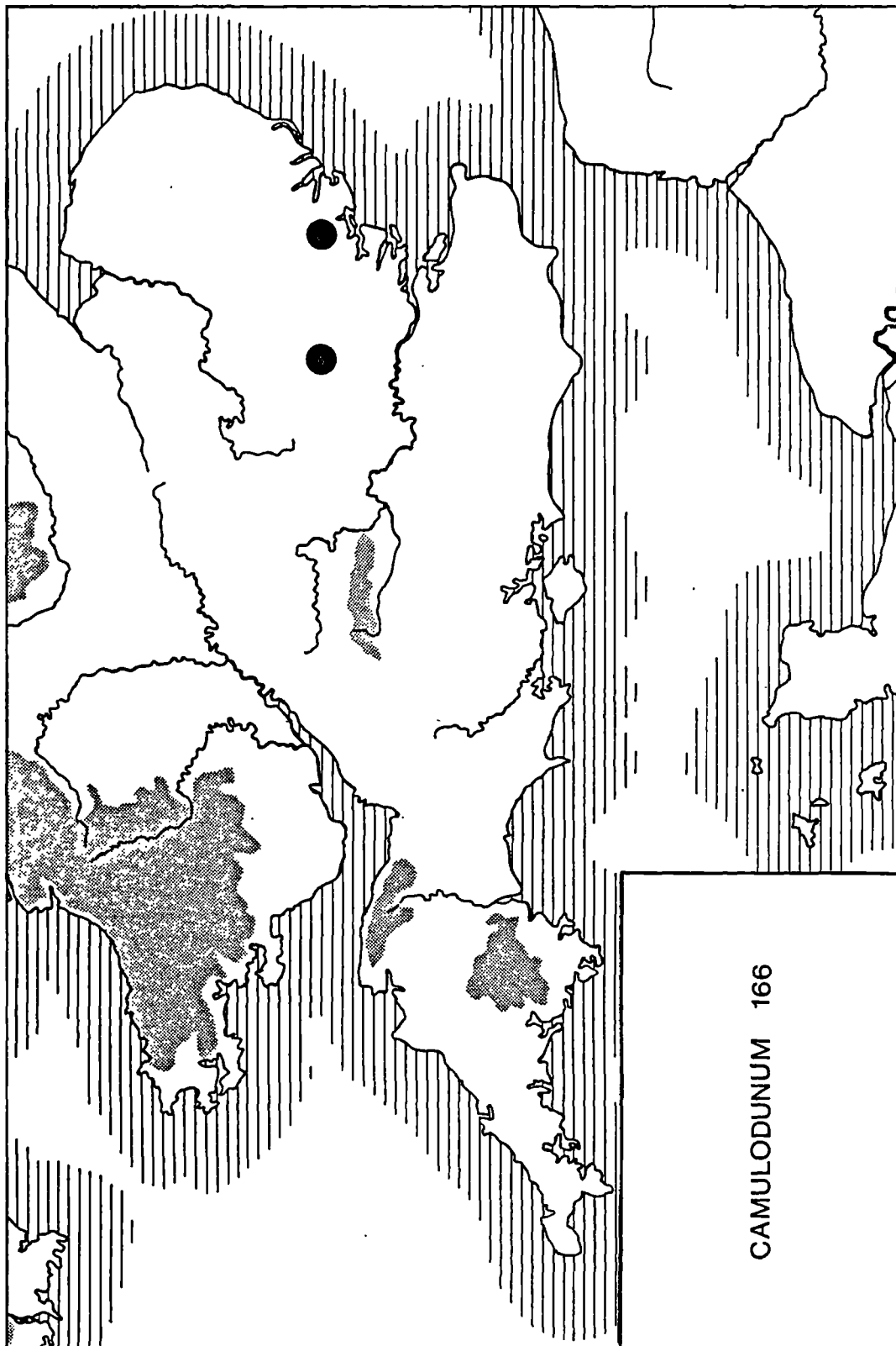


FIG 14: DISTRIBUTION OF CAM 166
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Chronology

Hawkes and Hull noted the presence of the type at Mt Beuvray (1947, 248) indicating that it was being made by the last decade BC and the presence of vessels at Rödgen confirms this (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 96, 136, Taf 22, 441). No vessels are certainly later than Nero.

Distribution

The type appears to be found widely in central Gaul (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 248) and related vessels are found in the Aquitaine (Santrot and Santrot 1979, 193-4, Forms 445-8). Schönberger and Simon note finds at Xanten, *Vindonissa*, Kempten, and the Magdalensberg in addition to the Rödgen example (1976, 96, Anm 566), while there are finds from Colchester-Sheepen and Braughing-Skeleton Green in Iron Age Britain (Fig 14, App 17).

3.4 GALLO-BELGIC FLAGONS

Although these vessels were frequently made in the same kilns as Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra and are likely to have been traded alongside them, they have received comparatively little attention, the volume by Sénéchal (1975) being a rare exception. In Britain this neglect has been most marked in discussions of Gallo-Belgic wares in which the flagons have frequently been omitted.

Typology

The *Camulodunum* series encompasses the range of Gallo-Belgic flagons found in Iron Age Britain and these may be reviewed briefly. *Cam* 136, 140-1 and 153 are one-handled. *Cam* 161-3, 170 and 174 are two-handled. The only obvious difficulty with this typology is that the large series of mid-later Augustan small, two-handled flagons found in continental Europe (eg Rödgen Type 36, A-E; Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 8) is matched only in part by the *Cam* 167. While it is possible that this has led to these vessels being misidentified in Britain, in so far as it can be assessed they do appear to be genuinely absent.

Camulodunum 136, 140-1 are distinguished principally by their sizes. *Camulodunum* 153 is a ring-necked flagon with a short neck and a very squat body which is quite distinct from *Cam* 136 and 140-1.

Hawkes and Hull took their forms 161-3 to represent a chronological sequence (1947, 246-8) in which the vessels became larger and, in contrast to other forms, the rim of the *Cam* 163A is heavily reeded, a feature which is not known on Mediterranean vessels (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 92).

Provenance

Characterisation studies of the visually anisotropic white

'pipeclay' fabrics have not been undertaken so the sources of the flagons are poorly known. Pre-Claudian kilns producing flagons are known at Thuisy (Fromols 1938, Types 17-18), Sept-Saulx (*idem* 1939) and Reims (in pipeclay and Terra Rubra, J.R. Timby pers comm) in France, Hambresart (Virton) in Belgium (Martin 1939, 105-6, Type 15), Speyer (Bernhard 1980, 122-4, Abb 6), Cologne and many of the military kiln sites in the Rhineland (von Schnurbein 1977) where they are ubiquitous finds (eg Vegas 1975, 27-33, Taf 11-15; Bruckner 1975, 82-6, Taf 37-9). On the basis of the similar pipeclay fabrics of the *Cam* 113 Butt Beakers, Hawkes and Hull (1947, 241) suggested that the flagons might have been made in Britain, at Colchester, before the conquest but as it is argued below (Ch 6.4.1) that many if not all *Cam* 113 were made in France (cf Stead and Rigby 1986, 232), it seems unlikely that flagons were made in Britain, although a similar hint is also made by Partridge (1981, 188) for the Braughing area. At present it is not possible to decide convincingly between these possibilities. Surprisingly, no capacities have been published for the British finds.

Contents

The contents of the flagons are not known but it may be suggested that they were used for containing liquids, perhaps decanted from larger containers. Although wine production had started in Burgundy early in the first century AD (Laubenheimer 1986), the containers for it were similar to the southern French *Gauloise* amphorae so it does not seem likely that the northern French flagons were wine amphorae.

Chronology

The earliest 'Gallo-Belgic' flagon types found in north-west Europe at Trier-Petrisberg (Loeschke 1939, 101-2, Form 16, nos 23-31); Goeblingen-Nospelt (Thill 1967a, Burial A, 203, no 9, Taf I, 9, 203-4, no 17, Taf I, 17; Burial B, 208, nos 31, 38, Taf II, 31, 208, nos 8, 29, 32, Taf III, 8, 29, 32) and Dangstetten (Fingerlin 1986) are absent from Britain. Only one Oberaden Type 50 vessel may be present in Britain, at Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 56, no 46, Fig 21, 46). Instead most of the British finds seem to date from after the Rödgen-Oberaden-Dangstetten horizon. The *Cam* 161 is present at Mt Beuvray and Oberaden but the *Cam* 163 appears to be absent from Augustan sites (cf Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 8) which might support Hawkes and Hull's interpretation of the differences as being of chronological origin. This would suggest that the *Cam* 163 was a Tiberian and later form with the *Cam* 161-2 being current in the later Augustan-earlier Tiberian periods. However, the British associations suggest that *Cam* 161-3 may have been contemporary, Tiberian, variants and the evidence of reliable excavations of kiln sites (eg Speyer, Bernhard 1980, 122-4, Abb 6) suggest that several types were manufactured at the same time. Consequently it is difficult to propose precise dates for the British finds and to distinguish between Iron Age and Romano-British finds.

Distribution

As with amphorae, the majority of sherds from flagons are usually undiagnostic body sherds and they can sometimes be confused with Butt-Beaker sherds. In combination with the general lack of

interest in these vessels it is possible that they may be under-represented. Surprisingly few finds have been noted from British Iron Age contexts (App 18; Fig 15).

In continental Europe 'Gallo-Belgic' flagons are ubiquitous in Rhineland military sites but despite their manufacture in the Champagne, their distribution in France is poorly known. They are not infrequent finds in *gallo romaine précoce* burials in France (eg Prunay, burial 15; Bry and Fromols 1938, 142, Pl I, 12; Fenaux, burial 21; Roualet 1978, 27, Pl VIII, 29; Arnel, burials 1-2, 6-7, 9; Roualet 1979, 18-20, Pl I, 275; II, 277, 281; Chemin Saint Pierre, burial 2, *ibid*, 28, Pl XV, 294; Tempête, Brisson and Hatt 1969, 35, Pl XI, 95A) and in Luxemburg (Livingen, Krier 1979, 546, Abb 3; 4, 4) but as noted above (Ch 1.3) this produces a rather biased distribution. Adequate publication of settlement finds in northern France shows that they may have been quite widely distributed (eg Aulnay aux Planches; Roualet 1974, 11-12, Pl I; Ecury le Repos, le Clos; *ibid* 12; Amiens, eg Bendreb Jen 1985). In Iron Age Britain imports appear to be found principally in the south-east but with others at Bagendon, Leicester and Owslebury suggesting the possibility of a wider distribution (Fig 15, App 18).

Commentary

In northern France at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (unpub) and at Beaurieux-les-Grèves (Fitzpatrick 1984a, 14) pipeclay flagons, and at Villeneuve Central Gaulish flagons also, are perhaps the first other Roman vessels to appear alongside the imported amphorae which suggests that the early importation of these vessels into

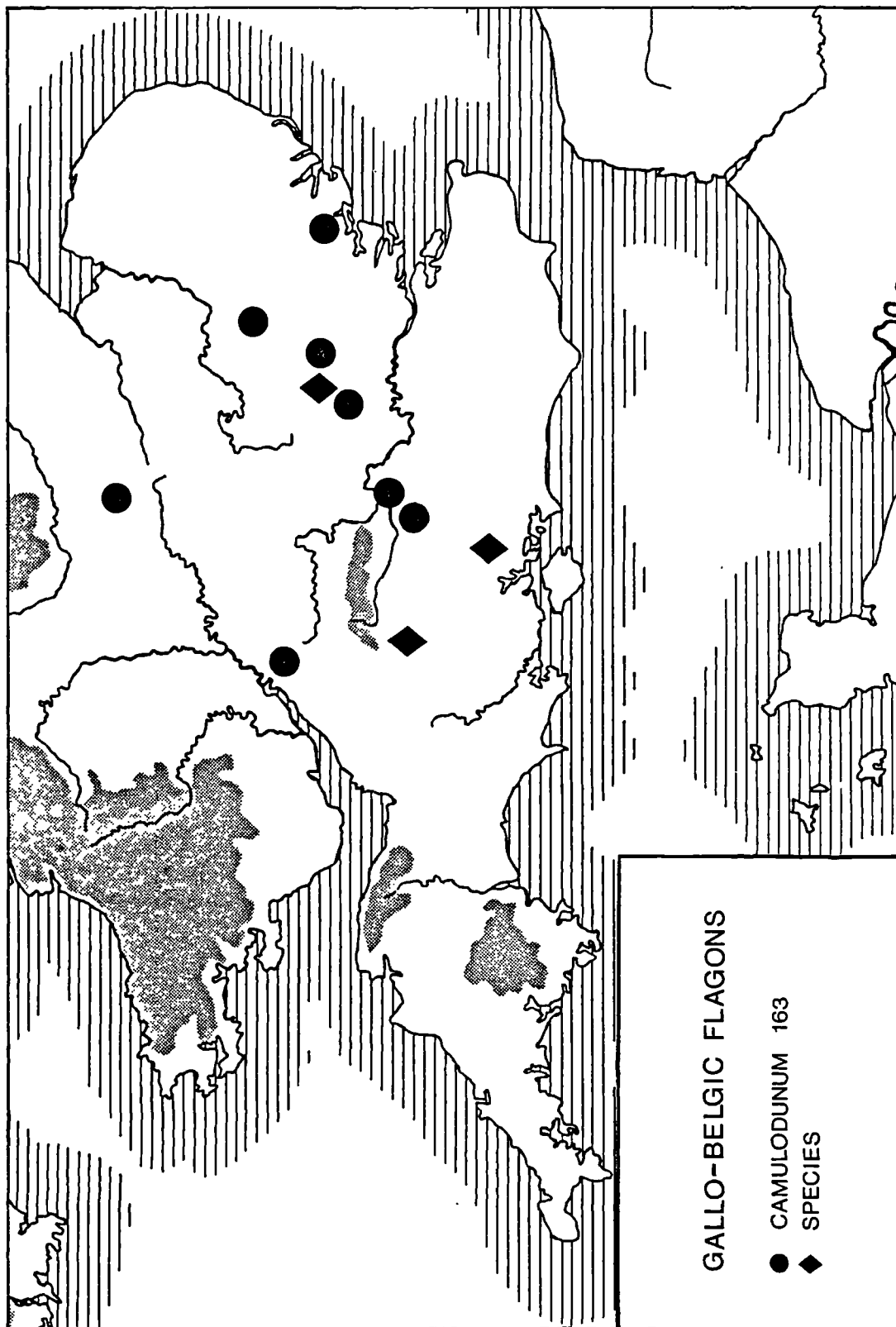


FIG 15: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC FLAGONS
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Britain, perhaps ahead of the Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra wares, should be considered (cf Rigby and Freestone 1986).

3.5 Italian Jugs

Camulodunum 139

Typology

The *Cam* 139 is a large one-handled jug. It has an ovoid body with an omphalos base and a cylindrical neck with a bead rim. The handle is circular in section. Although a jug, further research may indicate that it may more usefully be considered with amphorae.

Provenance

Hawkes and Hull noted the similarity of the fabric to that of some amphorae (1947, 243) and Williams and Peacock (*in* Partridge 1979, 113) have noted its similarity to Dr 1-4 amphorae from Campania, suggesting that it was manufactured there.

Contents

The type is poorly known and I am unaware of any suggestion as to what it contained, always assuming that it was traded for its contents. It is possible that it contained wine and it is of a size comparable to the Dr 28 and *Gauloise* amphorae, alternatively as it is apparently of a similar date to Dr 2-4 this may suggest

that it had a different content, perhaps fruit? No capacities have been published.

Chronology

The Skeleton Green find comes from a Tiberian or possibly later context and the Gatesbury Track find is from a feature of Iron Age date (F7) (Partridge 1979, 99, 113). The Leicester find may also be from an Iron Age context but all the examples from both Hawkes and Hull's and Niblett's excavations at Colchester-Sheepen are of Romano-British date. Furger-Gunti notes that there are one-handled Italian jars from Basel-Münsterhügel (1979a, 116) and it is possible that these vessels are *Cam* 139 which would suggest that they appeared no later than the Augustan period. The type may be present at Rödgen (Schönberger and Simon 1976, Type 39) and in Augustan contexts at Nijmegen (Bogaers and Haalebos 1980, 68, Fig 19, 7).

Commentary

As so few vessels have been identified little is known of the type's distribution but the possibility that it has been conflated with Italian Dr 2-4 should be noted, although the jug has a characteristic squared rim in contrast with the amphorae. There are three, possibly four, British Iron Age finds (Fig 16, App 19).

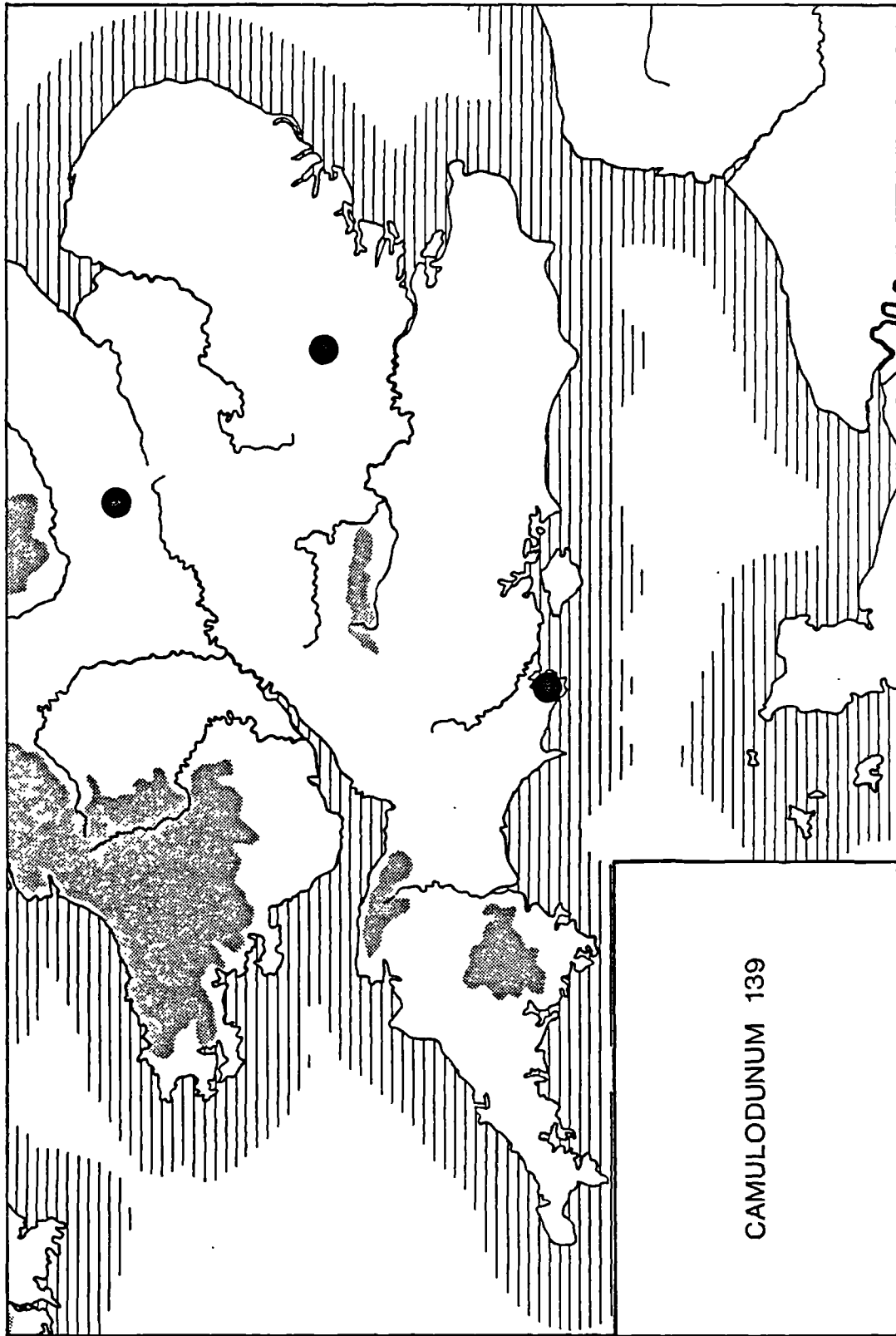


FIG 16: DISTRIBUTION OF CAM 139 JUGS
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

3.6 HONIGTÖPFE

Typology

The *Honigtopf* is a jar with a flat base and two small lug-like handles. The rim is usually a simple bead rim. Hawkes and Hull distinguished three varieties, *Cam* 175A, B and C on the basis of the handles.

Provenance

The type seems to have been manufactured widely. It is particularly common in military sites in Germany and Switzerland at which it was certainly made (von Schnurbein 1977).

Contents

Despite being called a 'Honey-Pot', the contents of the vessel are not known and it may simply have been a storage vessel.

Chronology

The type occurs on Augustan sites and was manufactured until at least the Neronian period. A number of variants may be distinguished, many of which are contemporary (cf Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 8) and it is difficult to date vessels on typological grounds.

Distribution

Little is known of the distribution of the type but as it is so abundant on military sites it is possible that it was particularly favoured by the army. Two vessels occurred in Period I contexts at Sheepen, both possibly *Cam* 175C, and there were also at least two *Cam* 175A which Hawkes and Hull compared to Augustan forms (1947, 250, 279) but it is difficult to attach much significance to this in considering whether they might have been Iron Age imports.

CHAPTER IV

GAULISH LATER IRON AGE POTTERY

4.1 ARMORICAN POTTERY

Typology and Provenance

In publishing his Hengistbury Head excavations Bushe-Fox divided the pottery into 12 Classes, A-L (1915). In 1978 Cunliffe regrouped this material into a 'Classic Hengistbury Head Assemblage' and a 'Durotrigian Assemblage' (1978a, 47-55). Cunliffe's 'Classic Hengistbury Head Assemblage' includes Bushe-Fox's Classes B, C, E, F, G, H and part of Class L (the other part being Romano-British) and this is essentially the system employed in the first excavation report (Cunliffe 1987a, 205-66). Detailed petrological analyses of vessels from Hengistbury in the British Museum have been published (Freestone and Rigby 1982) and on the basis of them fabric groups with types have been proposed, while a different system of form and fabric is employed by Cunliffe (1987a). Cunliffe's initial characterisation is followed here as the emphasis on the assemblage is felt to be more valuable than fabric groupings which are sometimes represented by only one sherd, particularly as the greatest number of finds come from Hengistbury and virtually all the other British mainland finds occur within 20km of it.

Cunliffe's and Bushe-Fox's Hengistbury Classes may be correlated as follows (Tab 5).

TABLE 5

CORRELATION OF CUNLIFFE'S AND BUSHE-FOX'S CLASSES OF HENGISTBURY HEAD POTTERY.

CUNLIFFE CLASS	BUSHE-FOX CLASS	COMMON NAME
1	B	Black Cordoned Ware
2	H	Graphite Coated Ware
3	Parts of L	Rilled Micaceous Ware
4	D	Glastonbury Ware
5	G	-
6	E and F	-
7	C	-

Of these Classes 1 (Black Cordoned ware), 2 (Graphite Coated ware) and 3 (Rilled Micaceous ware) have been shown to originate in Armorica (Cunliffe 1982a, 43-5, Fig 8-10; 1987a, 213-65; Freestone and Rigby 1982).

Black Cordoned Ware

The most frequently occurring forms are (i) wide, open-mouthed bowls, (ii) jars and (iii) small bowls (cf Cunliffe 1987a, Ill

218). The vessels are all wheel made, decorated with cordons and burnishing and have pedestal bases. Cunliffe initially suggested that the Class included both imported and local products (1978a, 49) but it is now possible to distinguish between the imports and British vessels perhaps inspired by them (*idem* 1982a; 1987a), although the possibility of a French origin for some of the derivatives is not excluded completely (Cunliffe 1987a, 317-19). Daire has been able to distinguish between an eastern production and a western one with the British products possibly coming largely from the east (pers comm; Giot, Daire and Querré 1987, 413).

Graphite Coated Ware

Three principal forms have been distinguished; (i) jars with external lattice decoration, (ii) wide-mouthed bowls with neck cordons, (iii) shouldered bowls but there is some variety (cf Cunliffe 1987a, Ill 222). The vessels are graphite-coated externally and sometimes internally.

Rilled Micaceous Ware

Two principal forms occur; (i) jars with rilling on the body and (ii) small bowls with rilling on the shoulder and sometimes on the lower part of the body (cf Cunliffe 1987a, Ill 220). Vessels with quoit bases also occur (*ibid*, 316).

Other Classes

Cunliffe suggested that his Classes 5 and 7 were made at or near

to Hengistbury but under continental inspiration (1978a). However, in the case of Class 5 the only known examples are from Hengistbury, suggesting that they should be regarded *a priori* as indigenous products and analysis further suggests a source in the Wareham-Poole Harbour area (Cunliffe 1987a, 264). Cunliffe suggested that vessels similar to his Class 7 are common in northern France and the Low Countries but rare in Britain and these are considered further below (Ch 4.3).

The work of Freestone and Rigby distinguished nine petrological groups of which 1-7 were considered as imports. Unfortunately, little attempt was made to correlate this with Cunliffe's work, Bushe-Fox's Classes being preferred. Cunliffe, however, makes no mention of this work (1987a, 213, 305), accordingly a correlation is presented below;

Fabric Group 1

This is Freestone and Rigby's 'standard' fabric for cordoned ware (Cunliffe's Class 1) with 18 of 19 cordoned vessels belonging to it. Five forms were distinguished of which Form 1 was dominant.

Form	Freestone and Rigby 1982
1 Multi-cordoned necked bowl	Fig 4.1, 5-11, 14
2 Necked bowl	Fig 4.1, 4
3 Narrow necked jar	Fig 4.1, 1
4 Jar with lugged handles	Fig 4.1, 2 and ?3
5 Bowl with grooved rim	Fig 4.1, 15

Form 4 was not included by Cunliffe in his Class 1 while Form 5 is unique and Freestone and Rigby hint that it might be included more usefully in Form 1. This may, however, obscure the point that it is a graphite coated piece as are their Fig 4.1, 5-6, which may suggest a common source for typologically distinct wares. The relationship of this typological variation to the possibility of an east/west distinction in production (above) is uncertain.

Fabric Group 2

This group is represented by two graphite-coated vessels; a cordoned bowl and a lattice decorated jar (Freestone and Rigby 1982, Fig 4.2, 16-17). Freestone and Rigby regard the cordoned bowl as lying outside the 'standard' Fabric Group 1 typological formula but it seems that both it and the lattice decorated jar fall comfortably within Cunliffe's Class 2 Graphite Coated wares and Cunliffe is of the same opinion (1987a, Ill 153).

Fabric Group 3

This group is represented by two vessels (Freestone and Rigby 1982, Fig 4.2, 18-19) and Freestone and Rigby suggest that their no 18 had a pedestal base which would suggest that it belongs to the cordoned wares, but this feature is not obvious in the illustration and it appears to belong to Cunliffe's Class 3 Rilled Micaceous wares. Cunliffe (1987a, Ill 81, 1958) also follows this, while the other pot appears to belong to Graphite Coated ware (cp Cunliffe 1987a, Ill 164, 1679).

Fabric Group 4

There are three vessels in this fabric (Freestone and Rigby 1982, Fig 4.2, 20-2) which Freestone and Rigby correlate with Cunliffe's Rilled Micaceous wares as does Cunliffe (1987a, Ill 171, 1992; 169, 526).

Fabric Group 5

This fabric was identified in what may be only one vessel, a lug handled cordoned jar (Freestone and Rigby 1982, Fig 4.2, 23). Typologically the vessel is similar to Freestone and Rigby's vessel 2 (Fabric Group 1) and so may be related to Cunliffe's Class 1. It is impossible to correlate the reconstructed vessel drawing in Cunliffe (1987a) with the sherds published by Freestone and Rigby.

Fabric Group 6

Again, this group is represented by only a single sherd (Freestone and Rigby 1982, Fig 4.2, 24) which is part of a cordoned vessel which would fall within Cunliffe's Class 1 (cp Cunliffe 1987a, Ill 152, 638).

Fabric Group 7

This group is also known from a singleton (Freestone and Rigby 1982, Fig 4.2, 25), a graphite coated vessel which may belong with Cunliffe's Class 2 on typological grounds. As it is a body sherd it is not published by Cunliffe (1987a).

Freestone and Rigby were unable to specify either a likely source for their Fabric Group 8 or to provide parallels for the vessels in it but suggested that they may be Armorican imports. However, they could be a localised British variant of Glastonbury ware (cf Avery 1973) or stamped pottery (Elsdon 1975; Schwappach 1969) and further evidence would be necessary to propose a more accurate origin. Cunliffe (1987a, 264) also suspects that they are local, but again cannot demonstrate this. Freestone and Rigby suggest that their Fabric Group 9 may include both imported and indigenous vessels but Cunliffe has plausibly distinguished vessels in this fabric as indigenous derivatives of Hengistbury ware (1982a, 50) and an origin in the Wareham-Poole Harbour area seems likely (Cunliffe 1987a, 213). Accordingly the more confidently attributed fabrics may be correlated with Cunliffe's classes as follows

TABLE 6

CORRELATION OF CUNLIFFE'S HENGISTBURY HEAD POTTERY CLASSES (1978a) WITH FREESTONE AND RIGBY'S FABRIC GROUPS (1982).

'Hengistbury Assemblage'	Freestone and Rigby Fabric Groups
Black Cordoned Ware - Cunliffe Class 1	1, 5 and 6
Graphite Coated Ware - Cunliffe Class 2	2, 7 and 1
Rilled Micaceous Ware - Cunliffe Class 3	3 and 4
'Durotrigian Assemblage'	
Glastonbury Ware	?8
Hengistbury Derivatives	9

Although the validity of some of the Fabric Groups might be disputed it is noteworthy that the analyses have indicated that Cunliffe's initial, tentative, distinction of Class 1 cordoned wares into imports and indigenous wares on the basis of colour and hardness (1978a, 49) is not reliable (cf Alcock 1980, 699; Cunliffe 1987a, 317). It also appears to be likely that Cunliffe's classes were made at a number of locations (Giot, Daire and Querré 1986; 1987). Although Freestone and Rigby were unable to specify precise petrological origins for the Fabric Groups, it is clear that 1-7 all originated in the Lower Brioverian (Precambrian) rocks of Brittany and Normandy (1982, Fig 4.5). On the evidence presently available the sources could be localised or more widely dispersed. On the basis of the information presented by Cunliffe (1987a, 310-14) it may also be suggested that at least two areas with related mineralogical suites were at work for both Black Cordoned ware and Rilled Micaceous ware, producing essentially the same range of vessels. Graphite Coated wares share common fabrics with both Black Cordoned and Rilled Micaceous wares - a point not made by Freestone and Rigby or Cunliffe, but is evident in the work of Giot, Daire and Querré (1986, 142-6) and which might suggest that there is a chronological distinction between them and might help to explain some differences in the distribution maps in Armorica. The apparent absence of Rilled Micaceous wares east of the Rance (Fig 19; Giot, Daire and Querré 1987, 410; Carte 5) is noteworthy. Dispersed manufacture might be suggested by the typological groupings proposed for the Freestone and Rigby Fabric Groups here which are more detailed than Cunliffe's (1987a) and may be illustrated both by Cunliffe's distribution maps for these vessels (1982a, Fig 8-10; 1987a, Ill 219, 221, 223) and those of Giot, Daire and Querré (1987, Carte

4-6). However, the distributions suggest that the Côtes-du-Nord and Ille-et-Vilaine and the likeliest sources within Armorica and this is supported by the analyses and source sampling of Giot, Daire and Querré (1986, 142-6, Fig 2; 1987).

Contents

It is not known if the vessels were exchanged for what they may have contained or for themselves. As some of the Armorican wares occur with British late Middle Iron Age pottery to which it is technically superior at Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe 1985, 157; 1987a), it is possible that the French vessels may have been sought after for themselves.

Chronology

The chronology of these wares is poorly known as yet for, as Giot has observed (1979, 346), there are more finds from Hengistbury than north-west France. While the recent Hengistbury excavations have produced important stratified groups (Cunliffe 1985a, 157; 1987a), and there are useful associations from recent excavations at Braden (Le Bihen 1984) and Le Moulin de la Rive (Giot, Daire and Querré 1986), the basis of the currently accepted chronology derives from Wheeler's 1930s excavations in France. Thus Cunliffe has stated that

'Wheeler's excavations in northern France, particularly at Le Petit Celland (Manche) and Le Camp D'Arthus (Finistère), demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that Classes 1, 2 and

3 were in use in northern France in the decades immediately preceding the Caesarian conquest.'

(1978a, 55)

and

'The imported north-western Gaulish pottery, which occurred in quantity at Hengistbury, is known to have been in use in hillforts in Normandy and Brittany, which are themselves unlikely to have continued in use after Caesar had annexed the area. While this does not, of course, prove that all the imported pottery types reached Hengistbury before 56 BC, it is highly likely that Gaulish pottery underwent significant modification after the Roman conquest'.

(*ibid*, 77).

Wheeler's dating of these hillforts was based primarily on excavations at Le Châtellier, Le Petit Celland and Le Camp D'Arthus but also on the pivotal point he ascribed to 56 BC in the Maiden Castle chronology and it is relevant to consider the interpretations he proposed for the French sites. In many ways the difficulties of these are the same as those outlined by Frere for the Maiden Castle chronology (cf Frere 1960a, 86-90).

Le Petit Celland was examined by two sections through the defences, the clearing of the main entrance and ten small trenches

in the interior. On this basis Wheeler felt that it was possible to suggest 'a close dating for the building and destruction of Le Chatellier' (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 42) for four reasons;

1. The size of the site (48 acres) was outstanding in area of what was in the 1930s an area of, for the most part, poor farming land. To Wheeler this suggested a political or military and not economic context for its construction.
2. Part of the defences were left unfinished and the gateway was destroyed.
3. The lack of evidence for occupation.
4. A layer in the entrance, interpreted as representing construction and occupation, contained 19 coins which were dated to c 56 BC.

Each of these points may be considered. Firstly, it is clear that the contemporary land use and/or profitability is not an infallible or necessarily valid guide to past environments or social structures. Wheeler appears to assume that the hillfort was a central place but this need not have been the case (cf Haselgrove 1986a; 1986b). Secondly, Wheeler's interpretation of the defences may be questioned. He suggested that the terminal of the (undated) secondary ditch on one side was 'rough and unfinished, its lower part altogether uncut' (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 41), but it is difficult to make any comment on the plate (*ibid*, XIX, C) which purports to illustrate this. Wheeler also suggested that the hornwork was unfinished because of its poor work and that it was not joined to the main defences. However, the work has revetted walls and there are ditches between

it and the main defences; it is also undated. Thirdly, the entrance contained a layer which was interpreted as representing a combined construction and occupation layer which apparently contained burnt wood. To Wheeler 'The evidence was conclusive: the entrance had been violently destroyed before completion' (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 42). While the entrance may have been burnt, there is no proof that the timbers were those from a gate or that they were burnt before construction was complete or that the burning was the result of violence. Related to this argument is the apparent lack of evidence for occupation from the interior. As we have seen Wheeler assumed that evidence for occupation appropriate to a central place would be found, but it must be doubted whether the small-scale excavations in the interior would have yielded readily intelligible evidence. Lastly, the dating of the coins may be doubted. Recent research (eg Gruel 1981; 1986; cf Ch 15.4) has shown that the coins from Le Petit Celland, Coriosolitan Classes I, III and II are amongst the latest in the Armorican series and they are the dominant issues in hoards compiled and/or deposited in the 30s and 20s BC and there are die-links between one of these hoards, Jersey 9 and a coin from Le Petit Celland (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 51; Gruel 1981).

The high proportion of Class II coins from the site (65%) is closely comparable to that in the Le Câtillon hoard, possibly deposited around the 40s-30s BC (Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987). And, as Mackensen has pointed out of the Le Petit Celland finds (1974, 43, Anm 109) even if the coins were issued in 56 BC they were not necessarily deposited then. A further difficulty is that the fibula from the excavations (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, Fig 10,7) could be from the second half of the first century BC.

Cumulatively these reservations make it difficult to accept Wheeler's interpretation of the site being destroyed in 56 BC.

Wheeler interpreted Le Camp D'Arthus in a similar fashion (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 30-1). On the basis of

1. The large size of the site and the barren nature of the region.
2. The homogeneity of the archaeological material found in the sole occupation level recorded.
3. The destruction of the south eastern entrance which Wheeler interpreted as occurring immediately after completion.
4. The apparent reduction in size of the defended area.
5. The suggested dating of the coins.

The same objections advanced concerning the interpretation of Le Petit Celland may also be raised against the first and last points, especially as there is only a single coin at Le Camp D'Arthus, while the third and fourth points could be interpreted as mutually contradictory. In this case the evidence for a short period of occupation terminated by destruction is more plausible but the areas excavated inside the camp were very small and the quantity of material recovered was relatively large. Wheeler concluded

'Unimpeachable evidence will be shown below for ascribing a similar *muris Gallicus* camp at Le Petit Celland, Manche, to the Caesarian campaigns of 56 BC. Without more ado, the main framework of the Camp d'Arthus is assigned to the same date.'

(Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 31).

As we have seen the evidence from the Le Petit Celland is impeachable, so while the precise chronologies of these sites is not yet clear, their interpretation as *termini ante quos* for the associated material should be viewed cautiously. *Contra* Cunliffe (1978a, 77) many hillforts in France were occupied after the Caesarian campaigns. The Le Camp d'Arthus coarse pottery is all certainly or probably wheel-turned and Dr 1B amphorae were associated and could date to between c 80-20 BC. Only one sherd of Cordoned ware may be present (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 34, 36, Fig 5, 40) but this rarity could be geographical rather than chronological in origin, given the recorded distribution which is generally further to the east (Cunliffe 1978a, Fig 8; 1987a, Ill 219). The Le Petit Celland pottery is comparable but was all wheel-turned and the profiles of the vessels are generally 'tighter', suggesting that it may be later as may be material from Moulay (Naveau 1972). Similar material from Alet may also date to the second half of the century (Langouët 1978, 59-61, Pl I-X; 1984, 69-70). As Langouët points out (1984, 70) these wares comprise c 3% of the Alet assemblage and c 2% of that from Le Petit Celland. It is not clear if these figures are an accurate reflection of the percentage of the fine wares in the assemblages at these sites or if it is of chronological significance, with the wares being essentially earlier than the main occupation(s).

Freestone and Rigby have suggested (1982, 40) that some of the Graphite Coated wares with lattice decoration may be of Gallo-Roman rather than Iron Age date. Graphite Coated wares at Braden I and II occur in contexts thought to date to both the first and second halves of the first century BC (Le Bihen 1984, 115-21, 153-61, Fig 48, 2-5; 50-2; 68, 1-3; Le Bihen *et al* 1987) and it is noticeable that lattice decorated vessels are rare or

absent from Iron Age groups and their absence at Moulin de la Rive suggests that this is chronological not geographical. Daire (pers comm) notes only one or two sherds from most Iron Age sites. At Moulin de la Rive, as at Le Camp d'Arthus (Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 36, 58), micaceous wares appear in later Iron Age contexts (Giot, Daire and Querré 1986, Pl 57-64) as they also appear to do at Alet (Langouët 1978, 61, Pl XI-XXIV; 1984, 70).

At Hengistbury Head the earlier excavations by Cunliffe (1981a, 7) apparently did not recover Armorican wares associated with Dr 1A amphorae although this is not apparent in the final report (*idem* 1987a) but more recent work at Rushy Piece has recovered Armorican wares, British Middle Iron Age pottery and Dr 1A in association (*idem* 1985a, 157; 1987a). However, it is difficult to accept Cunliffe's opinion that as a whole the Armorican pottery dates to the pre-Caesarian period (1978a, 55; 1982a, 52; 1987a) and Daire avoids this suggestion (Giot, Daire and Querré 1986; Le Bihen *et al* 1987). The variety of forms within the classes of ware suggests that there may be considerable chronological range within each of them but only further detailed analyses (eg Langouët 1985) based on seriation will clarify this possibility. The evidence presented by Cunliffe (1987a) does not allow assessment of this as the Key Group 4 from Rushy Piece which is central to his interpretation is presented in advance of the structural report (1987a, 6-12, 135-6; *cf* Ch 26.6). It should be noted that forms current in the mid-La Tène or earlier part of the late La Tène in Armorica, for example vessels with countersunk handles or with stamped or incised decoration, are absent from Hengistbury. Perhaps the most notable absentee is the *jatte basse* which is well represented in groups likely to date, at least in part, to the

earlier part of the first century BC (cp Daire 1985). It is possible, though, that bowls were generally rejected in Iron Age Britain (Ch 4.2). However, while the suggested dating of the principal period of activity at Alet from c 80 BC (Langouët 1984) may be doubted as being too late (cf Fitzpatrick 1985a, 315), it may be a relatively accurate date for the start of export of Armorican pottery.

Distribution

Cunliffe (1978a; 1982a, Fig 8-10; 1987a, Ill 219, 221, 223), Langouët (1986, Fig 82.01) and Giot, Daire and Querré (1987, Cartes 4-6) have mapped the occurrence of these wares in France and Britain and discussed the clear evidence that they provide for cross-Channel contact. In Britain the finds are presently concentrated around Christchurch and Poole Harbours (Fig 17-19; App 20-2). There is only a find of Cordoned ware from Mount Batten (Cunliffe 1983a, 125) which may have arrived by cross-Channel or British coastal contacts. Until the chronologies of the individual classes of pottery have been determined more precisely, it is not clear whether the vessels indicate a single, contemporary trade, compiled *en route*, or one which oscillated between one or more sources which were discrete both chronologically and geographically. It is noteworthy, however, that Class 1 wares appear to have stimulated a series of so-called Hengistbury Derivatives (Cunliffe 1978a, Fig 8; 1987a, 317-19; Alcock 1980, 699). If the British finds of Black Cordoned ware do prove to be from eastern Armorica, then coupled with the apparent restriction of Rilled Micaceous wares to the west of the Rance and

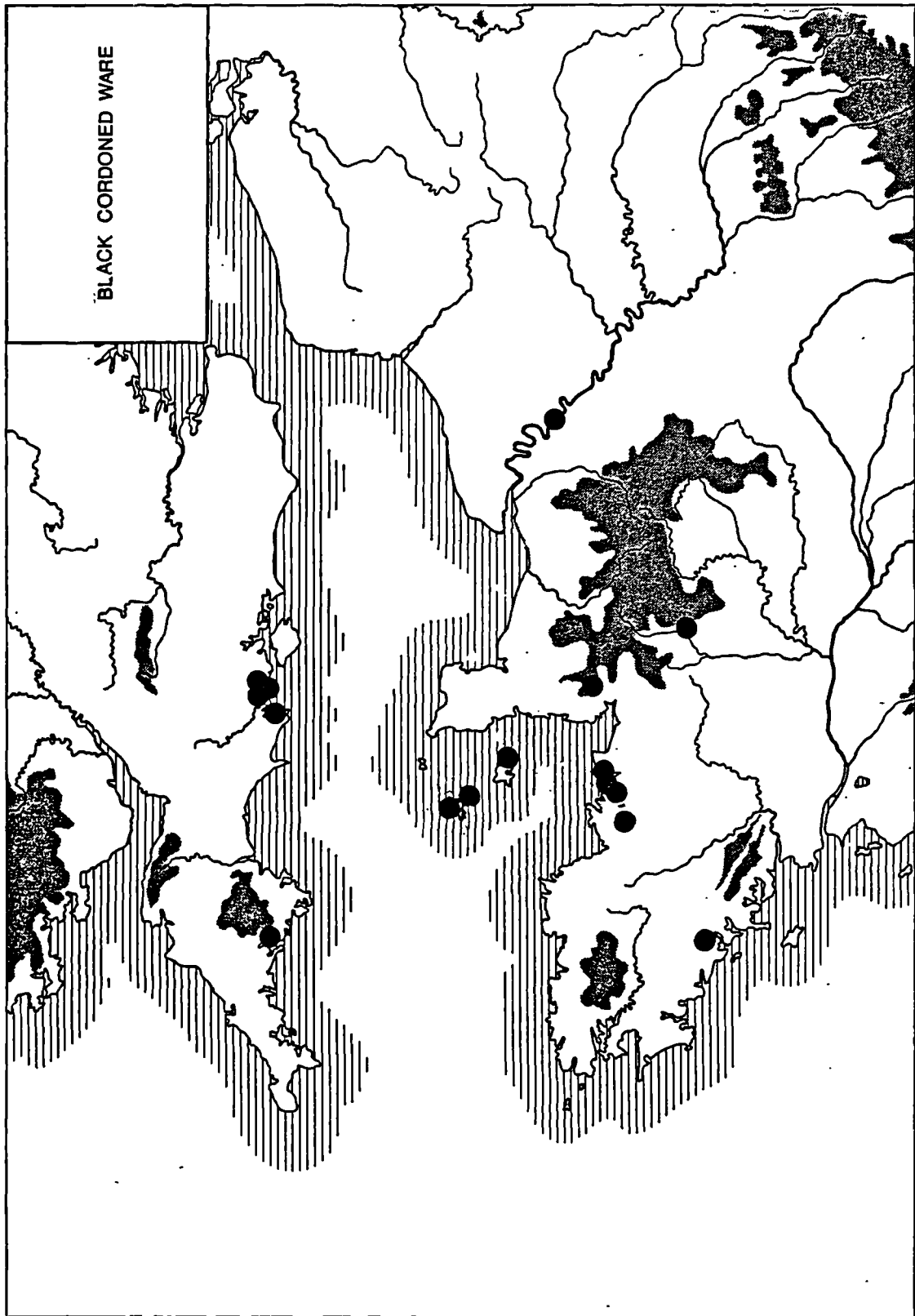


FIG 17: DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK CORDONED WARE

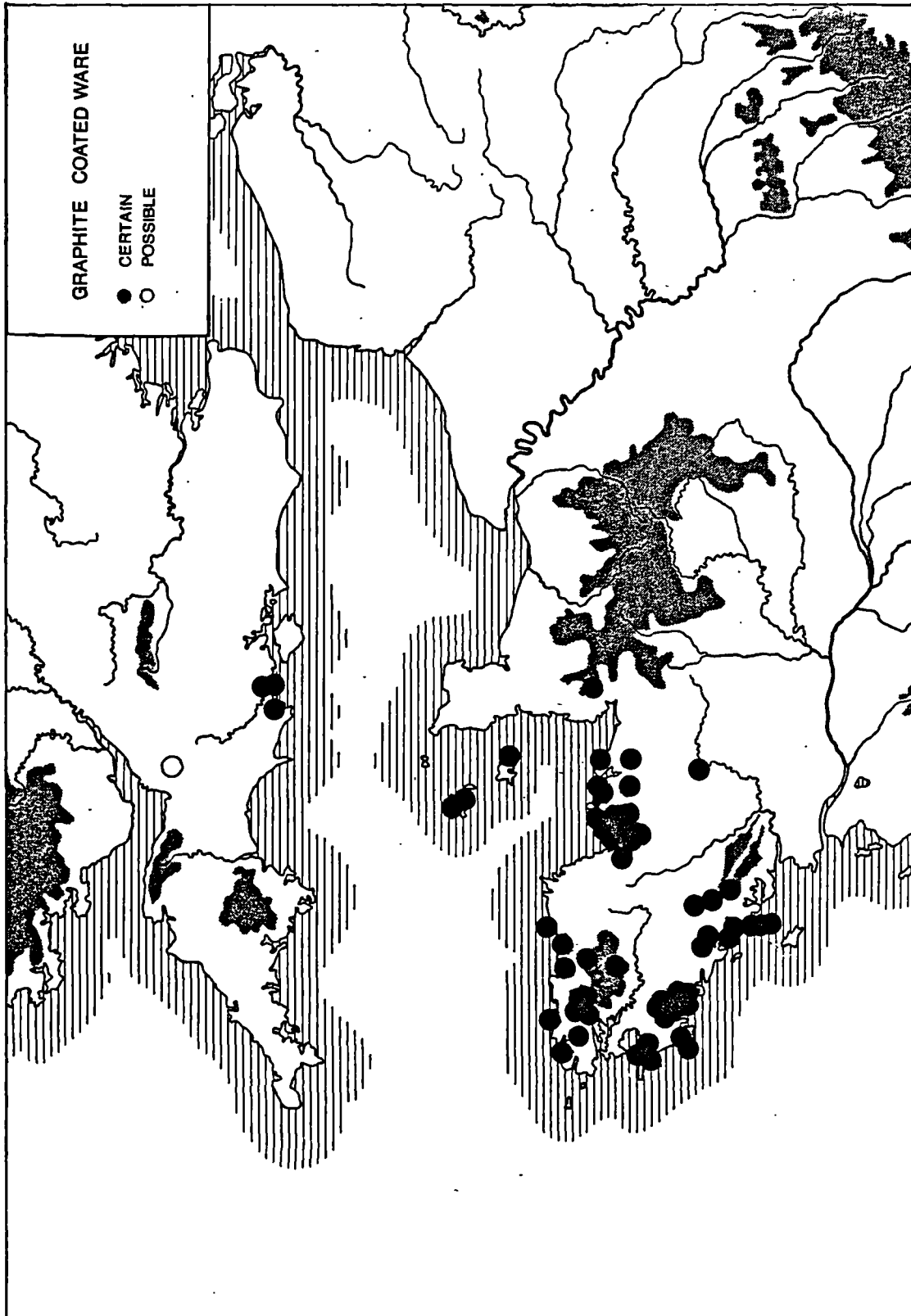


FIG 18: DISTRIBUTION OF GRAPHITE COATED WARE

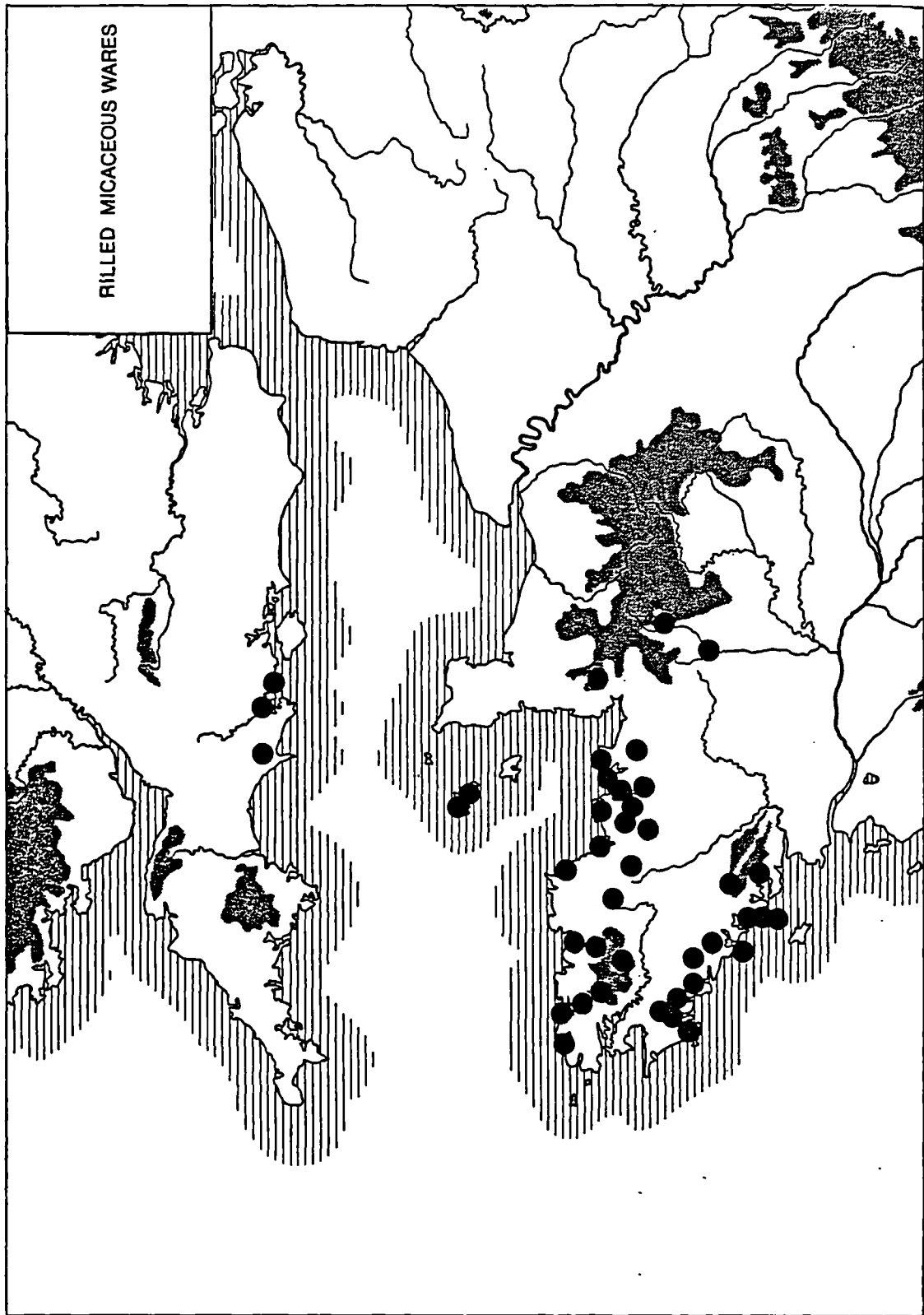


FIG 19: DISTRIBUTION OF RILLED MICACEOUS WARE

the distribution of Coriosolitan coins (Fig 47), this could suggest that Alet was the principal point of departure.

4.2 THE KENT-BOULONNAIS TRADITION

Since Evans published the Aylesford cemetery in 1890, attention has been directed towards the significance for the pedestal urns found in south-eastern England. However, surprisingly little attention has been directed to the parallels between the pottery assemblages of south-east England and north-eastern France in the first century BC rather than the pedestal urn as a type. Bushe-Fox (1925, 15) and Hawkes and Dunning (1930, 246) accepted Evans' analysis and only in 1965 was the fuller range of funerary pottery of the later Iron Age in south-east England published (Birchall 1965). A consideration of the pottery from both burials and settlements finally appeared nearly 100 years after Evans' publication (Thompson 1982). The argument put forward in Thompson's work is that 'the real problem [ie 'the Belgae'] is that the largest body of evidence, the pottery - the real bones of the archaeology of the period - has never been adequately studied' (Thompson 1982, 3). This represents an unusual situation where the problems thought to be raised by a class of material are used to define that material. The 'problem' raised by Birchall was the difficulty in reconciling the date of the pottery with other categories of evidence but by her definition of the problem Thompson excludes the answers from her grasp. The wider perspective of cross-Channel contact is virtually ignored in Thompson's work (1982, 26). Fortunately for the purposes of this work, Tyers (1980) has assessed the similarities of much of the

relevant pottery in south-eastern England and north-eastern France and this forms the point of departure for this consideration.

Tyers bases his assessment of the continental European material primarily on finds from settlements in Boulonnais, northern Artois and western Flanders although he does consider material from further inland. As he demonstrates, this material is of greater relevance to the British finds than the funerary finds from the Champagne to which attention has usually been directed (eg Birchall 1965; cf Thompson 1982, 26).

Tyers considered four main types of vessels:

Group A : Urns with a corrugated or undulating neck. some vessels have vertical rims. There may be combed decoration on the body.

Group B : Jars with thickened rims with combed or striated decoration on the body.

Group C : Conical urns, wheel-turned and without decorative cordons.

Group D : Wheel-turned pedestal urns decorated with cordons.

As Tyers notes, the material from continental Europe, particularly the assemblage from Wissant in Pas-de-Calais (Mariette 1966), has strong parallels with material in Kent and he makes a number of further observations concerning individual types or features. The use of similar decorative traits such as lattice (Tyers 1980, 65, Fig C, App) and less frequently stabbed decoration is noted. Another type to be represented on both sides of the Straits of Dover is Birchall's Type III 'S' profiled bowls (Mariette 1966, 92; Tyers 1980, 65) although this is obscured by the detailed

sub-divisions presented by Thompson in her work. An important similarity is the shared absence of bowls whereas they are often a major component of later Iron Age assemblages elsewhere in Celtic Europe. Conversely, it must be noted that the similarities claimed by Tyers for the conical urn (his Group C) are weak. The type is not represented at Frencq and it is rare elsewhere in those areas considered by him. It may be that the finds are better considered as isolated examples of a widespread European form (cf Thompson 1982, Form A 10, pp 22, 82-4) rather than as similarities in the coarse pottery either side of the Straits of Dover. Such an interpretation may be proposed for Tyers' Group B jars as these are related to the Bead rim jars which also occur occasionally in Normandy (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 272-7) and Armorica (Giot, Daire and Querré 1987, 406, Carte 2) while the Group D pedestal urns are also widely distributed in other areas of northern France (cf Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 246-7; Thompson 1982, 54).

The date of these wares is contentious. Tyers and Thompson regard the pottery as Augustan or later. However, Thompson's datings are barely discussed in her work (eg 1982, 16) and only Tyers justifies his proposals. In considering the date of the British finds Tyers (1980) considers three topics; (i) Imported bronze vessels, (ii) the Canterbury-Rose Lane site, (iii) the Brickwall Hill site. On the basis of these topics and also the chronological primacy which Tyers accords to the continental European finds he suggests that the British material cannot be shown to be pre-Augustan. These conclusions may be challenged.

In considering the imported 'Italian' bronze vessels Tyers argues that as the Kelheim-Kjaerumbaard jug and Aylesford pan in the Goebtingen-Nospelt burial B were buried in the Augustan period,

those found in Britain cannot be used to argue for a pre-Augustan date without some doubt (1980, 67). If considered alone then this may well be true, however, in discussing the pottery from the Aylesford Y burial which was associated with these bronze vessels, Tyers notes that the pots are not paralleled closely amongst the continental European material and while considering that this may be because the Aylesford pottery is earlier, he concludes by reasserting the importance of the Goebtingen-Nospelt B burial (Thill 1967b) as a *terminus post quem*. It is argued below (Ch 9.2.2) that the bronze vessels are not as poorly dated as Tyers suggests and in particular that the Kelheim-Kjaerumgaard jug has been dated quite closely by Ulbert (1985, 81-7) which shows that a pre-Augustan date is quite likely. Also the Dr 1B amphorae from the Welwyn A and B burials not considered by Tyers, suggest a date before c 10 BC.

Tyers (1980, 67) suggests that the Canterbury-Rose Lane site is the key site in assessing the pottery which Rodwell argued to represent the 'earliest Belgic Pottery', dating to the pre-Caesarian period (although this is not claimed by Rodwell 1976a, 236-7). Tyers argues that as Gallo-Belgic wares were found with Dr 1 in the primary contexts on the site, there is no reason to assign any of the coarse pottery to the period of the production of the amphorae rather than to a later one. It is difficult to understand this as Rodwell's summary of the site (*ibid*) is accurate. Frere's presentation is quite clear, that Italian amphorae were the only certain imports found in the primary silt, while the secondary filling contained Dr 2-4, Gallo-Belgic wares and an Aucissa brooch (1954, 102-11, esp 105-6). The unidentified amphorae may or may not be Dr 1, but this is perhaps the likeliest interpretation in comparison to other Iron Age

contexts (cf Ch 2.2-3), the recognition of Dr 1B from Canterbury (Arthur 1986, 240-2, 256-7) and more recent excavations (Thompson 1983, 256), but this notwithstanding it is impossible to accept the conclusions Tyers draws from the Rose Lane stratigraphy. Thompson also reaches a similar conclusion (*op cit*).

The third topic considered by Tyers is the dating of the pottery from Brickwall Hill, Hertfordshire. On typological grounds it is clear that the material from Ditch 1 at this site is early in the sequence of the so-called 'Belgic' pottery (cf I.M. Thompson 1979, 178-9). Tyers compares some of these pots to the Wissant finds, but Rook's (1970a) Fig II, 18 does not come from Ditch 1 but ditch II which is probably later (Thompson *op cit*) and in general the similarities with the French finds are weak. Tyers considers the possibility that the differences between the Brickwall Hill and Wissant finds may be chronological but on the basis of the brooch from Brickwall Hill, which he identifies as an Almgren 65, he implies that the assemblage may be no earlier than Augustan (1980, 68). In identifying the Brickwall Hill brooch as an Almgren 65 Tyers appears to be following Stead (1976a, 408) but this is not necessarily what Stead meant as he characterises the developed British Iron Age brooches with bosses on the bow as Almgren 65, not the less developed ones of which the Brickwall Hill find is an example. As is observed below (Ch 13.1.3) the Almgren 65 has never been defined adequately, so the value of Stead's appellation or his grouping of a disparate group of brooches is doubtful. The best parallels for the Brickwall Heath brooch (cp Stead 1985, Fig 32) are difficult to construe as La Tène D2 and a date certainly earlier than c 40 BC must be entertained. Tyers' implication that the Brickwall Hill brooch supports an Augustan date is difficult to accept.

Thus the grounds on which Tyers questions a pre-Augustan dating for the Kent-Boulonnais tradition characterised by him can be challenged. As we have seen, Tyers considers the possibility that some of the pottery from Aylesford Y and Brickwall Hill may be earlier than the four groups of pottery he considers, but he is reluctant to admit a pre-Augustan date for these groups and apparently for any of the material associated with them. Some further points may be considered.

Tyers pursues the argument that the imported wares provide a *terminus post quem*, however, this is a double edged argument and it is not entirely satisfactory to date the appearance of a style of coarse pottery by its first association with imported wares. As he notes, the earliest Gallo-Belgic wares at Wissant were Augustan and there is no evidence that the associated coarse wares are any earlier (1980, 63). But it must be asked if any earlier external dating evidence would necessarily be expected, particularly as Dr 1 amphorae may have been rare in the region? (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 332, n 4). This seems to be borne out by the discovery at Conchil-le-Temple (Pas-de-Calais) of material related to that from Wissant but apparently unassociated with any Roman material (Leman-Delerive and Piningre 1981, 328, Fig 9-10). Leman-Delerive and Piningre date the material to the mid-first century BC at the latest and this succeeds mid La Tène material. It is unfortunate, however, that as with Dilly's publication (1978a) of material from Frencq, it is necessary for reference to be made to British sites in an attempt to date the material more precisely. As Leman-Delerive has commented, the chronology of later Iron Age material from this region is problematic (1984a, 65-6; 1984b) but she too is reluctant to depress all the material to the Augustan period. It may be suggested that there are some

hints that the cross-Channel ceramic links started before those represented by the material studied by Tyers. The clearest evidence is presented by a type not considered by Tyers, Thompson's D3-5 corrugated conical bowl (= Birchall Type II). These are found at Wissant and Bellozanne (Seine-Maritime) and in Britain, almost exclusively in Kent with the possible exceptions of examples from Kelvedon (Thompson 1982, 26, 347; Cunliffe 1984b, Fig 6) and Old Sleaford (Elsdon 1982, Fig 15, 55; Elsdon and May 1987, 61). Less certain is the evidence provided by some of the pottery which Rodwell (1976a, 221-37, Fig 14-17) suggested to be amongst the typologically 'earliest Belgic' pottery. Tyers notes that Rodwell's Group II Jars with combed decoration (*ibid*, 225, Fig 16) are found further inland in France (Tyers 1980, 67) but observes only that the assemblages as a whole are less similar. However, as the vessels illustrated by Rodwell particularly in his Groups I and II include some of the typologically earliest vessels in the so-called 'Belgic' tradition in Britain and there are further vessels from Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 273-9, Fig 105-7) it must be asked if the rarity of comparable vessels at Wissant and Frencq is chronological?, particularly as they occur at the apparently earlier site of Conchil-le-Temple. Also, slightly further inland at Noyelles-Godault (Pas-de-Calais) there are a number of Augustan-Tiberian burials with a *gallo-romaine précoce* assemblage. One of these, burial 3, may date to the beginning of the last decade BC (Bastien and Demelon 1975, 11, Fig 10; 11, 7-8) and this could furnish a *terminus ante quem* for this potting tradition in the region.

As all those who have written on the subject have noted, the evidence available is slight and it would be rash to press it too far. Nonetheless while Tyers has clearly demonstrated the

parallels in three groups of pottery and in assemblages as a whole, the dating he proposes may be unreasonably late and it may be strongly suspected that the Kent-Boulonnais tradition started before the horizon which he isolates.

The dating of this earlier material has been the subject of much debate. On the basis of the pottery from Aylesford and Swarling, Birchall distinguished four groups: 'earliest', 'early', 'middle' and 'late'. She took the most important dating evidence to be the Kelheim jugs and Aylesford pans which, following Werner (1954) she dated between 50-10 BC. She concluded

'Thus, since none of the diagnostic features of the Kent "Middle" Group, the imported bronzes, buckets, brooches and distinctive pottery types, can be proved to be characteristically pre-Caesarian, the time range ca. 50/30-10 BC, should fairly include the whole of the Group. The pre-Caesarian period, then, must be represented by typologically early material.'

(Birchall 1965, 290).

The 'middle' group includes the corrugated conical bowls. As Stead (1976a, 401-2) has observed the material presented by Birchall as her earliest/early group is difficult to accept as such as there is so little of it and it seems possible that some belongs more properly in her 'late' group. However, Rodwell has suggested a number of additions to this earliest/early material (1976a, 221-37, Fig 14-17) which he regarded as forming an homogeneous 'earliest Belgic' group. While some of the material is typologically early, outside this it is far from homogeneous

and as Thompson has shown, the later Iron Age pottery of south-east England encompasses several distinctive regional pottery-zones (Thompson 1982, 8-17, Map 1-2), the differences between which are marked (Haselgrove 1984a, Tab 2). In view of this variety it is difficult to pursue a single typological sequence for all of south-eastern England, let alone one based on only two cemeteries as Birchall and Rodwell attempted. A series of pottery styles developing broadly, but not precisely, in parallel may be anticipated. Rather than concentrating on detailed typological analyses already provided by Thompson, attention will be directed here towards three areas, Hertfordshire, Kent and Essex, where it is possible to identify early groups or where it seems that the datings advanced seem questionable.

Hertfordshire

There are a relatively large number of later Iron Age sites known in Hertfordshire and the excavations around Braughing have provided useful material. The Skeleton Green excavations have provided large, well stratified groups dating to the last decades BC and first century AD (Partridge 1981). The earliest of these groups (eg F52) include rilled jars with everted rims (Thompson Form C7-1), large storage jars (C6-1) and plain everted-rim necked jars (B1-1 etc). Comparable assemblages have been excavated at Braughing-Wickham Kennels (Partridge 1980-82, F1), Prae Wood (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 151-76) and the Wheathampstead By-Pass (Saunders and Havercroft 1980-82). An assemblage which appears to be intermediate between this kind and an earlier one comes from Wheathampstead (I.M. Thompson 1979), including as it does these

types and also other ones not otherwise associated with them. These older vessels are jars with everted rims and stabbed or rouletted decoration on the shoulder and combed bodies. Thompson includes them within her Form C8-1 (1982, 288-93). These jars were found in large quantities at Gatesbury (Partridge 1981, Fig 129, 36-45; 130) but were barely present at Skeleton Green (*ibid*, 84, Fig 42, 17). The much higher percentage of Dr 1 at Gatesbury (60% as opposed to 1% minimum or 4% maximum (by weight) at Skeleton Green, *ibid*, 201, 334) suggests that this difference is chronological. Thompson suggests that the Wheathampstead material is post-Caesarian on the basis of the brooch from the site which she identifies as a Nauheim (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 150, Pl LII, 1; I.M. Thompson 1979, 178), but this conclusion is not consistent with her summary of the dating of the type (*ibid*, 175) where she recognises that the type can be pre-Caesarian. That the type was current by c 70 BC now seems clear (*cf* Feugère 1985, Type 5; 203-29, esp 223-6; Ch 13.1.1), but is of doubtful relevance as, despite Thompson's comments, it is difficult to accept the Wheathampstead as an example of it. Thompson's dating for Wheathampstead may be correct, but not necessarily for the right reasons.

The group from Grubs Barn Ditch 1 (Rook 1970b, 34, Fig II) may be contemporary with Wheathampstead. Thompson inclines to date it slightly later than the Wheathampstead finds on the basis of the cup forms which were not present at Wheathampstead. However, many of the C8-1 jars at both sites are similar and as Thompson shows, there are links with the Grubs Barn pottery and the finds from the Welwyn A and B, Welwyn Garden City and Hertford Heath burials (I.M. Thompson 1979, 179-83) which on the basis of the amphorae are likely to be broadly contemporary with Wheathampstead. The

differences, particularly in the presence or absence of cups on settlements may be related to intra-site activity/ disposal areas rather than being chronological. These C8-1 jars were associated with tall jars with corrugated shoulders (Thompson Form B2-3) at Braughing - Gatesbury Track and this material appears to represent an older stage in the tradition. The Gatesbury Track vessels were often in a sandy fabric rather than the grog-tempered ones characteristic of later material and hand produced, being finished on a slow wheel (Partridge 1979, 116, 130). The material from F7 was associated with Dr 1A and 1B (*ibid*, 114, Fig 34, 1) and two iron brooches related to the Nauheim (*ibid*, 103, Fig 30, 2-3) in layer 3, which might suggest a date in the first half of the first century BC. However, while the contexts of the Gallo-Belgic and 'Arretine' from the site are not given in the published report the excavator informs me (*in litt*) that they occurred throughout F7, not only in layer 3 but also in the one underlying it F7(4) too. It seems probable that the amphorae, brooches and some of the coarse pottery, particularly the Thompson Form C8-1 jars, were contemporary and are residual but this cannot be proven. Feature 41 at the same site contained a Dr 1B amphora, and probably also a Class II potin coin but no Gallo-Belgic or Central Gaulish wares. The sample is comparatively small (17 vessels illustrated, *ibid* Fig 36) but given the proximity of features containing imported fine wares it seems likely that their absence is chronologically diagnostic. Thompson dates this material 'from an estimated date of 30 BC' (1982, 16), 'a little before 20 BC' (*ibid*, 300) and 'c 30/25 BC' (*ibid*, 644), but much of it could easily be some 40 or more years older. Unfortunately the similar Gatesbury material is unstratified but, recognising the risk of circularity, it is possible that some of it could be contemporary with the Gatesbury

Track finds rather than Wheathampstead as it is typologically closer, although this aspect could be simply geographical in origin. Some of the pottery from Baldock is also comparable to the Gatesbury Track material (Stead and Rigby 1986, contexts D116, B230 and B49; 273-9, Fig 105-7, 36). There are some difficulties with the dating of context B230. Two brooches were found in it and one of them (*ibid*, no 5) is dated to the second half of the first century BC on p 109 but late first century on p 123. The other brooch (no 22) is dated to the middle of the first century AD on p 109 but on p 123 it is regarded as coming from a first century BC context. The correlation table gives the date of the filling as late first century BC (*ibid*, 429). Brooch 5 is not illustrated and it seems likely that no 22 is a Nauheim or related type which has been misidentified. Unfortunately, while the brooches are given only their feature numbers, the pottery is published by layer within features with a brief statement as to whether it came from the undisturbed stretches of the ditch but there is no account of this stratigraphy. Rigby dates the pottery early to mid-first century BC, presumably on typological grounds.

Possibly the earliest Hertfordshire material is represented by the finds from Brickwall Hill Ditch 1 (Rook 1970a, 25, Fig II, 1-12). I.M. Thompson has suggested that this material is contemporary with Wheathampstead (1979, 178-9) but it has none of the later forms found at that site, notably the Thompson Form C7-1 rilled jars with everted rims which suggests that it is earlier. The material is all grog-tempered (*ibid* 1982, 646). The brooch, which it has been argued above is not usefully regarded as an Almgren 65, is typologically intermediate between mid and later La Tène types and has an external chord. Its date in Britain is not clear

but could be in the first half of the first century BC if not earlier. Feugère (1985, 237-8) dates his type 8 brooch which has a knob on the bow to the second half of the century and it is comparable to only the typologically latest brooches considered by Stead (1976a) which might also suggest a date in the first half of the first century BC for the Brickwall Hill brooch.

In considering these sequences one additional difficulty is that the pottery found in relatively well-dated and well-furnished burials (Welwyn A and B, Welwyn Garden City, Aylesford Y, Hertford Heath) is either apparently not found on settlements or belongs to relatively long-lived forms (such as Pedestal-urns) which are difficult to date closely. Perhaps the earliest of these well-furnished burials, that from Baldock, appeared to contain at least one pot (Stead and Rigby 1986, 51) but it was not recovered.

Kent

Surprisingly few later Iron Age sites in Kent have been published adequately. However, as we have seen the primary material from the Canterbury - Rose Lane site may date to before c 10 BC. F.H. Thompson has compared the latest Bigberry material to the Rose Lane finds (1983, 256) and he maintains the identification of Bigberry with the site stormed by Caesar in 54 BC (BG V, 9) and this is plausible. The relation of the settlement material excavated there to this event is, however, not entirely clear. Caesar does not say that the site was occupied in 54 and the defence of the site he describes could be taken to show that the gates had fallen out of use by this time. The radiocarbon dates (130 bc \pm 45 (BM -1530) and ad 30 \pm 35 (BM -1768) (NB Tite *et al* 1987) and archaeomagnetic date (100-70 BC at c 68% confidence

level) could suggest that the principal hillfort occupation dates to the later second and early first century BC and had finished by c 70 BC. However, the material comparable to that from Rose Lane is slight and this suggests that the Bigberry material, which has both flint and grog-tempered wares, represents an older stage in the tradition. A group related to the Bigberry assemblage is that from Farningham Hill (Philp 1984). The excavator dates the founding of the site to c 50 BC (*ibid*, 52) but the involuted brooch and the one with an external chord (*ibid*, 35, Fig 13, 5-6), the virtual absence of imported pottery and the typology of the pottery all combine to suggest that the occupation started in the second century BC and ceased late in the first century BC, if the *Cam* 262 is an Iron Age import. A related but possibly slightly later group is known from Canterbury-Bridge Hill where the pottery was found with a Dr 1, a Nauheim related brooch and a Class II potin coin (Watson 1963; Thompson 1982, 666-7; Haselgrove 1987a, 472; N. Macpherson-Grant pers comm). The associations of this material are not secure but there can be little doubt that as an assemblage it is pre-Augustan. While the quantity of material from these sites is relatively slight, it is clearly earlier than the typical 'Belgic' material. Equally important is the burial from Borough Green (Warhurst 1953) where the pot antedates the 'Belgic' tradition (Thompson 1982, 633) and the brooches (Stead 1976a, 406, Fig 3, 2) are related to the Nauheim. Careful typological analyses of this material from Kent should establish the relative chronology of the later Iron Age pottery from the region quite clearly and also establish its links with Cunliffe's 'Mucking-Crayford' style which spans the Lower Thames (Cunliffe 1982b, 41-2; T.C. Champion 1976) and perhaps also with material in Surrey (cf F.H. Thompson 1979).

Essex

As with Kent, the Iron Age settlements in Essex are poorly known (cf Drury and Rodwell 1980, Fig 21) but it is possible to make a distinction between material from the south of the county and that to the north (T.C. Champion 1976; Drury 1978a; Thompson 1982; Cunliffe 1982b, 42, Fig 17). Iron Age pottery from the south has strong links with that from Kent but until the excavations at Orsett Cock (Toller 1980), Mucking (Jones and Jones 1975) and Malden (Brown 1985) are published little can be said about pottery from later Iron Age settlements. There is apparently only a small quantity from the Gun Hill site which is the only recent Iron Age excavation publication from the region (Drury and Rodwell 1973, Fig 14). Burials likely to be of first century BC date are known from Billericay (Thompson 1982, 612-17), Canewdon (*ibid*, 655-9), Creeksea (*ibid*, 684-6), Prittlewell (*ibid*, 799-801) and Rayleigh (*ibid*, 806-8), but the associations are poor and the recovered grave goods usually only pots, making it difficult to use this material in any attempt to elucidate the absolute chronology of later Iron Age pottery development of the area.

Later Iron Age settlements from the northern region are poorly known. The so-called oppidum at Braintree (Drury 1976) has produced very little substantive evidence to support its existence (Bedwin 1984-85) and the evidence for an oppidum at Witham (Rodwell 1976a, 331; 1976b) is extremely unconvincing, the 'pokers' are actually metal working tools (Saunders 1977, 16). It is unfortunate that the material from Great Chesterford which includes material probably of first century BC date (Thompson 1982, 704-8) is poorly recorded. The occupations at Wendens Ambo (Hodder 1984, 25) and Little Waltham (Drury 1978a) appear to have

ceased by the mid-first century BC or earlier but it is very difficult to assess this because of the almost total lack of later Iron Age settlements yet published. The excavations at Kelvedon are being prepared for full publication (cf Eddy with Turner 1982) as are those at Witham and there is recently excavated material from Stansted (Brooks and Wall 1986) associated with Dr 1A and 1B, but no later imports (C.J. Going pers comm). But these will be almost the only large groups of material outside Colchester to set against the finds from Naezing (Huggins 1978, 76-8, 81-4, Fig 11-12) and the material from Danbury, Twitty Fee Camp (Hull 1935-37) and Layer-de-la-Haye (Turner, Turner and Major 1983). However, the Woodham Walter assemblage from ditch AF1, while small in size is useful chronologically (Rodwell 1987). As Rodwell notes, much of the material falls between the latest Middle Iron Age material and the typical 'Belgic' pottery, considered by Thompson. Rodwell accepts the late dating of Little Waltham which is rejected below and dates the early material at Woodham Walter to the mid-first century BC or later on the basis of this and its mixture of sandy and grog-tempered wares. A similar combination of tempering agents has been noted above at Braughing-Gatesbury Track where a Dr 1A was found. Given the presence of the 'early' forms (Thompson 1982, C8-1 and 2) at Woodham Walter (Rodwell 1987, 22, Fig 16, 26-7), an earlier date, before the middle of the first century BC is plausible. Rodwell notes that the Witham material is typologically earlier than that from Woodham Walter which is not in grog-tempered fabrics but is associated with potin coins which would also be commensurate with a date in the second quarter of the first century BC.

The most intensively examined later Iron Age settlement in northern and western Essex is Colchester and this site has

dominated much discussion of the later Iron Age in southern Britain. Although a large area is thought to have been occupied in the later Iron Age (Rodwell 1976a, 236, 331-2, 339-59); Crummy 1979, Thompson 1982, 674-83) excavations have been almost entirely restricted to the Sheepen site (Hawkes and Hull 1947; Niblett 1985). Hawkes and Hull argued that Sheepen and all the Iron Age settlement at Colchester was founded by Cunobelin c AD 10. This date has come under criticism, the most significant point of which has been Peacock's recognition that the number of Dr 1 amphorae from the site is difficult to reconcile with a first century AD foundation date (1971, 178-9) and this will be considered in some detail here. Accepting that the Dr 1 indicated a first century BC date, Rodwell attempted to identify pottery from Sheepen which might plausibly be assigned to the first century BC and also suggested that some iron pokers from Sheepen and the Iron Age coins from Colchester supported a first century BC date. Hawkes accepted this date (1982, 11-12) but, surprisingly, Thompson does not discuss Rodwell's interpretation at all, merely asserting that no [Roman] imports from north-east Essex are earlier than the first century AD (1982, 9) and apparently maintaining the c AD 10 date not only in her summary of the site (*ibid*, 675) but throughout her catalogue (*ibid*, *passim*). Niblett's excavations did not discover any first century BC occupation (1985) but on the basis of Sealey's amphora report she proposes a foundation date c AD 5 (*ibid*, 1-3, 99-100). Sealey's monograph on the amphorae from Sheepen elaborates on this date (1985, 101-8).

Sealey is able to discount the possibility raised by Ettliger (1977) that the Dr 1 from Sheepen were misidentified, although it must be noted that the number of Dr 1 in the *Camulodunum* report is

not the minimum number of vessels as Sealey assumes but the number of diagnostic sherds (C.F.C. Hawkes pers comm; Fitzpatrick 1985a, 332, n 2). Sealey also convincingly refutes Rodwell's claim (1976a, 236; 1976b) that the so-called 'La Tène II-III pokers' indicate a first century BC occupation at Sheepen (Sealey 1985, 103-4; Saunders 1977, 16). He also dismisses a first century BC date for the pottery and the coins considered by Rodwell. Sealey then goes on to consider the imported Roman fine wares at Sheepen and argues that it is 'an absurdity' to suggest a settlement at Sheepen should import Dr 1 but no other Roman material (1985, 105). Instead Sealey proposes that the bulk of Dr 1 at Sheepen arrived in the course of secondary usage (followed by Haselgrove 1987a, 169-70) with the possibility that some may have arrived containing vintage wine (Sealey 1985, 105-8). Considering the date of the 'Arretine' from Sheepen and its similarity to that from Haltern whose date has been revised since *Camulodunum* was published to c 7/5 BC - AD 9, Sealey proposes occupation at Sheepen began c AD 5.

It has been suggested elsewhere that a mathematical 'divide and rule' approach to the 'Arretine' from Haltern and Sheepen is unconvincing (Fitzpatrick 1986, 36) and instead attention will be directed here to the coins and pottery. Sealey, following Hawkes and Hull, and also Haselgrove (1987a, 163-71; 1987b) are correct to point out that the bulk of the coins from Sheepen are of Cunobelin and, while as Rodwell observes, there are earlier coins from Colchester, which may be contemporary with the manufacture of Dr 1, notably the 'L' series and, probably, those of Addedomarus, very few of these actually come from Sheepen and are not directly relevant. Sealey's dismissive comments on the pottery are less convincing as he cites Thompson's (1982) datings with approval

although, as we have seen, she does not consider Rodwell's (1976a, 236) assertion that certain pottery types (*Cam* 263, 264A and 270A) were scarce and normally found unstratified or only in Period I contexts (Sealey 1985, 103). Sealey is correct to observe that the bulk of the first two types were found in Roman contexts and that the incidence of *Cam* 270 was not recorded. However, it may also be observed that the majority of Dr 1 from Sheepen were also found in Roman contexts, so this is not necessarily a reliable guide to a type's date. Hawkes and Hull themselves suggested that *Cam* 263 may have been an exclusively Iron Age form and that *Cam* 264A were all hand made (1947, 270 sv), while *Cam* 270A were scarce (*ibid*, 272, s. v.), which may be chronological in origin. Rodwell himself has subsequently suggested that the *Cam* 254 and 263 were residual at Sheepen (1987, 38) but does not justify this and there is little evidence to support it. Accordingly, Sealey's dismissal may be too confident and a consideration of the dates of these types as documented by Thompson shows that a number do come from first century BC contexts. Indeed, the *Cam* 263A and *Cam* 264B are considered by Thompson to belong to her C8-1 form which she regards as 'one of the earliest of "Belgic" forms' (Thompson 1982, 289) and which as we have seen above occurs in the second half of the first century BC. The *Cam* 264 (large) / 256A = Thompson Form C2-1 (1982, 229) and *Cam* 264 (small) = Thompson Form C2-2 (1982, 231) could all come from first century BC sites, as could many of Thompson's Form C6-1 (1982, 257-9) (= *Cam* 270A) also. Rodwell's proposal may therefore be supported, albeit with reservations and some other typologically early *Camulodunum* types may be noted here; *Cam* 204, 210, 229, 252-9.

Nonetheless the Celtic coins from Sheepen do pose some problems and comments that the discovery of coins earlier than those of

Cunobelin need not necessarily be expected (Fitzpatrick 1986, 36) are not particularly convincing, even although they are rare (Haselgrove 1987a, 168), especially as to the contrary potin coins might reasonably be expected as site finds at Sheepen. However, at present no potin coins are known from Colchester at all (Rodwell 1981, 45; Haselgrove 1987a, 168; 1987b) yet it is clear that some burials from Lexden date to the second decade BC or earlier. On the basis of the imports in the Lexden Tumulus and the Mirror burial a first century BC date seems clear (*cf* also Hawkes 1982, 120) and some of the other burials from Lexden also appear to be of first century BC date (Thompson 1982, Lexden Park Groups 2 and 5, p 759, Fig 55, 991-1539; 761-3, Fig 56, Group 5), perhaps before c 20 BC. These burials suggest that if there was an associated settlement in Colchester, its occupation must have started by c 20 BC or earlier and related burials are also known at Ardleigh (*ibid*, 580-2, Fig 2) and Great Chesterford (*ibid*, 705, Fig 36, 901). The absence of potin coins (as at Silchester) may therefore be due to their exclusion or to their antedating the occupation of Colchester or, less likely, chance or their non-survival. It is worth noting that while the Celtic coins from Sheepen have been taken as an index of continuing circulation in the Romano-British period (Hawkes and Hull 1947; Fitzpatrick 1985b, 63; 1986, 39; Haselgrove 1987a, 206-8; 1987b), they are all but absent from the *Colonia* site (Goodburn 1987). This contrast is striking, particularly as some coins could be associated with the Iron Age occupation of the site (App 2, 1, 11a; *contra* Haselgrove 1987a, 170, 379). While in part this could be explicable to a distinct Roman sphere of coin use and loss on the site of the fortress and later *Colonia* (*ibid*), it is difficult to see this as the whole explanation. Many of the Celtic coins from

post-conquest contexts may therefore be residual.

It is difficult to essay answers to these problems. In particular the total of Dr 1B from Colchester, at least 29, cannot all be explained as later introductions from elsewhere, let alone outwith Colchester or as vintage wine. Also it seems unreasonable, to this writer at least, to exclude a first century BC date for any of the Sheepen pottery given parallels for at least some of it in first century BC contexts. It does not seem likely that appreciable progress will be made until a careful consideration of the archive of Hawkes and Hull's excavations is made which will allow a closer assessment of the associations of the Dr 1 amphorae (which are often noted individually in it; cf also Clarke and Sealey 1979) and/or extensive area excavations in the Sheepen site. The 1970 Sheepen excavations were in an area already shown in the 1930s to be an area principally of Roman rather than Iron Age occupation.

Although intra-site variation is detectable in the Sheepen coin list, eg Regions 1 and 4 in the 1947 report have a relatively high proportion of early coins (Haselgrove 1987a, 164; 1987b), and some regions may be suspected to contain early deposits as imports were occasionally absent (eg Pits Z 6 and Z 11, Hawkes and Hull 1947, 116), while others have earlier imports than others (eg Regions 1 and 4 again). It is difficult to assess the significance of these observations given the way in which the stratigraphy was published by Hawkes and Hull but they do hint at intra-site variation (cf Fitzpatrick 1985a, 332, n 2; Haselgrove 1987a, 170). Hawkes and Hull believed that the stratigraphy was formed in a uniform fashion across the whole site and that this sequence reflected a historical narrative. It is difficult to accept this interpretation of the archaeological record (Fitzpatrick 1986,

35-6; 1985a, 332, n 2; Binford 1983, *passim*) and given the nature of archaeological knowledge (Alcock 1977-78) it is difficult to pursue a detailed reinterpretation of the published account. It has been argued that the early Roman occupation of the Sheepen site was largely military (Fitzpatrick 1986, accepted by Hawkes in Todd 1985, 192-5; *pace* Webster in Niblett 1985, 114), but it may be doubted whether such an interpretation could have been attempted on a type of site less distinctive and repetitious than a Roman military site. A further difficulty raised by these objections to the interpretation of the *Camulodunum* stratigraphy is that some of the imports originally ascribed to Period I could be early Romano-British arrivals. Hawkes and Hull wrote

'This silting [ie Period I], and also a number of the pits and occupation-sites elsewhere, yielded such native pottery in quantity, and confirmed its native character by freedom from any association demonstrably later than the Roman conquest. But in all such groups of any appreciable size the pottery of purely native fabric was accompanied, and indeed exceeded in quantity, by ware showing that fabric modified in the direction of romanization. In other words, the presence of 'romanizing' native ware must be accepted from the beginning of the occupation.'

(Hawkes and Hull 1947, 27-8).

Thompson has observed that Hawkes and Hull's use of 'native' fabric refers to grog-tempered ware (1982, 677). It is the character of these earliest later Iron Age pots from the site and

their associations which will finally establish the initial occupation(s) of the Sheepen site. The published evidence does not permit of a solution as it constricts the answers to those already given. It does not appear reasonable to the present writer to compress all the coarse Iron Age pottery from *Camulodunum* into a period of 30-40 years. The Layer-de-la-Haye Ditch A (Turner, Turner and Major 1983) is likely to be of early first century AD date and does not contain any of the forms suspected to be early at Sheepen and in view of the proximity of the site to Colchester this absence may be interpreted as being chronological and it may be anticipated that further discoveries will facilitate a clearer idea not only of when Sheepen may have been occupied in the later Iron Age but the sequences of later Iron Age occupation in Colchester overall.

Drury (1978a; 1978b, 63, Fig 13) has argued that the occupation of Little Waltham ended in the second half of the first century BC and this has been endorsed by Thompson who regards the later pottery as indeed being 'incipient "Belgic" vessels' (Thompson 1982, 769) and is followed by Rodwell (1987).

If Drury is correct this is invaluable dating evidence. However, Drury generally follows Rodwell's chronology while voicing reservations that it could be slightly too early (1978a, 131). He draws parallels with one Little Waltham vessel with some of Rodwell's 'earliest Belgic' jars (*ibid*, 131, Fig 53, 326; Rodwell 1976a, Fig 16, 21-6) but as he admits the similarity is not particularly close and it is debatable whether it is possible to ascribe a date in the second half of the first century BC on the basis of this. More contentious is Drury's attempt to draw parallels between Little Waltham and the Moselle. Drury compares

one pot (1978a, 131, Fig 52, 286; 73, 1) to another from Langenhoe, and another stab decorated one (*ibid*, Fig 52, 301; 73, 3) to one from Heybridge. While the latter parallel is convincing, the former is less so. What seems quite unconvincing are the parallels Drury draws between these pots and some from Wederath-Belginum. The parallels of form to Little Waltham pot 286 he claims (1978a, 131, Fig 72, 1-2, 5, 8) are no more than very general while those to pot 301 are tenuous, being restricted to the stabbed decoration. Better parallels for this can be found on other vessels in Essex (cf Drury and Rodwell 1973, 75-7, 93-4, Fig 14, 43-6) and elsewhere in Britain (Elsdon 1975) or less convincing but related ones from French mid-La Tène sites such as Port-le-Grand (Somme) (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 218, 220-1, Fig 18, 2; Leman-Delerive 1976, 112, Pl II, F6, v.3) or Breuil-le-Sec (Oise) (Duval 1976, 467, Fig 14, 1; Degenne and Duval 1983, 82, Fig 14, 1) and Epiais-Rhus (Val d'Oise) (Lardy 1983, Pl 9, v 417). It is hardly surprising that broadly comparable forms and decorative traits to the Essex vessels should be found amongst one of the largest published assemblages of mid-later Iron Age pottery in north-western Europe. The possibility of the Little Waltham vessels being imports can be rejected as the fabrics are dissimilar from the German ones (personal examination) while petrological analysis has shown the Heybridge pot to be British (Wickenden 1986, 31) and I would also firmly reject Drury's conclusion that 'some connexion between the middle Rhineland and the area around the Blackwater estuary seems almost inescapable' (1978a, 133). It may be noted that Drury incorrectly locates Wederath to the north and west (*ibid*, Fig 72, B).

However, on the basis of the La Tène D2 date which Haffner gives to the Wederath finds, Drury ascribes the Little Waltham pots to c

50-10 BC, regarding them as the predecessors to the Aylesford-Swarling pottery style and also using this date as a point from which to extrapolate to the dates for the rest of the Little Waltham pottery. The date that the Little Waltham Iron Age settlement was given up is not known precisely but on the basis of the Period IV pottery from the site a date before c 50 may be suggested, perhaps around the turn of the second and first centuries BC.

In general, earlier dates for much of the material from Hertfordshire, Kent and Essex than those given by Thompson may be seriously considered. It is difficult to understand why the dating value of the associated imports was not systematically considered. Even allowing for re-use and redeposition it is hard to see why, for example, she ascribes contexts with Dr 1 amphorae to after AD 25-30 (eg Crookhams and Lexden, 1982, 688, 758; cf Farley 1983, 293). Instead using these imports and typological considerations a clearer and more extended relative chronology for much of the pottery of the later Iron Age in south-eastern England and comparable to continental Europe must be entertained.

4.3 POSSIBLE IMPORTS INTO WESSEX

While the pottery of the Kent-Boulonnais tradition has attracted a great deal of attention, continental influences have also been sought in the later Iron Age pottery of Wessex.

The best known attempt to discern these influences is Hawkes and Dunning's discussion of Bead rim pottery (1930, 280-309). Building on Bushe-Fox's (1925, 33) initial suggestion, Hawkes and

Dunning argued that the British finds were paralleled by those in Normandy and that these represented a 'second Belgic invasion'. Cunington flatly rejected this (1932) and although Hawkes and Dunning replied (1932), the argument did not receive popular acceptance. Cunington's principal objections were that bead rim vessels are rare in Normandy and that the parallels were also not particularly close. She argued instead that the British finds developed from the indigenous tradition and that the changes were attributable to the adoption of the potters wheel. Despite Hawkes and Dunning's defence of their argument they were unable to counter Cunington's criticisms of the lack of evidence for an origin in Normandy for the bead rim (Hawkes and Dunning 1932, 411-16). Cunliffe has recently suggested that 'the source of inspiration for the ceramic improvement came from the south' [ie Armorica] (Cunliffe 1984b, 8) and this may well have been the case (cf Cunliffe 1984a, 33; 1987a, 316) but this does not advance the discussion beyond Cunington's position, nor counter her criticisms. While there is an apparent Armorican connection (Giot, Daire and Querré 1987, 406, Carte 2), Tyers has also shown how widely related vessels occur elsewhere in France (cf Ch 4.2) so it is debatable how much significance should be placed on this. We have already seen the influence of imported wares on the Hengistbury Class 1 derivative pottery and Cunliffe has also raised the possibility that some other types found in Wessex may have been inspired by pottery from Normandy. He suggests that 'tazze and jars with heavy quoit-shaped pedestal bases' (Cunliffe 1984a, 8) could be related to French pottery. Cunliffe has made the same suggestion on a number of occasions recently (1984a, 33-4; 1983b 178, Fig 98; 1984d) but has not yet argued the case in detail. The best publication of later Iron Age pottery from Normandy

remains that by Hawkes and Dunning (1930, 196-218) with little new material being published (cf Cunliffe 1984b, 11-12). On the basis of this older material there are parallels to some of the Hengistbury Head finds (Cunliffe's (1978a), Class 7) which have heavy bases and carinated bowls (1978a, 53, Fig 25, 1-4; 1987a, Ill 145) at a number of French sites (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 202-3, Fig 12, 18, 21; 210, Fig 15, 45; 213, Fig 16, 55), but these wares are barely known outside Hengistbury with the exception of one from Maiden Castle (Cunliffe 1978a, 53 = Wheeler 1943, 226-7, Fig 70, 153). This raises the possibility that the Hengistbury finds are imports but they do not have quoit-shaped pedestal bases and the fabrics appear to be local (Cunliffe 1978a, 53; 1987a, 264, 317) and Cunliffe has not pursued this. Cunliffe also suggests that pedestal based jars, presumably as represented in Danebury ceramic phase 8 are also inspired by pottery from Normandy (cf *idem* 1987a, 316). However, while some quoit bases are Armorican imports at Hengistbury (*op cit*), as Hawkes and Dunning and then Birchall have shown, this may only be part of a common response over much of north-west Europe to the adoption of the potters wheel. At present the evidence for a continental origin is not immediately obvious. Nonetheless, given the evidence for cross-Channel contact around the Solent in the later Iron Age the recognition of further continental European influence on the pottery of Wessex seems probable.

CHAPTER V

CERAMIC TABLE WARES AND FOOD PREPARATION VESSELS

5.1 MORTARIA

Introduction

Mortaria were used for mixing and crushing foodstuffs. As such they were stoutly made and the adoption of trituration grits served the dual purpose of providing an abrasive agent and protecting the vessel, thus ensuring its longevity.

From the later Republic mortaria are ubiquitous in Italy but outside of the Mediterranean littoral they appear to be virtually absent. There is a spouted mortarium from a later second century BC context at Aulnat (Collis 1980, 42) but I am unaware of any other find from Iron Age sites in non-Mediterranean France, Germany, Switzerland or in Free Germany. Because of this the discovery of mortaria at at least three Iron Age sites in Britain (Fig 20, App 23), with the possible implication of the adoption of Mediterranean methods of food preparation and possibly eating habits, is of some interest.

Typology and Chronology

The development of mortaria production in the later second and first centuries BC is poorly understood. Only with the adoption of the regular stamping of vessels, apparently in the Claudian period, is it possible to begin to trace the organisation of the manufacture and distribution of mortaria with any clarity (Hartley 1973). Later second century BC examples from Numantia and other early finds from Spain have a thickened triangular rim (Vegas 1975, 41) and similar vessels occur in broadly contemporary contexts at Nages where they are associated with Graeco-Italic and Dr 1A amphorae (Py 1978b, 249-51, in '*Nages II recent*' contexts c 175-100 BC). As Py notes, the rim has more than a passing resemblance to those of Graeco-Italic amphorae. Similar forms are present in early first century BC contexts at Ventigmilia but occur only rarely at Oberaden (Loeschke 1942, Type 72, Taf 15, 12). Vessels with a distinctive drooping, flanged rim first occur at Numantia but are rare in Augustan forts (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 107, Type 63; Fingerlin 1986, 34, Abb 60, 10?) while vessels with a small flange on the carination occur in second century BC contexts at Nages (Py 1978b) and are also rare in Augustan forts (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 106-7).

However, the dominant form at the Rödgen-Oberaden-Dangstetten horizon forts are the vertical-sided-wall type (Cam 191). During the Tiberian period, as evidenced by finds from, for example, Aislingen and *Vindonissa* (Tomasevič 1970, 71-2), the angle of the wall becomes less steep and vessels with bead rims and drooping flanges (Cam 194) became more popular until by the Neronian period they are virtually the dominant type. However, wall-sided vessels still occur in Claudian foundations. A characteristic feature of

the wall-sided mortaria is the absence of trituration grits and only some vessels have internal ribbing. Lips are found on these vessels only occasionally and some variety is evident in them.

Provenance and Distribution

Vegas notes that the Augustan wall-sided *mortaria* are not amongst the products of the Rhineland military kilns and suggests that in the Augustan period the type was imported to Germany (Vegas 1975) but they were produced at Haltern (cf von Schnurbein 1977). Mortaria are rare in Aquitania at this time (Santrot and Santrot 1979, 110) while Tuffreau-Libre declares them to be absolutely absent from Nord and Pas-de-Calais (1980, 179). There are finds from Amiens but these may be associated with a military presence (Massy and Molière 1979, 127, nos 112-14). Although Schönberger and Simon (1976, 107) accept single sherds from Thuisy (Fromols 1938, 83, Type 10, Pl I, 21) and Sept-Saulx (Fromols 1939, 49, Pl IV, 5.125) as evidence of production, Fromols (*ibid*) is surely correct not to accept them as products of the kiln and Tuffreau-Libre (1981) does not regard them as manufactured there. The earliest certain production site in northern Europe after Haltern appears to be at Cologne, Lungengasse (La Baume 1958). A kiln producing mortaria and dating to the first half of the first century AD has been reported from Glomel (Côtes-du-Nord) (*Gallia* 41, 1983, 280). In this context it is relevant to note that the mortaria at Nages were in the same fabric as amphorae and both appear to have been produced at a number of sites - Albinia (Peacock 1977a, Fig 3, 16), Mondragone (*ibid*, 264, Fig 2, 13) and near Sutri (Duncan 1964, 50). However, none of the British finds appear to be in the same fabrics as amphorae. Hartley (1981)

suggests that the Skeleton Green finds may be from *Gallia Belgica*, but is not certain. Two of the Skeleton Green vessels come from contexts dated c 10 BC - AD 20 (*ibid*, nos 2 and 17) while the others are from contexts dated between c AD 15-40. Given the very limited evidence available, the earlier vessels might be from central or southern Gaul or farther afield, while the later ones could be from northern Europe. The micaceous fabric of one mortaria from Gatesbury might suggest an origin in Central Gaul (Partridge 1981, 335, no 15, Fig 126, 15). Until further petrological analyses are undertaken (*cf* Hartley 1985) it is difficult to say more on the origin of the British vessels.

Typological distinctions seem to be of little help. All but one of the identifiable Iron Age imports are from *Cam* 191 wall-sided vessels. While Hawkes and Hull divided the form into A, B and C variants, they were uncertain whether it had any chronological significance (1947, 253-4) and this seems to be indicated by the occurrence of both *Cam* 191 A and B at the short-lived forts at Rödgen and Dangstetten. If there is any significance in the distinction it may be geographical rather than chronological. The only non-wall-sided vessel from Britain likely to be an Iron Age import is from Gatesbury (Partridge 1981, Fig 126, 14) and may represent an intermediate stage between Rödgen types 72 and 73 and so could be the earliest of the British finds.

Commentary

In 1939 Fromols argued that the rarity of mortaria from early kiln sites in the Champagne suggested that they were not manufactured locally until a Roman cuisine was adopted. This may be only

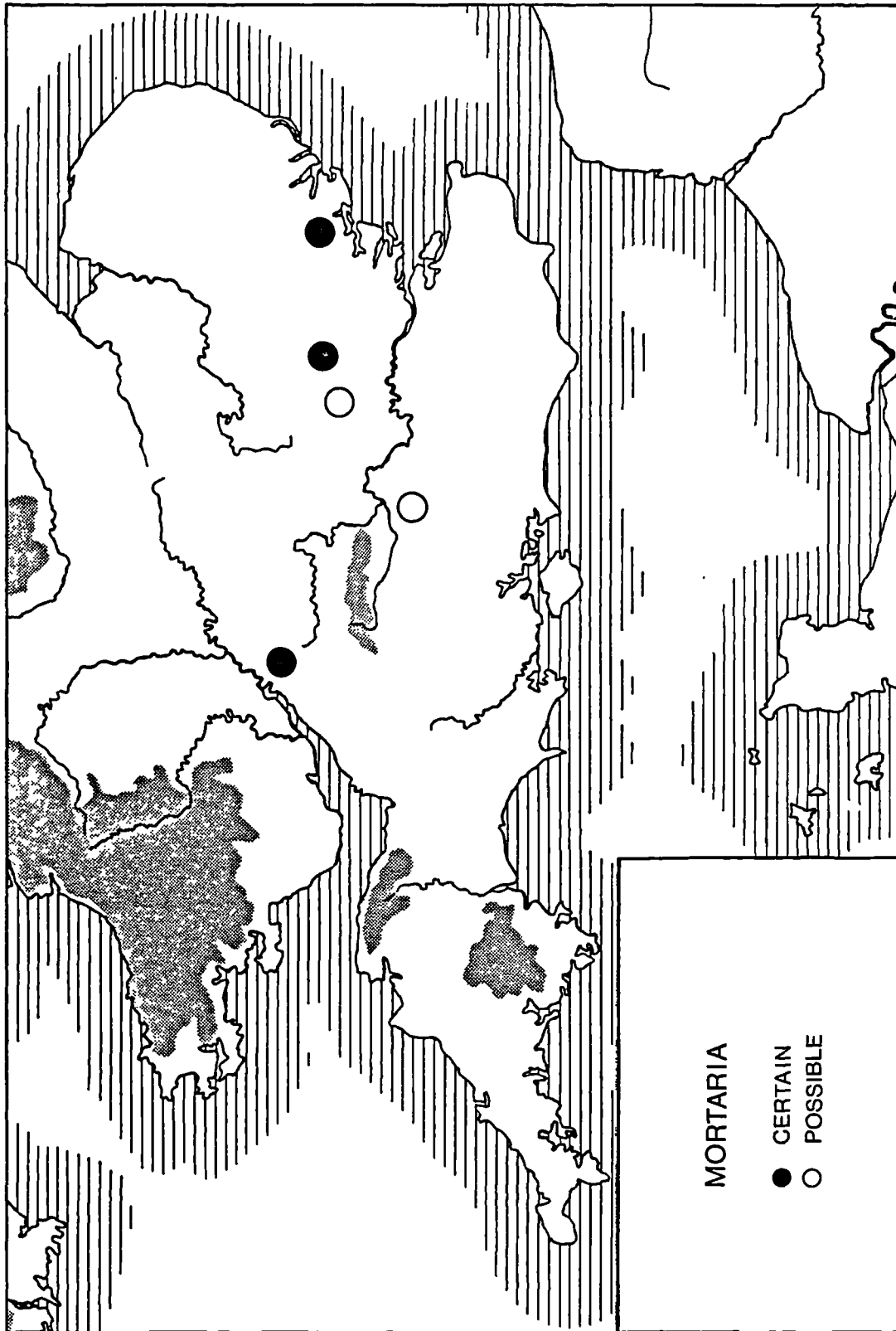


FIG 20: DISTRIBUTION OF MORTARIA
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

partly true as it is possible that in the first instance imported mortaria may have met the demand for such vessels. Nonetheless, given the apparent rarity of these vessels in Iron Age Europe and also in northern Europe in the early Roman period, their discovery in Britain is noteworthy. It is possible that the vessels were not used in Britain in the way that they were originally intended to be used. Alternatively they may suggest a limited adoption of Mediterranean customs of food preparation by Britons or the presence of people practising these customs.

5.2 POMPEIAN RED WARE

Introduction

Pompeian Red Ware was made exclusively as a shallow platter with an accompanying lid. Vessels can be very large - up to 95cm in diameter although they usually range between 35-45cm. The ware occurs in a variety of fabrics all of which have a thick red slip on the inside of the platters. The slip may have acted as a form of non-stick surface.

In discussing finds from Haltern Loeschke suggested that as the colour of the slip was comparable to the red of Pompeian wall paintings, the finds could be from there (1909, 268). Since then it has been known as Pompeian Red Ware.

Typology and Chronology

The development of the ware has been well-documented by Goudineau

(1970). Vessels occur at Bolsena in the second half of the third century BC (*ibid*, 182) but distribution appears to have remained localised until the first century when platters appear elsewhere in Italy (eg Ornavasso, Graue 1974, 86) and at *Pollentia* (Alcudia) on Majorca, where some early first century BC vessels (Vegas 1963, 282) have been shown to be Italian (Vegas 1969). However, the ware was not exported to the Celtic communities of continental Europe and it only appears in northern Europe in the Augustan period when it is found in virtually every Augustan fort. The only typological feature which seems to be of chronological significance is the presence of a beaded rim on vessels up to the Augustan period. Some vessels at Dangstetten and Oberaden lack the bead rim and by the late Tiberian or Claudian periods at the latest this feature has disappeared.

Provenance

Vegas suggested that production gradually spread into the provinces (1969, 225) and this has been supported by further petrological analyses by Peacock (1977c). Peacock's work distinguished seven major fabrics, three of which were predominant in Britain, his Fabrics 1-3. Fabric 1 was suggested to originate in the area of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Fabric 2 elsewhere in the Mediterranean, possibly in the Aegean or Anatolia and Fabric 3 from Central France. Pucci has also argued that a Cuman production is indicated by literary sources (1975) while Neutron Activation Analysis by Pernicka has also suggested an origin in the Vesuvius region (Grünewald, Pernicka and Wynia 1980). Santrot and Santrot have claimed production in Santes from c 25-15 BC although this is not supported by any evidence from kilns

(1979, 62) and although Fromols suggests that Pompeian Red Ware was made in the Thuisy kilns (1938, 85), the vessels he illustrates are Gallo-Belgic in form and it seems more likely that they are in Terra Rubra. Production in Belgium does seem to have started by the Neronian period though (De Laet and Thoen 1969).

Organisation of Production and Distribution

Pompeian Red Ware is widely distributed throughout the Roman Empire and recently Wynia has published an important study which indicates that the organization of production is far from understood (Wynia 1979). Wynia collates the evidence of stamps and graffiti on Pompeian Red Ware which although they have been noted occasionally had never been analysed systematically. Wynia noted eight stamps and 28 graffiti from 36 sites. One vessel from Velsen has both a stamp and graffito. Stamps appear to be rare; only one sherd from 162 found at Neuss was stamped (Filtzinger 1972, MNV not given) and none of the 51 sherds from Usk were stamped (Greene 1979, 129-33).

Of the signatures 21 are attributable to a single individual and his slaves(?), Decimus Marius, and these are suggested to have been made in the Vesuvius region (Wynia 1979; Grünewald, Pernicka and Wynia 1980) while Grünewald has subsequently suggested a workshop actually in or near Pompeii (1983, 29). Wynia does not discuss the date of vessels stamped by Decimus Marius but they occur at Haltern and at a number of Augustan or Tiberian foundations - *Carnuntum*, Neuss, Nijmegen, Vechten, Velsen and *Vindonissa*. The rarity of the stamps at Claudian foundations suggests that production or export by Decimus Marius did not continue much, if at all, into the Claudian period. Hawkes and

Hull (1947, 221) record one graffito from Colchester, which Wynia takes to be a different one from that published by Hull (1958, 156; Wynia 1979, 426 Anm 14) but as Hawkes and Hull describe it as from Colchester rather than Sheepen it is probably the same graffito.

None of the vessels imported into Iron Age Britain have been analysed petrologically but Peacock suggests that only his Fabrics 1 and 2 are likely to be pre-Claudian while Fabric 3 became widely available after the Claudian conquest (1977c, 160). All of the finds from Sheepen are in Hawkes and Hull's Fabric A (1947, 221, 277) which certainly includes Peacock's Fabric 1 and possibly Fabric 2. A find from an Augustan-Tiberian context at Braughing-Gatesbury Track is in Peacock's Fabric 1 (Partridge 1979, 109). One of the Sheepen finds has a bead rim which suggests that it may be Augustan if not earlier (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 221), although its context is not given.

Commentary

Pompeian Red Ware was a specialised Roman cooking vessel and finds often have their base blackened by fire and it may be asked if British finds indicate the adoption of Roman cuisine, in particular the loaves which it is often asserted were cooked in the platters? But it is advisable to return to the origin of the opinion that loaves were baked in these platters. Loeschke first wrote '*Ihre Aufstellung im Museum von Pompei lässt vermuten dass sich grosse flach Brote mehrfach in ihnen gefunden haben*' (Loeschke 1919, 285, Anm 239) and subsequently '*Platten derselben Art haben sich in Pompei noch mit den in ihnen gebackeren Broten*

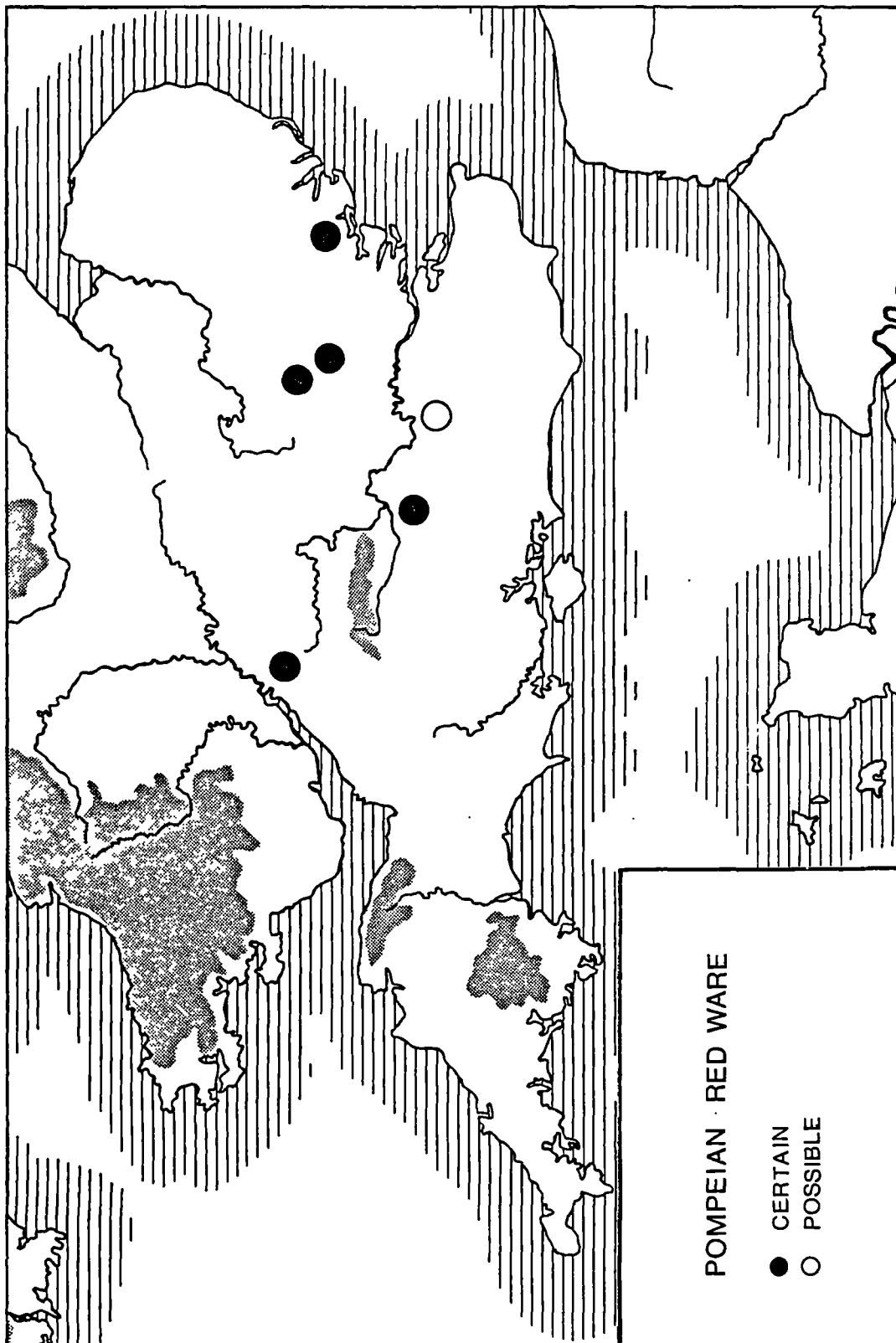


FIG 21: DISTRIBUTION OF POMPEIAN RED WARE
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

gefunden' (Loeschke 1942, 38). This has been repeated regularly and the 'somewhat overcooked' loaves from Pompeii are taken as fact (Greene 1979, 130). What Loeschke first said is that the display of the platters in the museum at Pompeii allows the inference that bread was found regularly in them. By 1942 this was a statement of 'fact' and not an inference but it appears that Loeschke never saw any bread in the Pompeii finds and recent examination of the Pompeii food remains by Schindler-Kaudelka suggests that a grain based meal was not being prepared but something more akin to an omelette (E. Schindler-Kaudelka pers comm). This doubt is strengthened by common sense - bread is not usually cooked in a closed vessel as it would not normally rise, unless an unleavened one is desired and even then this is not dependent on a closed container. It must be wondered then, are Pompeian Red Ware platters more akin to a modern non-stick frying-pan rather than a baking tin?

If the vessels in Iron Age Britain (Fig 21, App 24) were used in the same way as in the Roman world perhaps egg-based dishes were prepared, whether Britons made Roman loaves appears much less likely.

CHAPTER VI

TABLE WARES

6.1 CAMPANIAN WARE

'Campanian Ware' or 'black glaze pottery' is a finely made black slipped ware which was manufactured in a variety of forms but was essentially a table ware. Deriving ultimately from Attic ware, Campanian ware was made from the third to the later first centuries BC.

Typology, Provenance and Chronology

The principal classification was published by Lamboglia in 1952 who divided the fabrics and slips into three groups, A, B and C and presented a typology for the forms (1952b). All were taken to be manufactured in Italy. Campanian A was taken to be the earliest dating to between the third and first centuries while B and C were dated to the later second and first centuries. Lamboglia subsequently recognised that there were a variety of imitations and since this point controversy over provenance and date has raged. It would be inappropriate to recount the various arguments here, instead the interpretation currently accepted most generally, that of Morel, will be outlined (Morel 1978; 1981; cf Kenrick 1985, 8-65).

Campanian A, which has a reddish fabric, is taken to be from Naples and Ischia, the pottery of the latter was noted by Pliny (*NH* III, 82). Starting at the end of the third century BC, Morel distinguishes three major phases: 1 from the late third century to c 180 BC, 2 from c 180 to c 100 BC, 3 from c 100 to 50 BC. A Campanian A '*tardif*' is also recognised which appears to date to the second half of the first century BC. Campanian B, with a pale, buff coloured fabric, is taken to be from Etruria, perhaps Arezzo and a kiln is known at Cales in Campania, and to date to the first century BC.

Campanian C has a grey(-ish) fabric and is taken to be from Syracuse or southern Italy. Production of it may start in the second half of the second century BC but is primarily of first century BC date.

The 'imitations' were made in Catalonia and Languedoc, some of the Spanish finds from near Ampurias may be of second century BC date. The vessels produced in southern France are quite close to the Italian finds but imitations of the 'imitations' are less faithful copies (Morel and Perrin 1976). 'Imitations' were also made in the Po Valley (Kaenal 1985, 158). There are a vast number of forms; Morel (1981) distinguishes over 2,000 but it is difficult to assess how useful this classification is without being able to relate form and fabric.

Distribution

It is equally difficult to interpret the distribution of Campanian wares beyond the Roman frontiers as published descriptions rarely give indications of either fabric or form so it is virtually impossible to distinguish where the vessels were made or when (cf

Morel 1978, 149-68; 1985). Many sites in north-west Europe which have Dr 1 amphorae also have Campanian fine wares but only in small quantities. It is clear that both were frequently shipped together as mixed cargoes (Stöckli 1979a; Tchernia 1986, 51-2) and it seems plausible that in Gaul at least they travelled together. For Manching, Stöckli has argued that while the amphorae probably arrived via the Rhône, the Campanian ware arrived via a transalpine route (1979a, 195) and this may be true for other German and Swiss sites. This has also been suggested by Kaenal (1985, 154) for the Campanian 'B' from Swiss sites but as the Dr 1 amphorae from the same sites are Campanian this is difficult to support.

Morel has described the trade in finewares as parasitic on that in agricultural produce, particularly wine (1981, 88) and it is clear that in terms of quantity at least, amphorae are dominant in the wrecks. However, many table vessels can be fitted into the space occupied by a single amphora and it seems unwise to assume from this that Campanian ware was not so valued. The distribution of the two probably provides a better answer. The rarity of the table wares in northern Europe suggests that they were not wanted, or perhaps not valued as greatly as wine. Also, because of the abundance of Campanian ware in the western Mediterranean, there seems little reason to doubt that if they were wanted in Gaul such a desire could easily be fulfilled. In general, Mediterranean style eating and drinking utensils are rare in Gaul and this may be partly cultural and partly due to the existence of satisfactory indigenous alternatives.

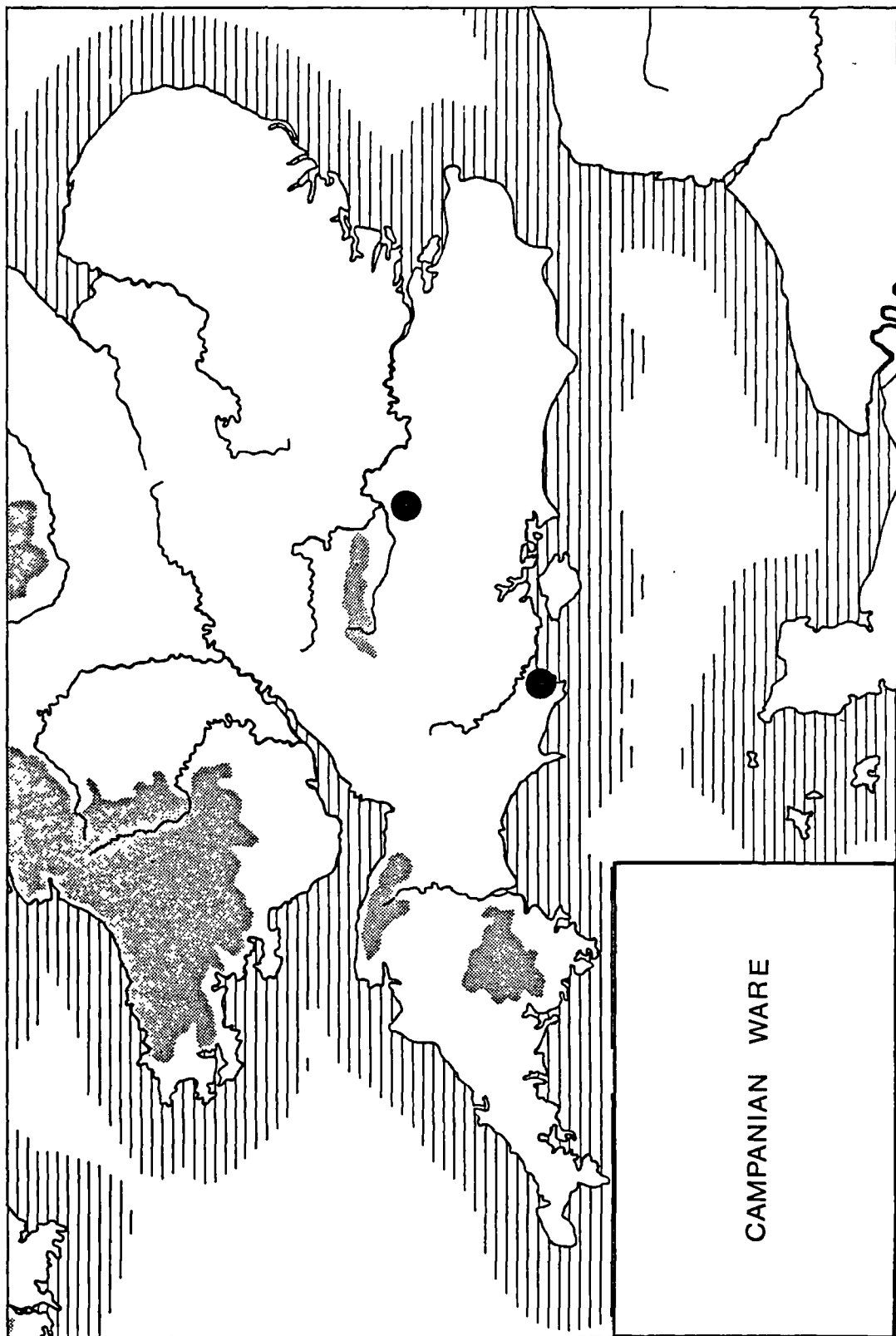


FIG 22: DISTRIBUTION OF CAMPANIAN WARE IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Commentary

Britain stands on the very edge of the distribution of Campanian ware. One sherd from a bowl or cup, probably Campanian A, is known from Ower, Dorset (Timby 1986, 78) and there is another from Silchester (J.R. Timby pers comm). Lastly there is an uncertainly provenanced old find from 'near Peterborough' (Knight 1984, 86) (Fig 22). While actual vessels are rare it is possible that their influence might be distinguished in the adoption of platters in indigenous potting traditions. Although it is possible that these vessels may be influenced by early Gallo-Belgic vessels which themselves derive from Campanian forms (eg Oberaden 86 from Lamboglia 5/7), a number of sites in the Hertfordshire area which may well antedate the appearance of Gallo-Belgic vases have platter-like forms (eg Braughing-Gatesbury Track; Partridge 1979, Fig 41, 6; Braughing-Station Road *ibid*, Fig 16, 1-4; Braughing-Gatesbury, *idem* 1981, Fig 33, 78-81, etc) and similar influence may be suspected in northern French styles (*cf* Bulard and Drouhout 1981, 360).

6.2 THIN-WALLED FINE WARES

ACO Beakers are tall, very thin-walled beakers. They are often relief decorated with a fine thorn-like motif and sometimes with figures. The maker's name sometimes runs along the mouth of the vessel and the most common of these dozen or so names is ACO and this gives the type its name (Vegas 1969-70; Wynia 1973; Marichal and Mayet 1980). From the mutually exclusive distributions of these stamps (with the exception of ACO) it is likely that the

vessels were made both north and south of the Alps (Vegas 1969-70, Abb 1; Moevs 1980). The distribution of finds in Italy points to a north Italian source while production sites have been discovered at Lyon (Lasfargues and Vertet 1968, with literature) and Saint-Romain-en-Gaul (Desbat and Savay-Guerraz 1986).

Alongside these well known 'name wares' is a series of thin-walled beakers of similar form which are undecorated. Some of these were made at Lyon (Lasfargues and Vertet 1968; 1970) but they were also made in kilns at Roman forts (Vegas 1975, 8-12; Schönberger and Simon 1976, 80-4; von Schnurbein 1977, Greene 1979, 10-11) and other related Augustan-Tiberian Central Gaulish forms, probably from Lezoux are known (Galliou 1981, Fig 15.4) and there was some production at La Grafesenque (Greene 1979, 11). Two forms seem to be of exclusively of first century BC date, the ACO beaker and the Rilled Beaker (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 80) and their production may have ceased by the first decade BC, but other forms, while common in the Augustan period (Vegas 1969-70; 1975; Mayet 1975) could also have been manufactured into the Tiberian period (Schindler-Kaudelka 1975).

At present only one ACO or similar beaker is known from Iron Age Britain, from Silchester (J.R. Timby pers comm) despite Greene's careful survey of the related British finds (1979). However, in addition to the finds documented by Vegas (1969-70, Abb 1) and finds from other German military sites mentioned by her (1975), examples are also known from Amiens and Arras (Massy and Molière 1979, 122), Lumigny. (Seine-et-Marne) (Collis 1975a, 207) and Rouen (*Gallia* 36, 1978, 312) in northern France. These discoveries suggest that ACO Beakers may well eventually be found more frequently in Iron Age Britain.

One possible and one certain thin-walled wares are known from Iron

Age Britain. Hawkes and Hull noted the occurrence of one *Cam 61* deepened hemispherical bowl in an Iron Age context (1947, 228). They compared the form to Loeschke's Ha 13 but von Schnurbein has endorsed Loeschke's suspicions that this form is not an 'Arretine' one but part of the Haltern wares made by P. FLOS (1982, 62, 207, Taf 68, 1603-5; 1986) and so may also belong with the so-called 'imitations', the Ha 40. Vessels related to this were made at many military kilns in the Rhineland (von Schnurbein 1977; Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 5; Greene 1979, 10-11) and at Lyon, La Murette (Lasfargues and Vertet 1970, 222-4) and La Grafesenque (Greene 1979, 11) and represent an aspect of the Mediterranean, probably Italian, thin-walled fine wares in north-west Europe (*ibid*, 1-12; Schindler-Kaudelka 1975). Hawkes and Hull did not specify which variant of their type *Cam 61A* or *B* was found in and Iron Age context. The *Cam 61A* is typologically Augusto-Tiberian and apparently one was found at Colchester-Sheepen, the *61B* typologically more advanced but apparently still pre-Claudian (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 228; Greene 1979, 11). Given the widespread production of the form and the lack of a fabric description for the Colchester find it is difficult to suggest where it was made. However, this find, always assuming it is not a Romano-British period find misconstrued as Iron Age (Ch 4.2) appears to contradict Greene's statement that these fine wares do not occur in Iron Age deposits (1978, 15).

The only other certain thin-walled import in Iron Age Britain is a colour-coated cup from Braughing-Skeleton Green (Greene 1979, 75-84, Fig 34, 5; Partridge 1981, 103-4, Fig 52). On the basis of the parallels for the barbotine decoration of this vessel on an

example from Cosa (Moevs 1973, Pl 40, 336-7) and the Italian origin of much of the 'Arretine' from Skeleton Green, Greene suggests that the vessel is a Central Italian product, probably of Tiberian or early Claudian date. Subsequently, Mackensen has pointed to a number of finds of Lyon ware dated to the 30s AD (1981, 443-4), a slightly earlier date than Greene was able to demonstrate, so the occurrence of this ware in British Iron Age contexts should be borne in mind. This is relevant, for example, to the piece from a period IA context at Bagendon (Clifford 1961, 222, Fig 49, 13; Swan 1975, 60; Greene 1979, 17, 42) which could be Iron Age but is, perhaps, likelier to be of Romano-British date.

6.3.1 TERRA SIGILLATA

Introduction

Two principal categories of terra sigillata were imported to Iron Age Britain, 'Arretine' and Samian wares.

As King has observed the English usage 'Samian' is appropriate (1980; 1981) but 'Arretine' and Samian are used here to distinguish between the two phases represented amongst the British Iron Age material. 'Arretine' wares are essentially an Italian tradition and while Arezzo is the best known production centre the wares were made elsewhere in Italy and in Gaul and Germany so that the use of 'Arretine' here reflects the style and not the origin of the vessels. 'Arretine' wares developed between 40 and 20 BC and were made in Italy until c AD 20-30 when they evolved into what is termed 'late Italian sigillata'. However, 'Arretine' wares were made in Gaul from the last and possibly penultimate

decade BC until the second decade AD after which South Gaulish wares were produced. While the plain forms of South Gaulish ware develop from 'Arretine' forms, new decorated forms were also made and these distinguish the Southern Gaulish potting tradition from the contemporary 'late Italian' wares, although decorated vessels were also a part of this style (Hayes 1973; Pucci 1973; Goudineau 1980). Southern Gaulish wares are the dominant ones reaching Britain at this stage with the addition of some Central Gaulish Lezoux pieces. Late Italian wares are not certainly known from Iron Age contexts. When discussing both 'Arretine', Lezoux and Southern Gaulish wares or wares whose attribution is uncertain the term 'sigillata' is used here. The literature on sigillata is prodigious and it is impossible to consider it fully here, particularly as we are concerned with only a small part of the sigillata tradition. General introductions will be found in Oswald and Pryce (1920) and Bulmer (1980) for example. The two traditions are discussed separately as this broadly follows a chronological development but the finds are catalogued together (App 25).

Function

Terra Sigillata was a table ware and the principal forms represented in Britain are platters and cups or beakers and this is typical of the products of the tradition. Decorated beakers, vases and bowls are less common finds but the decorated bowl becomes a more frequent find in the South Gaulish repertoire than in the 'Arretine' one. These later vessels may have been serving bowls. As we shall see 'Arretine' wares are grouped into 'services' of cups and platters although this is actually of

doubtful value. It does seem likely, though, that cups and platters would have been used as sets but the number of vessels in any given set and the size of the vessels in it is not known. The number of vessels deposited in grave groups in continental Europe varies markedly (cf Pferdehirt 1978, 9-10).

6.3.2 'ARRETINE' WARES

Typology

The standard typology is that proposed by Loeschke in his publication of the Haltern finds. Considering the forms Loeschke distinguished 21 types. Forms 1-5 are platters, 6-16 cups, 17 a lid, 18-20 relief decorated vases and beakers and 21 a narrow-mouthed jug. On the basis of the rims Loeschke grouped the forms in four services, each service sharing common features in the form of the rim (Tab 7) with forms 6, 14 and 16 unattributed.

Each service comprises a cup and platter and in the case of services I and II a decorated Crater. (Loeschke 1909; von Schnurbein 1982, 24-6, Abb 6). Wells gives a succinct summary of the differences between the services:

'Service 1 ... is distinguished ... by its so-called '*Hängelippe*', the lip of the vessel turning outwards to form a projecting or overhanging rim. Service II on the other hand has an almost vertical rim, generally with a slight concavity in the wall of the vessel on the exterior beneath the rim, the interior

being divided into horizontal bands by thin grooves; Service III has a smooth, rounded, convex lip, and Service IV the vertical rim of Service II but without the dividing grooves. The services may also be differentiated by the shape of the wall and the base of the vessel.'

(Wells 1972, 257-60).

Later Vogt distinguished three varieties of Service I, calling them Ia, Ib and Ic and these distinctions are commonly used today.

TABLE 7

'ARRETINE' SERVICES

Service	Forms
I	1, 7, 18
II	2, 8, 9, 19
III	4, 10, 11, 12, 13
IV	5, 15

Source: After Loeschke 1909.

Loeschke suggested that Service III developed from Service I and that IV developed from II. However, Goudineau (1968, 266-71) has argued that Service III cannot develop from I and in publishing the Oberaden finds Loeschke himself doubted the correctness of this interpretation (1942). Most recently von Schnurbein doubts the reality of the Service as form 4 is rare at Haltern and for similar reasons, the rarity of form 5 at Haltern, he doubts the existence of Service IV (1982). Goudineau (1968) has proposed a completely new typology which contains a greater variety of forms than Loeschke's, but this has proved to be less workable than Loeschke's which is still widely employed in discussing northern European finds and it is Loeschke's typology which is generally followed here. Where possible precise forms are given in the gazetteers, but the minutiae of the germanic typologies is rarely obtainable and when so, sometimes of doubtful value as we shall see below.

Relief decorated vessels are rare. The early beaker forms as found only in sites dateable to Ettlenger's 'Oldest Horizon in Neuss' (see below) and then only in small numbers (Gechter 1979, 25). Other than that Craters are also infrequent finds and only the Dragendorff 11 vase which occurs in a number of variations is found widely, if infrequently (*ibid*, 24-9, Abb 6-8).

Provenance

In publishing the Haltern finds Loeschke took them all to be products of Arezzo, but before this Oxé (1897) had suggested that 'Arretine' wares were made in Gaul. Oxé maintained this in a number of papers (eg 1943) and on the basis of his corpus of

'Arretine' stamps brought to press by Comfort (Oxé and Comfort 1968) it was possible to demonstrate the probability of Gaulish production (Ettlinger 1962). The complexity of production is only now being unravelled with the discovery of a manufacturing site at Lyon, La Murette (eg Picon and Garmier 1974) and scientific analyses of the major collections of Haltern (von Schnurbein 1982) and Neuss (Ettlinger 1983) but the picture is far from clear. It seems likely that many of the centres which produced southern Gaulish samian also produced 'Arretine' but knowledge of them is poor and relations between these sites were complex (Picon *et al* 1975). Knowledge of the Italian sites is poor and is not available conveniently, but such as it is, the evidence for 'Arretine' production in Italy and Gaul is summarised below.

1. *Arezzo*

Production at the eponymous site has been known for many centuries and there are a number of literary references (cf Chase 1908; 1916). However, 'Arezzo' subsumes a number of different sites. Excavations at Cincelli, 10km from Arezzo in the nineteenth century discovered a pottery of P. Cornelius and this is commonly called an Arezzo site. Excavations in Arezzo at the same time discovered a pottery of M. Perennius Tigranus while more recently a pottery of Ateius was discovered in 1954 but only the scantiest information is available (Maetze 1959) and a number of other kilns in the city are probable (cf Brown 1968). The decorated vessels from Arezzo have been well studied, notably by Stenico (1960a; 1966), but how representative they are of the overall output is unknown.

2. *Pozzuoli*

Again, this site was excavated in the last century although it at least was the subject of a contemporary publication (Bruzza 1895). Comfort has contributed two papers on the products (1963-64; 1973) but in general little has been written on them although chemical analyses have allowed the attribution of some potters to Pozzuoli (von Schnurbein 1982, 84-6).

3. *Pisa*

Kilns were discovered in 1965 and brief comments are to be found in Jefferson, Dannell and Williams 1981 and rather fuller ones in Taponecco Marchini 1974, but as Ettliger observes '*Über Pisa wissen wir noch recht wenig, ausser dass Ateius dort die Grossproduktion für den gallischen Markt aufzog.*' (Ettliger 1983, 71).

4. *Rome*

Although not confirmed by excavation or kiln sites a source in Rome or central Italy is suggested by scientific analyses, both thin-sectioning (Williams 1978, 6-7) and chemical analyses (von Schnurbein 1982; Ettliger 1983).

5. *Tindari*

Little is known of this site on Sicily identified by Stenico but it appears to have mainly produced later Italian wares rather than 'Arretine' (Lamboglia 1959).

6. *Cales*

Massy and Molière (1979, 128) note that two vessels from the early pit group were analysed by Lasfargues and attributed to Cales. I am not aware of any further publication on this site, which is also known to have produced Campanian ware (Ch 6.1).

7. *Lyon*

Two sites are known: La Murette and Loyasse. At Loyasse a kiln was discovered in 1967 and its products are described as imitation Campanian ware, plain 'Arretine', plain and decorated beakers, lead-glazed wares and lamps. Beyond this listing virtually nothing has been published (Lasfargues 1973; Lasfargues, Lasfargues and Vertet 1976).

In contrast the La Murette products although not the site itself, which was discovered in 1965, have been reasonably well published (Audin and Leglay 1966; Lasfargues 1973; Lasfargues and Vertet 1968; 1970; Lasfargues, Lasfargues and Vertet 1976; 1977; Picon and Garnier 1974), numerous chemical analyses of the products have been published mainly by Picon (Picon and Vichy 1974; Picon and Lasfargues 1974; Picon, Vichy and Meille 1971; Picon *et al* 1972-73; Widemann 1975) which indicate that the site was supplied with Italian moulds and important analyses of the major collections from Haltern and Neuss have been made by Picon and Lasfargues and the results incorporated in substantial publications by von Schnurbein (1982) and Ettliger (1983) respectively.

8. *Lezoux*

Evidence for large-scale Augustan production at Lezoux is slight but Comfort (1959a) and Vertet (1968) draw attention to the evidence of a few typologically early two-line stamps (cf Gechter 1979, 22) and the production of late Augustan and Tiberian wares is confirmed (Brown 1968; Feugère, Poncet and Vaginay 1977; Vertet 1967; 1971). The importance of Lezoux at this stage is not known.

9. *La Grafesenque*

Chemical analyses have indicated that some Ateius vessels are La Grafesenque products (Pappalardo 1969, corrected by Picon 1974; Dannell 1978, 225; Williams 1978, 7) but the scale of this early production is not known. Some two-line stamps are known (Balsan 1970) and the recent discovery of early kilns will greatly improve knowledge of the products (Simpson 1976).

10. *Montans*

Argued for by Oxé (1914), the existence of early production has been confirmed by the discovery of kilns and associated waste dumps which have yielded 'Arretine' and early South Gaulish forms and two-line stamps (Martin 1974; Simpson 1976; von Schnurbein 1982, 126, 129; Gechter 1979, 22-3). Martin and Garnier (1977) have published a detailed analysis of the Tiberian products of Montans.

11. *Aspiran and Bram*

Little has yet been published of these sites (Rancoule 1970; Passelec 1970 (on Bram)) but Ettliger notes that the products of Bram are poor (1983, 21).

12 *Saint-Romain-en-Gal*

Apparently a small workshop whose products are generally comparable to those of Lyon-Loyasse (no 7 above). Production is thought to start c 30-20 BC (Desbat and Savay-Guerraz 1986, 92, Pl 1-4) and it is noteworthy that some stamps have parallels to Bram (*ibid*, Pl 8, no 4). Other fine wares including ACO and other thin-walled wares were made.

13. *Haltern*

Loeschke and Oxé regarded some of the Haltern finds as Gaulish or Rhineland products and this was confirmed by the recognition of some 'Arretine' from Haltern as having an identical chemical composition to material from kilns found in the fortress. Von Schnurbein has published a study on the products of P. Flos, characterising the wares and also showing that they reached a number of military sites along the middle Rhine (1986). Other products are found only within the fortress (*idem* 1977).

14. *Mainz*

A mould for 'Arretine' attributable to P. Attius was apparently found at Mainz-Weisenau (Oxé 1933, no 83) but it seems unlikely

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that this is from one of his potteries. If the find is genuine, and this is not certain, then it may be a *surmoulage*.

Chronology

The development of 'Arretine' from '*pre-arétine / pre-sigillata*' is still far from clear but it seems likely that fully fledged 'Arretine' appeared c 30-20 BC. The developments have been summarised by Furger-Gunti (1979a, 101-9) and the western European finds discussed in detail by Ettliger (1983, 21-4, 99-100). Ettliger's monograph provides the most succinct and soundly based analysis of the development of the 'Arretine' reaching northern Europe. Her chronology centred around the Neuss finds is based on military sites in Europe (cf Ettliger 1967a; 1968-69) and the sequences from Bolsena and the Magdalensberg but she is at pains to avoid circular arguments from 'Arretine' dating sites and these sites then being used to date 'Arretine'. She distinguishes five horizons; (i) Oldest Horizon of Italian Sigillata, (ii) Oldest Horizon in Neuss, (iii) The Oberaden Horizon, (iv) The Haltern Horizon and (v) The post-Haltern Horizon. The Oldest Horizon is found only rarely in northern Europe. There are finds from Zürich, Neuss, Goeblingen-Nospelt and possible finds from Basel. The Oldest Horizon in Neuss is much more widely distributed and equates to Vogt's Service Ia and is dated by Ettliger c 20-15 BC, although some modifications have been proposed (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 56-87; Furger-Gunti 1979a, 104), and as she points out a better name might be 'pre-Oberaden'. Ettliger gives an up to date listing of western European finds. From northern Europe there are finds from Amiens, Liberchies, Tongeren, Goeblingen-Nospelt, the Titelberg, Nijmegen, Neuss, Oberaden, *Asciburgium*,

Trier-Petrisberg, Dangstetten, Basel, *Vindonissa*, Zürich, Vidy-Lausanne, Yverdon (Ettlinger 1983, 100) and also finds from Bavay (Cornez, Tellier and Carmelez 1981; Boucly 1984) Paris (Bouthier, Lemoin and Simon 1971-72) and probably Stahl (Ettlinger 1983, 80, sv L. Iegidius) and Beaurieux, Les Grèves.

The Oberaden Horizon is fixed by the Oberaden, Rödgen and Dangstetten forts of which Oberaden is the best dated, dated c 11/10-8 BC although Rödgen and Dangstetten may be slightly earlier. At Rödgen and Oberaden Service I outnumbers II by 3:1, Service Ib and Ic being the dominant forms. The first Lyon products appear in this horizon but are extremely rare.

Following on very shortly after this, possibly directly, suggested by Ettlinger or with a gap of only two or three years suggested by von Schnurbein (ie c 7/5 BC) (Ettlinger 1983, 102) is the Haltern Horizon. This is the period during which 'Arretine' wares achieved their widest distribution. The Lyon made vessels of Ateius were distributed principally in this horizon, possibly over only a decade, although vessels made at Pisa are more important still.

The post-Haltern Horizon is less well documented but shortly after AD 15 Southern Gaulish samian appears mixed with 'Arretine' in closed groups at Mainz and *Vindonissa* (Ettlinger and Fellmann 1955; Ettlinger 1956). By about AD 20 Ettlinger considers the later Italian products to be restricted to Italy, with the Southern Gaulish wares dominating France while Gechter (1979, 21-3) sets this slightly earlier.

Distribution

'Arretine' wares are found throughout France, Switzerland, Italy

and in military sites along the Rhine, Main and Lippe and North Sea coast and in Britain (Pucci 1981, 104-5. Tav XVII). Oxe's monumental catalogue of stamps (Oxé and Comfort 1968) allows a fairly accurate distribution map to be compiled (Gechter 1979, Abb 12), assuming that the reporting of stamps in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* was fairly representative of the actual distribution (Ch 1.3).

Interpreting a composite map is difficult, as it is not possible to distinguish between the products of the different centres. This is particularly so for the Ateius products. It is beyond reasonable doubt that the products of the Ateii and their slaves/freedmen were the single most widely exported of any group of potters and their wares are very widely distributed (Gechter 1979, Abb 13, 1). At present workshops of Ateius are known from Arezzo and Pisa, and Picon has provenanced many finds to Lyon. The stamps of vessels made in Lyon seem to be larger and less well made than those from Italy but this is not a sure guide and as Dannell comments (1977) it is exceedingly difficult to identify provenance macroscopically although von Schnurbein (1982), Ettliger (1983) and Vanderhoeven (Beckert and Vanderhoeven 1984) have attempted, apparently with some success, to grade 'Arretine' in a 'Quality' scale from I - V. Grades I, II and V are taken to be Italian and III and IV to be Gaulish, probably from Lyon. To date, of those known to be associated with Ateius, and accepting the difficulties of homonyms, only Xanthus is also attested as manufacturing in Lyon. Other potters who may be either Italian or Gaulish, Rasinius and C. Sentius, both major producers, are known and Sentius appears also to have had eastern potteries. Added to the problems of distinguishing individual production centres is the demonstrable sample bias created by the alacrity

with which 'Arretine' studies have been pursued in Germany and the extensive excavations in Roman forts there. Excavated over many years, Neuss and Haltern (von Schnurbein 1974) completely dominate the distribution, not only in Germany, but overall with 1649+ and 915+ stamps known respectively (excluding the recent excavations (multiple stamps counted as one)). Allowing for the uncertainties of the garrison, usage of 'Services' and estimating a breakage/replacement rate, von Schnurbein estimates a total of 25-30,000 vessels being used in Haltern (1982, 132-4). On these figures it could be suggested that Neuss and Haltern exported pottery to Arezzo. It is usually asserted that the export was primarily to the armies of the Rhineland (Ettlinger 1983, 103), but after Haltern and Neuss the next largest number of stamps comes from Amiens, 225, completely overlooked until the full publication of the stamps by Massy (1980). Most of the finds come from the excavations of the 1970s and as nearly all modern northern French towns have produced some 'Arretine', how significant the distribution beyond the Rhineland should be regarded is unknown (cf Ch 1.3, Tab 1). Some of these French sites may well have a Roman military presence but it should not be assumed that the Roman pottery necessarily indicates this.

Commentary

Given the demonstration that not all 'Arretine' comes from Arezzo, Loeschke's assumption that the typological variations he recognised at Haltern are of chronological significance must be called into doubt. Wells has published two well argued papers demonstrating the difficulties in accepting the variations as necessarily of chronological significance (1977a; 1977b) and as we

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have seen the validity of Services III and IV is doubtful. Even so, the distinction between Services Ib/Ic and II does seem to have some chronological validity with Service I more common at earlier sites and with Ib being earlier than Ic (Ettlinger 1983; Beckert and Vanderhoeven 1984). However, as von Schnurbein has demonstrated, vessels which are typologically quite distinct share not only the same stamp but also the same die (eg 1982, Abb 17, 26, 29, 32). In a detailed consideration of the variations within specific forms von Schnurbein also discovered that while some variations could be generally attributed to Italian or Gaulish products, others were equally divided (eg *ibid*, 34). In view of this, the detailed subdivision of the pottery must be regarded as being of questionable value for chronological purposes. Perhaps a more useful guide for British purposes at least, is whether the assemblage is exclusively of Italian origin or not and this would allow dating around the Oberaden Horizon as a pivotal point. Radial stamps are rare at Haltern and a number of 'early' Italian potters whose work is found in the earliest Roman forts north of the Alps are also not found at Haltern. As a result of von Schnurbein's work, the Haltern Horizon is now massively documented, although the wider validity of the picture established there is not certain. The post-Haltern Horizon is much more difficult to establish as the Lyon 'Arretine' potteries appear to have ceased export to the northern fort sites at this time and no published site has clearly indicated the transition from 'Arretine' to South Gaulish ware and this may only become clear with the final publication of the production sites. Some sites such as *Vindonissa*, where the major military occupation commenced in the second decade AD, have both Italian and Gaulish wares mixed but the scale and nature of late 'Arretine' export is not clear.

Stamped vessels of this period often have trefoil, circular or ansate shaped stamps and these appear to antedate the well-known 'late Italian sigillata'. These forms are common amongst Ateius wares, antedating the 'late' signatures which are restricted to the Mediterranean (Ettlinger 1962; Comfort 1962a) but it seems that stamps of Xanthus are the most common on military sites, at least, during this stage.

In broad terms the British sites follow this pattern (Fig 23). At present no finds of Ettlinger's first two horizons are known. The earliest finds date to the Oberaden Horizon and are few. These are the radial stamped vessels from Heybridge, possibly by P. Hertorius (Wickenden 1986, 53; O/C 788) and Gatesbury whose stamp is illegible (Dannell 1981a, 327). Another early stamp from Gatesbury, but overlooked by Dannell (*op cit*), is the vessel by L. Tarquitius (Westell 1936, 362; O/C 1902). The Gatesbury finds are probably all Italian and so too are the Skeleton Green finds, all of which could possibly all date to the first century BC and some stamps, for example that of Rasinius (Dannell 1981a, Fig 74, 3; O/C 1485) occur in sites of the Oberaden Horizon. The Colchester, Chichester and Silchester finds span the Haltern and post-Haltern Horizons. These are occasional finds which may date to the Oberaden Horizon, but the bulk of the finds are later as is evidenced by the number of Xanthus stamps and the proportion of Lyon vessels. It seems likely that the 'Arretine' from these sites does not date to later than AD 20-30.

As with the Rhineland, decorated vessels are rare and this casts doubt on pieces such as the Bicester and Hanley finds allegedly found in the last century but lacking associated finds and details of discovery (*cf* App 25.3).

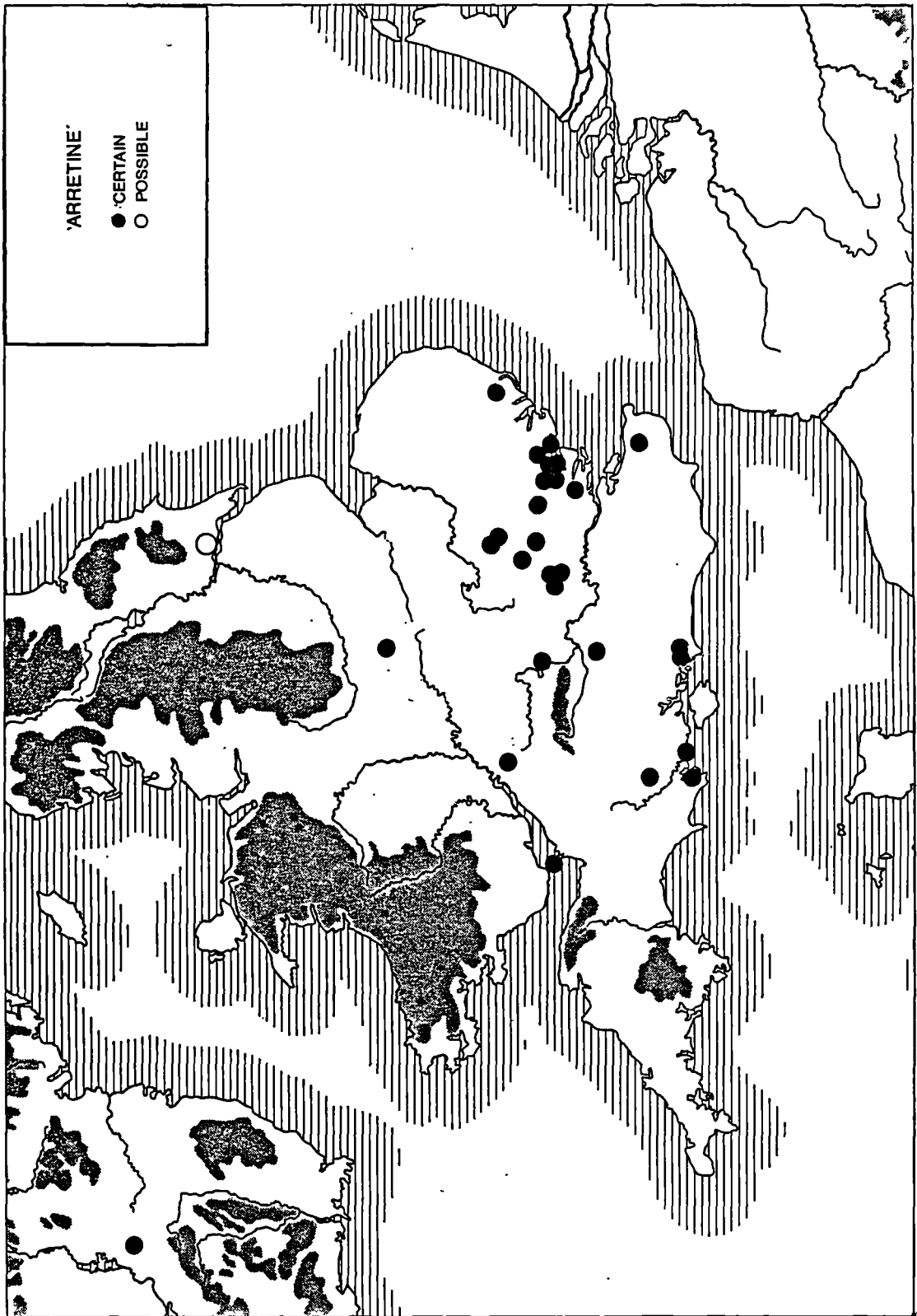


FIG 23: DISTRIBUTION OF 'ARRETINE'
 IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Sources

Pending the completion of William's programme of analyses of the British finds (cf Williams 1978) the attribution of them is uncertain. In the meantime one avenue is to attempt to attribute the stamps. It appears that 'Arretine' was stamped regularly with no forms not being stamped (von Schnurbein 1982), accordingly stamped vessels should provide a representative sample of the sources.

This is not entirely straightforward as the simple discovery of stamps at manufacturing sites in Italy does not necessarily indicate that the potters worked there. Such work as there has been on the kiln material has been directed towards the decorated wares and only a few potters can be attributed confidently. Fortunately the analysis of the Haltern and Neuss finds allows the attribution of many of the British finds and the publication of the Lyon, La Murette stamps (Lasfargues, Lasfargues and Vertet 1977) also allows the attribution of others. Even where there are no closely similar dies the work of Picon has frequently allowed an attribution to Italy rather than to a provincial pottery. On this basis the British stamps may be tentatively attributed (Tab 8).

This adds further support to Dannell's observation that the majority of the British material is Italian (1978, 225; above), while if the population is increased to include stamps less certainly identified, the percentage of Italian wares rises to c 84% and that from Lyon falls to c 14%. The latter figures are

TABLE 8

POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED 'ARRETINE' STAMPS IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Source	Percentage
Italian	79%
Lyon	19%
La Grafesenque	1%
Lezoux	1%

N = 65

Source: Identifications after von Schnurbein 1982.

perhaps less reliable as identification is biased towards them by the direction of previous research. These attributions also show that of the certainly identifiable Ateius stamps at Colchester-Sheepen c 85% are attributable to Pisa (cf also Comfort 1949, 330), while the figure at Silchester is 66%. Previously there was no certain identification of Pisan wares in Britain (cf Dannell 1979, 179). These figures stand in contrast to those obtained at Haltern (Tab 9) where Lyon wares are more important, however, the bulk of the Cleavel Point finds are also from Lyon (Pengelly 1986). It is difficult to interpret this evidence in terms of preferred 'trade routes'.

TABLE 9

SOURCES OF 'ARRETINE' AT HALTERN

Source	Percentage
Lyon	48%
Pisa	36%
Arezzo	2%
Italian	5%
Unidentified	9%

Source: von Schnurbein 1982, 15-16.

Of the Ateius stamps from Haltern 83% are attributed to Pisa and 28% to Lyon [sic] (von Schnurbein 1982, 15-16) and in this respect the British Ateius finds are closer to those from Haltern than in the overall composition of the 'Arretine' wares. And, as has already been noted by Dannell (1978, 226) it seems clear that the bulk of the British finds are late in the production of 'Arretine'. This is borne out by the percentage of Ateius and related stamps at British sites compared to continental European ones (Tab 1; Ch 1.3).

However, as Dannell also notes it is interesting that the earliest site collection, from Braughing-Skeleton-Green does not have any non-Italian wares and at least four sources are represented.

Lastly, it should be noted that on the basis of vessels by P. Cornelius in Britain, Oxé (1943, 53; Oxé and Comfort 1968, XXX) considered the possibility that Haltern was supplied through a Channel trade. However, with the discrediting of the London finds by Marsh (1979) and the possibility that the Leicester find is also a modern introduction (App 25.1.23c), this suggestion is now difficult to support.


6.3.3 SOUTH AND CENTRAL GAULISH SAMIAN

The earliest Southern Gaulish products remain enigmatic. As we have seen, many of what were to become major exporting potteries later on have produced fragmentary evidence for production in the first decade AD or possibly earlier.

It is clear that military sites on the Rhine did not start receiving South Gaulish products until the second decade AD. Plain wares were produced in the same forms as later 'Arretine' ware but are more familiar as Dragendorff 15/17, Dragendorff 27 and Ritterling 5 etc and are not generally grouped as a 'Service'. Most of the forms continued into the Claudian period.

Decorated wares are much better studied (eg Mary 1967) although attention has usually been directed to detailed analysis of the motifs employed by individual potters often without any apparent aim or ambition.

It is possible to isolate a number of typologically early motifs on the characteristically early Dragendorff 29: volutes, gadroons, vine and palm-leaves and arcading are such features (Gechter 1979, 30-3, Abb 9-11; Oswald 1951) as is rouletting on central mouldings. The Dragendorff 11 vase appears to have continued in production into the Claudian period but for only a short time.

It is beyond the scope of this work to review each decorated piece found in Britain which could be of pre-conquest manufacture. Most of these pieces seem to occur in early Roman contexts but one piece from Plesheybury may be an Iron Age import (App 25.1, 13). It is a Dragendorff 29 stamped ACVTIM which may be an early La Grafesenque product (Oswald and Pryce 1920, Pl XXVI, 6; Mary 1967, 27-8; Simpson 1976, 252-3) and which may have been associated with the 'Arretine' platter stamped  CN ATEI (May 1918).

ZOILI

The bulk of early South Gaulish material published so far comes from Colchester-Sheepen but it has been argued that this material arrived in the early Roman period with the conquering army. This hypothesis needs to be examined carefully for, as Hawkes and Hull recognised when proposing it (1947) it is not without its difficulties. Even though the dating of early South Gaulish samian is not as satisfactory as might be wished it is clear that by the 20s AD vessels were reaching military sites in Germany. In order to accommodate this Hawkes and Hull argued that 'Arretine' wares were no longer supplied to the military after c AD 25 but that they retained a civilian market after this and it was these sources which supplied Colchester with sigillata until AD 43. Hawkes and Hull maintained that no South Gaulish ware was stratified in their Period I contexts, only 'Arretine' wares being present. This may be expressed in another way and that is that 95% of 'Arretine' from their excavations at Sheepen is accepted as being residual in Roman contexts (1947, 190) but decorated sigillata of Tiberio-Claudian style which was calculated to comprise 40% of the decorated vessels on the site in AD 43 (*ibid*, 179) is regarded as being introduced by the army at this date.

Despite Hawkes and Hull's protestations concerning the support of the stratigraphic evidence for this, and Comfort's acceptance, albeit with reservations, of this (1949; 1962b, 456), it is clear that two different explanations are applied to what is on archaeological grounds the same phenomenon. 'Arretine' is residual but South Gaulish wares are 'heirlooms'. As we have seen the proposed unilateral development of stratigraphy at Sheepen is difficult to accept (Ch 4.2) and with this difficulty recognised, the occurrence of South Gaulish wares as an indicator of Roman date must be regarded as dubious.

Some 'Arretine' undoubtedly was residual and some early South Gaulish pieces may be heirlooms but it should be recognised that the *Camulodunum* report does not provide any independent evidence for a general rule to this effect for British sites. As Hawkes and Hull were aware, evidence from military sites in Germany showed that South Gaulish wares dominated sigillata assemblages from Tiberian foundations and the evidence of Hofheim was at odds with their interpretation of the *Camulodunum* material. The evidence from Valkenburg (de Weerd 1978), Friedburg (von Schnurbein 1983), Velsen (Glasbergen and van Lith 1977) Rheingonheim, Aislingen and Oberstimm (Schucany 1983) further underlines this (cf also Comfort 1975; Corder and Pryce 1938, 272). Evidence from Tiberian civilian sites which would support Hawkes and Hull's interpretation of a longer chronology for the 'Arretine' products is difficult to adduce. In part this is due to the rarity of adequately published assemblages of this date in Gaul (eg Martin and Garnier 1977; Feugère, Poncet and Vaginay 1977) but it is fair to say that Hawkes and Hull's argument has not received support from subsequent discoveries.

There has been some previous discussion of the difficulties of Hawkes and Hull's interpretation although this has been rather unproductive. In publishing the 'Arretine' finds from Fishbourne, as none of them appeared to be attributable to an Iron Age phase Dannell (1971) suggested that they were brought to the site by the army. Rodwell (1976a, 305-7) challenged this - in order to defend the published interpretation of *Camulodunum* - and suggested that the 'Arretine' arrived at Fishbourne after the army had left as the personal possessions of the incoming civilian occupants who had acquired them during the Iron Age. As Dannell has pointed out (1977, 232, n 2; 1978, 226) this argument is of little help as the army are just as likely to have 'old' pottery as the Britons, although he does not deal with Rodwell's acceptance of the 'Arretine' at Colchester as residual in Roman contexts, nor or the the other finds from Fishbourne which are likely to be of Iron Age date considered.

Boon has suggested that three Tiberian decorated vessels from Silchester and also six pieces of early Montans ware were introduced in the Iron Age and also queried the interpretation of the *Camulodunum* finds, noting that none of the Richborough or Valkenburg finds are as early as them (Boon 1969, 29). Boon has also shown that some Lezoux ware may well have reached Silchester in the Iron Age (1967), while there is one piece from Ower (Pengelly 1986, 71-2) in addition to those mentioned by Dannell (1977, 231).

Basing his conclusion on the apparent absence of Claudio-Neronian forms from the assemblage Dannell (*ibid*) has suggested that the finds from Clifford's excavations at Bagendon are of pre-conquest date, principally coming from La Grafesenque but with some Lezoux wares and a single Italian piece. It is questionable whether the

assemblage can be dated so precisely that all the finds can be attributed to the Iron Age but it does seem possible that some of the finds are Iron Age imports.

Returning to the *Camulodunum* finds, Hawkes and Hull make clear in their publication of the decorated sigillata a number of decorated vessels are typologically pre-Claudian or early Claudian and potentially of pre-conquest date (1947, 169-70, 174-80, Pl XX, 4-8; XXI-V) and a number of vessels from the 1970 excavations are comparable (Dannell 1985, 83, Fig 41, 1-11; 42, 13; 43, 25-7; 44, 28-30, 32; 45, 68; 46, 70). Some of these vessels, for example Hawkes and Hull's p 170, Pl XXI, are very early Tiberian and it seems probably that these vessels arrived in the Iron Age.

If this is accepted for the decorated wares it is also likely, but very difficult to demonstrate, that at least some plain wares also arrived with them, as is likely to be the case with a number of finds from Skeleton Green and Chichester (App 25.1, Tab 40).

In commenting on some of the Chichester finds and the rarity of certainly pre-conquest pieces, Dannell observed that 'it is inconceivable that Britain remained substantially unsupplied with samian until AD 43' (Dannell 1978, 226). This is true, but these pieces are perhaps more common than he suggests (Fig 24) and it need not be such a difficulty as Britain may have used a variety of other similar Gaulish fine wares and it is to these that we may now turn.

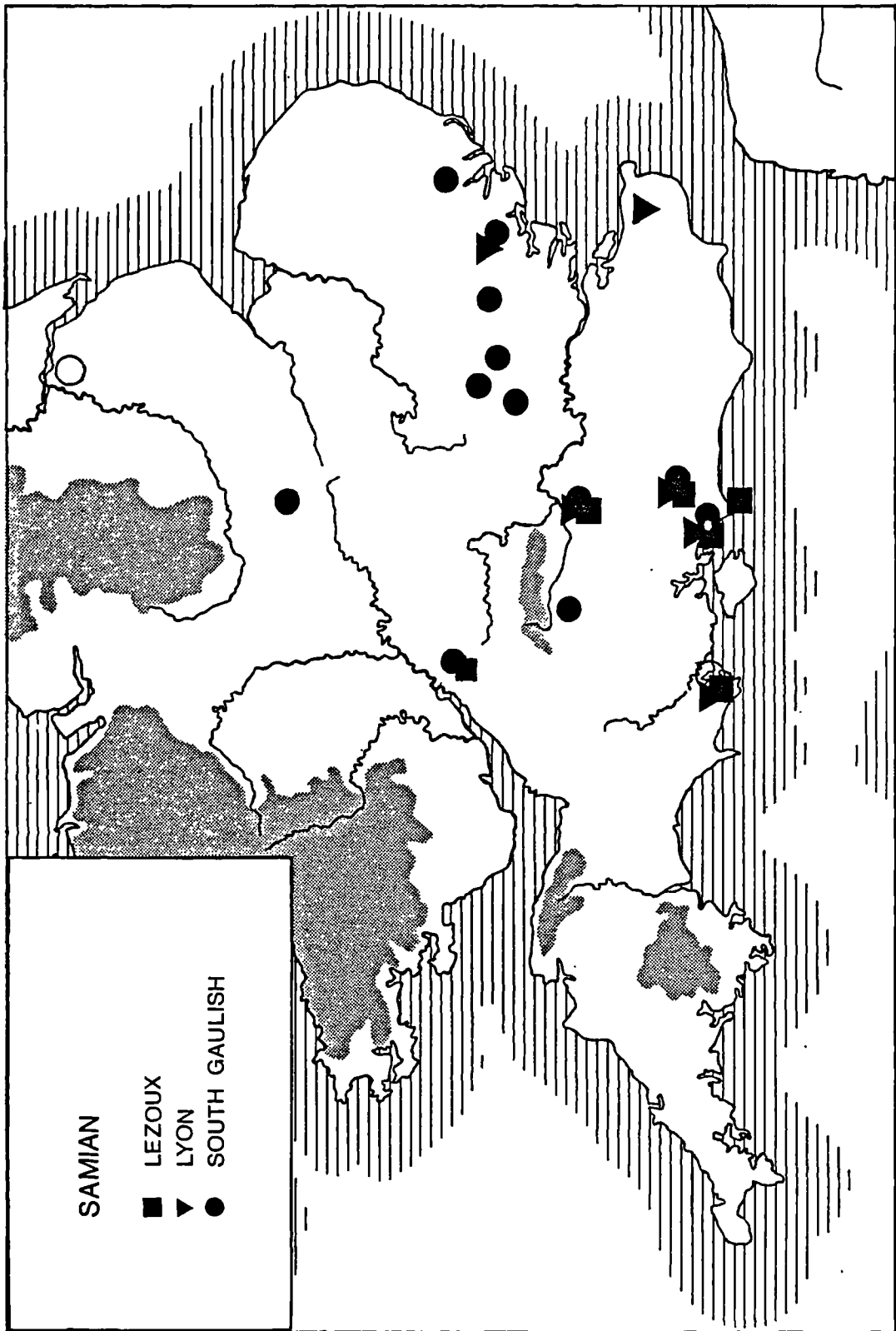


FIG 24: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMIAN IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

6.4 GAULISH FINE WARES

6.4.1 GALLO-BELGIC WARES

Gallo-Belgic is the name given to a series of fine wares made in northern Europe from the last decades BC until the Neronian period. Strictly speaking the name is a misnomer as vessels were made over a wider area than Belgic Gaul and usage is further confused by the description of some vessels of a quite different tradition produced in Holland and Germany as 'Belgic'. Usage here is that defined by Rigby (1973) which encompasses a range of forms principally imitating Mediterranean fine wares, notably 'Arretine', and which were fired in oxidising and reducing atmospheres with the respective results known as Terra Rubra (TR) and Terra Nigra (TN). A number of refinements to Rigby's 1973 usage will also be presented. In particular a significant number of Central Gaulish products and a handful of Aquitanian wares previously regarded as 'Gallo-Belgic' may be distinguished.

Typology

In publishing the Haltern finds in 1909 Loeschke proposed a typology which greatly expanded the types previously recognised (by Dragendorff in 1895) as being Gallo-Belgic. Loeschke recognised a blend of Gaulish and Mediterranean forms which he presented as a numbered type series. A similar approach was adopted by Hawkes and Hull in publishing the *Camulodunum* report (1947). These finds were far greater in number and covered a much longer period. Because of this the *Camulodunum* typology encompasses a greater range of forms and is the most comprehensive

type series available, including as it does a number of type figures taken from continental European material. Holwerda's publication of the even larger collection from Nijmegen (1941) does not present such a range of forms. Loeschke published a new typology and excellent discussion of the Oberaden finds in 1942 but because of the Second World War none of the authors of these reports which appeared within a few years of each other saw the other reports. The *Camulodunum* typology remains the most widely used system in Britain and continental Europe and is employed here. Although Rigby has published new typologies for the Braughing, Sheepen 1970 and Baldock finds (Rigby 1981a; 1985; Stead and Rigby 1986), it is difficult to see any value in creating an entirely new system for every major assemblage. It is also difficult to accept Rigby's detailed subdivisions of particular *Cam* forms, notably *Cam 7*, when the variation might be expected in the work of a single potter. The *Camulodunum* typology is not complete, however, and some recent British finds have no known parallels. Neither the *Camulodunum* or Oberaden typologies include the earliest Gallo-Belgic forms known from burials at Goeblingen-Nospelt, Nospelt-Kröckelbiurg or Wincheringen.

The principal vessel forms recognised as Gallo-Belgic are; platters, cups and beakers to which the flagons considered in Ch 3.4 should be added. The platters and cups generally follow 'Arretine' forms. The earliest forms such as those from Oberaden, Wincheringen, Rödgen and Trier-Petrisberg are close to Vogt's Service Ia 'Arretine' and the later 'Arretine' "Services" are also imitated. The early forms may possibly imitate Campanian rather than 'Arretine' vessels as they appear early in the penultimate decade BC. As with 'Arretine' wares the significance, if any, of typological variation is not clear and may be geographical rather

than chronological in origin. Forms which appear late in the production of Gallo-Belgic wares perhaps in the 30s AD, forms such as the *Cam* 15-16 bowl/platter do not follow sigillata forms (cf Rigby 1977a).

The Gallo-Belgic Beakers are not found in the 'Arretine' tradition and only rarely in the Campanian one. Hawkes and Hull recognised four varieties of beaker; Pedestal Beakers, Girth Beakers, Globular Beakers and Butt Beakers. As Greene (1973) has suggested for the Butt Beaker, these vessels probably originate from the thin-walled fine wares of the Mediterranean (cf Mayet 1975) and form part of a varied tradition diverging from a common origin (Gourvest 1971; Greene 1979). Vessels related to the Ha 16 'Arretine' beaker were also made but are quite rare. A single vessel is known from the Sept-Saulx kiln site (Fromols 1939, 44, Pl I, 2) and although this is inconclusive, other finds from Aulnay-aux-Planches, Morains and Montépreux (Roualet 1979, 15, Pl VII, 1, 5) strongly suggest that the form is Gallo-Belgic. One find from Prae Wood (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 158, Fig 13, 28; Thompson 1982, 896) is probably of this form.

The *Tazza Cam* 51 is not a Mediterranean form and is not particularly common beyond central and western Gaul (cf Menez 1985, Fig 40) while other bowls *Cam* 52 A-C are rare.

Platter type *Cam* 3, 5, 7-9, 12-13, 16 and cup types *Cam* 56 and 58 were regularly stamped with name stamps, the other forms were only very occasionally stamped. Rigby has made a detailed study of the stamps (eg 1981b) but this work has not yet been published in full and the most up to date synthesis is that by Timby (1982).

Provenance

A number of kiln sites are known (*ibid*, Ch 5) but the largest concentration is in north-east France, particularly around Reims. Many of the sites were listed by Hawkes and Hull (1947, 203) and new discoveries have generally been the subject only of notes in the Départemental *circonscriptions* in *Gallia*. Useful publications of production sites are few. Fromols published kilns at Thuisy (1938) and Sept-Saulx (1939) but for most sites knowledge is superficial (cf Tuffreau-Libre 1981; Chossenot and Clement 1987). Production at or near Amiens also seems possible (Ben Redjeb 1985; 1987). Few sites are known in Germany and of the East Gaulish sites (Lutz 1979; Schnitzler 1978) with the possible exception of Metz, only Boucheporn is considered likely to have produced Gallo-Belgic wares before the conquest of Britain (Hatt 1979, 72; Hatt and Schnitzler 1985). As we shall see, it seems unlikely that Gallo-Belgic wares were produced in Britain before the conquest although post-conquest kilns are known from Chichester. Fabric analyses have been of limited success in identifying production sites. Hawkes and Hull distinguished a number of varieties of Terra Rubra (1947, 204) but Rigby (1973, 11-13) has distinguished a Terra Rubra 1(A), 1(B), 1(C), 2 and 3, a Terra Nigra and a Micaceous Terra Nigra all distinguished by the surface finish rather than the fabric. She has employed these criteria in her publications of all the major British collections and they have been followed, with modifications, in the gazetteers presented here (App 26).

It is clear from the evidence of kiln sites that Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra were made in the same kilns. The bulk of the known kilns are in the Champagne/Ardennes but it would be valuable to be

able to distinguish from the Moselle/Middle Rhineland potteries. Macroscopic examination of vessels found in the Moselle area shows a slightly coarser, denser, fabric than vessels from the Reims region, with mica and iron visible (Timby 1982; personal examination). Unfortunately there is no correlation between this fabric and the fabrics or finishes described by Rigby. Indeed, closer examination of the criteria employed by her to distinguish finishes shows that they are applicable to contemporary vessels from the same source as well as to vessels from different sources and the usefulness of the distinctions must be suspect. This blandness in surface finish is matched by thin-sectioning by Timby which has indicated that, with the exception of Moselle region products, Gallo-Belgic wares do not have a petrologically distinctive mineral suite (1982). Textural analysis has proved to be of some value in distinguishing groupings within the Reims potteries but not over a larger area (Darvill and Timby 1982; Timby 1987, 302-5) and unfortunately there is no clear correlation between fabric groups distinguished by textural analysis and macroscopic fabric groups. Theoretically it should be possible to recognise 'German' products by independent criteria but notionally these would be outwith the accepted classification (ie TR1, TR2, etc) and do not seem to have been recognised in Iron Age Britain, although Rigby has claimed some at Chichester in Terra Rubra 1C (1981c, 275, 277) and perhaps at Baldock in Terra Nigra (Stead and Rigby 1986, 223).

Vessels made in the fine, white 'pipeclay' fabrics were made at the same sites as Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra in the Reims region but again they do not have a petrologically distinctive mineral suite in the hand-section. Thin-sectioning has not been attempted but chemical analyses may prove to be of value. Beakers of form

Cam 114 with a micaceous internal and external slip on the shoulder may be a central Gaulish products related to the micaceous wares produced there (Stead and Rigby 1986, 232-3, Tab 12). The form was made around Reims but these vessels have a matt red slip, not a micaceous one.

The *Cam* form 113 was found in great numbers by Hawkes and Hull in their *Camulodunum* excavations and because there were few parallels for the form they suggested that it was made at Colchester before and after the conquest. This has been widely accepted (eg Timby 1982). However, it is curious that these thin-walled vessels fired in very well controlled conditions should be the only vessels of this kind made at Colchester before the conquest. The pipeclay flagons such as *Cam* 161 made alongside the beakers in continental Europe were apparently not made in Colchester nor were any of the associated Terra Rubra and Terra Nigra vessels. The Chichester kilns (Down 1978) show that Beakers were made in Britain after the conquest but production before the conquest is not definitely attested anywhere in Britain and it must be wondered if the Colchester Butt Beakers really were made there? Until recently continental parallels for the *Cam* 113 were rare (eg from Amiens, Ruffin and Vaselle 1966, 621) but large numbers are now known from Amiens (Ben Redjeb 1985, 164-5, Type 30, Fig 10; 1987, 96) with some other finds from Vendeuil-Caply, Noyelles-Godault and Bois Brûle (*ibid*) and for the reasons enumerated above it seems unlikely that these finds are British exports. Instead the possibility is raised that the Butt Beaker is a regional variant of the basic Beaker shape, made perhaps in Picardie or neighbouring regions instead of the Girth Beaker which may prove to be a more easterly product. Rigby has also made the same suggestion recently (Rigby 1987, 278; Stead and Rigby 1986,

232).

An interesting point to emerge from surveys of Augustan military kilns in the lower Rhineland (eg von Schnurbein 1977) is that Gallo-Belgic wares were not made in them although 'Arretine' was, if only rarely (von Schnurbein 1986). However, Gallo-Belgic wares were made further upstream (von Pfeffer 1977; Bernhard 1980). In terms of site finds the bulk of Gallo-Belgic wares in north-western Europe seem to be Claudian or later, made in a restricted variety of forms mainly *Cam* 16 and 58, possibly making up as Rigby suggests (1977a, 38), a set. Senseless name stamps are particularly common, again suggesting a late date (unpublished material in Andernach, Bonn, Cologne Museums).

6.4.2 CENTRAL GAULISH AND AQUITANIAN WARES

In 1973 Rigby distinguished one Terra Nigra fabric as 'mica-dusted Terra Nigra' (1973, 13). In fact the whole fabric is micaceous and has subsequently been distinguished as 'Micaceous Terra Nigra' (Rigby 1985, 78; Stead and Rigby 1986, 232-3) although it is possible that many vessels originally had a red slip (Rigby and Freestone 1986, 7) and there are some apparently genuine Terra Rubra finds too (*op cit*). The fabric is very similar to Peacock's Pompeian Red Ware Fabric 2 (Peacock 1977c) thought to be from central Gaul and on archaeological grounds it is possible to attribute Micaceous Terra Nigra to this region with some confidence. Although Rigby considered the products to be essentially platters (1979, 105; 1985, 78) these are only part of a range of Gallo-Belgic forms made in central Gaul and they themselves are only part of a much larger fine ware pottery

tradition in the area. The 'Gallo-Belgic' wares are best seen against this background.

We have already seen that 'Arretine' was made at Lyon but at the same time in Central Gaul the later versions of Roanne red painted wares (Perichon 1974), moulded beakers, including ACO-beakers (Lasfargues and Vertet 1968; Desbat and Savay-Guerraz 1986; cf Vegas 1969-70; also Plicque and Grenier 1965, 65; Gourvest 1971) and reduced wares (ie 'Micaceous Terra Nigra'), (Poncet 1974; Vichy, Poncet and Vertet 1981) were also made. Slightly later, pipeclay figurines and green-glazed and colour-coated wares were also produced (Greene 1979).

Lyon 'Arretine' certainly reached Iron Age Britain (Ch 6.3.2) but at present no Roanne wares or any of the later Central Gaulish fine wares have been found although later Roanne wares occur at Ower (Timby 1986, 77-8, Fig 41, 33) and Oare (Swan 1975, 56-7, Fig 5, 57). However, the micaceous Terra Nigra is only one of a number of forms and fabrics made in central Gaul which have previously considered to be from northern France and be part of the 'Gallo-Belgic' production which arrived in Iron Age Britain. Besides the *Cam* 1 and 2 platters, the *Cam* 51 Tazza, probably the *Cam* 114 beaker which has a micaceous slip on the shoulder (Stead and Rigby 1986, 232-3) although this may have been produced over a wider area, and Butt Beakers *Cam* 112/15 with fern leaf or notched scroll decoration reached Iron Age Britain. Other types may well await identification.

Platters and bowls fired in reducing conditions and usually with a micaceous fabric seem likely to have been made at many sites in central Gaul. Some of the platters compare to 'Arretine' forms while others do not and Poncet has defined three major types of

bowl and three of platters (1974) from Roanne which were probably made there or at, or near to, St Rémy-en-Rollat (Vichy, Poncet and Picon 1981). Kilns are known at St Rémy-en-Rollat (Vertet 1961). Bemont has published a small collection from Vichy (1972) and other related material (1973) which may also be from a nearby source.

A number of these wares are stamped and have the Gaulish *Avot* for 'made this' rather than *fecit*. However, the *Cam* 1 and 2 platters seem not to have been stamped and this may be of chronological significance while the Welwyn Garden City platters may be the earliest type (Rigby and Freestone 1986, 7-8). The *Cam* 1 and 2 seem to be the most widely distributed of the platter forms.

One characteristically Central and western Gaulish form is the *Cam* 51 Tazza. This occurs in micaceous Terra Nigra and as Hawkes and Hull noted (1947, 225) it is found widely in central Gaul (cf Ward-Perkins 1940). The form was made in Aquitaine at Saintes in the last 25 years BC (Santrot and Santrot 1979, forms 172-5) and also in Rennes (Menez 1985, 25-32, Fig 40) and perhaps eastern Gaul (Schnitzler 1978), suggesting a wider production area than previously thought but the type was not made in the Champagne or Germany.

The Aquitanian tazza is only one of a variety of fine wares made in the region in the pre-Claudian period, the others of which derive from the 'Arretine' tradition and possibly even the Campanian one (Santrot and Santrot 1979). Cups similar to *Cam* 53, 56 and 58 and platters of *Cam* 1, 16 and Poncet (1974) platter type 2 were manufactured. A number of kilns are known the best studied of which is the Saintes, Saint Siviens Cemetery site. The Santrots (1979) suggest that production here started before the Caesarian Wars but production at most other sites seems to start in the last

third of the first century BC. The evidence from Saintes suggests that the early platters and tazza date to between c 25 BC and c AD 15 but comparable finds from Bordeaux are dated into the Neronian period (*ibid*) but much of this material could be residual.

6.4.3 COMMENTARY

The Chronology of the Gaulish Wares

With the recognition that wares previously grouped together as 'Gallo-Belgic' are likely to come from a much wider area it is clear that the idea of a single, uniform, typology and chronology for the tradition becomes difficult to maintain but as yet the implications of this have not been assessed fully.

It seems likely that the Central Gaulish products are the earliest fine wares reaching Britain. The two platters from Welwyn Garden City (Stead 1967a, 14, Fig 8, 29-30; Rigby and Freestone 1986, 7-8) are related to *Cam* 1 and have been shown to probably be from central Gaul, while *Cam* 1 and 2 seem to be the earliest of the Central Gaulish forms consistently considered to be Gallo-Belgic. When these occur in Terra Rubra it is possible that they may have been confused with Pompeian Red Ware from the same source. These platters may well antedate the closed groups from burials such as Goeblingen-Nospelt A and B (Thill 1967a), Wincheringen (Koethe and Kimmig 1937) and Kräckelbiereg-Nospelt grave 9 (Thill 1970, 99-101) which probably date to the penultimate decade BC. It is possible that the *Cam* 2 derives from Campanian forms such as the Lamboglia 5-7 but similar forms occur in the earliest 'Arretine' and 'pre-sigillata' (Schönberger and Simon 1976, 212, Anm 55; Stöckli 1979a, 165, Abb 35). Rigby has suggested recently that Central

Gaulish micaceous wares date to between c 20 BC - c AD 25 (Stead and Rigby 1986, 232, Tab 11) and it is possible that the platters were largely manufactured before the widespread manufacture of Gaulish terra sigillata wares. The apparent absence of micaceous Terra Nigra at Richborough, Southampton and London (Timby 1982, Fig 58) strongly suggests that these products were Iron Age imports in Britain.

Some of the Aquitanian wares, particularly the *Cam 51* Tazza and platters *Cam 2* may be contemporary with the Central Gaulish wares, the others perhaps with the 'Gallo-Belgic' forms. However, until more well-dated sites in Aquitaine such as Aulnay de Saintonge (Santrout *et al* 1984) are published the overall chronology of these early Aquitanian wares will remain uncertain.

The early groups from Trier-Petrisberg do not have any Gallo-Belgic wares but do have very early 'Arretine' (Loeschke 1939, 110) of Ettlenger's 'Oldest Horizon in Neuss' (1983, 100) and this suggests that the Gallo-Belgic wares may be marginally later than 'Arretine' and it is that that they imitate rather than Campanian ware. Given the location of Trier, Loeschke was probably correct to see their absence at Petrisberg as chronological. However, as the forms are very similar the appearance of the Gallo-Belgic wares cannot be very much later. Gallo-Belgic wares are well documented from the burials mentioned above while material from Oberaden, superbly studied by Loeschke (1942), and to a lesser extent Rödgen, gives a clearly dated horizon c 12/11-8 BC. As with 'Arretine', Haltern gives another usefully dated assemblage of Gallo-Belgic wares and, as with the 'Service' I and II 'Arretine' at these sites, the different types found at them do appear to have a chronological significance. However, many of the basic forms introduced during the

occupation(s) of Haltern continued in use for nearly fifty years and present chronologies do not allow much, if any, distinction(s) between the subsequent variants.

This imprecise chronology is largely a result of the types of the context in which the material has been found. Large, well-dated assemblages from settlements such as those from Aulnay-aux-Planches (Roualet 1979) and Dalheim (Krier 1980) are as yet rare and burials usually do not contain many vessels (eg Wederath-Belginum; Haffner 1971; 1974a; 1974b; 1978; Andernach Koenen 1888) and the distribution of these burials is not uniform (Ch 1.3).

It is unfortunate in some respects therefore that the largest groups covering the late Augustan-Tiberian period come from Britain. Excepting the *Camulodunum* report, the major British collections have all been published by Rigby and it is difficult to follow her suggested datings of production which often appear to be late by up to two decades. This is highlighted by her use of the phrase 'late Augustan', or at least the dating of it. another difficulty is her acceptance of the stratigraphy and dating of Hawkes and Hull in their *Camulodunum* report. These problems will be examined in some detail here.

We have seen that, as with 'Arretine' wares, the Gallo-Belgic wares found at Oberaden and Haltern show differences which are probably chronological. Oberaden is dated between 12/11 and 8 BC, Haltern was probably abandoned in AD 9 and, considering the differences in the pottery and historical evidence, von Schnurbein (1981; 1982) suggests that it was founded c 7-5 BC. In her writing Rigby tends to treat both these horizons as one, calling it late Augustan. A number of examples of this may be found in

her discussion of the Skeleton Green finds where parallels are cited to Oberaden and Wincheringen but the date advanced is 'late Augustan' (Rigby 1981a, 162, 164). The manufacture of the continental European finds could have been in the second decade BC (as their deposition could also have been), but it could be construed from Rigby's usage that the material dates to as late as the second decade AD.

Nor do the typologies and chronologies advanced by Rigby always agree. As an example the early cups which derive from Service I 'Arretine' may be considered.

In the Skeleton Green report Rigby equates her Skeleton Green type 26 to *Cam* 54 and her type 27 to *Cam* 53.

Considering her type 26 she dates examples from Skeleton Green as 'pre-Claudian' (1981a, 177) and from Gatesbury as 'Pre-Claudian to early Claudian' (1981a, 332). Because the *Cam* 54 was absent from both Haltern and Hofheim, Hawkes and Hull considered the type to be Tiberian (1947, 226). However, the type occurs at both Oberaden and Rödgen and indeed the Hertfordshire finds are closer to the Oberaden type 91 (Loeschke 1942, 126-7) which is not represented in the *Camulodunum* type series rather than the *Cam* 54. The Oberaden 91 may just occur at Haltern but is very rare. All of this suggests that Rigby's type 26 may have gone out of production before the first century AD and it is difficult to support a date as late as Claudian without careful argument. Similar difficulties occur with Rigby's Skeleton Green type 27. This is equated by her with the *Cam* 53. Hawkes and Hull dated their type 53 as 'early' and suggested one find as possibly being Tiberian. The finds they cite from Harmignies in Belgium are actually 'Arretine' (Musée de l'État Brussels, personal examination with stamps O/C 2388-9 and 1681) (Hawkes and Hull

1947, 226). Rigby dates the Skeleton Green finds as both 'probably pre-Claudian' (1981, 184) and possibly pre-Tiberian (*ibid*, 192). A vessel from Gatesbury is described as 'Late Augustan-Tiberian' (1981a, 332) while another vessel from Gatesbury Track described as Type 27 is dated Late Augustan (Rigby 1979, 107, Fig 33, 12). But the definition employed by Rigby obscures important differences within the type or types. In defining the *Cam* 53 Hawkes and Hull distinguished two varieties; A and B. *Camulodunum* 53A they recognised as being found at Oberaden (=Loeschke 90), while although not explicitly stated by Hawkes and Hull, *Cam* 53B was equated with the Haltern 77. Loeschke himself defined an Oberaden 90A, 90B and 90C and while the 90B is clearly related to and typologically earlier than the Haltern 77, the rim is clearly distinguishable from it (*cf* Schönberger and Simon 1976, Vergleichstaf 4). The significance of this is shown by the presence of an Oberaden 90A at Gatesbury Track. Continental European finds suggest that the Gatesbury vessel may have been made before the first century AD and perhaps by 10 BC, and such a date is entirely compatible with some of the other finds from the site, but again Rigby's suggested date of late Augustan suggests that the piece may have been manufactured up to 25 years later.

In a period where exceptionally fine dating of manufacture, if not deposition, is possible, this blurring of the chronology is unfortunate and has been used to depress the dates of the associated finds, often terra sigillata which would otherwise be dated earlier. Even Rigby's more cautious comments towards a shorter chronology for her type 27 referring to the Nijmegen cemeteries (Rigby 1981a, 192) employ a chronology for cemeteries O and E which Stuart (1979) has shown to be very doubtful and which could be earlier by several decades. The difficulties with

Rigby's datings is also shown in her discussion of her Skeleton Green platter types 3, 13, 15 and/or the cup 33. She notes that these types have not been found in some burials in the lower Rhineland/Moselle which she dates as late Augustan and she concludes that the types were standardised in production c AD 40 but on the discussion presented it is difficult to see why the possibility of a Tiberian date is excluded.

The second major difficulty in accepting Rigby's datings is her interpretation of the *Camulodunum* chronology proposed by Hawkes and Hull. It has been argued that the accepted phasing, stratigraphy and chronology can be challenged (Ch 4.2; Fitzpatrick 1986) and that the suggestion that south Gaulish terra sigillata did not reach the site before the conquest (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 177, 179, 191; Comfort 1949, 330) is difficult to support (Ch 6.3.3; Dannell 1985, 83). This is particularly important as Rigby places great emphasis on the occurrence of wares in contexts considered to be Romano-British at Sheepen as a *terminus post quem* for the manufacture of Gallo-Belgic wares rather than considering them to be residual. Rigby has also stressed the difference between the assemblages from Skeleton Green and Sheepen 1970 (1981a; 1985) but it should be recognised that the 1970 excavations were in one of the areas examined by Hawkes and Hull in the 1930s, Region 3, with extensive Claudio-Neronian activity but apparently relatively little in the Iron Age or at least before the last decades of it (cf Ch 4.2; 6.3.3). Therefore the chronological contrast between Skeleton Green and Sheepen 1970 should not be taken as also reflecting that between Skeleton Green and all the areas excavated by Hawkes and Hull.

The 'late' dating for the Sheepen finds contrasts with the

evidence from continental European sites. Gallo-Belgic wares were found at Hofheim but they are rare at the Tiberio-Claudian foundations of Valkenburg (cf de Weerd 1977), Velsen II (Glasbergen and Van Lith 1977) and in the Nijmegen cemeteries. South Gaulish terra sigillata begins to dominate in the 20s - 30s AD (Stuart 1979). Interpretation of this difference is not entirely straightforward. It could be taken to indicate that in the lower Rhineland South Gaulish sigillata was both more widely available and more popular than the northern and central Gaulish fine wares by this time and that the Sheepen finds are contemporary products which arrived via northern France (Ch 26.4). Another possibility is that some of the pre-Claudian material at Sheepen and also at sites such as Chichester and Fishbourne arrived with the Roman army at the time of the conquest, not as 'old stock' being offloaded (eg Dannell 1971; Swan 1975) but as the property of the army. Given the previous posting of most of the legions (Keppie 1971; Filtzinger 1980, 73-4) and probably many of the auxiliary units (Alföldy 1968) in the Rhineland a significant transposition of Rhineland material culture should be considered. Some of this, including 'Gallo-Belgic' pottery, will have been old when it arrived in Britain and it may be that the Sheepen finds provide a more useful *terminus ante quem* for the Sheepen Gallo-Belgic pottery rather than a *terminus post quem* as Rigby has taken it. However, this possibility does not account convincingly for the increasingly rarity of Gallo-Belgic wares at some lower Rhineland sites and at some military sites in Britain such as Richborough and Hod Hill unless a specific unit by unit supply situation is considered and there is an inherent danger of circular argument. Notwithstanding these difficulties of interpretation of the Sheepen material, the absence of Augustan

material at Richborough and Hod Hill strongly suggests that such material at other British sites such as Fishbourne and Chichester did arrive shortly after its manufacture. Instead a chronology which dates much of the British material rather earlier than Rigby has generally proposed should be considered. This would help to resolve the differences between the typological and chronological schemes used by Rigby and at the same time increase the number of imports likely to have reached Iron Age Britain. Reconciliation or resolution of these difficulties lies beyond the scope of this work but progress with most of them are likely to be made by the excavation of Tiberian groups over much of north-western Europe which will allow assessment of whether differences in the assemblage are chronological or geographical.

Distribution

As with 'Arretine' the distribution of Gallo-Belgic wares was recorded initially through the reading of stamps. The *Camulodunum* report makes good use of the *CIL* volumes in this respect (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 208-12). However, this route is made more difficult by the recognition that not all Gallo-Belgic forms were stamped (Tab 10).

Of these stamps 60% are on Terra Nigra and 40% on Terra Rubra, while Central and Western Gaulish and Aquitanian wares are also likely to be very poorly represented in any consideration of stamps as are early types which were usually not stamped.

Consideration of site finds is made slightly more difficult by the habit of German archaeologists of calling any black surfaced finewares *Belgisch* even though they have no clear relationship

TABLE 10

CAMULODUNUM GALLO-BELGIC FORMS AND THEIR PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL OF FORMS STAMPED.

<i>Cam</i> Form	2	3	5	7 & 8	9	12-14	15
%	0.6	1	13	33	0.6	5	1.5
<i>Cam</i> Form	16 Ha	72B	53	54	56	58	
%	10	0.15	0.15	0.5	28	6	

Source: Timby 1982, Table A4.1, p 498.

with Gallo-Belgic wares (eg Bernhard 1984-85).

Elsewhere the quality of reporting is variable. In particular, the present lack of adequately published French settlements other than Amiens and Aulnay-aux-Planches makes assessment of the distribution very difficult. It is clear from reports that many settlements do have Gallo-Belgic wares but at present as with 'Arretine' wares (Ch 1.3) it is not possible to compare them with the well published collections from military sites such as Nijmegen (Holwerda 1941), Neuss (Vegas 1975), Haltern (Loeschke 1909), Oberaden (Loeschke 1942) and Rödgen (Schönberger and Simon 1976). There are a few good publications from the Moselle region, for example Dalheim in Luxembourg (Krier 1980) but this site could have a significant military phase.

The data already biased towards the Moselle and Rhineland in its quality is further biased towards these areas by the nature of the record with many more burials containing Gallo-Belgic wares being found in Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany with some in the Champagne and Ardennes. Timby has collected much of the material in her doctoral thesis (cf Ch 1.3) and the data as presented by her can be quantified to bring out this pattern very clearly.

The proportions of Terra Nigra and Terra Rubra from each country are generally very similar with the exception of Terra Rubra from French settlements which seems to be rather rare. For present purposes, therefore, both variants have been treated together but as Timby did not include vessels in 'Pipeclay' fabrics these are not considered. Military sites have been counted as settlements but shrines, manufacturing sites and finds from uncertain contexts have been excluded with the following results (Tab 11).

TABLE 11

PROPORTIONS OF TERRA NIGRA AND TERRA RUBRA FROM SETTLEMENTS AND BURIALS FROM COUNTRIES IN NORTH-WEST CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

	Belgium	Holland	Luxembourg	Germany	France
Settlement	49%	60%	56%	24%	59%
Burials	51%	40%	44%	76%	41%
Number	37	15	9	51	46

Source: Data from Timby 1982.

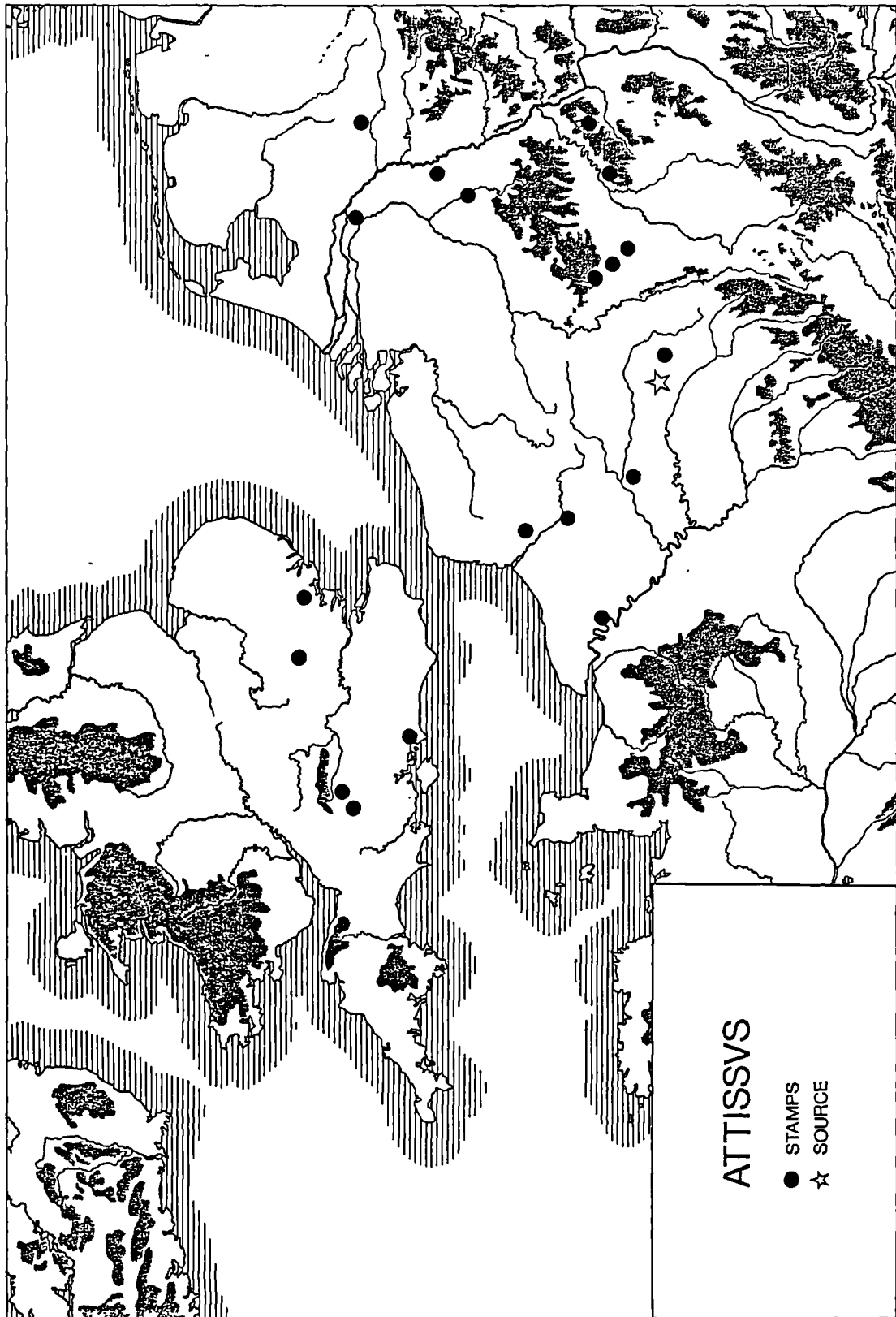


FIG 25: DISTRIBUTION OF STAMPED VESSELS BY ATTISSVS

The number of findspots in Holland and Luxembourg is small but the data from the Benelux countries is consistent. There is a clear bias towards burials in Germany and (taking Petrisberg as a fort, which Timby considers an oppidum) all the settlements noted by Timby are military. There are more finds from settlements than from burials in France. However, it is important to recognise that the bulk of the settlement finds from France come from Champagne-Ardenne. Picardie, Ile-de-France and Haute-Normandie have no finds from burials and Département Nord also has no finds from burials. The few finds from Pas-de-Calais (four) are the only ones from France west of Champagne-Ardenne (cf Timby 1982, Fig 43). Accordingly any distribution map for Gallo-Belgic wares which does not incorporate a distinction between the different types of contexts is potentially misleading.

It should also be noted that many of the Belgian finds are of Claudian date and earlier finds are much rarer in Benelux as a whole despite the overall quantity of finds. Even the consideration of stamped vessels which may be better reported is beset by these difficulties. For example Darvill and Timby have published the distribution of wares made in Reims probably by *ATTISSVS* (1982, 82-4, Fig 8.6; Timby 1982, Fig 55; 1987, 302-5; Fig 25 here), whose products are likely to date to before c 20 AD (cf Swan 1975, 58-9; Rigby 1978, 195). There is an even spread of finds east and west of Reims but the finds from Benelux and Germany come almost exclusively from the extensively investigated military sites or burials, the French finds are nearly all old finds known only from *CIL* references assembled by Hawkes and Hull (1947, 209) and about which little is known, while the British finds are nearly all from settlement excavations. This evidence can be interpreted as showing two trade routes to Iron Age

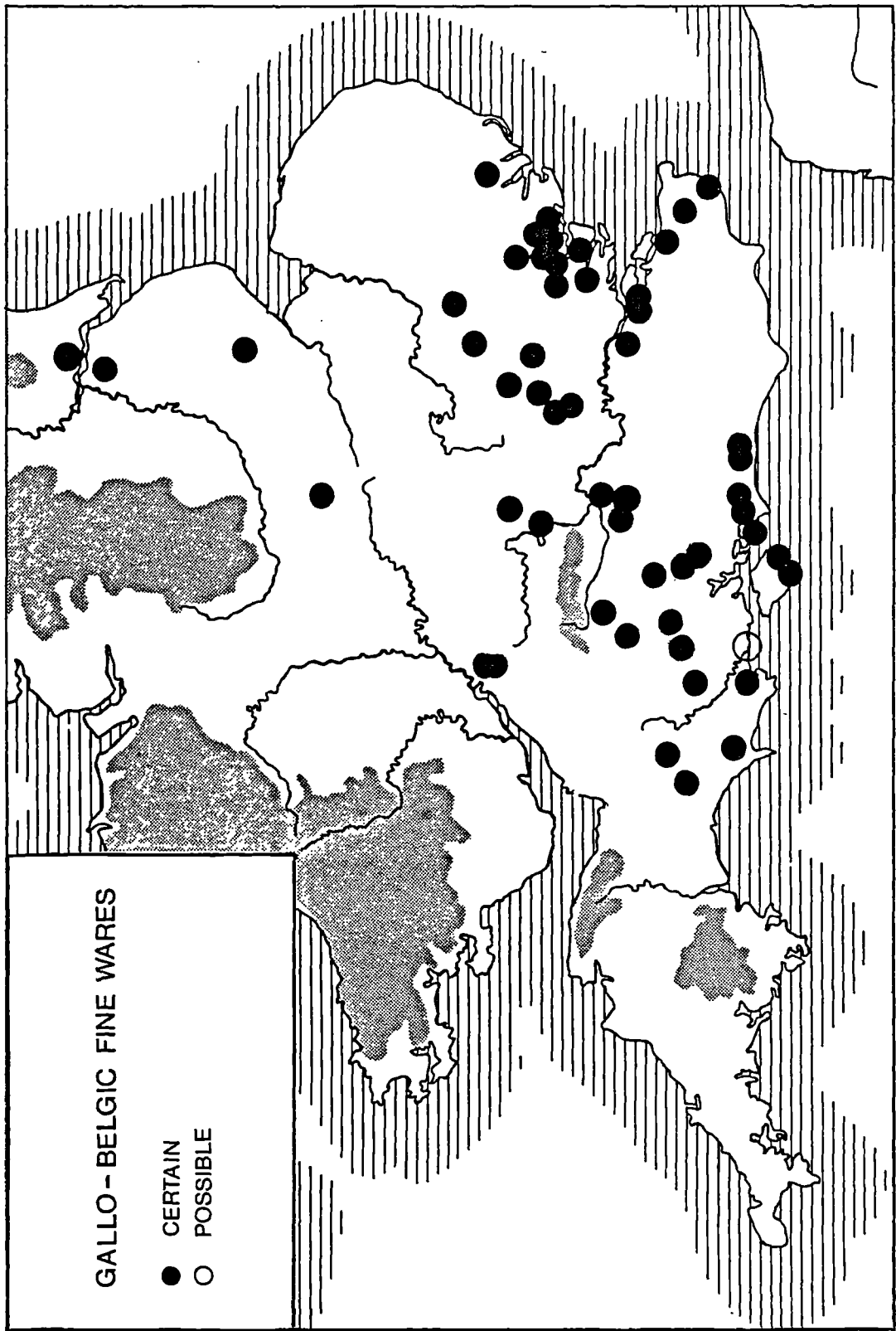


FIG 26: DISTRIBUTION OF GALLO-BELGIC WARES
 IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

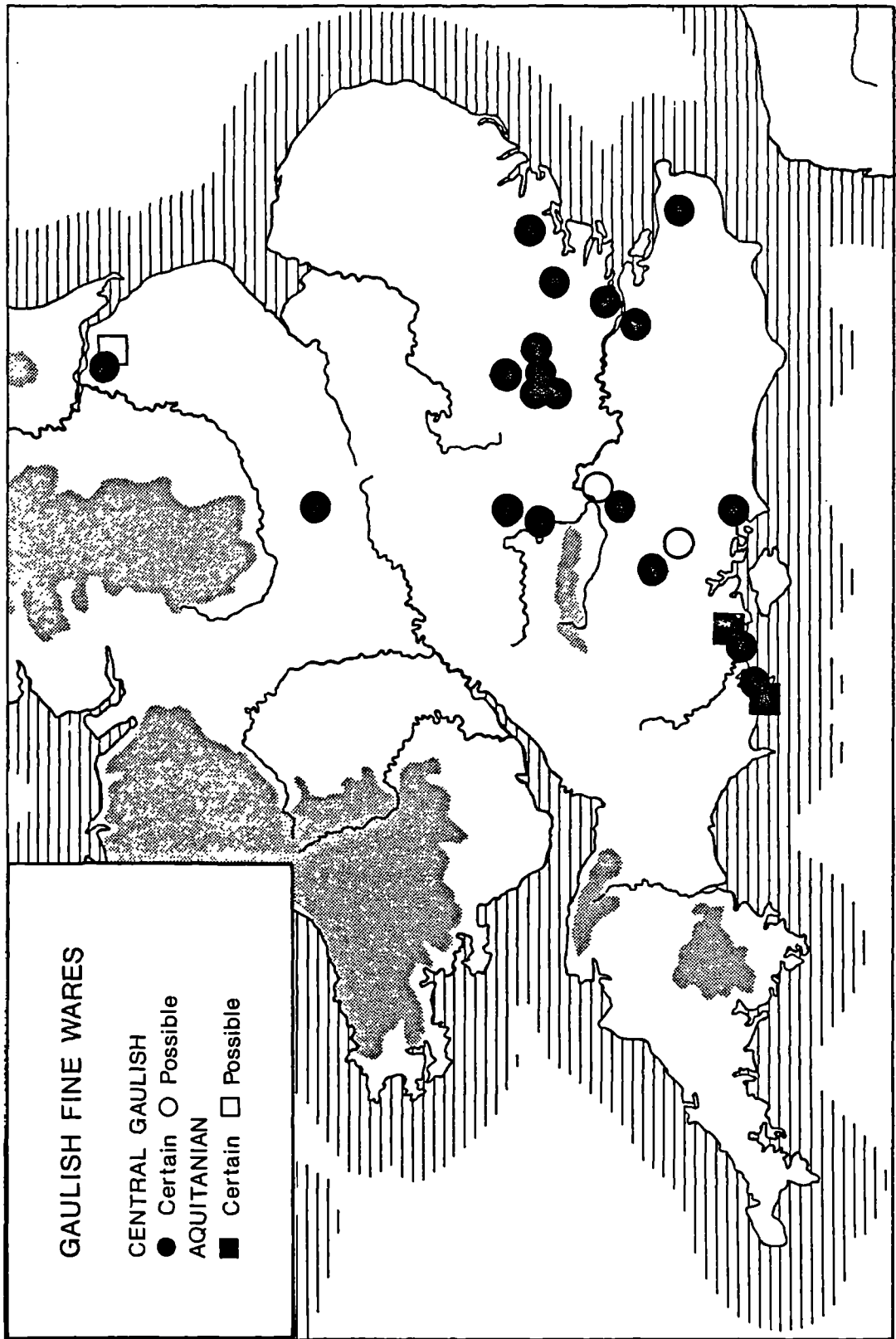


FIG 27: DISTRIBUTION OF CENTRAL GAULISH AND AQUITANIAN FINE WARES
 IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Britain, one via the Seine, the other via the Rhine. The validity of this conclusion for all the Iron Age imports (Fig 26-7, App 26) is considered further in Chapter 26. The distribution of the other Gaulish fine wares is less well known. Central Gaulish wares are now being recognised relatively frequently in Iron Age Britain (Timby 1982; Rigby and Freestone 1986; Fig 26) and have been found in central southern and eastern England but also at Bierton (Bucks) and Leicester. Their distribution in continental Europe beyond Central Gaul (Poncet 1974) is, however, very poorly known.

Aquitanian wares are rare in mainland Britain (Fig 27) with only five or so certain imports likely to be of Iron Age date from Hengistbury Head (Rigby 1987) and two vessels from Ower (Timby 1986). Elsdon and May suggest one vessel from Dragonby might be Aquitanian (1987, 109, Fig 41B, 1) but this is questionable. A number of vessels which might be Aquitanian and of pre-Claudian date have been found at Tranquesous, Jersey (Burns 1977, 207-9, Fig 8, 54-69) but identification is complicated by the uncertain state of knowledge of related vessels in western France, the *céramiques fumigées* considered by (Ménez 1985) and which can be difficult to distinguish from Aquitanian wares (Fichet de Clairefontaine 1986, 43). These products appear to be related to those of central Gaul and are distributed widely within Armorica (*ibid*, Fig 1) and the overall distribution appears to be mutually exclusive of Gallo-Belgic wares (eg *ibid*, Fig 32). Manufacture appears to have started in the later first century BC (*ibid*, 93-4) and continued throughout the first century AD with a floruit in the *gallo-romaine précoce*. The range of forms is more restricted than that of Gallo-Belgic wares, generally having deeper platters

and bowls rather than cups but some vessels were stamped (*ibid* 86-7), eg ERIDVBNOS (*ibid*, Fig 32, Pl 40, no 1; Jigan 1987, Fig 2) and NERTOMARUS. Ménez considers the first exports to Britain to be Claudian and of his *forme* 6 (=Cam 16) (*ibid* 46, Fig 41) and although these vessels could actually be Gallo-Belgic, the importance of *céramiques fumigées* in Tiberian assemblages in Armorica (eg Corseul: Fichet de Clairefontaine 1986, 43-5) suggests that imports to Iron Age Britain will eventually be recognised.

CHAPTER VII

OBJECTS OF GLASS AND INTAGLIOS

The importation of glass may be considered in three categories: (i) unworked or 'raw' glass, (ii) objects of Celtic manufacture, Beads, Gaming Sets and Bracelets, (iii) Roman or Mediterranean glass vessels.

7.1 UNWORKED GLASS

At present no Iron Age glass making sites have been discovered in Britain (Henderson 1980; 1981; Henderson and Warren 1981) and, while glass could have been made in Britain at this time, in the absence of systematic analyses of continental European material it remains uncertain if it was. Manufacturing sites are also presently unknown in continental Europe although glassworking sites are known (Haevernick 1974a, 205). In this situation it is likely that the glass used to manufacture beads was imported to Britain. This trade could date to the Bronze Age (Guido *et al* 1984) and certainly dates back to at least the earlier Iron Age (Guido 1978). There is clear evidence for the movement of lumps of 'raw' purple glass in the later Iron Age. Fragments have been discovered at the oppida of Velem St. Vid, Manching, Stradonice and Staré Hradisko and there are finds from both Bushe-Fox's and Cunliffe's excavations at Hengistbury Head (Venclová 1972; 1984;

Haevernick 1974; Collis 1984a, 100; Henderson 1985a, 283; 1985b, 145; 1987a, 161; 1987b). A piece of purple glass was also apparently found at Meare Village East (St George Gray 1936, 236) but Henderson has been unable to trace this piece (Henderson 1987a, 182; 1987c). Raw blue glass has been found at Zavist (Motykova, Drda and Rybova 1978, 285, n 8) and opaque yellow glass at Hengistbury Head (Henderson 1985b, 145; 1987a, 161). X-Ray Fluorescence of the Hengistbury Head glass produced analyses indicating a composition broadly similar to those obtained from the Manching material (Henderson 1982, 197; 1987a, 182; 1987b). Some of the Hengistbury finds have flat sides strongly suggesting that they are from ingots (*idem* 1987a, 182-3).

The possibility has been raised (eg Newton 1971; Hughes 1972) that some of the brilliant sealing-wax red opaque glass (usually called enamel) used in Iron Age Britain may have been in the eastern Mediterranean. Despite the title of Newton's article it considers only a little Iron Age rather than Roman Iron Age material. Hughes employed spectrographic and polarographic analyses on a number of finds of British Iron Age material (although some may actually be early Roman). On the basis of the high proportion of lead oxide and cuprous oxide discovered, which was comparable to that of glass made in the eastern Mediterranean, he suggested that the glass decorating the British metalwork may have been made in Egypt or Syria (Hughes 1972). Champion (1979, 386) has doubted that it is necessary to believe that all this material was imported from the Mediterranean, while in 1980 Spratling re-presented and re-examined Hughes' data and was able to discern what may be different batches of glass, which seemed to relate quite closely to typological groupings of the artefacts which the

glass decorated (Spratling 1980a). Henderson and Warren (1981; 1983, 171) suggest that this variation may result from several contemporary workshops (cf also Henderson 1985a, 282). Given this variation within British material, it seems plausible that it is due to the differential addition of copper to produce an opaque red and that this 'mixing' took place in Britain and not in the Mediterranean.

Guido (1978, 13) has also advanced a similar suggestion to Hughes in proposing that the glass used for some of the beads made in what appears to be a regional type of glass, her translucent greenish-gold 'Bulbury Glass' may have been made using imported glass. However, as with the opaque red glass this regional distinction may only indicate regional bead production, although this suggestion has been strengthened by recent finds (Ch 7.2.1, no 8).

Despite this, it seems likely that most, if not all, of the glass worked in Britain during the Iron Age may have been imported even though conclusive evidence for importation is only present at Hengistbury Head (Henderson 1987a). Purple glass bracelets recently discovered at Hengistbury appear to be of the same kind of glass as the lumps of 'raw' glass from Bushe-Fox's and Cunliffe's excavations (Henderson 1985b; 1987a, 181-2; cf also Cunliffe 1978a, 42-4; 1984e, 112) which appears to demonstrate that at least some artefacts in Britain may have been made from glass imported from continental Europe.

7.2 OBJECTS OF CELTIC MANUFACTURE

In continental Europe in the later Iron Age glass was used to make

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bangles, beads and rings (Haevernick 1960) and in central Europe possibly to make vessels as well (Venclová 1984). In Britain by contrast, glass was apparently used only to make beads and bangles and possibly also a gaming set.

7.2.1 GLASS BEADS

Introduction

Guido has suggested that the majority of insular beads of Iron Age date are of either continental origin or inspiration (1978, 46-71). Before discussing these beads some comments must be made about Guido's work.

The system of classification employed by Guido presents several difficulties. Her definition of a group, one of her major units of analysis and discussion (*ibid*, vi) is confused and she does not advance reasons to justify the use of different criteria which she maintains allows her to set aside typological and decorative traits held elsewhere by her to be significant. Without an exhaustive re-analysis of her work, which is beyond the scope of this study, the validity of her conclusions remains debatable.

The grounds on which Guido suggests that some groups of beads were imported are also unsatisfactory. A full analysis of continental European material was not undertaken and, despite Haevernick's 1983 and 1987 monographs, one has still not become available. Guido's conclusions that certain classes of British and Irish beads were imported are often based on the citation of a small number of parallels from continental Europe. Central to her discussion is a reiteration of the invasion hypothesis in insular

prehistory (eg Guido 1978, 26-7), the limitations of which have been touched on earlier (Ch 1.1).

The poor publication of continental European beads has also hindered scientific analyses. X-Ray Fluorescence by Henderson (1982; Henderson and Warren 1981; 1983) has succeeded in identifying some British 'workshops' (most notably at Meare) but in the absence of comparanda it has not been possible to distinguish imported beads. Only occasionally (cf Class 6 Beads; no iv below) has it been possible to suggest that some beads may be imported or at least made from clearly identifiable imported materials. Which of these alternatives applies is central to our understanding of insular glassworking. Guido argues:

'There are a number of beads which are thought on present evidence ... to have originated in the British Isles, worked from imported glass by craftsmen who almost certainly came from overseas and who had learnt their complicated and skilled methods of decorating glass beads in Celtic areas of the continent. It is impossible to establish that this hypothesis is a valid one while such large areas of Europe - particularly the south-west - remain unstudied; all we can say is that in the light of present knowledge this seems to be true.'

(Guido 1978, 73).

Alternatively we may be observing the importation of some types or, in what appears to have been the case with some types of later

Iron Age date, eg *Ringperlen*, the adoption of certain types and styles. At present neither 'traditional' archaeological nor scientific analyses allow confident interpretation. This problem will recur in the following discussion of the potential imports.

Beads suggested to be Iron Age Imports

Guido suggested that a number of classes of Iron Age beads were of continental origin or inspiration (1978, 45-59, Figs 5-16). Classes 1 (Arras type) and 4 (Findon type) may be imports. This may be true (Haevernick 1983, 34, Karte 2; 1987, 30-1, 63, Karte 2), but they are of Middle Iron Age date are accordingly and not considered further here. However, as no critique of Guido's work is available the relevant classes and groups are considered in detail here.

(1) *Guido Class 2* (Welwyn Garden City type) is represented by only two beads, one from Wiggonholt is fragmentary and was found in a second century AD context, the other was found in the Welwyn Garden City burial (Stead 1967a, Fig 10, c; restored differently by Guido 1978, 48, n 3 and Fig 7). As Guido admits, it is 'somewhat arbitrary to claim that only two beads can be called a class' (Guido 1978, 48). While their rarity in Britain might be because they are imported pieces, they appear to be equally rare in continental Europe and Guido is unable to cite comparanda. On the basis of the beads' size and shape she suggests that as origin in northern Italy or at the head of the Adriatic is possible (*ibid*, 48-9), but in this writer's opinion there are no persuasive grounds for considering the two beads to be imports.

(ii) *Guido Class 3* (South Harting type) beads are relatively frequent finds in southern Britain (*ibid*, Fig 9) where some appear to be of later Iron Age date but they certainly continued in use into the early Roman period in Scotland. Guido is unable to cite convincing continental parallels of Iron Age date and in view of the relative frequency of the type in Britain there do not seem to be good reasons to consider them as imports.

(iii) *Guido Class 5* (Hanging Langford type) beads correlate almost directly with Haevernick's group 20 *Ringperlen* (1960, 67), although they appear to be marginally smaller. The majority of continental European finds are of middle La Tène date but some have been found in later La Tène contexts. Half of the British finds are of Middle, or possibly later, Iron Age date. The other half come from Roman contexts. It is possible that some beads/*Ringperlen* may be imported pieces, alternatively, their marginally smaller size than the continental examples might suggest that they are indigenous products. As Guido (1978, 51-2) points out, this class is closely related to Haevernick's group 1 glass bracelets and it is argued below (Ch 7.2.3) that the bracelet of this kind from Castle Dore may have been imported. In view of this and the relatively small number from Britain (and Ireland), some of the Hanging Langford class bead/*Ringperlen* may be Iron Age imports.

(iv) *Guido Class 6* beads (6A = Oldbury type; 6B = Colchester type) belong to a class well known in continental Europe. In view of the large numbers found in Britain it seems probable, *contra* Guido (*ibid*, 54-5), that they are indigenous versions of a popular class and not imports although some individual beads may be imports or at least made from clearly identifiable 'raw' glass.

One Class 6 bead from Glastonbury produced an X-Ray Fluorescence analysis similar to that of 'raw' glass from Hengistbury Head and Manching and finished products from Aulnat (Henderson 1982, 197, Fig 32). Beads of purple glass from Meare and Hunsbury were also related in this analysis but whether the bead(s) or merely the raw material was imported as at Hengistbury is difficult to decide.

(v) *Guido Class 7* beads (Celtic whirl and ray types) are subdivided by Guido into three types (a, b and c) on the basis of the colour of the ground. Although not stated by her, this class equates broadly with Haevernick's group 23 *Ringperlen* (1960, 69-70) which are mainly of later Iron Age date. The British finds also appear to be generally of this date although some are found in Roman contexts. Once again it is difficult to decide whether the insular finds are indigenous versions of a popular type or if they are imports. X-Ray Fluorescence analyses of class 7a beads/*Ringperlen* (blue or purple ground with white or yellow rays) by Henderson (1982, 185) suggests that tin was being used as an opacifer in the glass used in the 'rays'

The use of tin in conjunction with lead as an opacifer rather than an antimony appears to be a later Iron Age introduction to Britain (Henderson 1982, 182; 1985a, 284-6; 1987d, 20-1; Henderson and Warren 1983, 169-70). Henderson (1982, 182) originally suggested that *Ringperlen* with tin as an opacifer in the 'rays' might have been imported, however, the recent discovery of lumps of opaque yellow 'raw' glass at Hengistbury (Henderson 1985b, 145; 1987a, 183-4) indicates that the *Ringperlen* may have been made out of this glass in Britain. The earliest securely dated finds in Britain come from the Welwyn Garden City Gaming Set (Ch 7.2.2).

It is difficult to make useful comment on many of Guido's *groups* of beads which may be of continental origin or inspiration, eg groups 2, 3 and 5 (1978, 58-71). These include material probably of Iron Age and Roman date and, as noted above, the validity of these groupings is uncertain.

(vi) *Guido Group 1* beads (large or medium annular beads with streaky or mottled design) appear to correlate with Haevernick's group 24 *Ringperlen* (1960, 71). The continental evidence indicates that they are probably of later La Tène date and this may also be the case for the British finds although most of the stratified finds scheduled by Guido are from Roman contexts. Guido suggests that the British finds probably date between 50 BC - AD 50 but there is no reason why the initial date should not be late in the second century BC, similar to the continental European finds (*cf* Henderson 1987a, 162). Again it is uncertain as to whether the beads/ *Ringperlen* are indigenous products or imports. There is certainly no good reason to follow Guido's suggestion (1978, 60) that some of the British finds were made at Stradonice.

(vii) *Guido Group 4*. Some of the small number of this group may be imports. Guido's suggestion that they were introduced to Britain 'around the fourth or third century BC' (Guido 1978, 62) and were possibly imported until the first century BC is unsubstantiated and the British finds are best regarded as undated.

(viii) *Guido Group 6*. Some of this group, group 6 (i) (large beads of various colours) may be imports for, as she points out,

they are *Ringperlen*, but equally the finds could be indigenous products (*ibid*, 66) and they appear to have been made at Meare (Henderson 1987c, 178). Guido suggests that some of her 6(iii) and (iva) beads (undecorated annular beads of medium translucent green, greenish-gold or greenish-brown and medium annular blue beads translucent or opaque respectively) may be imports (Guido 1978). In general the small number of finds from Britain and continental Europe once again makes it difficult to assess this suggestion. However, the 6 (iii) *Ringperlen* do have a primarily central southern English distribution and the 'Bulbury' glass is distinctive (*ibid*, 13, 66, 146-52). The recent discovery of one of these *Ringperlen* at Hengistbury Head (Henderson 1987a, 160-2, Ill 116, 121) adds some support to the idea that the beads were imported or made in Britain from imported 'raw' glass.

(ix) *Guido Group 7*. Similarly, Guido suggests that some of this group (7(i): large globular beads in various colours) might be imports but equally, on the evidence presented by Guido (*ibid*, 69) they could be indigenous products.

(x) *Guido Group 8*. Finally, some of this group (Exotic Iron Age beads) may be imports. Each of these beads is unique in Britain and Ireland, so consideration of the possibility that they are imports is difficult. However, one find from Boxford, Berks does appear to be a central European type which might date to the later second century BC (Peake and Coghlan 1930-33, 213-15, Fig 23). A similar, but, *pace* Guido (1978, 176) not identical bead was discovered at Vieux Passage, Morbihan (Threipland 1943, 140, Fig 13). Threipland dated the site and this find to the mid-first century BC, largely on the basis of Wheeler's work. As we have

seen, however, Wheeler's datings should be treated with caution (Ch 4.1) and a broader first century BC dating for Vieux Passage is preferable. The dating of the Boxford site also suggests that a mid-later first century BC date for the bead from it is unlikely, so the find may have been imported in the earlier part of the later Iron Age, if not before.

In summary, while many beads and *Ringperlen* could be imports to Iron Age Britain, neither the British nor continental European publications allow confident assessment of this.

7.2.2 GAMING SET

A set of 24 glass gaming-pieces together with six fragments of glass beads and bracelets possibly used as dice, were found in the Welwyn Garden City burial. The gaming-pieces and the beads and bracelet fragments may have been contained in two separate organic containers placed side by side (Stead 1967a, 14-19). Although comparable sets have been found in earlier La Tène burials in northern Italy (*ibid*, 18, n 2; Mercado 1976), in the middle La Tène burial at Dühren (Schumacher 1911, 75, Taf 15, 264; Venclová 1984, 452) and in some of Lübsow-type burials in northern Germany which are broadly contemporary with the Welwyn Garden City find (Stead 1967a, 18, n 2)⁽¹⁾, as Harden pointed out in his reports on the set (*in* Stead 1967a, 14-19; Harden 1969a), there are no parallels for either the individual pieces or for the set.

(1) Krüger 1982 has not been available to me.

Because of this it is difficult to follow Guido's assertion (1978, 12) that the set is imported, although it may be noted that some of the glass gaming sets from Ancona in north-eastern Italy may be of second or even first century BC date (Mercando 1976, tomba XXXII; XLV). If the set was proven to be imported, then northern Italy may be a possible source. Conversely the use of tin as an opacifier in the yellow glass is typical of later Iron Age western European analyses (Henderson 1987a, 183).

7.2.3 GLASS BRACELETS

Introduction

Fragments of two glass bracelets were found at Castle Dore, Cornwall (Radford 1951, 68-9, Fig 8, 1-2). At that time although glass bracelets of Roman date were well documented (Kilbride-Jones 1938), few other finds from Iron Age sites in Britain and Ireland had been published and Radford considered the Castle Dore examples to be later Iron Age imports from continental Europe. Today while Roman examples are increasingly well known, the Castle Dore bracelets still remain rare finds (Stevenson 1954-55; 1976; van Lith 1977a; Fox 1973, 142) although a preliminary re-assessment has been published (Fitzpatrick 1985c).

The first bangle is in a pale green translucent metal decorated with an opaque yellow band on the inside face. The bracelet falls within Group 1 of Haevernick's standard typology of Iron Age glass bracelets (1960, 41-2, Taf 17, 1; 18, Karte 1), although it is an extremely large example. Haevernick's Group 3a bracelets are of similar form but are smaller and lighter and rarely occur in glass of this colour. A final possibility is that the fragment is a

piece of cullet or scrap glass, although even so, it is almost certain to derive from manufacturing a bracelet of these groups (Henderson 1985b, 141). The second bracelet is in a deep ultramarine translucent glass. It has a complex ribbed section with 'knots' on the outside face and belongs to the group of bracelets with diagonally set clusters of three - four 'knots' in Haevernick's Group 14 (*ibid* 61-3, Taf 11, 14, 75; 17, 14; 28, Karte 21). The moulded exterior was possibly produced by centrifuging into a mould or by using the *ciré perdue* technique. X-Ray Fluorescence suggests that both pieces are imports (Henderson 1985b, 145).

Iron Age Glass Bracelets in Britain and Ireland

At least nine, possibly fourteen, findspots of Iron Age bracelets are now known (App 27; Crew and Henderson *in prep*). Despite these new finds, in comparison with continental Europe bracelets are still relatively infrequent in Britain and Ireland. In part this is due to the large number of finds from continental La Tène C inhumation burials in contrast to the methods of disposing of the dead in Britain and Ireland (Whimster 1981; Raferty 1981; Wilson 1981). By contrast, in the late La Tène the large number of glass bracelets from settlements, leaves little doubt that they were much more common in continental Europe.

In these islands bracelets of materials such as shale, jet or bronze are more common (Stead 1979, 73-7; Cunliffe 1982a, 64, Fig 15) and it seems that bracelets made of these materials and possibly organic ones such as wood, largely satisfied the needs for this type of jewellery. On the continent bronze bangles are common throughout the Iron Age but spropelite and schist bangles

seem not to have been manufactured widely after the mid-second century BC when they appear to have been superseded by ones made of glass although they do occur in Armorica in sites thought to be of first century BC date (Ch 16.5).

Although often called bracelets, the continental funerary evidence shows that bangles could be worn as either anklets, armlets or bracelets but glass bangles do appear to have been worn predominantly as bracelets and their size supports this interpretation (Haevernick 1960, 39). The same evidence also shows that bracelets were a characteristically female piece of jewellery although there were exceptions (Haevernick 1974b, 148). However, the limited amount of insular funerary evidence shows no match between either gender and/or age, suggesting that in burial bracelets were not used to symbolise rank or status in a manner similar to continental Europe.

The insular glass bracelets have been found mainly on settlements. The earliest of these finds may be from Gussage All Saints where the bangle apparently comes from a Phase 1 context (Wainwright 1979, 104, Fig 79, 6010), but from the published account the precise context is less clear and it is possible that the bracelet could be from either Phase 1 or 2. As reviewers have pointed out (Champion 1981; Collis 1982), there are some difficulties with the published dating and interpretation of these two phases and while the bracelet could be as early as fourth century BC, it could also be as late as second century BC. Another possibly early find, but not precisely dated, is from Meare Village East (Avery 1968, 30; Henderson 1987c, 87-8) which could be of third, or, more likely second century BC date (*ibid*; Orme *et al* 1981; App 27.1, 8). Some of the Hengistbury Head finds could be of later second century BC date (Cunliffe 1978a, 42-4; 1984e; 1987a; Henderson 1987a). In

general, the rest of the insular finds date to the first centuries BC and possibly AD although some of the finds from the 'Atlantic Province' could be Roman Iron Age in date.

While small, the number of findspots in Britain and Ireland does suggest that at least some of the glass bracelets may have been manufactured here, but supporting evidence is rare. One of the Ballacagen 'A' (I o M) bracelets (Bersu 1977, 63, A 43, Fig 21, A 43 and possibly also A 44) appears to be closely related to Guido's Class 5 'Hanging Langford' glass beads but these beads may themselves be imports - they seem to correlate directly with Haevernick's Group 20 *Ringperlen* (cf Ch 7.2.1, 3) - and so are of little help in trying to decide if one or both were manufactured in Britain. Perhaps more pertinent to the question is the possible evidence for glass working from Ballacagen. Cunliffe (1984e; 1987a) has suggested that the bangles from Hengistbury Head were manufactured there. No direct evidence for glass working at Hengistbury Head has yet been discovered. However, the discovery of fragments of 'raw' purple glass (Ch 7.1) and bracelets in (i) plain purple glass, (ii) purple glass with yellow decoration, (iii) cobalt blue glass supports Cunliffe's suggestion. Further support has come from Henderson's analyses (1987a, 181-2) which indicate that the purple bracelets from the site may well have been made from 'ingots' similar to those found on the site. This could of course indicate only the recycling of both (Ch 7.1). The evidence presently available is slight and perhaps the most persuasive strand of it is the number of finds which might suggest that at least some of the bracelets were insular products (App 27, Fig 28).

Where the Castle Dore finds fit within this insular group is

uncertain, as both are unique to it. This difficulty is compounded by other reasons. The standard work on Iron Age glass bracelets by Haevernick was published in 1960 but effectively dates to 1939 (Peddemors 1975, 93, n 1). While that information was substantially complete for central Europe, other areas were considered in less detail and as the title suggests, Britain was not considered at all. One illustration of the variable quality of the data is given by a recent survey by Peddemors (1975) of bracelets from the Netherlands which recorded virtually a sixteen-fold increase in finds in comparison with Haevernick's work. Unfortunately there has not been a comparable recent survey of the French material, perhaps the likeliest source of the Castle Dore bracelets if they were imported (below). The data for France included by Haevernick (1960, Anh 2, 214-17) are very incomplete and attention may also be drawn to a number of more recent discoveries in north-west France (eg Wheeler and Richardson 1957, 52, Fig 10, 6; Giot 1960, 189; 1979, 306, 385; Clement and Galliou 1985, 69).

Because of the unevenness of the research, the origin of the Castle Dore bracelets is uncertain but, their probable dating is at the head of the insular finds. This and to a lesser extent their uniqueness within the insular group suggest that both may be imports, and possibly the only ones, in Iron Age Britain.

The Dating of the Castle Dore Bangles

Even in the light of the revised chronology for the Iron Age occupation of Castle Dore propounded by Quinnell and Harris (1985), there is still no precise internal dating evidence for the Castle Dore bracelets. Because of this the dating of the Castle

Dore bracelets must be adduced from the continental European evidence.

The chronology of the central European glass bracelets has been discussed thoroughly by both Haevernick (1960) and Venclová (1980) and while that of the French is less certain, it appears to broadly follow the central European sequence.

It has been argued that Haevernick's Group 1 or 'Montefortino type', of which the first Castle Dore bracelet is an example, to be the earliest Iron Age bracelet (1960, 78-82; Fitzpatrick 1985c, 135-36). The earliest dated example is from the late La Tène A 'Fürstengräß' at Reinheim in the Saarland in western Germany which belongs to the first half of the fourth century BC. The other early finds cited by Haevernick all come from burials within the area of Italy settled by the Celts from the early fourth century BC onwards. The Italian finds may be Celtic or Etruscan or related to the increasing Hellenistic (Zanker 1976) or Roman (Krúta 1981) influences but the Reinheim find is by far the earliest Celtic glass bracelet north of the Alps - unless it too is an import alongside the many pieces of undoubted Mediterranean origin included in the burial. However, most other dated Group 1 bracelets are up to a century later (Fitzpatrick 1985c, 137, n 5). These finds suggest that Haevernick's Group 1 bracelet was generally current from the mid-third century BC to the first third of the second century BC (Venclová 1980, 89) although the Italian and Rheinheim finds are earlier. If the small number of early finds are excluded, the general currency of the majority of Group 1 bracelet is no earlier than a number of other types of bracelet. It is clear from settlement finds of La Tène C2-D date, both oppida and farmsteads, that by this time Haevernick's Group 1 bracelets had been replaced by the lighter bangles of her Groups 2

and 3 (Polenz 1982, 107-8, esp Anm 118, 120). They are particularly common on settlements of La Tène D date (eg Fischer *et al* 1984, 348-52; Stöckli 1979b, 29-39). If the first Castle Dore bracelet were to belong to Group 3a, then it would probably be of this date. The suggestion that the bracelet belongs to Haevernick's group 1 is supported by the results of X-Ray Fluorescence undertaken by Henderson (1985b, 144-45). In comparison to a large sample of British Iron Age glass the lack of manganese oxide in the green glass and the high antimony content of the yellow glass in the Castle Dore piece lead Henderson to conclude that it was an import from the continent and probably dated to before the second century BC.

In view of this evidence there seems little doubt that the first bracelet from Castle Dore is the earliest find from Britain and Ireland, possibly of Middle Iron Age date and possibly followed by the finds from Gussage All Saints, Meare Village East, and the second bracelet from Castle Dore. The Meare find may have been made there, and the Gussage find could also be a British product, possibly made at Hengistbury (Henderson 1987a, 162).

The second bracelet from Castle Dore belongs to Haevernick's Group 14. This type is well dated and Polenz has suggested that where Group 14 bracelets made of blue glass have been found in burials, these burials have been of La Tène C1 date with the exception of the burial from Horgen in Switzerland, which dates to the La Tène C1-2 transition (1982, 106, Anm 114, 109; cf Guštin 1977a, 79; Venclová 1980, 66). While this appears to be true (Fitzpatrick 1985c, 138, n 6) and there is a contemporary find from the oppidum at Nages (Py 1978b, 290, Fig 137, 18), there are a number of finds from oppida which are rather later: Breisach-Hochstetten, Manching, Romhild, Staré Hradisko and Stradonice. Although

occupation at Manching had started by La Tène C1 (Stöckli 1974), most of these oppida developed in La Tène C2 (Collis 1984a, 97). Both Manching (Stöckli 1979a) and Breisach-Hochstetten (Stork 1981; 1984) ceased to be occupied by the mid-first century BC but other sites such as Stradonice continued to be occupied until the Augustan period. The type appears to be absent from sites founded in the La Tène D2 and possibly from ones founded in La Tène D1. The latest date ascribable to a Group 14 bracelet is one in the hoard at Brech in Morbihan. This hoard contained a variety of objects (Rollando 1971, 112-13, Pl facing p 97; Clement and Galliou 1985, 69, Fig 5, 40). On the basis of the Celtic coins in the hoard (*ibid*; Colbert de Beaulieu 1953a; 1954a) it has been suggested that the hoard was probably deposited around the middle of the first century BC. Haevernick (1960, 89) suggested that the hoard is of Caesarian date but it could well be later along with a number of other hoards from Armorica and the Channel Islands as Clement and Galliou suggest (1985, 65; cf Ch 13.1.3). However, the fibulae from the hoard do suggest an earlier date and cast doubt on the dating of the coins. Rather than the bracelet being old when buried as has been proposed (Fitzpatrick 1985c, 136) it is possible that the coins are dated incorrectly. Even allowing for the possibility of a Caesarian or later dating the number of finds from oppida must qualify both Polenz's dating of Group 14 bracelets to La Tène C1 (1982, 106, 109) and Venclová's suggestion that they date to La Tène C1 and the beginning of C2 (1980, 88). Instead a rather longer chronology, perhaps into the later Iron Age, is possible.

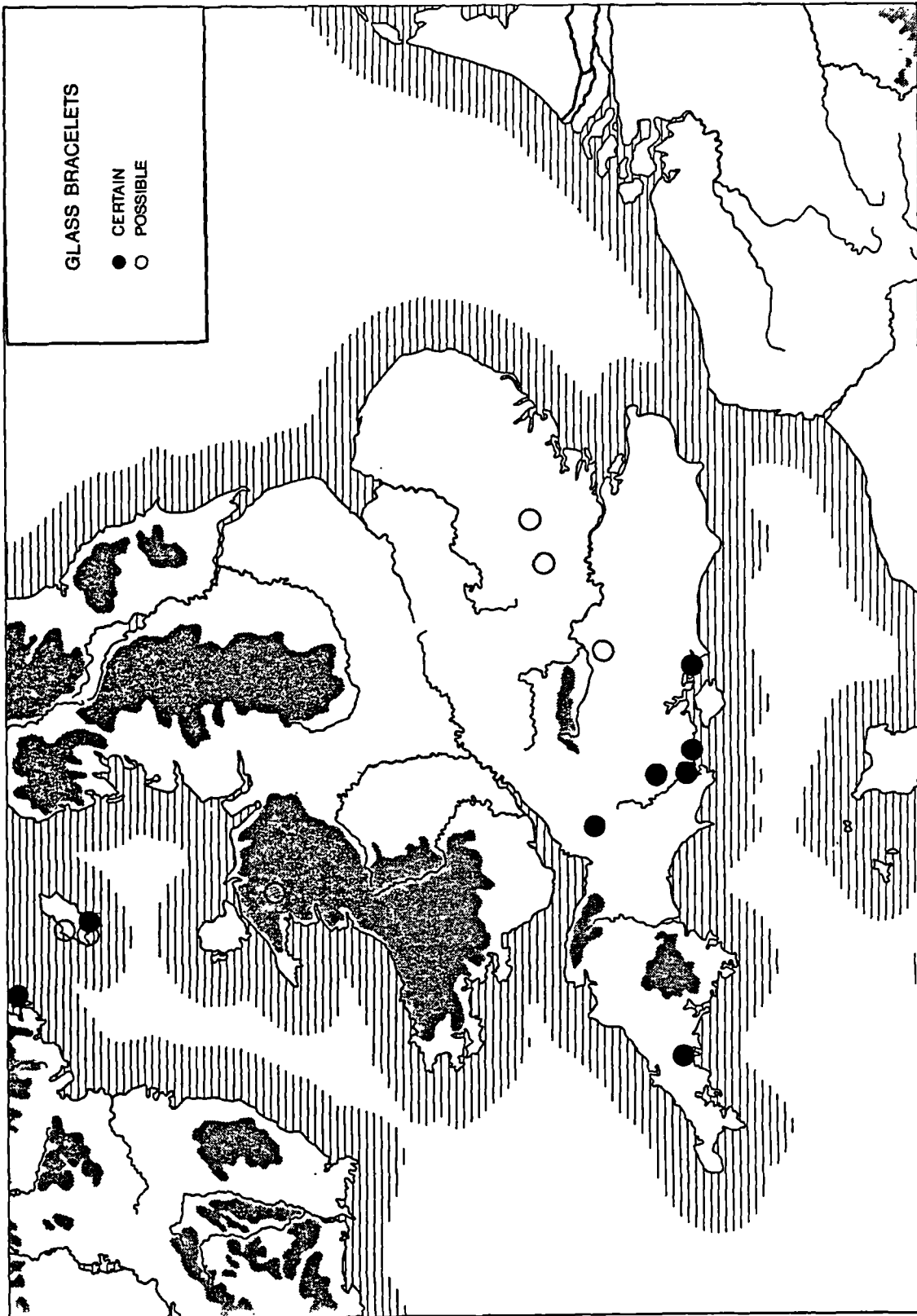


FIG 28: DISTRIBUTION OF GLASS BRACELETS IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Discussion

On the basis of the central European chronology outlined above, the first bracelet from Castle Dore probably dates to between the mid-third century BC to the first third of the second century BC, although there is a possibility that it could be earlier. The second, 'knotted' bracelet could be as early as the first one but it may date to as late as the first century BC.

This probably places them at the head of the British and Irish finds and combined with their uniqueness to that group and the fact that they belong to well defined continental types, supports the suggestion that they were both imported from continental Europe. France remains the likeliest source for the bracelets if they were imported even though Giot would consider the Armorican finds to be from the Rhineland (1964, 306). However, the Flourin-Plodalmézeau (Finstère) find as well as the Brech one is also attributable to Haevernick's Group 14 and is a dark blue metal (*ibid* and pers comm) and while this might hint at an Armorican source, only six findspots are known from there, and alternatively it may suggest a common origin for the Armorican and Castle Dore finds, perhaps in south-western France hinted at by the finds from Nages and Mouliets-et-Villemartin (Lacoste) (two) (Boudet 1987, 116, Pl 129, 3-4), all three in a blue metal. They need not be seen as the only contemporary glass imports for, as we have seen, some types of beads may also have been imported at this time (Ch 7.2.1). The possibility that bracelets were made at Hengistbury and Meare by the second century BC suggests that none of the other British finds need necessarily be imports. Some of the Hengistbury examples and also the 'Loughey' finds could be continental European rather than British products but given the

common source of the glass ingots it would be very difficult to demonstrate this (cf Henderson 1987a; 1987b). The certain or possibly earlier bracelets have a western distribution (Fig 28) and this may relate to the later stages of an Atlantic axis in the Middle Iron Age but which does not seem to have continued much into the first century BC (Ch 24.1; 26.1).

7.3 ROMAN GLASS

7.3.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN GLASS INDUSTRY

Although mould made glass vessels were relatively common in the Hellenistic world, similar vessels were rare in the Roman world until the second half of the first century BC. From that time onwards, however, there was a dramatic increase in the availability of glass vessels in the Roman world (Harden 1968; 1969b).

Until recently two factors were advanced to explain this change. The first was technological. Until the first century BC most glass vessels were made in two-part moulds, the vessels being known as 'cast glass'. The glass was either placed in the mould in a powdered or fragmentary state and melted *in situ*, or molten glass was poured into the mould. The vessel was then finished off by grinding and polishing. Most of the forms produced using this technique were quite simple; the commonest form being a bowl, frequently with internal grooving. Plain skyphoi and kantharoi were also made.

At some time in the first century BC, blown glass was introduced. This innovation greatly increased the range of forms and the speed

with which it was possible to make them. On the strength of a passage in Pliny where he tells a tale about the invention of glass at the mouth of the river Belos (NH 136, 191), it was generally held that glass blowing was discovered in the Syro-Palestinian region and although the dating remained obscure, it was usually held to be Augustan.

The second factor advanced was historical. Circa 64 BC Rome annexed Syria and the Syro-Palestinian coast and in c 30 BC Egypt was also annexed and with it the famed glass working centre of Alexandria. Because of the intensified contact with the Hellenistic world consequent on this and the possible migration of craftsmen to Italy, it was held that the techniques of manufacturing glass vessels were introduced to Italy. Only after these events did the Roman glass industry develop.

While substantially correct, this interpretation requires revision in the light of recent research. Working from the new evidence of the Antikythera wreck (c 80-50 BC) and stratified finds from excavations at Cosa and Rome and Morgantina in Sicily, Grose has been able to document and reinterpret the formation of the Roman glass industry (Grose 1977; 1979; 1981; 1982; 1983, cf also Stern 1977, 149-63). Grose has shown that moulded glass vessels similar to Hellenistic ones and also core made vessels do occur in Republican contexts and although these vessels are not frequent finds, it seems likely that some were made in Italy and that these vessels became available in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds at approximately the same time, possibly in the mid-second century BC. There is some controversy over the dating of this glass to the mid-second century BC. A date for ribbed cast bowls as early as this was first argued by Weinberg (1970) on the basis of finds from Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee but this has been queried by Hayes

(1975, 2, 30, n 6) who suggests a later dating and Hayes' arguments have been endorsed tentatively by Herbert (1979). However, although Hüssen (1983, 10-11) has followed the arguments of Hayes and Herbert in his discussion of the Hertford Heath bowl, the arguments of Hayes and Herbert are concerned, *a priori* with the site chronology of Tel Anafa rather than with the glass bowls themselves. Using other evidence, Grose has (in two articles not cited by Hüssen) supported the long chronology first advanced by Weinberg (Grose 1977, 11-13, n 12, 24, n 59; 1981, 67-9). Both Hayes' and Herbert's arguments are tied to the historically based Herodian chronology whereas Grose's chronology is derived from several relatively independently dated archaeological contexts. An early date for the introduction of cast ribbed bowls is also supported by the dating now available for the introduction of blown glass. Blown vessels have been discovered in burials at El-Gedni in Judea which, on historical grounds, are thought to antedate 40/38 BC (Avigad 1962, 181-3), and excavations in Jerusalem discovered waste derived from the manufacture of both cast and blown vessels in a context antedating 50-40 BC (Avigad 1972, 199-200). As it is very probable that cast glass vessels preceded blown ones, on the basis of this evidence there do not seem to be good grounds for depressing the dating of cast vessels until the Augustan/Herodian period. On the evidence of the more recently excavated Italian finds, Grose has demonstrated that blown glass was manufactured in Italy by the last quarter of the first century BC at the latest. Decisive evidence is the discovery in Rome in contexts dating to the last decades BC of mould blown dishes of a type unknown in the Hellenistic world (Grose 1977, 17-21, 27) and it seems likely that the technique was being used in Italy by c 40-30 BC (*ibid*). The earliest Roman

blown vessels are small, brightly coloured unguentaria or perfume flasks. The colours are the same as those used for the contemporary cast vessels. The dramatic increase in the availability of glass is illustrated by the finds from Cosa where, in contexts dating between 273-c 20 BC, less than 30 vessels were found, but in contexts dating to between c 20 BC and c AD 30, and deriving from a similar type of occupation, hundreds of vessels have been recorded (Grose 1977, 9-10). Glass manufacture in the Roman western provinces appears to have commenced by the mid-first century AD on the basis of finds from Ampurias (Stern 1977, 151) and Cologne (Fremersdorf 1965; 1966; Doppelfeld 1966, 11-16), but it is not until the late Neronian or early Flavian period that a distinctive repertoire of provincial forms appears (Price 1978, 74). Prior to this forms found in Italy and the provinces are very similar and it has been suggested that this similarity may indicate large scale production in a few centres. However, in view of the history of sigillata production in Gaul, it would not be surprising if either chemical analyses or excavation were to reveal production in the Tiberian period or earlier.

7.3.2 ROMAN GLASS IN IRON AGE BRITAIN

For the purposes of the present consideration, there are two important consequences of the revised interpretation of the formation of the Roman glass industry. The first is that there is little reason to cast suspicion on the discovery of blown glass in late La Tène contexts. The second point is that with the increased production of glass vessels in Italy in the last quarter of the first century BC, more vessels might be anticipated to be found in western Europe. The older opinion that the earliest

exports of Mediterranean glass vessels to the west in the Roman period were represented by vessels from Ampurias and Haltern (Hayes 1975) must be rejected. Some of the imports to Britain are as early, if not earlier, than these finds but in fact glass vessels do occur, albeit infrequently, in late La Tène contexts throughout Europe (Czurda-Roth 1979; Berger and Jouve 1980; Venclová 1984).

A number of these finds probably date to the first half of the first century BC (eg Basel-Gasfabrik, Manching, Staré Hradisko), and these may be of Hellenistic manufacture. Most of the other finds may well be of Roman manufacture, although some, such as the gold 'ribbon' vessel from Béthisy-Saint-Martin could be of eastern manufacture (cf Berger and Jouve 1980, 10).

With the exception of the bowl from Hertford Heath, the British finds are of slightly later date. The vessels may have been made in Italy or they may be products of the early provincial industries. Unfortunately there are few adequately published pre-Claudian assemblages from north-west Europe. The recent studies by van Lith of the Tiberio-Claudian material from Velsen (1977b) and Valkenburg (1978-79) do, however, give a good impression of the material available to the military. These assemblages are dominated by vessels used for eating and/or drinking (cf van Lith and Randsborg 1985, 433-5). The Isings form 3 ribbed bowl, the Isings form 12 'Hofheim' cup and the Isings form 17 *zarte Rippenschalen* comprised the major part of the assemblages; 70% at Velsen I (dated to c AD 15-55) and 82% at Valkenburg, phases I and Ia (dated to c AD 40-47). Other forms, particularly those which employed polychrome glass are very rare. Unguentaria are, perhaps understandably, rather infrequent finds in the forts. A similarly

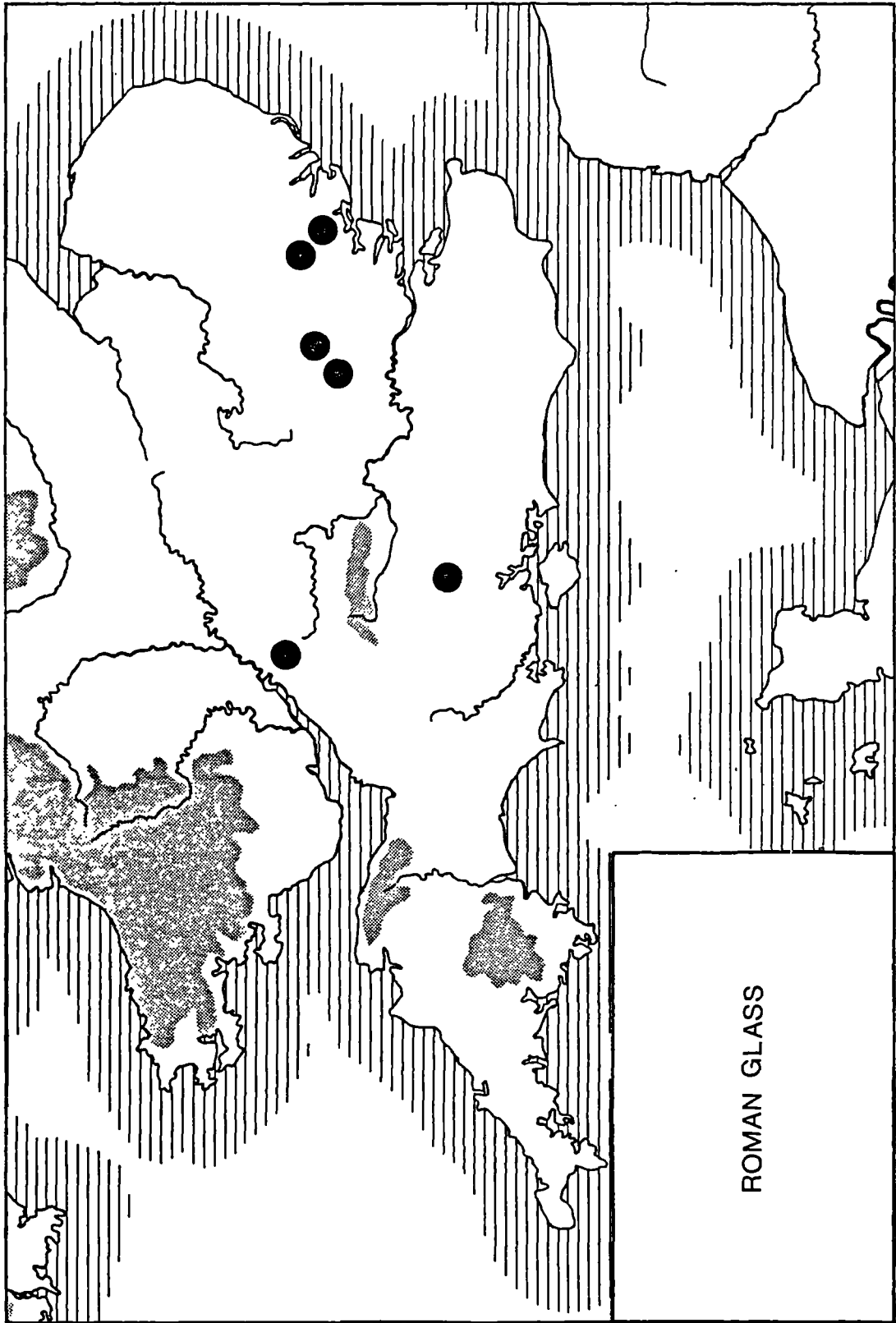


FIG 29: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN GLASS IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

restricted range of forms is also apparent at Trier at this time, although in contrast to the Dutch fort sites, unguentaria predominate amongst the grave goods (Goethert-Polaschek 1977, 267-70) and this is typical of the time (cf van Lith and Randsborg 1985, 424, 463). The Magdalensberg, occupied until c AD 45, has a much greater variety of both forms and techniques than the Dutch sites or Trier (Czurda-Roth 1979, 236-40), almost certainly due to its proximity to Italy. Given the small number of British finds, only nine vessels certainly being Iron Age imports (Fig 29, App 28) the restricted range of forms - four, possibly five types - represented amongst them seems to be typical of the fragmentary evidence from north-west Europe. The finds are equally divided between open vessel forms, closed vessel forms and unguentaria. Strabo (IV, 6, 3) tells us that glass utensils were imported to Britain, but Roman vessels which probably date to before the time Strabo was writing are few and glass ingots of the kind found at Hengistbury Head (Ch 7.1) could as easily be implied.

If, as is commonly thought, the unguentaria did contain perfumes and salves then along with the *pyxis* (Ch 12) and spatula (Ch 10.4.1) from Skeleton Green, they could indicate the import of cosmetics and/or medicines into Iron Age Britain. The vessel forms are very probably table wares and should be set alongside the contemporary ceramic table wares and silver plate imported into Iron Age Britain (Ch 6; 8).

7.4 INTAGLIOS

7.4.1 INTAGLIOS AS PROTOTYPES FOR BRITISH COINS

Henig (1972) has demonstrated that a number of British coins (at least 39) certainly or probably copy Roman intaglios (App 29). Some of the coins also copy Roman coins and most are executed in a completely classical style. Henig is surely correct to conclude that these coins were executed by classically trained artists. The majority of the coins are issues of Cunobelin but they also occur amongst the issues of Verica, Tasciovanus (also with Dias and Rues), Andoco, Epaticcus, Dubnovellaunus and Amminus. Some of the coins of these other kings closely follow coins of Cunobelin and it is possible that the dies were presented by him to juniors (cf Nash 1982, 113, n 6). It is not necessary to infer that large numbers of intaglios were available in Britain as the designs could have been copied from a 'copy-book' of clay impression of gems and coins (Toynbee 1964, 10-11; Henig 1972, 222-3). Indeed Scheers argues that some British coins follow very old non-Roman coins (pers comm). It is possible that these images also arrived in a copy book, perhaps gifts on accession. While nearly all the coins show classical scenes, Henig has drawn attention to one silver coin of Tasciovanus (M 165) which appears to show some fusion with British traditions as the springing pegasus on the reverse appears to be wearing a chamfrain (Henig 1974). Henig suggests that this chamfrain is similar to that argued for in the original (and perhaps more satisfactory) reconstruction of the Torre Chamfrain.

7.4.2 IMPORTED INTAGLIOS?

Trow (1982a) raises the possibility that an intaglio which was found at Ditches hillfort, North Cerney, Gloucestershire and which is dated stylistically to the late first century BC, may have been imported during the Iron Age. As Trow concludes, it is a remote possibility as a number of similarly early intaglios have been found in Romano-British contexts, and it seems more likely that the intaglio should be associated with the early Roman, possibly military, occupation of the site.

Henig (1972) noted the representation of an intaglio on a Gaulish bronze coin, DLT 7589, and on the famous sword of Korisios from Port in Switzerland (*ibid*, 210, n 17 and 222, n 128). It may be added that, while extremely rare finds, two intaglios have been found in La Tène contexts in continental Europe. The first comes from the well known burial at Horgen in Switzerland (Polenz 1982, 69-72, 108), where the gem has been mounted face down in a silver ring. The second intaglio is set in a bronze ring and is of late La Tène date, being found at the Altenburg oppidum (Fischer 1966a, 296 and Taf 23, 1 a - b and Abb 5) although this could possibly be associated with an early Roman military occupation (*cf* Todd 1985, 189-90). Beckmann (1969, 37-41) discusses the discovery of Roman finger rings in Free Germany.

Commentary

The importation into Britain of beads and bracelets and also some of the raw materials for making indigenous products started well before the later Iron Age. However, it is difficult to be

confident which beads are later Iron Age imports and the same difficulty also applies, albeit to a lesser extent, to the bracelets. The likeliest source for those which are imports is France and while the raw glass, probably in the form of ingots, may also have arrived from there, it is probably ultimately of Mediterranean origin. The Welwyn Garden City gaming set may also be from the Mediterranean world.

The earliest Roman glass vessels may have arrived at the same time as some of these 'Celtic' imports. The Hertford Heath bowl is possibly of Italian origin and is the earliest of these imported vessels, the later ones may come from both Italy and the new western Roman provinces. These vessels were table wares and containers for perfumes and/or medicines.

The importation of intaglios on their own or for their own sake is difficult to demonstrate and their presence in Iron Age Britain is probably related to the presence of classically trained craftspersons.

CHAPTER VIII

ROMAN SILVER PLATE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

From at least the mid-second century BC Hellenistic silver became widely known in Italy. This strongly influenced Roman silversmiths and Greeks certainly worked in Italy as well, thus while silver plate probably made in Italy in the late Republic is called Republican here, the strong Hellenistic influences should be recognised.

Late Republican silver has a simple elegance but is known from only about a dozen finds of which fewer still are large groups. Even so sets of bathing and toilet equipment (Gehrig 1973, provenance unknown), drinking services (Walters 1899, 32-3, Pl XVII; Strong 1966, 115-16, Pl 34, the Arcisate hoard; Oliver 1980, provenance unknown - burial in Asia Minor?), table services including bowls and spoons (Lipinsky 1971, the 'Tivoli' hoard) and more mixed finds (Oliver 1977, the Trasimeno hoard; Raddatz 1969; Mengibar hoard) are all known. These finds demonstrate that a large range of eating and drinking vessels and bathing and toilet equipment were made in silver.

The range of Julio-Claudian material is rather less well known.

Relief decoration which is both rare and restrained in Republican pieces was now used more widely and superbly worked figural representations appear. There are a number of outstanding examples of the latter craft (Poulsen 1968; Künzl 1969). However, large groups are less common and the range of Julio-Claudian silver plate is best inferred from large groups such as the Hildesheim hoard considered to be deposited in the second half of the first century AD (Pernice and Winters 1901; Nierhaus 1969) but possibly incorporating some Republican pieces, and the finds from the Vesuvian cities (Künzl 1979). These suggest that an even greater variety of silver vessels and artefacts were now made. The finds of Republican silver from Britain stand in stark contrast to this variety of products. Only drinking cups have been found. It is uncertain if the one large find of 'Augustan' silver from Britain, from Hockwold, arrived or was deposited before the Claudian conquest, but it too contains only cups. This suggests that as in Free Germany, where only silver cups were deposited in graves at least, and where they were also imitated (Eggers 1949-50, 86-9; Kunow 1983), only certain elements of drinking services, let alone bathing or toilet sets, were accepted by - or perhaps given to - the British Celts.

8.2 LATER REPUBLICAN SILVER PLATE

Three Republican Roman silver vessels are known from closed Iron Age contexts in Britain plus a fourth one probably of this date (Fig 30).

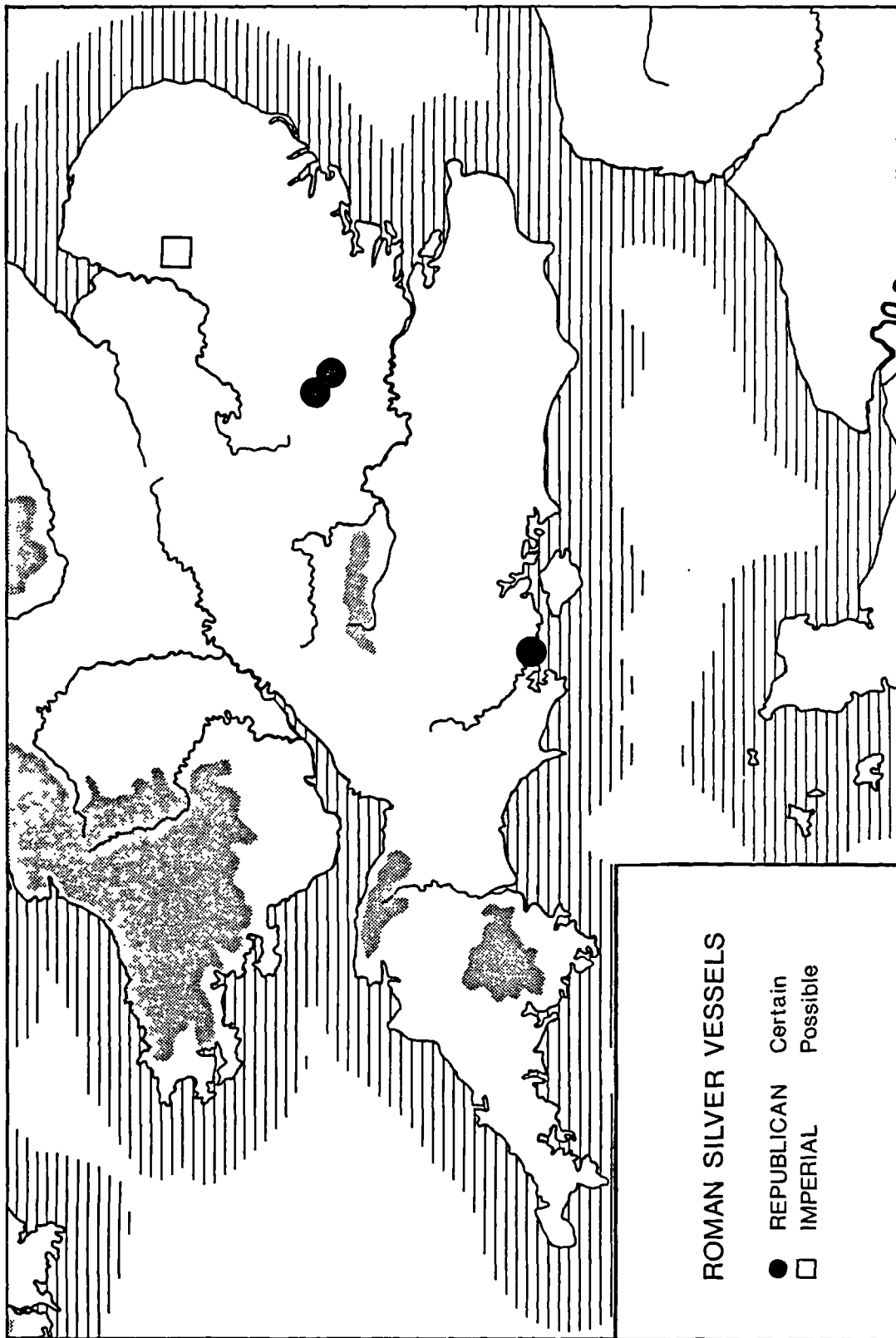


FIG 30: . DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN SILVER VESSELS IN
LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

8.2.1 CUPS

A matching pair of kantharoi were found in the Welwyn B burial. One vessel (no 1) is complete, but the other (no 2) is missing its handles and may have been in this condition when deposited. The cups were first published by Smith (1911-12, 20, Pl 2) as simple bowls and it was suggested that the handles of vessel 1 belonged to a kylix and a reconstruction drawing was published. Strong (1967, 21, and n 1) although correctly restoring the handles to vessel 1 followed Smith and stated that there was a third vessel now lost and this has been repeated by Kunow (1983, 96, Anm 743). It is quite certain, however, that there is no evidence for there ever having been a third vessel. If the handles restored to cup 1 do not belong there they can only belong to cup 2.

Both cups have a gilded double *kymation* ovolo, a plain cavetto and a guided double guilloche with beading. The base has a simple *cyma reversa* profile with the same style of gilded decoration. The handles as presently restored on cup 1 are slightly asymmetrical but this is not necessarily their original position and the bottom of the handles probably had lobated foliate plates. The gilding was applied by burnishing and not by mercury gilding (Lins and Oddy 1975, 368). On the bases of the cups are two hitherto unnoticed graffiti. On cup 1 there is ACT and on vessel 2 ACT 11. The graffiti are badly damaged and the bases are heavily scratched so it is not possible to exclude the possibility that there were further letters or symbols which are now illegible. The graffiti are in Latin and probably do not represent weights as this would be given in pounds and scruples. Accordingly they probably refer either to the vessels or to an

owner of the vessels. *Acetabulum* are known and did occur in silver while a graffito on a terra sigillata vessel from La Grafesenque (Hilgers 1969, 34). *Acetum* is often but wrongly translated as vinegar but refers to sour as apposed to vintage wine (Davies 1971, 124; Middleton 1983, 75 *contra* Tchernia 1983, 93, n 19). Quality wine will have been referred to as *vinum* and the vessels for drinking it from called *argentum pitorium* so it is likely that the graffiti refer to the owner. The name could be either Celtic or Roman. *Actus*, *Acutio*, *Acutios*, *Acutiacus*, *Actutillus*, *Actius* or *Acutus* are all possible expansions (Holder 1896-1922). The two parallel strokes on cup two are probably to be interpreted as representing 'the second cup of ...' rather than an E. There is no way of knowing where or by whom the graffiti were incised but given the evidence for literacy in Iron Age Britain (Ch 20) it seems likely that at this date they were made outside Britain.

The best and indeed exceptionally close parallels come from the 'Tivoli' hoard. The decoration and handles on these vessels are virtually identical. The cups are also gilded and differ only in slight details of the profile (Lipinsky 1969). Oliver dates them to the mid-first century BC (1965, 179; 1977, 98). It is certain that the Welwyn cups are late Hellenistic products (cf Strong 1966, 107) and given their clear relation to other types of later Republican silver plate it is possible that they were made in central Italy. The dating in the classical world is poor and the Welwyn cups are the best dated, so a date range of c 75-25 BC (± 25) is the best dating available.

The other silver cup from Iron Age Britain is from Welwyn Garden City (Stead 1967a, 20-3, Fig 11, 1; Pl IV). In commenting on the cup at the time of its discovery Strong (1967) suggested that it

should be restored to the same shape as the Welwyn cups but subsequent restoration has shown it to have a similar profile as the cup from *Alesia* (Strong 1966, Pl 33B) - if it has not been overstretched. The Welwyn Garden City cup has a gilded ovolo with *cyma reversa*, a plain cavetto and a gilded rope pattern at the waist. The *cyma reversa* on the base is slightly different to that on the body. There are close parallels for the form of the handles on a cup from the Casa del Menandro from Pompeii but which are not *contra* (Strong 1967, 22) identical as they have incised decoration on the central moulding and the feet are different (Maiuri 1933, 330-4, Fig 129, Tav XXXVII; Strong 1966, Pl 33A). Overall the best parallels are provided by the Welwyn and Tivoli cups and it is probably of similar date. As the Welwyn Garden City cup was found in an area of the grave disturbed by the gas pipe trench and the Welwyn and Tivoli cups are virtually identical pairs it is possible that there was also a second, matching, cup in the burial which was not recovered.

The British finds are particularly valuable for the chronology of later Republican silver as they are the only securely stratified and reliably provenanced finds. The authenticity of the findspot of the *Alesia* cup is far from clear (Lejèune 1983a). On this occasion the British finds date the others rather than *vice versa*.

8.2.2 ZUGMANTEL STRAINERS

Typology

This is a hemi-spherical strainer which has one or two small handles which have decorative plates over them. It occurs mostly in bronze but silver ones are known in Italy and the sole British

find is of silver and gold. There is considerable variety in the form (Guillaumet 1977, Fig 4-6). Reinecke suggested that the strainer had two handles but Christlein (1963) argued that there was only one handle and this has been supported by Guillaumet (1977). The latter authors base their argument on the assumption that the handles cannot imitate Augustan silver or Arretine on chronological grounds and so need not have two handles, however, it is clear that the strainers derive from two handled silver strainers of similar form so it would be rash to be dogmatic over this point.

Chronology

Most bronze finds are of first century BC date though some may be of later second century BC. Guillaumet suggests a late second century BC origin but many of his datings (eg of the Campanian ware, Ornavasso and Manching) are incorrect (1977, 244-5). Christlein suggested most of the finds dated to the first half of the first century BC but finds from *Vindonissa* (*ibid*, 247), Augsburg - Oberhausen (Hubener 1973, Taf 11, 24), Dangstetten (Fingerlin (1986, 78, Abb 207, 2; Taf 15, 207, 2 -where it is incorrectly described as from a kantharos) and Basel-Münsterhügel (Furger-Gunti 1979a 64, Taf 6, 75; 15, 232) indicate that it continued to the end of the century. On the strength of the Dangstetten find Ulbert (1985, 89, Anm 256) was uncertain if it was significant enough to suggest continuation into the second half of the first century BC and suggested that it may be an imperial rather than late La Tène product but the other Augustan finds (not cited by Ulbert) leave little doubt that the type did continue in use down to this period.

Function

The type is obviously for straining liquids. Silver vessels of classical workmanship in the Mediterranean world occur in drinking services (Arcisate hoard; Strong 1966, Pl 34; Mengibar hoard; Raddatz 1969, Abb 12, 4-5; Taf 24, 2-3) and they provide the origin of the bronze vessels. Guillaumet suggests that the strainer was used in libations but only one findspot is certainly from a religious site. The strainer is not found in 'Germanic' areas which suggests a cultural difference. This could be because it was used in straining flavoured wine but beer or some other drink is as likely.

Distribution and Commentary

The bronze type is especially widespread in Europe (Collis 1984a, Fig 9-8; Ulbert 1985, 88-9; Guillaumet 1977, Fig 1, mislocates many Swiss and German sites) which suggests that it was manufactured widely. It is presently absent from Italy south of Ornavasso but the silver examples indicate that the absence may be more apparent than real due, as Ulbert suggests (1985, 89), to differential research.

Only one find is known from Britain, from Hengistbury Head (Bushe-Fox 1915, Pl XXIX, 11; Cunliffe 1978, Fig 30, 14; 1987a, 157, 186, Ill 113, 96) probably of first century BC date and as it is of silver (70%) and gold (30%), it is almost certainly an import. If flavoured wine was passed through the strainers then the finds from eastern Europe, particularly Czechoslovakia (Guillaumet 1977, 248; Svobodová 1983, 664), suggest a wider distribution of wine than is indicated by contemporary wine

amphorae (Fitzpatrick 1985a, 330; Frey 1984, Abb 8) and this is particularly noteworthy, but the strainers could also have been used for other drinks such as beer.

8.3 EARLY IMPERIAL SILVER PLATE

The Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk hoard was found in 1962. It received brief publication at that time (Green 1962a; 1962b; Toynbee 1964, 301-3, Pl LXXa-b) and has only recently been fully published (Johns 1986).

The hoard contained the parts of at least five and possibly seven 'Augustan' silver cups from which all the bases and handles had been removed. Because of the rarity of vessels from dated contexts while the style of the vessels is called 'Augustan', the chronological currency of it is poorly dated and while the Hockwold finds may well have been made before the Claudian conquest it is not possible to be certain when they entered the country or were deposited.

Cup 1 is a simple form with an outer skin decorated in relief with vines and olives. The form is best paralleled by one of the Hildesheim cups (Pernice and Winter 1901, Pl X; Oliver 1977, 126-7, no 80) which has an outer skin with related decoration. The closest parallels for the decoration are on the *Alesia* Cup (Lejèune 1983a) and two cups from the Casa del Menandro (Maiuri 1933, Tav XXXVI, 7-8). Similar decoration is found on the vessel from Hildesheim and on an unprovenanced vessel in Oxford (Roes and Vollgraff 1952, Fig 1).

The base has a simple *cyma reversa* profile and its decoration is best matched on the cups from Welwyn, Welwyn Garden City and

Tivoli discussed above and on the Minerva Dish from Hildesheim (Pernice and Winter 1901, Taf I). There is a second, identical, base from Hockwold probably from the pair to vessel 1. Johns (1986) calls this vessel 5.

Cups 2 and 3 are kantharoi whose form is similar to the Stevensweert kantharos (Roes and Vollgraff 1952, Pl V-VI) and the examples in the Hildesheim hoard (Pernice and Winter 1901, Taf XIII-XVI; Oliver 1977, 130-1). The handles are semi-circular in profile and decorated in relief with ivy leaves at their top, middle and base and in some respects this arrangement is similar to a pair of handles in the Hildesheim hoard (Pernice and Winter 1901, Taf XVII). The vessels have plain bases. The chased decoration is of ivy leaves and bacchic motifs which, as Toynbee (1964, 302) noted, has no satisfactory parallels.

Cup number 4 is very simple and comparable to cup 1 and to the Hildesheim cup. The simple base with mouldings finds parallels on the Alesia cup, the Meroë (Sudan) cup (Oliver 1977, 123, no 77), a pair from Italy in New York (*ibid*, 144-5, no 96-7) and the Boscoreale cup (Heron de Villefosse 1899-1902). The handles rise above the rim and are paralleled by the handles of the Boscoreale cup, the Oracle cup from Berthouville (Künzl 1975, Taf 21, 1) and a kantharos from Pompeii (*ibid*, Taf 21, 2).

Additionally, there are two pairs of handles which according to Johns (1986, 8) could not have been attached to any of the existing cups and represent a further two vessels. Johns rejects the possibility that one pair belonged to cup 1 as there is no sign of there having been any handles attached to the rim and the diameters of the cup and the handles do not match. Johns notes that there are two tears in the outer skin of cup 1 opposite each other but as they are not in the same horizontal plane and are not

placed symmetrically to a knot in the decoration she excludes the possibility that they were formed when handles were torn off. Only the first of these objections carries weight. The diameter of the handles depends, as is clear from the published illustrations (Johns 1986, Fig 5), on how they are restored and they could fit the cup. The comments about the lack of symmetry in the design can be challenged as the designs on the outer skin and on related vessels are not symmetrical, while the tears in the skin are not complete and could originally have been in the same plane. If the handles were attached only at their feet and not at the top as is the case with some overhanging handles then it is possible that one pair of handles did fit vessel 1 and the other pair vessel 5. This suggestion has the advantage of proposing a smaller number of cups but there is no certainty and it is well to remember that there is no trace of a partner for cup 4 which as Johns suggests may reasonably be believed to have existed.

It is likely that the Hockwold hoard was of a set of cups all made at about if not the, same time. Elaborate relief decorated vessels were not included in the Arcisate, Tivoli and Trasimeno hoards and if this is of chronological significance, it may indicate that these vessels appeared after c 40-25 BC (± 25). The dating of the *Alesia* cup remains uncertain (Lejèune 1983a). While some features of the Hockwold vessels have parallels in these early vessels, other features are paralleled in vessels found in the Vesuvius cities and so were in use in AD 79 (cf Künzl 1979). In between there are few fixed points. Most recently Nierhaus (1969) and Nuber (1977) have argued that the Hildesheim hoard was not deposited in the Augustan period, in AD 9, but possibly in the later first century AD (cf Bogaers 1982), while the date of the Hoby find is also uncertain, although the name of C. Silius

inscribed on the Hoby beakers if it is the same man as the legate of *Germania Superior* (Vermeule 1963, 37; Poulsen 1968), should suggest that they were transferred c AD 14-21. Iconographic details are of rather more help (Gabelmann 1982). The Meroë cup has, with the addition of a diadem, very close parallels in the portrait of Augustus on cistophori struck at Ephesus or Pergamon in c 19-18 BC, while Künzl (1969) has argued that the Wardt-Lüttingen kalathos represents the engagement of Tiberius and Julia in 11 BC. The close relationship between relief decorated 'Arretine' pottery and silver plate also gives a reliable Augustan dating for the currency of some styles (Ettlinger 1967b). These help to establish Augustan dates for some of the features on the Hockwold cups. It is possible that some of the silver plate in the Vesuvian cities was made in the Augustan period, indeed this is commonly suggested, but there is no reason to exclude a later dating with the silver incorporating early features. The same difficulty applies to the Hockwold cups. They may well be pre-Claudian but it is not certain and while they could have been introduced and deposited before c AD 47 (the first Icenian revolt) there can be no confidence about this.

Commentary

The Republican and possibly the Hockwold finds of silver plate from Iron Age Britain are rare finds and in terms of Roman commercial value they are undoubtedly the most valuable Roman imports. However, the graffiti on the Welwyn finds indicate that at some time they may have been owned by a literate person in continental Europe, perhaps from Italy and it is possible that they were gifts. The cups were probably intended for drinking

wine from in the classical world where they would have been part of a set of silver utensils. They may well have been used in the same way in Iron Age Britain but they are the only parts of the set placed in burials.

CHAPTER IX

'ITALIAN' BRONZE VESSELS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

A relatively small, but varied, group of bronze vessels thought to be of Italian origin are found in Iron Age Britain. Most finds are from Aylesford-type burials in eastern England. In the classical world these vessels were used at the table, in food preparation and at the toilet and the ways in which they were used in the barbarian world is of great interest. Here the vessels are considered in two groups; later Republican and early Imperial. as the vessels are often considered to have been used in sets, types which have not been found in Iron Age Britain but which may be related in their use to those types which have been found are also included in the main text. As these vessels have rarely been discussed in English, other types which could have arrived in Iron Age Britain but which have not yet been found are considered in Appendices 30-1.

9.2.1 LATER REPUBLICAN VESSELS

The occurrence of later Republican vessels in Free Germany has been well known since Willers published his monograph on the finds in 1907. Finds were well documented by Eggers in 1951 and in 1954

Werner published a synthesis characterising the vessels and publishing gazetteers. This work has established a distinctly German approach to the study of the later Republican vessels which has, curiously enough, been based on finds in northern Europe rather than Italy. Finds from the Giubiasco and Ornavasso cemeteries in southern Switzerland and northern Italy which were excavated in the later nineteenth century were recognised as being of particular importance by Willers. Of these finds only the Ornavasso finds have been published adequately today (Agostinetti 1972; Graue 1974) and while other old finds are now being published properly (eg Tizzoni 1981) there is still no systematic study of the Italian finds. Because of this there is considerable uncertainty over the range of Italian products and where they were produced. Werner's 1954 paper is one of synthesis and does not define all the types while Graue's consideration of the Ornavasso finds is restricted to finds from the cemeteries. Consequently quite distinct types are only now being recognised (eg Fitzpatrick 1987b) and a major study of the full range of vessels is still awaited. Egger's typology is particularly incomplete for the Republican finds and only Werner's 1954 paper covers most of the finds. Werner uses common names for the types rather than Eggers type numbers and I have generally followed his nomenclature and have also called new types by common names.

Provenance

It is generally asserted that the bronze vessels found in later Iron Age contexts outside of Italy are of Campanian origin and this is frequently repeated (eg Wegewitz 1982).

The basis of this opinion is Willers' pioneering study of Roman

bronze vessels found in Free Germany, but the evidence is slight and deserves to be restated. Willers (1907, 18-26) drew attention both to the comment of Cato the Elder (*De Agricult* 135) on the variety and quality of Campanian bronzes and also fragments of two tombstones (whose dating is uncertain) depicting *inter alia* a workshop (Willers 1907, Taf V, 4). There is also a certain amount of circumstantial epigraphic evidence (Frederiksen 1984, 298) but it is difficult to know how much weight to attach to it. Certainly such scant evidence scarcely supports the emphasis placed on it by the repeated assertion that Italian bronze vessels of first century BC date found beyond Italy are Campanian or, more precisely, Capuan. The idea has been heavily criticised by Finley (1985b, 239, n 30). It is possible, to adduce two further pieces of evidence, albeit inferential, in support of Willers' proposal. Horace (*Sat* I, 6, 116; II, 3, 142) refers to Capuan goods as common, while Pliny the Elder (*NH* XXXIV, 20) states that Capuan wares are useful goods. This might suggest that Capuan goods were both well known and widely available, but similar evidence could perhaps be presented for other places.

As Werner pointed out (1954, 56), these first century BC bronze vessels have not been found in Campania and in view of the concentration of finds in northern Italy, there was a free choice between the two areas for the origin of the bronze vessels. The apparent absence of finds south of Cisalpine Gaul has been commented on subsequently by a number of authors (eg Graue 1974; Tizzoni 1981) and consequently a northern Italian origin has been proposed.

In his studies of the technology of Roman bronze vessels, Drescher first proposed an origin for Eggers types 18 and 19 buckets in northern Italy, Austria and the western Alps (1958) and

subsequently (1963) and origin in the eastern Alps. On neither occasion did he advance supporting arguments. This view of widely dispersed manufacture has been taken further by some authors, for example Břeň (1975), who in his discussion of Aylesford pans from Czechoslovakia, suggests that what he considers to be a half-finished vessel from Třisov indicates that these vessels were imitated in central and eastern Europe. This view has been discussed further by Svobodová (1983). These suggestions must raise the question if bent or fragmentary pieces from French sites such as the Giubiasco ladle or Aylesford pan handle from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1982, 250, Fig 40, 052 & Ph 33) or Vienne, Colline Sainte-Blandine (Isère) (Chapotat 1970, 36, 89 & Fig 19) and Mt Beuvray (Beck and Guillaumet 1985, Fig 2, 5-6) are imported pieces which were being recycled for scrap metal or if they are half-finished pieces which were being manufactured at these oppida, or were half-finished 'blanks' traded (Moser 1973)? As yet technical or chemical analyses have not provided a satisfactory answer to this question and for the present it must be regarded as an open question but the number and type of ladles from southern France suggests that these at least, were made there (Tendille 1981, 77; Kaenal 1985, 158, n 21).

The representativeness of the distribution maps of the bronze vessels on which so much of the discussion has been based must also be considered. Many of the doubts expressed about a Campanian origin have been based on the distribution map published by Werner in 1954. However, as Werner stated explicitly (1954, 65), his study did not include central and southern Italy and no subsequent study has filled this lacuna. It is equally important to consider the structure of the archaeological record. Most of the finds of first century BC bronze vessels come from burials

north of the Appennines. For example in the case of Fällanden type buckets, with the exception of the Costești and Cáceres el Viejo finds, they all come from contexts, either funerary or possibly votive, in which they were deposited deliberately. Mortuary practices and ritual differed within the Roman world and metal vessels seem to have been deliberately deposited only rarely. Fragmentary metalwork finds are rarely diagnostic and it may reasonably be expected that most damaged objects were recycled for scrap metal. Because of this and the poor knowledge of later Republican settlements due to the fact that classical archaeologists have traditionally directed their attention towards other areas (cf Snodgrass 1985), the apparent northerly distribution of the first century BC bronze vessels in Italy should be viewed circumspectly.

Suggesting that the bronze vessels were made in northern Italy necessitates accepting that Cisalpine Gaul was manufacturing 'Roman' goods at a date well before either the conquest or 'romanisation' of these areas (de Marinis 1977, 37-8; Tizzoni 1981; 1985). In view of the very high standard of material culture created by late La Tène Celtic societies, this is certainly not impossible, but a more attractive suggestion may be that the vessels were manufactured in the Roman colonies established throughout northern Italy in the second and first centuries BC, particularly after the *Lex Pompeia* in 87 BC (Beretta 1954; Keppie 1983).

At present there is little objective evidence to support either suggestion and, as Graue (1974, 21) has observed, the question will only be resolved through careful research on museum collections in central and southern Italy. In the meantime

however, two hypothesis to be tested by further research may be put forward;

Firstly, that the bronze vessels found in northern Italy and beyond represent a distinctive regional tradition of Roman bronze working created in the Roman colonies in northern Italy founded in the late Republic.

Secondly, that the bronze vessels were manufactured throughout Italy in the later second and first centuries BC. Although Capua in particular and Campania in general may have been particularly well known for the quality of their products, in no sense did they exercise either a 'monopoly' or dominate the 'market', both ideas which are substantially if not entirely inappropriate to Republican Italy (Carandini 1980; Hopkins 1983a; Finley 1985b). In the Roman world the bronze vessels were not selected for inclusion in burials or as votive offerings at religious sites. When they became worn out or broken beyond repair they were recycled for scrap metal. The vessels were also traded widely beyond the Roman world. With the establishment of the Roman colonies in northern Italy these vessels became more readily available to at least some members of the Celtic societies of Cisalpine Gaul. In Transalpine Gaul, Germany and beyond, the vessels were perhaps valued as exotic goods and this, along with different religious beliefs and burial rites may have been responsible for their selection as grave goods. The vessels may also have been imitated in these areas.

In the second hypothesis the distribution of bronze vessels from northern Italy demonstrates a distance-decay fall-off from the source(s) of manufacture (Renfrew 1975) with the greatest quantity of finds recorded in some, but if not all, of the areas immediately adjacent to the production area(s). This is not,

however, to suggest that the similar conditions of exchange existed throughout the area encompassed by the distribution of the bronze vessels (cf Hedeager 1978; Hedeager and Kristiansen 1981; Kunow 1983). Although manufacture may have been widely dispersed, it is possible that distribution to the Celtic world was from a limited number of sites such as Aquileia, founded as a Colony in 183/81 BC, or the Magdalensberg which, in part, functioned as a port of trade (cf Collis 1984a, 162).

Function

As with the origin of the vessels, so their function is more usually a subject of assertion than certainty. Following Werner (1954) the vessels are often considered to be part of a wine service (eg Champion 1979, 410). The starting point for a discussion of the function of these vessels must be Kunow's careful analysis (1983, 69-97). Kunow shows that there is a wider variety of functions for the vessels within the classical world than just wine services and has particularly criticised the idea of 'services' in the later Iron Age material (*op cit*, 95-7). One of Kunow's major points deserving reiteration is that the use of the vessels within and without the Roman world should not be assumed to be the same. In Free Germany but also in other areas (Glodariu 1976; Wielowiejski 1977), clear associations within the Roman world are not repeated outwith. The situation in the Celtic world is also uncertain but there is stronger evidence (Ch 9.2.7) to suggest that their uses may have been similar (cf also Matthews 1969).

Vessels which are known in Iron Age Britain and also those vessels which are directly relevant to the discussion of the existence of

a 'wine service' but which have not yet been found in Britain are considered together in the main body of the text. Types which are primarily of first century BC but which may continue into the first century AD are considered with the later Republican vessels. In one case two versions of the same bowl are of later Republican and early Imperial date respectively and they (the Sojvide and Poggendorf type bowls) are both considered together with the later Republican variant.

9.2.2 KELHEIM JUGS

Typology

There are three variants of this type of jug, the Kappel-Kelheim; Ornavasso and Kjaerumgaard [sic].

The Kappel-Kelheim variant has a heavy, angular handle with a Silenus mask at its foot. There are a number of mouldings and there is a centrally placed projection at the top. The rim is everted and has a carination mid-way up. The bottom of the body is rather bulbous while the base is slightly expanded and has a small omphalos. There are three small feet soldered on.

The Ornavasso variant has a rim which projects at right angles and then returns sharply at c 110°. The handle is relatively plain having a central projection and a moulding on the angle. On the body below the handle junction there is an applique heart-shaped tinned plate with scrolls springing from its base and one line trailing down. The body of the jug is pear-shaped and has an expanded base. There are three small feet soldered on to the bottom.

The Kjaerumgaard variant has a rim which is turned down at almost

a right angle. The handle has an upright projection and is very simple. Where the handle meets the body there is an applique tinned plate. The plate is heart shaped and has two tendrils springing from its base which then return vertically. A further tendril trails down and has a number of decorative mouldings. The body is rather bulbous and has a footring. there are no feet soldered on.

This three-fold division has been argued by Ulbert (1985, 81-7). In 1954 when Werner first characterised the Kelheim jug, he distinguished three variants on the basis of the decoration at the foot of the handle. Variant *a* had a Silenus mask, *b* a bust and *c* a heart-shaped motif. In publishing the Kappel hoard Fischer pointed out that differences in the rim suggested that there were two main variants (Fischer 1959) and in reviewing Fischer's work Radnóti called these two variants Kappel-Kelheim and Ornavasso-Kjaerumgaard [*sic*] which correlate with Werner's variants *a* and *c*. Werner's *b* variant was subsumed within the Kappel-Kelheim variant (Radnóti 1964). Radnóti's review appeared with the spelling Kaerumgaard and this has frequently been repeated but as Ulbert notes, the correct spelling of the Danish name is Kjaerumgaard (Ulbert 1985, 83, Anm 236). Vidal (1977, 93, Fig 16) has attempted to distinguish a 'Sanzeno variant' but as it is represented by a single find it is difficult to accept this at present.

Chronology

Werner originally suggested that the variants were contemporary and dated to c 70-10 BC. In 1960 Ulbert pointed out that a Kappel-Kelheim variant from La Lagaste was of late second or early

first century BC date, while the rim of the Kjaerumgaard variant was similar to Service 1 'Arretine'. Radnóti took this up and suggested that the two variants were successive rather than contemporary and stressed a pre- and post-Caesarian division (1964). Graue suggested a slightly earlier date for the Ornavasso-Kjaerumgaard variant on the basis of its similarity to the silver jug in the Arcisate hoard for which Kuthmann had suggested a date of c 75 BC (Kuthmann 1958, 120-2, Taf 11, 1; Graue 1974, 26). In 1977 Vidal suggested that the Kappel-Kelheim variant dated to the second half of the first century BC. Reviewing the situation in 1978 Werner observed that these datings were contradictory and attempted to resolve them.

The dating of the Kappel-Kelheim variant effectively rests on a number of French burials, few of which have been published fully. One is the Hannogne grave which Flouest and Stead originally regarded as pre-Caesarian (1977), although Stead has subsequently been more reserved over both the type and dating of the amphora from the burial, suggesting that it is intermediate between Dr 1A and 1B (1983, 520, n 37). Even so, this would still suggest that the burial dates to the first half of the first century. The other French finds from La Lagaste, Toulouse-Estarac (three finds from two *puits funéraires*) and Châtillon-sur-Indre are probably of this date with the La Lagaste find possibly being slightly earlier. Kunow has observed that this dating is not certain (1983, 23) but the presence of Dr 1A in all the burials (Lequément and Vidal 1986, 241) indicates that they date to the first half of the first century BC if not earlier. This is supported by the late second-early first century BC dating of the classical forerunners of the Silenus mask (Werner 1978, 12-13).

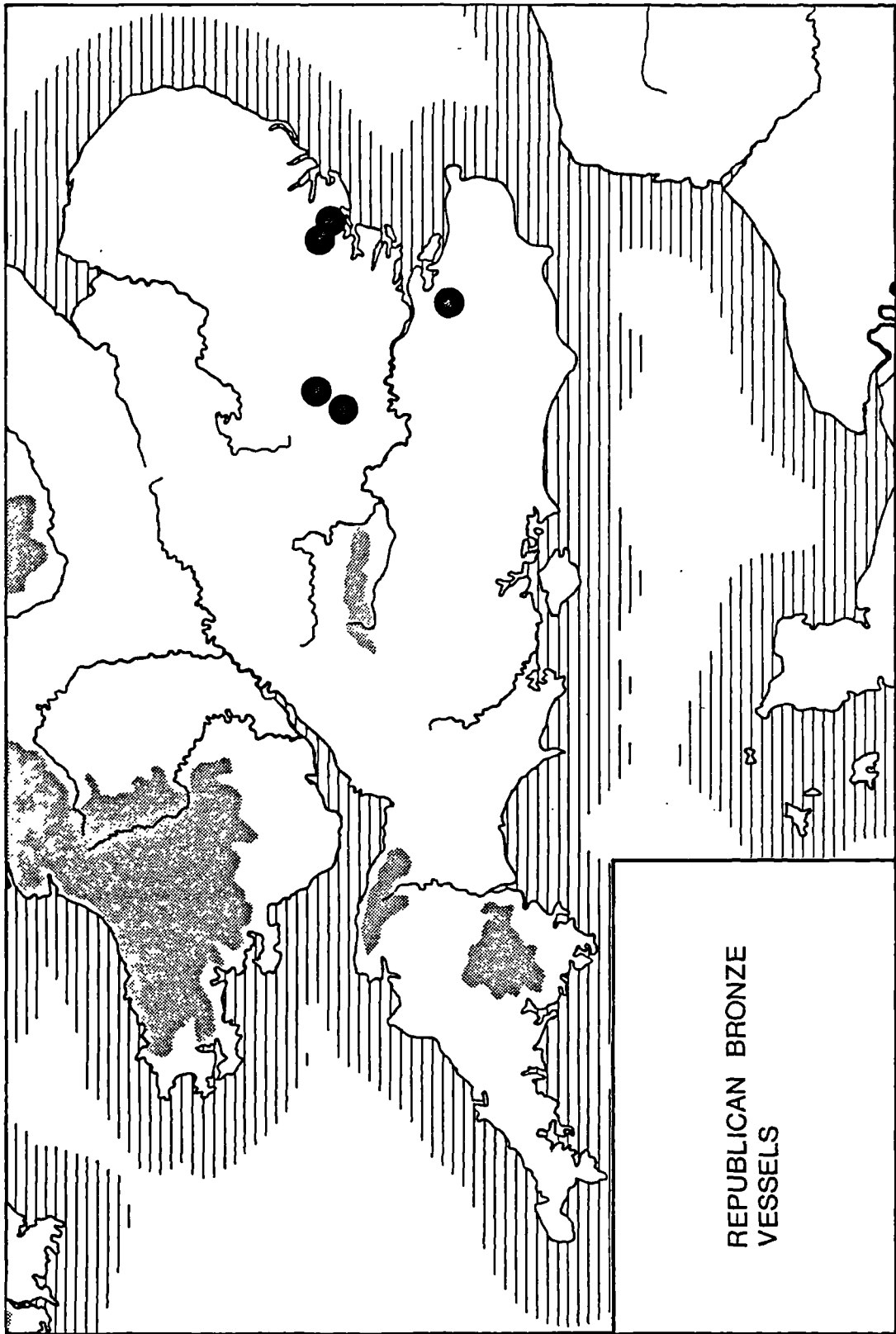


FIG 31: DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN REPUBLICAN BRONZE VESSELS
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

In discussing the Ornavasso-Kjaerumgaard variants Werner argued that some finds certainly dated to the second half of the first century BC while others were dateable early in the first century AD. Graue had suggested that some finds from Ornavasso dated to the first half of the first century BC but Werner doubted the reliability of this dating (1978, 11) and similar objections have been raised by Peschel (1978, 559). These difficulties are discussed further in Ch 13.1.3 but for present purposes we may note that, as Ulbert has argued, the difficulties arise from accepting the Ornavasso-Kjaerumgaard as a single type or variant when they can clearly be defined as two separate ones. In this grouping is accepted than most of the chronological difficulties are resolved. The Ornavasso variant is clearly dated by north Italian finds to the first half-middle of the first century BC (Ulbert 1985, 83-5). The Kjaerumgaard variant is found in later first century BC contexts and finds from Free Germany are probably of early first century AD date (Werner 1978, 9-10; Kunow 1983; Ulbert 1985, 86).

The three British finds of Kelheim jugs (Fig 31) are all Kjaerumgaard variants, from Aylesford Y and Welwyn A and B (Evans 1890, 375-8, Fig 14-15; Smith 1911-12, 20, Fig 18-19) and because this it is worth examining the date of this variant in more detail.

One find from Ornavasso-Persona, grave 33, was associated with a quinarius of Marc Antony of 41 BC and a pre-sigillata cup and Graue dates the burial to before c 25-15 BC (1974, 148, 250-1). The find from Goeblingen-Nospelt B is probably of a similar date, c 25-15 BC, while the Welwyn burials probably date to before c 20 BC. Werner has suggested that the Welwyn burials do not date to

before 50 BC and cites Stead as support for this (Werner 1978, 10) but the article by Stead (1967a, 47) actually bases its dating on those put forward by Birchall (1965, 289). Birchall, anticipating the re-publication of the Ornavasso finds by Bertolone suggested that this work showed the bronzes to date to after c 50 BC and that this was supported by recent excavations at Ornavasso and by a revision of the Giubiasco cemetery. Clearly Werner's arguments concerning the British finds are circular, while Hawkes suggestion of a pre-Caesarian date is unsubstantiated (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 201-3). Bertolone's re-assessment of Ornavasso never appeared but a long chronology is correct and this is amplified by Ulbert's modification to the grouping of the vessels. Crivelli's re-assessment of the Giubiasco cemetery has only shown that the associations of the finds are completely unreliable and that they appear to have been fabricated, along with the actual location of the site, in the nineteenth century at the time of the sale of the material (Crivelli 1971; 1977). Stead's later dating of the Aylesford-type burials using this c 50 *terminus post quem* (Stead 1976a) is equally poorly based. The Kjaerumgaard variant may have continued into the first century AD although there are no compelling reasons to date the Polish finds AD rather than BC but when it appeared is less certain. Accepting that it develops from the Ornavasso variant, the transition should presumably be dated around the middle of the first century BC. A date of c 60-40 BC may be guessed but the Ornavasso variant itself cannot be regarded as precisely dated. Boon and Savory's suggested first century AD date for the jugs (1975, 58) is based on a mistranslation of Agostinetti taking his comments on Persona to refer to San Bernardo and on the mistaken belief that these vessels occur at Pompeii (cf Carandini 1977a; Ch 13.1.3).

Function

The jug is usually asserted to be part of a wine service (eg Werner 1954). The evidence is very slight and Werner has argued that Kelheim jugs were wine jugs on the basis of its association with wine amphorae in burials at Welwyn (A and B), Goeblingen-Nospelt B, Hannogne and (probably) Châtillon-sur-Indre. The *puits funéraires* of La Lagaste and Toulouse-Estarac which may be funerary rather than ritual also contained numerous wine amphorae (Werner 1978, 8-9; Vidal 1986, 58-61). The function of Kelheim jugs in Italy is not known.

It must be doubted if the use of vessels beyond the Roman world necessarily reflects their uses within it. The widespread distribution of the type in 'Germanic' areas into which wine amphorae were not imported would strongly suggest that if it was a wine jug in some areas, in others it certainly was not. Werner (1978) discusses the possibility that Kelheim jugs were not wine jugs. In considering the Imperial 'ewer and paterae' services Nuber showed conclusively that they were not as usually thought, wine services but sets used for washing hands with at the table (Nuber 1972). If the Kelheim jug and Aylesford pans did form a set then it seems plausible that it would have had the same purpose as the Imperial sets. Werner considered this but on the basis of the jugs' associations with wine amphorae and the significance of the Silenus head on the Kappel-Kelheim variant, he considered it to be a wine jug (1978, 8-9). This is not entirely convincing but the point is discussed further below (Ch 9.2.7).

Distribution

The Kelheim jug has been well studied by Werner and his 1978 paper updated the gazetteer of his first paper while Ulbert has added to Werner's schedules (Werner 1978, 14-16, Abb 2; Ulbert 1985, 85). The jug is very widely distributed, right across Europe. Ulbert has suggested that with the exception of a find from Saint-Germainmont (Ardennes), all the finds of the Ornavasso variant are from Italy but as he himself notes there is a find from Popești in Romania. All of the Kjaerumgaard variant are found in the Alpine area or beyond and it is possible that they are of Gaulish manufacture, although the Ornavasso-Persona grave 33 would argue against this. In northern Italy it is possible that the Gallarate type jug was used instead.

9.2.3 GALLARATE JUGS

Typology

The Gallarate type was first distinguished by Graue (1974, 27-8). The body is rather squat and has a carination below the base of the handles. The rim is everted and projects outwards and is superficially similar to that of the Kappel-Kelheim jug. The handle has bird-headed terminals at the rim and a central projection. The bow of the handle is simple and at the foot there is an applique heart-shaped mount of tinned metal from which decorative tendrils spring. These can be very similar to those on Kjaerumgaard variant Kelheim jugs (eg Graue 1974, Taf 12, 1b). Graue calls the vessel 'Type Ornavasso' but in reviewing the work de Marinis (1975) labelled it 'Gallarate' and this is preferable

as there is already an Ornavasso variant of the Kelheim jug and this usage has been followed by Tizzoni (1981, 18) and Ulbert (1985) and is used here.

Chronology

Graue suggested that the type was typologically later than the Kelheim jug (1974, 28) but the find from Ornavasso-San Bernardo grave 7 falls within Graue's phase II and dates to the first half of the first century BC and finds from Gallarate and Mezzano (Tizzoni 1981, Tav 10a, 12, c) are likely to be of this date and almost certainly earlier than c 25-20 BC. A find from Kalinovka (near Volgograd) from a Sarmatian burial is probably also of mid-first century BC date (Moser 1975). The evidence points to the Gallarate jug as a contemporary of the Kelheim jug.

Function

There is no published discussion of the function of Gallarate jugs but by analogy with Kelheim jugs it could be either a wine-jug or one used in washing hands.

Distribution and Commentary

Nearly all the known finds come from northern Italy and have been listed by Graue (1974, 28) and added to by Tizzoni (1981) and Kaenal (1985). The Kalinovka and Filipovci, Bulgaria (Raev 1977, 609, 637, Taf 27, 4) finds are presently the only ones known outside Italy. In view of the close similarity of the Gallarate jug to the Kelheim jugs it is probable that the types are being

conflated and the Kalinovka find strongly suggests that other jugs were exported beyond Italy.

A possibly earlier variant of the Gallarate jug with a mask at the base of the handle seems likely but has not yet been characterised adequately. The jug from the mid-second century BC burial at Dühren has the characteristic carination of the Gallarate jug and a similar, but more pronounced, everted rim (Schumacher 1911, 77-8, Taf 15, 282). Werner (1954; 1978) omitted this find while including the associated Dühren-Moosburg pan. A similar find, although less well-dated, is known from Piatra Neamț in Romania (Glodariu 1976, 199, B24, b) and a less well-made vessel from Montefortino grave 47 and a series of related handles from northern Italy appear to be the predecessor of the Dühren and Piatra Neamț finds (Quinto 1979, 174).

9.2.4 AYLESFORD PANS

Typology

This vessel is similar to a skillet. The 'bowl' has a diameter of between 20-25cm and usually has an 'S'-shaped profile with a simple flanged rim. The body has three small feet soldered to it. The handle is flat and lozenge-shaped, narrowing in the middle and flaring at the ends. The terminal of the handle is a stylised bird's head which is folded back under the handle. The rim of the bowl, and sometimes parts of the handle also, is frequently decorated with diagonal incisions at times broken by panels either with parallel incisions or simply plain. The bird's head can be very elaborately worked. There is some variety in the size of the vessels but this does not seem to have any chronological

significance. Radnóti suggested that a distinction within the type could be made on the basis of the cross-section of the handle but this cannot be substantiated (cf Graue 1974, 183, Anm 149). The base often has three feet soldered to it. The type develops from the Dühren-Moosburg type which has higher walls and a less sinuous profile. The Dühren find has a ram's head on the handle terminal. It should be noted that the handle is not as short as some illustrations would suggest. Collis (1975a, Fig 19, c) copies Werner (1954, Karte 1) which in turn copies Lindenschmidt (1911, Taf 15, 283). This illustration is of the vessel at present but examination of the object shows that the handle has been broken, shortened and repaired, apparently since its excavation.

Chronology

The Dühren find of Dühren-Moosburg type dates to the mid-second century BC (Lindenschmidt 1911, 73-81; Polenz 1982, 110-11) and there are related finds from Castaglione delle Stiviere (Mantua) and Cozzo (Pavia) which probably date to the third-early second century BC (Tizzoni 1981, 32; de Marinis 1977, 33-4) while some finds from Montefortino are probably even earlier (Quinto 1979, 173-4; Krüta 1981). As it is not easy to distinguish between fragmentary examples of these types it is possible that some of the vessels identified as Aylesford type should be dated rather earlier. The earliest finds of the Aylesford type date to the first half of the first century BC and come from Misano di Gera d'Adda and Gallarate (Tizzoni 1981, 32, Tav 2a; 10c) and Ornavasso-San Bernardo graves 3, 6, 130 and 165 (Graue 1974). Some finds from Giubiasco could be transitional between

Dühren-Moosburg and Aylesford type.

The latest dated find is from Goeblingen-Nospelt grave B and was probably deposited c 25-15 BC, while a find from Gautsch near Leipzig could be marginally later but this is not certain (Kunow 1983, 25, 35, Anm 278).

Function

Werner suggested that the pan was used to warm water to mix with wine (1954, 66) but as he has subsequently pointed out the feet soldered to the base preclude this as the solder attaching them would melt (1978, 8, Anm 29). If the pan did form a set with the Kelheim jug then, by analogy with later sets, it was probably used for washing hands (Nuber 1972; Kunow 1983, 74).

Distribution

Werner has updated his 1954 schedule and published a distribution map (1978, 8, Fundliste III, Abb 3). The type is widely distributed in central and western Europe. Two vessels have the stamp [C]ORNELI, one is from Gautsch which is one of, if not the, youngest finds known and the other is unprovenanced (Werner 1954, 52, 68). This might suggest that stamping only started at the end of the vessel's production.

In Britain there are finds from Aylesford (Evans 1890, 379, Fig 16) and Welwyn B (Smith 1911-12, 18-20, Fig 17) (Fig 31). Two vessels were allegedly found in London (Eggers 1966, 95-6, 100, Abb 51, u; Kennett 1972) but these provenances are doubtful particularly as the first vessel (which is in the British Museum) comes from the Chaffer collection and he certainly had a number of

finds of British Iron Age date from London with bogus provenances of Creed Lane (cf Marsh 1979; Stead 1984a, 61-2). Two French finds probably date to the first half of the first century BC, Châtillon-sur-Indre and Hannogne (Werner 1978, 17) and as we have seen for the Kelheim jugs there is no good reason to assume that the British finds necessarily date to after c 50 BC.

9.2.5 IDRIA BEAKERS

This is a small bronze beaker with a flaring mouth and base. Werner called the beaker the Idria type (1954, 54) and Ulbert has subdivided this into Manching and Ornavasso variants on the basis of the rim and handles (1960, 73-4). The Manching variant has a simple flared rim and the handle which has a heart-shaped plate at the bottom, has a centrally placed cube at the top with a notch on its upper surface. The Ornavasso variant has a wide flanged rim. The handle is correspondingly wider and has a more pronounced return because of this. The top of the plate has drum-like mouldings which may be notched. At the base there is also a heart-shaped plate. It should be noted that in discussing the Ornavasso finds Graue (1974, 32) misunderstands Ulbert's distinction (cf Ulbert 1985, 90, Anm 260). It is not clear if these differences are of chronological or geographical significance (Ulbert 1960, 74; 1985, 90).

Chronology

There are many finds and most appear to date to the first half of the first century BC. Ulbert (1985, 90) states that no finds of the beaker are certainly later than c 50 BC but examples from

Trebenište grave 5 in Macedonia (Ulbert 1960, 74) and Ornavasso-San Bernardo grave 4 do probably date to the second half of the century (Graue 1974). However, as Werner notes there are no finds from early Imperial contexts (1954, 54).

Function

The shape clearly indicates that the vessel was for drinking from. Ulbert notes a very small example from Cáceres and this could be a half size (1985, 89-90, Taf 15, 91). Kunow has argued that as the beaker is frequently associated with ladles it must be a wine beaker (1983, 95-7).

Distribution and Commentary

Large numbers are known from the Alpine region and there is a spread into eastern Europe (Werner 1954, 69; Ulbert 1960, 72). Although finds are known from Cáceres and Portugal (Ulbert 1985, 90) they are presently rare in France but this seems likely to be due to their not being identified correctly (eg Tendille 1981, 80, Fig 10, 67). Again there is no reason why the type should not be found in Britain although it is possible that British tankards were preferred.

9.2.6 LADLES

There are two principal types of later Iron Age ladle, the Pescate and the Giubiasco types.

Typology

The Pescate type has a bowl shaped like a small globular jar with a narrow neck and everted rim. It is separate from the handle which is attached to it by twisting two arms around the bowl's neck. The handle rises vertically above the bowl, and above the two arms which are twisted around the bowl are three or four sections. The central section(s) is(/are) circular while the end sections are flat and worked to lozenge shapes. The terminal has a canine like head.

The Giubiasco type is also usually made in two pieces. There is a semi-spherical bowl which usually has two small volute-like projections on the back of the rim. The handle rises vertically from the bowl into which it is jointed or soldered on. The end has a dog or bird's head. Although many handles appear to be of bronze some are made of iron, for example one from St Laurent-des-Arbres (Gard) (Barruol and Sauzade 1969, 49-51, Fig 29).

Werner called the first type the Pescate type but left the second unnamed; it is called the Giubiasco type here after one of the finds.

Chronology

Finds of the Pescate type at Ornavasso span all of the first century BC (Graue 1974, 34-5) and this is supported by many finds (Knauer 1969; Ulbert 1985, 93). Giubiasco type examples are principally of the first half of the first century BC. Ulbert suggests that none are certainly later than the first half of the century (1985, 93) but some finds could well belong to the forties

or thirties BC, for example from Les Marronniers grave 19 (Dedet *et al* 1978, 101-6, Fig 65, 6). None, however, are Augustan.

Function

The function is self-evident but as Ulbert notes, the absence of a pouring lip does not make them particularly suitable for pouring wine (1985, 93). Because of this Knauer has suggested that the ladle may have been used to heat water to mix with wine (1969, 58) but I do not find this idea very convincing, particularly as the handle of the Giubiasco type is often soldered to the bowl. Their regular association with Idria type beakers in northern Italy has lead Kunow to suggest that they are nonetheless part of a wine service (1983, 95-7). It seems unnecessary to restrict the use of the ladles to just one fluid.

Distribution and Commentary

Both types are widely distributed in northern Italy and in the western Mediterranean (Knauer 1969; Ulbert 1985, 93). They are less frequent in central Europe but by no means rare (Werner 1954, 69-70; Svobodová 1983). The Giubiasco type is particularly frequent in southern France and seems likely to have been manufactured there (Tendille 1981, 77; Kaenal 1985, 158, n 21). They are not common finds in central and northern France (Galliou 1982, 27, n 17; Clement and Galliou 1985, 71), but it is not always easy to distinguish between fragments of ladles and Aylesford pans. As the ladles are so common in southern France it seems likely that they may have reached Iron Age Britain. It is possible that an unusually small fragmentary bronze bowl from the

Great Chesterford bucket burial (Cambridge Mus, unpub) could be from a Gallarate ladle but the decoration just below the rim on the find suggests that the bowl is probably British.

9.2.7 LATER REPUBLICAN 'WINE SERVICES'

As noted earlier (Ch 9.2.1) it is commonly stated that the Kelheim jug and Aylesford pans formed a wine service. Although the opinion had been voiced before, the principle authority for this view is Werner. In 1954 Werner suggested that the association of the two types on four separate occasions suggested that they were a service. As he regarded the Kelheim jug as a wine jug then it followed that it was a wine service (1954, 66). This view has generally been endorsed.

In reviewing the evidence for Imperial ewer and paterae sets Nuber demonstrated that contrary to popular belief there was no evidence whatsoever to support the suggestion that the sets were for wine. Neither written sources nor murals or sculptures make any reference to drinking wine with these sets. Instead the evidence points firmly to their role as vessels used in libations or other rituals, or vessels for washing hands with. Werner accepted this point and recognised its implications for his argument that the Kelheim jug and Aylesford pan were a wine set (1978, 8). But as we have seen Werner rejected this on the strength of the association of the vessels with wine amphorae in Britain and Gaul and the symbolism of the Bacchus face on the Kappel-Kelheim variant (cf Vidal 1977, 99-100). As has been argued above, it is difficult to infer the use of an object within Italy from its uses without, and Werner adduces no new evidence to support his case,

effectively only re-asserting his position. Werner's case is weakened by his subsequent recognition that the Aylesford pan cannot be used to warm water in as the small feet soldered to the bottom would eventually fall off (1954, 66; 1978, 8, Ann 29). It was certainly common to dilute wine in antiquity, regularly by 3:1, but why a pan rather than an *authepsa*, the device specially intended for the role should be used is left unexplained. It may be noted that Cicero (*Pro Font*; Tchernia 1983, 93) states that the Celts drank wine neat. In general the evidence for any of the Italian bronzes belonging to a large wine service is, contrary to popular assumption (eg Stead 1971, 276) conspicuous only by its absence. Most of the vessels have other more plausible uses (Kunow 1983, 69-97; 1985). Kunow argues that if a wine service is to be sought, it is clearly shown by repeated associations to be a small beaker (of Idria type) and a ladle. In particular the recurrent association of these types in the large groups of associated material from Ornavasso and Idria bei Bača cemeteries is strong evidence for them being a set and probably a wine service (Kunow 1983, 95-7). Both Nuber and Kunow doubt the reality of the associations between the Kelheim jug and Aylesford pan. Kunow points out that the largest closed group of finds from a late La Tène context is from Ornavasso-San Bernardo burial 3 which has six vessels in it. The burial contains two beakers, a ladle and a strainer, which Kunow takes to be a wine service, a bucket (a cooking vessel?) and an Aylesford pan (of uncertain function). If this burial did contain a wine service and if the Kelheim jug was part of such a service then, as Kunow argues, it is curious that it was not included. In the Ornavasso burials at least five Kelheim jugs and five Aylesford pans were excavated (stray finds are excluded) but in only one instance were they

associated (San Bernardo burial 6). Kunow concludes '*Im Gegensatz zu Werner können wir hier deshalb kaum von einem geschlossen Service sprechen, schon gar nicht von einem Trinkservice*' (Kunow 1983, 95). Kunow's argument has some weight behind it, but it may be suggested that there is some evidence to support the idea that the types did form a set.

Werner lists finds known up to 1977 in his 1978 article and some further finds are noted by Ulbert (1985, 85). Additional finds from Gallarate and Misano di Gera d'Adda (Tizzoni 1981), Verdello (*idem* 1983, Tav CXXV, m), Garlasco-Baraggio grave 12 (Vannacci-Lunazzi 1982, 763), Craiva (Glodariu 1976, 196) and Krestovyj, Alitub (Raev 1986, 16-17) may be added. The associations of these finds may be examined. It is evident that finds from Free Germany and non-Celtic areas are almost invariably single finds used as grave goods and when compared to Celtic regions it is evident that the burial rites were quite distinct. Therefore it seems reasonable to exclude these finds from analysis particularly as Kunow has shown clearly that 'Germanic' usage or at least burial rite(s) was consistently different from classical use (1983; 1985). It does not, however, follow from this that 'Celtic' finds are any more reliable.

Turning to the 'Celtic' finds, it is reasonable to exclude finds from settlements as these finds, if not always rubbish, are invariably fragmentary and cannot be used to argue association. Considered as classes, 50% of the Kelheim and Gallarate jugs were associated with Aylesford pans (9 of 18) while 40% of Aylesford pans were associated with Kelheim jugs (8 of 19). Thirty per cent of the Kelheim jugs which were not associated with Aylesford pans are from burials which were either excavated poorly and/or published badly, so that the reliability of their lack of

associations might be doubted. For Aylesford pans the equivalent figure is c 10%. These associations seem too frequent to be dismissed lightly, though as Kunow has pointed out, the lack of associations at Ornavasso (only one of 9 burials) and Giubiasco (none-allegedly) is striking. Only the Welwyn B, Châtillon-sur-Indre, San Bernardo 6 and Goeblingen-Nospelt B burials include other Italian vessels, however, so the recurrent association is difficult to dismiss as accidental within a larger set.

Although the evidence is not conclusive it may be suggested, *contra* Kunow, that the association between Kelheim jugs and Aylesford pans may well be genuine. The evidence Kunow marshals against them being a wine service and particularly the lack of a strainer, seems in contrast, to be convincing. How the set was used beyond Italy is, however, another question.

9.2.8 GOEBLINGEN VARIANT BOWLS EGGERS TYPES 75-76

Typology

This bowl has gently curving sides with a rounded base. The centre of the base is raised slightly. The rim is slightly everted. The drop handles have a simple omega shape and are suspended from simple bronze loops.

Typology

There are bowls from Goeblingen-Nospelt A and B, Welwyn A, and perhaps from Marpingen in West Germany all of which are dated to the second half of the first century BC. One find perhaps of this type from Řepov in Czechoslovakia is later Tiberian (Sakař 1970,

40, Fig 22, 15). These bowls are distinguished here from Eggers types 75 and 76 'proper' which are considered below (Ch 9.3.5).

Function

The function of the bowl is not known. Use as a cooking vessel would seem to be excluded by the handles but it could have been used for many purposes.

Distribution and Commentary

In publishing the Goeblingen-Nospelt bowls Thill (1967b, 88, Taf I 5 a-b, 6; IX, 1) assimilated them to Eggers types 75-76 and Kunow follows this (1983, 20). The Marpingen find has been identified as an Eggers type 67 but the convex base of the find suggests that, although the identification is not certain, it may be a Goeblingen bowl (*ibid*). The Řepov find was originally identified by Eggers (1951) as being of his type 70 (and was taken as his type figure, Taf 8, 70) but the illustration published by Sakař shows it to have a slight omphalos base rather than being flat-bottomed and this suggests that it is close to the Goeblingen bowls. The handle mounts and rim from Welwyn A appear to be identical with the Goeblingen finds (although the Musée de l'État refused permission to examine them) and this suggests that they are from a bowl of Goeblingen type. Although Smith (1911-12, 16, Fig 11-12) followed by Stead (1967a, 57) reconstructed the rim and handle-mounts with the base and handle of the Eggers type 91 bowl from the burial, such handle mounts and rims are not found on type

91 bowls and it is very likely that they are from a Goeblingen type bowl. There may be a further find of this type from Jonchery near Châlons-sur-Marne (Ashmolean Mus, unpub).

9.2.9 SOJVIDE AND POGGENDORF TYPE BOWLS (EGGERS TYPES 91-92)

Typology

These bowls are mounted on a footstand and have drop handles. Eggers type 91 (Sojvide) bowls have a deep overhanging rim with an ovolo which is repeated on the footstand. The handle mounts are trapezoidal. Eggers type 91 (Poggendorf) bowls have a shallower rim which is decorated with vertical lines. The footing is not decorated and is rather broader than that of the Sojvide type. The handle mounts are larger, the lower part is a palmette.

Chronology

Eggers (1951) dated the Sojvide type to the first century BC and the Poggendorf type to the first half of the first century AD but Kunow (1983) dates both to the pre-Claudian period. Eggers' dating of the Sojvide type was based on only two finds but seems to be supported by the presence of what is apparently an example in the Welwyn A and Fléré-la-Rivière (Celtés 1982, 39) burials. The example from Colchester-Sheepen could also be of this date as would be the example from Mt Beuvray cited by Hawkes and Hull (1947, 332, Pl XCIX, 9, 9a). Finds from Costești and Lunca in Romania may also be of this date (Glodariu 1976, 195, 198).

The Poggendorf type occurs at Fontillet (Werner 1954, 58-9), Augsburg - Oberhausen (Hubener 1973), the Lexden Tumulus,

Dangstetten (Foster 1986, 63-5, 176-7, Fig 23, 6-7) and Haltern (Eggers 1951, 168) where it is certainly Augustan and finds from Dobřichov-Piřhora graves II and 116 are also probably of this date (Sakař 1970, 4, 21 (= Eggers grave numbers 2 and 37)). There is a single find from Pompeii (Werner 1954, 71) but this is the only find certainly from a context later than Tiberian (eg *Vindonissa*, Holliger and Holliger 1985, 10, Taf 10, 77) although there may be a Claudian find from Fingringhoe Wick (Foster 1986, 177).

Function

There is no direct evidence for the use of the bowls within the Roman world but Kunow suggests that they are a wash basin (1983, 72).

Distribution

Both types are widely distributed although the Sojvide type is less common and all the finds I am aware of have already been cited. The Poggendorf type is particularly common in Free Germany (Eggers 1951, 168, Beil 35, Karte 30; Kunow 1983, 158) and is also found frequently in Romania (Glodariu 1976, 195, nos 9-10; 196, no 11; 198, no 19; 199 nos 22, 25; 201, no 27; 202, no 35). Finds from Italy and France are less well known (Werner 1954, 70-1) but there are three, possibly four, finds from Iron Age Britain.

Commentary

The vessel base from Welwyn is almost certainly of Sojvide type and the handle is of Sojvide type (cp Lindberg 1973, 8-10 for the

eponymous find) but it is not possible to assign fragments to either a Sojvide basin or the Goeblingen bowl or what appears to be a third, indigenous, bowl. The unstratified handle mount from Colchester-Sheepen could well be an Iron Age import although Werner (1954, 60) followed by Kunow (1983, 21) regard it as introduced during or after the Roman conquest which makes it the latest find outside of Italy.

The Poggendorf type mounts are the only evidence for the vessel from the Lexden Tumulus and this find is certainly of first century BC date. A further find probably of this type is known from an unstratified handle mount from Fingringhoe Wick (Colchester Mus, unpub; Foster 1986, 177). Fingringhoe is usually taken to be a Claudian military site (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 19-20) but some of the pottery from the site could as easily be pre-rather than post-conquest and amongst it is certainly 'Arretine' ware (App 25.1, 8). Although the escutcheon is typologically quite debased there are no grounds on which to exclude the possibility that the vessel to which it was attached arrived in the Iron Age.

9.2.10 EGGERS TYPE 18 BUCKETS

Typology

This vessel has a vase-shaped body with a marked shoulder from which a short, nearly vertical neck rises. There is a simple rim. The base is flat. The characteristic feature of this bucket is the handle mounts. These have two opposed dolphins springing from their base. Above, the handle support is straight and terminates in an eye for the handle. The handle has an open, circular,

moulding on top of the bow and simple lobate terminals and overall is very similar to those of Eggers type 19 and Fällanden buckets. Small feet are soldered to the base.

Chronology

Radnóti (1938, 108) followed Willers in suggesting that production started in the late second century BC and finished late in the first century BC. As Kunow has pointed there are no finds which certainly date to the first half of the first century BC. The find from Ornavasso which lead Willers and Radnóti to suggest an early date is not from a closed context and so provides no evidence for the early date (Kunow 1983, 17; Graue 1974, 23). Kunow and Graue, following Werner (1954, 57) suggest that production was mainly in the Augustan period but there is evidence suggesting that the vessels were being exported earlier. A find, now lost, from the Les Marronniers burial 13 had dolphin mounts and an iron handle (Dedet *et al* 1978, 93, Fig 56, 2; 57). The burial dates to the mid-first century BC but it is noticeable that the neck of the vessel is less upright than the characteristic Augustan finds and may represent a typologically earlier stage. There is a similar unassociated body from the cemetery (*op cit* Fig 56, 8). Finds from Staré Hradisko, Stradonice (Svobodová 1983, 658, Obr 1, 1-3, 6) and Karlstein (which has no certainly Roman finds from this group; Reinecke 1911) and Berghin (Glodariu 1976, 194) are likely to be of late first century BC date as the find from Gautsch associated with an Aylesford pan may also be. No stratified finds are later than Augustan.

Function

Kunow suggests that the bucket was part of a drinking service (1983, 70) but a wider range of uses should not be excluded and there are few useful associations with other objects to suggest the bucket's function.

Distribution

The type is widely distributed in central and eastern Europe as well as Italy (Werner 1954, 57; Kunow 1983, 155; Glodariu 1976, 194, no 2; 199, no 24; 201, no 32). There are also finds from southern France (Tendille 1981, 78, n 122) and the type was clearly traded extensively.

Commentary

In view of this wide distribution it is noteworthy that there is a possible example from St Albans (Eggers 1966, 105, Abb 53, a). In view of the dating evidence for the type there is no compelling reason to follow Kunow (1983, 17) in suggesting that the vessel must have arrived after the Claudian conquest.

9.2.11 EGGERS TYPE 94 BOWLS

Typology

This basin has a deep, carinated, body with a simple deep, overhanging rim. The handles are elaborately cast in the form of vine leaves. There is a small, slightly ungainly, pedastal base.

Chronology

A find from Ornavasso-San Bernardo grave 7 dates to the first half of the first century BC (Graue 1974, 29) but most finds date to the second half of that century (Kunow 1983, 21-2; Moser 1975, 134).

Function

There is no direct evidence for the intended use of the bowl but as with many other bowls it is likely to have been a wash basin.

Distribution and Chronology

The type is found in the Alpine region and in Free Germany (Werner 1954, 70) and there are also finds from the Saône at Lyon (Boucher and Tassarini 1976, 114, type 128) and Kalinovka (Moser 1975, 133-4, Taf 43, 1) which suggest that the type was very widely distributed and its reaching Iron Age Britain is possible. Eggers illustrates a fragmentary find which is unprovenanced but it would be rash to suggest that it is an Iron Age import to Britain (1966, 110, Abb 64), if indeed it is an ancient introduction at all.

9.2.12 VESSELS SUGGESTED TO BE ROMAN VESSELS

1. An oval dish with a wide rim which expands into a large flange towards the ends was found in the Welwyn Garden City burial (Stead 1967a, 26-7, Fig 14, Pl VI). I am not aware of any parallels for the vessel but the drop-handle is similar to that on the bronze basin in the Harpenden burial (Bagshawe 1928, Fig 1, e) although

contra Stead is not 'exactly matched' by this find. It is suggested below (Ch 9.3.5) that the Harpenden find may be an imported Eggers type 76 basin and this could suggest that the Welwyn Garden City find may be an import also but in the absence of further comparanda, judgement must be reserved.

2. Stead has suggested that the strainer from the Welwyn Garden City burial is a Roman bowl to which a strainer was added in Britain (1967a, 25, Fig 12, Pl V). Stead compares the bowl to both an Eggers type 90 strainer, but these are of later Roman date, and an Eggers type 76 bowl, but this does not have an omphalos base. The profile of the Welwyn Garden City bowl is similar to that of Aylesford pans but also British bowls of Rose Ash form and the number of British bronze strainers suggests that they were indigenous products. Kennett (1976) has drawn attention to the resemblance between the Felmersham spout and a piece possibly from Ostia and there is some similarity between the Kirmington strainer (May 1971) and a terminal fitting from Manching (Radnóti 1968, 182, Abb 7) but this is probably a functional rather than stylistic resemblance. In the absence of parallels for the bowl of the Welwyn Garden City strainer it seems unlikely that it was an imported piece but the discovery of a single comparable piece on the continent would reverse the suggestion.

9.2.13 UNCERTAIN FINDS

It is possible that the bronze bowls from Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 53-5, Fig 21, 2-3) may be imported. Stead suggests that the vessels are similar to Eggers 67 bowls but the resemblance is not

close. The origin, date and function of Eggers 67 bowls are not well known (Kunow 1983, 20, 60, 71). Kunow suggests that the vessels may be Italian because of the first century BC date of many of the north German finds but the type is not known in Italy. It is possible instead that the type was made in Gaul and that the differences between the Baldock and Eggers 67 type find are chronological but there is no firm evidence for this.

2. There is a small bronze handle from the Lexden Tumulus (Laver 1927, 249, Pl LVII, Fig 5; Foster 1986, 65, Fig 23, 8). Foster suggests that the handle is from a jug but it is difficult to accept this as there are no 'arms' on the handle to envelop the rim as is common on Roman jugs. However, the handle was apparently attached to a bronze vessel by soldering although it is difficult to be certain of this as the handle is badly corroded. The handle is too large for a Zugmantel strainer of one of the rarer carinated forms (Guillaumet 1977; Ulbert 1985, 87-9). I am not aware of any parallels to the handle either in Iron Age Britain or the Roman World, however, the handle may be an import.

9.3 EARLY IMPERIAL VESSELS

9.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Bronze vessels of early Imperial date are better documented than later Republican ones. Eggers' 1951 monograph is more complete for these vessels than for Republican ones and Werner's 1954 paper is also useful. Werner bases his distinction on the finds from Augustan fort sites north of the Alps (1954, 57) but it is clear

from burials such as Fontillet and Goeblingen-Nospelt B (*op cit*, Abb 6; Thill 1967b) that the transition was gradual and mixed and was certainly well underway by c 20 BC. In contrast to the rather restricted data base for the later Republican vessels, there is a much larger one for vessels of Imperial date. Vessels have been particularly well studied outside of the Empire (Eggers 1951; 1976; Kunow 1983; Kraskovská 1978; Raev 1986) and within the eastern European provinces (Raev 1977) but few syntheses have been published for central and western Europe. Den Boesterd has published the large collections from Nijmegen (1956) but the only province tolerably covered is Britain, the subject of an article, albeit incomplete, by Eggers (1966). France is very poorly covered although some museum collections have been well published (Boucher 1971; Tassarini 1973; Boucher and Tassarini 1976). Wielowiejski has published a useful summary of research up to 1975 (Wielowiejski 1977) and is particularly valuable for summarising eastern European approaches as Hedeager (1978) does for interpretations for finds in Free Germany.

Provenance

As with the Republican vessels, the early Imperial ones are usually asserted to be of Campanian origin but again there is very little evidence to support this and provincial production must be expected, comparable to the early terra sigillata manufacture in Gaul. As yet there are no studies which differentiate between Italian and provincial products.

Function

Kunow's discussion is fundamental for vessels of Imperial as well as Republican date (1983, 69-97) as is Nuber's (1972) discussion of 'ewer and paterae' sets and the interpretations put forward in these works have generally been followed.

9.3.2 HAGENOW SERVICES OF JUGS AND PANS

Typology

This is a set of a jug and a pan, often called an ewer and paterae by British archaeologists which are misnomers as the vessels' Latin names were an *urceus* and a *trulleum*. Jug and pan is used here as an equivalent to the more neutral German *Kanne und Griffschale*. Nuber (1972) has studied the sets exhaustively and two of them concern us here, the Hagenow and Millingen services.

The Hagenow service is made up of the Eggers type 124 jug and 154 pan. The jug has an ovoid body and a trefoil mouthed neck. The handles are elaborate, often twisted, with a bust at the foot and a sphinx-like figure resting on the rim. The pan has a rounded bowl-like body, the inside of which is often elaborately decorated. There is no footring, instead the bowl rests on three small feet soldered on. The handles are fluted and have a ram's headed terminal. The handle plate can be finely decorated.

The Millingen service is made up of the Eggers jug 125 and pan type 155. The jug is more squat and bulbous than the type 124. The handle is plain and rises up above the rim. The pan has a footring and has a simple rim. The handle is similar to that of the type 154 but it is shorter.

Chronology

The Hagenow set occurs in the Augustan burial at Fontillet (Werner 1954, Abb 6, 1, 3-4) and a handle from a pan was found at Haltern. There is a panther headed handle, possibly from the Planier III wreck, which would suggest that the type may have first appeared in the middle of the first century BC. Nuber suggests that the set derives from Hellenistic services of his Värbitza type of third-second century BC but this leaves a considerable gap, especially if Nuber's argument that the Kelheim jug and Aylesford pan did not form a service is accepted (Nuber 1972, 143-4), although it has been argued above that they did form a set. The set was superseded by the Millingen set. Nuber suggests that this happened c AD 50 but the find from a Flavian burial at Winchester (Biddle 1967) and the finds from Casa del Menandro and Boscoreale suggest that a slightly later date may be possible. Nuber suggests that the Millingen set appeared c AD 50 but finds from Hoby, and Glebultow are probably Tiberian (1972, 53: but not the Dobřichov-Pičhora grave II which could be a Hagenow service). Thereafter the Millingen set continues into the third century AD and is the classic set of Imperial date (*op cit*, 45).

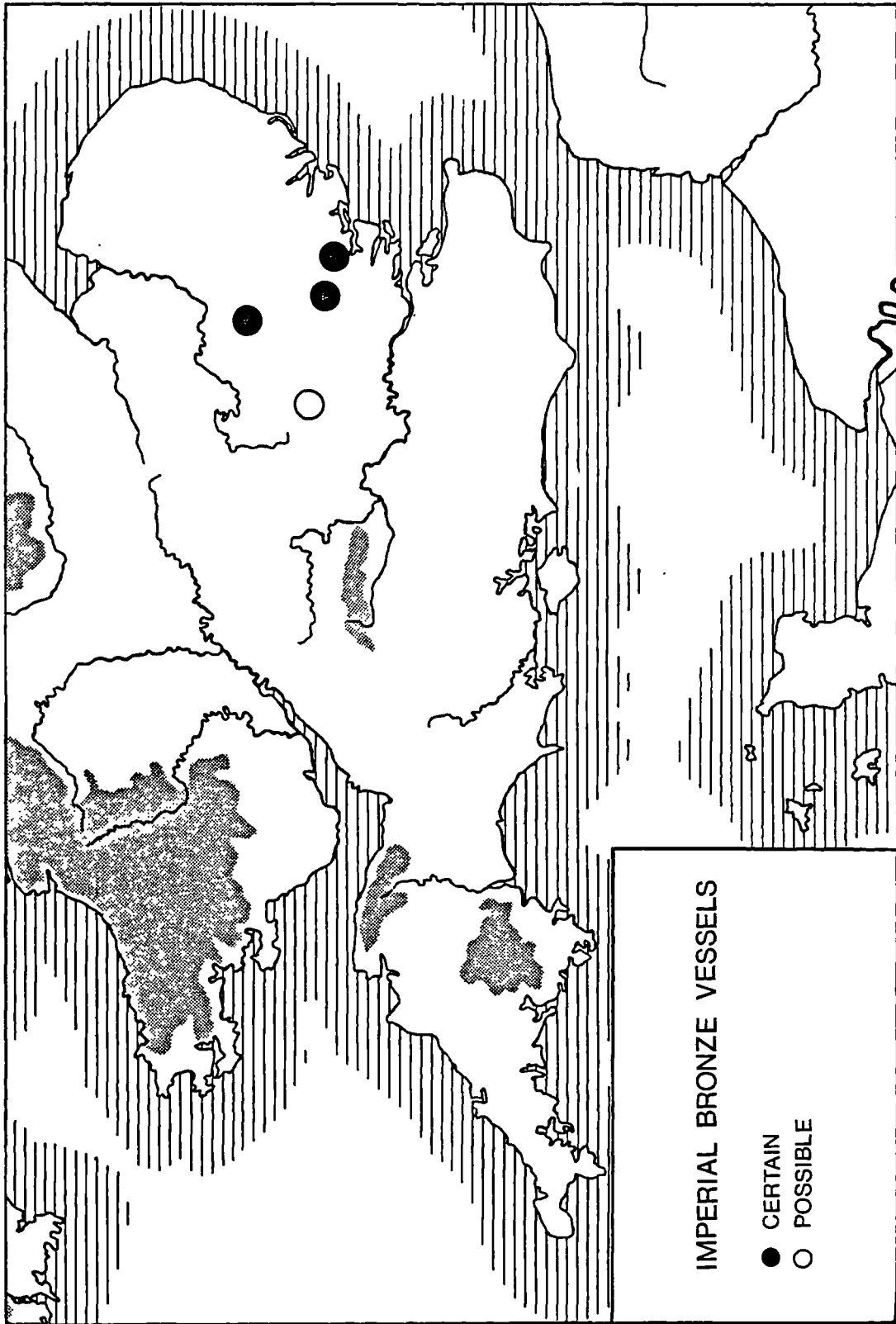


FIG 32: DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY IMPERIAL BRONZE VESSELS
IN LATER IRON AGE BRITAIN

Function

Previously taken to be a wine set, as we have seen earlier (Ch 9.2.7), Nuber has shown that the vessels were used for washing hands with (1972; Kunow 1983, 73, 75, 80-1). This seems to be supported by the discovery of a towel placed in the pan in a burial from Szőlősgyőröki in Hungary (László 1981, Kep 17).

Distribution

The Services are widely distributed (Nuber 1972, Listen D - E, Beil 1) and are common grave goods in *Gallia Belgica* in particular. Their distribution as presently known is heavily biased towards regions which chose to include the sets in burials as grave goods.

Commentary

There are no Millingen sets from Iron Age Britain but a number of Hagenow sets are certainly or possibly known from Aylesford-type burials (Fig 32). There is a pan from Snailwell and although Lethbridge (1953, 33, Pl VIa; VIII) followed by Stead (1967a, 54) regarded the pan as a bowl without a handle, as Nuber points out it certainly belongs to a pan (1972, 145). There was no trace of either the handle or the jug in the burial. The find from Plesheybury was first published by May (1918) and it is not clear if all the finds are from a contemporary burial. Certainly the

'Arretine' platter stamped ↓ CN ATEI and the early La Grafesenque
↓ ZOILI
Drag 29 by Acutus, which may be earlier Tiberian, could have been associated (Simpson 1976, 252-3). The pan is particularly finely decorated with a compass based design on the base and bulls' heads on the handle plate (May 1918, 227-9, Pl I, 3, a-b) and the only good parallel for this is from the double burial at Zliv, district Jičín in Czechoslovakia (Schulz 1885-87, 72, Tab XIII, 12; Sakař 1970, 53, Pl IV, 1, 4) which Sakař dates to the Augustan period. Only the neck and mouth of the jug was found. Although the Plesheybury finds are not from a closed group there is no good reason to follow Nuber (1972, 145) in assigning a post-conquest date to the finds.

There are also finds from Heybridge (Wickenden 1986, 55, 62, Fig 28). There is a small foot which could be from a bucket or pan (Eggers 1966, 106, Abb 58, 35) but seems more likely to be from a pan as they are small and similar to those on the Snailwell find which is otherwise represented by a fragmentary handle and base. The base has a compass based design incised on it and although always taken to be a pan, it appears to be tinned and it could possibly be from a mirror (Lloyd-Morgan 1981, 101-3, Group X_c). However, the jug with the harpy on the handle base shows that a Hagenow set, or part of it, is certainly represented. Again, as the bulk of finds of Hagenow type are pre-Claudian, the Heybridge finds could be an Iron Age import, however, the set from the Stanfordsbury A burial is Romano-British. Stead (1967a, 55) does not illustrate the pan which is illustrated, restored incorrectly, by Eggers (1966, Abb 7, c). Lastly, although Toynbee suggests that the Santon pan could be an Iron Age import (1964, 41-2; Eggers 1966, Abb 37), Spratling has shown that the associated

fragment of *lorica segmentata* suggests that the hoard itself is of Romano-British date (Spratling 1975a).

Although there is only one find which is certainly of Iron Age date it is likely that at least two other finds may also be Iron Age imports. It is possible that the Heybridge finds were associated with a Dr 2-4 amphora, perhaps of Iron Age date (Wickenden 1986, 62; cf App 3.3.2).

9.3.3 PANS OR 'PATERAE'

These pans are all very similar, resembling small deep pans with a sheet handle but Eggers distinguished sixteen types. Types 131-3 have swans' heads on the handle terminal while types 134-7 are smaller with elaborate terminals. Types 137-8 have semi-circular holes in the round handle terminal while types 139-41 have circular holes in the circular terminal. Types 142-4 are similar to the latter but are larger. Types 146-7 are small and plain and have a very small perforation in the terminal.

Chronology

Many of the types appear to be contemporary variants but two groups may be distinguished, the second of which is characterised by the appearance of the larger pans with round holes in circular handle terminals. These appear in the Tiberian period, all the others appear to have been current in the Augustan period based on their appearance at Haltern and Augsburg - Oberhausen. Both groups continued into the Flavian period and beyond (Kunow 1983, 25-6).

Function

These pans were used for a variety of purposes, eating, cooking and drinking (*ibid*, 74-5).

Distribution and Commentary

The pans are widespread (eg Werner 1954, 71-2 for types 134-6) and are ubiquitous site-finds. Because of this their apparent absence from British Iron Age sites is notable.

9.3.4 EHESTORF TYPE BUCKETS (EGGERS TYPE 31)

Typology

This is a massive bronze bucket. The squat body has near vertical sides but at the shoulder the neck has a marked concave profile. The overhanging rim is elaborately decorated with a punched guilloche pattern. The handle mounts are very heavy and have a trefoil like bottom the surfaces of which are incised with foliate decoration. The upper part of the mount has a guilloche similar to that of the rim, above there is a simple loop. There is a footing on the base of the vessel but the weight is taken by three large bronze feet soldered on which have similar guilloche.

Chronology

The type seems to date to the first century AD but it is quite a rare type. There is a well-dated find from Mehrum which is Neronian or later (Gechter and Kunow 1983) and a find is known from Pompeii. The eponymous Ehestorf find in north Germany may be Augustan (Wegewitz 1962, 27-8) and a vessel is represented on a frieze from the Augustan amphitheatre in Capua (Willers 1907, 26, Taf V, 4). The Pompeii find is the latest example known (Kunow 1983, 18) but when manufacture ceased is not known.

Function

Kunow suggests that the bucket belongs to a drink service but notes that the Capuan relief show the bucket being used in a religious ceremony.

Distribution and Commentary

The type is rare, only two finds are known from Free Germany (cited above) and I am unaware of any finds from France.

It is noteworthy that there is a handle mount from Canterbury, unfortunately unstratified (Hawkes 1975). Hawkes suggests that the escutcheon is stylistically less devolved than two German finds and may be earlier. However, one of the finds she cites is from a different type (Eggers type 33) and her suggestion about stylistic devolution is difficult to understand or discern while she places greater reliance on Wegewitz's datings than is prudent. She also cites the opinion of Brown that the mount is pre-Augustan or Augustan at latest but this is unsubstantiated and certainly

not supported by the dating evidence. Nonetheless Hawkes is correct to suggest that the piece could have arrived before the conquest. However, the date of the Mehrum find, probably in the 60s AD, suggests that a post-conquest date for the Canterbury find may be more likely (cf Gechter and Kunow 1983, 452, Anm 7).

9.3.5 EGGERS TYPE 75-76 BASINS

Typology

These basins are quite large and deep. The walls are nearly vertical and there is a simple flange rim. There is a slightly raised base. The two types are distinguished by their handles. Type 75 has large, angular, drop handles while the type 76 has smaller, more rounded drop handles. It should be noted that Eggers defined the types on the basis of single finds from Schlönwitz and Lübsow III respectively (Eggers 1951) but no new finds have been made subsequently, while a 'Goeblingen variant' is distinguished above (Ch 9.2.8).

Eggers subsequently suggested that a basin from Harpenden is a fragmentary example of Eggers type 76 (Bagshawe 1928, 197, Fig 1, d-e; Eggers 1966, 69-70, Abb 6, d).

Chronology

The Lübsow III burial dates to the first half of the first century AD (Eggers 1949-50, 90, Taf 2, a) as the Harpenden find probably does (Freeman and Watson 1949). Kunow identified two bowls from Goeblingen-Nospelt as Eggers types 75-76 and suggests that the

type was first produced in the late first century BC (1983, 20), but they are identified here as the Goeblingen variant of the type.

Function

The basins may have been used for cooking or washing (Kunow 1983, 71) but as Kunow points out the handles are not intended to withstand great heat. It could have been used as a serving bowl.

Distribution and Commentary

As so few finds are known it is difficult to make much comment on where the vessels were made or to what extent they were traded. Eggers was correct to draw the parallel between the Harpenden and Lübsow III basins (1966, 69-70). If the vessels are Roman, and the find of the Łęg Piekarski bowl apparently of British manufacture (Ch 16.2) should warn that this is not necessarily the case, then the Harpenden bowl might be an import.

