



*Photo. : Desforges*

GERGOVIA FROM THE SOUTH. THE VILLAGES FROM LEFT TO RIGHT ARE LA ROCHE BLANCHE, LYING BELOW THE PRECIPITOUS HILL ON WHICH CÆSAR BUILT HIS SMALLER CAMP ; GERGOVIE, HALF-WAY UP THE MOUNTAIN ; DORNEZAT

## GERGOVIA

By OLWEN BROGAN AND E. DESFORGES<sup>1</sup>

The identification of the Gaulish oppidum of Gergovia with the plateau above the village of Gergovie (called Merdogne before 1865) south of Clermont-Ferrand, has long been clear.<sup>2</sup> The topography accords well with Caesar's description,<sup>3</sup> and in the Cartulary of Sauxillanges and the departmental archives at Clermont are a number of medieval charters (notably one of A.D. 958) which preserve the name for a *villa* on the south-eastern slope of the mountain, under the forms Gergoia, Girgoia, Gergoye and other variants.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the ditches of Caesar's two camps were found by Colonel Stoffel for the archaeologically-minded emperor Napoleon III,<sup>5</sup> and in 1936 and 1937 the Reverend Père M.-M. Gorce, of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, dug a number of trenches in both camps which enabled him to corroborate Stoffel's statements.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This publication has suffered various delays, and consequently goes to press in a time of gloom for all lovers of France. It had been intended that French and English versions should appear at the same time, and the draft of the latter was sent to Monsieur Emile Desforges for his comments and additions in the spring of 1940. He acknowledged it, but the events of subsequent weeks stopped further communications. He was the prime mover of the enterprise, and the excavator of much of the most interesting material, but as he has not been able to see the article in its final form the responsibility for its conclusions must rest with his collaborator. Thanks are also due to many helpers, French and British, and in particular to Mr. Christopher Hawkes for his help in the early stages of the work, and to Monsieur P.-F. Fournier, Archiviste of the Department of the Puy-de-Dôme, whose wide knowledge of the archaeology and history of the region has been invaluable to the ex-

cavators. Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins undertook the study of the Gergovia pottery, in conjunction with his work on the pottery of other French sites, and his important results are embodied in the companion article to this one.

<sup>2</sup> C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* iii, 1920, 465, n. 3; A. Grenier, *Archeologie gallo-romaine* i, 1931, 198; E. Desforges and P. Balme, *Gergovia*, 1929, ch. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *B.G.* vii, 36 ff.; T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, 2nd Edn., 1911, 754-67; Desforges and Fournier, 'La bataille de Gergovie,' *Mem. de l'Acad. de Clermont-Ferrand* xxxi, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> Desforges and Fournier, *op. cit.*, 1, n. 1; Fournier, 'Les ouvrages de pierre sèche des cultivateurs d'Auvergne,' *l'Auvergne littéraire*, lxxviii, 1933, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Grenier, *loc. cit.*; Rice Holmes, *op. cit.* xxv-xxvi; Napoleon, *Atlas*, 1865, xxi, xxii.

<sup>6</sup> *Comptes Rendus, Acad. des Inscr.*, 1936, 258; 1937, 429.

In 1934 the *Comite 'Pro Gergovia'* was formed, under the auspices of the *Academie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand*, to arouse local interest in the oppidum and to undertake the excavations here to be described, which were carried out for short periods in the summers of 1934-37,<sup>1</sup> under the direction of E. Desforges, O. Brogan and N. Lucas-Shadwell.

It will be recalled how Caesar, in the early summer of the year 52 B.C., after subduing Avaricum (Bourges), marched south along the Allier to strike at the Arverni,<sup>2</sup> the mainspring of Gallic resistance. Their stronghold Gergovia can be seen by the traveller approaching from the north while he is still twenty miles away, until, in the neighbourhood of Clermont, it becomes the dominant feature of the southern landscape, commanding the road to the south. It is a great natural fortress (Pl. i) 709-744 metres (2,420 ft.) above sea-level, and 369 metres (1,200 ft.) above the plain—a lofty height, with difficult approaches on every side, as Caesar records.<sup>3</sup> It is roughly oblong, measuring nearly one mile by one-third of a mile (Fig. 1). The only external indication that it ever had any sort of fortification is a grass-covered bank of stones running along much of its southern and western sides and cut across in several places by the road built in 1922. The edges of the plateau are communal land, and the Mayor and Municipal Council of the Commune of La Roche Blanche willingly gave permission to dig there. As a result part of the southern and western ramparts were uncovered, and a Gallo-Roman gateway was found in the west. An eastern entrance was sought at a point where an old path descends to the village of Gergovie, but without result. Along the northern side the slopes are almost precipitous and there may well have been no fortifications; the fact that there have been big landslides here even within living memory renders it

<sup>1</sup> For earlier explorations see Fournier, 'Les fouilles de Gergovie depuis le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu' à la constitution du Comité "Pro Gergovia,"' *Rev. d'Auvergne* xlix, 1935; Desforges and Balme, *op. cit.*, 103-112.

<sup>2</sup> B.G. vii, 34.

<sup>3</sup> B.G. vii, 36, *eo die . . . perspecto urbis situ, quae posita in altissimo monte omnes aditus difficiles habebat.*

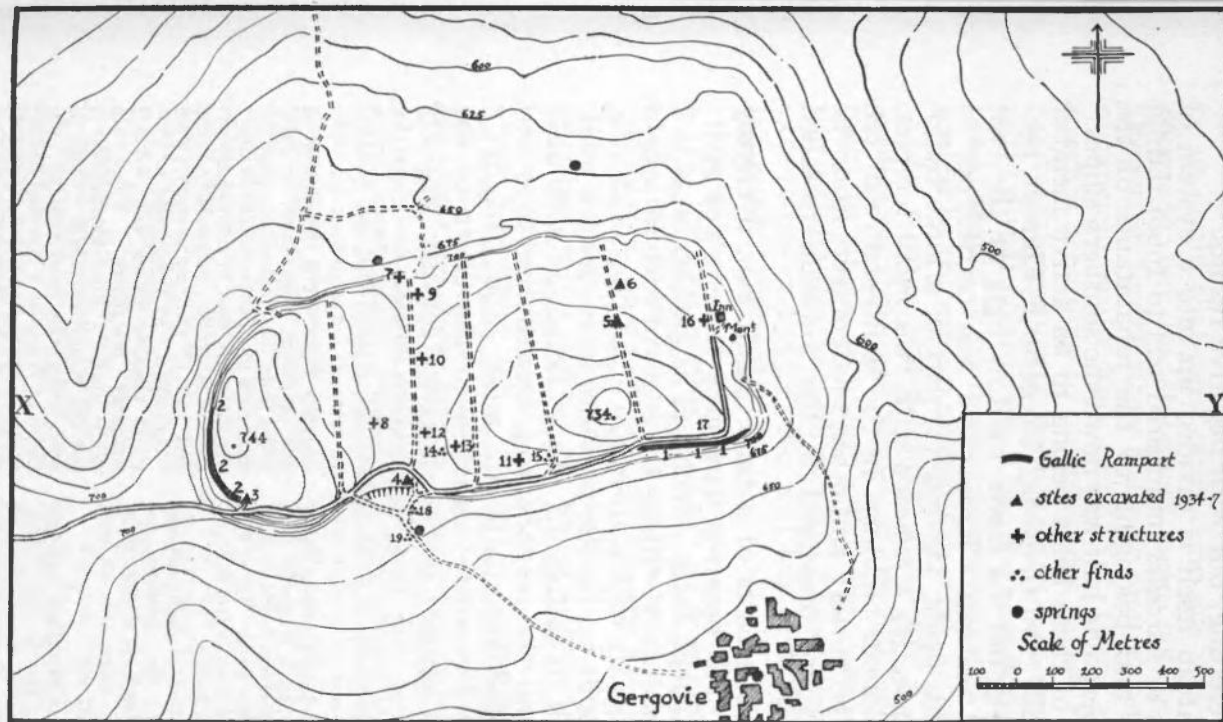


FIG. 1. GERGOVIA

1. Excavations of south-eastern rampart. 2. Excavations of western rampart. 3. West Gate. 4. Buildings on parcels 925 and 927. 5. "Aucler's Villa." 6. Temples, etc. 7. Foundation. 8. "Cistern"? 9, 10, 11. Buildings excavated by Aucler in 1861. 12. Paving-stones. 13. Wall. 14. Find of amphoræ, c. 1890. 15. Area with specially numerous surface finds. 16. Wall. 17. Presumed area of excavations of 1756. 18, 19. Trial pits (Gallic coins and Gallo-Roman pottery).

*The part of this figure above the line X-Y is taken from Map XXV-XXXI, No. 7 d, of the Service Géographique de l'Armée. There is no good recent large scale map of the part below X-Y, which is only approximately correct).*

unlikely that the matter can be proved. A few trial trenches were dug, but with negative results.<sup>1</sup>

The plateau itself is divided up into a system of small fields or *parcelles* (numbered 623 to 1068) dating from 1795 and belonging to the inhabitants of the village of Gergovie half-way down the southern slopes.<sup>2</sup> A number of these fields belong to an active member of the *Comite 'Pro Gergovia,'* Monsieur F. Chirent, proprietor of the inn, *La Hutte*, built in 1933 at the east end of the plateau. Excavation was carried out in several of his fields, yielding (1) part of a large Gallo-Roman house, (2) a *temenos* with two small temples, (3) Gallo-Roman buildings in the south-centre of the plateau. The pottery and other small objects from the excavations are preserved in the museum installed in *La Hutte*.

Gergovia consists of a thick basalt cap, overlying limestone. The basalt is dark grey stone which splits easily into rough faces. Such soil as gathers on it is a dark brownish-grey. Along the edges of each little field and at intervals within them are great piles of stones, patiently built up by the peasants in rescuing a minimum of soil to cultivate.<sup>3</sup> These heaps are a familiar feature of all the neighbouring basaltic hill-tops and have their counterparts in most stony regions.<sup>4</sup> Simeoni, a Florentine attached to the court of the Bishop of Clermont in the sixteenth century, appears to have been the first in modern times to identify Gergovia, and in a description of Auvergne he stated

<sup>1</sup> At a point where a gate or tower might be expected a fragment of a cement foundation was found (Fig. 1, no. 7). The 'little gorge' below this, mentioned by Pasumot (*infra*, p. 16, n.) has mostly disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of pasturage and cultivation on the plateau see Fournier, *Ouvrages de pierre seche*, 19-21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. iii.

<sup>4</sup> One recently-described example may be cited: see G. M. Fraser, 'Alexander Jaffray's Recollections of Kingswells, 1755-1800,' *The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club* i, Aberdeen, 1935, 139-142, 'The Con-

sumption Dyke. The designation of this enormous stone fence, or dyke, arises from the circumstance that the multitude of stones collected in clearing the waste land in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, particularly in the first half of the last century, were "consumed" by being used to construct massive fences or "dykes" wherever practicable. There are many such . . . in Aberdeenshire, but the Kingswells Dyke—which is now under the protection of the Office of Works as a National Monument—is the greatest of the kind.' It is 500 yards long, 30 ft. wide and 6 ft. high and was evidently in existence in 1780.

that he could still trace the streets of the ancient town and the walls of its houses on the hill-top.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that most of what he saw was simply this *epierrage*, but his statement need not be dismissed altogether, for the larger heaps do often cover fragments of ancient walls and certain of them are aligned roughly according to old buildings rather than to the eighteenth-century strip boundaries.<sup>2</sup> It was, of course, natural that cultivation, after the abandonment of the town, should begin in the open spaces and that stones should be thrown up against the ruins.

As regards water-supply, there are a number of springs on the upper slopes of the hill far above any point to which an enemy could bar access.<sup>3</sup> On the top a Gallo-Roman well is said to have been found by excavators in 1755.<sup>4</sup> No well has been found during the present excavations.

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogo pio et speculativo*, 1560, p. 151. 'Sul piano del monte . . . si veggono anchora le piante delle vie maestre, delle piazze, delle case, i pezzi dei tegoli rotti qua e là sparsi, di che elle erano coperte, e tanti monticelli di pietre maggiori e minori che rimessi insieme farebbono di nuovo un'altra grandissima città'; published in French (*Description de la Limagne d'Auvergne*) in 1561. The real nature of the stone heaps is better understood by Pasumot, *Memoires géographiques sur quelques antiquités de la Gaule*, 1765, cited by Fournier, *op. cit.*, 18-19, 'On ne reconnoit d'abord aucuns vestiges d'emplacement de maisons, moins encore de ville. On trouve partout des amas de pierre disposés en lignes droites, qui s'entrecoupent presque toutes à angles droites. Ces amas ont été faits artificiellement pour séparer des cantons; de sorte qu'on pourroit croire que c'étoit autant de murs différens.' M. Fournier has since found yet another record of the plateau prior to the last period of cultivation. It is a MS. note by Peghoux, dated November, 1856 (Biblioth. de Clermont, MS. 975, fol. 94): 'Je tiens de M. Mezeix que son grand-père conserve le souvenir de l'état où se trouvait le plateau de Gergovia avant le défrichement. On y voyait l'indication d'anciens bâtiments, telle qu'on la voit encore à peu près dans la

partie occidentale du plateau, qui n'est pas encore livrée à la culture. Dans le milieu du plateau, à l'endroit où existe actuellement une croix, il y avait un assez grand emplacement de la grandeur de 10 oeuvres, pavé en larges dalles . . . emplacement où se trouvait un puits comblé . . . J'avais déjà remarqué qu'en certains points les fouilles faisaient découvrir l'ancien pavé des rues sous la couche de terre végétale cultivée. M. Mezeix m'a dit qu'on l'y avait transporté [sic] exprès, pour livrer ces parties à la culture.'

<sup>2</sup> This is well shown in the temple precinct.

<sup>3</sup> On the south side one issues from the hill just below the point where the path to Gergovie mentioned by Pasumot (p. 16, n. *infra*) leaves the plateau. Half-way down the hill (a long climb) there is an excellent and abundant spring in the village of Gergovie. On the north side, near the path to Romagnat, a little below the 680 m. line, is another spring Fontchèvre and, lower down, the more important Fontmort (or Font-Maure). See A. Audollent, 'Les sources de Gergovie,' *Rev. Et. Anc.* xxiv, 1922, 153-4.

<sup>4</sup> Fournier, 'Les fouilles,' 3. It is alleged that at a depth of 4 m. further excavation of the well was stopped by the spring. It lay somewhere near the south-east of the plateau, but prolonged search has failed to recover it. An oblong Gallo-Roman struc-



## THE RAMPART

South (Pl. ii b, Figs. 2, 3, 4)

The grass-covered bank already mentioned<sup>1</sup> doubtless contains its share of *épierrage*, but it is *épierrage* prior to the last phase, for a cadastral stone of 1824 stands upon it near its south-eastern end, and the

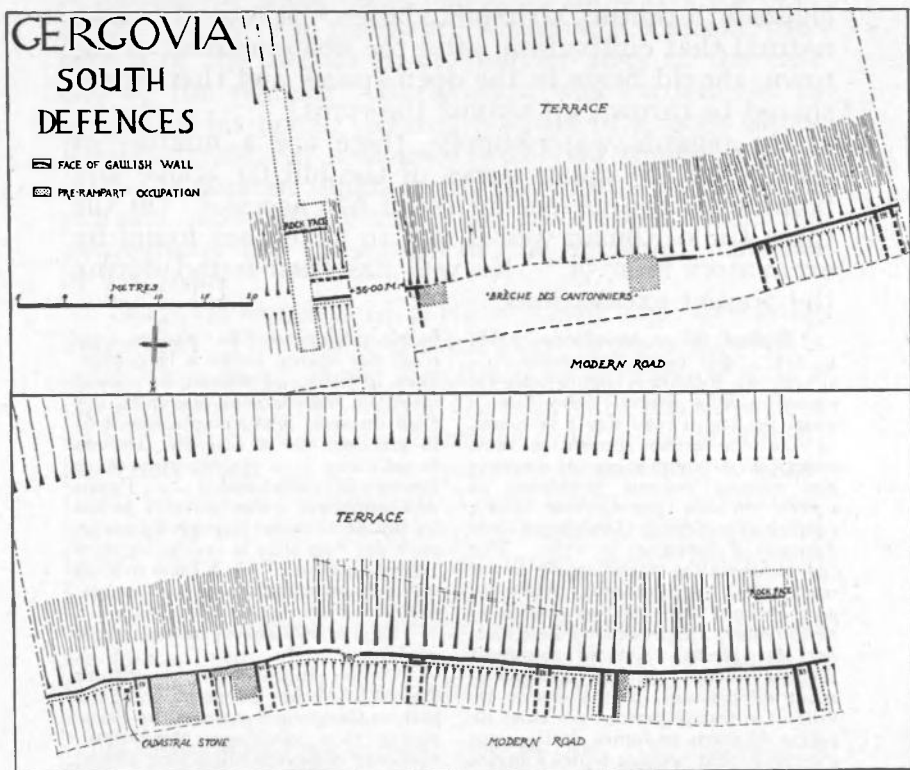


FIG. 2. PLAN OF SOUTH DEFENCES

nineteenth-century stone-heaps are quite bare of vegetation. On digging into the inner face of the bank

ture, holding about a foot of water, was found in *parcelle* 944 (Fig. 1, no. 11). This may possibly be the 'puits' referred to by Peghoux (p. 5, n. *supra*). Near it were paving-stones. Excavations at this point might prove interesting.

<sup>1</sup> Pasumot, *op. cit.* p. 5, n., 'Le bord

de la montagne au midi est tout couvert de restes d'un tas de pierre disposées dans une direction trop droite et trop étendue pour qu'on ne puisse pas presumer que ce pourroit être les ruines d'un long mur éboulé, construit jadis en pierre sèche et qui a pu couvrir la place de ce cote-la.'

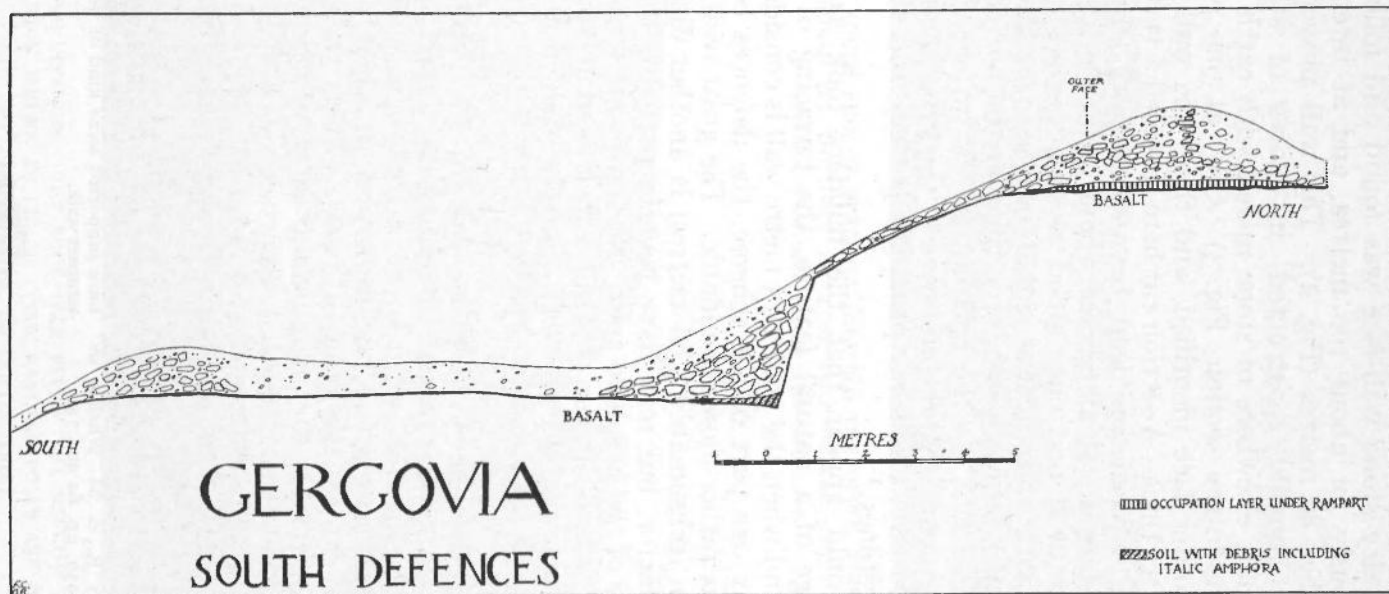


FIG. 3. SECTION THROUGH SOUTH DEFENCES



a rough dry stone wall-face was found and followed continuously for about 100 metres, and at intervals for another 80 metres (Fig. 2). This wall proved to be very roughly constructed, in places of stones throughout, elsewhere of stone mixed with earth and rubble (as in the section, Fig. 3). Only at one point was an outer face identified, and there the wall was 2.15 metres thick. A section cut here revealed a vertical rock-face, 2.80 metres deep, beyond the wall. Below the rock-face is a small terrace, about 15 metres across. A further wall had once stood along its outer edge, but its date and purpose could not be ascertained. Below fallen stones, earth, etc., right at the bottom of the vertical face, on the horizontal rock surface, were large fragments of Italic amphora of the type found on Mont Beuvray, also some primitive pottery and about 350 slingstones.<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that the builders took skilful advantage of a natural feature, the terracing of the basalt, and when the poor 2.15 metre wall is considered as simply one part of the scheme, the defences begin to appear rather more formidable. The great width of the berm (presumably 5.60 metres) is another disconcerting factor, but may have been in part due to the tendency of the basalt to split. No signs were found of a *murus gallicus*, and on this hill, which even in Gaulish times was probably only very sparsely wooded at the top, while its stone is so easily quarried, this is not surprising.

From the inner, northern side of the wall, at irregular intervals, project roughly-built lateral walls or ramps (Figs. 2, 4), 1.50 to 1.60 metres across, 4.50 metres long where best preserved (at which point they are cut by the road of 1922). They are built against, not into, the main wall. Most of them are sloped, which suggests that they served the double purpose of light buttresses and ramps of access to the defences.<sup>2</sup> They do not begin to slope until about a

<sup>1</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, *Rev. Archéologique*, 1935, 223; the importance of slingstones in the Caesarian period is discussed by R. E. M. Wheeler in *Antiquity*, 1939, pp. 64 and 72.

<sup>2</sup> Where they are closest together (e.g. Ramps V and VI are 5 m. apart) and by the west gate (4 m.) they may have supported some kind of wooden rampart walk.



*Photo. : Ward-Perkins*

A. THE SOUTH SIDE OF GERGOVIA SHOWING THE UPPER TERRACES. THE NOTICE-BOARD ON THE LEFT IS CLOSE TO *PARCELLE* 927. THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAMPART IS ON THE SKY-LINE.



*Photo. : Brogan*

B. SOUTH DEFENCES. THE ROCK FACE BELOW THE GAULISH RAMPART, AT THE SECTION SHOWN IN FIG. 3. (THE RANGING-POLES ARE DIVIDED INTO SECTIONS OF 20 CENTIMETRES)

metre from the wall, and it may be suggested, very tentatively, that the builders had in mind the necessity of providing some extra space on the narrow rampart to enable slingers to operate effectively.

An occupation layer (dating from the Bronze Age) occurs at a number of points along and below the forti-

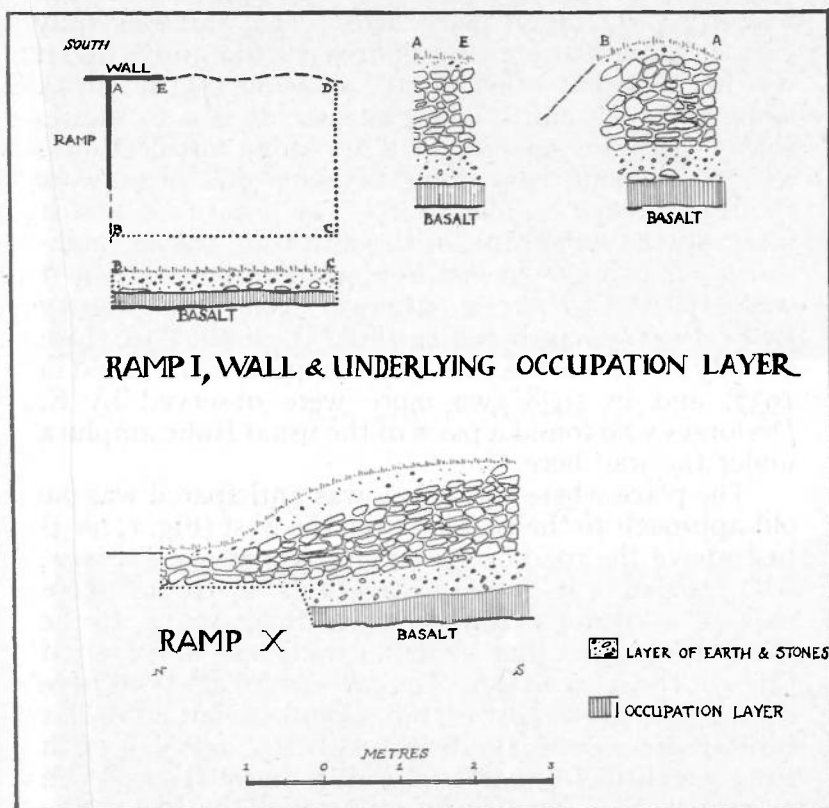


FIG. 4. SOUTH DEFENCES, SHOWING RELATION OF WALL AND RAMPS TO EARLY OCCUPATION LAYER

fications (pp. 11-12 and 57-61). Gallo-Roman building-debris was found here and there, notably thrown up against the west side of Ramp X, where it was separated by 15 to 20 centimetres of sterile earth and stones from the older occupation layer. No Gallo-Roman remains were found in or under the structure of the rampart.

West (Pl. iii a and b, Fig. 5)

On the west, the least-defensible part of the oppidum, by reason of the neck of land uniting Gergovia to other hills, a better, but still narrow, dry stone wall was found. Below it there is a natural drop analagous to that on the south side, but no equally clear-cut rock face could be disengaged, as a good many falls of rock had evidently taken place here. The wall was fully excavated for a stretch of 8 metres (Pl. iii a and b) and it was uncovered at other points, showing that it ran all along the west end of the plateau. It is 2.20 metres thick—still very narrow for a dry-stone fortification—and it is difficult to see how any kind of a breastwork could have been erected on it.<sup>1</sup> The outer face, and at intervals the inner face, of the wall were traced southwards for another 50 metres towards a point where it was expected to find a gateway. Near the gateway two rather damaged ramps (Fig. 5), similar to those already noted on the southern rampart, were found in 1937, and in 1938 two more were observed by E. Desforges who found a piece of the usual Italic amphora under the wall here.

The place where a gateway was anticipated was the old approach to the plateau from the west (Fig. 1, no 3) just above the road of 1922.<sup>2</sup> Aucler, an *Agent-Voyer*, who carried out some excavations in 1861<sup>3</sup> while making a road for Napoleon III to drive up to the plateau, reported that he found walls here and marked three of them on a plan. The present excavations have shown these to be part of, not a Gaulish, but a peculiar Gallo-Roman gateway, described below, running north from which was a mortared wall a metre thick, which proved to be a revetment supporting the end of the broken dry stone rampart<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 5). The dry stone wall was evidently there before the mortared structure and seems to have been cleared away to admit the new

<sup>1</sup> Fallen behind the wall here were numbers of extra large basalt slabs. They may conceivably have constituted a sort of paving along the top. Very large slabs were also found near the gate.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 14, n.

<sup>3</sup> 'Note sur les ruines découvertes

sur le plateau de Gergovia en juillet 1861,' *Mem. Acad. Clermont* i, 1862, 191-195.

<sup>4</sup> The basalt surface is very irregular here. There are deep holes behind this wall, while just beyond the point where it ends the basalt suddenly rises.



A. WEST RAMPART, INTERIOR FACE

*Photo. : Desforges*



B. WEST RAMPART, EXTERIOR FACE

*Photo. : Brogan*

gateway. In the two-metre gap between the broken end of the dry stone wall and the north-west wall of the gate-house a half-coin of Nîmes (the crocodile As of the last decades B.C.), a small fragment of terra sigillata with the yellowish paste usually a feature of Arretine or allied potters, and a brooch (Fig. 10, no. 7) were found.

#### DATE

Despite the considerable area cleared on, and immediately behind, the line of the dry-stone rampart, its date can only very approximately be defined on stratigraphical grounds. Sherds of Italic amphora found, one beneath the body of the rampart, others in the angle of the rock-cut ditch below, indicate a date for its construction relatively late within the pre-Roman Iron Age. On the other hand it preceded the Gallo-Roman structures of the West Gateway. There are, however, other indications of date. The defences form a single homogeneous unit; and their summary character, taken in conjunction with the absence of any clear trace of contemporary occupation, suggest strongly that the fortress of Gergovia was not so much a walled city as a place of refuge hastily erected in the face of some external danger. The occasion can only be the invasion of Gaul by Caesar, which led to the historic siege of 52 B.C. It may even have been specifically built in preparation for the great effort of that year. In any case it falls into line with the great *oppida* of Normandy and Brittany, which were likewise the creation of the closing years of Gallic independence. Structurally the relationship is slight. The builders were facing very different problems. Nor do the ramparts themselves compare for size with Huelgoat, the Cité des Limes at Dieppe, or the Camp de César at Vernonnet. At Gergovia there was no need of such defences. Nature had played into the hands of the defenders, and history tells us that they did their work well.

#### EVIDENCE OF EARLY OCCUPATION

Before leaving the rampart a word must be said about the occupation layer 15-40 cm. thick found



below it along the southern part of the hill. Figs. 2, 3, 4 show the relationship of wall, ramps and black layer, the dry-stone construction being separated from the earlier occupation by 15 centimetres of a sterile layer of small stones and earth. The sterile 15 centimetres occur at four out of the six points investigated. In the occupation layer was pottery of Bronze Age character (about which Mr. Stuart Piggott has kindly supplied a note<sup>1</sup>) some thin blades and arrowheads of flint, bits of burnt wood and bones and a number of slingstones—pebbles from brooks in the valley below. The largest and most interesting group of this primitive pottery came from the gap in the rampart made by the roadmen in 1922 (Fig. 2, '*brèche des cantonniers*'); there was an abundance of pottery, flints, also a bronze arrowhead and a cache of a couple of hundred pebble slingstones. The Bronze Age potsherds were found both among and below the pebbles and lay immediately below the grass. The operations of the roadmen may well have removed the sterile layer, if any, but as the other large deposit of slingstones found appears to belong to the first century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> it seems possible that a hole for the pebbles was dug here by the defenders of the rampart, and cut into the earlier occupation layer. On the other hand, identical pebbles have been found in twos and threes in the black layer below the sterile layer, e.g. by Ramp I.

Considerable quantities of pottery of Bronze Age type were also found near the West Gate. Some occurred immediately under one corner of the Gallo-Roman gate-house; more sherds were found outside the rampart. Behind the stretch of wall in Pl. iii a piece of a hand mill of Neolithic type was found close to the basalt. There was no primitive pottery near it.

### GALLO-ROMAN STRUCTURES

#### I. THE WEST GATEWAY (Fig. 5)

The single entrance of this peculiar structure was 3.00 metres in width, flanked by two irregularly shaped

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 8.

guard-rooms which were presumably the ground floors of simple and rather rickety towers whose walls, built of basalt and mortar, were 90 cm. thick.<sup>1</sup> Adjoining the northern tower was a long, stoutly-built rectangular



FIG. 5. PLAN OF WEST GATE

room, below which the basalt surface was particularly irregular, so that the foundations had to be filled in with earth and stones. Very little was left of any of the walls, too little to indicate where the doorways had

<sup>1</sup> About as thick, though not so well built, as in the average German *Limes* tower.

been ; the southern guard-room, of which Aucler noted two walls, was specially battered, probably because the road made for Napoleon passed over it. Two large stone bases, partly of limestone blocks, juttied out in front of the gateway, and may have supported buttresses. Behind them was a stone foundation covered with a thick smear of cement, the base for a vanished threshold. The road through the gateway, of small pebbles, was largely denuded.

A map of 1765 shows a track<sup>1</sup> running from west to east across the western half of the plateau, evidently starting from the site of this gateway. The track has disappeared, probably blotted out in 1795, but there are enormous parallel stone heaps towards the middle of the plateau which must have bordered it.<sup>2</sup> Immediately behind the gateway the soil is extremely shallow, even for Gergovia, and all that excavation revealed was one foundation in dry stones, running inward for 10.50 metres along the north side of the roadway. Only the edge of this building could be disinterred, as it disappeared under a *parcelle* of land where it was not permitted to dig, but just inside it was a Gallic coin. Three metres from the gate the foundation gave out. Whether it once abutted on the gate, or whether it was an earlier structure, was not clear.

A few metres outside the gateway the old track is cut by a small quarry made by the roadmen in 1922, in which a section of the ancient roadway showed clearly. There is a flimsy surface of small stones, thought to be Aucler's road, and below it a thickish accumulation of stones and earth. The Gallo-Roman surface, with a few minute fragments of Samian conveniently embedded in it, is 35 centimetres below ground level. The basalt, 15 centimetres lower down, is very jagged, so perhaps Gaulish and Roman tracks are one and the same.

<sup>1</sup>Pasumot, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. Fournier gives a sketch of it in his 'Ouvrages de pierre seche,' 16.

<sup>2</sup> Indicated on the map, and described by Pasumot thus : 'Il y a aussi deux lignes de murs paralleles

dont la direction est circulaire et qui conduit du cote de la corne occidentale, depuis une croix placee a peu pres vers le milieu du plateau.' The remains of the cross have been placed, for safe keeping, in the Gergovia museum.

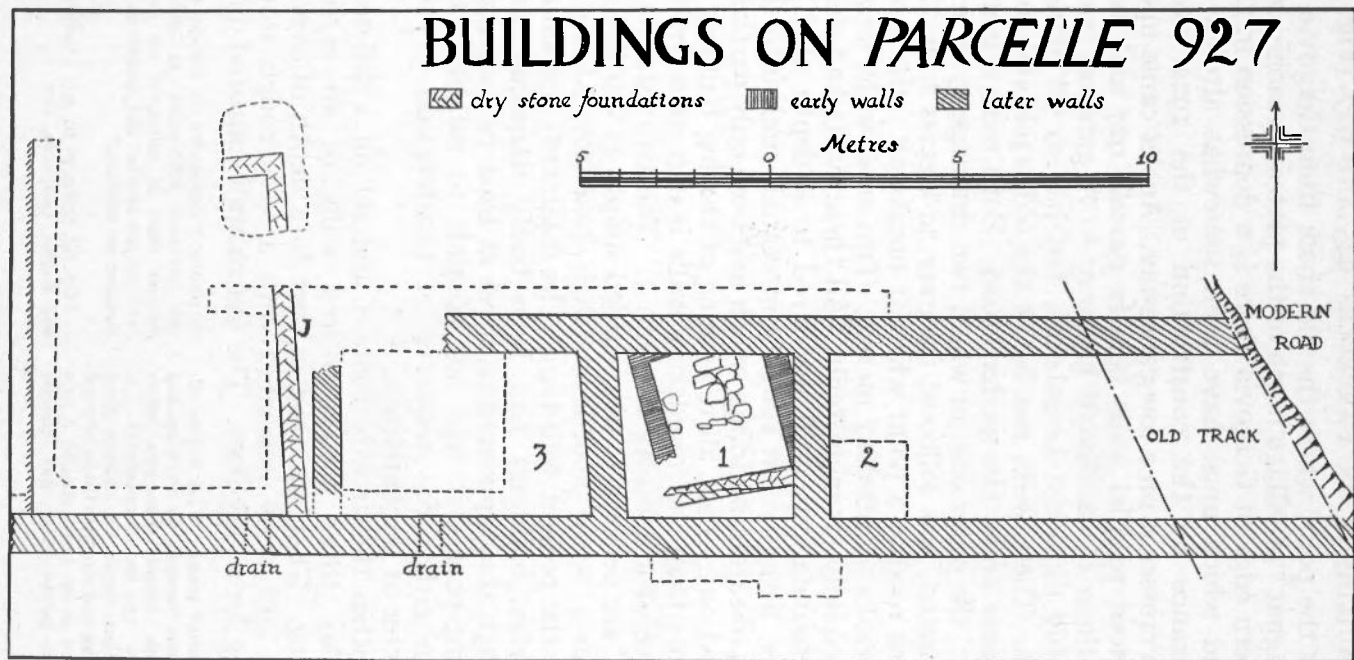


FIG. 6. BUILDINGS ON PARCELLE 927

## II. BUILDINGS ON PARCELLES 925 AND 927 (Fig. 6)

At the point where the old track from Gergovie to Romagnat<sup>1</sup> (a village north of the plateau) reaches the southern edge of Gergovia there is a depression in the ground which must have been somewhat altered in appearance by the construction of the 1922 road, which crosses it on a low causeway. Aucler came upon two stout parallel walls here in *parcelle* 927 and mistook them for a second gateway.<sup>2</sup> A gateway very probably did exist hereabouts, but has so far eluded search. These walls ran below the old track and now disappear under the modern road. Both were a metre thick; the outer one, in which two drainage apertures were found, was followed for over 30 metres from the modern road to a point where it breaks off; the inner one breaks off after 21 metres. Two cross walls found were equally strongly built. All these walls had very deep foundations (still preserved to a depth of 1.30 metres) liberally but roughly mortared, sunk into the debris of earlier buildings which had been only partially levelled out. That all remaining of the big building is no more than the foundation walls is indicated by the absence of a doorway in room 1. The two 'drainage holes' are perhaps to be regarded simply as ventilation apertures below floor-level (their base comes 60 cm. below the present wall-top). The fragments remaining of earlier buildings had been badly damaged, and although they appeared to cover at least two separate building-phases it was not possible to establish for certain either the sequence of construction or the character of the buildings.

Within the area of room 1 and set on a different axis lay three plaster-covered walls of an earlier building. They survived in part to a depth of over a metre and were associated with a very rough stone footing for a clay floor. The fourth wall consisted only

<sup>1</sup> Pasumot states: 'Le milieu du plateau est traversé du nord au sud par deux lignes d'anciens murs parallèles et en éboulement... C'étoit sans doute un chemin pour dégager au sud sur un village nommé Merdogne et au nord aboutit à une espèce de petite gorge, par laquelle

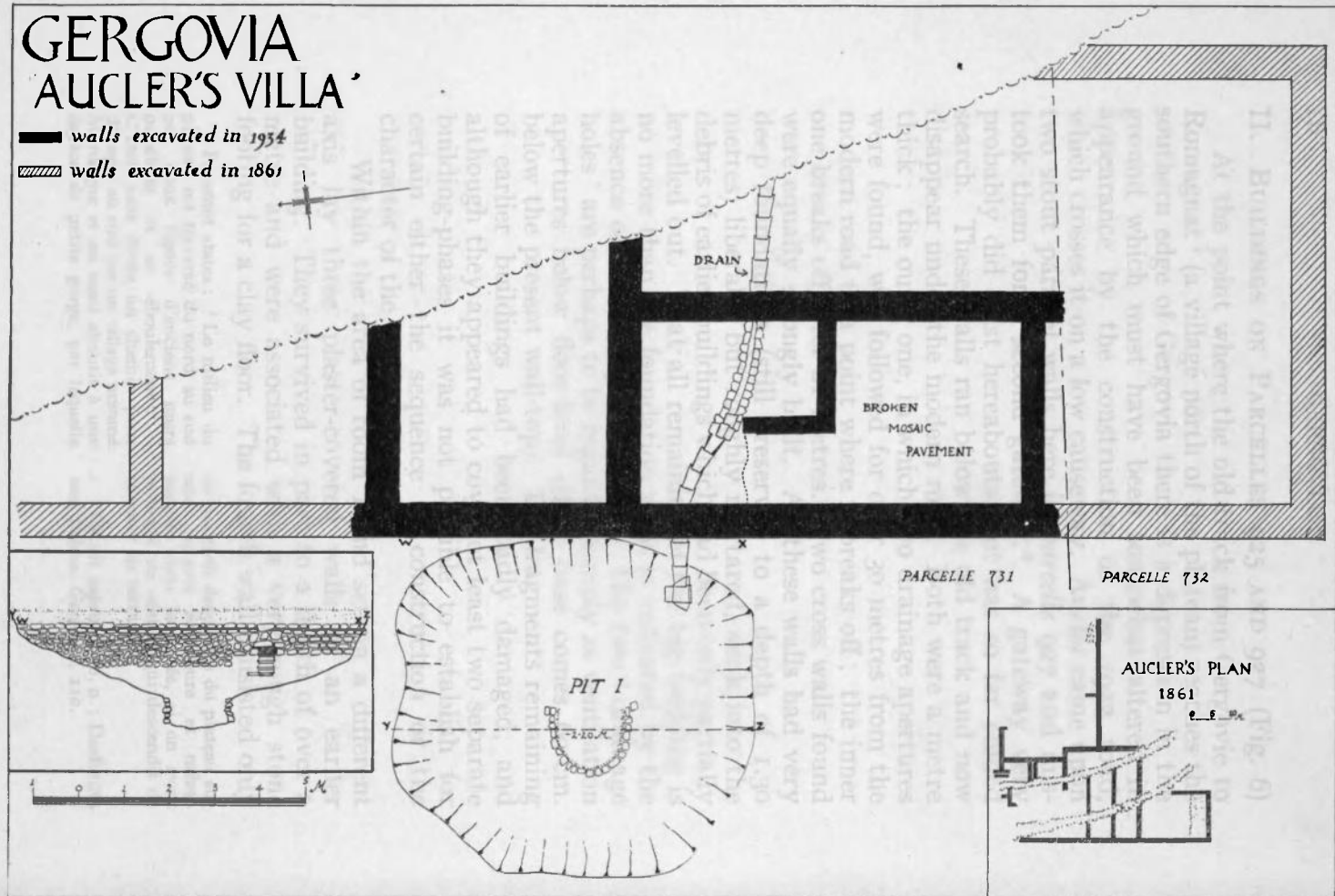
on pourroit descendre du plateau sur une terrasse inférieure et même jusques dans la vallée, si on avoit pratiqué un sentier qui descendit de terrasse en terrasse.'

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit. supra*, p. 10, n.; Desforges and Balme, *Gergovia*, 110.

# GERGOVIA 'AUCLER'S VILLA'

— walls excavated in 1934

▨ walls excavated in 1861





of a dry-stone footing which probably belonged to a yet earlier structure. Some ten metres to the west of this room lay a further dry-stone foundation, which preceded the later building. In and over the clay floor of room 1 was a layer containing large quantities of rubbish and burnt matter (Pottery Group 6), and further to the west were two more large deposits of rubbish, the one up against, and apparently contemporary with, one of the earlier structures beneath room 3 (Group 7), the other beyond the same wall (Group 8). All three deposits preceded the latest building, and they mark the occupation and final destruction of the earlier buildings early in the Flavian period.

### III. AUCLER'S 'VILLA' (Fig. 7)

The most extensive excavation undertaken by Aucler was that of a large Gallo-Roman house, of which he published a partial plan.<sup>1</sup> A small fraction of this structure lay in a *parcelle* (no. 731) belonging to M. Chirent, and it was decided to verify what had been found. The chief room here had, as Aucler recorded, been paved with well-laid, small, white tesserae.<sup>2</sup> Some of this was rediscovered in 1934, hopelessly torn up, along with the thick pink cement in which it was set. The pink cement had lain in turn on a yellow cement floor, which showed no signs of wear. The walls were covered with painted plaster, blue, green, mauve; yellow (one fragment of a formal floral pattern, white on blue, was found), and the common red.<sup>3</sup> No trace of a heating system was observed in this or any other building excavated on the plateau. The outer, western, wall (75 centimetres thick) was well built, with abundant mortar. Crossing under it was a drain of tiles laid endways, with sides of cemented stones and cover of more tiles. This drain, which appears to

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*; Desforges and Balme, III.

<sup>2</sup> Aucler mentions that the white mosaic had a border of black cubes. Only two or three of these were found in the debris. M. E. Blake, 'Pavements of Roman Buildings,' *Mem.*

*Amer. Acad. Rome*, 1930, ascribes the very small white tesserae to late Republican date in Italy.

<sup>3</sup> One large fragment of the plaster was found still moulded round a projecting angle, as if from a window embrasure or doorway.

be secondary, may have been built to draw off surface water from an inner court, as the ground here slopes gently to the west.<sup>1</sup> The wall east of room 1 is narrower (65 cm.), and this, or the smaller interior walls shown on the plan, probably supported small columns (diameter 29 cm.) of quarter-circle bricks,<sup>2</sup> as a couple of score of these were found scattered about the earth over and near the drain. Room 2 had no special features, except that it was built over a depression in the ground and that therefore large quantities of rough stones had been pitched in to level up the floor.

A good deal of very fragmentary pottery was found in and around room 1. In clearing its east wall a late La Tène iron brooch and a piece of a blue glass bracelet were found.

The most useful discovery on the site was the large rubbish pit into which the drain led. The pit was roughly circular, with a circular wall at the bottom, and in making it the clayey depression in the ground extending into Room 2 had been utilised. It was 2.20 metres in depth and about 8 metres in diameter at the top; 1.50 m. at the bottom. It was crammed with the usual household refuse—ashes, bones, large quantities of pottery of the early period of the Roman occupation (Group I, pp. 64–66). It also contained seven Gallic coins, one coin of Vienne, and brooches of late La Tène types.

A trial trench carried along the field west of the Villa for 20 metres failed to reveal any more buildings, though small potsherds were frequent.

#### IV. THE TEMPLE ENCLOSURE (Figs. 8, 9)

This site lies a little less than a hundred metres north of Aucler's 'Villa.' Some of the largest stone heaps of the plateau occur at this point and on them

<sup>1</sup> It may be suggested that at first the room was covered with the yellow cement floor and that shortly after its erection it was decided that something drastic had to be done about the surface water. The drain was therefore constructed, the level of the floor was raised by introducing the

mosaic paving, and the north end of the room was converted into a small vestibule approached through columns. The drain ran under the vestibule.

<sup>2</sup> Columns (generally applied ones) of such segmental bricks are not uncommon. *Infra*, p. 34.



*Photo. : Desforges*

THE PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE ENCLOSURE. A LIMESTONE COLUMN-BASE  
(SHADED IN FIGURE 8) IS TO BE SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND

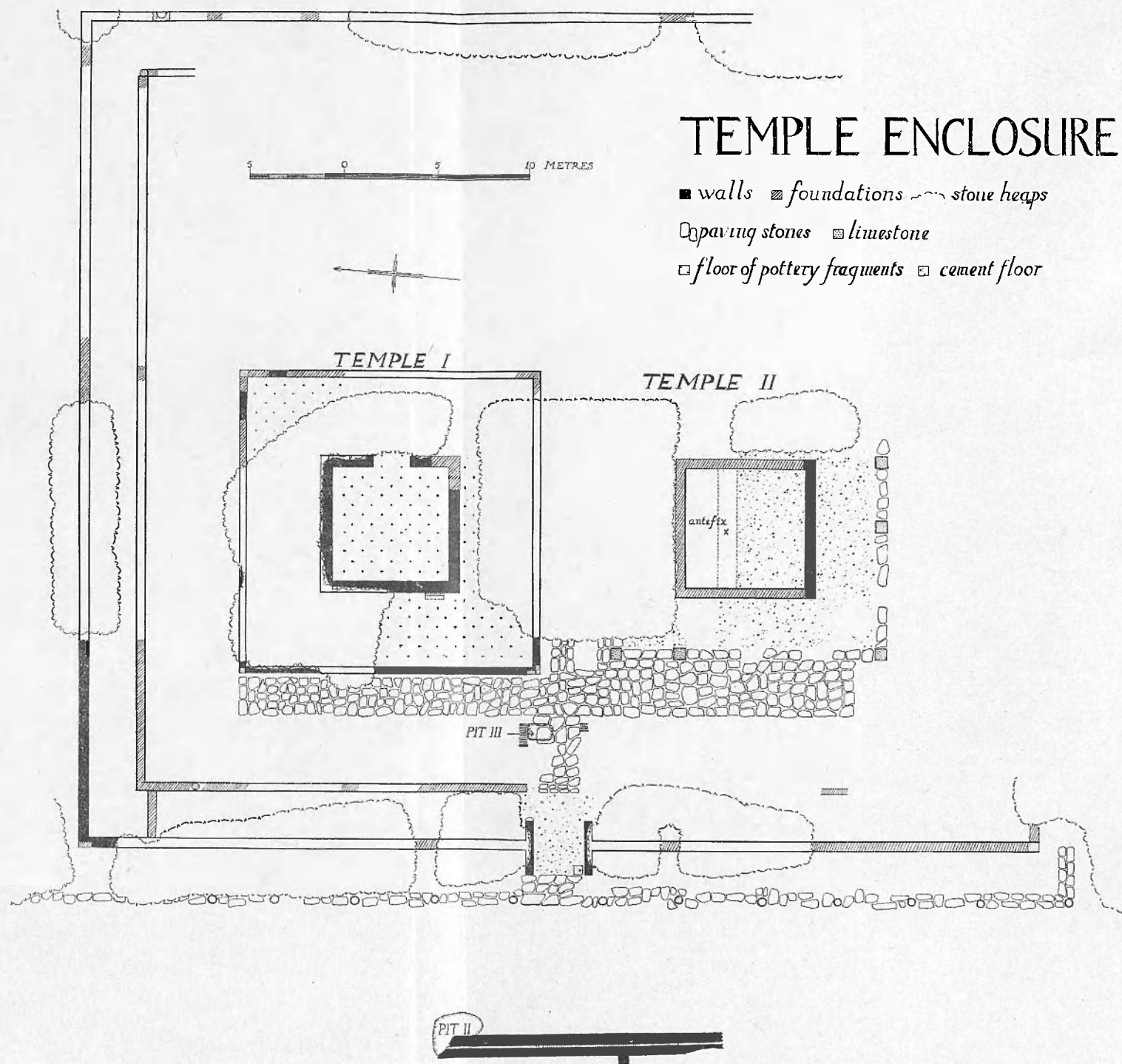


FIG. 8. THE TEMPLE ENCLOSURE AND PART OF ANOTHER BUILDING

fragments of Roman tile and cement were noticeably abundant. Several of the strips of land here were the property of M. Chirent and hence available for excavation. At one end of a trial trench across *parcelle* 700 basalt paving stones were found which proved to belong to a crude portico 55 metres long adorned with columns of the  $\frac{1}{4}$ -circle bricks already noticed in Aucler's villa. Some at any rate of these columns were set upon limestone bases, two of which were still *in situ*.

Opposite the portico (7 metres distant), presumably across a street of some sort, although nothing that could be called a road surface was found, was another building, whose exterior wall was double, with a slot 20 cm. wide, in between the two divisions (cf. walls on Aucler's plan, Fig. 7). The building disappeared under a track, so was not further investigated, but under the northern end of its east wall was a small rubbish pit (Pit II) containing another large collection of early Gallo-Roman pottery (Group 2, pp. 66-69).

A coin of Trajan was found in the trial trench, near the surface. In front of the portico near by a number of fragments of decorated Lezoux ware occurred. There were also large numbers of Roman roof tiles (*tegulae* and *imbrices*), so it would appear that the roof supported in part by the feeble brick columns was a solid one.

The portico ran along the front of a large enclosure of 51 by 45 metres, the foundations of whose walls on the west and north were fairly well preserved; on the south and east they had very largely disappeared. The outer wall was 75 cm. thick, and parallel to it, 2.50 m. away, was another slighter wall, 50 cm. thick. Only one cross-wall was found, at the north-west end, so perhaps partitions were mostly of wood. In two places in the inner wall limestone column bases were found. One was at the north-east corner, the other was a little way along the western side, though the north-west angle showed no trace of any column. A much-damaged capital was found buried in the earth near but below the level of the entrance passage and around it about 30 segmental bricks. Near the north-west

corner were found several pieces of second-century pottery<sup>1</sup> and another coin of Trajan.

The enclosure was entered through the centre of the portico and the large limestone block into which the door-pivot was set was still in position. The ends of the entry walls were finished off with applied columns of brick, to the remains of one of which the painted plaster was still adhering. The entry had a cement floor beyond which a flagstone passage, on which a coin of Antoninus Pius was found lying, led up to and presumably between the two square structures which are assumed to have been a pair of the familiar Romano-Celtic temples. Underneath two particularly large paving stones of the entrance passage was found a third rubbish pit (Pit III) full of pottery<sup>2</sup>—a great many pieces of amphora and some of the early Gallo-Roman pottery like that in Pit II. On the edge of this pit were about thirty bricks of an unusual type (see Pl. v a and p. 35) stuck endways into the ground close together, and a dozen similar ones also lying roughly parallel to one another were dug out on the opposite side of the passage.

The temples, and whatever lies between them, were almost completely covered by two enormous stone heaps, the complete removal of which could not be undertaken. The larger part of each building was, however, disinterred.

*Temple I.* (External dimensions, portico, 16 m.; cella, 7.30 m.) The four external angles were located, though to identify one there was only the foundation trench. The three surviving ones were marked with blocks of arkose which was also used to reinforce the exterior angles of the *temenos*. The interior of the *cella*, whose entrance was on the east side,<sup>3</sup> was completely cleared. Its walls, 60 cm. thick, offset another 40 cm. for the foundation, were still standing to a height of from 50 cm. to 1 metre above the floor; the

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> It is a rectangular pit in the basalt, 1.45 by 0.70 m. in plan and 1.80 m. in depth (the depth in the basalt itself being 1 m.).

<sup>3</sup> The entrances of these temples

seem in the majority of cases, though not invariably, to have lain in the east or south-east. Wheeler, *Antiquaries' Journal*, 1928. 200-26; S. Loeschke, *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier*, 1928.



outer (portico) wall was only 40 cm. thick. The portico was paved with a form of *opus signinum*—pottery fragments hammered into a bed of cement. The *cella* was similarly paved but ornament was provided by a simple pattern of black and white mosaic cubes (Fig. 9).<sup>1</sup> In each corner there was a pleasing geometric

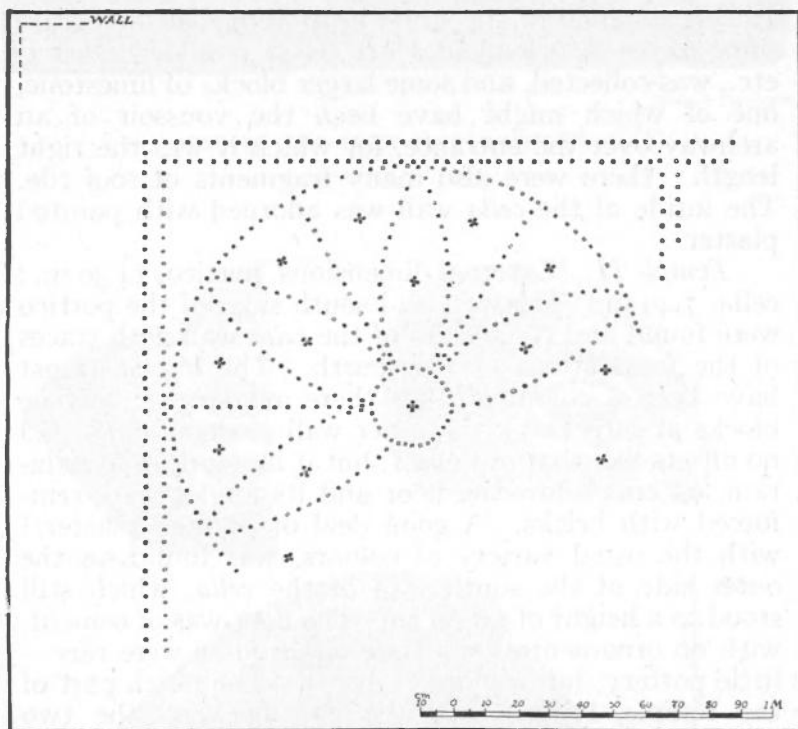


FIG. 9. MOSAIC PATTERN IN THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF THE CELLA OF TEMPLE I

flower, and parallel lines of the mosaic cubes went round the sides of the apartment. The pavement had clearly had a long life, for in some places the mosaic

<sup>1</sup> Blake, *op. cit.*, describes a number of pavements associated with the paintings of the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. in Pompeii, in which patterns of black and white tesserae are set in cement pavements containing fragments of terracotta or pottery. A favourite pattern is 'rows

of little crosses composed of four white tesserae surrounding a central one of black' (Pl. iv, Figs. 1 and 4). Large rosettes are also common. The simple rosette of the Gergovia temple is ornamented with little crosses, but the centre is white and the four outer tesserae are black.

had disappeared and its place had been taken by more rammed-in pottery. Towards the centre the pavement was rather more broken up, but there were no signs of any mosaic pattern there nor of what was eagerly sought, a statue or altar base. Pottery fragments, so abundant elsewhere, were scarce in the temple; the only other small object was a piece of a bronze mirror. During removal of the stone heap above the structure some pieces of ornamental scrolls of moulded plaster, etc., was collected, and some larger blocks of limestone, one of which might have been the voussoir of an archway over the entrance, for which it was the right length; there were also many fragments of roof tile. The inside of the *cella* wall was adorned with painted plaster.

*Temple II.* (External dimensions, portico, 14.30 m.; *cella*, 7.40 m.) The west and south sides of the portico were found and three sides of the *cella* wall with traces of the foundations of the fourth. The outside must have been a colonnade, for there are large limestone blocks at intervals; the inner wall (60 cm. wide) had no offsets like that of *Cella I*, but it had a deep foundation, 75 cm. below the floor and its angles were reinforced with bricks. A good deal of painted plaster,<sup>1</sup> with the usual variety of colours, was found on the outer side of the south wall of the *cella*, which still stood to a height of 50–60 cm. The floor was of cement, with no ornamentation. Here again finds were rare—little pottery, but a piece of mirror. The north part of the temple, lying under the gap between the two stone heaps, was badly torn up. The paving had been broken through, so there was an opportunity to examine what lay beneath. There was a great deal of building debris under the *cella* floor, also a coin minted not long after 15 B.C. and half a pottery mask, an antefix of some sort (Pl. v b). This temple must, therefore, at

<sup>1</sup> The proportions of the different colours were roughly calculated as follows:—*Cella I*: black 468 sq. cm., plum 301, red 87, pale blue-green 58, white 73, yellow 8; there were in addition bands of black and red on green, bands of plum, green and red, a white band on black and a black

band with a white dot. *Temple II*: red 699 sq. cm., plum 169, green 227, cream-white 97, black 52, yellow 11; bands of green on red, green and red on white, green-black-green band on red, black and white on green, yellow-green-red, yellow and buff on white.

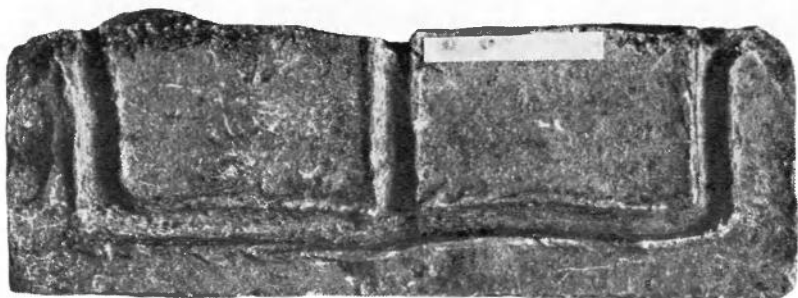


Photo. : Desforges

A. GROOVED TILE FROM TEMPLE ENCLOSURE ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

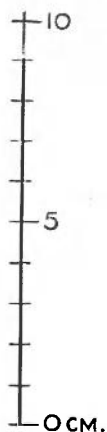


Photo. : Desforges

B. TERRACOTTA ANTEFIXES

The one below was found beneath the paving of the cella of Temple II

some period have been drastically repaired. Below the layer with building debris was dark soil with fragments of burnt wood, flint, and a couple of pieces of brown pottery with a tooled surface like some of that from the rampart and from other local hills.<sup>1</sup> Later investigators may perhaps have the opportunity of penetrating further below and around this little temple to search for indications that an earlier (Celtic) sanctuary may have preceded the Gallo-Roman structures.

The part of the enclosure east of the temples was not free for excavation. To the west of them was a court paved with the basalt flagstones familiar from the portico and entrance passage. The enclosure had evidently been the scene of occupation from the beginning of the Gallo-Roman period until the middle of the second century A.D. or even later, and this occupation falls into two periods, an earlier one, when the pottery found in the two rubbish pits was in use, and a later one when the temples were given their final form.

#### CONCLUSION

The earliest occupation of Gergovia consisted of a settlement in Bronze Age times on the summit of the plateau, guarded only by the fine natural defences of the site. Traces of contemporary occupation are to be found on a number of similar plateaux in the neighbourhood, one of which, Corent, lies a few miles only to the south. No structures of this period were identified and the traces of settlement consisted solely of the layer of occupation-debris stratified beneath the rampart near the south-east corner and of considerable scattered finds elsewhere on the site, notably near the West Gate.

This phase was succeeded by a period during which large parts at any rate of the plateau were deserted. It was not until the very end of the pre-Roman Iron Age that we have once more any certain trace of human habitation. Then suddenly the fortifications were thrown up, and for a brief, breathless space Gergovia became the centre of Gallic resistance. Whether the line which Vercingetorix drew for his fortress happened

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 70, Fig. 15, nos. 1 and 2.

to enclose a Gaulish village or a chieftain's dwelling we cannot tell. No such trace has yet been found, but the plateau is large. It may not be without significance that the Gallic coins from Gergovia are invariably of the last pre-conquest or immediately post-conquest period. It would be rash to draw any conclusion on such slender evidence. But it may be stated with confidence that, whether or not there was some Iron Age settlement on the hill-top, the great area enclosed by the defences was due to military requirements, and not to the need for defending a large Gaulish metropolis.

After resistance to Rome had ceased, a considerable population continued to occupy Gergovia. To the evidence summarized in the foregoing report must be added the records of structural remains on nearly a dozen other spots (Fig. 1), and the abundance of Gallo-Roman pottery all over the surface of the plateau. It is hard to understand why people should have chosen to live on such a bleak and exposed mountain-top, when there was no longer a pressing need to remain. It may have been the conservatism of a native village, clinging to its home and to its shrines. It may be that in the troubled decades between the Roman conquest and the Augustan settlement people felt safer there. The Camp de Canada, above Fécamp, was first built as a place of refuge against Caesar's armies; yet after the conquest it remained for many years the site of a Gallo-Roman settlement.<sup>1</sup> In any case at Gergovia a considerable town sprang up, a town moreover, as its gateway and its temples imply, with some civic pretensions. Long after the foundations of Augustonemetum in the plain below, Gergovia had its inhabitants; and as late as the third quarter of the first century A.D. good, solid structures were being built. But with the growth of the new tribal capital and the consolidation of Gallo-Roman prosperity, Gergovia inevitably dwindled. Even the poor relations drifted down to the plain below, until in the second century of our era only the little sanctuary remained to mark the spot where free Gaul had stood to resist the armies of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Excavations undertaken in 1939 by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler.

## COINS

(A number of the notes below have been provided by M. Fournier.)

## I. GALLIC

In the course of the excavations some 25 Gallic coins, all Arvernian except no. 22, were found; the Gergovia museum has in addition 11 more surface finds made recently and a collection of 16 others made by M. Chirent and his family.

All the following coins are in the Museum.

## A. From known sites.

1. *Obv.* VERGA. Head r., beading all round.  
*Rev.* Horse l., figure below it, above horse's back a ☉, beading all round. *Parcelle 731, Pit I.*  
*Vercassivellaunus.* Cf. A. Blanchet, *Traite des monnaies gauloises*, 1905, p. 421 (Fig. 462).
2. As above, more worn. *Parcelle 731, Pit I.*
3. *Obv.* VERGA. Head r.  
*Rev.* Horse l. *Parcelle 925, v.*
4. As 3. *Parcelle 927, surface.*
5. *Obv.* Head r.  
*Rev.* Horse l. ☉ above it. *Parcelle 925, v.*
6. As 5, much worn. *Parcelle 865, trench dug in 1932.*
7. As 5, much worn. *In a trial hole south of the track below parcelle 927, where it turns towards the spring.*
8. *Obv.* Head l., many curls.  
*Rev.* Horse r., scroll ∞ above. *Parcelle 700 at end of trial trench on paving of portico.*  
Cf. Blanchet, 422, 6.
9. *Obv.* Head.  
*Rev.* Horse r. *With No. 7.*
10. *Obv.* Head r.  
*Rev.* Horse r. (?), ☉ below. *925, v.*
11. *Obv.* ΕΠΑΔ. Helmeted head r.  
*Rev.* Standing warrior, with shield and standard. *Parcelle 927, earlier building.*  
*Epasnactus* type 2, under Roman influence. Blanchet 420 (458).
12. *Obv.* Helmeted head r.  
*Rev.* Warrior. *Temple enclosure.*
13. As 12. *In entrance to temple enclosure.*
14. As 12. *Parcelle 927.*
- 15-20. *Rev.* In each case has standing warrior with shield and standard, much worn. *Three from Pit I (731), two from 925, v, one by dry-stone wall within W. Gate.*
21. *Obv.* Head l., line or scroll behind, beading round.  
*Rev.* Warrior standing, shield and spear in l. hand, standard in r. hand. *In north-west corner of temple enclosure.*
22. T. POM. *Obv.* Head.  
*Rev.* Bull.  
*Temple 2, under cella floor.*



Blanchet, 255 (121). These coins, with the legends T POM SEX F are derived from the Augustan bronzes minted at Lyons about 15-12 B.C., with butting bull recalling that on Massiliote coins. They are thus among the latest Gaulish coins (cf. the '*Germanus*' type, Blanchet, 253 (119)). It is not known where they were minted. Blanchet notes, but rejects, a suggestion that they are Arvernian.

*Illegible.*

- 23. 731, *Pit I.*
- 24. 700, *Pit II.*
- 25. 925 *v.*

*B. Surface Finds, Exact Site Unknown.*

*All bronze, except nos. 37 and 38.*

- 26. *Rev.* Horse, mounted warrior with flying cloak.  
*Epasnactus*, Type 1 ('Type au cavalier'). Blanchet 420 (457).
- 27. *Obv.* Head l.
- 28, 29. Badly worn, but standing warrior on *Rev.* distinguishable.
- 30. *Obv.* Head.  
*Rev.* Standing warrior. Much worn.  
Nos. 27-30 of same Type as nos. 11-21.
- 31-36. Six more illegible Gallic coins.
- Nos. 37-52 constitute the private collection of M. Chirent.
- 37. AR. *Obv.* Head (much worn).  
*Rev.* Cross and Moon and cable pattern.  
This type comes from the Garonne valley (cf. Blanchet 280-285).
- 38. AR. *Obv.* PIC Pic(tilos). Head l.  
*Rev.* Galloping horse l., with scroll decoration in Celtic style.  
Arvernian (Blanchet, 421 (459)).
- 39. *Obv.* VERGA. Head r.  
*Rev.* Horse r. Blanchet 421 (462).
- 40-42. Three worn coins.  
*Obv.* Head r.  
*Rev.* Horse r.
- 43-46. Two coins of *Epasnactus*, Type 2.  
*Obv.* Head.  
*Rev.* Standing warrior.
- 47. *Obv.* Head l.  
*Rev.* Horse l., double spiral beneath.  
*Epasnactus*, Type 1.
- 48. *Obv.* Head l.  
*Rev.* SACTIOS. Galloping horse l. Santones? Blanchet 300 (187).
- 49. *Obv.* Head l.  
*Rev.* Eagle, eaglet and serpent. Carnutes. Blanchet 325 (243).
- 50. *Obv.* Head r.  
*Rev.* Horse r. Eastern Gaul. Blanchet 389 (398).
- 51. T POM SEX F. *Obv.* Head l.  
*Rev.* Bull l.

52. *Obv.* Head 1. Legend illegible.

*Rev.* Bull 1.

53. Badly worn. Head 1., bull (?) r.

## II. ROMAN.

*All bronze ; all save nos. 8 and 9 in the Gergovia museum.*

### A. From known sites.

1. *As*. Diam. 30 mm.

*Obv.* DIVI IVLI[I]M[P] CAESAR DIVI [F] Heads of Julius and Octavianus back to back.

*Rev.* Prow with superstructure. Above, CIV

*In rubbish pit, parcelle 731.* This provincial issue of Vienna is to be dated between 40 and 28 B.C. Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, i, 44 ; Blanchet, 434 (472).

2. Half *As* of Nîmes.

*Obv.* Head r. ΔΙ

VIF

*Rev.* Garland. COL NEM

*Found between N.-W. (outer) wall of Room 1 of West Gate and broken off end of Gallic rampart.*

M. & S. i, 44 ; Blanchet, fig. 478. Style and size suggest early date, i.e. between 27-2 B.C.

3. *Obv.* Trajan, l. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AUG GERM P M

*Rev.* SC TR POT COS III PP Winged goddess with helmet and flying draperies, holding shield with SPQR  
*Parcelle 702, north-west corner of temple enclosure.*

4. *As* 3, but more worn. COS II or III, probably the latter.  
*Towards east end of trial trench, parcelle 700.*

5. *Obv.* Antoninus Pius r. ANTONINUS AUG PIUS PP

*Rev.* Standing female figure. S C

*On paving stone of entrance passage approaching the two temples.*

### B. Surface finds.

6. Broken piece of large bronze coin—probably early ?

7. Half *As*, probably like 1 or 2, but too worn for identification.

8. *As* of Nîmes (cf. 2).

*Obv.* Heads of Augustus and Agrippa, back to back. IMP DIVI

*Rev.* Crocodile and palm ; COL NEM

*Found on plateau by M. Dauphin of Gergovie ; examined and returned to him.*

9. *As* of Nîmes (fragment).

*Obv.* Necks of two heads back to back. DIVI (type without PP).

*Rev.* Tail of crocodile, palm, chain ; [C]OL NE[M]

*Found on surface on southern edge of plateau. Collection Fournier.*

10. *Obv.* Radiate head 1.

*Rev.* Standing goddess.

Diameter 19 mm. Much worn. Victorinus ?

Of the many hundreds of coins, especially Gaulish ones, found on the plateau during the nineteenth century, when it was brought under cultivation, the greater number have disappeared.

The *Cabinet de médailles* of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris possesses seven coins whose provenance is Gergovia. (Muret et Chabouillet, *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1889; H. de la Tour, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises*, 1892.) They are nos. 1638 (Massiliote), 3821, 3901, 3954, 4180 (all Arvernian); 8006, bust of Diana, l., neck adorned with torque; *Rev.* CALIAGIIS, eagle and eaglet (Spanish). The foregoing are bronze. No. 8336 is a copper-zinc alloy (*potin*); *Obv.* Three crescents; *Rev.* Three S around a point.

Aucler (*Mém. Acad. Clermont*, 1862) reported the discovery of bronze coins of Epasnactus and Vercassivellaunus and a silver one with a mounted warrior carrying a standard in his 'Villa.' Mathieu (see Fournier, *Fouilles*, 9-10), who saw the coins found by Aucler, reports that among coins from the plateau known to him, those of Epasnactus and Vercassivellaunus predominated, but that there were others of the Sequanian Togirix and the Cadurcan Lucterius. He further mentions a few Roman coins of the third century A.D.—Valerian, Claudius Gothicus and Probus.

Among the collectors the chief were Mioche, Bouillet and Peghoux. Mioche died in 1858. A few notes on examples in his collection found on Gergovia are given in his 'Dissertation sur les monnaies frappées en Auvergne a toutes les époques et recueillies par l'auteur,' in the *Annales . . . de l'Auvergne*, xxxi, 1858, 235, 238.

J.-B. Bouillet was an enthusiastic antiquary whose works appeared from 1842 onwards, and who presented the nucleus of the archaeological collection of the Musée de Clermont to the city. He mentions 'des médailles de 36 peuplades ou de villes,' all Gaulish, and also coins of Nîmes, Lyon, Vienne, of the early days of the Empire ('Nouvelles observations sur la montagne de Gergovia,' *Mém. Acad. Clermont*, xvii, 1875, 50, 54). See also *Mem. Acad. Clermont*, iv, 1862, 514 (Gaulish, bronze); *Bull. hist. et scientifique de l'Auvergne*, 1890 (Gaulish, gold), 1901, 60 and 375 (Munatius Plancus); Blanchet, *Traité*, 501-502.

The collection of Dr. Peghoux has been dispersed (cf. *Mém. Acad. Clermont*, 1863, v, 41). See his 'Essai sur les monnaies des Arverni' in *Annales . . . de l'Auvergne*, xxx, 1857, 223-288, *passim* and especially p. 228, 'nous avons en outre près de Clermont deux montagnes [Gergovie et Corent] qui alimentent journellement de médailles gauloises les cabinets des amateurs,' 243 and 248-286 (catalogue). See also notes of Peghoux on coins found on Gergovia, Bibliothèque de Clermont-Ferrand, MS. 975, fol. 96-161.

See also: G. Grange, *Mélanges archéologiques ou recueil de dessins d'objets, vases, sceaux, monnaies et fragments antiques trouvés dans différentes localités d'Auvergne, accompagnés de quelques notes en regard*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1857, 24 pp., 13 Pl. The copy in the library of Clermont (A II, 287) contains several folios of MS. notes. In the copy are inserted two plates belonging to an unidentified

publication and entitled 'Melanges archéologiques, Col. Grange'; one of them, numbered 29, depicts Gallic coins found at Gergovia (nos. 196-205) and at Corent (nos. 206-209).

## BROOCHES

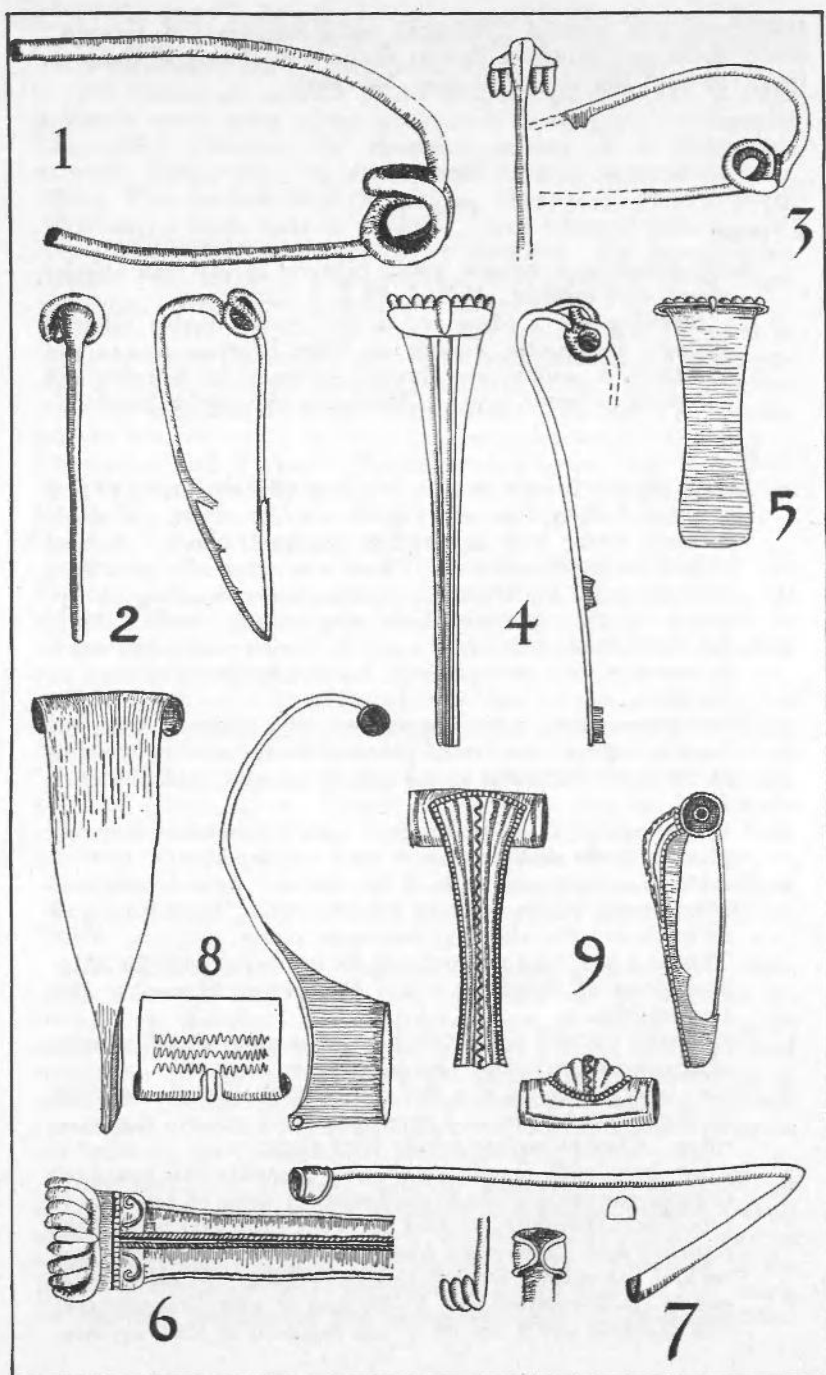
(Fig. 10)

## I. IRON.

1. Large simple iron brooch, single bilateral spring with inferior chord, foot missing. *Villa I, Pit I*.  
Cf. Swarling no. 1 (dated c. 50 B.C.), with double bilateral spring; Déchelette, *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray*, p. 142 and Pl. xxiii, 6, simple iron brooch common to Beuvray and Stradonic; *Manuel*, ii, 967, 3, Pommiers, and 1257, 2, Stradonic.

## II. BRONZE.

2. Almost filiform bronze brooch, bow very slightly shaped to give angularity along top, and slightly swollen above the single bilateral spring with its superior (external) chord; remains of an openwork catchplate. There is no trace of a hook from the bow on to the chord (as on the similar Swarling no. 13, dated A.D. 25-50) so this fibula must be early. *Villa I, Pit I*. Cf. Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, 1257, 8, Gurina, which has much in common with no. 2, though no. 2 lacks the ornaments on the bow.
3. Development from 2, bow again not quite filiform; from the head have grown two lateral processes partly covering the coils of the double bilateral spring and its superior chord. *Villa I, Pit I*.  
Cf. Swarling 12 (A.D. 25-50); see Déchelette, *Beuvray*, p. 142, on the development of the La Tène fibula.
4. Flat strip bow with slight ribs down middle; head broadens to cover spring which has four bilateral coils; hook from bow on to chord. *Parcelle 927, south-west corner*.  
This and nos. 15-19 below may be compared with the strip-bow forms of Swarling, 2 and Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, 967, 1, Pommiers.
5. Very broad, flat and quite plain bow, hook on to chord, remains of openwork catchplate. *Parcelle 925, v*.
6. More elaborate version of 4, the strip-bow finely decorated with scrolls and with an incised pinnate ornamentation of the dorsal ridge. *Close to surface outside West Gate*.
7. Narrow bow with simple catch and a saddle-like ornament towards the missing head reminiscent of those of La Tène II brooches (Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, 1253), fashioned to hold the returned foot. There is a small fragment of the pin and two coils of the spring, but the head is missing. *In hole between end of Gallic rampart and N.-W. wall of west gatehouse, with coin of Nîmes (see p. 27, no. 2) and fragment of Italic sigillata*.

FIG. 10. BROOCHES ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

8. Large brooch with broad, plain ribbon-bow forming a semi-circle; high catchplate pierced by a single hole at the upper, outer corner; pin hinged; slight ornamental scratchings at head, at the place where Aucissa fibulae, which this one resembles in some degree, often have the maker's name. *Villa I*.  
For Aucissa fibulae see *Arch. Journ.*, lx, 236. They lack the large catchplate of this one. A closer parallel is Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, 967, 7, from Pommiers (Aisne) which has a very similar catchplate with single hole.
9. Fine specimen of 'Langton Down' type. Bow slightly ribbed, decorated with a wavy, incised pattern down centre and beading along the edges; cylindrical head, enclosing spring. *Surface of parcelle 726, near Villa I*.  
*Cf. Wheeler, Lydney Park*, p. 71, for distribution of these brooches.

#### *Not Illustrated*

#### I. IRON.

10. Pin and spring of large brooch like no. 1. *Parcelle 927, by dry-stone foundation f.*
11. Much corroded brooch, spring broken off, simplest type of catch, without catchplate. *Villa I, Pit I*.  
*Cf. Déchelette, Beuvray*, p. 142 and Pl. xxiii, 7, Stradonic.

#### II. BRONZE.

12. Like no. 2, but catchplate missing. *Pit III, under paving of entrance passage in temple enclosure.*
13. Fragment of openwork catchplate, probably from a smaller specimen of type no. 2. *Parcelle 927, room 3, same depth as pottery group 6 (see p. 72).*
14. Type no. 2, pin missing.
15. Similar to 4. *Parcelle 927, south-west.*
16. Similar to 4; four coils each side of pin. *Inside west rampart, near Gate.*
17. Similar to 4. *Temple enclosure.*
18. Strip bow which makes a curve round part of the spring.
19. Similar to 4. Slight rib down middle of flat strip-bow. *Parcelle 700, Pit II.*

#### OTHER BRONZE OBJECTS

1. Tanged and barbed arrowhead, 4.5 cm. long, 2 cm. broad. *Bronze Age occupation layer by south rampart (see p. 12).*
2. Piece of bronze mirror. *Floor of cella, Temple I.*
3. Piece of bronze mirror. *Portico of Temple II, east side.*
4. Two more pieces of mirror. *Villa I, Pit I.*
5. Small bronze key. *Villa I, Pit I.*
6. Small bronze key. *Parcelle 927.*



7. Thin band, with six small rivets and fragments of another band behind, to which it was attached. *Parcelle 927, with pottery group 6.*
8. Three oblong bronze scales, each with single hole. *Near no. 7 above.*
9. Small oblong bronze scale. *Parcelle 927, Room 3.*
10. Bronze scale. *Temple enclosure, south end.*
11. Bronze scale, with small punched hole at one end.
12. Half a button (with grooves for enamel). *Villa I, Pit I.*
13. Spoon. *Temple enclosure.*
14. Fish hook. *Parcelle 925.*
15. Small piece of bronze slag. *Parcelle 925.*

No evidence of metal-workshops was found during the present excavations. J.-B. Bouillet, in *Mém. Acad. Clermont*, 1875, p. 3, states: 'Nous y [a Gergovie et a Corent] avons trouvé très souvent des fragments de creusets et des lingots de bronze, ayant subi une fusion.'

#### IRON

1. T-shaped slide key (14 cm. long). *Villa I, Pit I.* A common type on Roman and late-Celtic sites. Dechelette, *Mont-Beuvray*, Pl. xv, 12, and *Manuel*, ii, p. 1391, 7 (Stradonic); *London Museum Catalogue no. 3*, Pl. xxx, A1.
2. Knife blades. *Villa I, Pit I.*
3. Numerous nails, large and small, pieces of tools, hooks, etc.
4. Lumps of iron slag are found in large quantities in and about *parcelles 925 and 927*, some occurring at levels previous to the last building, and at the West Gate. A few also were found in the eastern wing of the temple enclosure.

#### STONE

1. Four stone celts (one whole, three broken). *From the Bronze Age deposits at the south rampart.*
2. Small flints are very common. A blade 7 cm. long was found in the black layer by Ramp I of the south rampart and several arrowheads were found in the 'brèche des cantonniers.'
3. Pebble slingstones (from local brooks like the Auzon) were found in large quantities (see pp. 8, 12).
4. Neolithic type of quern. *Behind stretch of rampart excavated on west side of plateau, 75 m. from gateway.*  
Like Dechelette, *Manuel i*, *Archéologie préhistorique*, 345, Fig. 127, 2 (Monsheim).
5. Lower stone of Gallo-Roman handmill (Fig. 11, no. 4). *Parcelle 927, Room 2.*  
Cf. Curwen, *Antiquity*, xv, 1941, p. 23, Fig. 25, quern of the first century A.D.
6. Segment of column of basalt, like brick of Fig. 11, no. 1, but radius 23 cm. *Villa I.*

7. The Gallo-Roman builders of Gergovia imported certain better-quality stones for use in cases for which the basalt could not be trimmed sufficiently well, e.g. for the corner stones in the temple enclosure, for the pivot-stone of its entrance, for column bases, for the drainage openings in *parcelle* 927. Where a stone of specially durable quality was required arkose or hard limestone were employed; for capitals and rounded column bases an oolitic limestone sufficed. Peghoux (mid-nineteenth century, quoted by Fournier, *Fouilles*, 158) states: 'tout récemment j'ai appris que, dans la partie orientale un paysan avait découvert d'énormes pierres de taille en grès, sur un point où le terrain en dos d'âne indique des constructions enfoncées.' These stones had 'des cavités à la façon des pierres employées par les romains.'

## GEMS

1. Intaglio, with galley. *Surface find.*
  2. Intaglio, with galley. *Surface find.*
  3. Intaglio, with horse. *Parcelle 700, Pit II.*
- Engraved stones found on the plateau are mentioned in *Mém. Acad. Clermont*, 1855, 155, note: 'une cornaline gravée . . . cheval monté, tête à droite, dessous figure agenouillée'; 1855, 482: 'chaton de bague en fer surmonté d'une agathe onix, portant une tête imberbe, tournée à gauche, cheveux courts, légende VIRIOV'; 1878, 618 (Bouillet): 'pierre gravée représentant une Minerve.'

## GLASS

1. Fragment of beaker in thin yellowish glass. *Parcelle 927.*
2. Small phial (cf. one in *London Museum Catalogue No. 3*, Pl. xiv, 2, burial of mid first-century date). *Villa I, Pit I.*
3. Handle of a larger bottle. *Pit I.*
4. Two coloured glass beads. *Pit I.*
5. Piece of blue glass bracelet. *Villa I, Room I.*

## BONE

1. Unfinished object carved from the antler of a deer. (cf. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, 20; Curle, *Newstead*, 314). *West Gate.*
2. Dice and playing-pieces. *Villa I, Pit I.*

## BRICKS, TILES AND TERRACOTTA ANTEFIXES

1. Segmental bricks, quarter-circle in plan, radius 14.5 cm., depth 4 cm. (Fig. 11, no. 1) were commonly used in the construction of columns, e.g. the columns of the temenos portico (the central doorway here had engaged columns of brick, coated with plaster), and in Aucler's Villa. One segment found in the south-west corner of the temenos, was cut at its inner end, as if to form part of a column built round a square post 12 cm.

across (Fig. 11, no. 2); near it was a broken hemispherical brick, cut out to fit round the same or a similar post (Fig. 11, no. 3). The Musée Rolin at Autun has a number of one-third and quarter-circle bricks from Bibracte, see Déchelette, *Les fouilles*

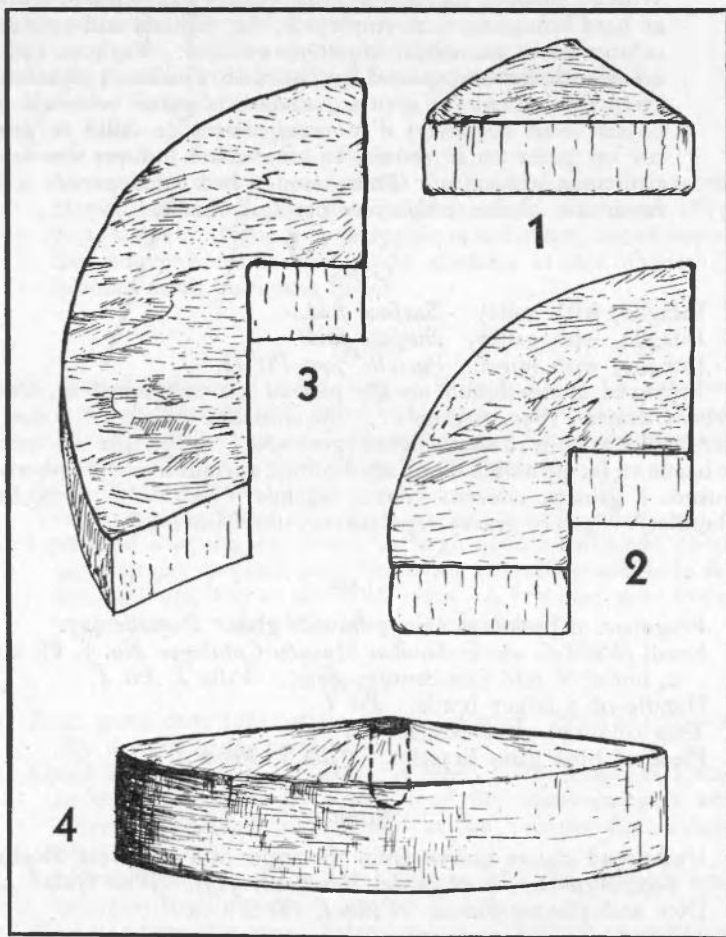


FIG. 11.

NOS. 1-3. BRICKS ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) NO. 4. LOWER STONE OF HANDMILL ( $\frac{3}{16}$ )

*du Mont Beuvray*, 1897-1901, 7-8. There are others on other Gallo-Roman sites, e.g. in Musée des Augustins, Toulouse (from Villa de Chiragan), Dax, Vaison. For Britain, see Lowther, *Surrey Arch. Soc.*, 1929, 6 (second-century house at

- Ashtead), and Lowther, *Antiquaries' Journal*, 1937, 31, 34 (late first-century temple at Verulamium). A potter's deposit of the second century B.C. at Minturno, Campania, included 'a number of bricks in the shape of a segment of a circle, radius 0.12 m.' *Bolletino dell'Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei*, Anno V, nos. 4-5, p. 110.
2. Many tegulae and imbrices were found : on the temple site; in Aucler's villa ; occasional ones were found in *parcelles* 925, 927 ; pieces of roof-tile are to be found in the stone heaps from all parts of the plateau. There are one or two examples in the museum with impressions of hob-nailed boots and dogs' footprints.
  3. The bottom of the drain found in Aucler's villa was made of tegulae.
  4. A number of remarkable tiles (Pl. va) were found wedged together, standing on end, on either side of, and slightly below, the temple-entrance passage. The larger group of 30 lay by the edge of Pit III ; on the opposite side there were a dozen. They measured 41 by 14 by 4 cm. and on one side nearly all had deep grooves. Their purpose is not clear ; one suggestion is that they might have formed relieving-arches to carry a colonnade.

#### *Terracotta Antefixes*

1. Part of the coiffure and the upper part of the mask (Pl. vb, 1). *Below the cella paving of Temple II.*
2. Small piece of what is probably the coiffure of a similar one. *Below the cella paving of Temple II.*
3. Right half of a mask very like 1 (Pl. vb, 2). *Surface find, neighbourhood of temples.*
4. Right half of a mask very like 1 (Pl. vb, 3). *Surface find, neighbourhood of temples.*

#### NOTES ON POTTERY

SAMIAN.—In the north-west corner of the temple-enclosure a piece of Form 46 was found, also fragments of a decorated bowl, Form 37, Lezoux, both being of mid-second century (Identified by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes).

A mask of the god Pan, like those illustrated in Déchelette, *Vases ornés*, ii, 225, nos. 108, 109—a moulded and applied relief in black-brown glaze, was found near the above, in the north-west corner of the temple-enclosure. These masks are regarded as Lezoux work of the mid-third century (see May, *Silchester*, 95), or possibly, on the dark-varnished wares of Trèves, late-second century (Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 231). With the exception of a coin (Roman, no. 12), this is the latest datable object at present known from the site.

## LAMPS

1. Fragments of 'picture lamps' (a type of the first century A.D.) were found in *parcelle 925* and *Villa I, Pit I*.
2. An unstamped 'firm lamp,' with open nozzle-groove, was found in the western end of the north wing of the temple enclosure. This type of 'firm lamp' came into use about A.D. 100 and seems to have lasted throughout the second century (*London Museum Catalogue No. 3, p. 63, Type IIIb*).

## AMPHORA STAMPS

1. FAUST on double-strap handle. *Outside rampart near West Gate.*
2. M [- *Parcelle 925.*
3. P V *Villa I, Pit I.*
4. -] M *Surface find.*

## SPINDLE WHORLS

Spindle-whorls of broken pottery were found in the building on *parcelle 927* west of dry-stone wall J.