It remains to discuss the pottery that was found at Gergovia. In view of the historical importance of the site as the capital of one of the leading tribes of Gaul, any such discussion is bound to raise wider issues than its immediate character and affinities. We have to ask what place it occupied in the contemporary cultural history of Gaul. The question is not easily answered. The French Early Iron Age has too long occupied an uncomfortable middle position between prehistory and history, owned by the students of neither. This is particularly true of central and south-western France. With a few notable exceptions, there has been little or no scientific excavation, and there are large areas for which there is no recorded Iron Age material of any sort. Any general conclusions about the Early Iron Age cultures of the centre and the south-west of France must, therefore, be based on inadequate evidence. The following survey cannot hope to achieve any degree of finality. It is put forward simply as a working hypothesis for future amplification and adjustment.

In this country we are familiar enough with the time-lag between our own cultures and those of the Continental type-sites. We have to remember that the same is true of large parts of France, and that this includes not only Brittany but practically the whole of the centre and the south-west. Throughout the greater part of this area La Tene civilisation played little or no part until the conquest of Gaul by Rome. The accepted Hallstatt-La Tene terminology requires just as much modification as it does in Britain. It would no doubt be unwise to apply the British Iron Age 'A B C' conven-
tion elsewhere, but it is essential to remember that the implications inherent in that terminology apply equally to many parts of France.

The reason is, in part at least, geographical. Stretching from the Puy-de-Dôme above Clermont-Ferrand to the Mediterranean coast and almost from Lyons to Toulouse is the vast bulk of the massif central. With a few exceptions it is difficult of access, and large areas of it are extremely desolate; and although it was no more an uninhabited desert than our own Highland Zone, it did, in fact, constitute an effective barrier between the coastlands of the Mediterranean and the greater part of France, which lay to the north and west of the mountains—a distinction which the ever-practical Roman government recognized when it divided France into Gallia Narbonensis and the Three Gauls. Only at two points was there easy access from one region to the other. The one was up the Rhone Valley, the other was across the Toulouse gap, from Narbonne on the Mediterranean coast to Bordeaux on the Atlantic.

During the earlier part of the Iron Age southern France did not escape the movements of peoples that were taking place in northern and central Europe. There was a series of displacements, all in the general direction from north-east to south-west; and the factor which determined their goal was, once more, the massif central.

The earliest phase of the Iron Age was marked by two such movements. One of these is characterised by the sharply incised Kerbschnitt pottery of south German and north Swiss type, which has been found in the caves of Gard and Hérault, and recently in tumuli near Mende, Lozère. This pottery may, or may not, have been brought by the bearers of the Hallstatt bronze swords, the occurrence of which throughout the length of the Rhône valley, is a striking feature of their distribution. Both alike are in any case indicative of movement down the river. The second movement went

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1 E. Vogt, Germania, 19 (1935), de la région de Freyssinet (Mende, 1936).
2 J. Dechelette, Manuel d’archéologie française, ii, 2, map at the end.
3 C. Morel, Sepultures tumulaires
further afield, for it carried the Urnfield culture of South Germany into Catalonia. 1 This appears to have been a genuine folk-migration, which left few traces on the lands through which it passed. Recently, however, an urnfield containing pottery of a comparable though degenerate type has been recorded at Fleury (near Narbonne, Aude), 2 and isolated finds of contemporary objects suggest a considerable, though possibly sporadic, Hallstatt settlement in the same region. 3

It was not until the Celtic invasion of the third century B.C. that there was another major southward movement. In Languedoc indeed there seems to have been a considerable northward back-wash of Iberic peoples in the fifth and fourth century B.C. The inhabitants of the Mediterranean coastlands of France were busy absorbing and rediffusing the culture of the Greek colonists and traders; and at least as early as the sixth century B.C. they were sending their goods up the Rhone into the Celtic world. The extent to which this intercourse played a part in the formation of the La Tène culture has been disputed, and Dr. Jacobsthal is almost certainly correct in maintaining that the formative centre of La Tène art lay further to the east, and that it was rather from North Italy, by way of the Alpine passes, that it received its main classical stimulus. 4 This conclusion must not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that, whatever part it may or may not have played in the genesis of La Tène art, a considerable body of traffic was undoubtedly also passing up and down the Rhone. The best-known site is the Camp de Château, an oppidum near Salins, Jura, which has produced large quantities of Greek pottery, from black-figure ware


3 Hélena, op. cit.

onwards. It is, however, reasonably certain from chance finds that the excavation of other oppida in the Jura and Franche-Comté would produce comparable results.

Once established, this traffic up and down the Rhône continued to play a leading part in the development of Gaulish civilisation. The invasion of Provence and Languedoc by Celtic peoples in the third century B.C. may have caused temporary dislocation, but ultimately it made for even closer contacts; and with the incorporation of Gallia Narbonensis into the Roman Empire in the late second century B.C., there was added the stimulus of direct contact with Rome. It is notorious, both from the literary and from the archaeological evidence, that in the Three Gauls trade preceded the flag; and the main artery of that trade was the river Rhône.

At the same time as these settlers and these traders were passing up and down the Rhône, other peoples were passing westwards into central France and thence down the western side of the massif central. In the valleys on either side of the western Pyrenees they fused with the local Bronze Age cultures, and the very individual civilization to which they gave rise is well known from the cemeteries of the Upper Garonne and elsewhere. There it remained, a cultural backwater, right into the Roman period. But it is important to remember that the hazards of excavation have made it bulk far larger than ever it did in Iron Age times. Elsewhere research has been haphazard and ill-recorded. But chance finds and the loot of the Iron Age tumuli scattered over the extent of France from the Loire to

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1 M. Piroutet, La citadelle hallstattienne a poteries helleniques de Chateau-sur-Salins (Fifth International Archaeological Congress, Algeria, 1930); 'La Tène A ou La Tène IA: leur date et les fouilles de Chateau-sur-Salins (Jura),' Congrès préhistorique de France xii, 1936.

2 Pothier, Les tumulus du plateau de Ger, Basses-Pyrénées (Paris, 1900); Piette, 'Note sur les tumulus de Bartres et d'Ossun,' Materiaux pour l'histoire de l'homme, (1881); Piette and Sacaze, 'Les tumulus d'Avezac-Prat, Hautes-Pyrénées,' Materiaux, etc., 1879. The material is summarized by L. Joulin, 'Les sépultures des ages protohistoriques dans le sud-ouest de la France,' Rev. Archeologique (1912) 1, 1-59, and by Décélette, Manuel (and ed.) iii, 151-9. The general similarity of culture over a wide region on either side of the Pyrenees is coupled with a considerable local diversity of detail, but nowhere is this greater than is consistent with the survival of pre-Iron Age local traditions or the later development of regional peculiarities.
FIG. 1. OBJECTS FROM AN IRON AGE CEMETERY AT SAINT-SULPICE-LA-POINTE, TARN (after Revue Archéologique, Vol. xx, 1912, Pl. O., p. 38)
THE POTTERY OF GERGOVIA

the Pyrenees show that throughout this region were settled people, whose culture was in part at least derived from the Hallstatt civilization of north-eastern France and western Germany. The intensity of this settlement varied. In the rich lands of the Tarn and the middle Garonne it took deep root. In the Atlantic coastlands between the Loire and the Garonne, on the other hand, there is an absence of Iron Age material, which may or may not prove to be accidental. Between these extremes, however, there is sufficient evidence to indicate a considerable migration of peoples, and at least casual settlement over a large part of south-western France.

Of the elements represented in this settlement, two at least are the same as those which also passed down the Rhône. The incised Kerbschnitt pottery (see above, p. 38) found its way as far west as Charente. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that it ever reached south-western France. The Urnfield culture, on the other hand, not only established itself in central France but was an important constituent of the Pyrenean Iron Age civilization.

A third Iron Age element in the population of south-western France is best represented in the Tarn and the middle Garonne. The cemeteries around Albi and Castres, at St. Sulpice-la-Pointe (Fig. 1) and at Toulouse itself reveal a homogeneous culture of which the following objects may be selected as characteristic: open S-curved bowls (Fig. 1, nos. 1-12, and Fig. 25) often with white incrusted ornament, flattened conical dishes (or lids) with internal ledges (Fig. 1, nos. 16-17), antennae swords, open iron bracelets with globular terminals (Fig. 1, nos. 29-30) Hallstatt cross-bow fibulae, and a form of ear-ring recorded also from Hallstatt and north

1 G. Delauney, 'Une station de l'age de bronze a Vilhonneur (Charente),' Materiaux pour l'histoire de l'homme (1876), 299 ff.
2 H. Jacquinot and P. Usquin, 'La necropole de Pougues-les-Eaux (Nièvre),' Mat. pour l'hist. de l'homme (1879), 385-409.
3 Joulin, Reuvre archeologique (1912), part 1, 30-2.
4 Joulin, op. cit., 30-6.
7 For the distribution of these antennae-swords, see Fig. 3.
8 See below, p. 83, s.v., Fig. 24, no. 7.
9 At Castres, Joulin, op. cit., Pl. iv, no. 14; at Avezac-Prat.
The pottery of Gergovia in Italy, 1 (Fig. 1, nos. 31–32). These objects indicate clearly enough the ultimate origin of this culture-group in Germany. A geographically-intermediate link is provided by the celebrated cemetery at Haulzy (Marne). 2 Graves 1–69 of that cemetery form a uniform

1 At Castelnau-de-Levis (Tarn), at Saunac (Herault) and at St. Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn). Déchelette, Manuel, p. 841, Fig. 343, nos. 1, 2 and 4, with references to earlier literature. Cf. Schaeffer, Le Forêt de Hagenau, vol. ii, 'Tumuli de l'âge du fer,' Fig. 181 D.; and B. Peyneau, Découvertes archéologiques dans le Pays de Buch, vol. i, p. 60, Pl. iii, no. 26, from Pujaut (near Mios, Gironde).

2 G. Goury, Étapes de l'humanité (1911); Ebert, Reallexikon v, 138, and iv, Pl. 62.
middle-Hallstatt complex, with long iron swords in associations characteristic of the contemporary German Hügelgräber. Graves 70–78 contain, on the other hand, a furniture transitional from Hallstatt to La Tène, including two antennae-swords and a La Tène I fibula. A comparison of this series with material from the cemeteries of the Tarn can leave little doubt that this phase of south-western French Iron Age civilization was derived by way of north-eastern France from the late Hallstatt culture of Germany.

Outside the Tarn, where, despite the persistence of some earlier elements, this late-Hallstatt culture remained relatively purer than elsewhere, the immigrants were absorbed into the pre-existing population. The Pyrenean Iron Age culture in its developed form represents a fusion of indigenous elements and of two waves of immigrants, the Urnfield peoples and these late-Hallstatt invaders. Allowing for differences of local development this culture was remarkably uniform throughout the length of the western Pyrenees; and it stretched as far north as the Landes and the mouth of the Garonne. In the neighbourhood of Mios (Gironde, on the river Leyre, 20 km. from Arcachon) Dr. Peyneau has excavated eight tumuli at Pujaut, and 2 km. away, on the Truc de Bourdiou, portions of two flat cemeteries. The difference of burial-rite seems to mark a social rather than a chronological distinction, for all three appear to belong roughly to the same ‘sub-Hallstatt’ phase of the south-western French Iron Age as the Pyrenean cemeteries. The pottery reveals a strong Neolithic and Bronze Age survival, coupled with marked Urnfield elements and with traces, though less distinctive, of the late-Hallstatt types characteristic of the Tarn. The elaborate cross-bow fibulae, the open bracelets, of bronze or iron, with globular terminals, and the short antennae swords, all indicate the closest contact with the Pyrenean complex. Two features call for special attention—the complete absence from an area that has been thoroughly explored of any remains

2 B. Peyneau, Découvertes archéologiques dans le Pays de Buch (Bordeaux, 1926).
intermediate between those of the sub-Hallstatt culture and the arrival of Roman rule; and secondly, the discovery in tumulus H at Pujaut of the remains of a Hallstatt long iron sword, secondary to a primary burial containing an antennae sword. It has, indeed, long been apparent that, whatever the original chronological connotations of the various Hallstatt sword-types, in outlying districts they have little
meaning. But there could be no more striking instance than this of the curious cultural amalgam

which constituted the pre-Roman Iron Age civilization of south-western France.

1 Dr. Morel has found an iron sword in tumulus xii at Freyssinel (Lozère) with a painted vessel almost identical with that found in tumulus xiv in association with a late Hallstatt cross-bow fibula. The iron swords found in the tumulus of Aven Armand, Lozère (Déchelette, Manuel, Appendix III, no. 42) and in the dolmen of Genevrier, Salles-la-Source, Aveyron (Déchelette, loc. cit. no. 2; Mat. pour l’hist. de l’homme, 1879, p. 479 ff.) were accompanied by bronze cups similar to that found with an iron antennae sword in the tumulus of Airoles (Gard), Déchelette (op. cit. ii, Fig. 258).

FIG. 4. DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN IRON BRACELETS WITH GLOBULAR TERMINALS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH-WESTERN FRANCE.
(See pp. 42 and 83)
The Hallstatt long iron sword only occurs somewhat sporadically in the south, but it is found in numbers sufficient to indicate a considerable, if scattered, settlement (Fig. 5). It may with some confidence be associated with the painted pottery which occurs in tumuli throughout the same area. The forms most common to this painted ware—wide-bellied vessels, often with pedestals, and large, flattened conical dishes—indicate broadly derivation from the Hallstatt culture of eastern France at some time before its final phase.
The settlement is most marked in the uplands of the massif central, in Cantal and Lozère, but isolated examples are recorded also from Lot, Aveyron and Gironde.¹

The remaining Hallstatt sword-type, the bronze sword, is hardly found in south-western France (Fig. 6).

¹The following additions to the lists published by Dechelette, Manuel, Appendix III, are relevant to the area under consideration:—

Freyssinel (Lozère), two specimens, in tumuli viii and xii, in the latter associated with painted pottery.

Ch. Morel, Sepultures tumulaires de la région de Freyssinel (Mende, 1936). Lozère, locality unrecorded, two specimens in the Prunieres collection.
The discovery of no less than six specimens in Lot must, therefore, be indicative of another, even more restricted, phase of Hallstatt settlement in the south-west.\(^1\)

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that by the end of the fourth century B.C. an Iron Age culture of Hallstatt type had been diffused over the greater part of south-western France. It is also clear that there was considerable regional diversity, due to the complex nature of the folk-movement which it represents. Instances of that diversity could no doubt be multiplied. Iron Age material is sadly lacking from western France between the Loire and the Garonne; and it is even possible that on the Atlantic coast this may indicate a continuance of a substantially Bronze Age civilization to a very late date. But isolated finds, such as the chariot-burial at Gros-Guignon\(^2\) (Vienne, commune Savigne: Fig. 24, nos. 8-9) or the tumulus at St. Hilaire-Lastours\(^3\) (Haute-Vienne: Fig. 24, nos. 1-4) are sufficient to indicate the general character of such Iron Age settlement as there was. It was, and it remained, persistently Hallstatt in character.

After the middle of the fourth century B.C. there was no important addition to the cultural complex already established in the south-west until the Roman conquest of Gallia Narbonensis in the last quarter of the second century B.C. The La Tène civilization of northern and north-eastern France had little direct effect upon this region. The negative evidence is overwhelming; and it does not stand alone. The fortified Iron Age enclosure of Pont-Maure, near Sarran (Corrèze), partially excavated by Mr. N. Lucas-Shadwell, has yielded a rich series of stratified deposits dating from the latter part of the pre-Roman Iron Age. They include isolated sherds that must have come from as far afield as the Mediterranean coastlands of Languedoc as well as numerous south French imports. The complete absence of La Tène fabrics from Pont-Maure cannot, therefore, be attributed to rusticity,

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\(^1\) Dechelette, Manuel, Appendix IV. in the museum of the Société des Antiquaires de l'ouest at Poitiers.


\(^3\) In the Saint-Germain Museum.
but must show that La Tène influences had not reached the western regions of the massif central.

Still more cogent, however, is the evidence of the great cemeteries at Toulouse,¹ which was already in the Iron Age, as later, the gateway between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. They form a sequence in which, despite the political overlordship in pre-Roman times of the Celtic Volcae Tectosages, there appears hardly any trace of La Tène influence. The earliest graves contain pottery identical with that from the cemeteries of Tarn in conjunction with coarse vessels in the Pyrenean tradition.² They contain little, if any, intrusive material and belong, no doubt, to the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., before the arrival of the Volcae. The beginning of the second phase probably coincides substantially with that event, and this phase is marked by the establishment and development of relations with the Greco-Iberian cities of coastal Languedoc, Roussillon and Catalonia. Imported fabrics are numerous. Specially notable are painted Iberic vessels of Catalan type and the black-glazed wares that were made throughout the Mediterranean coastlands of France and north-eastern Spain in imitation of the finer imported Campanian pottery. At the same time a striking local ware was evolved, which is characterized chiefly by the development and elaboration both of local and of Mediterranean forms, by the good, hard, grey, wheel-turned ware in which it is made, and by the extensive use of polishing, either in zones or in simple linear patterns, to decorate the surface. Both the ware and the technique of decoration are closely derived from the fabrics of the Greco-Iberic coastal cities. It is only among the metal-work that any hint of La Tène influence can be detected in this second phase. The third and final phase of the Toulouse cemeteries follows the conquest of Toulouse by Rome in 106 B.C., and covers approximately the

¹ L. Joulin ‘Les sepultures des ages protohistoriques dans le sud-ouest de la France,’ Revue archéologique (1912), pp. 1–28, notably the cemetery of St. Roch, scanty remains of whose contents are preserved in the Musée des Toulousains de Toulouse. These are, fortunately, sufficient to verify, and in cases amplify, Joulin’s rather summary account.
² Joulin, op. cit., Pl. E.
first century B.C. It is distinguished by the appearance of amphorae in great quantities, almost to the exclusion of all other pottery-types. In several cases graves of the second phase were partially cleared to make way for such amphora-burials.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig7.png}
\caption{DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK-GLAZED, IMITATION CAMPANIAN POTTERY IN FRANCE. SHADING INDICATES THE AREA WHERE FINDS ARE NUMEROUS. (See pp. 50 and 87)}
\end{figure}

It would be rash to assume from this evidence that the Celtic Volcae had but little influence upon the

\footnote{The precise form of amphora-burial practised at Toulouse appears to have had only a local currency. Other forms were, however, widespread in Gallia Narbonensis in the first century B.C.}
civilization of the land in which they settled. But it is certain that their contribution did not lie in the sphere of material culture. The fresh cultural elements represented in the cemeteries of Toulouse in the third and second centuries B.C. came almost without exception from the Mediterranean coastland.

The pottery found at Gergovia falls into two groups. The first of these belongs to the Bronze Age (see pp. 57-61). During this period the plateau of Gergovia, like several other hill-tops in the neighbourhood, was occupied by an open settlement. This settlement was of some size, and for protection it seems to have relied entirely upon the natural strength of the site. It precedes the Iron Age fortifications by a considerable interval of time, an interval represented by a sterile layer, up to 8 inches thick (see pp. 11-12), which intervenes between the earlier occupation and the footings of the defences which it immediately precedes. There was only scattered intermediate occupation of the site; and although no datable material was found to determine closely the date of the ramparts, their uniform construction, coupled with the historical narrative, can leave little doubt but that Gergovia, like so many of the great French oppida, was first reoccupied and fortified in face of the Caesarian invasion.

From the preceding section it will have been seen that over the greater part of south-western France the pre-Roman Iron Age culture was predominantly, indeed in many districts exclusively, Hallstatt in character. It is not possible to make so sweeping a claim for the Auvergne. At Cournon, a few kilometres only from Gergovia, there has been found an inhumation cemetery of purely La Tène character.\(^1\) The celebrated tumulus of Celles near Neussargues (Cantal) contained, side by side with coarser wares in a purely native, sub-Hallstatt tradition, two notable painted pedestal vessels and a quantity of iron-work of La Tène III type.\(^2\) Even further afield it is possible that

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\(^1\) A. Morlet, ‘La necropole cel-tique de Cournon,’ Revue archeologique (1931), 2, 277-288. The cemetery is transitional between La Tène I and II.

\(^2\) Pages-Allary, Dechelette and Lanby, ‘Le tumulus de Celles, pres Neussargues,’ in Anthropologie (1903); Joulin, op. cit., Pl. x.
the great oppida of Lot, Murcens and Puy d’Issolud, with their ramparts of murus gallicus construction, are outliers of La Tène civilization in the south-west and representatives of the same series of Caesarian fortifications as so many other of the French oppida.

It is, however, questionable whether this La Tène civilization penetrated very deep. The extensive series of pottery in Aurillac museum from the oppidum of Chastel-sur-Murat (Cantal) affords a very different picture from the neighbouring tumulus of Celles, which must have, nevertheless, been roughly contemporary with its earlier fabrics. None of the pottery found at Gergovia can, unfortunately, be ascribed to the period of Vercingetorix; but at least the wares of the later first century B.C. do not suggest a La Tène background. A number of other local oppida, notably Corent and Ronziers, have also yielded unstratified Iron Age pottery, and here, too, there is the same absence of La Tène fabrics. The evidence is not conclusive; but it certainly suggests that while there was a small, aristocratic minority of La Tène settlers, the bulk of the population, even as far north as Gergovia, retained its sub-Hallstatt material culture as late as the first century B.C.

It is, therefore, all the more surprising that so much of the earlier pottery found during the excavations at Gergovia should have been of such a sophisticated character. Several fairly large sealed early deposits were found; and although the stratigraphy of the finds gave little clue to their date, this could be determined fairly closely on the internal evidence, both from the interrelation of the groups and from the occurrence of roughly datable jug-forms and Samian and other intrusive wares. Another important group containing Claudian Samian and jug-forms comes from Clermont-Ferrand itself. This must post-date the foundation of Augustonemetum; and typologically the pottery is slightly more advanced than that of the early Gergovia

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1 The coarse Iron Age wares from this site are very closely akin to those found in the earlier levels at Pont-Maure. There are also the finer grey wares of the second phase at Pont-Maure, and others (notably jug-necks similar to Fig. 13) which betray influence from Gergovia and beyond, by the use of roulette-ornament. There are a few sherds of south French, black-glazed, imitation Campanian ware.
deposits. It seems to follow from the evidence (which is discussed in detail below, pp. 63–79) that the earlier groups of pottery under consideration fall roughly between 25 B.C. and 25 A.D.

Apart from less distinctive wares and such obviously intrusive wares as white jugs and Samian, one fabric stands out both in quality and quantity. It is a hard, fine, grey, wheel-turned fabric, decorated either with zones of highly-polished black, or with simple roulette-patterns or with bands of combed wave-pattern. The roulette-ornament must indicate contact with Mont Beuvray. But, with this exception, there is a striking absence of detailed resemblance between the wares of Bibracte and of Gergovia. The two were, indeed, related. But there can be no question that either was derived from the other.

The source of the characteristic Gergovian grey ware must be sought elsewhere. The historical probabilities and the internal evidence alike point to Toulouse and, more remotely, to Languedoc and Roussillon. We have already traced the development of the fine grey wares characteristic of the second phase (i.e. the late third and second centuries B.C.) of the cemeteries at Toulouse. Practically every feature of these wares—fabric, form and ornament alike—is reproduced at Gergovia. A detailed examination of a few of the more striking points of resemblance can leave no doubt of the close connection between the two regions.

The relationship between the two is perhaps most easily studied in connection with a group of pottery dating from the second phase of the occupation of the small Iron Age fortification of Pont-Maure, near Sarran, Corrèze (Fig. 22). These vessels have been selected as typical of the finer, grey wares from that site, and they illustrate the close contacts which it had both with Toulouse and with central France. The striking cordoned vessel, no. 1, with an elaborate omphalos-base, is found also at Angers (Fig. 23, no. 1) and, further afield, near Carnac from a La Tène III cemetery,¹ at

¹ Z. le Rouzic, Sepultures de Kerne, commune de Quiberon (Vannes, 1935). The pot was not closely associated, but the character of the brooches, the bracelets and the other pottery from the cemetery all indicate a pre-Roman date.
Mont Beuvray\(^1\) (Fig. 23, no. 8), at Haltern;\(^2\) and in a slightly evolved form at Hofheim,\(^3\) and in this country at Colchester and at Prae Wood, St. Albans.\(^4\) No. 2 may be compared with Fig. 23, no. 2, from the same deposit at Angers, and with Fig. 14, no. 1, from Gergovia. In Languedoc it can be paralleled, for example, at Montfo near Magalas, Hérault (Fig. 23, no. 6). Nos. 4 and 8 are both southern forms. No. 4 is found commonly both at Toulouse (Fig. 23, no. 6) and on such sites as Enserune and Montlaures (Narbonne) in the third and second centuries B.C. No. 8 is a form of dish particularly common in the black-glazed, imitation Campanian wares of Catalonia, e.g. at Ampurias. No. 9 is very similar to a complex vessel, now in the Musée des Toulousains de Toulouse, from the cemetery of St. Roch. Nos. 6 and 10 are typical of the cylindrical forms common in the same cemetery.

An indirect link with Gergovia and the north is afforded by the occurrence in the same group at Angers (Fig. 23, no. 5) of a type of dish otherwise peculiar to the Auvergne (see Fig. 11, no. 15). More striking, however, are the jugs typical of the earlier post-Caesarian deposits at Gergovia (Fig. 13). Their sloping necks and strap-handles bear no relation to the contemporary wares of Provence, of Mont Beuvray, or of the Rhine-land. They are, on the other hand, almost identical in shape with the small jugs which are so common in Roussillon and Catalonia in the late pre-Roman period.

There is in fact a considerable interrelation of pottery-types over a very large area, ranging from the mouth of the Loire to the Auvergne and southwards to Toulouse and thence to the Mediterranean coastlands. This evidence, taken in conjunction with the close similarity of ware and decorative technique throughout the area, proves beyond question that all were derived from a common source. Nor can there be any doubt of

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\(^1\) In St. Germain Museum.
\(^2\) S. Loeschcke, Keramische Funde in Haltern (Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen, v, 1909). Type 88.
\(^4\) Society of Antiquaries Report, Verulamium, p. 161, nos. 34 and 35, Fig 15.
the general direction of the current. The wares characteristic of the second phase of the Iron Age cemeteries of Toulouse were evolved in direct contact with the Mediterranean coastlands. Those of Pont-Maure, of Angers, and of Gergovia were more or less closely derived from those of Toulouse. It was not necessarily a simple movement. Neither the cordonated omphalos-bowl (Fig. 22, no. 1) nor the dish with under-cut rim (Fig. 23, no. 5) are recorded from the south, and they were presumably later developments; and the occurrence of rouletted jug-necks, similar to Fig. 13, nos. 1-4, at Chastel-sur-Murat and at Pont-Maure reveals the existence of counter-influence from the north-east. But these are points of detail upon which the scanty available evidence hardly justifies further discussion.

The failure to locate any pre-Caesarian or Caesarian habitation at Gergovia is particularly unfortunate, as there is some doubt of the date at which this southern influence began to make itself felt in west-central France. The evidence of Pont-Maure shows that it succeeded a phase in which the only southern imports were amphorae and occasional black-glazed imitation Campanian vessels. The change was marked by the sudden introduction of a number of new pottery-forms, all in the characteristic hard, grey, polished ware of the second phase of the cemeteries at Toulouse; but, unfortunately, there is nothing at Pont-Maure itself to indicate the date of this event. Two scraps of evidence elsewhere, however, suggest that it may have happened before the middle of the first century B.C. The cemetery in which the cordonated bowl similar to Fig 22, no. 1, was found near Carnac (see above, p. 54, n. 1) even in Brittany should belong to the first half of the century; and the bowl itself was of a type that has not so far been recorded south of Pont-Maure and may, therefore, itself prove to have been a relatively late development in the Toulouse-Gergovia series. At Huelgoat in Finistère Dr. Wheeler found an unmistakable sherd

1 In the museum at Aurillac. See black-coated imitation Campanian ware, see Fig. 7.
of this black-polished grey ware in an *oppidum* that was abandoned during the Caesarian invasion. The evidence is slender; but it is perhaps sufficient to suggest that the cultural movement from the south up into central and western France may have taken place before the arrival of Caesar.

An occasion for such a movement is not hard to seek. In 106 B.C. Toulouse was added to the Roman province of Narbonensis. It is a commonplace that the acquisition of the eastern part of the province some years before had opened up the Rhône valley to Roman merchants, who carried the civilisation of Rome, and more particularly of Roman Provence, far into the Three Gauls long before Caesar brought them under Roman rule. Of that movement, the La Tene III civilization of Mont Beuvray is the monument. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the acquisition of Toulouse heralded a similar movement up into Aquitania, and that the early post-conquest civilization of Gergovia owes its character to such a cause. If that were true—and much work is required before it can be much more than an hypothesis—the traditional enmity of the Arverni and the Aedui would assume a deeper significance. They would stand for the two streams of Mediterranean influence which later were to fuse with the native Celtic tradition to form the civilization of Augustan and Julio-Claudian Gaul.

(b) Pre-Roman Pottery

Pottery of pre-Roman types was found sporadically over the whole plateau. Considerable unstratified deposits occurred near the West Gate, but by far the greatest quantity was found near the south-eastern angle of the fortifications. At this point the rampart overlay a thick, dark deposit of occupation-matter, from which it was separated by a layer of sterile earth (see p. xi). The great bulk of the material recovered came from the dark deposit, but the possibility cannot be excluded that isolated sherds may have come from the sterile layer.

The pottery is predominantly of Neolithic type. It does not, however, necessarily belong to the Neolithic period. With it were associated a hoard of slingstones and a barbed and tanged bronze

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1 *Antiquity* xiii (1939), 58–79.
FIG. 8. PRE-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA. (½)
Mr. Stuart Piggott, who examined drawings and photographs of some of the material, has made the following comments:

'The pottery from the early stratum at Gergovia presents many features suggesting a Neolithic date. The plain lugged sherds might well belong to round-bottomed bag-shaped pots in the style of Vouga I, while the cross-hatched incised ornament of Fig. 8, no. 4 is distinctly in the tradition of Chassey II. The finger-printing, too, of Fig. 8, no. 1, could be given a respectable place in the French Neolithic series. But the form of Fig. 8, no. 4, with its loop-handle and omphalos base, and the shouldered profile of Fig. 8, no. 1, together with the presence, in association with the pottery, of slingstones and a bronze arrow-head, make it more likely that we are dealing with a survival of Neolithic types into the Bronze or Early Iron Age. For such survivals there is evidence from elsewhere: the long persistence of finger-printing from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age in Western Europe is notorious, while Chassey style cross-hatching appears even on an English Iron Age sherd from All Cannings Cross; and, indeed, it seems likely that much of the incised and pointille ornament of this class of ware, and the technique of white infilling, goes back on the Continent to Neolithic prototypes. Such survivals as these at Gergovia need cause no alarm.'

Vessels similar to the bag-shaped wares, but with marked shoulders and clearly defined bases, were found in the same deposits and seem to indicate a post-Neolithic date; and in South and Central France the incised meander ornament of Fig. 9, no. 29 is a feature of the earliest Iron Age (Ch. Morel, Sepultures de la region de Freyssinet, Mende, 1936; Ph. Helena, Origines de Narbonne, Toulouse, 1938).

Two vessels only seem to fall outside the complex, the one a sherd of amphora found beneath the rampart near the base of the sterile layer, the other (presumably also from the sterile layer) a sherd of South French imitation Campanian black-glazed ware, which can hardly date much before the second century B.C. (Fig. 8, no. 9). It would be idle to suggest the strong survival of Neolithic influences to so late a date. The value of these sherds lies rather in their stratigraphical relation to the later rampart. It is, however, by no means impossible that there were Neolithic survivals in the Auvergne as late as the beginning of the Iron Age.

Two main pot-forms may be distinguished in this group of early pottery, the one consisting of bag-shaped vessels, with or without lugs or cords (e.g., Fig. 9, no. 13), the other of bowls with strongly-marked carinations inside the lip (Fig. 8, no. 3). The bag-shaped vessels are in the direct Neolithic tradition. With them may be associated plain, open bowls of the form of Fig. 9, no. 19. For the bowls with internal carinations it is harder to find any very convincing analogy. Both forms are found commonly on several local oppida, e.g., at Corent, at Ronziers and at Nonette (all in the collection of M. P.-F. Fournier at Clermont-Ferrand). At Gergovia itself the second is rather sparsely represented. The ware of both types is
FIG. 9. PRE-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA.
remarkably consistent, a light but relatively coarse, gritty fabric with a
soft, finely-tooled, dark brown surface, which is easily destroyed. Wares of the same general character were employed commonly in
central France as late as the Early Iron Age, e.g., in the Hallstatt
tumuli of the Auvergne (Delort, Dix ans de fouilles dans l'Auvergne)
or in the chariot-burial of Gros-Guignon (Fig. 24, nos. 8-9).
1. Uneven, rather gritty ware, thumbed heavily on shoulder, lightly
at neck. Stratified beneath the rampart.
2. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
3. Typical tooled ware. Unstratified, near the West Gate.
4. Fine buff ware with incised ornament. It is not certain whether
there was more than one handle. Stratified beneath the
rampart.
5-6. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
7. Coarser ware, black with a brown surface. Stratified beneath
the rampart.
8. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
9. Grey, wheel-turned ware with a worn, black surface, once
polished. Light roulette ornament. Part of an imitation
Campanian dish, probably South French. Stratified beneath
the rampart.
10. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
11-12. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
13. Typical tooled ware. Unstratified near the West Gate.
14. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
15. Typical tooled ware. Unstratified near the West Gate.
16-26. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
27. Similar ware, rather coarser. Stratified beneath the rampart.
28. Typical tooled ware. Stratified beneath the rampart.
29. Typical tooled ware. The incised ornament appears to be part
of a meander-pattern (see above). Other incised fragments
of the same ware and from the same deposits, include simple
shoulder-grooves, cross-hatched 'ladder'-patterns, and single
wavy lines. Stratified beneath the rampart.
30. Typical tooled ware with stabbed ornament. Stratified beneath
the rampart.

Fig. 10

Pre-Roman pottery from sites near Gergovia (in the collection of
M. P.-F. Fournier at Clermont-Ferrand).
1. From Nonette.
2. From Corent.
3-4. From Ronziers.
5-6. From Corent.
7. From Ronziers.
8-9. From Corent.
10-11. From Ronziers. Cf. Fig. 8, no. 3.
12. From Prompsart.

With the exception of Nos. 4-7 and 9, which are of a somewhat
heavier, coarser fabric, these vessels are of light, gritty fabric, with a
FIG. 10. PRE-ROMAN POTTERY FROM NEIGHBOURING SITES IN THE AUVERGNE. (¼)

No. 1 from Nonette. Nos. 3, 4, 7, 10, 11 from Ronziers.
Nos. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9 from Corent. No. 12 from Prompsart.

(See p. 61)
soft, finely-tooled, dark brown surface, similar in every way to that characteristic of the pre-Roman occupation of Gergovia.

(c) *Gallo-Roman Pottery*

None of the groups of pottery found stratified at Gergovia could be dated on external evidence. Several, however, contained brooches, coins and imported Samian pottery; and the local wares exhibit a progression of fabrics and types which corresponds approximately with the evidence of associated objects. The study of these groups has suffered from the fact that the pottery was no longer available for examination at the time that these notes were compiled; nor have circumstances permitted the confirmation of doubtful points. Furthermore, the late Dr. T. Davies Pryce, who examined the evidence of the all-important Samian stamps, was dealing with written records, and his comments cannot, as he remarked, 'possess the reliability of an account due to a personal inspection of the fragments.

With these reservations it is, nevertheless, possible to arrive at certain general conclusions. Dr. Davies Pryce observed that Gergovia was receiving Italic sigillata in the late first century B.C. and in the early first century A.D. He added that the absence of stamps *in planta pedis*, so common on the Italic ware of the Tiberian period, might be taken to indicate some occupational hiatus during the reign of Tiberius. In view of the continuity observable in the other fabrics it seems, however, clear that the absence of this form of stamp is in reality due rather to chance. Sigillata from South Gaul found its way to the site in both pre-Flavian and Flavian periods: that from Central Gaul in the Hadrian-Antonine period. After the middle of the second century it is not represented, and this date may be confidently accepted as marking the conclusion of the occupation of those areas at least which have already been excavated. The earlier limit is less clearly defined. Our knowledge of the imported fabrics of the mid-first century B.C. is hardly sufficiently precise to warrant the historically unlikely conclusion that Gergovia was abandoned after Caesar's final triumph and re-occupied later; nor is the body of early Gallo-Roman material sufficiently large to be accepted as fully representative. It must regretfully be admitted that the occupation of the immediately post-Caesarian inhabitants of Gergovia has so far proved as elusive as that of their fathers who built the defences.

The groups of pottery here published appear to range approximately from 25 B.C.-75 A.D. It will be seen that over this period there was considerable continuity of type, the same forms recurring, with but little modification, in all groups, as well as on related sites such as Clermont-Ferrand, Angers, Pont-Maure, Chastel-sur-Murat, etc. (see pp. 54-6). In the present limited state of knowledge a detailed discussion of their incidence and development could only be misleading. The small group, which chance has preserved at Angers (Fig. 23, nos. 1-5), is eloquent of the evidence that has been lost elsewhere. At Gergovia itself all that can safely be said is that
within the period covered by Groups 1–9 there is evident a certain relaxation of the forms typical of the earliest phase. Thus the sharply-defined bowl-form of Fig. 14, no. 1, passes to the loose curves of Fig. 20, nos. 9-10, a transition similar to, perhaps even influenced by, the change of fashion from Samian Form 29 to Form 37. Many of the later bowls seem, moreover, to incorporate a rim-form characteristic of the contemporary butt-beakers (e.g., Fig. 18, no. 1). There is a corresponding development in the grey ware characteristic of Gergovia. The earlier fabrics (e.g., Fig. 14, no. 1 and Fig. 13, no. 1) are polished only in restricted zones, a treatment reminiscent of the second phase of the cemeteries at Toulouse. The technique survives later, but there is an increasing tendency towards indiscriminate, all-over polish, either a pale grey, rather oily surface (e.g., Fig. 19, nos. 7, 9, 11), or the fine, uniform black surface characteristic of Group 9.

Not all the pottery-types characteristic of Gergovia developed to the same degree. Some, in fact, e.g. the typical cordoned jug-neck (Fig. 13) or the dish with an undercut rim (Fig. 11, no. 15), survived little changed throughout the period represented by the groups here published. It may be noted that the latter type also occurred commonly unstratified, in a variety of fabrics; it was evidently a popular and long-lived form. Until fresh evidence has accumulated about these and other forms it would probably be unwise to generalize further.

The limited character of the excavations and the circumstances of publication have alike restricted the scope of this report. Of the many fabrics represented by surface finds it can only be briefly stated that the great majority of the white jugs are identical in fabric with, and similar in form to, those manufactured nearby at Lezoux; a few only are further ornamented with bands of crimson or orange paint. Among the more exotic wares may be noted a number of fragments of decorated 'Aco beakers', and of the plain, very light vessels of the same shape, characteristic of early Roman Provence; also a single sherd of Mont Beuvray 'ocellee' ware (Dechelette, Manuel ii, part 3, Fig. 680, 3, p. 1486). These and other wares must however await study at some future date.

GROUP I. Pottery from Pit 1, a drainage-sump associated with 'Aucler's villa' (see p. 18).

Pit 1, into which emptied the drain passing beneath the walls of Room 1 of 'Aucler's villa,' contained much pottery and other household debris. This included fibulae of late La Tène type (p. 30, nos. 1, 2, 3, 11) and eight coins, seven of them Gaulish and one a coin of Vienne, struck between 40 and 28 B.C. (p. 27). The associated Samian stamps belong to the closing decades of the first century B.C., and the whole group can hardly be much later than the turn of the century.

FIG. 11

1. Hard grey ware with grey-black, polished surface.
2. Heavy grey ware with a dull grey-black surface, burnished in horizontal bands to a deep black.
FIG. 11. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA, GROUP I. (1)
3. Ware as no. 2, rouletted all over below the shoulder.
4. Ware as no. 2.
5. Hard, dull-surftaced, grey ware.
7. Ware as no. 5.
8-9. Light ware, bright orange-brown, decorated with alternate zones of roulette-ornament and barbotine. A fragment of a similar vessel in hard, light, pink ware, was found un-stratified.
10-11, 13-14. Hard, buff-coloured ware with a good white surface.
   Cf. Group 9, no. 5; a local fabric.
12. Dull grey ware with heavy horizontal striations.
15-16. Ware as No. 5.

**FIG. 12**

17. Fine grey ware with a dull, smooth surface; rouletted.
18. Large bowl of hard, white ware with applied, thumbed ornament.
19. Pink ware with a cream-coloured surface. On the neck are three bands of red paint, and on the body rough roulette.

**FIG. 13**

20-21. Small jugs, of typical Gergovia form, with a dull, grey-black surface. Another, not illustrated, has the graffito (Fig. 21, no. 1) just below the neck.

**Not illustrated:**

Samian stamp, AT:T in a broad, quadrilateral label repeated radially, a common feature of Italian sigillata. Almost certainly the stamp of A. Titius, an Italian potter. His wares have not been found at Haltern, c. B.C. 11-A.D. 16 (cf. Loeschcke, p. 154), but are well represented at Neuss, the Sels tiler, a site of earlier foundation, c. B.C. 5 (Bonner Jahrbücher, 102, p. 156, nos. 312, 472, 499, 567, etc.) and at Mainz and other early sites. For the use of 'figuli' by Italian potters cf. A. Titius figuli Arrentini (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, xv, 5649), A. Vibi figuli senti figuli, M. Servile figuli (CIL, xv, 5581).

Samian stamp, L'TR (for L. Titius Arrentini or L. Tarquini). This stamp occurs at Sels (Bonner Jahrbücher, 102, p. 156, no. 423) and at Arezzo (Gammerini, Iscrizioni d.a.v. fitt. aretini, 1859, p. 61, no. 408. Cf. also CIL, xiii, 10099, 249).

Base of a bowl of brittle grey ware, lightly rouletted. Underneath the base a graffito of CAIVS. Fig. 21, no. 2.

**GROUP 2. Pottery from a pit underlying the slotted wall found opposite the Temple-portico** (see p. 19).

**FIG. 12**

1. Hard, light, biscuity, bistre-brown ware, finely rouletted on the body in zones (roulette as Fig. 17, no. 3). The fabric is similar to that of the local jugs, but lacking the white surface.
FIG. 12. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GEROVIA. (\textfrac{1}{2})
Nos. 17-19, Group 1 (cont.)  Nos. 1-11, Group 2.
2–3. Hard, grey ware with a polished, black surface.
4. Gritty, brown-surfaced, black ware containing much mica.
5. Hard, grey ware with a pale grey, oily surface (cf. Group 8, nos. 7, 9 and 11).
6. Hard, grey ware with a polished, black surface.
7. Rough-surfaced, hard, grey ware.

8. Hard, bistre-coloured ware with a white surface; the fabric is similar to that of the local jugs.
9. Hard, pink ware, coated inside and on the outside of the rim with scarlet. For the form cf. Group 1, no. 15.
10–11. Hard, grey ware with a polished black surface.
12. (Fig. 13, no. 1). Large jug of hard, grey ware, polished in zones to a darker grey and ornamented on the neck with

FIG. 13. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA. (1)
No. 1, Group 2.
No. 2, Group 3
Nos. 3–4, Group 1.
roulette-ornament. For the form see p. 55. On the handle is a roughly-scored graffito, and on the neck another (illegible). A fragment of a similar jug from the same group is more heavily polished.

Not illustrated.
Fragments of a large jug with two ribbon-handles, in hard bistre ware, with a white surfacing, similar to that of the local jugs. Fragments of a large jug, similar to no. 12, in hard, bright, pinkish-orange ware with a slightly rough, tooled surface.

FIG. 14. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA, GROUP 3. (4)

GROUP 3. Pottery from Pit 3, a rubbish-pit sealed by the paving of the Temple-courtyard (see p. 20).

Fig. 14
1. Cordoned bowl of hard, grey ware, polished dark grey in zones. Two bands of fine combed ornament; one shows the marks of as many as 17 teeth. For the form, cf. Fig. 23, no. 2, from Angers, and no. 6 from Montfo.
2. Same ware as no. 1, ornamented with combed ornament and fine roulette. Cf. Fig. 17, no. 2.
3. Beaker of very thin, biscuity, dull white ware.
   From the same pit (not illustrated) fragments of a similar plate with zones of darker polishing.
5. Fragment of friable pink ware.
6. Hard, grey ware with a black, polished surface.
7–8. (Fig. 13, no. 2). Jugs of hard, grey ware with a darker polished surface, decorated with roulette-ornament. For the form see p. 55.

Not illustrated:
A pot very similar to Group 1, no. 3.
Fragments of coarse, combed vessels.
A fragment of Samian base, stamped OF OF... .

GROUP 4. Pottery found beneath the pavement of the second Temple (see p. 22).

Under the floor of the cella of the second temple there was found a quantity of building debris, a coin (p. 25, no. 22), half of a terra-cotta antefix (Pl. vb), and some sherds of pottery. Either this temple was built later than its companion, or else in its final form it replaced an earlier structure. The group belongs apparently to the first half of the first century A.D. The two sherds of pre-Roman pottery come from the underlying humus. Scattered sherds of similar character were found over the whole of the plateau, and these specimens cannot therefore be used as evidence of the presence on this site of any specific prehistoric structure.

1. Rim of a plain vessel in the characteristic pre-Roman brown ware with a finely-tooled, soft brown surface.
2. Carinated rim in the same ware as no. 1. For the form see p. 59.
3. One of two similar vessels in hard, white jug-ware.
5. Ware a coarser version of the mica-dusted ware found in Group 5.
7. Hard grey ware with a rough surface.

Not illustrated:
Fragment of a base of South-Gaulish Samian.
Fragment of hard grey ware with combed wave ornament.
Fragment of a buff vessel with scarlet coating.
Groups 5-8. Pottery associated with the successive buildings discovered on parcelles 925 and 927 (see pp. 16-17).

With the exception of a few sherds from the deepest levels, the majority of the finds from this site come from the burnt level which precedes the construction of the latest building or from rubbish-dumps associated with the previous buildings (see p. 17). The latest pottery from these levels seems to belong to the close of the Julio-Claudian period (c. 60-70 A.D.), but much of it appears to be rather earlier. The accumulation evidently covers a considerable period. The pottery has much in common with that of Group 9 from a well in Clermont-Ferrand, which appears to be of Claudian date, and generally speaking it represents a typological advance on the forms represented in Groups 1-3.

The three Groups, 6-8, are probably roughly contemporary, but as no more was proved stratigraphically than that all preceded the latest building, they are here listed separately.

Group 5. Pottery associated with the earliest buildings.

FIG. 16

A few sherds only of pottery, found beneath the floor of the earlier building beneath Room 1, could be assigned on stratigraphical grounds to the earliest phase of the history of this part of the site. They include, however, two fragments of a very distinctive, fine, pale orange fabric with a superficial wash of mica, which gives it a bronzed appearance. This ware, which is found in a wide variety of forms, mainly imitating metal vessels, appears sparingly on a number of sites throughout the first century and the earlier part of the second. It is a Rhenish product that was exported both to Gaul and Britain (May, Pottery from Silchester, p. 114). In Germany the technique is recorded in the Augustan period from Haltern and from the cemetery of Coblenz-Neuendorf (Gunther, Bonner Jahrbücher cvii, 1901, 84, Fig. 7; cf. Koenen, Gefasskunde, Pl. xi, 27). It was found sparingly on the Claudian site of Hofheim (Ritterling, Hofheim, 273, 277, 295), and a second-century kiln for its manufacture was excavated at Mainz (Mainzer Zeitschrift, 1928-29, 140). Another centre of manufacture was apparently in the neighbourhood of Trier (Loeschcke, Mitt. Alt. Westfal. v, 198-9, 286-7), and it occurs on a number of other Rhineland sites, ranging from Strasbourg to Xanten. In Britain it has been found in small quantities on sites of the first and early second centuries.
Cf. Group 4, no. 5, and Group 6, no. 3.
1. Mica-washed ware.
2. Hard, fine, buff ware, with repeated stamps.

GROUP 6. Found overlying the remains of the floor of the earlier building beneath Room 1.

Fig. 17
1. Butt-beaker of fine, micaceous, smooth-surfaced buff ware. The body is rouletted.
2. Hard grey ware with a light-grey, oily surface (cf. Group 8, nos. 7, 9 and 11), ornamented with cordons and combed wave-ornament and, on the lower part of the body, light roulette. Cf. Fig. 14, no. 2.

Fig. 17. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA, GROUP 6. (4)

3. Hard grey ware with roulette ornament.
4. Rim of a beaker or of a small bowl in dark buff ware.
5. Rim of the same distinctive mica-dusted ware as Group 5, nos. 1 and 2.
6. Bowl of buff ware, coated red externally. The rim-form appears to be derived from that of butt-beakers such as no. 1.

GROUP 7. Found against the east face of an earlier wall beneath Room 3.

Fig. 18
1. Rim of a bowl in hard, grey ware, polished black. The rim-form is derived from that of contemporary butt-beakers. Cf. Group 6, no. 6, Group 8, no. 4.
2. Rim of hard, grey ware, polished black.
5. Jug-neck in friable white ware.
7. Jug-neck in hard, pink ware with a white surface.
9. Fragment of a butt-beaker of white pipe-clay, decorated with roulette and barbotine.

Not illustrated:
Fragment of a jug similar to Group 8, no. 8.

Fig. 18. Gallo-Roman pottery from Gergovia, Group 7. (4)

Two fragments of hard, orange-buff ware, white-coated (cf. Group 8 not illustrated).

Fragment of Samian, stamped [VLLI] [ORGII] (Fig. 21, no. 4), in a rectangular frame. The use of a palm leaf is highly characteristic of Italian ware of the first third of the first century A.D. (cf. Haltern, nos. 70-2, 74-8, 89, 90, 94, 110, all by Ateius; 177 by Acastus Rasinus; 256 by M. Valerius). It is probable that many of these stamps reached Haltern during its final occupation A.D. 14-16.

Samian stamp LIC, probably by the pre-Flavian potter Licinus, of South Gaul (cf. Oswald, *Index*, p. 164).

Samian stamp (Fig. 21, no. 3), a modification of the trefoil stamp which was often used by the slaves of the potter Ateius in the first

Samian stamp S.C, perhaps the same as L.S.C., an early potter whose wares are found at Mont Beuvray (*CIL* xiii, 10009, 223, before 5 B.C.) and on early Rhenish sites such as Oberaden (*Bonner Jahrbücher* cxix, p. 262), but not at Haltern.

**FIG. 19. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM GERGOVIA, GROUP 8. (†)**

**GROUP 8. Found in a rubbish-heap underlying the latest buildings to the west of Group 7.**

1. Part of a butt-beaker of hard, yellow-brown ware ornamented with two zones of scored ornament and strips of barbotine. Cf. no. 2.
2. Fragment of a butt-beaker in the same ware as no. 1, ornamented with scored ornament and strips of barbotine, and with scale-pattern in high relief.
3. Plate of hard, grey ware with a black, polished surface. There were several plates of this form and fabric in this deposit.
4. Rim of bowl in hard, grey ware with a black, polished surface. The rim-form is derived from that of contemporary butt-beakers.

5-6. Rims of hard, grey ware with a black, polished surface.

7. Vessel in hard, grey ware with a greasy, pale grey surface. Cf. nos. 9 and 11. Other vessels of the same ware in this group include forms similar to Group 6, no. 4 and Group 7, no. 10.

8. Jug-neck in hard, grey ware with a black, polished surface ornamented with roulette. A fragment of a similar jug-neck has a zone of combed wave-decoration.

9. Vessel in the same ware as no. 7.

10. Plate in hard, grey ware with a black, polished surface. Several vessels of the same form were found in the same level, two in this ware, one in poor, pink ware with a dark coating, one in a better pink ware with a scarlet coating. The under-surface is in each case concentrically furrowed, and the body also of some is furrowed below the lip.

11. Vessel in the same ware as no. 7.

12-14. Typical rim-forms of storage jars of which numbers were found. The body is usually strongly combed. The distinctive form of no. 14, with a marked internal flange, appears to be characteristic of Gergovia and of neighbouring sites (e.g., at Lezoux, several specimens in the collection of M. Fabre).

Not illustrated:
The lower part of a jug-neck in the same distinctive ware as Group 9, no. 4.

Fragments of white jug of local fabric, including a four-ribbed handle.

Fragment of hard, orange-buff ware coated white externally and decorated with roulette similar to Fig. 11, no. 9.

**GROUP 9. Pottery found in the filling of a well in Clermont-Ferrand** (see p. 53).

**FIG. 20**

The date of the foundation of Augustonemetum is not recorded, but by analogy with Augustodunum (Autun) it may be presumed to fall about the turn of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. This pottery-group, which is now in the possession of M. P.-F. Fournier, is very uniform and must cover a relatively small period of time.

1. Hard, bistre-coloured ware with a good white surface.

2. Same fabric as no. 1. Another jug of identical form (not illustrated) from the same group is in a softer white ware; it has a pear-shaped body.

3. Same fabric as no. 1, painted with horizontal red lines.

4. Pinkish ware with a smooth, orange-red surface, similar in texture to the white surface of the local jugs. Part of the neck of a similar jug was found on Gergovia (Group 8).

5. Same fabric as no. 1.
FIG. 20. GALLO-ROMAN POTTERY FROM A WELL IN CLERMONT-FERRAND, GROUP 9. (¼)
The white jugs in this group and those found at Gergovia were undoubtedly made locally at Lezoux, where vessels of identical fabric were produced in large numbers. They bear little detailed resemblance to the jug-forms current in the Rhineland, although nos. 3 and 4 are akin to Haltern Type 49 B (S. Loeschcke, Keramische Funde aus Haltern (Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen, v, 1909), Abb. 26). The inward slope of the neck towards the shoulder on several of the jugs in the group and the broad, angular

handle should indicate a date not too late within the Tiberio-Claudian period.

6. Jug (one of two) of typical Gergovia type (cf. Fig. 13, no. 1) in hard, grey ware, strongly polished. Roulette ornament on neck.

7. Graufesenque ware, stamped OF FIRM0 (Fig. 21, no. 5).

8. Graufesenque ware.

Two other Samian bases, stamped respectively DAM (Fig. 21, no. 6) and AQV, belong also to the group.
9–13. Representative selection of a number of vessels in a hard, grey ware, often very light, polished to a dull black surface, in some cases ornamented with horizontal lines burnished to a deeper black. The ware is closely akin to that of the characteristic Gergovia fabrics, though generally lighter and more heavily polished than those of Groups 1–3, but the forms represent a considerable relaxation of the earlier types.


15. Dull red ware with a shiny orange glaze, rouletted. The form is presumably derivative from Arretine, Loeschcke, op. cit., type 8a or 8b.

16. Same ware as nos. 9–13; there are bands of concentric striations on both surfaces of the base. For the form, found also at Angers and commonly at Gergovia, see Fig. 11, no. 15.

Also included in the same group are a fragment of a pedestal-cup of imitation Arretine form in green-glazed St.-Remy ware; two sherds of a metallic brown fabric, akin to Castor ware, decorated with feather-roulette pattern; and two large, coarse bowls, with a projecting flange ¼-inch below the rim and three large tubular feet. The last-named type is a common local form.

The date indicated by the associated Samian for this group, towards the middle of the first century a.d., is consistent with the other evidence. The group is sufficiently representative to afford a useful check upon the chronology of the groups published from Gergovia itself. The range of types among the polished, grey wares is wider than that of Groups 1–3; and white jugs form a larger percentage. On the other hand, there are many points in common with groups 6–8, with which this group must be roughly contemporary.

Samian stamps from Gergovia, unstratified (not illustrated):

1. ACA3. The retrograde S indicates the Italian potter Acastus, not his South Gaulish namesake. The stamp occurs at Haltern (Loeschcke, p. 180, no. 180) and Xanten (Bonner Jahrbiicher cxix, p. 268). From the Temple area.

2. ASIATICI. Asiaticus was a Central Gaulish potter of the Hadrian-Antonine period (cf. Oswald, Index of Potters’ Stamps, p. 24). From the Temple area.

3. CATI. Catus was a South Gaulish potter of the pre-Flavian period (Oswald, op. cit., p. 67). He probably commenced work in the Tiberian period, for his pottery has been found at Sels (Bonner Jahrbiucher, cii, p. 152), where almost all the sigillata ante-dates a.d. 41. From the Temple area.


5. MAXMOS on dull black ware. Possibly Arretine ware, in which case it is of the late first century B.C., or possibly Gaulish
imitation. The Gaulish termination -OS is occasionally found on Italian sigillata.

6. MACER. Probably the South Gaulish Macer of the Flavian period (cf. Oswald, op. cit., p. 175), possibly the Lezoux potter of the Antonine period. From the Gallo-Roman building on parcelle 927 (pp. 16–17), unstratified.

7. CELER. Probably the South Gaulish potter, who worked in the pre-Flavian period (cf. Oswald, op. cit., p. 70). His pottery and that of his Italian namesake are both found at Sels (Bonner Jahrbücher cii, p. 152, nos. 323, 471). Surface find.

8. NUM. A common Italian stamp. Cf. C. NUM. RE and C. NUM. RES, CIL x, 8056, 237; CIL xi, 6700, 413; C.I.L. xv, 5,389. Many of these stamps are in planta pedis, suggesting a mainly Tiberian date for his work. Surface find.

9. P.A., radially stamped. Stamps of P. Attius have been found at Mont Beuvray (CIL xiii, 10,009, 56), Sels (Bonner Jahrbücher cii, nos. 308, 328, 427) and Haltern (Loeschcke, p. 172, nos. 114–8). From the Gallo-Roman building on parcelle 927 (pp. 16–17), unstratified.

10. DIOME Diomedes in association with Vibius: also found at Sels VIBI. (Bonner Jahrbücher cii, no. 387; CIL xiii, 10009, 300). Diomedes alone occurs at Haltern (Loeschcke, p. 175, no. 133) and Xanten (Bonner Jahrbücher cxix, p. 267). Vibius no longer occurs at Haltern, but is represented on slightly earlier sites such as Xanten (Bonner Jahrbücher cxix, p. 262) and Mont Beuvray (CIL xiii, 10009, 292). This stamp belongs at latest to the opening years of the first century A.D. Surface find.

11. EROS. In a circular frame. The stamp of Eros occurs at Sels, singly and in association with C. Avillius (Bonner Jahrbücher cii, nos. 332, 511, 581). The same name was used by a slave of P. Cornelius (CIL xv, 5125). Cf. also CIL. xiii, 10009, 20, Eros C. Ann (i). All three belong to the first third of the first century A.D. Surface find.

12. RUFIO CANNI. Rufio in conjunction with C. Annius. Rufio is a not uncommon slave name in Italian sigillata. The stamp of C. Annius occurs at Haltern (Loeschcke nos. 3–5), where he is associated with Auctus and Cerdo. His early decorative work is assigned by Oxe (Arret. Reliefgefasse vom Rhein, p. 39) to the last decade of the first century B.C. Surface find.

(d) Iron Age pottery from sites in south-western France

Fig. 22

From the Iron Age fortification at Pont-Maure, near Sarran, Corrèze (see p. 49).

All these vessels are in various qualities of a hard, grey, wheel-turned ware, which when polished becomes a glossy black. The ornament consists of polished horizontal zones, and sometimes of
FIG. 22. IRON AGE POTTERY FROM PONT-MAURE, NEAR SARRAN (CORRÉZE). (4)

(From drawings by Mr. E. M. Jope)
groups of lines or of a continuous wavy line burnished on the reserved surfaces. The ware, the ornament, and in many cases the forms correspond closely with those belonging to the second phase of the St. Roch cemetery at Toulouse (L. Joulin, ‘Les sepultures des ages protohistoriques dans le sud-ouest de la France,’ Revue archéologique, 1921, 1, pp. 16–17, pls. F–G), of which some remains are preserved in the Musée des Touloisains de Toulouse. There are also many contacts with Gergovia and other west-central French sites (see pp. 54–6).

1. Cf. Fig. 23, no. 1, from Angers, and no. 8 from Mont Beuvray. There is also a vessel of this form from a La Tène III grave in the Carnac museum (see p. 54, n. 1).

2. Cf. Fig. 23, no. 6, from the oppidum of Montfo, near Magalas (Herault). It is the precursor of the Gergovia type, Fig. 14, no. 1. Cf. Fig. 23, no. 2 at Angers.

4. A form typical of the pre-Roman Greco-Iberic culture of coastal Languedoc, Roussillon and Catalonia, commonly represented also at Toulouse (Fig. 23, no. 7).

5. Cf. Fig. 25, no. 7, from the sub-Hallstatt cemetery of Lavene, near Albi.

6 and 10. Cf. the tall cylindrical vessels of the second phase of the St. Roch cemetery at Toulouse (Joulin, op. cit., Pl. F11), which are derivative from an earlier local tradition, represented for example in the cemetery of Bordes-de-Rivière, near Montrejeau, Haute Garonne.


8. Cf. the black-glazed dishes made in great quantities in the Greco-Iberic coastlands in imitation of Campanian imports. Many of these vessels reached Toulouse and a few sherds were found at Pont-Maure itself.

Fig. 23

Nos. 1–5. A small homogeneous group of pottery preserved in the Musée d’Archéologie at Angers (Maine et Loire). It is labelled ‘St. Julien, 1919,’ but the circumstances of discovery are not otherwise recorded. The ware and the forms approximate very closely to some of those found at Gergovia and at Pont-Maure.

1. Hard, grey ware, polished black all over the outer surface, and in horizontal bands on the inner surface. For the form see p. 54. Cf. Fig. 22, no. 1, Fig. 23, no. 8.

2. Hard, grey ware, polished black all over the outer surface and at the lip only on the inner surface. Combed wave-ornament between the two raised cordons. For the form cf. Fig. 14, no. 1 (Gergovia), Fig. 22, no. 2 (Pont-Maure), Fig. 23, no. 6 (Montfo, Hérault).

3. Rather coarser ware than nos. 1 and 2.

4. Hard, grey ware, polished black on the outer surface only.

5. Hard, grey ware, polished black in concentric zones. For the form, which is common at Gergovia, cf. Fig. 11, no. 15, Fig. 12, no. 9.
No. 6. From the oppidum of Montfo, near Magalas, Hérault (in the collection of Dr. Coulouma at Beziers). Found in the third-second century B.C. levels. Hard, grey, dull-surfacd ware. This is apparently the prototype of the form represented in Fig. 14, no. 1, Fig. 22, no. 2 and Fig. 23, no. 2.

For the site of Montfo, a characteristic Greco-Iberic oppidum similar to Enserune and to Montlaures, see J. Coulouma, *Magalas et son oppidum de Montfo* (Nimes 1934).

No. 7. From the cemetery of St. Roch, Toulouse (in the Musée des Toulousains de Toulouse). Heavy, grey-black ware, burnished black in horizontal zones. This form of bowl with a swelling, inturned...
rim is common on Greco-Iberic sites of the late pre-Roman period, both in imitation Campanian black-glazed ware and in hard, grey unglazed 'Iberic' ware, e.g., at Montlaurès, at Ensérune, at Montfo (see no. 6) and in Catalonia.

No. 8. From Mont Beuvray (in St. Germain Museum). Hard, grey ware, polished black externally. The central 'omphalos' is missing. For the form see p. 54. Cf. Fig. 22, no. 1, Fig. 23, no. 1.

**Fig. 24**

Nos. 1-4. From the tumulus of St. Hilaire Lastours, Haute-Vienne. (In the St. Germain Museum). Hand-made ware with a tooled and highly-polished, dark brown surface. The form of no. 2 is typical of the earliest sub-Hallstatt phase of the Iron Age at Toulouse and in the Tarn, where it is probably of pre-Iron Age derivation (see p. 85, s.v. Fig. 25).

Nos. 5-7. From the tumulus of Vernouille, St. Ybard, Corrèze. (In the St. Germain Museum). Nos. 5-6 are of roughly-shaped, gritless, hand-made, dark brown ware with the remains of graphite-painted ornament: cf. the fragment of a similar plate in the neighbouring tumulus of Montfumat (also in St. Germain Museum). The bracelet, no. 7 (cast only at St. Germain) is made of bronze.

Open iron bracelets with globular terminals are typical of the developed Hallstatt civilization of central and south-western France. They occur, for example, in the following Pyrenean cemeteries:—

Ayer (Bordes-sur-Lez) ... Joulin, *Rev. archéologique* (1912), i, 39-40.
Bordes-de-Rivière ... Joulin, *op. cit.*, p. 40-2.
Espiaup (Bagneres de Luchon) ... Joulin, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
Ger or Barthes-Ossun (Tarbes) ... Joulin, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4.

Also at:—

Bouzais (St. Amand-Montrand, Cher).
Chabestan (Hautes-Alpes).
Chaudenay (Meurthe-et-Moselle).
Craiset ('Berry').
Freyssinel (near Mende, Lozère).
Gy (Haute-Saône).
Pujaut (Girondes).
St. Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn).
St. Ybard (Corrèze).

See Dechelette (1st edit.), ii, part 2, p. 837, n. 1. Common in Lorraine. Bronze bracelets of this form are less common in the south-west but are recorded from the Pyrenean cemetery of Avezac-Prat. Cf. Schaeffer, *Forêt de Haguenau*, ii, *tumuli de l'âge du fer*, p. 239, Fig. 175; he discusses the origin of the type.

Nos. 8-9 From the tumulus of Gros Guignon, Savigny, Vienne. (In the Musée de la Société des Antiquaires de l'ouest at Poitiers). Hand-made ware with a tooled, dark brown surface. No. 7 is lightly rilled on the neck and shoulder, and No. 8 bears traces of faintly-burnished ornament, consisting of a zone of hatched triangles, alternately pointing upwards and downwards, on the shoulder. The
Nos. 1-4, from the tumulus of St. Hilaire Lastours, Haute-Vienne. 
Nos. 5-7, from the tumulus of Vernouille, St. Ybard, Correze. 
Nos. 8-9, from the tumulus of Gros Guignon, Savigny, Vienne. 

(See p. 83)
tumulus contained the remains of a chariot, and the grave-furniture included a late Hallstatt belt-clasp and portions of a horse's bit, possibly, but not certainly, of La Tène I type (see *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, v (1939), 179. See *Bulletin archéologique* (1926), i, p. 3, pl. iv, 3.

**FIG. 25**

Nos. 1–8. *Representative pottery from the late Hallstatt and sub-Hallstatt cemeteries of Tarn.* (In the museum at Albi.) For these cemeteries see L. Joulin, 'Les sepultures des âges protohistoriques dans le sud-ouest de la France,' *Revue archéologique* (1912), i, pp. 32-9; and E. Cartailhac, 'Note sur l'archéologie préhistorique du département du Tarn, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme* (1879), pp. 481–99. The greater part of the recorded material from Tarn is presumably either lost or still in private hands, but some vessels similar to nos. 1–2 and to no. 8, from St. Sulpice-la-Pointe, are preserved in the Musee St. Raymond at Toulouse.

Vessels similar to nos. 1–2 are the typical cinerary urns of the late Hallstatt settlement in Tarn and of the first phase of the cemeteries at Toulouse. In the Pyrenees they seem only to be recorded from Ayer, Bordes-sur-Lez, but derivative forms are not uncommon. The original type is recorded from the following sites:

- Albi (Tarn), cemetery of Lavene. Albi Museum.
- Castres (Tarn), cemetery of Lacam or Rocquebrune. Joulin, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- Montans (Tarn). Musée St. Raymond, Toulouse.
- St. Sulpice-la-Pointe, cemetery of Bordes. Albi Museum.
- St. Sulpice-la-Pointe, cemetery unspecified. Musée St. Raymond, Toulouse.

The dishes, or lids, with internal ledges, of which no. 8 is a fragment, have a similar distribution. It is, however, a common middle and late Hallstatt form which appears in central and south-western France wherever there was settlement of this period. Nos. 3, 6 and 7 presumably represent local pre-Iron Age influence; these
and similar forms had great influence on the development of the pottery characteristic of the second phase of the cemeteries at Toulouse (see p. 50, cf. Fig. 22, from Pont-Maure, Corrèze).

1. From the cemetery of Bordes, St. Sulpice-la-Pointe. Good, hand-made ware with a polished dark brown surface. Ornament stabbed with a fine point, two horizontal lines of dots and four pairs of pendant triangles.

2. From an unknown site in Tarn. Ware a coarser version of no. 1.
3. From the cemetery of Lavène, Albi. Ware as no. 2.
4. From an unknown site in Tarn. Ware as no. 1, with a light brown, polished surface.
5. From the same unknown site in Tarn as no. 4. Ware as no. 2.
6. From the cemetery of Lavène, Albi. Ware as no. 2.
7. From the same unknown site in Tarn as No. 4. Ware as no. 2.
8. From the same unknown site in Tarn as no. 4. Ware as no. 2.

FIG. 25. IRON AGE POTTERY FROM SOUTH-WESTERN FRANCE. (†)
Nos. 1–8, from cemeteries in the Tarn. No. 9, from Toulouse.
(See p. 85)
9. From the cemetery of St. Roch, Toulouse (see p. 50: in the Musée des Toulousains de Toulouse). Ware as no. 1. A typical cinerary urn of the first phase of the cemetery. Cf. no. 1.

Imitation Campanian, black-glazed pottery in Central and Western France (see Fig. 7).

The coastal plains of Provence, Languedoc, Roussillon and Catalonia (shaded on the map) may be considered as drenched areas, of which the main centres were Marseilles and Narbonne. From Provence this ware found its way up the Rhone, from Narbonne it passed to Toulouse and thence to the south-west. The following is a list of sites known to the writer, exclusive of those in the Mediterranean coastlands:

- Agen (Museum).
- Albi (Museum).
- Baume-les-Messieurs (near Salins, Jura, St. Germain Museum).
- Boivolles (Meuse, St. Germain Museum).
- Bordeaux (Museum).
- Camp de Château (near Salins, Jura, St. Germain Museum).
- Carcassonne (Museum).
- Chastel-sur-Murat (Aurillac Museum).
- Corent (Fournier collection, Clermont-Ferrand).
- Gergovia (Museum).
- Mont Beuvray (Autun Museum).
- Pont-Maure (Lucas-Shadwell collection, Sarran, Corrèze).
- Puy d'Issolud (St. Germain Museum).
- Toulouse (Musée des Toulousains de Toulouse).
- Vieille Toulouse (Musée des Toulousains de Toulouse).